



UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE
PRAVNI FAKULTET



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Broj: 07-222/6

Podgorica, 14.03.2025. godine.

ODBOR ZA DOKTORSKE STUDIJE
Predsjednik
Prof.dr Boris Vukićević

Poštovani,

U prilogu Vam dostavljamo sljedeći materijal koji je utvrđen na elektronskoj sjednici Vijeća Pravnog fakulteta UCG održanoj od 03. do 04. marta 2025. godine:

-Prijedlog odluke Vijeća Pravnog fakulteta za imenovanje Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije pod nazivom „**Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi**“, **mr Milene Aćimić Remiković**, br.222/4 od 04.03.2025. godine;

-Ispunjenost uslova doktoranda (obrazac D2), br.07-222/5 od 14.03.2025. godine;

-Zahtjev za ocjenu doktorske disertacije mr Milene Aćimić Remiković, br.07-222 od 05.02.2025. godine;

-Saglasnost mentora da rad zadovoljava kriterijume doktorske disertacije, br.07-222/1 od 05.02.2025. godine;

-Potvrda o predaji doktorske disertacije mr Milene Aćimić Remović, br.07-222/2 od 05.02.2025. godine

-Kopiju objavljenog rada u časopisu sa SSCI liste mr Milene Aćimić Remiković;

-CD sa sadržajem doktorske disertacije u PDF formatu;

-Izjava o autorstvu mr Milene Aćimić Remiković;

-Bio-bibliografiju mr Milene Aćimić Remiković;

-Bio-bibliografije predloženih članova Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije.

S poštovanjem



Dekanka
Prof.dr Aneta Spaić

ISPUNJENOST USLOVA DOKTORANDA

OPŠTI PODACI O DOKTORANDU			
Titula, ime, ime roditelja, prezime	Mr Milena (Danilo) Aćimić Remiković		
Fakultet	Pravni fakultet		
Studijski program	Međunarodno pravo		
Broj indeksa	02/2020		
NAZIV DOKTORSKE DISERTACIJE			
Na službenom jeziku	Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi		
Na engleskom jeziku	Gender Equality and Jurisprudence: Using International Gender Standards to Promote Women's Rights in Montenegrin Legislature and Judicial Practice		
Naučna oblast	Međunarodno pravo, Ljudska prava, Rodno pravo		
MENTOR/MENTORI			
Prvi mentor	Prof. dr Laura Sjöberg	Exeter College University of Oxford	Međunarodno pravo, politika i međunarodni odnosi
Drugi mentor	/	/	/
KOMISIJA ZA PREGLED I OCJENU DOKTORSKE DISERTACIJE			
Prof. dr Nebojša Vučinić, predsjednik komisije	Pravni fakultet Univerzitet Crne Gore	Međunarodnopravna oblast	
Doc. dr Marina Jovićević, članica komisije	Pravni fakultet Univerzitet Crne Gore	Međunarodnopravna oblast	
Prof. dr Laura Sjöberg, mentorka	Exeter College University of Oxford	Međunarodno pravo, politika i međunarodni odnosi	
Datum značajni za ocjenu doktorske disertacije			
Sjednica Senata na kojoj je data saglasnost na ocjenu teme i kandidata		22. decembar 2022. godine	
Dostavljanja doktorske disertacije organizacionoj jedinici i saglasnost mentora		05. februar 2025. godine	

<p>Sjednica Vijeća organizacione jedinice na kojoj je dat prijedlog za imenovanje komisija za pregled i ocjenu doktorske disertacije</p>	<p>04. mart 2025. godine</p>
<p>ISPUNJENOST USLOVA DOKTORANDA</p>	
<p>U skladu sa članom 38 pravila doktorskih studija kandidatkinja je dio sopstvenih istraživanja vezanih za doktorsku disertaciju publikovala u časopisu sa (SCI/SCIE)/(SSCI/A&HCI) liste kao prva autorka.</p>	
<p>Spisak radova doktoranda iz oblasti doktorskih studija koje je publikovao u časopisima sa SSCI/A&HCI liste</p>	
<p>Aćimić Remiković Milena, Laura Sjoberg, "Montenegrin gender "protections" and the limits of gender equality laws", <i>Women's Studies International Forum</i>, Elsevier, 2024, DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2024.103011.</p> <p>WoS Core Citation Index: SSCI – Social Sciences Citation Index Journal Impact Factor (JIF): 1.5 5 – year Impact Factor: 2 Ranking: Q2</p> <p>Rad dostupan na sljedećem linku: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277539524001493</p>	
<p>Obrazloženje mentora o korišćenju doktorske disertacije u publikovanim radovima</p>	
<p>Doktorantkinja Aćimić Remiković je u časopisu <i>Women's Studies International Forum</i>, kao prva autorka, objavila rezultate istraživanja iz poglavlja VII doktorske disertacije - Ključni nalazi istraživanja: Zaključna razmatranja i ocjene, 7.3.1. Limiti/Ograničenja crnogorskog legislativnog okvira rodne ravnopravnosti, pod nazivom "Montenegrin gender "protections" and limits of gender equality laws".</p> <p>Ovaj rad ističe da, iako zakoni nominalno promovišu rodnu ravnopravnost, njihova primjena često dovodi do suprotnog efekta, odnosno očuvanja rodne subordinacije. Kroz studiju slučaja crnogorskih legislativnih rješenja o penzijama i izbornim kvotama, rad ukazuje kako se naizgled progresivne pravne norme mogu koristiti na način koji de facto smanjuje zastupljenost žena, u ovim slučajevima u pravosuđu i politici u Crnoj Gori.</p> <p>Značaj rada leži u tome što, prvenstveno, nudi kritičku analizu zakonskih mjera i pokazuje kako se rodna ravnopravnost može instrumentalizovati za održavanje postojećih društvenih hijerarhija, zatim, doprinosi teoriji rodne pravde predlažući novi analitički okvir za razumijevanje kako legislativna rješenja mogu istovremeno obećavati progres i održavati status quo, te pruža uvid u širi globalni kontekst, ističući da Crna Gora nije izolovan slučaj, već da se slični fenomeni javljaju u različitim državama sa formalno jakim, ali u praksi slabim zakonima o rodnoj ravnopravnosti.</p>	

Datum i ovjera (pečat i potpis odgovorne osobe)

U Podgorici
10.03.2025.



DEKAN



Prilog dokumenta sadrži:

1. Potvrdu o predaji doktorske disertacije organizacionoj jedinici
2. Odluku o imenovanju komisije za pregled i ocjenu doktorske disertacije
3. Kopiju rada publikovanog u časopisu sa odgovarajuće liste
4. Biografiju i bibliografiju kandidata
5. Biografiju i bibliografiju članova komisije za pregled i ocjenu doktorske disertacije sa potvrdom o izboru u odgovarajuće akademsko zvanje i potvrdom da barem jedan član komisije nije u radnom odnosu na Univerzitetu Crne Gore



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Broj: 07-222/4

Podgorica, 04.03.2025. godine

Na osnovu člana 64 Statuta Univerziteta Crne Gore i člana 41. Pravila doktorskih studija UCG, Vijeće Pravnog fakulteta je na elektronskoj sjednici održanoj od 03. do 04. marta 2025. godine, utvrdilo
p r i j e d l o g

ODLUKE

I

1. mr **Milena Aćimić Remiković**, studentkinja treće godine doktorskih studija na međunarodno pravnom smjeru studijskog programa Pravne nauke, ispunjava formalne uslove za ocjenu doktorske disertacije pod nazivom „**Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi.**“

II

2. Predlaže se Odboru za doktorske studije i Senatu Univerziteta Crne Gore da imenuje Komisiju za ocjenu doktorske disertacije mr **Milene Aćimić Remiković**, pod nazivom „**Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi**“, u sastavu:

1. **Prof.dr Laura Sjoberg**, mentorka, profesorica na Univerzitetu Oksford u Velikoj Britaniji;
2. **Prof.dr Nebojša Vučinić** - član, redovni profesor Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta Crne Gore u penziji;
3. **Doc.dr Marina Jovičević** - članica, docentkinja Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta Crne Gore.

III

3. Komisija za ocjenu doktorske disertacije je dužna da Vijeću Pravnog fakulteta podnese izvještaj koji sadrži ocjenu doktorske disertacije, u roku od 45 dana od imenovanja komisije.

O b r a z l o ž e n j e

Komisija za doktorske studije je na elektronskoj sjednici održanoj od 06. do 07. februara 2025. godine, utvrdila da mr Milena Aćimić Remiković, ispunjava uslove za ocjenu doktorske disertacije pod nazivom „**Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi**“, u skladu sa članom 38. Pravila doktorskih studija i preporučila Vijeću Pravnog fakulteta da utvrdi prijedlog članova Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije (prijedlog Komisije za doktorske studije br.07-222/3 od 07.02.2025. godine).

Vijeće Pravnog fakulteta se u periodu od 03. do 04. marta 2025. godine elektronskim putem izjasnilo o navedenom prijedlogu Komisije za doktorske studije i *jednoglasno* utvrdilo da mr Milena Aćimić Remiković ispunjava formalne uslove za ocjenu doktorske disertacije i predložilo navedene članove Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije.

Na osnovu izloženog odlučeno je kao u dispozitivu.

Dostaviti:

- Odboru za doktorske studije
- a/a

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Prof.dr Aneta Spaić



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05.02.2025.	
07 - 222	

PREDMET: ZAHTJEV ZA OCJENU DOKTORSKE DISERTACIJE

Imajući u vidu da je, u skladu sa članom 38 Pravila doktorskih studija Univerziteta Crne Gore, stečeno pravo na predaju doktorske disertacije objavljivanjem naučnog rada u časopisu sa SSCI liste koji sadrži rezultate dijela dokorskog istraživanja, podnosim zahtjev za ocjenu doktorske disertacije pod nazivom „*Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi*“. S tim u vezi, molim Komisiju za doktorske studije Pravnog fakulteta da inicira predlog Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije.

Prilozi:

1. Saglasnost mentorke da rad zadovoljava kriterijume doktorske disertacije;
2. Štampani primjerak doktorske disertacije;
3. Kopiju naučnog rada objavljenog u časopisu sa SSCI liste;
4. CD sa sadržajem doktorske disertacije u PDF;
5. Potpisanu izjavu o autorstvu.

U Podgorici, 5. februara 2025. godine

Podnositeljka zahtjeva
Milena Aćimić Remiković

UNIVERSITY OF MONTENEGRO

FACULTY OF LAW

Based on Article 37 of the Rules of Doctoral Studies of the University of Montenegro, the following

CONSENT IS HEREBY GIVEN

The dissertation titled „*Gender Equality and Jurisprudence: Using International Gender Standards to promote Women's Rights in Montenegrin Legislation and Judicial Practice*“, authored by PhD candidate Milena Acimic Remikovic, meets the criteria for a doctoral dissertation prescribed by the Statue of the University of Montenegro and the Rules of Doctoral Studies, and may be submitted for evaluation and further procedure.

In Oxford, February 5th 2025

Dissertation supervisor

Professor Laura Sjoberg



UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE
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UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE PRAVNI FAKULTET			
Priloga	05.02.2025.		
Broj	07-222/1		

Na osnovu člana 37 Pravila doktorskih studija Univerziteta Crne Gore dajem sljedeću

SAGLASNOST

Rad pod nazivom „Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodnih standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj jurisprudenciji i sudskoj praksi“, autorke mr Milene Aćimić Remiković, zadovoljava kriterijume doktorske disertacije propisane Statutom Univerziteta Crne Gore i Pravilima doktorskih studija i može biti predan na ocjenu i dalju proceduru.

U Oksfordu, 5. februara 2025. godine

Mentorka

prof. dr Laura Sjöberg





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Broj: 07-222/2
Podgorica, 05.02.2025.godine.

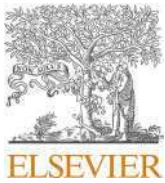
Na osnovu člana 33. Zakona o upravnom postupku izdaje se

POTVRDA

da je **Milena Aćimić Remiković**, studentkinja doktorskih studija na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore, br. indeksa 2/2020(studijski program Pravne nauke-međunarodno pravni smjer), dana, 05. februara 2025. godine, dostavila doktorsku disertaciju pod nazivom "**Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodnih standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi**" arhivi Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta Crne Gore.

Referent za studentska pitanja
Savo Marković

Savo Marković



Montenegrin gender 'protections' and the limits of gender equality laws

Milena Aćimić Remiković^a, Laura Sjöberg^{b,*}

^a University of Montenegro, Montenegro

^b University of Oxford, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

Our basic argument is that Montenegro has an approach to gender equality law that appears and claims to be gender-progressive but actually (sometimes intentionally sometimes not) perpetuates gender subordination. What looks like a lack of effective enforcement of gender equality provisions is, we argue, actually much more complex. Gender equality laws can be deployed in ways that contravene real equality goals. We also argue that Montenegro it is not alone in the apparent internal contradiction of having high-quality gender laws 'on the books' and unexpectedly poor results. Instead, similar situations are widespread, and gender equality legal discourses often lack adequate tools to conceptualize and address their complexities. We propose, then, a different analytical approach to gender equality law that takes into account contradictions in, and regressions inherent in, (some) gender equality policies.

A 2022 release from the Council of Europe Programme Office in Podgorica, Montenegro after a meeting on accountability and professionalism in the judicial system in Montenegro identified gender equality as a key problem for the judiciary, where it "stressed the importance of gender mainstreaming of the new Judicial Reform Strategy" and discussed concrete steps for increasing gender equality both among judges and within judicial rulings (Council of Europe Programme Office in Podgorica, 2022, those words attributed to Bojan Bozovic). In concluding the symposium, the project coordinator "stated that careers have no gender" and noted that this is a goal that Montenegrin authorities "have successfully understood" and "strive towards" (Council of Europe Programme Office in Podgorica, 2022, words attributed to Evita Aravantinou). At a recent UN forum on Gender Equality in Montenegro, the 2012 implementation of gender quotas for candidates for local and parliamentary elections was lauded as a "step toward achieving balance in political representation" following the long and important tradition of successes that the women's movement in Montenegro has achieved related to women getting the vote and becoming allowed to run for office (United Nations Development Programme, 2023). Still, there remain problems to correct: "women in politics today face challenges that limit their full participation" which need to be addressed by the Montenegrin election structure (United Nations Development Programme, 2023). In many ways, these conversations discuss gender equality problems in ways that resonate in many different contexts across the globe – how can we be sure that legal structures are gender-equal? And how can law be deployed in service of gender equality?

These are questions that are at once the topic of significant and recurring discussions in academia, in policy circles, and even in pop culture around the world – and are often not addressed directly or fully, we argue. Some of the language that those planning and evaluating Montenegrin judicial and electoral reform use to talk about gender equality are near-ubiquitous in official discussions today: recognizing the importance of gender mainstreaming,¹ emphasizing women's representation in workplaces and in government, gesturing towards progress that has been made thus far on gender equality, and suggesting that continued work towards gender equality will mean that progress will continue as well. Sometimes these discussions also highlight the importance of incremental changes: each 'small' redress of an equality problem, even ones that involve both progress and regress, should be celebrated and replicated, because incremental change is change nonetheless (see extensive discussion in Blanchard (2021)). This is not to say there are no cynics, either in Montenegro or elsewhere – only that these progressive narratives often dominate discussion of where gender equality is today. Even in a 2024 scathing report in *Vjesti* about the status of women in Montenegro, hope for progress features heavily. The report quotes a Civic Education official discussing the underwhelming results of gender quotas in elections but suggesting a more positive future: "there will be progress through a fair provision of a chance and space to show the potential that women undoubtedly have" (Vjesti, 2024).

This article takes an opportunity to evaluate these discourses critically, using the policies and reflections in the Montenegrin gender equality sphere as an exploratory example. Our basic argument is that Montenegro has an approach to gender equality law that appears and

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¹ For (a small sampling of) commentaries on the complexity of this idea, see, e.g., Shepherd (2008a); Rao and Kelleher (2005); Hunting and Hankivsky (2020).

claims to be gender-progressive but actually (sometimes intentionally sometimes not) perpetuates gender subordination. What looks like a lack of effective enforcement of gender equality provisions is, we argue, actually much more complex. Gender equality laws can be deployed in ways that contravene genuine gender emancipation. We also argue that Montenegro it is not alone in the apparent internal contradiction of having high-quality gender laws 'on the books' and 'unexpectedly' poor results. Instead, similar situations are widespread, and gender equality legal discourses often lack adequate tools to conceptualize and address their complexities. We propose, then, a different analytical approach to gender equality law that takes into account contradictions in, and regressions inherent in, (at least some) gender equality policies.

We are interested in the application of Law on Pension and Disability Insurance in Montenegro to the Montenegrin judiciary and the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament. We suggest that, despite the Law on Pension and Disability Insurance being conceptualized and promoted as positive discrimination for women, it actually led to increasing their unequal treatment and underrepresentation in the practice of staffing the judiciary *both* in its enforcement and in its eventual repeal. We further show that the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament's gender quota has had many of the gains that it promised for women offset by losses that should be taken as seriously as if not more seriously than the gains. A second section suggests that this is not a unique problem: in a variety of ways in different contexts, one could see gender equality claims, advocacies, policies, and laws as having gender-subordinating impacts, rather than as unfinished journeys. The third section shows that current theoretical tools available to address this dissonance are inadequate to the task because they understand 'going backwards' on gender equality as either a problem of *incomplete progress* or some people's objection or backlash rather than as a problem of everpresent disguised barriers. The fourth section presents a theoretical framework for understanding the instrumental use of gender equality policies to subordinate, inspired by a combination of organizational sociology, international relations theory, and critical race theory. It puts forward an argument that gender equality law is not only practically but inherently limited. The fifth section returns directly to Montenegrin gender equality law, applying the theoretical work in the previous section to show that it increases our explanatory leverage and fits the described circumstances well. In the conclusion, we discuss what this means for relationships between gender subordination and legal frameworks more generally.

Montenegrin gender equality law

In recent history, there have been more women than men in the Montenegrin judiciary, as judges and prosecutors (Lalevic-Filipovic & Lojpur, 2018, 224). Gender equality is explicitly valued in the constitution of Montenegro, and has been since 2007 (Brnović, 2016, 4). This follows trends of progress in women's education, labor participation, and rights entitlements (Lalevic-Filipovic & Lojpur, 2018, 223, 227; Melovic & Djurisić, 2020). In recent years, these trends have been accompanied and promoted by a number of laws that several laws have gender equality as a focus (Brnović, 2016, 4). These include gender quotas in elections, a council dedicated to gender equality, an action plan for gender equality, and joining a number of international gender equality schemes (*Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms of Montenegro*, 2019). Still, like many places, there remain a number of gender equality problems in Montenegro, including continued underrepresentation in many parts of the government and a number of key professions. There remain less women in parliament and councils than gender quotas call for, despite a meaningful rise in numbers (Brnović, 2016, 4).

The modal reaction to this contradiction is to see it as partial progress towards a yet-unattained goal: that Montenegro is on its way to gender equality, but still has a long way to go. Its progressive legal structures are the right ones, and they just need more time to work. We think that there's more to it: that (at least some) laws that appear to support gender

equality can be and are used to support the subordination of women. We argue that the 2022 Law on Pension and Disability Insurance and the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament are such laws.

The law on pension and disability insurance

The Pension and Disability insurance law in Montenegro contains a number of clauses that explicitly address women's workplace equality. For example, Article 17 sets women's entitlement age for pensions two years younger (64) than men's (66), and requires five years less work experience, ostensibly to hold women equal to men controlling for career breaks for childbearing and childrearing (Kaludjerovic, 2020). At face value, then, this law is better for women than it is for men.

In practice, though, that is not how the Law on Pension and Disability Insurance has worked. We looked carefully at judges' retirement specifically. Montenegrin judicial positions are permanent: terms end only when judges step down, when they go to prison, or when they accept their retirement pension. In 2021, the Montenegrin government began to force judges to take their retirement pensions when they became eligible, effectively changing the mandatory retirement age for women judges from 67 to 64, and for men judges from 67 to 66. These forced retirements affected twenty-three women and four men.² In other words, the pension and disability law that should advantage women actually disadvantaged them – harming both particular women judges and the gender balance of the Montenegrin judiciary. Some observers have blamed this shift on the governing party, and others have expressed concerns about the clarity of the law itself (Medel, 2021; Radulović, 2021).

We think that there is more to it. We think that laws that appear to 'progress' gender equality can and do frequently instrumentalize that equality, providing benefits for women and gender minorities only to the extent necessary to maintain existing gender-hierarchical social, legal, and political orders. This approach suggests that the Law on Pension and Disability Insurance is not a contradiction at all: it appears to advance gender equality in service of the continuation of gender subordination.

The law on the election of councilors and members of parliament

While women constitute more than 50 % of the population in Montenegro (as elsewhere), the 2012 Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament's clause about the representation of women does not set adequate representation for women at the level of their presence in the population (Rosen, 2017). This is not uncharacteristic – most gender quotas in global politics (where they exist at all) are between 20 and 40 % rather than for equal representation (Dahlerup, 2005; Kim & Fallon, 2023). That said, a law that promotes the representation of more than half of the population by looking to ensure they have a smaller proportion of seats than that sits uneasily with an interest in gender equality. The text of Article 39a is fairly straightforward: "In order to achieve the principle of gender equality, the electoral list will contain at least 30% of candidates from the less represented gender," and then it goes on to explain a process for the approval or rejection of candidate lists based on this criteria. According to this process, electoral lists are to be rejected by the State Election Commission if they fall short of the 30 % quota for women candidates.

In theory, this should result in 30 % of local government officials and parliamentarians in Montenegro being women. In practice, while women's numeric representation has increased since the implementation of the quota, women have not ever been 30 % of elected officials (IPU, 2023). The gender quotas are about electoral lists rather than

² This is not representative of the sex composition of the Montenegrin judiciary, which is 56–57 % women (<https://rm.coe.int/hf6-gender-study-judiciary-montenegro-eng/1680a8b57d>).

reserved seats (International IDEA, 2024), which means that women are not guaranteed actual representation but instead only representation in competing for seats. In Montenegro, the electoral quota system is based on closed lists for parliamentary elections. This means that voters do not have the option to rearrange or select individual candidates on the party lists; instead, they vote for the list as presented by the political party. The legislated quota requires that at least 30 % of candidates on these lists must be women. However, the ranking of women on these lists can greatly affect their chances of getting elected, with a “one-in-four” rule mandating that every fourth candidate must be of the underrepresented gender (UN Gender Quota Portal, 2024). Even if women were placed more highly on the lists, women candidates are not situated similarly to men: “nine out of ten women politicians in Montenegro experienced gender-based discrimination, while seven out of ten have experienced violence during their political work” (Gasparikova, 2021). A 2024 report by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy details the scope and extent of this violence, using a public opinion poll, focus groups, media monitoring, and existing published sources to suggest that significant violence against women in politics exists and is not adequately combatted by the state (DeFacto Consultancy, 2024). Violence against women in politics in Montenegro is *increasing* rather than decreasing in the quota era, where one woman MP recently noted “I don’t think there has ever been as much violence towards women in politics as there is now” (CeMI, 2024; Gasparikova, 2021; Vucinic, 2022).

Some may see this as an implementation failure, or as slow progress. Still others may see it as positive progress along with unintended side effects that may well have another legal solution, like better law enforcement towards violence against political candidates or improved protection of all candidates including women. Looking at some of the nuances of practices around gender quotas in Montenegro, though, we see another possible frame: that the structure of quotas create the appearance of progressiveness on gender equality issues while protecting the male majority in elected representation. From large, public ‘disappointments’ like failing to meet the quota representation and increased violence against women candidates to quiet contraventions of the law like approving ‘illegal’ electoral lists and placing women in unelectable places on ‘legal’ electoral lists (Vukotić, 2020), most scholars agree that the Montenegrin government and those political parties that construct it lack the political will for equal representation for women (e.g., UN Women, 2024). We see it as intellectually useful to consider an alternative account: that there is political will for maintaining women’s subordination, and that a 21st-century way to do that is to appear to fail at implementing policies that ‘should’ bring about gender equality. In the next section, we build this theoretical argument.

The continuation of gender oppression in an atmosphere of apparent equality

Wherever we live in the world, we live in societies where *increases* in gender equality are consistently highlighted and recognized (Hudson et al., 2020; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). As ‘we’ are told, and can see in our daily lives, women’s representation in politics is increasing, women’s presence in the labor sector is increasing, and women’s rights situation is improving. In Inglehart and Norris’ (2003) terms, gender equality’s “rising tide” appears evident and irrefutable. Others have argued that gender equality can be used to make other things better as well (Kristof & WuDunn, 2009), even seeing gender equality as co-varying with declines in violence globally and perhaps even causing those declines (e.g., Hudson et al., 2009; Hudson et al., 2020; Pinker, 2011).

Still, significant gender inequality remains easily visible, both in the context of the Montenegrin government and more generally. Whether it is the gender-biased forced retirement of Montenegrin judges or women’s underrepresentation in politics or women’s unequal access to education, assets, employment, and social justice in a wide variety of contexts, one can find credible evidence that gender equality remains in

almost all situations almost everywhere in the world. Yet not all gender inequality is the same: gender inequality generally and violence against women specifically is racialized. As decolonial feminists (e.g., Lugones, 2010, 746) argue, the worst inequities lie “at the intersection of gender/class/race as central constructs of the capitalist world system of power.”

One way to address this overwhelming evidence of continued gender inequality is to suggest, as we saw in the discussion of the Montenegrin courts and institutions of government that opened this paper and see across a number of discussions of these issues in everyday life, that these are problems of incompleteness. Some equality will be followed by more equality. White women’s equality will be followed by equality for women of color. Women will break one glass ceiling after another until ultimately there are none. ‘We’ are approaching gender equality, and simply need to keep making progress until the goal is accomplished.

Another way to see these juxtapositions, though, is as more of a trade-off: gender equality has progressed, but that does not necessarily mean it is *progressing*: it may be more fits-and-starts, or even, as we argue, inherently limited. The progress of some women might be at the expense of the progress of others (see, e.g., Moon and Holling (2020); Ortega (2006); and Zakaria (2021)). Women may even subordinate women on the basis of gender (see, e.g., Sjöberg (2016); and Kirby (2020)). Potential examples abound. Those wondering if gender equality progress might be a case of fits-and-starts need look no further than the ‘gender pay gap’ in late-capitalist Western, liberal democracies to see that ‘progress’ one year is often met with (even more) regress the next, and, despite decades of recognition of a relatively straightforward problem, results remain uneven, both in terms of making the ‘gender pay gap’ smaller, and in terms of the ‘pay gap’ between women on the basis of race, nationality, immigration status, or class, to name a few (O’Sheades, 2014; Randev, 2023). Those looking to see the progress of some women directly at the expense of others or women subordinating women on the basis of gender only need to look at the political and legal victories of trans-phobic ‘feminists’ (see, e.g., Tudor (2020, 2023); and Elliot and Lyons (2017)). This is not, as some would suggest, simply a byproduct of the recent political successes of those who could be characterized as having anti-gender ideologies (Butler, 2019; Evang, 2022). While that development has exacerbated these problems, we argue that they predated the recent resurgence of populism. We argue that all of these apparently-unrelated ‘setbacks’ and ‘backlashes’ towards gender equality may not be unrelated at all, but symptoms of the (often invisible) inherent limits and potentially counterproductive impacts of gender equality law.

Theoretical tools to assess the messiness of (limited) gender equality (law)

Many of the theoretical tools that are currently leveraged to think about gender equality laws and policies are well-equipped to deal with cases of progressive or incremental change, or even intentional backsliding, but not as well equipped to deal with the idea that there may be limits, tradeoffs, and insidiousness inherently in (some) gender equality policies outside of intentional backsliding. We suggest that looking at gender equality law with different theoretical lenses might reveal previously unseen dimensions, including complex normative implications about its impacts.

We might start at recent research programmes have looked at some of the ways that gender equality laws and policies can fall short. For example, many analyses of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (on Women, Peace, and Security [WPS]), and the ensuing national and international policy agenda have analyzed the shortcomings of its texts, its enforcement, and its impacts (Kirby & Shepherd, 2016). Oversimplified conceptions of gender (Olsson, 2022), too close associations of women and femininity (Schneider, 2021), unreasonable expectations of women in policy positions (Sjöberg, 2013), and other pathologies of policy unrelated to its gender-based subject have all found part of the blame for the WPS agenda (as yet?) failing to find

either gender equality or world peace. Scholars who have looked at the gendered nature of the figuration of 'civilian' in war and conflict have examined how women remain more vulnerable than men to the collateral effects of war despite the conflation of women and civilians in war ethics logic – if women are stereotyped as civilians, should that not make them *more* safe rather than less (e.g., Carpenter, 2005; Sjöberg, 2006; Wibben, 2020)? Other scholars have looked at the effectiveness and frustrations of the recently declared 'feminist foreign policies' of some states in the international arena, looking at how states make feminist claims, what becomes of those claims in practice, and how feminist foreign policies may be judged in theory and in practice (Aggestam et al., 2019). These explorations rarely exchange ideas about policy pathologies, however, and do not as we understand it make an argument across policy pathologies that these shortcomings, failures, and instances of partial progress may indeed all have something in common.

The thing that they may have in common, we argue, is that they are (at least facially) policies in pursuit of gender equality proposed and implemented in a policy space that has a vested interest in not actually achieving gender equality. Perhaps in other contexts, one would be puzzled when the powerful (here, the cis-hetero-[white]-masculine 'establishment' in social, political, and economic worlds) cede power to the less powerful (here, women and other sex and gender minorities), the focus around gender equality policies, when they have been focused on at all, is *not* around why they were adopted but instead why they do not (completely) work to dismantle gender inequalities. We suggest that asking the first question helps to answer the second. We argue that gender equality norms are not replacing masculine gender orders in social, legal, or political structures. Instead, gender equality laws can be used support, rather than transgress, those structures. This makes them inherently limited (rather than slow-going or difficult), and possibly counterproductive.

Gender equality law as potentially inherently limited

This would mean that there are inherent limitations in gender equality law: among laws that seek gender equality are also laws that instrumentalize it or even appear to seek it while they are meant to hinder it. This argument relies on two premises: that social and political structures are gender unequal, and that people interested in maintaining those structures do so at least in part by permitting (and then subverting) incremental change to buffer against radical change. Incremental change 'towards' gender equality, then, might not be a step on the path to achieving gender equality, but instead a key part of the armor gender subordination's. This would mean that incremental change *may or may not* be beneficial after all. Gender equality laws may be *for* gender equality, then, or they may be *against* it – we argue that this dichotomy is much more difficult to sort than it might appear.

We are not the first to make the argument that gender hierarchy is structural, or ordering, in social and political life around the world (Connell, 2017). It is, in fact, the simplest explanation for the degree and universality of women's disadvantage compared to men. If gender hierarchy were incidental, we would expect to see it absent from some places and present in others. Instead, if it is an order (Acker, 1990; Hoskin, 2020), though it varies, it is near-universally present. Gender-hierarchical orders are built on the association between women and femininity, and the devaluation of femininity (Acker, 1990). Association with gender and gender-based values plays a significant role in positioning people, states, and organizations, locally and globally (Cohen & Karim, 2022; Shepherd, 2009). Feminist research has shown both that gender as a power dynamic matters in constructing global political orders, and that people invested in status quo global political orders use gender to entrench and preserve them (Shepherd, 2008b; Sjöberg, 2017).

This argument, however, has implications beyond realizing that gender is impactful in social and legal structures. It means that political activism for gender equality is working against powerful and stable

structures of gender subordination supported by people invested in maintaining them. Rephrased: there are those who oppose the goal of gender equality, and they are not only the people and institutions explicitly involved in anti-gender backlash movements. Instead, they *include* people who advocate for, make, and even implement laws that appear to favor gender equality.

Critical race theorists are familiar with this problem – they have identified a number of different scenarios in which those who would preserve race-subordinating structures use the appearance of incremental change to prevent revolutionary change (Bell, 2004). Derrick Bell (2004) argues that those who have a vested interest in white supremacist political orders will support policies that appear to help ethnic minorities until and only until those policies pacify rebellion against the (intact) white supremacist orders.

While it is difficult to understand conceptually that the powerful appear to cede power in order to keep it, Bell (2004) supports his argument with empirical examples from United States race relations history, including affirmative action policies, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Hayes-Tilden compromise. These examples, Bell argues, provide the appearance of a victory for minorities while making it possible to maintain orders of white supremacy. He explains that the "unassertive and finally failed implementation" of policies which appear to serve black emancipation "were in tune with, rather than a departure from, this history" (Bell, 2004, 197).

Thinking about laws related to gender equality in these terms might be fruitful. Governments and international organizations may adopt gender equality laws without a real interest in seeking gender equality. In parallel to Bell's argument, gender equality laws may be made and/or (partially) enforced in service of existing, gendered orders in social, political, and economic life. These laws may help (some) women and gender minorities, but often in limited ways which also serve maintaining overall gender inequality. This has implications not only for feminist critiques of law, but also for critiques of states, governments, international organizations, and security assemblages.

This means that we should at the very least question the idea that progress is being made towards gender equality *at all*, and we should aim to supplement existing progress with more of the same. Instead, many of the problems with if, and how, gender equality law is enforced *may* tell us important things about the complexity of its roots and the limits of its effectiveness. Laws that look like they serve gender equality do not necessarily – they could also be working against it.

Montenegrin gender equality law and the preservation of gender subordination

The law on pension and disability insurance as applied to the judiciary

In early 2021, the Government of Montenegro evaluated the constitutionality of the Law on Pension and Disability Insurance, asserting that "the constitutionality of this Law cannot be called into question" given that it worked to advantage women vis a vis men (Constitutional Court of Montenegro, 2021). The government went on to explain in significant detail:

Prescribing a lower age limit for exercising the right to an old-age pension for women compared to men represents a measure of positive discrimination aimed at protecting women due to their biological functions (primarily motherhood), whereby insured women decide for themselves whether to use this right (Constitutional Court of Montenegro, 2021).

In other words, because motherhood might make women's work lives harder, women could be 'repaid' with the potential for early retirement if they so chose. This suggests that the law, as written and interpreted by the court, then, advantages women to redress gender-based disadvantage. Later in 2021, however, this law was used as the justification for forcing women out of their judiciary positions to restack

courts – taking away the purported advantage that the court saw as the only possible outcome of the law. The court decision, which emphasizes a choice that does not seem to be textually clear in the law, failed to recognize that the law could be operationalized and used towards different (and indeed contradictory) ends.

In fact, in other career paths, the ‘option’ to retire might have indeed been optional, but in the judiciary, other layers of legal and habitual frameworks combined with the law in ways that were fully predictable, and had the effect of turning (purported) positive discrimination into negative discrimination. This is because there is another constitutional norm that the function of a judge ends *not* when they elect to retire but when they become eligible to retire. Rather than *allowing* some women judges to retire at 64, then, and forcing *all* judges to retire at 66, the implementation of the law with this paired norm forced women judges to retire at 64 while allowing men judges to continue to serve until they were 66.

This is a dimension that the Constitutional Court has since recognized in their October 2023 decision repealing the relevant paragraph of the Law on Pension and Disability, characterizing it as violating “the constitutional principles on the prohibition of discrimination, equality of all before the law, and gender equality” (Constitutional Court of Montenegro, 2021). The majority opinion argued that “prescribing a lower age limit for exercising the right to an old-age pension for women when compared to men ... does not represent a measure of positive discrimination for women in order to protect women due to their biological functions” (Human Rights Action, 2023). The court offers two justifications: that the law does not address an issue that is “aimed at preventing or compensating for deficiencies in the professional life of women” (in other words, that it is not aimed to counter an existing axis of discrimination) and that it does not result in “the improvement of the position of women in their professional life” (in other words, it does not help women) (Human Rights Action, 2023).

Rather than helping women, the Montenegrin Law on Pension and Disability Insurance as implemented discriminated *against* women for what most assume is the political purpose of getting judges appointed by previous administrations off the bench quicker. The policy worked, then, to entrench gender discrimination doubly: decreasing the representation of women on the bench, and decreasing the proportion of judges who might be interested in women’s representation, women’s rights, or women’s issues. Both of these are first-order, rather than second-order, consequences. That said, the (largely newly appointed) Constitutional Court *could have* elected to untangle the provisions that women *could* retire earlier and that eligibility to retire from the judiciary forces retirement differently than it did, as the minority opinion in the case overturning this law suggested (Human Rights Action, 2023). According to the minority opinion, the law *could* be one of “possibility” for pension withdraw rather than mandate, such that it “represents positive discrimination” so long as women are not forced to take their retirement earlier than men (Human Rights Action, 2023). The majority opinion decided that the law in total would be held unconstitutional rather than holding its enforcement to its textual optionality, making the least gender-emancipatory choice available to it when adjudicating over a law in theory meant to promote gender equality. Local NGO Human Rights Action echoes this view, suggesting that it “was not necessary to make such a decision” because “the problem of discriminatory forcing of female judges and state prosecutors at the age of 64 could have been solved another way” (Human Rights Action, 2023).

Striking down the law, then, we argue, can be seen as *consistent* with its implementation rather than at odds with it. Evidence for that understanding can be found in the Constitutional Court’s treatment of the Plaintiff’s requests for relief for their own forced retirement below the age of 66 (Human Rights Action 2023). So, to reiterate clearly: the Law was implemented, women judges were forced to retire, the law was repealed, and the women judges who had been forced to retire were not given the option of returning to their positions. In the end, there were less women members of the judiciary, and a judiciary less favorably

disposed towards women’s rights, at the end of this sequenced-emancipation where a Law was first implemented and then repealed ostensibly in the interest of women.

This could be seen as just a mess – a poorly planned policy executed counter to the intent of its originators, and, with its repeal, a part of the slow and incremental process of going towards, and potentially even achieving, gender equality. Certainly, that view of this law, and of many other part-victories for gender equality law, cannot be clearly and entirely *disproven*. We suggest, however, that there are many good reasons to look at this Law through the theoretical framework that we have proposed instead. Three reasons to do so come to the fore of our analysis. First, accounts of legal processes that cast the widest net over events are preferable to ones that can only account for smaller parts of those processes. Our argument sees gender equality law as sometimes complicit in vested interest in maintaining masculine supremacy accounts for the passage, manner of enforcement, repeal, and manner of repeal of the Law, while other accounts can only account for one or two of those factors. Second, the assumption that, in this situation and many others like it in a wide variety of contexts, gender-subordinating impacts of (apparently) gender-emancipatory laws and policies are always and consistently incidental is way too large a coincidence. As refers to this Law, it is possible to account for each step in the process as motivated by a combination of interest in the actors’ political ends more broadly and interest in the maintenance of masculine supremacy specifically. The counter-‘productive’ results of this policy do not look like, do not read like, are not talked about like, do not function like, and do not proceed like they are accidents of poor policymakers or failures of design or implementation. Instead, at each step, the accidents and failures are neat, and look intentional – suggesting that our theoretical account may be better-suited to understanding its arc than traditional accounts of (stalled) progress towards gender equality. Third, pairing political trajectories and legal trajectories adds heft to this argument. While we suggest that it has always applied across the political orientation of ruling regimes, the inherent limits on gender equality laws and policies have become much more openly visible in the age of backsliding on (democratic and) gender emancipatory principles by populist regimes invested in orders seen to be of the past (Agius et al., 2021; Kourou, 2020). Rather than see *this* law as a poorly planned and poorly executed attempt at incremental change towards gender equality, there is a strong argument to be had that its genesis, implementation, and ultimate repeal were constrained by limits on gender equality law more broadly.

The law on the election of councilors and members of parliament

In the aftermath of the 2011 passing of the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament with a gender quota for candidates, Vjesti (2012a) published a report of a marketing survey that suggested that “the vast majority of the population supports the assertion that women have no place in politics, but in the home.” Some described the introduction of the quota for women on electoral lists as a possible way to contravene this trend, noting that in 2011 “the participation of women in decision-making in Montenegro is among the lowest in Europe, and Montenegro is the only country in the region without quotas for women” (Pavićević, 2011b). A member of the Podgorica parliament at the time, Branka Bosnjak, characterized the introduction of the quota as “a small step forward” (Vjesti, 2012b). Others, from local newspapers to international organizations, celebrated (and continue to celebrate) the quota as a significant commitment to and step towards gender equality (e.g., Pejović and Đurićević (2016); and Equal Future (2024).

There is an extensive literature on whether and how gender quotas for elected office ‘work’ – and we are not interested in weighing in on this overall debate in this article (e.g., Fernandes et al., 2023; Krook, 2006; Krook et al., 2009; Paxton & Hughes, 2015). Instead, we are interested in looking at this particular quota in the context of other Montenegrin gender equality law, and suggesting that its role in *local*

trends in gender equality law may tell us something about intended practices around gender equality. To do so, we look both at textual 'outs' in the law and at practices surrounding it since its passage.

First, we point out, with others, that there are structural problems with Article 39a of the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament. Ipsos Strategic Marketing, European Union, Government of Montenegro Ministry of Justice, and United Nations Development Programme (2012) described the vagueness of the provision as problematic:

Taking into consideration the provision that the nominator of electoral list still decides on the order of the candidates, it seems that the provision of Law binding political parties and coalitions to nominate at least 30 % of the candidates of the under-represented gender, does not offer sufficient guarantee that after the elections the Parliament and local governments will include at least approximately equal percentage of councilors and representatives of female gender. What the electoral legislation lacks are certain requirements referring to the order of candidates on the lists which would make the option of having a higher percentage of women in the Parliament more likely.

Candidate quotas function differently than quotas reserving seats for women candidates, where candidate quotas focus on parity of access to the possibility of being elected while reserved seats focus on women being in government whether they would have been directly elected or not (Wäckerle, 2022). Among candidate quotas, different levels of specificity exist, related to how parties include women and where on electoral lists women are (Vandeleene, 2014). Among these, Montenegro's quota is low on specificity in terms of where women are placed on electoral lists and what resources parties must offer them. Scholars and practitioners alike have noted that this lack of specificity places a strong barrier to the quota's potential successes in placing women in places of power in Montenegrin electoral governance (Pavićević, 2011a; Vojvodić, 2023).

These structural limitations in the text of the quota law are accompanied by implementation choices that appear to show insincerity among implementers. These include failure to enforce the text of the quota, circumvention of the quota, and active harm done to women candidates. We will discuss each of these briefly. First, the text of the quota requiring a woman to be present in every four candidates on electoral lists and women to compose at least 30 % of members of a party's list has been left unenforced in a number of situations (CeMI, 2019). Though the law is clear that inadequate lists should be rejected and leaves no possibility for approving lists that fall short of the quota, such lists have been approved several times during the quota period, in contravention of the text of the law. Rarely have there been justifications given for these extralegal list approvals – instead, they have largely happened quietly while times that the quota has been enforced have sought, and received, significant public attention (Vijesti, 2023a). While 'progress' towards gender equality is publicly touted, it is often matched with much more private but as meaningful regress.

Second, gender quotas for women on candidate lists have been actively circumvented. This was a concern expressed by early detractors of the quota law which seems in hindsight to have been a justified worry. In reaction to the passing of the quota, Maja Raicevic characterized it as a missed opportunity, where "the state of Montenegro missed the chance to, in accordance with European practice, make significant progress when it comes to greater representation of women in decision-making positions" (Pavićević, 2011a). The coordinator of the NGO Amina, Ljupka Kovacevic, is quoted as discussing a risk of "circumvention of quotas" as "discrimination against women" even in the midst of "the supposed democratic practices" that those quotas represent (Pavićević, 2011a). Over the years, circumvention has taken various forms: the combination of ethnic and gender representation to decrease overall diversity on lists (Tadić et al., 2018), manipulating list position (Rashkova & Zankina, 2017), failing to finance women's campaigns (European Commission, 2022), and political party manipulation of lists to comply with the law technically while minimizing the chances of women's

actual election (Vijesti, 2023b). These circumventions are well-documented, and frequently blamed for the failure of the quota process to achieve women's representation in government at the 30 % level, or to produce a female state leader (Limani, 2023; Vojvodić, 2023).

Third, active harm is being done to women candidates in Montenegro at higher levels than previous to the quota. As we discussed above, violence against women in politics in Montenegro is increasing, rather than decreasing (OSCE, 2022; United Nations Montenegro, 2019). A 2023 report details the political differences of woman MPs Vesna Bratic and Draganja Vuksanovic-Stankovic, who sit on opposite sides of the contentious political spectrum, yet explains that:

...as women in politics, they have one thing in common: both are victims of online and offline abuse and discrimination on a daily basis because of their gender, a phenomenon that experts in Montenegro say is only getting worse After taking office, Bratic was subjected to a campaign of online abuse ... [and] was assigned 24-hour police protection after a man was arrested two months earlier for endangering her safety. ... Vuksanovic-Stankovic, meanwhile, ... has experienced sexism, discrimination, and abuse inside as well as outside parliament In February, police began providing security at her home (Vucinic, 2022).

In other words, the increases of violence against women in parliament are not limited to one side of the political spectrum or one sort of candidate: they are near-universal to women who run for office and women who serve as elected officials. Rather than decreasing the risk to women who run for office, it seems that the post-2011 increases in women's representation have actually *increased* the likelihood that women who participate in politics will meet a violent response.

Each of these issues on their own can be isolated, and explained without larger sinister intent. Laws are unintentionally under-specified all the time, with often-devastating results for their implementation and often-opportunistic responses from those who would have opposed the law anyway. Many laws in many contexts have opponents who find creative ways to circumvent those laws, even when they are well-crafted. And violence against women in politics is a universal problem – certainly not the fault of the gender quotas in Montenegro. It can be accounted for by gender backlash politics globally (Khan et al., 2023; Piscopo & Walsh, 2020), by increases in overall electoral fracture being correlated with overall increases in electoral violence (Krook, 2022), or by simple misogyny (Esposito & Zollo, 2021; Krook & Sanín, 2020). Still, all three of these together, paired with the gender-backsliding inherent in the enforcement of the Law on Pensions in Montenegro, could be accounted for *individually* by different forces coming together coincidentally, or they could be accounted for collectively – our suggestion in this text.

Collectively, the way to account for the coexistence of clear, open laws that either claim to be prioritizing women over men or seeking women's equality and poor and/or counterproductive approaches to enforcement of those laws is that those two things are not opposites, but instead complementary. Their complementarity lies in the work that they do *together* to preserve gender-subordinating order. While we no longer live in a world where women will accept *explicit* discrimination and exclusion, discrimination and exclusion can still be achieved in relatively undisturbed ways by combining claims to seek gender equality with lax and/or counterproductive enforcement mechanisms. In this, the Law on Pension and Disability and the Law on the Election of Councilors and Parliamentarians in Montenegro could be emblematic of trends similar to those critical race theorists identified decades ago, where gender equality will be worked towards only to the extent that the work done actually undermines unsettling of existing gender orders.

Conclusion

We suggest that the current assumption that domestic and international law are on a positive trajectory towards gender equality, a goal

which will be achieved by continuing and building on existing progress, may be erroneous. Instead, laws that appear to bring about incremental change may be instrumental or even counterproductive. In our alternative view, the effectiveness of gender equality laws may well be capped by the making and enforcement of these laws in the interest of maintaining gender inequality. In this view, some indicators of gender equality may improve, but gender equality will not and cannot be achieved within existing structures. Incremental changes may *maintain* rather than *deconstruct* gender subordination.

We support the argument that feminist academics, feminist lawyers, and feminist activists make that gender subordination continues, and is a real moral and practical problem. Where we worry about many of their arguments is in the next step that many of them take: looking at the status quo as progress and looking to further it for more progress. While we like the idea that activism and social movements make things better, we are concerned that the apparently progress towards gender equality may be complicit with maintaining gender subordination. We are concerned that it is activism and social movements create a need for those interested in maintaining gender subordination to try to maintain it through piecemeal concessions, and those piecemeal concessions diffuse demands for meaningful change.

We are *not* arguing that those who advocate for gender equality policies from a feminist perspective are intentionally working against gender equality, or that all in government are doing so. Instead, we are arguing that different people in local, state, and global politics have different motivations – and that there are those in places of power who have a vested interest in maintaining gender subordination, and that they *may* use *apparently* gender-friendly policies as one of the tools in their arsenal to accomplish those goals.

Montenegrin gender equality law might just be a case in point for these broad implications. If our analysis is correct and the law was built up, used to purge the courts of women judges, and then struck down *not* by those who disagree about key issues of gender subordination and the structure of the judiciary but instead by those who agree and are seeking similar ends, then seeking gender equality *from inside* loses its credibility as a strategy. Even if one does not worry about concerns about co-optation and adopting system-friendly gendered language and approaches that worried feminists of the 1980s and 1990s, one would be right to be alarmed by the fact that one can 'pursue' gender equality as a ruse to perpetuate and cover up gender subordination. The women judges in Montenegro, then, were not one court decision away from being able to remedy their (gender- and politics-biased) firings – they were, instead, one set of experiences closer to seeing the houses of mirrors inside (and endemic to) (potentially inherently limited) 'gender equality law.' Similarly, women in seeking elected office in Montenegro are not on a positive trajectory towards (eventual) equality – they are positioned in the firing line of violence against them, and that positioning is not incidental.

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Laura Sjöberg: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Methodology, Investigation, Conceptualization. **Milena Ćimić Remiković:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Methodology, Investigation, Conceptualization.

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RADNO ISKUSTVO

Februar 2024 -

Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Diplomatsko zvanje: III sekretarka

Generalni direktorat za međunarodno pravne poslove: praćenje razvoja međunarodnog prava i njegovih instituta; praćenje i analiziranje međunarodno-pravnog položaja i obaveza Crne Gore u međunarodnim odnosima, opštih i posebnih pitanja međunarodnog prava od značaja za Crnu Goru i službu vanjskih poslova; praćenje međunarodno-pravnih aspekata sukcesije (bivše SFRJ u pogledu međunarodnih ugovora i imovine); praćenje međunarodno-pravnih aspekata osnivanja, razvoja i djelovanja međunarodnih sudova (kao što su Međunarodni krivični sud UN-a, Međunarodni krivični sud za područje bivše Jugoslavije UN-a, Međunarodni sud pravde UN-a, Evropski sud pravde, Evropski sud za ljudska prava SE, i dr.); praćenje i usmjeravanje procesa stupanja Crne Gore u međunarodne ugovorne odnose; praćenje međunarodno-pravnih aspekata odnosa Crne Gore i EU; organizovanje, a po potrebi i vođenje pregovora za zaključivanje međunarodnih ugovora; pravno-tehničku redakciju tekstova međunarodnih ugovora, staranje o njihovom potpisivanju, čuvanju i evidenciji; staranje o potvrđivanju, objavljivanju, stupanju na snagu i registraciji međunarodnih ugovora u skladu sa Zakonom o zaključivanju međunarodnih ugovora, priprema stručnih mišljenja.

Pravni fakultet Univerzitet Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Saradnica u nastavi

Angažovana na međunarodno - pravnoj i ustavno - pravnoj katedri: održavanje časova vježbi i konsultacija, učestvovanje u pripremi predavanja, ispitnog materijala i kontrole istog, itd;

Članica savjetodavnog odbora za **UNIGEM** projekat, *University and Gender Mainstreaming*: izrada Plana rodne ravnopravnosti (GAP) i praćenje njegove implementacije, održavanje radionica predavanja i obuka.

Članica tima za ustanovljenje **Studija roda** na Univerzitetu Crne Gore; izrada nastavnog plana i programa i akreditacije novog master akademskog programa. Master akademski program Studije roda akreditovan je u decembru 2024. godine.

Ostalo: naučno-istraživački rad; pisanje projekata; organizacija događaja; vođenje društvenih mreža.

Maj 2024 - Dec 2024

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Nacionalni konsultant za rodnu ravnopravnost

Rad na razvoju prve Nacionalne rodne procjene poljoprivrede i ruralnih sredstava za život (CGA) u Crnoj Gori. CGA je zahtjev u skladu s korporativnim smjericama FAO-a za Okvir programskog partnerstva (CPF) i predstavlja minimalni standard FAO-ove Politike rodne ravnopravnosti za period 2020-2030. CGA je alat za prikupljanje znanja koji identifikuje rodne razlike u poljoprivredi, ruralnom razvoju i sigurnosti hrane, s ciljem pružanja dokaza za formulaciju i sprovođenje nacionalnih politika u oblasti poljoprivrede i ruralnog razvoja.

Novembar 2023 -

Women for Cyber Montenegro, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Savjetnica za rodnu ravnopravnost

Sprovođenje i praćenje integracije rodno osjetljivih programskih elemenata u skladu sa najboljim

Maj 2023 –	MAAT Studentska Asocijacija Savjetnica za akademski departman i rodnu ravnopravnost Sprovođenje i praćenje rodne integracije i osnaživanja žena u svim aktivnostima, projektima i programima unutar organizacije, kao i staranje o saradnji organizacije sa akademskom zajednicom. Izrada i sprovođenje projekta “Mi! Generacija istine, saradnje i saosjećanja!” koji finansira Evropska unija u okviru projekta “Podrška Evropske unije izgradnji povjerenja na Zapadnom Balkanu” u saradnji sa UNDP Srbije; poseban doprinos projektu je uvođenje dodatne perspektive u položaju žena na Zapadnom Balkanu u smislu rodne perspektive konflikta i postkonfliktnog perioda.
Oktober 2016 – Novembar 2021	Advokat Danilo Aćimić, Podgorica (Crna Gora) Advokatski pripravnik. Administrativne dužnosti, sastavljanje ugovora, proučavanje zakonskih akata, razmatranje sudskih presuda i prisustvo na sastancima sa klijentima advokatske kancelarije, prisustvovanje sudskim ročištima, konsultacijama itd.
April 2019 – Novembar 2021	Fakultet za državne i evropske studije, Podgorica (Crna Gora) Saradnik u nastavi. Održavanje časova vježbi i konsultacija, učestvovanje u pripremi predavanja, ispitnog materijala i kontrole istog, nadgledanje rada učenika, pružanje savjeta o vještinama učenja i pomoć u rješavanju problema u učenju.
Septembar 2015 – Oktobar 2016	Advokat Dragoljub Šćepanović- program stručnog osposobljavanja Vlade Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora) Administrativne dužnosti.
April 2015 - Jun 2015	Generalni sekretarijat Vlade Crne Gore, Sektor za poslove Vlade- studentska praksa, Podgorica (Crna Gora) Prijem, priprema i izrada materijala (predlozi i nacrti akata, izvještaji) za sjednicu Vlade Crne Gore.

OBRAZOVANJE

Okt 2020 - Okt 2025	Doktor pravnih nauka Pravni fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora) Smjer: Međunarodno pravo. Doktorska disertacija: <u>“Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi”</u> , mentor: prof. dr Laura Sjöberg, Exeter College, University of Oxford.
Studijska 2023/2024 Novembar - Decembar 2023	Doktorski istraživač St. Hilda's College, University of Oxford Doktorsko istraživanje iz oblasti ljudskih prava i rodne ravnopravnosti Suprevizor: prof. dr Barbara Havelkova
Studijska 2022/2023 Februar - Maj 2023	Doktorski istraživač Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (Austria) Doktorsko istraživanje iz oblasti ljudskih prava i rodne ravnopravnosti Supervizor: prof. dr Florian Bieber
Studijska 2021/2022 Januar - Jul 2022	Doktorski istraživač Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham (United Kingdom) Doktorsko istraživanje iz oblasti ljudskih prava i rodne ravnopravnosti Supervizor: prof. dr Laura Sjöberg

Sept 2018 – Oct 2020

Magistar pravnih nauka

Pravni fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Smjer: Međunarodno pravo. Predmeti interesovanja: Međunarodno javno pravo, Međunarodni sistem zaštite ljudskih prava, Evropski sistem zaštite ljudskih prava, Implementacija ljudskih prava.

Prosjeck 10,00; Magistrirala na temu "Međunarodno - pravni standardi o nasilju u porodici i njihova primjena u Crnoj Gori" sa ocjenom **10**, **mentor prof. dr. Nebojša Vučinić.**

Sept 2017 – Jun 2018

Specijalista pravnih nauka

Pravni fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Smjer: Pravosudni. Predmet užeg interesovanja: Posredovanje

Prosjeck 10,00; Specijalizirala na temu "Posredovanje u Crnoj Gori" sa ocjenom **10**.

Sep 2013 – Avg 2017

Bečelor pravnih nauka

Pravni fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Prosjeck 9,33.
Srednja ocjena tokom četvorogodišnjih studija 9,50 (A).

Sep 2015 – Nov 2016

Specijalista državnih studija

Fakultet za državne i evropske studije- FDES, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Predmet užeg interesovanja: Ustavno pravo

Prosjeck 10,00; Specijalizirala na temu "Položaj predsjednika Crne Gore" sa ocjenom **10**.

Predmeti interesovanja: Ustavno pravo, Međunarodno pravo i Ljudska prava.

Sep 2012 – Sep 2015

Bečelor državnih i evropskih studija

Fakultet za državne i evropske studije- FDES, Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Predmet užeg interesovanja: Ustavno pravo

Prosjeck 10,00; Diplomirala na temu "Položaj Sudskog savjeta Crne Gore" sa ocjenom **10**.

Srednja ocjena tokom četvorogodišnjih studija 10,00 (A).

Avg 2011 – May 2012

Waynesboro High School, Waynesboro (United States)

Odličan učenik

Sep 2008 – Jun 2011

Gimnazija "Petar I Petrović Njegoš", Danilovgrad (Crna Gora)

Odličan učenik

Sep 2002 – Jun 2008

Muzička škola "Andre Navara", Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Odličan učenik

Sep 2000 – Jun 2008

Osnovna škola "Savo Pejanović" Podgorica (Crna Gora)

Odličan učenik

LIČNE VJEŠTINE

Maternji jezik

Crnogorski, srpski, bosanski, hrvatski

Drugi jezici

	RAZUMJEVANJE		GOVOR		PISANJE
	Slušanje	Čitanje	Interakcija	Produkcija	
Engleski	C1	C1	C1	C1	C1
Španski	C1	C1	B1	B1	C1
Italijanski	B1	B1	A2	A2	A1
Turski	A1	A1	A1	A1	A1

Levels: A1 and A2: Basic user - B1 and B2: Independent user - C1 and C2: Proficient user
Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

Vozač dozvola	A, B.
Digitalne vještine i kompetencije	Poznavanje rada na računaru: Microsoft Office Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Adobe Photoshop, Corel Draw, Ubuntu Linux, Društvene mreže, brzo kucanje itd.
Ostalo	Položen stručni ispit za rad u državnim organima

DODATNE INFORMACIJE

Nagrade i stipendije

- Stipendija Univerziteta Crne Gore za doktorsko istraživanje na St. Hildas College University of Oxford, UK (novembar - decembar 2023);
- Go Styria Scholarship: doktorsko istraživanje na Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria (februar - maj 2023);
- British Scholarship Trust: doktorsko istraživanje na Royal Holloway, University of London (januar - jul 2022);
- Dobitnica nagrade "19. DECEMBAR";
- Dobitnica "ATLAS STIPENDIJE";
- Stipendista Ministarstva prosvjete Crne Gore svake studijske godine i kao student Pravnog fakulteta i kao student Fakulteta za državne i evropske studije;
- Najbolji student generacije 2012 Fakulteta za državne i evropske studije;
- Dobitnica LUČA B.

Kursevi i škole

- Training in Norms International Law & Cyberspace, UNIDIR, Palace of Nations, Geneva;
- Prolječna škola Pilot Master Law and Gender, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu;
- Ljetnja škola "Equality and Diversity in European Legal Education", Europa- Institut, Saarland University, Sveučilište u Splitu Pravni fakultet;
- "Škola retorike" na Fakultetu za državne i evropske studije;
- "Škola liderstva" na Fakultetu za državne i evropske studije;
- Pohađala ECDL kurseve;
- Pohađala obuke- EU fondovi i pisanje projekata, Fakultet za državne i evropske studije;
- Pohađala module obuke pripravnika u Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova (Sistem državne uprave i službenički sistem, Upravni postupak, Inspekcijski nadzor);
- Završila kurs "Uvod u Evropsku konvenciju o ljudskim pravima i Evropski sud za ljudska prava" Savjeta Evrope;
- Završila kurs "Nasilje prema ženama i nasilje u porodici" Savjeta Evrope;
- Završila Školu kršenja patrijarhata Centra za ženska prava.

Seminari

- Učešće na seminaru "Evroatlantizam- sigurna luka" u organizaciji Koordinacionog tima Savjeta za NATO i Humanističkih studija UDG-a;
- Učešće na seminaru "Evropske i evroatlanske integracije" u organizaciji CEDEM-a i njemačke fondacije Konrad Adenauer.

Naučne konferencije

- International Scientific ECO Conference 2020, Novi Sad, Srbija;
- International Scientific Conference "Integrating the Western Balkans into the European Union's Internal Market- Challenges and Prospects", 2022, Podgorica, Crna Gora;
- International Scientific Conference on the occasion of the day of the Faculty of Law "Law between creation and interpretation" University of East Sarajevo, 2022;
- International Scientific Conference World Women Congress, Ankara, Turkey, 2023;
- International Scientific Conference on Human Rights and Gender Justice, New Delhi, India, 2023;
- International Conference: "Montenegro's New Platform for the European Union: 2024 - 2034 - Responsible, Digitalized, and Green, Faculty of Law, University of Montenegro, 2024.

Učešće u projektima

- UNIGEM (University and Gender Mainstreaming) na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore;
- MI! Generacija mira, saradnje i saosjećanja! Projekat "Podrška Evropske unije izgradnji povjerenja na Zapadnom Balkanu" u MAAT Studentkoj Asocijaciji.

Drugo

- Youth rights defender/ Braniteljka ljudskih prava mladih ljudi
- Član Studentskog vijeća Fakulteta za državne i evropske studije (2012/2013godine)-predstavnik I godine;

Curriculum vitae

- Predsjednik Studentskog parlamenta Fakulteta za državne i evropske studije (2014/2015godine);
- Član projektnog tima OPET FEST-a na Fakultetu za državne i evropske studije;
- Student saradnik (demonstrator) na predmetu Pravo Evropske unije na Fakultetu za državne i evropske studije;
- Član kluba govornika Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta Crne Gore;
- Član kluba za časopis Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta Crne Gore;
- Član "Alumni kluba retoričara".

Volonterski rad

- Humanitarna organizacija "ADRA";
- "Klub zdravlja"- Podgorica;
- Udruženje "Roditelji";
- VIŠE OD ŽIVOTA Centar za edukaciju i cjeloviti razvoj;
- ENAD;
- Udruženje za pomoć oboljelima od reumatskih bolesti/Association for helping patients with rheumatic diseases.

Bibliografija iz uže oblasti naučnog interesovanja

Milena Aćimić Remiković, Laura Sjoberg, "Montenegrin gender 'protections' and the limits of gender equality laws", *Women's Studies International Forum* 107, 103011, 2024.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Rodna ravnopravnost i zaštita životne sredine u kontekstu klimatskih promjena: ljudsko pravo i pravna obaveza države?", *Međunarodni naučni skup Nova platforma Crne Gore za Evropsku uniju: 2024 - 2034 - odgovorna, digitalizovana i zelena*, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, 2024.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Corporal punishment of children in Montenegro: between tradition and international standards", *International Scientific Conference on Human Rights and Gender Justice*, New Delhi, India, 2023.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Domestic violence against women with a special reference to Montenegro", World Women Congress, Ankara, Turkey, 2023.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Nasilje u porodici: prekršaj ili krivično djelo?", *International Scientific Conference on the occasion of the day of the Faculty of Law "Law between creation and interpretation" University of East Sarajevo*, 2022, objavljeno u Zbornik radova, 2023.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Gender Mainstreaming on the Montenegrin labor market: challenges and perspectives on the road towards the European Union", *International Scientific Conference "Integrating the Western Balkans into the European Union's Internal Market- Challenges and Prospects"*, 2022, Podgorica, Crna Gora.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Tradicionalna i kulturna tolerancija na nasilje nad ženama: Primjer Crne Gore", *Uprkos strahu i tišini- Univerziteti protiv rodno zasnovanog nasilja*, TPO fondacija, Sarajevo, 2022.

Milena Aćimić Remiković, "Način izbora članova Sudskog savjeta: put ka nezavisnoj i samostalnoj sudskoj vlasti", *Pravni zbornik- Časopis za pravnu teoriju i praksu*, 2-2021, 2021, Podgorica, 2021.

Interesovanja i hobiji

Putovanja, karting, automobilizam, rukomet, stoni tenis, biciklizam, pjevanje, sviranje klavira, slikanje, pisanje, itd.

Lične informacije

Udata. Majka jednog djeteta.

Reference

Reference su dostupne na zahtjev.

Izjava o autorstvu

Potpisana: Milena Aćimić Remiković

Broj indeksa/upisa: 02/2020

IZJAVLJUJEM

da je doktorska direktacija pod nazivom

„Rodna ravnopravnost i jurisprudencija: Korišćenje međunarodnih rodni standarda za ostvarivanje ženskih prava u crnogorskoj legislativi i sudskoj praksi“

- rezultat sopstvenog istraživačkog rada,
- da predložena disertacija ni u cjelini ni u djelovima nije bila predložena za dobijanje bilo koje diplome prema studijskim programima drugih ustanova visokog obrazovanja, da su rezultati korektno navedeni, i
- da nijesam povrijedila autorska i druga prava intelektualne svojine koja pripadaju trećim licima.

U Podgorici, 5. februara 2025. godine

Potpis doktorantkinje



Laura Sjoberg

Exeter College, University of Oxford

Education

- J.D. (Cum Laude), Boston College Law School, 2007
Ph.D. (Distinction), University of Southern California School of International Relations, 2004, with certificate in Gender Studies
B.A. (High Honors) University of Chicago, in Political Science and History, 2001

Educational Qualifications

Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy of the United Kingdom, 2024

Areas of Teaching and Research

- **Politics and International Relations:** feminist/queer international relations; international security; international political theory; international law; international relations theory; just war; political violence; women's violence in global politics; gender in politics; epistemology, methods, and disciplinary sociologies
- **Gender Studies:** feminist theory; queer theory; transnational feminisms; gender in law
- **Law:** international law; gender in the law; international jurisprudence

Current Academic Appointments

- 2024- Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford and Kloppenburg Official Fellow and Lecturer of Politics, and International Relations, Exeter College
- 2024-2025 Visiting Professorships: University of St. Gallen; University of Florida

Previous Academic Appointments

- 2022-2024 Head of Department, Royal Holloway, University of London, Department of Politics, International Relations, and Philosophy
- 2020-2024 British Academy Global Professor of Politics and International Relations, Royal Holloway, University of London, and Director, the Gender Institute
- 2023-2024 Visiting Senior Fellow, International Relations, London School of Economics
- 2022 External Faculty, the Graduate Institute, Geneva (IHEID)
- 2019-2022 Professor, Political Science, University of Florida
- 2020-2021 Research Fellow, Women and Public Policy Program, Harvard University
- 2016-2017 Colonel Allen R. and Margaret G. Crow Term Professor, University of Florida
- 2015-2016 Research Fellow, Women and Public Policy Program, Harvard University
- 2012-2019 Associate Professor, Political Science, University of Florida
- 2009-2012 Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Florida
- 2008-2011 Faculty Affiliate, Women and Public Policy Program, Harvard University
- 2007-2009 Assistant Professor, Political Science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute
- 2008 Visiting Scholar, Institute for Research on Women and Gender, University of Michigan
- 2006-2007 Visiting Assistant Professor, Political Science, Duke University
- 2005-2006 Post-Doctoral Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and Women and Public Policy Program, Harvard University
- 2006 Visiting Assistant Professor, Women's Studies, Merrimack College
- 2005 Lecturer, Politics and Women's Studies, Brandeis University

External Grants

- Research England Strategic Priorities Fund Grant, (with Sarah Childs, Sofia Collignon, Chris Hanretty, and Kaat Smets), "Gender, Elections, and Democracy: Gendering the Vote," 2020 (£25000)
- British Academy Special Research Grant COVID-19 (with Yoav Galai), "Everyday COVID-19 Art 'At Home' and Across Borders: Community, Politics, and Resilience," 2020 (\$11350)
- British Academy Global Professorship, 2019 (£731000)
- International Studies Association Workshop Grant Award (with J. Samuel Barkin, Patrick James, Annette Freyberg-Inan, and Ewan Harrison), *Philosophy and Inquiry in International Relations*, 2014 (\$24432)
- United States State Department Study of the United States (SUSI) (with Stephen Craig), on U. S. Foreign Policy, "Foreign Policy from a Domestic Gaze," 2012 (\$289899)
- United States State Department Study of the United States (SUSI) (with Stephen Craig), on U. S. Foreign Policy, "The United States from the Inside Out," 2011 (\$289222)
- University of Southern California School of International Relations Grant, (with J. Ann Tickner), "Twenty Years of Feminist International Relations," 2010 (\$20000)
- International Studies Association Working Group Grant, "Gender and Security Studies: Theory and Practice," 2010 (\$5000)
- International Studies Association Workshop Grant (with Susan Peterson, editor-in-chief of *Security Studies*), *Security Studies: Feminist Contributions*, 2007 (\$5000)
- International Studies Association Workshop Grant (with Amy Eckert), *Old Solutions to New Problems: Rethinking 21st Century Security*, 2007 (\$5000)
- International Studies Association Travel Grants, 2005, 2006 (\$500)
- International Studies Association-Northeast Travel Grant, 2005 (\$250)

Institutional Grants

- Royal Holloway Reid Research Fund Seed Grant, (with Michelle Bentley, Rosemary Deem, Ruth Hemus, Roberta Mock, Amy Bonsall, and Richard Alston) "Embodied Gender: Contemporary Issues of Gender and Embodiment," (£2600)
- Royal Holloway Reid Research Seed Fund Grant, (with Caterina Nirta and Suki Finn) "Trans/forming Pregnancy: Exploring New Perspectives on Gender and Pregnant Embodiment," (£2700)
- Royal Holloway Reid Research Fund Seed Grant, (with Sarah Childs, Sofia Collignon, and Kaat Smets), "Intersectional Feminist Political Leadership, Political Performance, and Substantive Representation (IFPL)," 2021-2022 (£2500)
- Royal Holloway Humanities and Arts Research Institute Grant, Gender Institute Launch Event, 2020 (£860)
- University of Florida Humanities Enhancement Fund Grant, "Seducing Territory," 2016 (\$11500)
- Online Course Development Grant, University of Florida, Spring 2012 (\$4000)
- University of Florida Humanities Endowment Fund Grant, "Rape Among Women," 2011 (\$10248)
- University Provost's Grant, Virginia Tech, (with Craig Brians), "Simulating Comparative Politics," 2008 (\$5000)
- Office of Academic Assessment Grant, Virginia Tech, "Learning Outcome Assessment for Political Science/International Studies," 2008 (\$4980)
- Institute for Society, Culture, and the Environment Grant, Virginia Tech, 2008 (\$5000)
- Kenan Institute for Ethics Faculty Grant, Duke University, 2006 (\$2000)

Departmental Grants

- University of Florida Department of Political Science Collaborative Research Grant, (with Jessica Peet), "Gendering the Civilian Victimization Debate," 2010 (\$1000)
- University of Florida Preliminary Research Grant, "Theorizing Conflict Processes through Gendered Lenses," 2010 (\$11000)
- Departmental Research Grant, Duke University Political Science, 2006-2007 (\$2000)

Prizes, Awards, and Fellowships

- University-Level Athena Swan Silver Award (Application and Assessment Lead), 2024
- Susan Strange Award, International Studies Association, 2020
- Ole R. Holsti Distinguished Scholar Award, International Studies Association-West, 2018
- University of Florida Term Professorship, 2016-19 (\$15000)
- Colonel Allen R. & Margaret G. Crow Term Professorship, University of Florida, 2016-17 (\$6000)
- J. Ann Tickner Book Prize, 2016
- Excellence Award for Assistant Professors, University of Florida, 2012 (\$5000)
- Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section of the International Studies Association Distinguished Service Award, 2009
- Women and Politics Research Section, American Political Science Association Best Paper Award, 2006
- Boston College Law School Merit Scholarship, 2004-2007 (\$10000)
- University of Southern California, University Best Dissertation, 2004 (\$1000)
- University of Southern California Dissertation Fellowship, Summer 2004 (\$10000)
- University of California at Santa Barbara Center for the Study of Sexuality in the Military Research Fellowship, 2003-2004 (\$1000)
- Graduate Student Best Paper Award, ISA-West, 2002 (\$500)
- University of Southern California Pre-dissertation Fellowship, 2002 (\$3000)
- Bannerman Foundation Fellow in International Relations, 2001-2002 (\$15000)
- University of Southern California Graduate Fellowship, 2001-2004 (\$30000)

Authored Books

- Sjoberg, Laura. Under Contract. *Sexual Relations as International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press (August 2024 delivery date)
- Sjoberg, Laura and Jessica Peet. 2019. *Gender and Civilian Victimization in War*. London: Routledge.
- Barkin, J. Samuel and Laura Sjoberg. 2019. *International Relations' Last Synthesis: Decoupling Constructivist and Critical Approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2016. *Women as Wartime Rapists: Beyond Sensation and Stereotyping*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gentry, Caron and Laura Sjoberg. 2015. *Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*. London: Zed Books and Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2014. *Gender, War, and Conflict*. London: Polity.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Winner, 2016 J. Ann Tickner book prize
- Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry. 2007. *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*. London: Zed Books.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2006. *Gender, Justice, and Wars in Iraq*. New York: Lexington Books.

Edited Books

- Gentry, Caron; Laura Shepherd; and Laura Sjoberg, eds. 2018. *Handbook on Gender and Security*. London: Routledge.
- Barkin, J. Samuel and Laura Sjoberg, eds. 2017. *Interpretive Quantification*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sjoberg, Laura, ed. 2017. *Gender and Crisis in Global Politics*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry, eds. 2011. *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Tickner, J. Ann and Laura Sjoberg, eds. 2011. *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present, and Future*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Sandra Via, eds. 2010. *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International.
- Sjoberg, Laura, ed. 2010. *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Eckert, Amy and Laura Sjoberg, eds. 2009. *Rethinking the 21st Century: 'New' Problems, 'Old' Solutions*. London: Zed Books.

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- Sjoberg, Laura. Forthcoming. "Feminist Security Studies and Thinking Security Otherwise." *Security Studies*.
- Aćimić Remiković, Milena and Laura Sjoberg. 2024. "Montenegrin Gender 'Protections' and the Limits of Gender Equality Law." *Women's Studies International Forum* 107: 103011. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2024.103011>.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2024. "Violences in/of Critical Terrorism Studies." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2024.2384148>.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2023. "Knock It Down? Unmaking, Deconstruction, and Deconstruction as/in Politics Research," *Global Studies Quarterly* 3(4): 1-12.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Cameron G. Thies. 2023. "Gender and International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 26: 451-467.
- Barkin, J. Samuel and Laura Sjoberg. 2021. "The Queer Art of Failed IR?" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 45(4): 167-183.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2020. "Quantum Ambivalence," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 49(1): 126-139.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2019. "Failure and Critique in Critical Security Studies," *Security Dialogue* 50(1): 77-94.
- Kinsella, Helen and Laura Sjoberg. 2018. "Family Values? Sexism and Heteronormativity in Feminist Evolutionary Analytic (FEA) Research," *Review of International Studies* 45(2): 260-279.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2018. "War Families and the Iraq Wars," *Hawwa: Journal of Women in the Middle East and Islamic World*. 16(1-3): 236-265.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2018. "Jihadi Brides and Female Volunteers: Reading the Islamic State's War to See Gender and Agency in Conflict Dynamics," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35(3): 296-311.
- Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron G. Thies. 2018. "Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter's Dichotomies Toward Effective Synergies," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(4): 848-870.

- Sjoberg, Laura. 2017. "Invisible Structures of Anarchy: Gender, Orders, and Global Politics," *Journal of International Political Theory* 13(3): 325-340.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2016. "What, and Where, Is Feminist Security Studies?" *Journal of Regional Security* 11(2): 143-161.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry. 2016. "It's Complicated: Looking Closely at Women in Violent Extremism," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 27(2): 23-30.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2016. "Trans* America," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 45(1): 91-97.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2016. "Witnessing the Protection Racket: Rethinking Justice in/of Wars through Gendered Lenses," *International Politics*, 53(3): 361-384.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2016. "Centering Security Studies Around Felt, Gendered Insecurities," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1(1): 51-63.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2015. "The Terror of Everyday Counterterrorism," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 8(3): 383-400.
Runner-up for Critical Studies on Terrorism Best Article Prize, 2016
- Sjoberg, Laura and Whooley, Jonathon. 2015. "The Arab Spring for Women? Representations of Women in Middle East Politics in 2011," *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy* 36(3): 261-284.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2015. "Seeing Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in International Security," *International Journal* 70(3): 434-453.
- J. Samuel Barkin and Laura Sjoberg. 2015. "Calculating Critique: Seeing Outside the Methods Matching Game," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43(3): 852-871.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2015. "(S)he Shall Not Be Moved: Gender, Bodies, and Travel Rights in the Post 9/11 Era," *Security Journal* 28(2): 198-215.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2015. "Intimacy, Warfare, and Gender Hierarchy," *Political Geography* 44: 74-76.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2014. "The Politics of Location and the Location of Politics: Thinking about Feminist Security Studies," *International Studies Perspectives* 15(4): 566-569.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2014. "Gender/Violence in a Gendered/Violent World," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 42(2): 532-542.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2014. "Queering the 'Territorial Peace'? Queer Theory Conversing with Mainstream International Relations," *International Studies Review* 16(4): 608-612.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. "The Terror of Sex: Significations of Al Qaeda Wives," *Journal of Post-Colonial Cultures and Societies* 4(2): 99-132.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. "Feminist IR 101: Teaching Through Blogs," *International Studies Perspectives* 14(4): 383-393.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. "Viewing Peace through Gender Lenses," *Ethics and International Affairs* 27(2): 1-13.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2012. "Towards Transgendering International Relations?," *International Political Sociology* 6(4): 337-354.
- Shepherd, Laura and Laura Sjoberg. 2012. "Trans- Bodies in/of Wars: Cis-privilege and Contemporary Security Strategies," *Feminist Review*, 101: 5-23.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2012. "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See," *International Theory* 4(1): 1-38.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2011. "Looking Forward: Conceptualizing Feminist Security Studies," *Politics and Gender* 7(4): 600-4.

- Sjoberg, Laura. 2011. "Emotion, Risk, and Feminist International Relations Research," *International Studies Review* 13(4): 699-703.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Jessica Peet. 2011. "A(nother) Dark Side of the Protection Racket: Targeting Women in Wars," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13(2): 163-82.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2011. "The Paradox of Double Effect: How Feminism Can Save the Immunity Principle," *Women's Policy Journal* 8(1): 53-70.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2011. "Gender, the State, and War Redux: Feminist International Relations Across the 'Levels of Analysis'," *International Relations* 25(1): 108-134.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2010. "Women Fighters and the 'Beautiful Soul' Narrative," *International Review of the Red Cross* 92(877): 53-68.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2009. "Security Studies: Feminist Contributions," *Security Studies* 18(2): 183-213.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2009. "Feminist Interrogations of Terrorism/Terrorism Studies," *International Relations* 23(1): 69-74.
- Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry. 2008. "Profiling Terror: Gendering the *Strategic Logic of Suicide Terror* and Other Narratives," *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 2: 181-196.
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- Chris Coulter. 2009. *Bush Wives and Girl Soldiers: Women's Lives through War and Peace in Sierra Leone*, Cornell University Press (*Political Science Quarterly* 126[1] [2010]: 171-172).
- Miranda H. Alison. 2009. *Women & Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflicts*, Routledge (*International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12[2] [2010]: 285-287).
- Cynthia Cockburn. 2007. *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism, and Feminist Analysis*, Zed Books (*Feminist Review* 92, 2010: 180-182).
- Natalie Bormann. 2008. *National Missile Defence and the Politics of U.S. Identity: A Poststructural Critique*, Manchester University Press (*Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 39[4] [2009]: 957-58).
- Robin L. Riley and Naeem Inayatullah, eds. *Interrogating Imperialism: Conversations on Gender, Race, and War*, Palgrave MacMillan (*International Studies Review*, 11[2] [2009]: 368-370).
- Yasmin Husein Al-Jawaheri. 2008. *Women in Iraq: The Gender Impact of International Sanctions*, IB Tauris (*European Journal of Women's Studies*, 16[1] [2009]: 90-92).

Choice Reviews

Christopher Kutz. 2016. *On War and Democracy*, Princeton (August 2016); Alice Kang. 2015. *Bargaining for Women's Rights: Activism in an Aspiring Muslim Democracy*, Minnesota (February 2016); Megan Carney. 2015. *The Unending Hunger: Tracing Women and Food Insecurity Across Borders*, University of California (July 2015); Alison Lawlor Russell. 2014. *Cyber Blockades*, Georgetown (July 2015); Lisa Baldez. 2014. *Defying Convention: United States Resistance to the United Nations Treaty on Women's Rights* (February 2015); David Bosco. 2014. *Rough Justice: The International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics*, Oxford University Press (October 2014); Chische Mibenge. 2013. *Sex and International Tribunals: The Erasure of Gender from the War Narrative*, University of Pennsylvania (June 2014); Tuba Inal. 2013. *Looting and Rape in Wartime: Law and Change in International Relations*, University of Pennsylvania (November 2013); Ganesh Sitaraman. 2012. *The Counterinsurgent's Constitution: Law in the Age of Small Wars*, Oxford University Press (July 2013); Tonia S. Germain and Susan Deweys, eds. 2012. *Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: International Law, Local Responses*, Kumarian (February 2013);

Richard Ashby Wilson. 2011. *Writing History in International Criminal Tribunals*, Cambridge University Press (February 2012); Adriana Sinclair. 2010. *International Relations Theory and International Law: A Critical Approach*, Cambridge University Press (September 2011); Sanford R. Silverburg, ed. 2011. *International Law: Contemporary Issues and Future Developments*, Westview Press (August 2011); Yoram Dinstein, 2010. *The Conduct of Hostilities under the International Law of Armed Conflict*, 2nd edition, Cambridge (November 2010); Carol Harrington, 2010. *The Politicization of Sexual Violence from Abolition to Peacekeeping*, Ashgate (October 2010); Catherine Eschle and Bice Maiguascha. 2010. *Making Feminist Sense of the Global Justice Movement*, Rowman and Littlefield (September 2010); Gary Goertz and Amy Mazur. 2008. *Politics, Gender, and Concepts*, Cambridge University Press (June 2009); Laura Shepherd. 2008. *Gender, Violence, and Security*, Zed Books (Choice, February 2009); George Fletcher and Jens Davis Ohlin. 2008. *Defending Humanity: When Force Is Justified and Why*, Oxford University Press (September 2008); Monique Deveaux. 2007. *Gender and Justice in Multicultural Liberal States*, Oxford University Press (May 2008); Joost Hiltermann. 2007. *A Poisonous Affair: America, Iraq, and the Gassing of Halabja*, Cambridge University Press (February 2008); Charles Reed and David Ryall, eds. 2007. *The Price of Peace: Just War in the 21st Century*, Cambridge University Press (November 2007); Julie Mertus and Jeffrey Helsing, eds. 2006. *Human Rights and Conflict: Exploring the Linkages between Rights, Law, and Peacebuilding*, United States Institute of Peace (September 2007); David Malone. 2006. *The International Struggle over Iraq: The Politics of the United Nations Security Council*, Cambridge University Press (August 2007)

Works in Progress

- a. Books
 - i. *Seducing Territory* (rough draft, for early 2025 submission). Book on sex acts and the setting of state borders
 - ii. *Gendered International Relations* (authored textbook) (under contract, Oxford University Press). Introductory level IR textbook informed by gender analysis.
- b. Journal articles (articles under review omitted for anonymity)
 - i. "Critiquing the Feminist Peace," (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), drafted, presented, planned for July 2024 submission to *Journal of Peace Research*.
 - ii. "A Critique of the Reliance on Evolutionary Theory," (with J. Samuel Barkin), drafted, being revised for submission to *International Theory*.
 - iii. "Queer Feminist IR?," drafted, presented, being revised for Fall 2024 submission to the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

Academic Training

- Bridging the Gap Policy Relevance Training, American University, 2017
- Basin Harbor Workshop on Teaching Security Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 2009
- Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan, 2008
- Journeys in World Politics, University of Iowa, 2007
- Executive Education: From Harvard Square to the Oval Office: Women in Politics, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, 2005-2006
- Graduate Certificate in Women's Studies, University of Southern California, 2004
- Institute on Qualitative Research Methods (IORM), Arizona State University, 2003
- Women in International Security Summer Symposium, Georgetown University, 2002

Professional Training

- Leading Schools Training Programme, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2024
- Inclusive Leadership Training Programme, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2023

- STAR Manager Training Programme, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2023
- Recruitment and Selection Training, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2022
- Unconscious Bias Training Programme, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2021, 2022
- Head of Department Training: Performance Development Review Workshop; Introduction to Finance; Leading Teaching and Learning; Health and Safety; Introduction to Human Resources; Promoting Student Engagement, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2022
- Data Protection Training, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2022
- Bullying and Harassment Training Programme, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2021
- Allyship Training Programme, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2022
- TALENT Training for Senior Fellowship with the Higher Education Academy, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2021-2022
- Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Training for Senior Managers, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2022
- Title IX Training, the University of Florida, 2021
- Enhancing Your PURE Profile, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2021
- Impact and Knowledge Exchange Training, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2020
- Diversification Workshop, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2020
- Implicit Bias Training, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2020

Ph.D. Supervision

Royal Holloway:

In Progress: Veronique Ehamo (with Dr. Will Jones), Aine Bennett (with Dr. Daniela Lai); Karia Hartung (with Dr. Michelle Bentley); Kat Osborne (with Dr. Liz Pearson); Hossein Mousavi Rokni (with Dr. Mohammed Kalantari)

London School of Economics: David Eichert (with Mark Hoffman and Johann Koehler)

University of Florida:

Completed: Ningxin Dong; Bryant Harden (now, Faculty, Florida State University); Li-Li Chen (now, Faculty, National University of East Timor); Kendra Patterson, Ioannis Ziogas (now Visiting Assistant Professor, University of Mississippi); Jadon Marianetti (now Lead South and Southeast Asia Officer at USDA Foreign Agricultural Service); Jonathon Whooley, (now Lecturer, San Francisco State University); Jessica Peet (with J. Samuel Barkin) (now deceased)

Virginia Tech:

Completed: Sandra Via (now Associate Professor, Ferrum College)

Mentoring

Mentor, Pay It Forward Mentoring Program (2024, 2023, 2014, 2013, 2012)

Gender and International Relations Working Group Mentoring Programme (2024)

Young India Fellowship (2022-)

MentorShip Programme Lead (2022-)

Go, Run, Lead Programme Lead (2021-)

Discussant, "FTGS Voices" Series (2022)

Reitz Scholar Mentor Programme, University of Florida (2010-2019)

Women's Mentorship Board, University of Florida (2010-2019)

Courses Taught

Undergraduate Core (*denotes having been taught online at least once)

Introduction to International Relations (Duke University, University of Florida)*

Introduction to Comparative Politics (Virginia Tech)

Introduction to International Security (University of Florida)*
International Relations Theory (Virginia Tech)
Senior Seminar Security Studies (Virginia Tech)
Gender and Armed Conflict (Royal Holloway, University of London)*
Gender and International Relations (Brandeis University, Duke University, Virginia Tech, University of Florida)
Women in Politics (Brandeis University)
Gender and the Law (Merrimack College)

Graduate (Politics)

International Security (University of Florida)
International Relations (University of Florida)
Feminist Theory/Global Politics (University of Florida)
Advanced International Relations Theory (University of Florida)
International Law (University of Florida)

Graduate (Law School)

Gender, Armed Conflict, and the Law (University of Florida Levin College of Law)

Undergraduate Supplemental

The Good Life (Humanities Introduction, University of Florida)
Andrea Dworkin's *Mercy* (Honors College One-Credit Book Course)
Trial Advocacy (Undergraduate Trial Team Education)

Professional Service and Affiliations

Research Peer Review Positions

United Kingdom Research and Innovation (UKRI) Talent Panel College (TPC) with British Academy, 2023-; Research Excellence Framework (REF) 2021 Assessment Panelist, Subpanel 19, Politics and International Studies; United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Peer Review College; Academy of Medical Science Peer Review Panel;

Current Editorial Boards

Polity (2022-); *American Political Science Review* (2021-); *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (2013-); *International Studies Quarterly* (2016-); *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2011-); *International Politics* (2020-); *International Theory* (2021-); *Journal of Global Security Studies* (2017-); *Journal of International Relations and Development* (2021-); *Politics & Gender* (2013-); *Relaciones Internacionales* (2020-); *Polity* (2022-); *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (2020-)

Past Editorial Boards

Foreign Policy Analysis (2015-2018); *International Political Sociology* (2015-2018); *International Studies Perspectives* (2015-2018); *Review of International Studies* (2014-2020).

Recent External Examiner Work

Academic Staff Search: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) (2024); Consorci de Serveis Universitaris de Catalunya (2024)

Post-Graduate Taught: The University of Cork (2023-)

Post-Graduate Research: The Graduate Institute of Geneva (2023; 2020); Cambridge University (2021)

Ph.D.: Lund University (2024); Kings College London (2024); London School of Economics (2023); The Graduate Institute (2023, 2024); The University of Sussex (2022); The University of

Iowa (2022); University of Peshawar (2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022); Manchester (2020); The University of New South Wales (2022); Nottingham Trent University (2020); Glasgow Calendonian (2019); Rhodes University (2016).

Research Excellence Framework (REF): University of Sheffield, University of Reading
Tenure/Promotion: Abilene Christian University; Arizona State University; Ben-Gurion University; Cambridge University; City, University of London; City University of New York; Colorado State University; COMSATS University; Flinders University; George Mason University; Haverford College; Harvard University; Hebrew University; Indiana University; Lancaster University; La Trobe University; the London School of Economics; Loyola Marymount University; New Mexico State University; Northeastern University; Northumbria University; Pace University; St. Andrews University; the University of Alabama; the University of Birmingham; the University of California, San Diego; the University of Exeter; the University of Leicester; the University of Manitoba; the University of Massachusetts-Boston; the University of Memphis; the University of Sussex; the University of Winnipeg; the University of Wyoming; Wheelock College; University of California, Riverside

Selected Recent Research Reviews

- Academy of Medical Sciences
- Austrian Science Fund (FWF)
- British Academy (BA)
- European Research Council (ERC)
- European Science Foundation (ESF)
- Fund for Scientific Research Belgium (FNRS)
- Irish Research Council
- Israel Science Foundation (ISF)
- MacArthur Fellows Programme National Science Foundation (NSF)
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)
- Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF)
- United Kingdom Research and Innovation Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)
- Austrian Partnership Programme in Higher Education and Research for Development (APPEAR)
- United Kingdom Research and Innovation Economics and Social Research Council (ESRC)
- United Kingdom Research and Innovation Medical Research Council (MRC)
- United States National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)
- Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS)
- Academy of Medical Sciences, UK
- United States National Science Foundation (NSF)

Consulting and Contract Research

Women in Academia Support Network (WiASN); Consortium for Research on Violent Extremism in Africa (CoRVEA) for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP); Chatham House; MercyCorps/USAID; The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA); the United States Institute of Peace (USIP); The United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT), The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM); Department of State, Academic Council of the United Nations; Canadian Peacebuilding Network; Rudman and Winchell, PA/LLC; XCEPT UK

Professional Memberships

International Studies Association	Women's Caucus for International Studies
European International Studies Association	Southern Political Science Association
American Political Science Association	Political Studies Association
British International Studies Association	American Association of Geographers

Selected Recent Manuscript Reviews

African Security; American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; Ashgate Press; Asian Journal of Women's Studies; Australian Journal of International Affairs; Bloomsbury Press; British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies; British Journal of Politics and International Relations; Bristol University Press; Cambridge Review of International Affairs; Cambridge University Press; Canadian Journal of Development Studies; Columbia University Press; Comparative Political Studies; Contemporary Security Policy; Contexto Internacional; Continuum Press; Cooperation and Conflict; Critical Military Studies; Critical Studies on Security; Critical Studies on Terrorism; Digital War; Ethics and International Affairs; European Journal of International Relations; European Journal of International Security; European Journal of Political Economy; Feminist Formations; Feminist Review; Feminist Studies; Foreign Policy Analysis; Frontiers; Gender, Place, and Culture; Gender & Society; Global Change, Peace, and Security; Globalizations; Global Society; Global Studies Quarterly; Global Undergraduate Awards; Hypatia; International Affairs; International Feminist Journal of Politics; International Interactions; International Journal; International Organization; International Political Science Review; International Political Sociology; International Relations; International Review of Sociology; International Security; International Studies Compendium; International Studies Perspectives; International Studies Quarterly; International Studies Review; International Theory; James Currey; Journal of Conflict, Security, & Development; Journal of Contemporary History; Journal of Ethics and Social Philosophy; Journal of Contemporary History; Journal of Feminist Studies; Journal of Global Security Studies; Journal of Human Rights; Journal of International Relations and Development; Journal of International Women's Studies; Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding; Journal of Middle East Women's Studies; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Political Science Education; Journal of Politics; Journal of Social Philosophy; Kumarian Press; Labor History; Laws; Lexington Books; Longman; Media, War, and Conflict; Men and Masculinities; McGill-Queens University Press; Millennium: Journal of International Studies; MIT Press; New York University Press; Oxford University Press; Palgrave MacMillan; Peace & Conflict Studies; Political Research Quarterly; Politics, Groups, and Identities; Polity; Polity Press; Princeton University Press; PS: Political Science & Politics; Review of International Studies; Rowman and Littlefield; Routledge; Rutgers University Press; Security Dialogue; Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society; Small Wars and Insurgencies; Social Politics; Stability; Stanford University Press; Taylor and Francis; Temple University Press; Terrorism and Political Violence; Texas National Security Review; Theory & Event; The Sociological Review; Third World Quarterly; University of Michigan Press; Westview Press; Women's Studies International Forum; World Politics; Zed Books; Zeitschrift für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung

Field Leadership Positions

British International Studies Association (BISA)

Co-convenor of Gendering International Relations Working Group (with Annika Bergman Rosamond and Khushi Singh Rathore), 2023-

Committee member, L. H. M. Ling Outstanding First Book Prize, 2023

European International Studies Association

Section Chair (with Aine Bennett), "Queer Internationals" (2024)

Section Chair (with Cameron Thies), "Dimensions of Power in Global Politics" (2017)

American Political Science Association

Executive Committee, 2020; Council, 2018-2020

Membership and Professional Development Committee, 2018-2020; Chair, 2020

Member, Committee to Rename the International Relations Dissertation Award, 2015-2016
Women and Politics Research Section Program Chair, 2013-2014; Secretary, 2010-2012
Sexuality and Politics Research Section Program Chair, 2012-2013, Section Chair, 2013-2014

International Studies Association (ISA)

Member, Long Range Planning Committee, 2019-2021
Member, Ad Hoc Committee on a Permanent Headquarters, 2019-2020
Member, Ad Hoc Committee on Virtual Engagement, 2017-2019
Vice President, 2015-2016
Member, Governing Council, 2009-2016
Member, Professional Development Committee, 2010-2012
Member, Workshop Grants Committee, 2011-2013
Chair, Committee on the Status of Women, 2012-2014
Yale Ferguson Book Award Committee, 2012, 2016
ISA-South, Executive Board, 2010-2013
Women's Caucus for International Studies, Program Chair, 2010-2011; Section Chair, 2011-2012
ISA-Northeast, Governing Council, 2009-Present; Program Chair, 2009-2010; President-Elect and Acting President, 2010-2011; President, 2011-2012; Methods Workshop Co-Chair, 2017-
Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section, Executive Committee, 2006-2012; Program Chair, 2007-2009; Section Chair, 2009-2010
ISA-West, Executive Board, 2006-2012; Program Co-Chair, 2006-2007; President, 2007-2008

Southern Political Science Association

Member, Committee on the Status of Women, 2014-2021; Chair, 2016-2020

University Service

University of Oxford (2024-)

College Level: Sustainability Committee (2024-)

Royal Holloway University of London (2020-2024)

University Level: Head of Department (2022-2024); Founder and Director, The Gender Institute (2020-2024); Member, Gender Studies Working Group (2020); Affiliate, Holocaust Research Institute (2020-2024); Chair, Athena SWAN Self-Assessment Team (2020-2024); Chair, College Gender Equality Committee (2021-2024); College Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) Committee (2021-2024); Affiliate, Conflict, Violence, and Terrorism Centre (2021-2024); Ph.D. Independent Chair (2021-2024); College EDI Strategic Planning Committee (2022-2023); School of Humanities Professorial Banding Committee (2022); MentorShip Programme expanded from School to College Level (2023)

School Level: School Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) Committee (2021-2024); MentorShip Programme Lead (2022-2024); Promotion Panel Member (2022); School Leadership Team (2022-); School Executive (2022-2024)

Department Level: Political Theory Interview Committee (2021); Professor Interview Committee (2020, 2022); Online Teaching Working Group (2020); Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Working Group (2020); Probation Advisor (2020-2024); Research Committee (2020-2024); Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Committee (2020-2024); Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Lead (2021-2022); Chair, Strategic Planning for Diversifying and Decolonising the Curriculum Subcommittee (2021-2022); REF Steering Group (2020-2021); Affiliate, Royal Holloway Centre for International Security (RHISC) (2020-); Global Classroom Development Programme (2020-

2024); Supervised Setting Up of the Centre for the Study and Application of Stoicism (2023); Affiliate, Royal Holloway Centre for Continental Philosophy (2023-2024)

University of Florida (2009-2022)

University Level: Faculty Senator, 2010-2016; Faculty Senate Budget Council, 2012-2015; LGBT Affairs Committee, 2012-2019; Coach, University of Florida Mock Trial Team, 2011-2019; Reitz Scholars Mentor Board, 2010-2019; Women's Mentoring Board, 2010-2019; Honors Advisory Committee, 2010-2015; Faculty Affiliate, Women's Studies, 2010-2019

College Level: Secretary of the Faculty, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, 2010-2013; Member, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Steering Committee, 2010-2013

Department Level (Political Science): African American Studies Search Committee, 2015; Graduate Placement Director, 2010-2013; Member, Chair's Advisory Committee, 2010-2012; Graduate Admissions Committee, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019; Research Series Coordinator, 2009-2010; Dissertation-Writing Support Group Coordination, 2010-2015; Co-Coordinator, Workshop on Epistemology and Method in IR, 2010; Best Undergraduate Thesis Committee 2010; International Relations Field Committee, 2009-2019; Chair, International Relations Field Committee, 2012-2014; Graduate Teaching Award Committee, 2010

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (2007-2009)

University Level: Planning Committee, ACC Inter-Institutional Academic Collaborative Student Leadership Conference, 2008-2009; Organization of Women Faculty, Executive Board, 2008-2009; President, Middle East Working Group, 2008-2009; Planning Group, Institute for Society, Culture, and the Environment, 2007-2009; Faculty Affiliate, Women's Studies, 2007-2009

College Level: Research Committee, College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences, 2008-2009; Faculty Affiliate, the Alliance for Social, Political, Ethical, and Cultural Thought (ASPECT) Ph.D. Program, 2007-2009; International Studies Steering Committee, 2007-2009

Department Level (Political Science): Editor, Virginia Tech Political Science Alumni Newsletter, 2007-2009; Curriculum Committee, 2007-2009

Selected Invited Presentations

- "Seeing Multiple Gender Roles in Conflict and (In)Security," Plenary Address, 7th International Conference on Gender and Sexuality 2024," TIHKM, Colombo, Sri Lanka (delivered virtually).
- "The Promises and Pitfalls of Undisciplined Research," City, University of London, 18 June 2024
- "Poststructuralist Feminism," European University Institute, 11 March 2024
- "Feminism and Realism?," Oxford University International Relations Society, 6 November 2023
- "Gender, War, and Conflict," Centre Delas d'Estudis per la Pau, Barcelona, 25 October 2023
- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark, 30 March 2023
- "Seeing War through Gender Lenses," The Bedford Society, London, UK, March 22, 2023
- "Reflecting on REF 2021," University Association for Contemporary European Studies Inaugural Workshop, Birmingham, UK, January 13, 2023.
- "War Conflicts, Violence and Its Psychic Implications," Asociación Mexicana de Psicoterapia Analítica de Grupo Biannual Congress, November 27, 2022, (delivered virtually).
- "Kill the Women First? Gender and the Impossible Civilian," Keynote, Challenging War Conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, November 12, 2022, (delivered virtually).
- "Legal Aspects of CRSV Against Men and Boys," Universitat Leipzig, Hanover, Germany, October 6, 2022.

- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," British Academy, London, UK, September 29, 2022.
- "There is No 'Feminist Peace': A Pessimistic View of Gender and the War System in Times of Crisis," September 28, 2022, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA (invited talk, delivered virtually).
- "The Violences of the Portrayals of Women's Violence," September 20, 2022, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden (invited talk).
- "The Ghosts of Kenneth Waltz and Structural Realisms in International Relations," Workshop on Structural Realism on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Kenneth N. Waltz, April 15, 2022 (delivered virtually).
- "Auto-Critique in International Relations," International Studies Association Workshop on Futurisms in IR, Graduate Institute, Geneva, March 24, 2022 (delivered virtually).
- "Women in Academia," International Women's Day Panel, Royal Holloway Women's Network, March 8, 2022 (delivered virtually).
- "Feminist and Queer 'Terrorism Studies'," British International Studies Association-hosted panel presentation, February 24, 2022 (delivered virtually).
- "The Situation of Women and National Security," Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, November 13, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Gender, Populism, and International Relations," University of Sfax, Tunisia, November 11, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Gender and Security Studies," NIICE Global Conclave, Nepal Institute for International Cooperation and Engagement, June 25, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," Cornell University, April 1, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Challenges of Becoming a Reader and a Professor," International Women's Day Panel, Royal Holloway, University of London, March 8, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," Inaugural Professor Lecture, Royal Holloway, University of London, March 2, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Gender Expectations in Conflict: A Multiple Approach," Plenary Address, IIHSG International Conference, Delhi, India, February 26, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," Queen Mary, University of London, February 24, 2021.
- "Female Perpetrators of the Holocaust," Royal Holloway, University of London, Holocaust Research Institute, February 17, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Representations of Women's Violence in Global Politics," Ashoka University, February 11, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Frames of Women's Political Violence," Royal Holloway, University of London, Marketing Department, January 29, 2021 (delivered virtually).
- "Sex and the Production of State Borders," London Gender and Politics Seminar, December 7, 2020 (delivered virtually).
- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, Women and Public Policy Program, November 5, 2020 (delivered virtually).
- "Sexual Relations as International Relations," Royal Holloway University School of Humanities Interdisciplinary Research Event, September 28, 2020 (delivered virtually).
- "Human Nature?" International Studies Association Theory Section Virtual Panel, September 24, 2020 (delivered virtually).

- "There Is No Feminist Peace: A Pessimistic View of Gender and the War System," Harvard Kennedy School, September 22, 2020 (delivered virtually).
- "Gender and US Foreign Policy Under the Trump Administration," Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, June 12, 2020 (delivered virtually).
- "Sex Acts and the Production of State Borders," The Graduate Institute, Geneva, March 31, 2020 (delivered virtually).
- "Sensory International Relations," Keynote to the Swiss Political Science Association International Political Sociology Section, February 5, 2020.
- "Interrogating the Image of the '21st Century Woman,'" The Baha'i Center for World Peace, University of Maryland, September 24, 2019.
- "Gender and Conservatism in Politics," and "Gender and the War/Not War Dichotomy," PUC-Rio, October 22, 2018.
- "International Relations as a Failed Enterprise," Keynote, International Studies Association-West, 22 September 2018.
- "Gender Hierarchies in Global Politics," The University of Groningen, June 5, 2018.
- "Publishing in International Journals," Beijing Foreign Studies University, May 7, 2018.
- "Critiquing the Feminist Peace," The University of Pennsylvania, November 30, 2017.
- "The Girls of War, 1914-2014," Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, May 15, 2017.
- Senior Mentor, Journeys in World Politics, May 4-6, 2017.
- "Re-Mapping IR: Gender, War, and Conflict," Georgetown University, February 27, 2017.
- "Seeing Rape Among Women," University of Illinois, September 15, 2016.
- "Jihadi Brides and Female Volunteers: Seeing Women in the Islamic State's War," University of Wisconsin, Madison, September 13, 2016.
- "In the Army and in the Closet: Male Prostitution around US Military Bases," Newcastle University, June 23, 2016 (talk given remotely for family reasons).
- "Gender, Distribution, and Conflict in Global Politics," Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, June 11, 2016, (talk given remotely for family reasons).
- "Sex, Gender, Sexuality, and Wartime Targeting through Feminist Lenses," Gender and Security in Violent Conflict Conference, Hebrew University, June 8, 2016, (talk given remotely for family reasons).
- "Women as Victims and Victimizer in Armed Conflict," American University, May 26, 2016 (talk given remotely for family reasons).
- "Critical Theories and Areas of Limited Statehood," Free University of Berlin, April 23, 2016.
- "Scaling Up Gender Hierarchy: Seeing the Social as Structural in Global Politics," Keynote Address, Scaling Forms Conference, University of Chicago, April 1, 2016.
- "What's the Point of IR?," University of Sussex 50 Year Celebration Conference, Invited Speaker, December 10, 2015.
- "Gender and International Security," University of Belgrade, November 23, 2015.
- "Gender and Security Sector Reform," NATO-Belgrade, November 23, 2015.
- "Transforming War Rape Justice to See Rape Among Women," University of Florida Levin School of Law, November 19, 2015.
- "War Families and the Wars in Iraq," Georgetown University, Qatar, November 15, 2015.
- "The Girls of War: From 1914 to 2014," Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October 22, 2015.
- "Calculating Critique? The Potential of 'Quantitative Methods' for 'Critical/Constructivist' IR," University of Alabama, March 26, 2015.

- "If its Everything, Its Nothing: An Outsider's Argument for Specificity in Constructivisms," University of Southern California, January 10, 2015.
- "Queer Failure for Diversity Seekers?," National Science Foundation, January 9, 2015.
- "Feminist Readings of Intentional Civilian Victimization," University of Glasgow, November 26, 2014.
- "Gender and Just War in the 21st Century," University of Edinburgh, November 25, 2014.
- "Genderqueering Darwin: Feminist and Queer Responses to Evolutionary Theory in IR," University of St. Andrews, November 24, 2014.
- "Genderqueering Darwin: Feminist and Queer Responses to Evolutionary Theory in IR," Johns Hopkins University, November 6, 2014.
- "Calculating Critique: Quantitative Methods for Critical/Constructivist IR," Millennium: Journal of International Studies 2014 Annual Conference, *Quo Vadis IR: Method, Methodology, and Innovation*, October 17-19, 2014.
- "Rape Among Women," at "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations," workshop held at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, hosted by Dara Kay Cohen, Kanisha Bond, Jakana Thomas, and Reed Wood, September 17-19, 2014.
- "Women and War in Afghanistan" and "Careers in Security and Defence," Women in International Security-Canada Annual Conference at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, May 30-31, 2014.
- "Seeing Women in Wars," United States Institute of Peace, August 28, 2014.
- "Revealing Hierarchy through Gender Lenses," at Theorizing Hierarchies in International Relations Workshop, University of California, San Diego, hosted by David Lake, Janice Bially Mattern, and Ayse Zarakol, May 15, 2014.
- "Intimacy, Warfare, and Gender Hierarchy," American Association of Geographers, April 9, 2014.
- "Relations International: Feminist Re-Visioning of Dyadic-Level War Theorizing," American University, February 12, 2014.
- "Calculating Critique? Quantitative Methods for Critical/Constructivist IR Theorizing," Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, December 5, 2013.
- "Relations International and Feminist War Theorizing," Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, December 5, 2013.
- "Anarchy, Structure, Gender, and War," Kings College London, December 2, 2013.
- "Gendered Strategy and Feminist War Theorizing," Cambridge University, December 2, 2013.
- "The New Orientalism, Women's Violence, and the Arab Spring," Roskilde University, November 19, 2013.
- "Relations International and International Relations," Danish Institute for International Studies, November 18, 2013.
- "Third-Image War Theorizing through Feminist Lenses," National University of Singapore, October 4, 2013.
- "Relations International and International Relations," Nanyang Technological University, October 3, 2013.
- "Anarchy, Structure, Gender, and War," American University, March 7, 2013.
- "Kill the Women First: Gender and Intentional Civilian Victimization," Graduate Institute of Geneva, February 26, 2013.
- "Feeling Suicide Terrorism: A Critical Feminist Approach," University of Winnipeg, February 22, 2013.

- "Perpetrating Sexual Violence," United States Institute of Peace, February 15, 2013.
- "Feminist Security Studies in Theory and Practice," Belorussian State University, Minsk, Belarus, November 21, 2012.
- "The Arab Spring for Women?" University of Southern California Center for International Studies, October 17, 2012.
- "Pride without Borders," Keynote Address, Gainesville Pride Annual Banquet, September 21, 2012.
- "Cisprivilege and the Intersection of Advantage," University of Florida LGBTQI Affairs Council, September 18, 2012.
- "Women's Empowerment," Keynote Speech, Women's Welcome Reception, University of Florida, August 27, 2012.
- "Women's Capacity and *The Dressmaker of Khair Khana*," Commencement Address, University of Florida, August 20, 2012.
- "The Arab Spring for Women?," University of Wisconsin-Madison International Relations Colloquium, April 24, 2012.
- "Women Affected by Conflict," Keynote Speech, Zeta Phi Beta Sorority White Rose Ball, April 6, 2012.
- "Relations International: Feminist Approaches to the Dyadic-Level Causes of Wars," University of Southern California Center for International Studies, March 7, 2012.
- "Towards Transgendering International Security?" Minnesota International Relations Colloquium, February 6, 2012.
- "A Feminist Reading of the Paradox of Civilian Protection," York University, April 26, 2011.
- "Relations International: Gender and Dyadic-Level Theories of War," North Carolina State University, February 18, 2011.
- "Kill the Women First: Gender and Intentional Civilian Victimization," North Carolina State University, February 16, 2011.
- "The Power of Peace: Seeing Gendered Opportunity Structures through Feminist Lenses," the University of Massachusetts-Boston, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security, and Human Rights, November 2, 2010.
- "Protective Shields or Open Doors? Women, Gender, and the Non-Combatant Immunity Principle," Wellesley College, October 28, 2010.
- (with Jessica Peet), "Kill the Women First: Gender and Civilian Victimization," Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, Women and Public Policy Program, October 28, 2010.
- "Just War without Civilians," United States Institute of Peace, August 27, 2010.
- "Gender and Security," United States Department of State, Study of the United States, United States Foreign Policy Institute, July 7, 2010.
- "Women and Wars," The Dynamo, Student Think Tank and the University of Florida, April 13, 2010.
- (with Jessica Peet), "Gendering Desperate Times: Feminist Perspectives on the Civilian Victimization Debate," Twenty Years of Feminist International Relations Conference, April 10, 2010.
- "Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics," University of Southern California Peace and Justice Studies Program, April 7, 2010.
- "Gender, War, and Militarism," University of Southern California School of International Relations, April 6, 2010.

- "Morality, Legality, and Health: The Influence of the Grounds of Abortion Legality on Abortion-Related Health Issues," University of Southern California Levan Institute for Humanities and Ethics, April 5, 2010.
- "Intersections: Gender and Terrorism," University of Florida Department of Women's Studies "Gender Conversations" Series, November 20, 2009.
- "Gender and Security," University of Florida Political Science Honors Society, September 28, 2009.
- "Gender and Alternative Dispute Resolution," University of Florida Frederic Levin College of Law, September 22, 2009.
- "Gender Hierarchy as a Permissive Cause of War," Invited Address to the Women and Public Policy Program, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, April 23, 2009.
- "Women: Armed and Dangerous," Invited Presentation at Lancaster University, March 20, 2009.
- "Issues in Wartime Rape," Virginia State University, February 27, 2009.
- "Gender and Leadership," Atlantic Coast Conference Inter-University Academic Collaborative, February 21, 2009.
- "Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics," Invited Address to the Political Science Club at the University of Virginia, November 19, 2008.
- "Through Feminist Lenses: Women's Violence in Global Politics," Invited Address in the "Through Feminist Eyes" Annual Lecture Series, Women's Studies Program and Campus Women's Center, Virginia Tech, November 12, 2008.
- "Exploring the Implications of Women's Violence against Women," Invited Presentation to the Women's Studies Faculty, Virginia Tech, November 10, 2008.
- "How Will 'She' Decide? Gender Expectations and Political Leadership," Invited Presentation to the student body, Hollins University, April 8, 2008.
- "Can Gender Improve Strategy? Unlikely Bedfellows of Feminism and Realism," Invited Presentation, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, November 1, 2007.
- "Gendering the Empire's Soldiers: Gendered Ideologies, the United States Military, and the War on Terror," Invited address to a conference on Gender, War, and Militarism, University of Pennsylvania, October 26, 2007.
- "Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics." (with Caron Gentry), Invited Presentation, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, April 9, 2007.
- "Will There Be a Just End in Iraq? Observations from a Feminist Standpoint," Invited Presentation, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Tufts University, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, February 14, 2007.
- "Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq," Invited Address to the Graduate Consortium on Gender Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, February 13, 2007.
- "Gender and the Political Practice of Just War Stories" Invited Presentation, Institute for Women and Gender Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, December 1, 2006.
- "Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq" Invited Presentation, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Dearborn, November 30, 2006.
- "Mean Girls: Women's Violence in Global Politics." Invited Presentation, Political Science Department, Duke University, November 26, 2006.
- "Empathetic War-Fighting." Invited Presentation, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, November 9, 2006.

Selected Research Presentations

- 2024 European International Studies Association
 - Section Co-Lead, “Queer Internationals” (with Aine Bennett)
- 2024 British International Studies Association
 - Co-convenor, Gender and International Relations Working Group
 - “Depletion, the Cost of Social Reproduction” (roundtable presentation)
 - “Can Critical Terrorism Studies Remain ‘Critical’?” (roundtable presentation)
- 2024 International Studies Association Conference
 - “A Woman’s World? Exploring Women, Gender, and Illicit Arms Trading” (with Emily Gee)
 - “Is There a Feminist Foreign Policy?” (roundtable presentation)
 - “Women in a Changing World” (roundtable presentation)
 - “Author Meets Critics: Megan MacKenzie’s *Good Soldiers Don’t Rape*” (roundtable presentation)
- 2024 Lesbian Lives Conference, 22-23 March, University of Brighton
 - “Sexual Relations as International Relations
- 2023 International Studies Association Global South Caucus Conference
 - “Sexual Relations as International Relations”
- 2023 American Political Science Association
 - “Feminism, Gender, and IR Theory: Past, Present, and Future,” roundtable presentation
- 2023 European Workshops in International Studies
 - “Calibrating Violences in Critical Terrorism Studies,” paper presentation
- 2023 British International Studies Association
 - “Scottish Feminist Foreign Policy?,” roundtable presentation
- 2023 International Studies Association
 - (with Milena Acemic) “The (Structural?) Limits of Gender Equality (Policies),” paper presentation
 - “Women in Peace and Security Studies,” professional development roundtable presentation
 - “Democratizing Theory, Rethinking Method,” roundtable presentation
 - Author Meets Critics Panel, Katharine Millar’s *Support the Troops: Gender, Military Obligation, and the Making of Political Community*
- 2022 European International Studies Association
 - “Burn It/IR Down? Unmaking, Unthinking, and Destruction as/in Politics,” paper presentation
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) “The Political Sociology of the Science Fixation in International Relations,” paper presentation
- 2022 European Workshops in International Studies
 - “Burn It/IR Down? Unmaking, Unthinking, and Destruction as/in Politics,” paper presentation
- 2022 American Political Science Association
 - “Sex Rule in Global Politics,” paper presentation
- 2022 British International Studies Association
 - “Gendered Inheritances: The Figure of the Son-in-Law and the Construction of Empire,” paper presentation
- Workshop on Emotion in the Law, Royal Holloway, University of London, May 6, 2022
 - “Queer Theory and the Law,” roundtable presentation

- Women, Peace, and Security Workshop, Royal Holloway, University of London, April 27, 2022
 - "Thinking about Women, Peace, and Security and Commitments to Gender Equality," paper presentation
- 2022 International Studies Association
 - "Queer IR in a Smaller World: Politicizing Economies of Desire," roundtable presentation
- 2021 European International Studies Association (held virtually)
 - "Sense in/as IR Theory," paper presentation
 - "Undisciplining Feminism: Putting Anger 'In Its Place'," paper presentation
- 2021 Swiss Political Science Association (held virtually)
 - (with Yoav Galai) "Everyday COVID-19 Art 'At Home'"
- 2021 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (held virtually)
 - "Quantum Ambivalence," paper presentation
 - "The Future of a Pluralistic Discipline," Sapphire Series roundtable presentation
 - "Closing the Gender Gap in Academic Journals," roundtable presentation
 - Author Meets Critics Panel, Natasha Behl's *Gendered Citizenship*
 - Author Meets Critics Panel, Ayelet Harel-Sahlev and Shir Daphne-Tekoah's *Breaking the Binaries in Security Studies*
- 2020 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (held virtually)
 - "Sex Rules state Rules Sex Rule," paper presentation
 - (with Bryant Harden) "Limits of Gender Equality (Policies)," paper presentation
- 2020 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (planned, but cancelled due to COVID-19)
 - "Intimate War in/of 21st Century Populism," paper presentation
 - "Breaking Binaries in Security Studies," roundtable presentation
 - "Addressing the Gender Gap in Academic Journals," roundtable presentation
 - "Multiple Identities in International Relations," roundtable presentation
 - "Towards Queer IR?," roundtable presentation
- 2019 *Millennium* Conference
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin), "Erasure and Violence in the Evolution of Evolutionary IR," paper presentation
- 2019 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "Sexual Relations as International Relations," paper presentation
- 2019 International Studies Association-Accra Meeting
 - "Questioning the Feminist Peace," paper presentation with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies
 - "A Woman's World? Exploring Women's Participation in the Arms Trade," paper presentation
- 2019 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "Once and Future Constructivism," roundtable presentation
 - "How to 'Talk Shop' with the Publisher?," roundtable presentation
 - "Where are the Women? Publishing in International Mainstream Journals," roundtable presentation
- 2018 Annual Meeting of the International Studies-Northeast
 - "United Nations Gender Politics," paper presentation
- 2018 Annual Meeting of the European International Studies Association

- "Sexual Hierarchies in Global Politics: Homonationalism and Pinkwashing," paper presentation
 - "Failure and Critique in Critical Security Studies," paper presentation
- 2018 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "AgentVictimPerpetrators: Gender, War, and Agency," paper presentation
- 2018 ISA-FLASCO Conference
 - "Kill the Women First?," paper presentation
- 2018 Annual European Workshops in International Studies
 - "The Return of Politics to International Relations," plenary
 - "'Terrorism' Porn: Significations of Western Racialized Imaginaries of the 'Terrorist' Other," paper presentation
- 2018 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "The Limits of Gender Equality (Policies)," paper presentation
 - "A Woman's World? Exploring Women's Participation in the Arms Trade," paper presentation
- 2018 (7th Annual) International Feminist Journal of Politics Conference
 - "Queer Feminist International Relations," paper presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin), "The Discipline's Last Synthesis," paper presentation
 - Ran the methodology workshop with Patrick Thaddeus Jackson
 - "Teaching Mainstream and Critical IR to 'the Millennials,'" roundtable presentation
 - "Survival Strategies for (Female) Scholars," roundtable presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the National Women's Studies Association
 - "Exploring Women's Agency Within and After Conflicts," roundtable presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Ethics of War and the War System," paper presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the European International Studies Association
 - (with Cameron Thies) Section Program Chair, "Dimensions of Power in Global Politics"
 - "Gender, Power, and Power Politics," paper presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "Sex, Gender, Gender Inequality, and War: New Research Frontiers," roundtable presentation
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin), "Failure as a Critical Approach to Theorizing Politics," paper presentation
- 2017 International Studies Association Global South Caucus Meeting
 - (with Kelly Kadera, Cameron Thies, and Max Maloney) "Complicating the Feminist Peace on the Local Level," paper presentation
- 2017 International Studies Association International Conference
 - (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Complicating 'The Feminist Peace'," paper presentation
- 2017 Science of Politics Conference
 - (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Correlation, Causation, or Nothing? Evaluating the Relationship Between Sex Equality and Violence," paper presentation
- 2017 International Feminist Journal of Politics Conference

- (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Correlation, Causation, or Nothing? Evaluating the Relationship Between Sex Equality and Violence," paper presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin), "How Does Global Politics Change? A Critique of Reliance on Evolutionary Theory in IR," paper presentation
- 2017 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association
 - (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Critiquing the Feminist Peace," paper presentation
- 2016 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin), "Failures of International Relations Theory," paper presentation
- 2016 Annual Meeting of the Peace Science Society
 - (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Critiquing the Feminist Peace," paper presentation
 - (with Kelly Kadera), "What Peace Science and Peace Anti-Science Can Say to Each Other," workshop organized
- 2016 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Critiquing the Feminist Peace," paper presentation
- 2016 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - (with Anna Weissman), "The Girls of War, 1914-2014," paper presentation
 - "Revealing Hierarchy through Gendered Lenses," paper presentation
- 2016 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - (with Helen Kinsella) "A Queer Critique of Evolutionary Theorizing in Security Studies: Implications for War and Peace," paper presentation
 - "Women, Femininity, and Feminization in Conflict Leadership," paper presentation
- 2016 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association
 - "Gender, Conflict, and Distribution in Global Politics," paper presentation
- 2015 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - (with Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies), "Gender Trouble: Looking Beyond Dichotomies in Gender and IR Research," paper presentation
- 2015 *Millennium* Conference
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) "The Failures of Constructivist and Critical Theory in IR," paper presentation
- 2015 ISSS/ISAC (International Security) Conference
 - "The Impossible Woman: Theorizing Female Perpetrators of Conflict Sexual Violence," paper presentation
- 2015 Annual Meeting of the European International Studies Association
 - "The Violence of Conflict Sexual Violence Jurisprudence," paper presentation
 - "Gender Hierarchy and Gender Hierarchies in Global Politics," paper presentation
 - "Gendered Power, Power Politics, and Interstate Conflict," paper presentation
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) "Calculating Critique: Thinking Outside the Methods Matching Game," paper presentation
- 2015 Meeting of the American Political Science Association

- (with J. Samuel Barkin) "Doubting Dogma: Interrogating IR's Constructivist-Critical Theory Synthesis," paper presentation
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) "Quantitative Methods in Critical and Constructivist IR Theory," paper presentation
- Theorizing Hierarchies Book Workshop, June 20, 2015
 - "Gender Hierarchies, Gendered Hierarchies, and Gendered Hierarchy in Global Politics," paper presentation
- 2015 Annual Meeting of the British International Studies Association
 - (at "Anarchy Reconsidered" workshop) "The Invisible Structures of Anarchy: Gender Hierarchy in Global Politics," paper presentation
- Journal of Global Security Studies Inaugural Issue Conference, May 1, 2015
 - "The Security of Gender and the Genders of Security," paper presentation
- 2014 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "Cheap Thrills: Reading the Purpose of IR Theory," paper presentation
- 2014 *Millennium* Conference
 - "Cheap Thrills: Thinking about Knowledge Accumulation in IR," paper presentation
- 2014 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Dimensions of Democracy: Topological Mapping and Operationalization in IR," paper presentation
- 2014 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "Trans Theory and/as Political Theory," roundtable presentation
- 2014 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) "Calculating Critique: The Potential of Quantitative Methods for Critical and Constructivist IR," paper presentation
 - "Queering the 'Territorial Peace'? The Value of Queer Theory Conversing with 'Mainstream' IR," paper presentation
 - "Women's Leadership in ISA," roundtable presentation
 - "Gaga Feminism in IR," roundtable presentation
 - "Feminist Perspectives on Time and Space," President's roundtable presentation
 - "Women's Work: The Gender Gap in International Relations Citation Practices," roundtable presentation
 - "The Politics of Political Economy and Security in (Feminist) IR and Global Politics," roundtable presentation
- 2013 Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "Genderqueering Darwin: Feminist Responses to the Use of Evolutionary Theory in IR," paper presentation
- 2013 Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "In the Army and In the Closet: Male Prostitution in the US Military," paper presentation
- 2013 Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "Outside the Law: Jurisprudence of Rape Among Women," paper presentation
 - (with Christian Chessman) "Occupy as Method: The Queer Political and Epistemological Implications of Occupy in IR," paper presentation
- 2013 Meeting of the International Studies Association and the Peace Science Society

- "Feminist Security Studies as Unsolvable," paper presentation
- 2013 *International Feminist Journal of Politics* Conference
 - (with Lauren Wilcox), "Queering Darwin: The Paradox of a Feminist Evolutionary Approach," paper presentation
- 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association
 - (with Naveed Jayazeri) "Shut Out but Signifiers: Transgender Bodies and the United States Military Abroad," paper presentation
- 2013 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "In the Army and in the Closet: Military Bases, Male Prostitution, and Homoerotic Subcultures," paper presentation
 - "Thinking about Feminist IR as Alkerian Argumentation," paper presentation
 - "Women, War, and Post-War Transformation," paper presentation
- 2013 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association
 - "Organizing Women's Caucuses: Achieving Essential Goals without Essentialism," paper presentation
- 2012 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - (with Lauren Wilcox), "Queering Darwin: The Paradox of a Feminist Evolutionary Approach," paper presentation
 - "Asking and Telling about Military Patriarchy: Making Trans- Bodies Visible in the Repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell'," paper presentation
 - "Queering IR Constructivism," paper presentation
- 2012 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West:
 - "Rethinking War Ethics through Gendered Lenses," paper presentation
 - "Where are the Women? Asking Feminist Questions of Wars and Conflicts," paper presentation
- 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (cancelled)
 - "Shut Out but Signifiers: Transgender Bodies and the United States Military Abroad," accepted paper presentation
- 2012 *International Feminist Journal of Politics* Conference
 - "Disidentifying (Gender and) International Relations," paper presentation
- 2012 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "Quantitative Methods for Critical Feminist Theorists," workshop presentation, in "Counting What Counts and Telling Telling Stories," organized by Suzanne Zwingel
 - (with Jonathon Whooley) "The Arab Spring for Women? Gender, Representation, and Middle Eastern Politics in 2011," paper presentation
- 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "Towards Transgendering Security Studies," paper presentation
 - "Rape Among Women: The Case of Darfur," paper presentation
- 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Rape Among Women: The Case of Nazi Germany," paper presentation
- 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - (with Jessica Peet) "Gendering the Civilian Victimization Debate," paper presentation
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) "Eschewing Constructivism as Panacea," paper presentation

- 2010 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - (with J. Samuel Barkin) "What's at Stake in the Debate Between Critical Theory and Constructivism?," paper presentation
 - "Just War without Civilians," paper presentation
- 2010 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-South
 - "The Trans-embodiment of War(s): Gender (Ambiguity), Terror, and Violence," paper presentation
- 2010 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Quantitative Methods for Critical International Relations," paper presentation
 - "Feminism and Realism: Looking Forward in International Relations," paper presentation
- 2010 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "What's at Stake in the Debate Between Critical Theory and Constructivism?," paper presentation
- 2010 Workshop on Epistemology and Method in International Relations at the University of Florida
 - "Theoretical Geometry and Emancipatory Research," paper presentation
- 2010 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - (with Catia Confortini) "The Power of Peace," paper presentation
 - "Gender and the Causes of War," paper presentation
- 2009 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "Feminist Security Theorizing," paper presentation
- 2009 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Gender, Just War, and Non-State Actors," paper presentation
 - "Economic Sanctions and Bentham" on Authors Meet Critics Panel for Laura Sjoberg and Amy Eckert, eds. *Rethinking the 21st Century*
 - "Gender and War: A System-Level Theory?," paper presentation
- 2009 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "The Gendered Dynamics of Gendered War Crimes: Women's Perpetration of Genocidal Rape," paper presentation
- 2008 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a Feminist Theory of War(?)," paper presentation
- 2008 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "*Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*, by Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry," author meets critics panel
 - "Gendered Strategies: Towards a Feminist Theory of War," paper presentation
- 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "Gendered Tales of Gendered Perpetrators: Looking for 'the Women' in the Rwandan Genocide," paper presentation
- 2008 Annual Meeting of the National Women's Studies Association
 - "Gendering the Empire's Soldiers: Just War and Gendered Hero Stories," paper presentation
- Global Gender Justice Conference, George Mason University, April 17, 2008
 - "Women and the Genocidal Rape of Other Women: Studies in Gender Subordination?"
- 2008 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association

- "Sanctions and Economic Coercion: Can Old Solutions Address New Dilemmas?," paper presentation
 - "Will They Ever Understand? Looking Forward from 20 Years of Feminist IR"
 - "Gender, Power Transitions, and the Rise of China," paper presentation
 - "The State of the Field: Feminist IR," roundtable presentation
 - "Confronting Terrorism: Bridging Multiple Divides," roundtable presentation
 - "Democracy and the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section," roundtable presentation
- 2007 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Will We Ever Make Anything of Feminism and Realism?," paper presentation
 - (with Douglas Becker) "The Teacher Never Calls on Me: Gender and Active Learning," paper presentation
 - "Bentham, sanction, and Sanctions," paper presentation at "New Problems, Old Solutions" Workshop
- 2007 Journeys in World Politics Conference
 - "Feminism, Realism: Strategy, Fortuity," paper presentation
- 2007 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "Feminism for Realists and Realism for Feminists: A Theory of International Relations," paper presentation
 - (with Caron Gentry) "Mean Girls: Seeing Gender Subordination with Women's Violence," paper presentation
 - "The Status of Women in the International Studies Association," roundtable presentation
 - "Gender and Active Learning," roundtable presentation
 - "Gendering Power Transition Theory," paper presentation at "Security Studies: Feminist Contributions" Workshop
 - (with Christopher Marcoux) "The Rational Design of International Institutions? A Study of the Kyoto Protocol," paper presentation
- 2006 Annual Meeting of International Studies Association-Northeast
 - "Whither the Relevance of Realism to Feminist International Relations Theory?," paper presentation
- 2006 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Author Meets Critics: *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq*," roundtable presentation
 - (with Caron Gentry) "Reduced to Bad Sex: The Racialized Pornographization of Violent Women in the War on Terror," paper presentation
 - "Gender and Active Learning," roundtable presentation
 - "Feminism for Realists: Gender and Grand Strategy in the 21st Century," paper presentation
- 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - (with Christopher Marcoux) "Was Iraq a Threat to International Peace and Security? A Multimethod Approach," paper presentation
 - "The Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism" (winner, Best Paper, Women and Politics Research Section)
- 2006 Annual Meeting of the New England Political Science Association
 - "Feminism for Realists: Strategy and the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325," paper presentation
 - "Empathy as a Guiding Principle for Just War Theory," paper presentation

- 2006 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "Does the Female Sex Criminal Turn Feminism Upside Down? Women, the State, and War," paper presentation
 - "The State of Feminist Security Theory," paper presentation
- 2005 Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association
 - "Feminist Justice for Just War," paper presentation
 - "Gendered Torture: Observations from Abu Ghraib," paper presentation
- 2005 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Feminist Insights into Gender for the 21st Century," paper presentation
- 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
 - "Moving Just War Theory into the 21st Century," paper presentation
- 2005 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "Race, Sex, and Torture: Feminist Visions of the War in Iraq," paper presentation
- 2004 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association
 - "Emancipatory Feminist Method: Some Applicatory Suggestions," paper presentation
 - "The Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Iraq," roundtable presentation
- 2003 Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association (WSSA)
 - "'Just War' or Just War: Feminisms, Just War Theory, and Sanctions on Iraq," paper presentation
- 2003 Annual Meeting of the Northeast Political Science Association
 - "Gendering Just War: Feminist Evaluations of 'Operation Iraqi Freedom,'" paper presentation
- 2003 Annual Meeting of International Studies Association-West
 - "Gendering Just War: Feminist Evaluations of Economic Sanctions," paper presentation
 - "Mathematics as Emancipatory Feminist Method," paper presentation
- 2003 Annual Meeting of the National Women's Studies Association
 - "The Gendered Humanitarian Situation in Iraq: A Postmodern Feminist Interpretation," paper presentation
- 2002 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-West
 - "Measuring Relative Partial Compliance for Economic Sanctions: A Vector Model," paper presentation

Prof. dr Nebojša B. Vučinić

Biografija

Dr Nebojša Vučinić rođen je 1953. godine na Cetinju- Banski stanovi. Završio je gimnaziju društveno-jezičkog smjera u Titogradu. Diplomirao je na Pravnom fakultetu u Titogradu 1976. godine, sa prosječnom ocjenom u toku studija 9,28. Dobitnik je studentske nagrade „Oslobođenje Titograda- 19 decembar“.

Magistrirao je 1980, a doktorirao 1986. godine na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu sa odlikom - *cum laudae*.

Usavršavao se na Haškoj akademiji za međunarodno pravo, Univerzitetu Kolumbija u Njujorku (kao Fulbrajtove stipendista), na univerzitetima u Juti, Ajdahu i Virdžiniji. Objavio je više udžbenika, monografija, studija i preko 50 stručnih i naučnih radova iz oblasti međunarodnog prava mora, ljudskih i manjinskih prava, prava na vjeroispovijest, prava na samoopredjeljenje, te teorije konstitucionalne demokratije.

Na ličnu inicijativu, 1992. godine Pravni fakultet uvodi predmete Ljudska prava i Ekološko pravo. Od 1994. godine bio je šef Odsjeka za međunarodno pravo i međunarodne odnose. U periodu od 2000. do 2008. godine bio je direktor Centra za ljudska prava Univerziteta Crne Gore pod čijim okriljem je sproveden veliki broj projekata značajnih za ovu oblast.

Preveo je sa engleskog jezika knjigu K. J. Fridriha, „Konstitucionalizam: ograničenje i kontrola vlasti“, CID, Podgorica, 1996.

Učestvovao je u izradi velikog broja zakonskih projekata iz oblasti ljudskih i manjinskih prava i bio šef ekspertske grupe Vlade Republike Crne Gore u pregovorima sa Republikom Hrvatskom u vezi sa razgraničenjem oko Prevlake.

U periodu od 2008 do 2018. godine bio je sudija Evropskog suda za ljudska prava u Strazburu. Bio je predstavnik Crne Gore u Nadzornom komitetu za ljudska prava Savjeta Evrope u Strazburu (CDDH) i član Savjetodavnog Komiteta pri Okvirnoj konvenciji Savjeta Evrope o zaštiti nacionalnih i etničkih manjina.

Redovni je profesor Pravnog fakulteta. Na Univerzitetu Crne Gore predaje predmete: Međunarodno javno pravo, Ljudska prava, Pravo mora, Međunarodni politički odnosi i Evroatlantske integracije.

Govori, čita i piše engleski jezik, a djelimično se služi i francuskim i ruskim jezikom.

Radovi u proteklih 5 godina:

- Prof. dr Nebojša B. Vučinić, The « effective control » and « overall control » tests “applied” in the jurisprudence of the ECtHR, Pravni zbornik br. 3/2019, str. 33-53.
- Izvještaj o zaštiti od diskriminacije sa stanovišta djelovanja institucije Zaštitnika ljudskih prava i sloboda Crne Gore za period 1. januar - 31. jul 2021. godine.

- Analize odluka sudova za prekršaje Crne Gore, sa osvrtom na praksu Ombudsmana i ESLJP u saradnji sa Misijom OEBS-a u Crnoj Gori.
- Studija za Medijsku asocijaciju jugoistočne Evrope, „Sloboda medija i Evropski sud za ljudska prava- praksa“
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- N. Vučinić, S. Grbović, „Rule of Law: Supranationalisation from the perspective of Central and Eastern European Countries: Montenegro”, Central European Journal of Comparative Law, CEA Publishing – u procesu publikacije.

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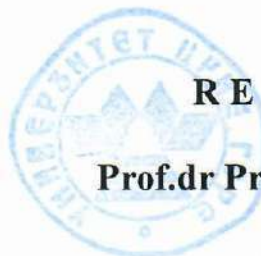
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Na osnovu člana 97. Zakona o Univerzitetu ("Sl.list RCG", br. 27/92 i 6/94) i člana 94. Statuta Univerziteta Crne Gore, Naučno-nastavno vijeće Univerziteta Crne Gore, na sjednici održanoj, 3.07.2001.godine donijelo je

ODLUKU O IZBORU U ZVANJE

Dr NEBOJŠA VUČINIĆ bira se u zvanje **redovnog profesora** Univerziteta Crne Gore za predmet **Medjunarodno javno pravo** na **Pravnom fakultetu u Podgorici**.

PRAVNA POUKA: Protiv ove odluke može se uložiti žalba Naučno-nastavnom vijeću Univerziteta Crne Gore u roku od 15 dana od dana prijema iste.



REKTOR,

Prof.dr Predrag Obradović

Doc. dr Marina Jovičević rođena je 08. 06. 1987. godine u Podgorici, gdje je završila osnovnu školu i gimnaziju sa odličnim uspjehom. Na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore završila je osnovne studije sa prosječnom ocjenom 9,67. U toku studija nagrađena je većim brojem priznanja, među kojima su najznačajnije godišnje nagrade Pravnog fakulteta za najbolje studente, nagrada Univerziteta Crne Gore za najboljeg studenta Pravnog fakulteta za 2010. godinu, kao i nagrada „Oslobođenja Podgorice – 19. decembar“. Magistrirala je 2012. godine na Pravnom fakultetu UCG, odbranivši magistarsku tezu pod naslovom: „Odgovornost šefa države pred ustavnim sudom u uporednom pravu i u Crnoj Gori“. Doktorirala je 2018. godine na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Donja Gorica, odbranivši sa odlikom doktorsku disertaciju sa naslovom „EU konstitucionalizam: izvori prava u Evropskoj uniji u svijetlu uporedne ustavnosti“.

U periodu od 2011. do 2022. godine zaposlena je na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore kao saradnik u nastavi, na ustavnopravnoj grupi predmeta. U martu 2022. godine izabrana je u zvanje docenta, za međunarodnopravnu oblast. Predaje Međunarodno pravo ljudskih prava, Diplomatsko i konzularno pravo i Istorijat i razvoj međunarodnog prava.

Objavila je veći broj naučnih i stručnih radova, među kojima: naučnu monografiju (*Odgovornost šefa države pred ustavnim sudom u uporednom pravu i u Crnoj Gori*, Centar za ustavno pravo, Podgorica, 2012); naučni članak objavljen u međunarodnom časopisu indeksiranom na SSCI listi (*Constitutional and legal foundations for local self-government in Montenegro*, Lex Localis – Journal of Local Self-Government, Vol. 17, No. 3); veći broj radova objavljenih u domaćim časopisima (*Specifičnosti odgovornosti Predsjednika Crne Gore*; *Izbor i razrješenje sudija u svijetlu važećeg Ustava Crne Gore*; *Ugovor iz Lisabona i delegacija zakonskih akata*; *On the concept of the rule of law in the European Union*) i drugo.

Boravila i usavršavala se na Evropa institutu Univerziteta u Sarlandu, univerzitetima u Ljubljani i Beogradu, Univerzitetu Regents u Londonu, Univerzitetu u Zagrebu. Učestvovala na većem broju domaćih i međunarodnih naučnih konferencija i skupova. Govori engleski i služi se francuskim jezikom.



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Datum / Date: 09.03.2022

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Priloga: 11.03.2022.			
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Na osnovu člana 72 stav 2 Zakona o visokom obrazovanju („Službeni list Crne Gore“, br. 44/14, 47/15, 40/16, 42/17, 71/17, 55/18, 3/19, 17/19, 47/19, 72/19 i 74/20 i 104/21) i člana 32 stav 1 tačka 9 Statuta Univerziteta Crne Gore, Senat Univerziteta Crne Gore, na sjednici održanoj 09.03.2022. godine, donio je

ODLUKU O IZBORU U ZVANJE

Dr MARINA JOVIĆEVIĆ bira se u akademsko zvanje **docent** Univerziteta Crne Gore iz **Međunarodnopravne oblasti** na **Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore**, na period od pet godina.



**SENAT UNIVERZITETA CRNE GORE
PREDSJEDNIK**

Prof. dr Vladimir Božović, rektor