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Globalization as Racialized, Sexualized Violence

THE CASE OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN

RAUNA KUOKKANEN

Abstract

In my article, I suggest that indigenous women are among the hardest hit by economic globalization – the expansion of markets, trade liberalization and cheapening of labour – and that globalization represents a multifaceted violence against indigenous women. I consider this with the help of two examples. First, I discuss the largely ignored case of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada and how the interlocking systems of oppression (colonization, patriarchy and capitalism) are further intensified by globalization. Second, I examine the death of a Hopi woman, Private Piestewa, in the context of militarization, history of colonization and globalization. I analyse these examples in an intersectional framework that reveals the links between colonization, patriarchy and capitalism all of which inform the current processes of globalization.

Keywords

global capitalism, indigenous women, US military, violence against women, war on Iraq

INTRODUCTION

For indigenous peoples around the world, economic globalization is not merely a question of marginalization but it represents a multifaceted attack on the very foundation of their existence. Trade liberalization and export-oriented development involving exploitation of natural resources by multinational corporations on indigenous peoples' territories often further marginalize indigenous peoples and undermine indigenous peoples' inherent right to self-determination. Whether it is mining, logging, hydroelectric construction, large-scale export-oriented agribusiness or oil exploration, these development projects are usually

accompanied by environmental degradation and sometimes also militarization and violence that endanger the possibilities of practising traditional livelihoods and of maintaining indigenous peoples' own social and cultural institutions. Indigenous women often bear the brunt of the negative effects of corporate globalization as the primary providers in the subsistence sector, and, particularly in the global South, as superexploited workers when they enter the wage sector (cf. Nash 2001: 4). Indigenous women also experience first hand the destruction of indigenous economies, increased outmigration and other local consequences of global economic restructuring.

There are also newer forms of exploitation of indigenous peoples, and their cultures such as the theft and patenting of traditional knowledge and biological and genetic resources through the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights and other mechanisms. Global economic restructuring such as trade liberalization, privatization, 'free trade' and deregulation has also considerably increased the pressure on indigenous territories. The dominant global economic system is based on continuous growth and thus requires an insatiable supply of natural resources and the world's remaining and diminished resources are often located on indigenous territories. Deregulation of national resource extraction laws and regulations has resulted in a serious undermining of international instruments, constitutional provisions, national laws and policies safeguarding indigenous rights. The most central of these rights, the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples has been questioned and undermined as national governments bind themselves to new global economic treaties.

Many scholars have pointed out the links between the processes of global economic restructuring and rising levels of violence. Some have even suggested 'a new paradigm of violence' which is particularly evident in tensions and conflicts where ethnic and religious identities are or can be employed as a resource to propel into violence for political ends (Wieviorka 2003). Discussions of globalization and violence, however, often fall short on seeing, understanding and analysing the gendered character and aspects of different forms of violence. This not only obscures the differences between men and women both as victims and perpetrators of violence, but also, as Wendy Harcourt and Arturo Escobar (2005: 4) contend, patriarchal and totalizing nature of 'globalocentric' frameworks disempower women and their politics. In the case of indigenous women, whose political and activist work often centres on the grassroots decision-making and community well-being, patriarchal and globalocentric frameworks further marginalize and make their concerns and contributions invisible. For example, in considerations and struggles for indigenous self-determination, women's concerns and priorities are often put on the back burner to be addressed 'later'. Structures of autonomy that do not address women's inequality from the very beginning, however, are likely merely to 'reproduce inequality by cultivating conditions for superordinate and subordinate positions' (Nash 2001: 245). Patriarchal, globalocentric analyses also fail to acknowledge and address the various forms of violence that indigenous women face when they challenge sexist,

hierarchical power and gender relations in their own communities (e.g. Nash 2001: 180; Martin-Hill 2003; Smith 2005b; Denetdale 2006).

If we do not take the gendering of power and its locations seriously, Cynthia Enloe (2004) suggests, we risk producing simplistic analyses but also being naïve. Taking the gendering of power, and in this case, gendered nature of violence seriously, however, also requires asking frequent questions about racialization such as which women are we talking about – otherwise the female subaltern remains ‘even more deeply in shadow’ (Spivak 1999: 274). To understand violence against indigenous women we need an intersectional analysis that is able to grasp the interconnections and overlaps between various forms of marginalization and subjugation and to go beyond male-dominated conceptions of race and white-dominated conceptions of gender (cf. Crenshaw 1996). In other words, we need to theorize how the systems of oppression (such as patriarchy, capitalism and white supremacy) come into existence through each other (cf. Razack 2002). In this article, I expand this intersectional analysis to include global economic restructuring. I consider economic globalization as a form of oppression that is closely linked to patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism but also as something that intensifies and creates new forms of violence against indigenous women. Veronica Bennholdt-Thomsen and Maria Mies contend that globalization manifests as violence against women also through the imposition and adoption of the dominant economic ideology and agenda. They argue that:

the present neoliberal globalization process produces a new patriarchal subordination of women, both in the South and the North, not only by direct intervention or violence, but also simply by the fact that apparently value-free economic priorities, namely commodification of everything and the maximization of profit, are made central goals of all societies. These goals appear as quasi-natural laws of all economic activity. Such a view of an economy is fundamentally hostile to women, to life, to humans as social beings, and to nature.

(Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen 1999: 46)

For many indigenous people, globalization is a euphemism for colonization or neo-colonialism. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, the Chair of the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples, maintains that globalization represents ‘the continuation of colonization with the use of more sophisticated methods’ such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO and NAFTA (Tauli-Corpuz 1998; see also Cayoqueo 1999; Houghton and Bell 2004). While in indigenous peoples’ contexts it is sometimes difficult to make a distinction between economic globalization and earlier forms of colonial exploitation, there are, however, some marked differences between the two.

If we understand colonialism as expropriation of indigenous peoples’ territories and resources and assimilation and disciplining indigenous bodies, globalization could be defined as more direct exploitation of dispensable bodies for profit, whether in export processing zones, homeworking and as sex

slaves. This comparison, of course, grossly simplifies the complex, multilayered processes and effects of both globalization and colonization, but it does point to one of the core differences between the two, namely how the restructuring of the global economy has expanded the exploitation of resources to bodies, especially female bodies in its dependence on cheapened labour of women (Mies 1998; Nash 2001: 15; Enloe 2004). According to estimates by the World Development Report and Food and Agriculture Organization, women constitute 70–90 per cent of workers in the world's export processing zones and produce well over half of the world's food. As June Nash (2001:15) puts it: 'Women's low-wage labor is the driving force for direct foreign investment in the countries of the South, though the workers do not enjoy even the minimum protections of the state available to male workers in unionized enterprises.' To illustrate my argument of globalization as sexualized and racialized violence against indigenous women, I examine two examples from North America: the alarmingly high rates of physical, sexual violence against indigenous women in Canada and the militarization of indigenous women in the United States.

MISSING AND MURDERED INDIGENOUS WOMEN

The Native Women's Association in Canada estimates that approximately 500 Aboriginal women have gone missing in Canada in the past 20 years. This estimate is echoed in government statistics from 1996, according to which Aboriginal women between the ages of 25 and 44 are 5 times more likely than other women of the same age to die as a result of violence (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1996). This is not unique to Canada. For example in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua, Mexico, approximately 400 women have been violently murdered since 1993. Many of these women are indigenous and poor women (Wright 2001; Amnesty International 2003).

In October 2004, Amnesty International released its *Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada* as part of a wider, international campaign to end violence against women. Besides discussing racial discrimination, the report argues that violence against indigenous women must be recognized and addressed as a human rights issue. It outlines three main concerns:

1. The heightened threat of violence created by the social and economic marginalization of Indigenous women within Canadian society;
2. The frequent failure of police and the justice system to provide adequate protection to Indigenous women; and
3. Evidence that some men are exploiting this vulnerability to specifically target women for acts of extreme brutality.

(Amnesty International 2004)

The rampant levels of violence against indigenous women in Canada are created by social and economic marginalization, which in turn are

consequences of colonialism such as dispossession of lands and livelihoods, abuse experienced in residential schools and assimilationist and racist policies seeking to erase identities and cultures. As a result, many women are being forced into dangerous or vulnerable situations such as extreme poverty, homelessness and prostitution.

Amnesty International's report makes it clear that the acts of violence against indigenous women are not isolated incidents but rooted in society's general attitudes reflected widely across institutions that are established to protect citizens, such as the police. The colonial context of gendered racial violence faced by many indigenous women in Canada is illustrated well by Sherene Razack who examines the murder of a Salteaux (Ojibway) woman, Pamela George, by two young middle-class white men. Her analysis reveals how the encounter between Pamela George and the white men was deeply colonial and can be understood only in the light of white settler history and strategies of domination. Razack (2002: 128) argues that the encounter that led to Pamela George's death was 'a making of the white, masculine self as dominant through practices of violence directed at a colonized woman'.

Colonial relationships are gendered and sexualized and sexual violence functions as a tool of racism and colonialism, not merely as a means of patriarchal control (Smith 2005a). The sexual exploitation of indigenous women is also integrally linked to their economic inequality and lack of political power both in dominant and in their own societies. In today's global economic order, violence against indigenous women is further exacerbated by privatization of public services, consolidation of wealth and power and corporate control over limited resources. As a recent report from British Columbia shows, privatization, centralization and, thus, reduction of social services and health care hit hardest rural areas, 'with especially serious consequences for Aboriginal women' (Creese and Strong-Boag 2005).

As the poorest and most disenfranchised segment of society, indigenous women are at the receiving end of not only physical or sexual violence, but also structural, political and economic violence all of which reinforce and reproduce one another. The 'New World Order' is marked by masculinization of political, economic and military power as well as glorification of tough, aggressive masculinity, which is acted out, for instance, in sexual violence against indigenous women. Displaced from their traditional livelihoods or their communities, indigenous women worldwide are forced to migrate to urban areas, either making them vulnerable to various forms of violence or reproducing the violent circumstances they have fled. For many women escaping poverty, violence or both, the only option is to engage in 'survival sex trade on the stroll' - a space where violence can be committed without much public attention or police investigation and where the superiority of the white masculine identity can be expressed and reinforced through and as violence.

In Canada, one of the most tragic and outrageous examples are those of the missing and murdered women in Vancouver's Downtown East Side. Though a

joint Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)/Vancouver City Police unit is currently investigating the disappearance of over sixty women over the last decade (many of whom are Aboriginal), police and city officials had long denied the existence of any pattern to these disappearances or that the women were in any particular danger (Amnesty International 2004; see also Culhane and Robertson 2005). Robert Pickton, a pig farmer from Port Coquitlam, is charged with murdering at least twenty-three women, but as many observers indicate, he likely did not act alone. Sex workers and friends of the murdered women suggest that 'Piggy Palace' was used to make snuff films and that women 'were being killed for money and on camera and with presence of live spectators' (Huntley 2004). The sex industry today is a multi-billion dollar industry and an integral part of the globalized economy. As Maria Mies (1998: 141) notes, 'the video industry thrives on violence against women, many of whom are women of colour'. Sex slaves, whether trafficked or abducted from the streets, produce profits globally for criminal groups and the sexual pleasure of others. Racism has always played a central role in this business – not only because of these women's assumed 'exotic sex appeal' but also because they can be used as objects of sadism and violence with relative impunity (Mies 1998).

The link between interpersonal physical or sexual violence against women and wider structures of violence and gendered domination has been well established in feminist scholarship. Oppression of women is systemic in society and it is manifested in multiple ways at multiple individualized and institutionalized levels. Direct physical and sexual violence are the most severe manifestations of this oppression, which cannot be fully understood if not analysed as part of the larger framework and ideologies of oppression. Moreover, women's vulnerability to violence is socially constructed and patriarchally performed by both agents of state and private individuals (Youngs 2003). Numerous feminists have also pointed out the links between colonization, patriarchy and capitalism. Writing in the 1920s, Rosa Luxemburg argued that capital accumulation is not possible without on-going colonization that forms the material conditions for capitalism (i.e. expropriation of new resources, labour and markets). For Luxemburg, colonialism does not represent the last stage of capitalism (Lenin 1970), but is the constant necessary condition of capitalism. Drawing upon Luxemburg's analysis, Maria Mies argues further that capitalism – that is, the never-ending process of capital accumulation – cannot function without patriarchy. In her view, patriarchy 'constitutes the mostly invisible underground of the visible capitalist system' (Mies 1998: 38).

If capitalism depends on both colonialism and patriarchy, colonialism also necessitates patriarchy. Andrea Smith (2005a: 23) contends that 'in order to colonize a people whose society was not hierarchical, colonizers must first naturalize hierarchy through instituting patriarchy. Patriarchal gender violence is the process by which colonizers inscribe hierarchy and domination on the bodies of the colonized.' All these systems and structures – colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy – are predicated on violence, whether direct and

interpersonal or structural, economic or epistemic. According to Mies (1998: 4), violence against women should not, therefore, be analysed 'as a result of some timeless inborn male sadism, but as a mechanism in the process of ongoing "primitive accumulation"'. In this process, wealth and productive capital are accumulated by creating and maintaining permanent relations of exploitation, domination and violence between men and women but also by extending patriarchal control over those defined as subordinate, whether women, indigenous peoples or the environment ('natural resources').

If the contemporary sociopolitical and economic system *requires* hierarchical, exploitative gender relations and an asymmetric sexual division of labour, the current global economic order driven by profit has only intensified the exploitation and structures of violence. Processes of globalization such as feminization of low-wage migratory labour force (e.g. domestic service) heightens this vulnerability particularly in racialized, colonial settings (Pettman 1996). The feminization and flexibilization of labour in industry and services forms the foundation of the 'comparative advantage' of many countries in the global South. In countries like the Philippines, many women who accept employment in oppressive conditions come from indigenous communities where, due to decades of harsh structural adjustment reforms, the loss of livelihoods and lands has led to massive outmigration to urban centres. For example, many indigenous women from the Cordillera region have been employed in the Baguio City Export Processing Zone (Tauli-Corpuz 1998).

In the global South where a large number of indigenous women continue to be engaged in subsistence food production, the connection between global economic restructuring and various forms of violence are more discernible (see Tauli-Corpuz 1998). In North America and many other 'First World' countries where the displacement of indigenous peoples from their traditional territories and livelihoods has occurred already several generations ago, the link between violence against indigenous women and globalization might not be obvious at first. This is also partly because of the almost exclusive focus of globalization scholarship on the global North/South divide, including literature critical of corporate-driven global economy. Very little attention is paid to the effects of the new global economy in the 'Fourth World' within the 'First World' – that is, the indigenous societies and in particular, indigenous women and their experiences of multiple forms of violence.

However, the erosion of their remaining rights and lands by neo-liberal development agendas of local and national governments has made it exceedingly difficult to harvest food and medicinal plants on lands shared with other users also for indigenous people in the global North. Governments generally give priority to fee simple title-holders to practise logging, mining or tourism and development projects by private or multi-national corporations. In many indigenous communities, women are the keepers and teachers of knowledge related to food crops, medicinal plants, herbs as well as conservation and sustainable harvesting. In the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia,

logging and cattle overgrazing pose a serious threat to traditional land users, making it difficult to harvest foods and medicines in a sustainable way (Armstrong 1998). Besides endangering harvesting rights and cultural practices of the community, increased pressures on the land – the result of governments' neo-liberal, corporate agenda – displace women from their roles and positions in their societies. This in turn may imply a shift in gender dynamics and a disruption of the social fabric. When it is no longer possible for women to fulfill their important and valued roles in a community, their social status may also diminish, thus making them more vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion. Changing roles and dynamics affect also men, and growing economic and social insecurity and instability often manifests in growing rates of violence against women both within families and in society at large.

Effects of corporate globalization on indigenous women are not, however, only a matter of individual disenfranchised men battering women. There is a need to see how male violence is intricately connected to patriarchal, neo-liberal state violence. As John Hoffman (2001: 109) argues, 'Male violence is not just analogous to the force of the state: it is part of the state, authorized by the state. . . . Patriarchy is linked to force, which in turn is linked to the state.' The State is not only patriarchal and colonial, but also deeply implicated in capitalist and more recently, neo-liberal ideologies.

Considering the failure of state agents to offer protection to indigenous women or even investigate violence against them, reluctance to report to police or deep distrust in the state system as a solution among indigenous women is not surprising. Instead, indigenous women activists have called attention to the fact that settler states such as the United States and Canada are built on genocide and slavery. Therefore, to find solutions to rampant violence against indigenous women necessitates approaches that address sexual, physical and state violence together and simultaneously (Smith 2005b).

MILITARIZATION, GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND INDIGENOUS WOMEN

One of the ways the State expresses patriarchal power is through masculinist discourses of militarism and through the military-industrial complex as violence against indigenous women. Militarization is certainly not a new phenomenon for indigenous peoples. There are numerous examples from around the world, such as on-going attempts to expropriate Sami reindeer herding areas for the purposes of bomb testing by the Norwegian government (Helander and Utsi 2005; Utsi 2005), low-level military flight training in the Innu territory in Labrador (Barker 2001), Plan Colombia (Kosec 2003; Macdonald and Edeli 2003; Fertl 2005), the civil war and its consequences in Guatemala (Schirmer 2002), the Oka crisis in Quebec in 1990 (Kahenrakwas Goodleaf 1997), the Acteal massacre of mostly women and children in Chiapas, Mexico in 1997, nuclear testing in the Pacific Islands or on Shoshone

territory in Nevada (Smith 2005a) and countless other examples. Around the world, indigenous people have fought militarization of their lives and lands. In some cases, they have also joined the state armies to fight the 'enemy' alongside their colonial powers.

Traditionally, it was only or mostly indigenous men who were recruited and conscripted to the ranks of the state military. The consolidation of the economic and military fundamentalism of the 'new global order' with its insatiable hunger for 'new frontiers' has meant that indigenous women and their lives are now increasingly militarized by being recruited as part of the military industrial complex. As soldiers within the state army and part of the military-industrial complex, however, indigenous women are subjected to the very same violence, even if less directly and in slightly different forms, than they would were they on the other side. In short, indigenous women remain the casualties of war in spite of their location, and like their counterparts on the world's export processing zones, are constructed through the discourse of 'disposable women' (Wright 1997).

This is evident in the largely forgotten story of the Hopi woman, Private Lori Piestewa who was the first American servicewoman killed in the US invasion of Iraq in March 2003 (see, for example, Flannery and Reid 2003). Her death was shadowed by the story of another American soldier and a friend of Piestewa's, Jessica Lynch, a white 19-year-old woman who was injured, hospitalized and then rescued by US Special Forces in Iraq. While the death of Lori Piestewa hardly made it to the national headlines and was quickly forgotten in the nation's celebration of war, Jessica Lynch became the celebrated hero and 'the poster girl for American resilience and camaraderie' (Younge 2003; see also Sjoberg 2007).

Private Piestewa was a 23-year-old single mother from Tuba City, Arizona. She wanted to go to college but those plans were put on hold when she found out that she was pregnant. Osha Grey Davidson (2004) writes about Piestewa:

There aren't many job options on the reservation, and even fewer for girls who are poor, pregnant, and seventeen ... Lori married her boyfriend and had two children, but the marriage felt apart. She wound up living with her parents in the small but comfortable trailer where she was raised, feeling trapped and desperate. She hated taking things for free, even from her family. So she left her kids in the care of her folks and enlisted in the Army ... For Lori, the military was just another way to help others – starting with her kids and her family. 'She wanted to fend for her children,' says her mother, Percy. 'She was going to build us a house and take care of us. I think she weighed the options that she had. We're not rich enough to send her to college.'

No doubt there were several reasons for Lori Piestewa to join the US military, but as many observers note, economics was certainly one of them. Government policies that prioritize military budgets and spending while cutting funding from social, educational and health programmes impact

particularly negatively women from lower socio-economic classes (Hammond Callaghan 2003: 2). Due to gendered and racialized global capitalism manifested through privatization of essential public services and education, combined with race to the bottom on wages, the choices are limited for an increasing number of young indigenous women who usually come from poor families and working-class background. In the USA, this choice might be the military, while south of the border it is the *maquiladora*. The risk of violence, including sexual violence, is very high in both places (Enloe 2000: 285–6; Sutherland and Jefferson 2002; Amnesty International 2003).

If the necessary social, educational and health programmes had been in place, Piestewa may not have needed to join the army to look after her children and family. While poverty on reservations has made Native Americans enlist in the army for several generations, since the 1990s, young Native American men and also increasingly women 'have been driven into the military by reason of reservation conditions fostered by a decade of "Reagonomics"' (Holm 1992: 354). One also cannot ignore the historical fact that the United States has been established on expropriated land and its existence depends on exploiting the resources left on Native American lands. If this was not the case and if the world's biggest privately owned coal mining company, Peabody Energy, was not strip-mining coal in Hopi territory, the Hopi would not be one of the poorest indigenous communities in the USA.

Peabody operates two mines on Black Mesa, the largest strip-mining operation in the USA, located on Hopi and Navajo territory. The coal is slurried to Nevada through a 273-mile-long underground pipeline, using about three million gallons of clean drinking water a day in an arid region where many Hopi are forced to drive their trucks to distant water stations to fill up their water containers. Of the twelve Hopi villages on or near Black Mesa, only four have running water, while the others use communal wells. The development of the Southwest, including cities such as Phoenix and Las Vegas, would not have been possible without access to Hopi's coal and water. As a result of aggressive lobbying, a deal was struck almost forty years ago, which sold the coal and water rights to Peabody for absurdly low prices: 'The Hopi and the Navajo received a royalty rate that was half what the U.S. government received for coal mined on public lands. The water deal was worse – if there even was a deal' (Folger 2004).

Andrea Smith maintains that 'it is important to understand that [the US] war against "terror" is really an attack against Native sovereignty, and that consolidating US empire abroad is predicated on consolidating the US empire *within* US borders' (Smith 2005a: 179, emphasis in original). In the process of creating the United States as a nation and empire, the sovereignty of Native American nations, including that of the Hopi, has been suppressed and eradicated. Reproducing and reinforcing the empire today is predicated on Native American lands *and* Native American bodies. There is a link between the US conquest and genocide of Native Americans and the reasons behind Piestewa's joining the army. The historical, collective violence continues and reproduces

itself in the death of the Hopi woman in the US-led war on Iraq but there are also layers added to this historical violence through new forms of militarization of indigenous women's lives such as enlisting in the army.

Further, Tom Holm (1992) suggests that there is considerable evidence indicating that a greater incorporation of Native Americans into the US military is considered a key mechanism in completing the colonial assimilation project. Besides the obvious economic reasons for many Native Americans to join the US military, there is a need to look at the increasingly aggressive recruiting campaigns to fill the declining ranks. Ruthless exploitation of the often stereotypical notions of 'uniquely adept Indian warriors', cultural confusion – created by generations of genocidal and assimilationist policies – and disorientation caused by the 'new Indian militancy' in the late 1960s and early 1970s have also contributed to the growing number of young Native Americans joining the military (Holm 1992). As another Native American army recruit, Navajo woman Tina Garnanez relates: 'I was a lost Native.' She enlisted in the military at age 17 to fund her college education and ended up being deployed to Iraq. Barely escaping an explosion, she realized she no longer could serve in the war and 'fight for somebody's oil agenda'. Now honourably discharged, she speaks against the war in schools but also struggles 'to understand how she as a Native American could be part of the same machine that nearly exterminated the Native Americans' (Ahn 2006).

It would be wrong to blame young Native American women (or men) for enlisting in the military. While the US military may not be the only option they have, it is, as Tina Garnanez puts it, 'usually only the military recruiters that are there in schools' (Ahn 2006). For indigenous women, the options remain limited in the racialized and gendered global economy wedded to the military-industrial complex. In the United States, a growing number of indigenous and minority women find themselves in jobs (if they are able to find a job) with less income, less benefits and less stability (Isasi-Díaz 1996) while the salaries and benefits in the armed forces have increased exponentially in the past twenty years (Landau 2006).

The close relationship of military and economic interests is not new. Masculinized toughness and the values of masculine mystique serve to further prop and also veil this relationship: 'They help mask the fact that many national defense decisions have more to do with the economic interests of the military-industrial complex ... than with defense needs' (Miedzian 1991: 20). Myriam Miedzian discusses the values of the 'masculine mystique': toughness, dominance, emotional detachment, callousness towards women, repression of empathy, extreme competitiveness and eagerness to seek out danger and fight. These values were designed to make young men 'good soldiers ready to sacrifice their lives at the altar of their leaders' power and prestige' (Miedzian 1991: xxii).

War has become a major factor in the global economy and as Dorothy Smith (1989: 94) argues, 'essential to the functioning of the major capitalist economies'. In 2003, global military expenditure and arms trade was over \$950 billion,

forming the largest spending in the world. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook 2007,

[b]etween September 2001 and June 2006, the US Government provided a total of \$432 billion in annual and supplemental appropriations under the heading 'global war on terrorism.' This increase in US military spending has contributed to the deterioration of the US federal budget since 2001. Taking both the immediate and long-term factors into account, the overall past and future costs until year 2016 to the USA for the war in Iraq have been estimated at \$2267 billion. (Stålenheim *et al.* 2007: 11)

The Houston-based oil services company Halliburton, once led by Vice President Dick Cheney – and as some argue, the ties remain (CBS News 19 May 2006) – reported in April 2005 a dramatic turn-around after suffering a loss in 2004; a net profit of \$365 million. A third of Halliburton's revenue comes from construction and engineering work related to Iraq. Another construction company, San Francisco based Bechtel is the second largest contractor in Iraq. In 2004, it reported record revenue of \$17.4 billion, of which 'over \$1 billion comes from contracts to repair water, sewage and electrical plants' (Lorimer 2005).

In short, global economic interests and military interests are mutually sustained and mutually reinforcing. The gendering and racialization of this relationship takes myriad forms, including the not so obvious ones such as the female producers of consumer goods for the global economy. It is the military that assists in keeping the women's wages low and making their labour cheap in countries like China, Indonesia or Vietnam. The corporations and their factory contractors 'hire military men as their managers, call on local militarized security forces to suppress workers' organizing, or ally with governments who define the absence of women workers' independent organizing as necessary for national security' (Enloe 2000: 291).

The current dominant political culture in the USA is characterized by patriarchal and militaristic ideologies and values. Masculinized toughness is highly valued, resulting in the naturalization of military needs as a top political priority (Enloe 2004). By enlisting, women have a unique opportunity to embrace the values of the masculine mystique so highly regarded in the current context of militarization of popular culture and glorification of war. It gives them a way of becoming 'good guys' and 'honorary males' – perhaps even first-class citizens. For Cynthia Enloe (2000), the successful linking of citizenship to military service explains the strong argument made by women's advocates that it is women's right to serve in the military. Considering how quickly, however, Private Piestewa's death was forgotten in the aftermath of the massive rescue operation of another female soldier, Private Lynch, it is clear that granting first-class citizenship to women though the military is also racialized. We can hardly consider the renaming of an Arizona landmark previously called Squaw Peak as Piestewa Peak a reflection of granting first-class

citizenship (Indians.com 2003). In the context of the continued practice of associating Native American women with the derogatory term 'squaw' it can be difficult to see this gesture as honourable even if it signifies getting rid of the disdainful place name. If women gain first-class citizenship through the military at all, it seems to be reserved only for white women whose loyalties to the State could not be called into question in the same way that the loyalties of 'ethnic' soldiers – men or women – always could (see Enloe 1980; see Holm 1992). What also often is ignored or forgotten in the process of women aspiring to be first-class citizens is that it is a highly masculinized, militarized citizenship: the recruitment of women is conducted only in ways 'that will not subvert the fundamentally masculinized culture of the military' (Enloe 2000: 238).

Closely related to citizenship arguments is the idea that war is liberating for women. Many US women continue to wear their 'We can do it!' Rosie the Riveter T-shirts with pride, thinking that World War II advanced women's liberation. Enloe (2004: 133) points out, however, that this interpretation, like the idea of women gaining first-class citizenship by enlisting in the army, relies 'on our ignoring women's experiences of war all over the world'. In the case of the war on Iraq, the US military is a major institution perpetuating violence against women both in the USA and Iraq. Contrary to the Bush Administration's rhetoric, the war has brought more suffering than liberation, freedom or equality for Iraqi women. As the recent report 'Iraqi women under siege' (Lasky 2006) demonstrates, the occupation has only bolstered the forces that try to suppress women's rights such as conservative Islamists who call for a return to 'tradition'.

The Iraq war has tremendously increased insecurity in the lives of women who are now daily faced with the possibility of random physical or sexual violence by suicide bombers, occupying forces, contractors, Iraqi police or local gangs. Iraqi women have also been used as 'bargaining chips' by US forces to pressure Iraqi men to turn themselves in or collaborate with the interrogators. The Coalition has also neglected women in the economic and political reconstruction of Iraq by not incorporating them in these processes in meaningful, significant ways. Marjorie P. Lasky (2006: 11) contends: 'by ignoring women, the Coalition encouraged the conservative male office holders to ignore women's concerns as well'. In short, the level of physical displacement and deprivation and psychological deprivation of Iraqi women has rapidly escalated after the occupation. Supporting the war by arguing for the freedom of Iraqi women is not only utterly false, but making women's rights as mere by-products of some other cause also endangers women's rights everywhere (Enloe 2004). Moreover, constructing Muslim women as victims in need of liberation by the West conveniently averts the focus from violence against women in the West (Young 2003). If we understand the war as a masculine economic enterprise – masculine because men are the main subjects of the discourse – where 'bringing democracy' to undemocratic countries appears to have more to do with instituting free trade than securing

human rights, we also see how it perpetuates colonialism – ever-increasing exploitation of resources – both at home and abroad.

The consequences of the US military makes indigenous women complicit in the imperial invasions of countries like Iraq, and also others, in various ways. It may force some either to close their eyes or deny the explicit and implicit violence against women perpetrated by the military both against the enemy and inside the ranks. This might be challenging particularly if servicewomen see the women of their enemy constructed along similar lines of gendered, racialized otherness to themselves. Others may become entrenched in patriotism or they may turn into reaffirming Native warrior culture and ‘traditionalizing contemporary military experiences’ (Holm 1992: 361) in the name of reclaiming Native sovereignty. For some, it may mean both – being patriotic and claiming Native sovereignty are not always seen as mutually exclusive, reflecting the complex and occasionally even antagonistic relationships that contemporary indigenous people, both collectively and individually, have with states and governments.

Militarization of indigenous women’s lives, whether in the form of enlisting or of environmental destruction caused by military bases and test sites, goes hand in hand with the legacies of colonialism and the contemporary ideologies and practices of global capitalism. Native sovereignty remains unrecognized and, as a result, the land and resources are being confiscated in the name of the national economy and in the interest of consolidating global power, limiting the options available for Native nations and their individuals even further. As a Native American woman, the violence Lori Piestewa experienced through the militarization of her life is manifold. As a woman, she remained in the margins of the masculinized military (and perhaps even more so as a Native woman and as a woman of colour). As a Native American, her death was soon forgotten and overshadowed by ‘more important’ events; she became a casualty of war who could fairly easily be erased from the nation’s memory. These aspects – as a woman and as a Native American – cannot, however, be analysed separately from one another, as they are mutually constituted. The experiences of Native American women are different from their male counterparts both in the US military and in their own communities where they also often remain socially, politically and economically marginalized. Lori Piestewa joined to fight the ‘enemy’ abroad because of her and her family’s dire socioeconomic circumstances, but her real enemy was the very state that had disenfranchised her in multiple ways and on multiple levels as a Native American woman.

CONCLUSION

My point in this article is not to present indigenous women as mere victims of globalization or violence. Even those indigenous women who are in situations with very limited choice do not necessarily lose their agency to make political

and other choices in their lives. Indigenous women also emphasize the fact that instead of being victims, they are the survivors of centuries of exploitation, assimilation and abuse. As Bonita Lawrence (1996) notes, these voices are sometimes excluded from feminist discourses on violence against women. Indigenous women are also often seen as victims because they are not heard in the way they seek to be heard; because their stories remain irreducibly foreign to well-meaning whites and others (Trinh 1989; Spivak 1994; see also Kuokkanen 2007).

Instead of being victims, indigenous women are citizens of their nations fighting to have their rights recognized as women and as a people. In many cases, indigenous women are organizers who actively mobilize their communities and available resources in most creative ways that often go beyond ideologies and practices of global market economy. It is, however, necessary to bring more sustained attention to the multifaceted and multilevel violence that indigenous women are experiencing and that largely remains in the shadow of public interest and political action. Our role as indigenous women in more privileged countries and positions – such as in the academy – is not only to analyse these ignored tragedies and keep the questions alive, but also to examine our participation in global capitalism that directly contributes to the exploitation of indigenous women or militarization of their lives in more vulnerable regions and situations such as the global South.

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