Settler-Colonialism and Indigenous Women's Rights:

A Comparative Analysis of the Socioeconomic Impact endured by Indigenous women within 'Canada', and

Indigenous Palestinian women within 'Israel'.

by

Talia Yousef

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

In

Political Economy

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

2019, Talia Yousef

Table of Contents

Abstract

This research compares the socioeconomic realities of Indigenous women resisting settler colonialism, such as Palestinian women resisting Israel, and women of varying Indigenous nations resisting Canada. The purpose of the research aims to address the socio-economic impact of settler-colonialism on Indigenous women as a causal relationship. In doing so, the research addresses factors such as Indigenous relationships to land, genocide (which will be defined and situated within the context shortly), and continued mechanisms of systemic oppression and discrimination. This comparative analysis uses lenses of anti-colonial feminism and marxism, while relying on the academic work of Indigenous authors as well as statistical data indicating various measures of socio-economic welfare. The observed outcomes situate the rights of Indigenous women at the heart of liberation from settler colonialism, and inversely address settler-colonialism as a key mechanism oppressing the rights of Indigenous women.

INTRODUCTION

Research Questions

As a comparative analysis this research aims to address the gendered process of settler colonialism, by analyzing the extent of the socioeconomic impact of settler-colonialism on Indigenous women. Assessing such impact will be based on an analysis of two different groups of Indigenous women who have endured settler-colonialism, through which both groups of women have endured vast socio-economic displacement. This research aims to highlight the fundamental relationship between Indigenous people and land, to facilitate the understanding of their oppression under settler-colonialism. Through a comparative analysis, this research evaluates the experiences of Palestinian women enduring settler-colonialism under the occupying state of Israel, as well as Indigenous women from various Indigenous nations who also continue to endure and resist settler-colonialism within Canada. By situating the Indigenous understanding of and connection to land, this analysis facilitates an understanding of systemic-oppression which acknowledges the initial displacement of Indigenous people as a direct cause of settler-colonialism. In comparing Palestinian women and Indigenous women within Canada, this analysis aims to address the

continued impact of settler-colonialism on Indigenous women and the gendered process in which settler colonialism is sustained. This analysis will rely on the displacement from land, and resources and traditional structures to assess the onset of the disempowerment of Indigenous women. The analysis will also account for the systemic mechanisms which uphold settler-colonialism, particularly by continuing the oppression of Indigenous people and women. Such mechanisms include systemic racism, gendered violence against Indigenous women, genocide and the many experiences of systemic violence and discrimination which contribute to the systemic oppression of Indigenous peoples. Thus, the main question at hand in this analysis is: What is the socioeconomic impact of settler-colonialism on Indigenous women within the settler-colonial states of Canada and Israel? Developing an anti-colonial approach to answering this, calls for an underlying research question, which must also be addressed to provide a just understanding of the "socio-economic impact" the research aims to analyze; How is the current status of Indigenous women situated as an outcome of the gendered process of settler colonialism?

In relating the roles of women in Indigenous societies to their connection with the land, one can question how the loss of land during the process of settler-colonialism directly displaces

Indigenous women economically. The changing political economies bring a drastic impact on women, and the collective of Indigenous societies, with the onset of capitalism to agriculture and the transition towards an exclusive capitalist economy with discriminatory workforce politics. For the purpose of understanding the extent of colonialism's impact on women, it is essential to evaluate from a political economic standpoint, the fall of traditional social and economic structures and the onset of capitalism in their place. This change incrementally brings forth drastic social, cultural and economic impact and is key to linking the dispossession of Indigenous women from the onset of British Colonialism to the modern states of Settler Colonialism in Canada and Israel. In addition to the direct impact by the loss of land and economic changes, the onset of colonialism introduced all forms of oppression and injustice onto Indigenous people, and Indigenous women in particular. Such circumstances play a key role in the current economic status of Indigenous people and Indigenous women as they set the precedent of intergenerational trauma. Intergenerational trauma is defined by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) (2018) as "the transmission of the effects of

trauma across generations, affecting the children and grandchildren of those initially victimized." Such transmission may include the transmission of historical oppression and can evidently be observed within its impact on the health and wellbeing of Indigenous people today. Relying on historical context of the socio-economic functions and traditions of the Indigenous people within Canada and of Palestinians, along with current statistics showing the changes of these factors throughout the imposition of western economic structures, one can begin to understand the social, political, and economic struggle of Palestinian and Indigenous Women solely as an outcome of colonialism and it's continuation through Settler Colonialism. The changing landscape of economic, political and social structures transforms the traditional Palestinian ways of communal agriculture, and with it the key roles of women are drastically eliminated. Similarly, the varied previous structures across Indigenous nations within Canada including those of First Nations, Inuit, and Metis people provided security, connection, and key roles for Indigenous women, securing their rights and well-being.

In Huron Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle, George Sioui (1999) draws on Anderson's rebuttal to the common Western notion of a "natural subordination of woman to man" in which a de-colonial lens is used to state that such subordination is only possible given the circumstances that have been imposed through settler-colonialism. Anderson says the following on the status of indigenous women:

> When the link between kinship, social relations of production and male/female status is destroyed. Women's status is undermined when they no longer have direct access to the means of production and the product of social labour in their own right as members of a viable unit of production and reproduction (Anderson, 1982:265).

Such circumstances arise in both cases of Israel and Canada, in which not only are women displaced from their traditional means of production and contribution, but their means of contribution are limited and inhibited by new discriminatory social, political and economic conditions which further oppress them and entrench their displacement. The liberation of Indigenous people from settler colonialism is directly correlated to the liberation and empowerment of Indigenous women resisting settler-colonialism. Disempowering Indigenous women is a key component of settler-colonialism and it must be addressed as a key issue within the process of decolonizing. Andrea Smith articulates this correlation well as she explains that "In order to colonize a people whose society was not hierarchal; 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." (Smith, 2005:23) — This is an essential concept in centralizing Indigenous women's rights as a core factor in the process of decolonizing. It is especially relevant in the case of Indigenous women within Canada, in which their previous cultures were so different from those of European settlers that the existence of both hierarchy and patriarchy were brand new mechanisms only introduced through colonialism. Although some mechanisms of hierarchy and patriarchy existed in Palestine prior to its colonization, in both cases of Indigenous resistance, patriarchy was used as a mechanism of enhancing a hierarchy which dispositions Indigenous people from cultural knowledge, communal structures, and economic roles that may provide them the means of being a threat to the colonial missions imposed on them. Colonialism is imposed on our land and on our bodies, trespassing onto the rights and bodies of Indigenous women is an oppressive mechanism in a colonial machine which starts from the inside out, onto key members of a society outwards. Centralizing the rights and welfare of Indigenous women is a key component to both resisting settler-colonialism and decolonizing settler-colonial states. Morgensen (2012) supports this by saying:

> Colonialism is produced, extended, and illuminated by gendered and sexual power is a hallmark of colonial studies (Morgensen, 2012:3).

The intended outcomes and contributions of this research are as follows; firstly, to draw parallels between Indigenous nations within Canada and Indigenous Palestinians, challenging the negative impacts of settler-colonialism as a collective effort. Secondly to portray the changing political economic structures at the onset of colonialism and through settler-colonialism, analyzing their impact on the rights and status of Indigenous women. Most importantly, to highlight the role settler-colonialism and its social and economic structures play in displacing Indigenous women and refute the western or liberal approaches which may otherwise portray "othered" women to be oppressed by their own people or cultures (Abu-Lughod, 2013).

The goal of the research is to present the roles of women in pre-colonial structures based on the value given to them by their societies, thus eliminating the bias and subjectivity often utilized in western feminist analysis which degrades the roles of women in other societies by assessing their status in reference to western structures. An example of this discrimination can apply to a role such as food preservation, a job which is a key collective responsibility of Palestinian women within their communal structure. When this job is

situated within the traditional economic structure, it can be viewed as a key economic contribution which plays a vital role in ensuring the sustenance of the collective. It is a job that is irreplaceable and as such the women who contribute to it are highly valued workers. When this job is assessed from the standpoint of western feminism, situated within a liberal capitalist economy, the value of that job is then overlooked in exchange for the expanded availability of food through trade, and the increased demand for wages in exchange for purchased goods, creating an alternative to the job of food preservation and a new requirement to access food. The value of labour within a western-feminist approach is then based on monetary compensation, de-valuing the traditional collective work of Indigenous women, and imposing a standard of wage-earning to categorize and situate Indigenous women within an imposed capitalist hierarchy of labour. A proper analysis of the economic contributions of Indigenous women within their societies can only be made given the historical context of the socio-economic structures in which the key contributions of Indigenous women are necessary and valued.

Grounds of Comparison

The lived and continued experiences of Indigenous people within Canada and the Indigenous Palestinians under Israeli Occupation provide strong grounds for comparison. Both groups of Indigenous people have been subject to the continued processes of settler-colonialism,   and genocide, both of which will be defined and situated within the context shortly. In both cases, these processes of oppression exist for the purpose of the erasure of Indigenous societies in order to facilitate the sovereignty of a new society of European settlers.

These key processes of genocide and settler colonialism eliminated the traditional socio-economic structures and ways of life of the surviving Indigenous people, replacing such structures which heavily depended on a deep connection to the land, with capitalism. It is important to highlight both the context of genocide and settler-colonialism, in assessing the current welfare of Indigenous women as it facilitates an understanding that the current economic structures were imposed on them and their lands. Not only did both groups of people need to adjust to the new colonial economic structures bestowed upon them, but they both were subject to many barriers to entry into the modern wage-labour force based on discriminatory elements such as race, religion or gender. In situating the framework

neither in a pre nor post-colonial space, this comparison thus relies on social, political and economic determinants which contribute to the lived reality of Indigenous women resisting settler-colonialism. Salaita argues that such political determinants are heavily discursive, rooted in the justifications used by settler societies in both North America and the Holy land positioning themselves as missionaries achieving a sacred goal (Salaita, 2008). In support of his argument, Salaita draws on the work of Newcomb (2008) to a address a key common factor between both cases of settler-colonialism, in which such colonialism heavily depends on a "Holy Land ethos" to justify the colonizer's claim on the land (Newcomb, 2008). In his work Newcomb (2008) situates the position of the colonizers through a de-colonizing lens:

> From an indigenous perspective, this collective colonizing body can be metaphorically thought of as a predator that pursues its indigenous spoil and prey; it sets out to catch, devour, and consume everything in sight (Newcomb, 2008:16)

This de-colonizing framework and imagery situates the process of settler-colonialism as predatory and situates the indigenous as the victim of the settler's propensity to consume.

The ongoing process of genocide is historically prevalent for both Indigenous populations. The efforts of assimilation through the residential schools, and the imposition of laws limiting traditional forms of labour are some contributors to the changing political economies which socioeconomically displace the Indigenous people within Canada. Along with the genocide of Indigenous populations, settler-colonialism as a process of eliminating the Indigenous and replacing them with new structures, imposed major disruptions and changes to traditional Indigenous labour structures and sources – forcing the Indigenous to comply and adapt to new economic structures in order to secure their sustenance.

Defining Genocide

Understanding the violent context of settler colonialism and the extent of its impact on the indigenous requires defining and situating genocide as a key mechanism of settler-colonialism. The term "genocide" was coined by Raphael Lemkin (1944) in response to the holocaust and the inadequacy of legal terminology at the time to depict the extents of the

systemic atrocities which were occurring within Europe against European Jews (Lemkin, 1944). As the research relies on Lemkin's original definition, it is important to note

that Lemkin himself was a Zionist at the time of this writing (Loeffler, 2017). This is relevant because the suitability of his own legal formula on the term "genocide" to describe the lived experiences of the Palestinians situates their experience of genocide, not only from their anti-colonial perspective, but also within a Zionist context. Offering the original definition of the term, Lemkin (1944) defines "genocide" as "the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group" (Lemkin, 1944: 79). Within this definition he expands that:

> Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with aim of annihilating the groups themselves (Lemkin, 1944: 79).

From Lemkin's own definition one can draw the importance of situating "genocide" within this settler-context, in two manners; One, indicated as "the immediate destruction" which reflects the onset of violence as an event that sets the precedent for the rise of a settler-colonial state; And another indicated as "a coordinated plan of different actions" in which the concept of genocide is firmly situated as an ongoing process of erasure (Lemkin, 1944).

Erasure as a factor of genocide, plays a key role in facilitating the prevalence of Settler Colonialism. Abdo (2018) situates erasure within the Palestinian context:

> 'Erasure' as the primary marker of settler-colonial Israel; thus the concept of "toponymycide" used to describe the erasure of place names in Palestine and their replacement with Hebrew (Jewish) names; "cultural genocide", used in reference to the erasure of the Palestinian identity from Israeli memory; "politicide", referring to the erasure of Palestinian identity as a political collectivity. Combined these policies and acts of erasure conducted by the Zionist settler-colonial project during and immediately after the Nakba constitute a major part of the definition of a genocide; while accepting the concept of "incremental genocide (Abdo, 2018:59).

All of the aforementioned instances of erasure evident in a continuous genocide likewise apply to Indigenous people everywhere, especially the Indigenous nations within the state of Canada. In Canada, the ongoing genocide has continued for so long that it has reduced entire nations of Indigenous people to reservations, generations of assimilation, and the consideration of the Indigenous as merely a demographic minority within a "multi-cultural" settler-colonial framework.

This brief context of erasure is supported further by the "objectives" of genocide highlighted in Lemkin's (1944) definition:

> The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of cultural, language, national feelings, religion and the economic existence of national groups and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups (Lemkin, 1944:79).

This research is primarily concerned with the "disintegration of … the economic existence" of these oppressed groups, as a causal factor of their modern socioeconomic realities (Lemkin, 1944). This link within Lemkin's (1944) own definition, with the systemic economic dispossession of indigenous people facilitates the discourse of the systemic mechanisms of settler colonialism and relates the concept of "genocide" within the scope of the research. Lemkin highlights the "destruction of foundations of economic existence" to be "crippling" to the development of the oppressed group and "retrogressive" towards their collective progress (Lemkin, 1944:85). Further expanding on the processes of economic displacement within genocide by definition, Lemkin (1944) adds:

> Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals (Lemkin, 1944:79).

Both phases previously highlighted within Lemkin's (1944) definition reflect the lived experiences and ongoing processes of genocide which continue to uphold Settler Colonialism within Canada and Israel.At the onset of the genocidal process also known as the Palestinian Nakba, in 1948, 750 000 Palestinians were expelled from their homes and traditional lands forcefully, and 420 villages were abolished, affecting 80% of the pre-Nakba Palestinian population (Abdo, 2018:183). The term "Nakba" is an Arabic term, translated by academic and political activist Nahla Abdo as "a term that indicates a major loss, the death of not only loved ones but also the death or end of life for the mankoub, the individual or the group upon which a Nakba has befallen." (Abdo, 2018:58). In their most recent academic study, Abdo and Masalha (2018) situate the Nakba within a framework of continued or "incremental" genocide, in which they rely on Lemkin's original definition of genocide to validate the evident situating of the ongoing Nakba as a continuous genocide.

> Genocide is directed against a national group as an entity and the attack on individuals is only secondary to the annihilation of the national group to which they belong (Lemkin, 1945:39-43).

Lemkin's definition of genocide as an act "directed against a national group as an entity and the attack on individuals is only secondary to the annihilation of the national group to which they belong" aptly describes the Palestinian Nakba and removes any ambiguity concerning it being an actual genocide" (Abdo , 2018:59-60).

Situating the case of the Indigenous Palestinians, and their Indigenous counterparts within Canada, within a framework of genocide, can be further supported by understanding the continued violence and mechanisms of erasure targeted directly at eradicating Indigenous populations to facilitate the expansion and sovereignty of the settler-colonial occupations. Abdo (2018) expands on this in the case of the Palestinians by highlighting these mechanisms of continued violence and erasure as a continuing process of genocide, still taking place today to abolish Indigenous populations for the sake of settler colonialism.

> The Palestinian Nakba/genocide was not an event or a moment, but rather a process which began before 1948 and which has continued from 1948 until the present. Further uprootedness, massacres, bombardments, destruction of homes and erasure of whole villages accompanied the Palestinian even during and after their tahjeer (forced expulsion) from their homes and villages. The terror of zionist settler colonialism haunted the refugees until many had fled the country. This and the following voices and testimonies present a clear indication of the historically specific nature of the Palestinian Nakba: a step-by-step yet continuous genocide (Abdo, 2018: 54).

A similar process of continuous genocide applies to the Indigenous people resisting settler colonialism within the state of Canada. With an over 90% decrease of Indigenous populations across North America since the onset of colonialism, the settler colonial state of Canada through a variety of mechanisms of systemic violence and erasure of its own, has relied on a key component of its existence; the genocide of Indigenous peoples, their cultures, structures, knowledge and sovereignty (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009: 14).

Lastly this research draws on the legal definition of genocide as agreed upon by the UN General Assembly (1948) at the Convention of Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, in which the convention recognizes genocide in Article II as:

> In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such :
> (a) Killing members of the group;
> (£) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (e) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> (rf) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (UN, 1948).

This formal legal definition of genocide is situated within the research to connect the continued systemic violence against indigenous people within both settler-colonial entities, validating their continued oppression as a product of genocide.

Understanding Settler-Colonialism

A key component of this analysis is Settler-Colonialism, and only in understanding what it entails can one fairly assess the economic status and welfare of Indigenous women in relation to their oppression by their occupying states. As a factor of settler-colonialism, colonialism can be understood based on the definition provided by the NIMMIWG (2018) as "the attempted or actual imposition of policies, laws, economies, cultures or systems and institutions put in place by settler governments to support and continue the occupation of Indigenous territories, the subjugation of Indigenous Nations, and the resulting internalized and externalized thought patterns that support this occupation and subjugation." This understanding can be expanded upon by addressing the reality of settler-colonialism, a very particular form of colonialism, which includes a continued process of eliminating the Indigenous to facilitate the settler. Patrick Wolfe (2016) defines settler colonialism as "an integrated program of elimination". Within this definition, Wolfe (2016) describes settler-colonialism as a mechanism in which:

> The violence does not go away. Indeed, it remains ever-present and manifest in post frontier symptoms such as disproportionate Indigenous incarceration rates, - post frontier settler regimes — to marital law— the unevenness reflects the persistence and the efficacy of Indigenous resistance. Settler colonialism is a project, not a fait accompli (Wolfe, 2016:10).

This definition is especially relevant in setting a strong foundational understanding of settler-colonialism, as it highlights it as an ongoing "program of elimination" in which one can conclude that settler-colonialism is an ongoing process that has not ended, and that is continued through systemic mechanisms of discrimination, political and economic exclusion, gendered violence, and above all an ongoing genocide of Indigenous people. The following definition of settler colonialism provided by the NIMMIWG (2018) also uses a similar understanding of settler colonialism as a continued process of elimination of Indigenous people as they define Settler colonialism as the following: .

Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism that functions through the replacement of Indigenous populations with an invasive settler society that over time develops a distinctive identity and sovereignty. Settler colonialism, like colonialism, is an ideology or structure, not an event. Settler colonialism persists in the ongoing elimination of Indigenous populations and the assertion of state sovereignty over Indigenous Peoples and lands. Settler colonialism refers to settler colonizers who come to new lands with the intent to permanently occupy and assert authority over Indigenous lands. (NIMMIWG, 2018). Understanding the continuation of settler-colonialism as a direct mechanism of oppression towards Indigenous women is further supported as the NIMMIWG (2018) expands on the definition of Settler Colonialism by adding:

> When settling, an imperial power oversees the immigration of settlers who consent, often only temporarily to the authority of the imperial power. When allegiance to the imperial power is severed, however, settler colonial societies continue to exercise power. This power however has often been based on racially constructed narratives, such as the hyper-sexualization of Indigenous women or the portrayal of Indigenous men as savage, that portray Indigenous people in need of care from the "civilized" settler state (NIMMIWG, 2018).

Labels (such as labels of "Arab terrorists" or of Islam as oppressive,) or the conflation of religiously diverse Palestinians with a distorted understanding of Islam contribute to the oppression of Palestinians. All sorts of dehumanizing, orientalist narratives are used to facilitate settler colonialism by pointing blame at such misrepresentations as the root of the oppression of Palestinian women to revert from the accountability that the oppression of Palestinian women is dependent on the state of colonialism which they are resisting.In his work addressing the prominence of Arab stereotypes within Western cultures and media, Albalawi (2015) highlights how: "The American media – in their ideological affinity with Israel – has given demeaning and fixed images of Palestinians" (Albalawi, 2015:208). Similarly, bias narratives and false representations are developed in regards to Indigenous people within Canada to justify the continued systemic discrimination required to continue the ongoing genocide which upholds settler-colonialism. The existence of these biases and their direct impact on indigenous people within Canada are evident in the following statement from the NIMMIWG (2018):

> This dehumanizing narrative supports the parallel narrative of "peaceful" frontier settlement and expansion. Settler colonialism begins with the perception that lands in long-term use by Indigenous Peoples are empty or unused, which justifies the division of Indigenous-held lands into private property. As settlers invest their identity and material belonging in these properties, they simultaneously create or empower a state to "defend" these

properties from Indigenous Peoples and Nations who are seen as inherently threatening. The power of settler state structures is often embodied in the form of frontier police forces and bureaucratic agencies, such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Indian agents or other government officials. These agencies wielded (and in some cases, continue to hold) power over Indigenous Peoples, including the ability to apprehend children, to prevent people from leaving official "reserve" lands (or conversely, to expel individuals or families from reserved territories), to control employment, and even to summarily direct police or military forces against Indigenous people. (NIMMIWG, 2018).

In the case of the Palestinians, the racially constructed narratives that more heavily enforce Israeli settler colonialism are rooted in Zionism. To be defined later, Zionism is especially relevant in situating settler colonialism as a movement which is particularly ignorant to the existence and sovereignty of Indigenous people. Edward Said (1979) highlights this indifference to the continued process of elimination of the Indigenous at the heart of Zionism as a settler-colonial movement:

> Zionism not only accepted the generic racial concepts of European culture, it also banked on the fact that Palestine was actually peopled not by an advanced but by a backward people, over which it ought to be dominant. Thus, that implicit assumption of domination led specifically in the case of Zionism to the practice of ignoring the natives for the most part as not entitled to serious consideration. Zionism therefore developed with a unique consciousness of itself, but with little or nothing left over for the unfortunate natives (Said, 1979:29).

Said (1979) expands on the definition of Zionism by situating it as Eurocentric and highlighting how it relies on the erasure of the Indigenous population, as he adds:

> Maxime Rodinson is perfectly correct in saying that Zionist indifference to the Palestinian natives was an indifference linked to European supremacy, which benefited even Europe's proletarians and oppressed minorities…
> …all the constitutive energies of Zionism were premised on the excluded presence, that is, the functional absence of "native people" in Palestine; institutions were built deliberately shutting out the natives, laws were drafted when Israel came into being that made sure the natives would remain in their "non-place," Jews in theirs, and so on (Said, 1979:29).

Mahmoud Mamdani (1998) specifically coins settlers to be "made by conquest, not just by immigration" in which he differentiates settlers by how they "carry their sovereignty with them" and impose it onto Indigenous populations creating settler-colonial states, as opposed to migrants who adapt and become subject to the pre-existing political order (Veracini, 2010:3). This is relevant to both cases; Canada as a continuation of British Colonization and Israel as a continuation of British colonization through Zionism. Likewise, in both cases of Israel and Canada it is the systemic effort to move settlers in, on a foundation of a genocide of Indigenous people, that renders settler-colonialism a unique

form of oppression to Indigenous people and Indigenous women in particular. In both nations, the Indigenous populations are confined geographically and restricted in movement. The "birth-right" movement within Israel, providing Jews of all sorts of international heritages, citizenship while the citizenship and return rights of Indigenous Palestinians are rejected and ignored, is a prime example of the magnitude of the settler-colonialism of Israel (Jewish Voice for Peace, 2017). The confinement of Indigenous sovereignty to reservations and the continued ignorance to Indigenous rights, issues, and opinion within governance is an example of the magnitude of Canada's settler-colonialism. Veracini (2010) highlights the roles of genocide and injustice within settler-colonialism, saying: "all settler projects are foundationally premised on fantasies of ultimately "cleansing" the settler body politic of its (Indigenous) alterities."(Veracini, 2010:167) The existence and sovereignty of both Canada and Israel was built on an ongoing genocide, resulting in the socioeconomic displacement), relocation, assimilation and elimination of Indigenous populations, their cultures and their structures. Varied strategies within a "transferist rationale" use selective inclusion to define who may be included in the structures of the settler body politic and to allow particular migrants to embrace a settler-colonial ethos at the cost of the transfer, displacement and erasure of Indigenous populations (Veracini, 2010:26). One cannot justly analyze or attempt to understand the social, political or economic realities of either Indigenous populations without understanding the historical colonial context and addressing their realities under settler colonialism and all the limitations and negative impact within it. Centralizing the rights and welfare of Indigenous women is a key component to both resisting settler-colonialism and decolonizing settler-colonial states. In the following, the authors highlight the importance of centralizing the indigenous as a means of challenging the sovereignty of settler-colonial structures:

> When we turn our attentions in a material rather than a metaphorical way to the lands upon which we stand, to ʻāina, then we are able to challenge the fundamental legitimacy of the nation- state structure. If we acknowledge that the sovereignty of the land continues to persist and is Indigenous, then we have to challenge the legitimacy of the United States. This kind of approach asks us to pay attention to, work with, and be accountable to the ways in which global processes play out on Indigenous bodies in the places where we live rather than just in those places where we work (Aikau, et al., 2015:86).

This highlights the connection between the structure of the settler colonial state as a direct issue to the sovereignty of land and situates indigeneity at the core of the analysis, using a framework which challenges settler colonialism.

In order to understand settler-colonialism within the Israeli/Palestinian context, it is absolutely necessary to address and define Zionism. Birnbaum (1885) coined the term "Zionism" in his effort to advocate for a unified national Jewish identity across the European Jewish diaspora (Birnbaum, 1885). Birnbaum's idea of Zionism as a national identity transformed into Herzl's plan to found a Jewish State in Palestine, 13 years later (Olson, 2013). In contextualizing this concept, the research will first rely on the definition of Zionism from a Zionist perspective, followed by the definition by indigenous and non-zionist scholars for contrast. In brief, Engel's (2009) description of Zionism as an "international political movement" which aimed to re-locate Jewish people to the biblical Promise Land, can be used for a general understanding of Zionism – prior to assessing it as a mechanism of settler-colonialism or addressing it's continued negative impact (Engel, 2009). From a Zionist point of view, in his definition of "Zionism", Gorni (1987) highlights the following as the basis of the concept:

> The desire to construct in palestine a distinct jewish national society, protected by political, social, economic, cultural, and even military bulwarks. Such protection was perceived as essential for the support and expansion of the jewish society, more because of the awareness of the frailty of the jewish community than out of feelings of ignorance (Gorni, 1987:3).

Within this zionist definition Gorni (1987) resorts to a generalization as he refers to the "frailty of the Jewish community" to justify the military force that evidently accompanies Zionism (Gorni, 1987) . In it's implementation against the indigenous Palestinian population, Zionism takes on an autocratic nature (Rose, 2004). Relying on an Indigenous definition and an anti-colonial perspective, the research draws on Abdo (2010) as she defines Zionism as the following:

> Zionism is a nationalistic exclusivist and exclusionary movement, which when institutionalized in the state of Israel was expressed in policies and practices of racial discrimination and national exclusion. The racism and colonialism of the Jewish state was my experience not only because it ruined the lives of about 80 per cent of 'my' people during the 1948 Nakba, or because it continues, since 1967, to subjugate millions of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza (not to mention other occupations of the Golan Heights and Southern Lebanon), but also, and perhaps more poignantly, because of my very national identity as a citizen of the state (Abdo, 2010:6).

The Zionist movement relies on a bias and distorted Western understanding of its existence as a "religious" movement, to justify the continued injustice posed through it and through the existence of the state of Israel.

Edward Said's following words can be relied on to further understand the extent of Eurocentrism and settler-colonialism at the heart of Zionism. In order to maintain the understanding that Zionism is not a religious movement and should not be conflated with Judaism, it is necessary to highlight certain meanings in the following quote, in which Edward Said means the European Jewish Settlers when he says "Jews" and that the "unprivileged non-Jews" within his definition include Palestinians of religious diversity as well as Arab Jews (Abdo, 2011). Said (1979) situates Zionism within indigenous experience and understanding:

> for the Palestinian, Zionism has appeared to be an uncompromisingly exclusionary, discriminatory, colonialist praxis. So powerful, and so unhesitatingly followed, has been the radical Zionist distinction between privileged Jews in Palestine and unprivileged non-Jews there, that nothing else has emerged, no perception of suffering human existence has escaped from the two camps created thereby. As a result, it has been impossible for Jews to understand the human tragedy caused the Arab Palestinians by Zionism; and it has been impossible for Arab Palestinians to see in Zionism anything except an ideology and a practice keeping them, and Israeli Jews, imprisoned (Said, 1979: 6).

Relying on Indigenous experiences and understanding, Zionism is situated as a settler-colonial movement specific to the case of the Palestinian people and the development of the state of Israel. Wolfe (2012) highlights the significance of zionism as a component which strengthens and uphold settler colonialism, and not as an external factor to the process of settler colonialism (Wolfe, 2012). Wolfe (2012) further situates Zionism within Settler Colonialism as he makes the following statements:

> The Zionist case enables us to seem some general features of settler colonialism with enhanced clarity - Zionism presents an unparalleled example of deliberate, explicit planning - this makes Zionism a particularly revealing archive for research into the logic of settler colonialism (Wolfe, 2012: 137).

Zionism is a settler-colonial movement, and the oppression, erasure and ongoing genocide of both Palestinians resisting Israel and the Indigenous nations resisting Canada are both rooted and dependant on the ongoing existence of settler colonialism as a continued process of elimination.

Chapter 2

Approach and Positionality

Approach

The theoretical framework used within this comparative analysis focuses on decolonization. It relies on an anti-colonial feminist approach, and a Marxist critique of the imposition of capitalism by settler-colonial bodies.

Decolonization depends on the representation of the realities of the Indigenous people based on their own narratives, contrasting the narratives about their experiences represented by their settler-colonial counterparts. This research relies on existing literature, historical context and current data and statistics thus a decolonizing approach will be used to portray all information in a manner that includes and relies on the Indigenous reality. This approach is both decolonizing, as a verb in response to an ongoing settler-colonialism and in regards to its reversal, as well as it is anti-colonial, in its nature of opposing settler-colonial narratives, structures and mechanisms of continued genocide. For the purpose of achieving an anti-colonial and de-colonizing outcome, the following ethical guidelines presented by Steven Salaita (2008) will be used to ensure a de-colonial approach and research outcome:

> 1) the treatment of Indigenous peoples as national entities and not merely as ethnic communities
> 2) proactive analysis of and opposition to neoliberalism, imperialism, neocolonialism, and other socially and economically unjust policies, which not only affect Indigenous peoples most perniciously, but rely on Indigenous dispossession to fulfill their ambitions
> 3) a separation from host disciplines that preclude Indigenous scholars from exercising self-determination;
> 4) commitment to the articulation of diverse Indigenous voices, which, albeit not always cooperative or veracious, need to be afforded priority; and
> 5) the conjoining of Indigenous peoples across borders but with respect for each nation's historical discreteness and religious/ceremonial traditions (Salaita, 2008: 9).

The first value is rooted in the pre-existing work of Indigenous authors such as Ward Churchill on language and Indigenous liberation (1993). This first component is met within this research as context is provided regarding both groups of Indigenous nations as

sovereign entities separate from their settler-colonial states, rather than marginalized populations within the modern capitalist, settler-colonial states they continually resist. The second is a core component to the framework of this research as it addresses the problematic structures which disposition and oppress Indigenous peoples including but not limited to settler-colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and the limitation of liberal feminism in only addressing patriarchy without all preceding social, economic and political factors which harmfully contribute to the status of Indigenous women. Rooting the research framework in an anti-colonial approach and focusing on decolonization, allows for self-determination and relying on Indigenous authors and narratives to support the thesis, fulfilling the third and fourth requirements. The fifth and final component of Salaita's (2008) method of ensuring a decolonial approach is a key goal within this research. This comparative analysis aims to address the impact of settler-colonialism on Indigenous women as a collective issue across borders by drawing on the parallels of Canada and Israel but justly representing the different experiences for both Indigenous populations. In "conjoining Indigenous peoples across borders" Salaita's explanation of ethical geographies is relevant as he addresses the similarity of Palestinians with global Indigenous communities to be more relevant than most methodologies found in Middle East Studies, highlighting the demand for enhancing engagement of Palestinian activists with anti-colonial movements (Salaita, 2008:10). To further strengthen the use of global Indigenous identities to collectively address a component of settler-colonialism, cultural competence becomes a key tool.

The use of cultural competence is a relevant asset for the purpose of this comparative analysis as it allows the use of correlative qualities amongst two different Indigenous groups, providing a stronger understanding of the impositions of Settler colonialism on women, in general. The following authors define the concept of cultural competence as follows:

> Cultural competence as an ethical space – the term identifies an abstract space that frames an area of encounter and interaction of two entities with different intentions. The idea of two spheres of knowledge, two cultures, each distinct from one another in multiple forms, also inspired an abstract space of possibility. The in-between space, relative to cultures, is created by the recognition of the separate realities of histories, knowledge traditions, interests and social, economic and political imperatives (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009: 252).

In order to successfully apply cultural competence in this case, it is essential to maintain compassion in allocating respect through honouring Indigenous experiences and narratives and basing the comparison on a genuine connection within a collective resistance to settler-colonialism. With indigeneity at the core of the analysis, the framework challenges settler colonialism by directly addressing the settler-colonial state in relation to Indigenous sovereignty of land, and the impact on women as an outcome of that relationship.

The Marxist theoretical framework will situate the position of women as a product of the onset of capitalist forms of production, and along with it, hierarchal class relations. This framework plays a vital role in acknowledging and centralizing the political and economic factors of settler colonialism as the core cause of the displacement and disempowerment of Indigenous women. Engel's (1902) analysis recognizes the previous socio-economic structures and division of roles to have been sexually egalitarian, discussing gender equality and identifying the emergence of land privatization as a contributor to the subsequent subordination of the female role (Engels, 1902). He presents the concept that in previous structures, even if there existed a division within the subsistence labour, it is the absence of production-for-exchange that allocated equal value to each labour contribution to the greater collective. Further, it would arguably be the newly emerged dichotomy of labour spheres under capitalist means of production, which creates a condition for the sub-ordinance of women, as their labour becomes excluded from "valued" production; This supports the correlation between the development of capitalism and the emergence of the state, with the oppression of women (Engels, 1902). This lens provides a key differentiation in how the labour contributions of women were positioned prior to and after the onset of colonization. It is not only that women have limitations on their means of contribution as an outcome of displacement, but that their labour contributions are also valued less based on capitalist measurements such as income, job superiority and job sector hierarchies. Within this context, Smith (2008) situates indigenous women's rights within decolonization:

> It is often the case that gender justice is articulated as being a separate issue from issues of survival for Indigenous peoples. Such an understanding presupposes that we could actually decolonize without addressing sexism, which ignores the fact that it has been precisely through gender violence that we have lost our lands in the first place (Smith, 2008:137).

Smith (2008) makes the connection between gendered violence and land loss, facilitating a deeper understanding of the mechanisms within settler-colonialism. Understanding the

connection between the expropriation of land through settler-colonialism and the current economic welfare of Indigenous nations is a key element within this research. In his work, *Marx, Indigenous peoples and the Politics of Dispossession in Denendeh*, Couthard (2014) particularly situates capitalism as a key component of settler-colonialism, highlighting the manner in which the economic dispossession of Indigenous nations through the imposition of capitalist economic structures in place of traditional socio-economic structures and relations to land, facilitates the existence of settler-colonialism. Coulthard (2014) expands on the connection between capitalism and settler colonialism:

> According to Marx, the birth of capitalism emerged out of a host of colonial-like state practices which sought to forcefully strip through conquest, enslavement, robbery and murder - non-capitalist producers, communities and societies from their means of production and subsistence - these formative acts of dispossession are what initially set the stage for capitalist accumulation and the reproduction of capitalist relations of production by tearing Indigenous societies, peasants, and other small-scale agricultural producers from the source of their livelihood - namely, the land (Coulthard, 2014: 57).

The current economic welfare of Indigenous nations cannot be addressed without an analysis of the changing political economies, from their own traditional structures in which the Indigenous people prospered, to modern capitalist economies imposed by settler colonialism and enforced to further oppress Indigenous people in order to maintain the sovereignty and existence of the imposed settler-colonial states. Thus, it is essential to understand the imposed economic structures, mainly capitalism, and the context of how they came about, to justly address the economic welfare of Indigenous women, or Indigenous nations entirely, within their resistance of settler-colonialism. Glen Coulthard (2014) can be further referenced in support of a marxist approach regarding the welfare of Indigenous people under settler-colonial structures as he states:

> For Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die, and for capitalism to die we must actively participate in the construction of Indigenous alternatives to it (Coulthard, 2014: 173).

Asserting decolonization within a feminist analysis requires an anti-colonial feminist approach to address the oppression of Indigenous women as a direct outcome of settler-colonialism. In doing so, any existing inequities can be further examined to determine whether they are correlated with colonialism and its vast impact on Indigenous society. Within this framework, political, social and economic factors which may impact Indigenous women would be assessed in relation to colonialism, any changes accompanying its onset, and any limitations maintained by its continued existence.

Additionally, it may be more appropriate to de-colonize a theoretical framework before using it to assess Indigenous populations resisting settler-colonialism.

An anti-colonial feminism can be used as a tool to address Women's rights in relation to political, as well as socio-economic implications. The distinction between a liberal western feminist framework and an anti-colonial feminist framework, lies within the core values of each framework. An anti-colonial feminist framework aims to address women's issues in relation to their oppression through colonialism or settler-colonialism, while a western feminist framework aims to elevate women in comparison to their male counterparts, and address patriarchy as a natural and reoccurring variant. Indigenous author, Cyndy Baskin (2003), situates this distinction of feminisms by articulating her anti-colonial approach as follows:

> It does not focus predominantly on liberation from male domination, but rather on liberation from colonial policies and oppression of euro-canadian society and governments. It includes the healing of our male abusers and the active assistance of our healthy men (Baskin, 2003: 215).

A notion of socialist feminism can be relied on, merging Marxist theory and radical feminism to address the relationship between gendered structuring within society and how it enforces patriarchal structures of male supremacy (Eisenstein, 1979). It is important to highlight the relationship between settler-colonialism and the displacement of Indigenous women from their means of economic contribution. The context of settler-colonialism challenges the liberal feminist approach regarding the rights of Indigenous women under settler occupation as it presses the importance of centering gender within colonialism and settler-colonialism. Smith (2008) highlights the centrality to indigenous women's issues:

> Almost across the board, Native women activists trace degradation of Native women's status, not from a universal phenomenon of 'patriarchy' but from the processes of colonialization that resulted in the imposition of European patriarchal relationships on Native communities. (Smith, 2008: 129-130).

A key component of this comparative analysis is identifying and highlighting the processes in which settler-colonialism specifically displaces Indigenous women. In approaching this topic from a feminist lens, such lens must be rooted in an anti-colonial approach. This is so, not because the topic requires the inclusion of ethnically diverse women within the gendered analysis, as is the case in Crenshaw's intersectional feminism (1988). Rather, when analyzing the status of women impacted by colonialism, or worse, women living under settler-colonial occupation, a de-colonial method of analysis must be adopted. Maria

Lugones (2010) introduces the concept of decolonial feminism as a method to address and understand the case of women who have been oppressed by the combination of racialization, colonization, capitalist exploitation and imposed heteropatriarchy (Lugones, 2010). Lugones (2010) expands on the concept of decolonial feminism and says:

> As I move methodologically from women of color feminisms to a decolonial feminism, I think about feminism from and at the grassroots, and from and at the colonial difference, with a strong emphasis on ground, on a historicized, incarnate intersubjectivity. The question of the relation between resistance or resistant response to the coloniality of gender and de-coloniality is being set up here rather than answered. But I do mean to understand resistance to the coloniality of gender from the perspective of the colonial difference. Decolonizing gender is necessarily a praxical task. It is to enact a critique of racialized, colonial, and capitalist heterosexualist gender oppression as a lived transformation of the social (Lugones, 2010: 746).

The demand for this adjustment in the gendered analysis of Indigenous women is essential in order to re-frame colonialism as a causal factor on the dispossession and displacement of Indigenous women. Thus, for the purpose of an anti-colonial gender analysis, it is required to have a contextual understanding of the socio-economic factors imposed by colonialism which have contributed to any negative outcomes on the economic status and rights of Indigenous women. One must situate colonialism as the central cause of the displacement of Indigenous women from their socio-economic roles, prior to addressing their economics status. Firstly, because their economic roles are not limited due to their status as women in their society but rather due to their displacement from their means of production and social contribution. Secondly, because the patriarchal structures which traditionally displaced women have been imposed on Indigenous women through the onset of settler occupation. Smith (2008) clarifies this distinction:

> Another common distinction made between white and Native women's struggles is that white women struggle for power they never had in society, whereas Native women are fighting to regain power they did have and in fact have never completely lost (Smith, 2008: 128).

As patriarchy is framed as a mechanism which enforces the hierarchies that uphold settler-colonial sovereignty, it can be understood as a colonial mechanism of control and not an inherent cultural practice. Emberley (2007) addresses the extent of patriarchal influence within British colonialism:

> Nineteenth- and twentieth-century European bourgeois and patriarchal domestic relations, governed by the 'rule of the father' shaped the very terms of British colonial relations with First Nations in Canada (Emberley, 2007: 53).

In the case of Indigenous women in Canada, patriarchy was introduced and enforced at the onset of colonialism through assimilation mechanisms such as the disentitlement of Indigenous women and the imposition of a 'European bourgeois model' on the Indigenous family structure (Emberley, 2007). In the case of the Indigenous Palestinian women, it is the political and economic struggle which positions Palestinian women in a sacrificial position, in which the national struggle is often prioritized before their own rather than their own movement as women being centralized to the decolonial struggle. Dajani (1993) expands:

> We should take into account the repressive Israeli measures that have restricted the role of women. These include military orders, measures against Indigenous institutions, and individual and collective punishment. With regard to the issue of development, I argue that those same objective conditions that have created the oppression of women under occupation have also created the conditions for women's liberation and participation in the struggle against foreign rule. The Palestinian woman does not divorce her struggle against sexual oppression and discrimination from the national struggle against Israeli occupation. Instead of concentrating on liberation and equality in a male-dominated society, Palestinian women recognize that their emancipation and integration into development can only come about with the liberation of the whole Palestinian people from Israeli rule and the achievement of Palestinian dignity and freedom in the context of independent statehood (Dajani, 1993: 103).

Thus, in both cases the fight against "patriarchy" is intertwined with and dependent on the struggle against settler colonialism. Suha Sabbagh (1995) argues that women are twice as oppressed during periods of colonization as they are oppressed by the system as well as by their male counterparts as they cope with the stress of political oppression (Sabbagh, 1995). . This is a relevant stance in the sense that as key contributors to the family nucleus, women bare the emotional, spiritual and in some cases physical weight of their own struggle as women under an oppressive occupation, as well as the weight their family members' bare under the same political and economic conditions. Sabbagh (1995) draws on her experience with Western Feminism to highlight its inability to apply to or represent the feminism of Arab women as she addresses the complexity of communicating across cultural borders. When presenting at a panel an audience member displeased with the representation of the systemic issues which oppress women, interjects by stating their interest in hearing about the oppression of Arab women by Arab men (Sabbagh, 1995). The oppression of Arab women is not simply by Arab men, or structures of patriarchy, but rather by an oppressive system imposed on all, and the justification of such reality is not owed to Western Feminists or anyone who aims to address the status of Arab women or

Indigenous women without being accountable for the realities of the systemic injustice imposed on them through settler-colonialism and western imperialist forces which sustain oppressive occupation. The socioeconomic and colonial context is essential to the analysis of Indigenous women as it helps identify that the patriarchal structures which displace women are a result of the socioeconomic changes imposed onto the Indigenous, and not by the cultural values or faiths which they observe. The connection between women's issues and political conflict is acknowledged and validated in the United Nations World Conference on Women (UN, 1985).

Souad Dajani (1993) further highlights how in the case of Palestinian women such political conditions include occupation, discrimination, imprisonment, deportation homelessness, statelessness and Zionism (Dajani, 1993). For the purpose of this comparative analysis, the framework in use draws on the "central themes in the Palestinian women's movement" which Dajani mentions:

> 1) A rejection of the western model of female liberation
> 2) The link between national and socioeconomic oppression of women
> 3) An emphasis on the role of an organized women's movement and its contribution to development and liberation (Dajani, 1993: 105).

All of the factors Dajani (1993) lists as central to an anti-colonial women's movement are relevant and applicable across borders in addressing the status of Indigenous women, especially under settler-colonialism. Both Indigenous women in Canada and Indigenous Palestinian women require a feminist scope which exceeds western feminism, in order to justly include and address the role of settler-colonialism in their oppression. Exceeding western feminism requires an understanding of the rights of Indigenous women as a unique entity, which is oppressed by their state of settler-colonial occupation and socio-economic displacement amongst all other forms of continued oppression through the ongoing process of settler-colonialism.

 In the effort of instituting the hierarchies which maintained colonial control, the settlers required to first impose their patriarchal structures onto the Indigenous people whose structures not only differed, but challenged the hierarchal systems of the settlers. This makes it more attainable to understand the cause of imposing patriarchy onto Indigenous people as an effort to prevent the European settlers from being empowered by the Indigenous structures and abandoning their sub-ordinance to the colonial hierarchies which sustained colonial power (Smith, 2005). As a means of upholding the hierarchal distribution of power through patriarchy, settler society could not afford to be in proximity

with a civilization comprised of empowered women (Smith, 2005). At the heart of the colonial process is a central effort to oppress Indigenous women to sustain the patriarchal control of white men over white women (Smith, 2005). The breakdown of how women's rights and lack-thereof play such a central role in sustaining power imbalances is fundamental to understanding settler-colonialism as a gendered process. The imposition of European gender roles onto Indigenous women is essential to the imposition of European hierarchies and economic structures, both as a means of controlling the settler population and a means of further oppressing the Indigenous political economies.

Position and limitations

The researcher is situated as a third-person, analyzing literature and data based on the lived experiences of Indigenous people from different regions. Palestinian heritage allows the researcher to relate to the topic using a decolonizing lens, but a limitation remains as the researcher addresses the experiences of Palestinian women resisting the state of Israel from within, as an outsider. Likewise, the researcher acknowledges their position as a settler within the state of Canada and aims to address the oppressive mechanisms of settler-colonialism onto Indigenous people as an ally. It is not the intention to speak on behalf of Indigenous women within Canada or Palestinian women within Israel. Rather the research aims to rely on Indigenous histories and Indigenous narratives for the purpose of a comparative analysis within a collective cause against settler colonialism. Additionally, a decolonizing approach is supported by relying on Indigenous authors and Indigenous definitions and understandings as much as possible in order to bring forth a reality which prevents the prevalence of Western narratives that limit the efficient understanding required for an analysis of Indigenous people and their oppression under settler colonialism.

Chapter 3

Socioeconomic Historical Context: Previous Structures

Palestine: Previous socioeconomic structures and women's economic roles in Palestine prior to Settler Colonialism

Prior to the onset of settler-colonial structures in Palestine, Palestinians were a part of a communal economic framework with a pre-capitalist agricultural structure. The diverse peasant, pastoral, nomadic and urban social structures coexisted in the region, contributing to Palestine's previous political economy (Farsoun and Aruri, 2006). As a predominantly agricultural society, the Palestinians relied on the labour of peasant women and men equally to produce and preserve agricultural goods and secure sustenance. Thus, all women with the exception of nobility, contributed to their communities through their (physical) labour, providing them with a means to economic contribution as well as social relations. In both of which, Palestinian women played a role equally as important as men's in upholding communal structures. For the women in lower classes who worked alongside their husbands and fathers, the public and private domains were merged within the production and reproduction process (Abdo-Zubi, 1987). In order to best understand the economic value of women's contributions in previous socio-economic structures it is necessary to draw on the dichotomy presented within a Marxist framework. This identifies the division between labour which contributes to production, and labour which does not, as a key contributor to the economic and social displacement of Indigenous women. This is relevant in reference to the changing economic landscape with the onset of capitalism through colonization and settler-colonialism, in which wage-earning labour becomes the key means of sustenance and the role of wage applies value onto varying forms of labour amongst both women and men. Through such application of value on different forms of labour, a new power dynamic is created which undervalues women's work based on their capacity to earn wages, limiting their scope of contribution to their families' sustenance, despite their key contributions to unpaid labour, and in some cases, lower wage-earning labour.

Within the home there existed minimal gender-based segregation and the home space acted as a platform for the social gathering of kin and neighbours, not a private domestic preserve (Sayigh, 1979). For the most part, the economic structures, division of labour and roles within society relied heavily on the family structure as each family acted as a collective unit of communal production. Thus, connecting the importance of the role of

Palestinian women, as mothers and educators, to their local economies and communal structures at a high scope of influence. As units of economic production, families within Palestinian society functioned as one, acting in the best interest of their collective and maintaining very strong relationships. Usually, and especially in the agricultural majority of the population, extended families lived together, in which women often became a part of their husband's families upon marriage, living with them and working towards their family collective (Farsoun, 2004). Joseph (2001) articulates the individual's relationship within the traditional family structure as follows:

> generally, socialization practices do not support individualism – the creation of autonomous separate selves – but neither do they entirely conflate the person with the family. Rather, persons are encouraged to view themselves as always linked with, reciprocally shaped by, and mutually responsive to family and relatives (Joseph, 2001: 200).

The term "Hamula" is used to refer to the family collective and directly translates to "That which is carried" in reference to how the family collective "carries" responsibility for each of its members across differentiated forms of Hamula structures. Within the Hamula, there is a collective family responsibility for everyone's well-being. This means that each member of the family takes on the social responsibility of benefiting their family and representing their families well within society. Reciprocally, this also means that the entire family takes on the social responsibility of ensuring the well-being of each of its members and seeking each of their best interests. The social responsibility carried by each family member, including women, is reciprocated in the social and economic security provided by the collective. The communal structures of Palestinian villages facilitated the enforcement and maintenance of women's rights when necessary, in cases such as gendered violence, divorce or inheritance. Women who were widowed or divorced were still able to work within the fields of their village or with their families; thus, a woman did not depend on the sole contributions of men for her sustenance, income or welfare (Miller, 2003). Village elders played a role in ensuring the distribution of wealth in the case of the sick, or if a widowed or divorced woman was unable to participate in the labour. Women who could not contribute their labour for any justified reason such as illness, or old age would always be provided for from the harvest of their village or family land.

It was not uncommon for Palestinian women to own land, and sometimes even manage land by themselves, as they were given the right to inherit, buy, sell and own land under Islamic Law (Sayigh, 1979). Generally, Palestinian women were the core of the social

relations which upheld village and family solidarity (Sayigh, 1979). Women in the agrarian Palestinian Political Economy played a vital role in their local economies, and social structures, and their contributions were equally as essential as those of men. Aside from communal labour functions equally upheld by men, and their vital roles in childcare, women in all communal agriculture structures across the Levant were responsible for the preservation of food for winter (Sayigh, 1979). The role women played in manifesting agricultural goods into preserved food such as grains, pulses, olives, olive oil, dried fruits, spices and other food preserves, enhanced their economic role within their local communities as it provided them with a niche contribution to securing the community's well-being. Through this responsibility alone, women potentially exceed the contributions of men by having arguably the most important function within any economic structure ensuring food security and sustenance. Thus, Palestinian women were not only provided with a means of economic contribution traditionally, but they played essential roles in upholding economic structures and providing for their families and communities. Within this structure their labour was equally as productive and equally as valued as that of their male counterparts, as they both collectively contribute to putting food on the table and sustaining the family's well-being, as opposed to wage-earning labour within a capitalist structure in which whomever contributes a higher wage is deemed to contribute more to upholding a family structure and thus may feel entitled to more power within the household. It is essential to highlight the value of this traditional agricultural and economic structure in order to understand the context of women's important roles in Palestinian society before colonialism, as it is this structure which gave women the means to be key contributors to Palestinian society through their labour, and social engagement. The key economic roles of Palestinian women within previous socio-economic structures change with the prevail of capitalism. Referring to this change, Meriwether (1993) notes:

> one central issue – the impact of these changes on the productive activities of women and on their access to and control of critical economic resources. In rural areas, women's productive activities have inevitably been affected by the transition from subsistence to market economy, from production of food crops to production of cash crops, from communal or hereditary usufructuary rights to private ownership of land, and from the household as a unit of production and consumption to the household as a unit of consumption. In urban areas, the division between work place and residence and the new conditions of the market have similarly affected the value and availability of different kinds of economic resources and tended to devalue the labour that women have done or the resources that they have controlled and to deny them control over more socially valued resources. The

conclusion reached by many researchers on this issue is that women have often lost the authority and power as well as the choices, that were available to them in the pre-capitalist economy (Meriwether, 1993: 65).

As people had to relocate to seek wage-labour, the promotion of the nuclear home structure in place of the traditional Hamula rises. Thus, the onset of the destruction of the economic structures and labour demands imposed through colonialism and maintained through previously defined processes of genocide and settler-colonialism enhance new mechanisms of and strengthen the notions of patriarchy within the Palestinian family structure. The dispossession of traditional structures contributes to the decline of previous systems of collective social responsibility and communal economic structures which provided accountability and security for the welfare and wellbeing of women. The factors of colonialism which heavily impact and change previous socioeconomic structures within Palestine weigh a heavy toll on the traditional rights and roles allocated to Palestinian women.

Canada: Previous socioeconomic structures and women's economic roles in Indigenous society prior to settler colonial Canada

Indigenous Women within Canada -- First Nations, Metis, Inuit

The Indigenous nations which preceded the settler-colonial state of Canada comprise over 60 odd unique Indigenous nations, in 600 communities across Canada (King, 2014). Due to this vast diversity of Indigenous nations sovereign in the modern settler-colonial state of Canada, this analysis will rely on the existing work based on some of the more common Indigenous nations. In assessing the roles of women in Indigenous society from a feminist approach, there is an immediate subjectivity which must be addressed. For the purpose of a comparative analysis and drawing contrast between the roles of women in Indigenous societies prior to and after the onset of settler colonialism, one can derive the common roles of women for contextual understanding. Yet it is essential to highlight the tension of a presumed gender binary system which was not necessarily prevalent in the organization of Indigenous social and economic structures prior to settler-colonialism (Lang, 1999, Smith, 2005). It is necessary to situate the analysis within an understanding that both hierarchy and heteropatriarchy were new concepts to Indigenous societies within Canada, which were imposed by settler society and enforced to sustain settler colonialism (Smith, 2005).

Gender, as defined and imposed by Western society, defies the previous nature and cultural understanding of the Indigenous people within Canada. Two-spirit people have been a part of the many Indigenous nations and communities long before the imposition of the understandings of gender and sexual orientation brought forth by the settler colonial society (NIMMIWG, 2018). The term "2SLGBTQ" will be used within this analysis as recommended by the NIMMWIG (2018) decolonizing lexicon, with the intention of centring two-spirit people at the heart of the discourse. Within this suggested decolonizing lexicon (2018) insight is provided on the importance of family to the socio-economic life of Indigenous people across all nations. They highlight the terms "Family of Heart" and "Chosen Family" which can be defined as "an inclusive term used to articulate a broader sense of family that extends beyond the nuclear or even extended family, but includes individuals chosen as family members" (NIMMIWG, 2018). "Chosen families", or "families of the heart", are people who are not biologically related, but have chosen to stay closely involved and support each other out of mutual love and respect" (NIMMIWG, 2018). An Indigenous definition of kinship is not necessarily premised around or limited to genealogical connection (Kauani, 2008). Family was not necessarily limited to biological family, rather based on the members within the social collective which were socially responsible for the common good of the entire collective. Further insight by the NIMMIWG (2018) highlights the key correlation between family and social organization:

> Historically, family or kinship networks were also the basis of Indigenous economies. Membership in family groups determined ownership and access to territories and food gathering areas, access to knowledge and defined systems of production and consumption. Family ties also created opportunities to share responsibility for raising and caring for children. Indigenous concepts of family differ from Western concepts in that they most often privilege large multigenerational family units over the nuclear family, and privilege the role of grandparents and other adult relatives in the role and responsibility of child rearing. Family ties continue to be important in maintaining the well-being of Indigenous communities and family networks of sharing and reciprocity continue as a crucial aspect of Indigenous family structures (NIMMWIG, 2018)

Many Indigenous societies were matriarchal, but even those which were patriarchal in their structure were similar to their matriarchal counterparts as they all shared a continuous respect and value for women, their economic roles and their personal autonomy (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009). Varying across different nations, Indigenous women served as spiritual, political and military leaders, medicine women and even when the

labour was divided based on gender, their work was equally valued and essential to the sustenance of the community as that of men (Smith, 2005).

The imposition of hierarchal organization, systemic discrimination and labour exchange within the capitalist economic structures accompanying and elevating the settler-colonial structure are at the core of the economic displacement of Indigenous women within Canada. The shift from collective labour and communal networks of social responsibility to nuclear households and wage-earning labour creates pressure on each individual to sustain themselves first as individuals and contribute to their families. Second, it erases the previous structures which provided for and protected all family members based on their equal labour contribution and it valued the contributions of each individual within the collective equally. The concept of wage-labour isolates all the very important labour that may be contributed by women within the household, and places less value on it within a setting in which wage-earning labour holds a more valued contribution due to an imposed methodology of sustenance and food security that relies on exchanging money earned by wages. This non-traditional and unequal placement of value on labour contribution is further strengthened by the imposition of social hierarchies by settler-colonial society, in which varying labour roles and gaps in income, create a power difference within the capitalist structure. Finally, as colonialism relies on a hierarchal component it also relies on a patriarchal component and a continued dominance of systemic racism to facilitate its existence at the cost of the Indigenous people it oppresses. Divisions caused by such systemic discrimination and systemic victimization of Indigenous women, further remove them from their previous roles as honoured economic contributors within their societies.

The Haudenosaunee / Six Nations / Iroquois

- The scope of "Six Nations" includes the following Nations: Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk and Tuscarora Nations.

Prior to settler colonialism, the Haudenosaunee were a matriarchal society which maintained democratic political structures on three different levels of governance and a communal hunting and gathering socio-economic structure (Lyon, 1986:117). The role of women in Haudenosaunee society was traditionally upheld by the vast influence of the Clan Mothers who were responsible for selecting and removing the leaders (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009:175-176). With such extent of influence within the political structures of Haudenosaunee society, clan mothers were highly respected. In addition to

the role of the Clan mother, women had a council of their own to discuss the current affairs, from which a female orator would bring their views and represent them at the counsel of chiefs and elders (Smith, 2005:20-21). There was no limitation on women being appointed chiefs, which sometimes they were, family lineage was matrilineal and often the women held ownership to all the property (Smith, 2005). In the economic realm of Haudenosaunee society women were valued contributors in the seasonal work (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009). In addition to their domestic roles and responsibilities, they were responsible for production, both of the gathered raw materials, such as tanning hides and winnowing rice, and the production of tools used to hunt and gather such as fishnets and weirs (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009). As key contributors to their societies politically and economically, it is essential to highlight the prevalence of their roles to the structures which they contributed to and most importantly to acknowledge the dependency of such structures on the land. This connection to the land, observed in all Indigenous structures, provides an economic role for each member of every community regardless of gender. Until the early 1800s, women continued to control the output of corn, the staple food in Haudenosaunee society, until the settler-colonial powers persuaded Indigenous men to farm, displacing the key economic roles of Indigenous women by implementing settler-colonial economic structures (Mihesuah, 2003). As women lose their power to contribute economically, their political influence declines and by the early nineteenth century the matron-appointed leader system had been displaced among Haudenosaunee tribes, and the settler structure of elected representatives prevailed – in which all women were not permitted to vote (Mihesuah, 2003). Thus, the Haudenosaunee women become displaced socially from their previous matriarchal roles and influence, through the displacement from their traditional economic roles. Through the imposition of the settler-colonial structures, the Haudenosaunee women are demoted from their potential influence as politically active community members, clan mothers, and chiefs, to the status quo of patriarchal oppression which limited the roles of women in the imposed settler-colonial European cultures.

Ojibwe

Ojibwe society was not necessarily matriarchal like that of the Haudenosaunee, but Ojibwe women were still personally autonomous and valued members within the community (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009). When entrusted with a task such as keeping a fire for

purposes such as cooking or providing warmth, the language used to refer to their role is as follows:

> They were given the responsibility of directly relating to the earth and keeping up the fires of creation (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009: 176).

From a feminist point of view, it is essential to highlight the value given to their roles through the usage of language alone. In settler-colonial society, the responsibility of cooking would be presented as a domestic chore but in the Ojibwe context it is referred to as "relating to the earth" and "keeping the fires of creation", signifying both the importance and the sanctity of the contributions of the Ojibwe women to their communities (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009:176). Despite the fact that the Ojibwe people had a more patriarchal structure than other Indigenous tribes, Ojibwe women fought in battles alongside their husbands or in their place if they died (Devens, 1992). Like all other Indigenous people, the connectedness to the land defines the harmony of balanced communal economic contribution which also facilitates equality and social contribution for Indigenous women. Andrea Smith (2005) addresses the rise of wife battering as the Ojibwe structures disintegrate and alcoholism rises as a response to the displacement of purpose and traditional means of contribution (Smith, 2005). It is essential to acknowledge the rise of gender-based violence which completely contradicts the Anishinaabe values, and rather connect it to the loss of land, loss of economic roles and varied factors of victimization. All of the listed factors which led to the development of violence and cumulatively the displacement of women from their valued positions, are direct inputs of the imposition of settler-colonial economic structures, culture and land laws onto the Ojibwe tribe.

The Huron-Wendat Nations

Much like the Haudenosaunee, the Huron-Wendat society is matrilineal and had the same structure in which the clan mothers were responsible for appointing and dismissing chiefs. Generally, women were responsible for issues regarding community life while men were responsible for maintaining diplomatic relations between other communities (Anderson, 1982). Although a general dichotomy existed in the social relations of Huron-Wendat women and men, both were equally responsible for the welfare of their communities and the contributions of both were equally valued. Within their own communal structures, Huron-Wendat women were sovereign members of society and had means of both economic and social contribution. The Huron-Wendat economic structure was based on horticulture, fishing, hunting and trade (Anderson, 1982). As key economic contributors,

the Huron-Wendat women were responsible for the cultivation of corn which accounted for 65 percent of all the food consumed by the Huron-Wendat people (Heidenreich, 1971). Through this means of labour alone, Huron-Wendat women played a vital role in the sustenance of their families and communities, and their production and contributions were not only valued but necessary.

The Inuit

Due to the unique climate conditions of the Inuit people's traditional regions, their social structures were more nomadic than other Indigenous people within Canada, and they depended heavily on hunting and fishing. The Inuit people had vast access to land and sea, to hunt and fish, in which they heavily relied on caribou and seal for food along with all other goods and tools they required for their subsistence. (Library and Archives Canada, 2010). They operated in a similar collective-effort family structure, in which the family collective was responsible for the well-being of each individual, including women. The roles of women in Inuit society were placed equal value, and they were seen as key contributors to their economics and social structures. Inuit women sustained their societies by passing on cultural values and traditions to the young, and enforced their structures by teaching the young the methods of achieving food security and contributing to the family collective. The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (2016) highlights the key roles of indigenous women in pre-colonial Canada as they state that:

> Women in pre-colonial Canada were honored for their unique role in giving and nurturing life. Grandmothers often played a vital role in teaching culture and traditions by caring for the very young. They became the first teachers of hunting, trapping, and fishing. Drawing on their experience and wisdom, they taught children to be thankful, respectful, and gentle with animals. Because of strong kinship systems, Indigenous women did not have economic dependence on one male. Women were considered the heads of households because they were the ones most responsible for managing the home and raising children. In Inuit culture, women were at the centre of families. They acted as silent advisors, never the spokespeople, but were always central to the family's survival. Women kept everyone warm with the parkas and boots they made, and they kept the people around them fed and happy. In Labrador, Inuit women shared and distributed food, and things they made, to others in their communities (The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2016).

As valued members of their societies, Inuit women contributed to their communities and held key roles in relationship to a strong connection and dependence on the land and natural resources. Inuit people depended on hunting and fishing, therefor the wellbeing of

their entire family collectives was dependant on land and resources. Inuit people placed strong value on family and honoured family ties. Despite all the structural changes enforced on them through colonialism, including a new wage-economy and a limited access to natural resources, the Inuit people still maintain very strong family connections. The (APS) in 2012 surveyed "strength of family ties" amongst Inuit people and reported that 50% of surveyed Inuit people reported "very strong" family ties, 22% reported "strong" family ties, 21% reported "moderate" ties and only 4% reported "weak" ties and 3% reported "very weak" family ties (Statistics Canada, 2012a).

Cree People

Like many other Indigenous nations within the state of Canada, women within Cree society were highly respected. Cree women are valued members within their society, and the following reference applies generally to most Indigenous women, in the sense that value and respect are not only given to women based on their means of contribution within the collective, as a capitalist labour-hierarchy would entail, but rather based on the notion of being "sacred beings" (The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2016). The CRIAW (2016) discuss the concept of women as "sacred beings":

> In the teachings of the Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation in northern Manitoba, before colonial contact, women were respected as sacred beings. Women were an important part of decision-making because they nurtured families, understood family dynamics and therefore knew what was best for the whole village. Based on this respected role, women were chosen to speak on behalf of the community with colonial settlers. But the settlers looked down on women and insisted on dealing only with men (The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2016).

The notion of Indigenous women's freedom being a threat to settler-society and the sovereignty of their hierarchies, is evident in the imposition of patriarchy on Indigenous people through settler-colonialism. Cree women were not only valued within their socio-economic structures but they were seen as powerful political actors. Judge Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond (1993) addresses Women's political power and it's importance within Cree culture:

> I should note that the traditional teachings by our Cree Elders instruct us that Cree women are at the center of the circle of life. While you may think of this as a metaphor, it is in fact an important reality in terms of how one perceives the world and how authority is structured in our communities. It is women who give birth both in the physical and in the spiritual sense to the social, political, and cultural life of the community it is upon women that the focus of the community has historically been placed and it was, not

> surprisingly, against women that a history of legislative discrimination was directed by the canadian state. Our Communities do not have a history of disentitlement of women from political or productive life (Turpel-Lafond, 1993:180; Emberley, 2007).

Cree women were valued as representatives of their community, but were met with gendered discrimination at the onset of colonialism, forcing them to adapt to the patriarchal expectations of their settler-colonial occupiers. Given the conditions of settler colonialism and the imposition of European patriarchal structures, Cree women not only lost their traditional economic roles but were forced to compromise their traditional entitlement to being politically empowered and involved.

Chapter 4

Colonial Historical Context: Land Loss

> Material elements of dispossession, such as landscape transformation and the introduction of European structures of land systems, were often the result of the application of conceptual representations of what constituted productive land use and the underlying belief that Native people were no more than "noble savages" occupying an "empty land (Gregory, 1994:5).

The processes of land loss imposed on both groups of Indigenous people are a key element in the endless oppression and displacement that follows the onset of settler-colonialism under both Canada and Israel. Both settler-colonial projects relied on the aforementioned euro-centric notion of "empty land", and in both cases the settler-colonial project was facilitated through the dispossession and Europe-ization of occupied Indigenous land.

Palestine: Historical context of the process of Land Loss and economic displacement through colonialism.

The Political Economy of Palestine began to be reshaped under the late Ottoman rule, then with the onset of British colonialism and later the complete abolishment of Palestinian economic structures under the Zionist settler occupation of Israel. The first serious target on the traditional Palestinian political economy was the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 (Ongley and Miller, 1892). The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 was the introduction of land privatization to Palestinian society and a political move towards obtaining capitalism

within the Ottoman Empire. This law banned the collective ownership of land, abolishing common land and harshly targeting communal economic structures. With this law, each cultivator had to be responsible for their own share of land, which they had to register, pay title fees for and provide an annual tithe on their own (Abdo-Zubi, 1987:14). Along with this new founded taxation on sole land owners, l rather than the collective communal harvest, there were strict regulations ensuring all land which was not being used would be claimed by the Ottoman empire for their own gain. Under the same Land Code of 1858, any land which was not cultivated by one identifiable family, or not cultivated at all for three consecutive years would legally be claimed by the state as state property for the Ottoman Empire (Turkey, Ongley & Miller, 1892 ; Qumsyieh, 2011). This law allowed for the transfer of vast amounts of land originally cultivated by the Palestinian peasants to European-Jewish settlers in the 19th century (Qumsyieh, 2011). It is important to understand that with the privatization of land many of the peasants or farmers were removed from their positions as equal contributors to a communal economy, and turned into workers on a land that is now under the ownership of one family. Thus, with the privatization of land arises the first disconnect of the Palestinian farmers to the land they depend on and are deeply connected to, as it enforced a new hierarchal relationship to the land. The Land Code of 1858 created a pretext of land privatization which was used later to the advantage of the Zionist movement under British Colonialism. This happened after 1920 when Palestine, Lebanon and Syria were divided by the imperial powers of Britain and France. The British prohibited absentee land owners to gain profit from their land unless they sell it or live on it, directly impacting the absentee Lebanese land owners which had purchased the land following the land privatization of the 1858 land code (Qumsyieh, 2011). The imposition of this British law severely affected the agricultural communities who were living off of land that was privately registered under someone outside the village or community. Adhering to this colonial law facilitated the sale of Palestinian land to European Jewish settlers during British colonialism, as Absentee owners had no choice but to sell their land. The privatization of land resulted in later cases of land transfer, one of the resulting absentee ownership land transfers was the Marj plain, in which one plot of land estimated at 230 000 dunams (56 834 acres) was sold by an absentee Lebanese land owner to the Jewish National Fund (Abdo-Zubi, 1987:16). According to the author:

> It is essential to note the vast amount of land transfers under the British mandate which further weakened the economic structures of Palestinian society and in doing so further weakened Women's means of production,

and economic contribution. Under British colonialism, between 1920 and 1947 a reported 1 700 000 dunams (approximately 420 080 acres) of land transfers, comprising of 26% of the total cultivable land, was expropriated from the Indigenous direct producers and transferred into the ownership of Zionist settlers….

…. With the changing socio-economic conditions, an ecological revolution occurs as the native social mode of consumption is traded for a settler-enforced ecology, which forcibly recreates the social structures and consumption patterns of the European-settlers bringing forth negative impact on the native Palestinians (Abdo, 2011: 16, 130-131).

This process of land-loss, facilitated by the imposition of a capitalist understanding of land, is at the root of Palestinian oppression. Imposed through the sale or coerced transfer of land, this process of land-loss is a core component which continues to impact the welfare of Palestinians today, as it initially removed and disconnected the Palestinians from their main means of social organization, economic sustenance and life. Farsoun and Aruri (2006) address the economic transition:

> Private property and capitalist relations of production in the context of an expanding market economy transformed class structure. In the rural areas a complex process of social differentiation and stratification occurred, characterized by inequalities in landholding and new social relationships of production and distribution. (Farsoun and Aruri 2006: 45)

Before the settler-colonial state of Israel is even created, the traditional social, political and economic structures of the Palestinians which were efficient for centuries begin to undergo structural oppression leading to the oncoming erasure of their cultures with the establishment of the settler-colonial state. Further imposition of discriminatory laws was imposed by the British to dispossess the Indigenous Palestinians, in favour of the Zionist movement. Abdo (2018) articulates some of the unjust policies imposed by the British:

> The British began to impose high taxes on the peasants' lands and property. They also introduced the land registry ordinance in 1920, which aimed at parcelling the otherwise collectively possessed/owned lands for the purpose of taxing them. The inability to pay cash for the tax, as most peasants used a barter system and not money, led to imprisonment and impoverishment of peasants - estimated in 1930 at 30% - and the confiscation of their land. (Abdo, 2018: 50).

As the Palestinian Political Economy was forced to decline the key female labour contributions also regressed, first with the changing land laws affecting communal structures and privatizing production and later with the prevalence of the capitalist economic structures imposed by colonialism and settler-colonialism. With the ongoing changes and the loss of means to work in agriculture, the remaining Palestinians were put out of work, limiting the previous economic contributions of women which were directly

related to their connection and cultivation of the land. Sayigh (1979) further articulates the impact of the economic changes:

> Historically Palestinian women (and men) were actively involved in economic production as peasants and agricultural workers, but since the establishment of the state and the implementation of large-scale land confiscation, Palestinians have been left with less than 2.5 per cent of the land ; through expropriation, most Palestinians were separated from their primary source of production and income and so proletarianized. But Proletarianization, unlike in the English case of Capitalist development where the creation of wage labour force was needed for the development of the capitalist industry, Palestinian peasants lost their sources of income from agricultural land and were not necessarily absorbed in the Israeli industrial sector. In fact, the state showed little or no interest in developing the Arabic sector; indeed, if anything this sector has been and continues to be largely de-developed (Sayigh, 1979: 73).

In Women in Israel: Race, Gender and Citizenship, Nahla Abdo (2011) also makes the connection between the peasant's experience during the transitions in Palestine's economic structures with Marx's concept of 'primitive accumulation' Thus it can be argued that this transformation period of land laws, and western-imposed capitalist structures "freed" a large proportion of peasants from their land and traditional labour, and made them dependent on employment within the new capitalist structure. A major issue with this transition of political economies, is that as Palestinian peasants were increasingly disconnected from their lands and traditional labour, they were also increasingly excluded from employment in the capitalist workforce as priority in employment was always given to European-Jewish immigrants (Sa'di, 1995).

As one understands the socio-economic context of the displacement of the Palestinians and how the elimination of their traditional structures and roles affects their economic welfare, one can more clearly correlate the decline in the status of Palestinian Women with the exclusion and disconnect from labour brought onto them by the rising economic structures facilitated through colonialism and settler-colonialism. The support of the British colonial project over Palestine for the Zionist movement is evident in the Balfour Declaration (Balfour, 1917). The Balfour declaration is an official letter addressed to Lord Rothschild in 1917, by Sir Arthur James Balfour, conveying "his majesty's government's sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, approved by the cabinet" towards the Zionist Federation in favour of establishing a state for the Jewish people in Palestine (Balfour, 1917). British colonialism over Palestine strengthened the Zionist movement in many ways and paved the road for the Jewish settler colonialism which led to the emergence of the State of Israel in

1948. The first British General appointed to Palestine was a prominent Zionist named Herbert Louis Samuel. Samuel plaid a crucial role in accommodating the Zionist movement and displacing Palestinians.

Under Samuel's leadership, approximately 98, 842 acres of land which consisted of 22 villages were confiscated from the Palestinian people to make way for Zionist European settlements, displacing 1 764 families which comprised of 8 730 evicted Palestinian people (Qumsyieh, 2011:60). Some of the strategical tactics Samuel used to accomplish the growth of Zionism in Palestine in the early 20th century, are listed below as mentioned by Qumsiyeh (2011) in *Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment*.

> 1. In September and October 1920, Samuel issued a series of regulations on land ownership that made it far easier for the Zionist movement to acquire vast tracts of land, thereby making it difficult for locals to keep control of their land.
> 2. He allowed the formation of the Haganah (the forerunner of Israel's army) as a '   defense force' for the expanding Zionist colonies.
> 3. Samuel used his wide authority to reassign village lands to the private ownership of Zionists or wealthy owners and people connected to the government, who in turn could sell it to the Zionist movement.
> 4. Samuel had also instituted laws that stated that absentee landowners could not profit from use of their lands, but could sell it. 5. Samuel also instituted laws that allowed the transfer of large tracts of 'public lands', though much of it was used by Palestinians, to the exclusive use of the Zionist movement, claiming that 'public good' resulted (Qumsyieh, 2011: 57).

During the colonial British mandate Herbert Louis Samuel was able to forcibly evict thousands of Palestinians and tailor laws and regulations such as those previously mentioned, to benefit and facilitate the Zionist movement, at the expense of the Native Christian and Muslim Palestinians which made up 90% of the population in 1920. Prior to British colonization, only 7% of Palestinians were Jewish (mostly non-Zionist) owning less than 2% of privately owned land, but by the end of British rule they represented nearly a third of the population and owned 7% of the land due to European migration and British mandated land laws (Qumsyieh, 2011:50). By 1933, the number of Jewish European immigrants into Palestine had increased to a rate of 30, 000 immigrants per year (Peel Commission, 1937). This skewed colonial agenda became increasingly conflicting for Palestinians. As more Palestinians continued to lose their land, their homes and their jobs they joined the struggle to earn a living in competition with the Zionist labour force that

was being prioritized. In 1936-1939 the Arab Rebellion took place in protest of the incrementally increasing Jewish immigration into Palestine which continued to cause the displacement of Palestinians (Sayigh, 1979). This elevated Palestinian activism pressured the British to slow down the settler-immigration rates, the Arab Rebellion of 1936-1939 had short-term positive impact. While these positive strides of impact were gained by Palestinian activism the Zionist movement under British colonial rule began to gain advantages in more discrete ways. As they witnessed the extents of Palestinian resistance, they noted the limitations of the peasants' war, which they evidently take advantage of later in history when the Zionists rise to the creation of a settler-colonial state. While the British were forcibly disarming Palestinians in response to their increased activism, the Zionists had begun to arm their military and train for what they had planned, culminating as the Nakba of 1948 (Qumsyieh, 2011). From the Rebellions until the UN Partition Plan, the Zionist movement prepared an unbeatable force to overtake Palestine. It is necessary to highlight and clarify that this Zionist movement which claims a "national" tie to the land during the UN partition and the occupation in 1948, was comprised of European-settlers who immigrated to the region during British colonialism of Palestine. When the Nakba occurred, it was unavoidable, Palestinians were evicted from their homes and shot if they defied the unmatched and newfound Israeli forces, setting the precedent for a continued genocide (Even-Tzur, 2016). With an attack on family and protection of women and children along with military might that was incompatible in size, preparedness equipment and world political denial of the injustice against Palestinians, Israel was able to drive out 75% of Palestinians between 1948 and 1949 (Abdo-Zubi, 1987:23). This crime against humanity is what allowed for the creation of the exclusively Jewish state of Israel, leaving the exiled Palestinians as refugees in neighbouring Arab countries. This mass exile of the Palestinians was being prepared for decades under the British Mandate, and when the Zionists attacked, the Palestinians were not prepared to defend themselves and keep their homes. The catastrophe of 1948 marks the most drastic impact on the socio-economic conditions of Palestinian life, and specifically on the economic roles of women. In the case of Palestinians, the colonial impact imposed by Britain must be addressed first while its continuation through Zionism and the establishment of the settler-colonial state of Israel second, as both historical contexts contributed to one continuous process of settler-colonialism. Similarly, the Indigenous people within Canada faced colonialism through

Britain and its' economic interests, and later through the establishment of its colony, the settler-colonial state of Canada.

Canada: Historical context of the process of Land Loss and economic displacement of Indigenous people through colonialism in modern day Canada.

A much older history of land loss and displacement, the Indigenous people within Canada faced a traumatic history of erasure over the past few centuries. Prior to any colonial contact, the Indigenous population within the American continents in 1492 is estimated to be between 90 million to 112 million people - 18 million of which lived in what is now the USA and Canada (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009:14). At the onset of European presence within North America, the authors say that "within only two generations, smallpox had abolished one-third to one-half of the Indigenous population of the American continents" and an estimate of "90% to 95% of the Indigenous population was wiped out by epidemic disease, warfare and famine with most people dying within 100 years of contact" (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009:14). Such statistics portraying the initial decline of Indigenous populations is both essential to understanding the impact of settler-colonialism, and is representative of the settler-colonial mission. Prior to the direct intention of erasure of Indigenous people for the purpose of the settler-colonial project, the contact with first settlers alone had a drastic impact on the welfare, sovereignty and mere existence of the Indigenous people.

The process of land loss in the case of the Indigenous people within the modern state of Canada heavily relied on the manipulative nature of treaty agreements, drafted to pursue imperial intentions and agreed upon based on a vast magnitude of misunderstanding from the Indigenous people (Croft, 2011). The treaties were constitutionally recognized agreements between the Crown and Indigenous people, articulated in the Royal Proclamation of 1763 by King George following the withdrawal of France from North America (King George III, 1763). The foundation of the misunderstanding between the British Crown and its representatives with the Indigenous people is rooted in a key cultural difference and perspective regarding the concept of land ownership. The British and Canadian governments used treaties as an inexpensive and convenient mechanism to facilitate European settlement and resource extraction, deceiving First Nations into limiting

and eliminating their claims and rights to their land forever (Jull And Craig, 1997). In most cases, the Indigenous tribes had already faced economic turbulence as a result of their new neighbors and the imposition of their colonialist structures, and in times of increasing poverty, illness and malnourishment the tribes were more motivated to sign treaties in return for sustenance. The government expected assimilation from the First Nations, who never relinquished their status as sovereign nations nor agreed to giving up their traditions (Burrows, 1992). The greatest testament to the magnitude of manipulation during the process of treaty signing is the language barrier, in which most chiefs did not understand English and could not verify the written terms of the agreements which were communicated and translated verbally, thus signing treaty pages with an "X" and being under the misled impression that they were agreeing to share not to cede their lands (Sewid-Smith, 1991). In addition to the deception at the core of treaty signing, Chiefs were also manipulated into agreeing to promises stated verbally by the translators, that were not written in the written agreements they were manipulated into signing (Fumoleau, 2004).

After the war of 1812, many Indigenous people including many Anishinaabe, Iroquois, and Huron-Wendat Nations who fought alongside the Crown and proved their loyalty, were provided with lands on which to settle. The Canadian government relied on manipulating the misunderstanding of Indigenous people of the terms and ideas within the treaties, as well as the misuse of power using the poverty of Indigenous people since colonialism to the government's advantage in offering low incentives in return for land ownership and rights. Ideas such as land ownership were unfathomable within Indigenous cultures, deeming their understanding of the treaties as an agreement to "share" land with new settlers. Similarly, the concept of land ownership rights was misunderstood in which their differing world view was manipulated to receive their consent in "ceding" land to the Crown (Bang, et el. 2014). The onset of displacement began in 1836 as Lieutenant Governor Sir Frances Bond Head introduced the concept of moving Indigenous people to particular spaces in which they could hunt and practice their traditional ways away from settlers (Binnema and Hutchings, 2004). Through transfer and relocation, this was the introduction of reservations as a means of seizing Indigenous land and limiting their rights. From the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior treaties onwards, all following numbered treaties incorporated the concept of Indigenous reserves (Miller, 2018). These treaties also re-introduced Crown recognition of the Indigenous people's right to hunt and

fish, despite the reality of being pushed off the land and into reserves to accommodate the increasing rates of new settlements (Miller, 2018). The Numbered Treaties continued until the 1930s, seizing Indigenous land and restricting Indigenous nations in varying conditions based on the circumstances of each treaty (Smith, 2016).

Forced conditions of poverty and starvation led to the convenient realities of manipulating the impoverishment of Indigenous people after the onset and impact of colonialism, to serve the settler-colonial effort and lead them into a distorted power dynamic in which their need for any form of assistance exceeded the high value they allocated to their connection and sovereignty over their land. The systemic discrimination and settler-colonial effort to displace Indigenous people from their sovereignty and power was enforced directly through the formation of the North-West Mounted police (NWMP) who played a vital role in restricting Indigenous movement in their reserves and altering their traditional way of life from their arrival to present-day southwest Alberta from 1874 onwards (Nettlebeck and Smandych, 2010).

In the case of the Inuit people, the context of land loss and displacement differs to their unique previous socio-economic settings. Unlike other Indigenous Nations within Canada, the Inuit did not receive as much attention in terms of land acquisition until much later, rather their livelihoods and previous structures were threatened in different ways. During the 1850s, a demand for the Arctic's animal resources by American settlers and Europeans resulted in the establishment of "the North Atlantic Whaling Industry." (Inuulitisivik Health Center, 2019). This industry killed thousands of whales, heavily straining the resources which Inuit people depended on. Hundreds of Inuit people, both men and women, began to work for the North Atlantic Whaling Industry and by the 1890s company, "The Pacific Whalers" comprised of 15 ships, had been routinely living amongst Inuit communities during the winters (Inuulitisivik Health Center, 2019). In addition to their main food source and their previous structures being compromised, the settlers brought with them disease which led to the death of thousands of Inuit people, reducing their population from an estimate of 2500 people in 1850 to only 150 people in 1910 (Inuulitisivik Health Center, 2019). After World War One, the Arctic was encompassed by the fur trade, in which on the one hand the fluctuations in fur prices invoked deep poverty amongst the Inuit people who now depended on this industry. On the other hand, the

imposition of the RCMP, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches invoked an erasure of Inuit cultural practices, in which Inuit traditions were only practiced in secret (Inuulitisivik Health Center, 2019). Library and Archives Canada (2010) provides further insight on the displacement of the Inuit people:

> In the 1950s, the Canadian government wanted to make sure the North belonged to Canada. They were afraid if they didn't settle the North, Americans or Soviets might claim it as their own. They began to round up the Inuit from their hunting camps and build villages for them to live in. At first, the Inuit had a tough time adapting to the changes. They had always looked after themselves and moved where they wanted. in 1953 and in 1955 the Canadian government moved some Inuit families from Northern Quebec to new homes in the High Arctic -- about 2 000 kilometres north. These Inuit are now referred to as the "High Arctic Exiles". The Government of Canada sent them there in order to ensure that the North would be settled by Canadians. These Inuit had never lived that far north and they had to adapt to different environment and change the way they hunted, the kind of animals they could eat and the kind of homes they lived in (Library and archives Canada, 2010).

The Inuit first went through an attack on their resources, then an imposed poverty and then a severe extent of relocation forcing them into deeper poverty. Being forcibly relocated 2000 km north of their original regions posed varying challenges including adapting to living conditions and new resources for survival. This represents the intrusion on the Inuit people's previous nomadic lifestyles by limiting their movement rights to and forcing them to readapt to regions they had no experience living in, setting a limitation on where they can and cannot live, and hunt.

Hayden King (2014) cites the expressed frustration of Mississauga leaders in regards to the rise of the colonial state:

> You came as a wind blown across the great lake. We received you, we planted you, and we nursed you. We protected you till you became a mighty tree that spread throughout our Hunting Land. With its branches you now lash us (King, 2014: 80).

As Indigenous diplomacy continued to be ignored in favour of the settler missions, the rise of Indigenous resistance grew into the formation of the League of Indians and many protests throughout the late 1800s by Metis, Cree, Tsilhgot'in and Anishinaabe people, until the government responded by prohibiting all forms of Indigenous political organizing under the Indian Act" (King, 2014). The onset of the Indian Act in 1906, following the original promulgation of the Indian Act in 1876, further marginalized First Nations under Canadian Law declaring them "non-persons" and making official the efforts of erasure of

the Indigenous people. (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009). It wasn't until 1951 when First Nations became legally acknowledged as Canadian citizens (Indian Act, 1951). Metis people were not included under the Indian Act, and not considered Indigenous until 1982 (Constitution Acts, 1982). This exclusion of the Metis people created a wide variety of socio-economic consequences in regards to identity, land and resource rights (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009).

After it's declaration in (1906, the Indian Act) played a more drastic role in governing the affairs of Indigenous people than the treaties they had been misconstrued into agreeing to. The extent of discrimination which contributed to an overdue acknowledgement of Indigenous people as citizens, with human rights, is nothing out of the ordinary given the discriminatory culture of the settler-colonial state and the blatant racism of European settlers. The view of Indigenous peoples to be "uncivilized" was common, and commonly justified the efforts to "civilize" Indigenous people by enforcing Christianity on them through European methods of education, farming, allotment and termination (Mihesuah, 2003). Such discrimination is comparative to the discrimination faced by Palestinians under the state of Israel, as both mechanisms of oppression rely on a "God's will" ethos which promoted the erasure and elimination of Indigenous communities, practices and presence as a means of "civilizing" and pursuing God's will (Mihesuah, 2003). The enforcement of European structures and erasure of Indigenous social structures that accompanied the process of land loss and displacement, plays a vital role in the disempowerment of Indigenous women. In their previous structures, the labour of Indigenous women was equally as valuable to the community as that of their male counterparts, in which the socioeconomic structures they participated in provided them with key means of contribution. Morgensen (2012) discusses this equality and says:

> Male and female roles were therefore equally important, and respect for the contributions of both genders was necessary for survival. This symbolic relationship between men and women both created and supported an environment of gender equity. Colonization undermined the position of women by instilling values and practices that displaced their important positions within the community. Women became less influential as European influence grew" (Fernandez, 2003: 244).Morgensen makes the argument that "understanding heteropatriarchy on stolen land as a settler-colonial project, then the spaces of conforming to settler rule will exceed those typically marked by anti-colonialism and will expand into gendered and sexual spaces (Morgensen, 2012:3).

The processes of displacement from land, elimination of social and communal structures, and forced assimilation through identity laws and residential schools are all key components of the settler-colonial project in Canada which directly impact the status and well-being of Indigenous women. Pasternak (2014) addresses factors of economic inequity faced by indigenous people within Canada:

> Despite their wealth in the land and resources, economic racism prevents Indigenous peoples from obtaining financial benefits from their traditional territories. Their proprietary interests have been largely ignored and aboriginal title is extinguished through the land claims settlement process. Chronic underfunding of reserves has deepened the gap formed by deprivation from traditional subsistence economies due to land loss and ecological deterioration. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples commissioner sated in 1996 that "current levels of poverty and underdevelopment are directly linked to the dispossession of Indigenous people from their lands and the delegitimization of their institutions of society and governance (Pasternak, 2014: 43).

Understanding the process of land displacement experienced by the Indigenous people within Canada could be enhanced by applying a framework from the Indigenous feminism roundtable (2015) raising the question "how can we use the why of settler colonialism to facilitate the how of decolonization?" (Aikau, et al., 2015:87). The cultural erasure and assimilation efforts were rooted in a purpose of settler-sovereignty, in which one could argue that the resurgence and prevalence of Indigenous cultures, language, and socio-economic structures could serve as both a mechanism of de-colonizing and thus a mechanism of re-asserting power to Indigenous people and more specifically Indigenous women. Likewise, the confinement of Indigenous peoples to reservations was facilitated for the purpose of creating geographical space for settler-development and settlements, in which it is the expansion of Indigenous culture and presence outside the realms of their allocated reserves, which will enhance the de-colonial effort and begin the process of re-asserting Indigenous sovereignty. The empowerment of Indigenous women is rooted in the empowerment of Indigenous people as a collective, similarity to the feminist struggle of the Palestinian women being rooted in their national struggle. In both cases, a mechanism of de-colonizing and re-asserting Indigenous sovereignty is required to facilitate the progress and empowerment of Indigenous women. The basis of securing the wellbeing of Indigenous women's' welfare lies in the resurgence of their contribution power prior to settler-colonialism and the erasure of their socio-economic structures. Thus, the struggle of Indigenous women is a resistance to settler-colonialism, centered around gaining back their

previous roles and rights, unlike the struggle of their settler-colonial female counterparts whose feminist struggle is a resistance to patriarchal settler-colonial structures.

An anti-colonial framework is a necessary component within a relevant analysis of Indigenous women and their economic welfare, in order to facilitate an understanding of their disempowerment in relation to their settler-colonial experience and to view the means of their empowerment outside of the limitations of the heteropatriarchal structures imposed onto them by European settlers. It is essential to highlight the particular investment settler colonialism has in the land, and dispossession of Indigenous people of that land (Wolfe, 2016). At the very core of the poverty of Indigenous nations within Canada, is the context of relocation to small tracts of land in which they could not recreate their previous structures due to limited resources, but yet they also faced difficulty entering the capitalist workforce due to settler-colonial attitudes of racism and discrimination entrenched within Canadian society (The Center for Social Justice, 2019).

Chapter 5

Settler Colonialism: Discriminatory Laws and Citizenship Rights

Canada

The strongest tool used by the Europeans to oppress Indigenous women within Canada was the residential schools which commenced during the first promulgation of the Indian Act of (1867) and remained until the late 20th century, with the last residential school closing in 1996 (Regan, 2010). Sending Indigenous children to residential schools acted as a colonial mechanism used to facilitate the assimilation of the Indigenous youth and the erasure of their traditions. This was not only the case because the Indigenous youth were forced to attend schools with great distances away from their homes and families, but it was also evident in the conditions imposed through the residential schools. Gender was a concept introduced by the European settlers and particularly imposed through residential schools. The schools were segregated based on gender, gender roles were imposed in the division of labour, and gender-based standards were imposed regarding the youth's appearances – such as boys being forced to cut their hair upon arriving to school to comply with gendered

European standards (De Leeyw, 2017). The division based on gender imposed European standards of gender roles. Within such gender roles, Indigenous girls were displaced from their previous roles of equal value to their Indigenous communities and were forced to conform to domestic "feminine" roles, divided based on gender and European gender norms (Kubik, et al., 2009). In addition to being separated from their families and displaced by great distances, Indigenous youth were forced into harsh conditions of child labour enforced as a means of reducing the expenditures by the Churches operating the schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, Vol. 1). These kinds of conditions not only introduced patriarchy, genders and gender-based discrimination and violence, but they had severed long-term impact on the Indigenous youth and their descendants. Due to poor record keeping, only 3200 deaths of Indigenous children during residential schools were accounted for, in which cause of death and gender of Indigenous youth were not recorded (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, Vol. 4). A study conducted in 2012 proves the long-term negative impact of the residential schools, as it showed that having a family member who attended a residential school reduces the probability of secondary school completion by the age of 18 for First Nations youth living off reserve (Statistics Canada, 2012a). The legacy of residential schools lives on through its ability to disconnect Indigenous youth from their traditions. This especially harms Indigenous women as the residential school system dispositioned them from their valued socio-economic roles in their traditional societies and in its place subjected them to the patriarchal sexism relevant to the cultural norms of the settler-colonial society. This further entrenches them in the modern reality of an imperialist economic structure dependent on a hierarchal and patriarchal social relationship. As of 2012, 12% of First Nations Women living off-reserve and 21% of Inuit women, ages 25 and up, had attended residential schools; Only 4% of Metis women ages 25 and up attended residential schools (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Violence imposed on children is a direct mechanism of enforcing settler-colonialism as it is a strategy of culture erasure and forced assimilation, in which Indigenous youth are forced to adopt the cultures of settler society in place of their traditional values, languages and traditions. This systemic violence imposed on children is a component of the gendered process of settler- colonialism, in that it enforces the gendered limitations of settler society, and that it imposes a negative impact on Indigenous women as mothers who lose their children and as survivors who lose their culture. This threat to Indigenous women is continued through the Sixties Scoop and continued

discrimination against Indigenous women by Provincial child welfare programs, which often use factors such as the poverty or mental health of Indigenous women against them in cases which result in the displacement of Indigenous children from their families, into the care of settler-families. This is especially problematic as it is rooted in systemic discrimination, and is based on socio-economic factors which are direct outcomes of settler-colonialism, thus these mechanisms of impacting youth and women are cyclical forms of enforcing settler colonialism at the cost of Indigenous women, their children and their collective welfare. The Sixties Scoop represents a peek in enforced removal and assimilation of Indigenous children, in which children would be forcibly and non-consensually taken from their families by agents of the state and "adopted" by settler families. The high incidence of this process played a key role on further erasure of Indigenous culture within the 20th century, and the loss of both Indigenous language and tradition amongst a majority of Indigenous people, including women. Palmater (2015) explains:

> children were denied their identity, language, culture, family community and nation. Many Canadians misunderstand this period in our history to be over, which is the reason why it is labelled as the sixties scoop – something that happened in the past. Yet Indigenous children now make up as high as 90% of all children in care (provincially) despite the fact that they are less than 4% of the population. We have higher levels of our children in care now than in the 1960s!! (Palmater, 2015: 49)

Within a decolonizing approach these violent mechanisms must be addressed as continued mechanisms of colonialism, and not previous discriminatory events which are only situated in the past as historic events. These acts of violence against women and children are continually enforced, and the sovereignty of colonialism continues to depend on the oppression of Indigenous people, especially Indigenous women. Other relevant means of systemic violence enforced onto Indigenous women which will be further analyzed later in this analysis include the high rates and recent incidence of forced and coerced sterilization, missing and murdered Indigenous women, and continued factors of victimization such as the increasing conditions of poverty and victimization amongst Indigenous women. These are important cases which highlight the continuation of the gendered process and ongoing oppression within settler colonialism. The erasure of Indigenous societies through assimilation and destruction of Indigenous culture is highly prevalent and evident in the fact that 94% of the Indigenous language that still exist in Canada are also threatened by a high risk of extinction (Palmater, 2015).

Palestine

Prior to the onset of the State of Israel, the colonial British Mandate imposed a disproportionate imbalance of education based on both race and gender. This is essential to highlight in order to understand the gendered process in which the settler colonial system enforced the oppression of Indigenous Palestinian women, at the cost of providing opportunity for the children of European Jewish settlers. Enforced gender bias is evident within colonialism in as early as the British mandate which facilitated the growth and existence of settler-colonialism, as the education provisions only allocated 50 schools for girls, out of the total 514 schools allocated to Palestinian children that contained a total estimated population of 8042 students (Abdo, 2011: 151). In contrast, the Jewish population under the British Mandate was provided with over 760 schools, with an opportunity for teachers to access better work conditions and form teachers' unions (Abdo, 2011:15). Abdo (2011) argues that the British colonial rule favoured urban areas over rural areas in providing education, based on exclusionary politics which benefited the Jewish population. This argument is supported by the context of gendered and racist bias in academic provisions as a causal factor which widened the gap between urban and rural Palestinian women, in which more urban women were Christian and more rural women were Muslim, as part of the racist colonial "civilizing" mission (Abdo, 2011:149). The inconsistency and discriminatory bias in providing less access to Palestinian children than Jewish children of recent European settlers, less to girls than their male counterparts, and less to the Muslim majority of girls in rural areas as opposed to their urbanized counterparts with higher incidence of being Christian, are all ways which the discriminatory, gendered bias of settler-colonialism as a continued process impacted Palestinian women. A decolonizing approach would especially stress the existence of such bias based on religion and gender to be a direct outcome of colonialism and the enforcement of the Zionist settler-colonial movement, as such social factors would not be the basis of division or discrimination within Palestinian traditions. The systemic racism, and gendered process of oppressing Palestinian youth by compromising the quality of their education is continued today as a means of enforcing the settler-colonial state of Israel at the cost of the disempowerment of Palestinian youth, including Palestinian girls. A study by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics declares that the average expenditure by the state

on each Jewish student is approximately $1097 per student, as opposed to only $191 average expenditure per Palestinian student (Abdo, 2011:166). The prevalence of systemic racism and a continued dominance of a gendered process of settler colonialism are evident in many other forms of systemic violence and discrimination onto Palestinian women which will be further assessed later in this analysis. Examples of these gendered mechanisms of enforcing settler colonialism include high incidence of aggression against Palestinian women through Indigenous incarceration, night raids, discriminatory regulations, movement restrictions and the perpetuation of factors which further victimize Palestinian women. Abdo (2014) puts imperialist violence into perspective:

> The old imperialism had often presented itself as a civilizing mission, one that was meant to uplift the 'primitive', 'uncivilized', and 'uncultured' peoples of the colonies (Abdo 2011). But the new imperialism is much more nuanced and sophisticated; it has created a new epistemology for framing world peace, conflict and resistance and for dealing with what it perceives to be 'democratic' regimes acceptable and amenable to imperialist interests. It has also managed to re-frame what it deems as a 'threat' to world security – or, to put it bluntly to its economic and geo-political interests (Abdo, 2014:50).

Settler Colonialism: Transfer and "Citizenship"

In both cases women face a barrier to citizenship and inclusion within nation states founded by and dependent on a violent system of settler-colonialism. Indigenous women worldwide are excluded from new nation states created by colonialism and maintained through settler-colonialism. The issue is not only that Indigenous women face barriers due to the laws around their rights, but that laws which exist only on colonial premise have power over Indigenous women. Thus, we not only address the impact of the laws, but also their existence and reign over people who are exogenous to European structures, in which such laws reign over Indigenous peoples solely under the conditions of a continuous colonialism. Morgensen (2012) expands:

> For as J. Kehaulani Kauanui demonstrates, racializing kinship contradicts traditional definitions of Indigenous nationhood based on genealogy, which may include adoption as well as biological descent, and without making 'race' a determinant of degree of relationship. These processes illuminate Israel's Citizenship Law, which bars residency or citizenship to Palestinians from the occupied territories who become spouses to Israeli citizens (Palestinian or otherwise), thereby attempting to police state borders and

Palestinian ties through marriage. For this law conforms to more constitutive settler-colonial efforts to produce Israel as a racial state by denying Palestinians the right of return: a denial that reclassifies refugee descendants as subjects of foreign governments, thereby pre-empting land claims that would be defensible by invoking the integrity of Palestinian familial ties and descent (Morgensen, 2012: 11).

The imposition of patriarchy takes a different form under the settler-colonial state of Israel. Unlike the Indigenous women of Canada, Palestinian women were still a part of the realm of Semitic religions and its cultural implications so one cannot argue that gender was introduced or imposed through settler-colonialism, as it was on the Indigenous people of Canada. Yet, it is important to highlight the imposition of Jewish law on Palestinian women, which was a drastic limitation in comparison to the rights previously mentioned that were provided to Palestinian women under Islamic law. The imposition of the Halacha, Jewish law, as state-law created a newfound scope of limitations on women's rights embedded by law (Swirski, 2000). Such impositions included the prohibition of marriage between Jews and non-Jews, the legal requirement of a bride's father's approval prior to marriage, the right for a woman's brother in-law to wed her upon the death of her husband, and the allocation of power over divorce to the husband (Swirski, 2000). In comparison to previous laws, only practiced within religion and not enforced as state law, this change brought forth a limitation onto the autonomy of Palestinian women in regards to their marriage. Despite the existence of a patriarchal structure in the previous Palestinian political economy, women's rights were often protected under Islamic laws, especially in regards to matters of marriage (Miller, 2003). The imposition of settler-colonial laws onto Indigenous Palestinians also imposed a restriction on Palestinian women to marry outside of their religion, posing an added restriction on Palestinian women to marry men of different faiths, including Palestinian men. Abdo (2013) explains:

> Under Israeli Legal System – women forced to marry according to religious law, civil marriage had to be done outside of the state. And Arab women have no right to marry an Arab man of a different religion, unless she leaves Israel to do so. If she does, there would still be the issue of religion of children in Isreali law. Thus, traditionalism within the Israeli state, initially shaped by social and economic forces, is now reinforced in legal form (Abdo, 2013: 41).

By centralizing Judaism at the heart of the Zionist state's laws, Israel uses religion as a tool to enforce exclusionist politics and policies onto Palestinian citizens, especially women (Abdo, 2013). Additionally, Israel prohibits Palestinians from the occupied territories from both residency and citizenship upon marrying Israeli citizens, including the Palestinian

citizens of Israel (Yiftachel, 1999). The imposition of this law further inhibits the autonomy of Palestinian women as it limits their ability to marry Palestinian citizen of Israel, or inversely, prevents Palestinian women within Israel from marrying people from other countries, including Palestinians from the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

In addition to the forced imposition of gender, gender societal standards, and gender-based discrimination and violence, Indigenous women within Canada were also oppressed by the new laws imposed by the settler colonial state. Downgrading from previous structures in which the women were autonomous, the onset of settler colonial laws began to drastically disposition Indigenous women from their traditional autonomy. Since the onset of the Indian Act until the provision of Bill C-31 in 1985, Indigenous women faced gendered exclusions to receiving Indian Status under section 12(1)(6) upon marrying a man not possessing Indian Status (Indian Act, 1876; Bill C-31, 1985). This implication caused over 25 000 Indigenous women to lose their status within the time span of 1876 to 1985, losing access to the rights of status which include health care, and the right to live in their own homes and communities (Lawrence, 2004). This gendered exclusion to "status" is predicted to impact one to two million Indigenous descendants, incapable of making legally acknowledged claim of their Indigenous identity in Canada (Lawrence, 2004). Lawrence (2004) calls this effect "statistical genocide" (Morgensen, 2012), in which the concept of "Transfer by accounting" by Veracini (2010), is a relevant framework to address these laws as a means of counting Indigenous people" out of existence. Veracini (2010) provides the following definition:

> Transfer by accounting – when Indigenous people are counted out of existence. This transfer includes instances when an administrative fixation with blood quanta enables predictions regarding the ultimate disappearance of Indigenous people. According to this type of transfer, a combination between Indigenous and exogenous elements engenders an exclusively exogenous outcome (Veracini, 2010: 37-52).

This method of transfer, as a component of the ongoing process of genocide used within settler-colonialism to displace Indigenous people and de-legitimize their existence within the settler-colonial state, is relevant as "Indian status" is imposed and defined by the settler-colonial body, dictating who may legally be considered as Indigenous and forcing gendered exclusions on the passage of such "status". This discrimination on identity presents a drastic shift from the Indigenous concept of "families of the heart" in which biological relationship was not traditionally used to measure kinship or belonging. The

Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (2016) situates the importance of status of indigenous women:

> By taking away women's official status as Indians, the government advanced its goal of reducing the number of Indigenous people who had Indian status. It helped fulfill a bigger goal of The Indian Act—cultural genocide—the desire to wipe out Indian identity in Canada (The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2016).

As a product of Settler- colonial laws and culture, Indigenous people are displaced from legal claim of their own identities based on a settler-colonial means of measuring identity, such as blood quantum and patrilineal lineage. The term "blood quantum" is a term used in reference to Indigenous people in North America in reference to bloodlines relating to Indigenous ancestry, serving settler-colonialism in classifying what constitutes Indigenous identity as enforced by settler-colonial laws (Kauanui, 2008). In 1985, Bill C-31 was introduced to alleviate the negative effects of the Indian Act on Indigenous women (Bill C-31, 1985). The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) (2010), calls on Canada to acknowledge the racism and inequality perpetuated by the current system against Indigenous families and communities, rooting the current socio-economic conditions faced by Indigenous people on a colonial history of "attacks on Aboriginal culture" (CCPA, 2010).

The creation of a second-class Indigenous status through reinstatement led to the loss of status for their grandchildren regardless of gender, contributing to a decline of legally recognized status Indians (Kubik, et al., 2009). Indigenous author Pamela Palmater also challenges the changes made in 1985 BILL C-31 and 2010 BILL C-3 in which she argues that neither bills remedy "the legislated form of gender discrimination" (Palmater, 2015: 48). Additionally, the following factors contribute to how the loss of status displaces indigenous women:

> The denial of identity and status, along with losing access to community and familiar land has forced some Indigenous women into cities. They often find themselves more socially and culturally alone. They may live in poverty, be vulnerable to violent relationships, or enter the sex trade to survive and provide for their children (The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2016).

In addition to the laws regarding status, Indigenous women were further oppressed through the existing laws regarding their rights upon divorce. Since the Constitution Act of 1867 provides the federal government exclusive authority over Indigenous reservations, the provincial or territorial laws regarding the division of assets upon divorce does not apply to

Indigenous women who live on reservations (Constitution Act, 1867). This is a disadvantage as they compare to the divorce rights of their non-Indigenous counterparts who have the legal right to an automatic 50/50 division of matrimonial assets when they seek divorce (Family Law Act, 1990). This limitation on women's divorce rights plays a heavy toll on Indigenous women as it jeopardizes their chances at gaining custody of their children, being without a home or being at risk of low income. This then creates a deeper infliction on their rights, where they must choose to endure an abusive relationship due to their limited alternatives of surviving, keeping custody and providing for their children (Brownridge, et. Al., 2008). The combination of the difficult socio-economic conditions imposed specifically on Indigenous women have pressured them into life-threatening situations such as extreme poverty, homelessness, and prostitution (Amnesty International, 2004). Due to such conditions Indigenous women have a lower life expectancy than their non-Indigenous counterparts with up to 8 times the rate of suicide, as well as higher rates of diabetes, HIV/AIDS, and tobacco addiction as outcome of the extent of their socio-economic dispossession (Amnesty International, 2004).

In both cases of Israel and Canada, the settler colonial transfers defined by Veracini (2010) were key mechanisms of oppression, erasure, and an ongoing genocide of Indigenous peoples and the previous socioeconomic structures which ensured their wellbeing. The following are the different forms of "transfers" which facilitate the process of settler colonialism and the further oppression and displacement of Indigenous people as defined by Veracini (2010), along with brief comments on the relation of such transfers to the Indigenous people whose experiences are central to this analysis. One of the definitions offered by Veracini (2010) is:

> Transfer by assimilation – when Indigenous people are "uplifted" out of existence (Veracini, 2010: 37-52).

This form of transfer is evident in the patrilineal passage of citizenship between BILL C-31, in which cooperation and subjection to a patriarchal settler-colonial norm was enforced onto Indigenous women (Bill C-31, 1985). This form of transfer was also strengthened by the means of assimilation enforced on to Indigenous people within Canada through residential schools, and the sixties scoop. Another definition by Veracini (2010) is as follows:

> Transfer by conceptual displacement – when Indigenous peoples are not considered Indigenous to the land and therefore perceived as exogenous others who have entered the settler space at some point in time and preferably after the arrival of the settler collective (Veracini, 2010: 37-52).

This transfer is relevant especially in the case of Palestinians and displaced Palestinians within the diaspora, in which a Western narrative is identifies Palestinians as Arabs who are exogenous to a "Jewish land". This is especially problematic in the case of the Palestinians within the diaspora and refugee camps in neighbouring countries and the restriction they face in their right to return to their traditional territories. This is also relevant in the case of Palestinians within the Palestinian territories facing imprisonment upon entering the state of Israel, despite being Indigenous to that land (Yiftachel, 1999). Veracini (2010) defines Administrative transfer as follows:

> Administrative transfer – when the administrative borders of the settler polity are redrawn and Indigenous people lose entitlement they had retained in the context of previous arrangements or when settlers insist on their capacity to define who is an Indigenous person and who isn't, privileging a definition of indigeneity that is patrilineally transmitted (Veracini, 2010: 37-52).

This form of settler-colonial transfer is relevant in the previously mentioned restrictions on "Indian Status" and Indigenous identity within the Indian Act based on an imposed definition or measurement of indigeneity by the settler colonial body. It is of course also relevant in the case of Palestine and the settler-colonial impositions on movement and citizenship rights. Finally, the transfer facilitating settler-colonialism which is most relevant to the approach of this analysis;

> Transfer by coerced lifestyle change – when it is the Indigenous way of life and social and political organization that is transferred away. – also when Indigenous ecosystems become targeted. In this instance, it is Indigenous traditional forms of economic activity, not bodies, that are transferred away (Veracini, 2010: 37-52).

This transfer addresses the impact on Indigenous people, including women, based on the imposition of settler-colonial economic, political and social structures as well as the imposition of settler-colonial culture, laws and ways of life. This transfer is most relevant in understanding the negative impact settler colonialism has on Indigenous women in relation to structural changes imposed onto them, and their adaption to structural changes as a component of their resistance to settler-colonialism.

Chapter 6

Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Women's' Labour

Canada

Statistics collected by Statistics Canada from 2011 to as recently as 2016, will be used to evaluate the economic status of Indigenous women in Canada and the varying factors which effect their rates of labour force participation and lack thereof. For the sake of statistical analysis, it is important to highlight the definition of "unemployment" by statistics Canada as "those who are actively looking for employment but are not employed" (Statistics Canada, 2012b). It is with intention that the distinction clarifying any assumed notions where "unemployment" may be perceived as a fault of those who are unemployed is included. This is a key concept to consider in order to understand that individuals included in the "unemployment" statistic are people who are actively seeking employment. An assessment of economic contribution of Indigenous people cannot be made without centralizing colonialism as a key factor to their displacement. Indigenous people achieve employment in capitalist economies despite such economic structures being imposed onto them. Pasternak (2014) states that:

> The political economy of Canada rests on claims of ownership to all lands
> and resources within our national borders (Pasternak, 2014: 40).

A Canadian of settler descent seeking employment in the Canadian economy, is not comparable to an Indigenous person seeking employment in the Canadian economy in which they must adapt and adhere to the conditions of settler-colonialism and take part in an imposed economic structure.

As of 2012, First Nations women aged 15 years or older had an employment rate of 45.1%. Of that 45.1% of employed First Nations women, 41.5% held Indian Status, and 55.6% did not report Indigenous status (Statistics Canada, 2012a). To further understand the socio-economic impact of the modern economic structures on Indigenous women we must assess the relationship between their labour force participation and their confinements to geographic locations. Thirty-six per cent of First Nations women reportedly live on reserve. Of that number of women who live on reserve, only 35.2% were employed. Meanwhile First Nations women who lived off-reserve participated in a 50.2% employment rate. This statistic can imply that living on reserve can be a disadvantage for Indigenous women seeking employment. One could infer/assume from this data that women living on reserve are isolated geographically from employment opportunities, in which case labour force participation becomes inaccessible. This is problematic for many reasons. Firstly, if employment opportunities were inaccessible for Indigenous women on

reserve, then they are limited to the options of being unemployed or leaving their communities to seek employment. Then arises the conflict of re-location for employment, which may act as a barrier to entering the labour force as relocating comes at the financial cost of moving, including the inflated cost of living in urban areas. Additionally, re-locating in order to access employment comes at the opportunity cost of leaving their communities behind to seek work. The social cost of re-locating for work may include isolation, and could impact women's ability to participate or engage with their own community, thus creating another gendered mechanism in which labour force participation in a capitalist economy requires Indigenous women to disconnect from their traditional circles. First Nations women living on reserve face the highest unemployment rate amongst their other female Indigenous counterparts in Canada, at an unemployment rate of 20.8%. This can be compared to the unemployment rate of 13.9% for First Nations women living off reserve. Evidently, First Nations women are limited to choosing between staying on reserve and having limited employment opportunities, or relocating to seek employment at a high financial and social cost.

Inuit women face similar geographical barriers to entry as their First Nations counterpart, in which the labour force participation statistics vary for Inuit women living in Inuit Nunangat and Inuit women living elsewhere. The employment rate for all Inuit women over the age of 15 in 2012, was 48.6% (Statistics Canada, 2012a). With a similar labour force isolation trend as faced by First Nations women, the data shows that Inuit women living in Inuit Nunangat are at a disadvantage from finding employment, with an unemployment rate of 18%. In comparison, the Inuit women who live outside of Inuit Nunangat face an unemployment rate of 11.7% (Statistics Canada, 2012a). By observing the labour force statistics for both First Nations and Inuit women, it can be reported that the gap of unemployment between Indigenous women living in their communities (whether on reserve or Inuit Nunangat) and Indigenous women who live outside of their communities, is approximately a difference of 6% in unemployment (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Thus, providing statistical data supporting the inaccessibility of capitalist forms of employment for Indigenous women. This is especially so, as it can be seen that Indigenous women are required to leave their communities, in order to increase their probability of employment. This inaccessibility of work acts as a gendered mechanism of settler-colonialism, as it subjects Indigenous women to further isolation from their traditional economic structures, by not only having to conform to the modern settler-colonial economy but also being

pressured to leave their communities in order to secure work. Finally, Metis women ages 15 and older participate in an employment rate of 59.6% and the lowest unemployment rate amongst their counterparts at 9.6% unemployment (Statistics Canada, 2012a). The sectors of employment that Indigenous women ages 15 years and older contribute to are as follows; 31% were employed in sales and services occupations, 22% were employed in business, finance, and administrative occupations, and the remaining 21% of the demographic work in education, law, community and government services (Statistics Canada, 2012a).

In order to add a qualitative component to this analysis on the current economic contribution of Indigenous women, further data can be evaluated to provide information on the quality of work Indigenous women are employed in. From the Aboriginal Population Profile 2016 Census provided by Statistics Canada (2016), other economic factors can be assessed. The median employment income for full-time employment work amongst Indigenous women aged 15 and older was $47 420 for all Indigenous women. Within this statistic, the median income amongst full-time working First Nations women was $40 490, Metis women $45 181, and Inuit women $55 642 (Statistics Canada, 2016a). The 2016 census does not provide a median income for Indigenous women not working full time, so the 2011 statistics will be relied on for a general idea of what the median income amongst Indigenous women looks like in general, including women who work both full-time and part-time. In 2012 the median income amongst all Indigenous women aged 15 and older was $19 289 annually, putting them at a disadvantage of $5,500 in comparison to the median income of non-Indigenous women at $24, 842 (Statistics Canada, 2012a). As of 2016, 9.3% of all Indigenous women aged 15 and older fall under the category of low income based on the low income cut offs, after tax (Statistics Canada, 2016a). Within that statistic, the following is the prevalence of low income classification amongst Indigenous women aged 15 and older: 19% of First Nation, 10.7% of Metis women and 9.9% of Indigenous women (Statistics Canada, 2016a).

The sectors of employment that Indigenous women ages 15 years and older contribute to are as follows; 31% were employed in sales and services occupations, 22% were employed in business, finance, and administrative occupations, and the remaining 21% of the demographic work in education, law, community and government services (Statistics Canada, 2012a). As mentioned earlier, it is essential to centralize a de-colonizing approach

within this analysis. Although Indigenous women have gained employment in the economic structures imposed on them, their resistance to the settler-colonial structures remains. Such resistance can be evident in their preservation of traditional modalities of production, in which a small percentage of Indigenous women continue to provide for their families through their traditional roles by earning incomes from their traditional activities. A study by APS in 2012, defines such "traditional activities" to include the production of clothing, footwear, art, crafts, hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering wild plants (Statistics Canada, 2012a). This study shows that 61% of the First Nations women living off reserve have carried on their traditional modes of production, but only 7% of which, reported doing so to supplement their income. Similarly, 61% of Metis women partake in these traditional activities, and 8% of those women reported receiving income from this mode of production (Statistics Canada, 2012a). The resistance of settler-colonial economic structures is strongest amongst Inuit women, potentially due to a decreased accessibility to capitalist means of income. Amongst Inuit women, 87% of the Inuit women living in Inuit Nunangat and 83% of the Inuit women living elsewhere take part in their traditional activities (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Of which, 18% of the Inuit women living in Inuit Nunangat and 16% of the Inuit women living elsewhere reported taking part of these traditional modes of production for income (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Additional information which supports the evidence that Indigenous women in Canada have been severely impacted by the displacement from their traditions, land and political economies is also evident in the following statistics on food security. The Aboriginal People's Survey of 2012, concluded that 21% of all Indigenous women lived in households which experience food insecurity, in comparison to 8% of non-Indigenous women (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Food insecurity is extremely prevalent in the case of Inuit women living in Inuit Nunangat, where 53% of them lived with food insecurity (Statistics Canada, 2012a).

Palestine

The sovereignty of settler colonial structures is heavily upheld and maintained by the imposition of socio-economic structures which favour the settler-colonial state over the welfare of the Indigenous people. Israel maintains a strong grip on Palestinian economic relations, and thus the economic role of Palestinian women, by imposing various economic

factors which create a power imbalance, and leave the Palestinian labour force dependent on the Israeli market, policies or inputs to some degree. Through the key mechanisms sustaining settler-colonialism, Israel continues the oppression of Palestinian people in imposing varying factors on Palestinian production and means of production, ultimately causing the Palestinian people, and the exchange of their services and the goods they produce to be dependent on Israel. Dajani (1993) addresses this dependent relationship and adds:

> This dependent relationship may be examined in terms of the main elements of Israeli colonization: the exploitation and expropriation of land and water resources, the proletarianization of the Palestinian people and their transformation into a migrant labor force, and the establishment of the West Bank as a market for Israeli goods. In this regard, Israel has created a "Dependent" specialization for West Bank agriculture, turning it away from the main semi-subsistence sector of pre-1967 to the production of agricultural inputs for Israeli industries and for export abroad (Brown, 1979; Dajani, 1993).

Even in areas that remain under Palestinian control which should be less impacted by the presence of the settler colonial state, such impact is prevalent. The Palestinian agricultural sectors must compete with the technologically advanced Israeli Agricultural sector, it must face limitations in the access and use of water resources, restrictions on marketing, and nonexistence of grants or loans to support Palestinian farmers (UN 22 June 1983:14; Dajani, 1993) The aforementioned factors are only some of the limitations set by the settler colonial state and its structure which directly caused and continue to negatively impact the Indigenous agricultural sector and traditional means of production. Due to the impact of such external factors on the agricultural sector, there has been a drop from 41.2% of the West Bank labour force being within agriculture at 65200 people in 1969, to a drop of 20.9% of the labour force at only 48600 people working in agriculture in 1983 (Dajani, 1993: 108). This decline in the agriculture sector within Palestinian society places a heavy toll on Palestinian women as agriculture is their traditional sector, and as of 1967, 64% of the Arab female labour force within the territories worked in subsistence agriculture in comparison to 34% of the male labour force (Dajani, 1993: 108). Dajani (1993) expands:

> Historically Palestinian women (and men) were actively involved in economic production as peasants and agricultural workers, but since the establishment of the state and the implementation of large-scale land confiscation, Palestinians have been left with less than 2.5 per cent of the land; through expropriation, most Palestinians were separated from their primary source of production and income and so proletarianized. But Proletarianization, unlike in the English case of Capitalist development where the creation of wage labour force was needed for the development of the

capitalist industry, Palestinian peasants lost their sources of income from agricultural land and were not necessarily absorber in the Israeli industrial sector. In fact, the state showed little or no interest in developing the Arabic sector; indeed, if anything this sector has been and continues to be largely de-developed (Dajani, 1993: 130-131).

The observed impact on the agricultural sector and the traditional means of contribution limited Palestinian women to seeking employment within Israeli industries, in which their sustenance becomes dependent on both the contribution and subjection to the settler colonial structure. As an outcome of this process of economic transformation, the proletarianization of women had emerged, creating a new dimension of the exploitation of women, both as Palestinian women and as agents of cheap labour. (Dajani, 1993). In many cases this shift in the economic structure resulted in both men and women, rural and urban having had to find work opportunities outside their traditions realms, often moving from agricultural land to urban areas or even moving to other countries (Curtiss, 1996). Dajani also highlights the fact that dependency on this capitalist mode of production in Israel has marginalized the economy and the traditional family structures that go with it, to serve as a migrant labour force for the Israeli economy (Dajani, 1993). In this economic structure, males are more likely to be employed by Israel in exchange for wages, and the Indigenous social structures remain the main east of Palestinian women. Given the new landscape of labour contributions, the Palestinian women, who previously held a key role as household producer equal to her male counterparts in the subsistence agricultural economy has been marginalized into paid labour in the capitalist mode of production where she is limited to the tasks of the "reproduction of the Palestinian labour force" (Dajani, 1993). This is a very precise example of the Marxist framework which positions the economic disempowerment of women as a direct result of the imposition of capitalist production structures on to them. The means of production that Palestinian women have access to under the changing circumstances place lower value on the women's work and contributions, based on the lack of or the limitations on their ability to earn wages to contribute to their household's sustenance. Dajani (1993) articulates how this change in structures sets increasing limitations on the capacity of women to contribute economically:

> The subjugation of Palestinian women to the requirement of capitalist accumulation in Israel operates at two main levels: 1) indirect subjugation through unpaid housework, where the Palestinian women assumes the role of reproducing the labor force for the Israeli market; and 2) direct integration through wage-labour (Dajani, 1993: 19).

The direct impact on the economic functions and capacity within the Palestinian labour force displaces women by subjecting them to a nucleus family structure, displacing them

from a socially responsible collective and limiting their capabilities to contribute their labour in an equal manner as their male counterparts. Such displacement from key economic contribution sets the foundation for a newfound gendered power structure or dynamic within the home based on means of economic contribution, "the breadwinner", in response and as a direct outcome of the imposition of capitalism through settler-colonialism.

Statistics from a survey conducted by The Galilee Society – The Arab National Society for Health Research and Services (2012) will be used to assess the employment gap between Arab females in the Israeli labour force and the labour force participation of Ashkenazi Jews. This study provided the most recent data on this topic, in 2009. The employment rate of Arab Females in Israel in 2009 was 22.5% while the employment rate of Jewish females in Israel was 68.4% (Miaari, 2012). The study addresses the extremely high rate of part-time work amongst the Arab women as a product of external factors which prevent them from finding full-time work, including the lack of accessible full-time work opportunities. It is important to assess the factors which may have contributed to an employment gap of 45.9% between Arab women and Jewish women in Israel. Abdo (2011) explains the existence of different spheres of labour within Israel, the enclave labour market in which she refers to the geographical sphere occupied by Palestinians, and the Jewish sphere in which she refers to the remainder of the Israeli economy which is comprised mostly of Jewish workers (Abdo, 2011:106). She clarifies that Palestinian women work mostly within the enclave labour market within roles like nursing, teaching, social work and administrative work, and Palestinian women who work within the Jewish enclave are often single, live in urban areas and are deemed highly educated (Abdo, 2011). This highlights a similar barrier to entry as the case of Indigenous women in Canada, where employment opportunities may be inaccessible based on the geographic availability of work in relation to the locations of Indigenous communities. Again, Indigenous women are faced with the choice to remain within their enclave and face lower probability of employment at lower wages, or re-locate outside of their communities to seek employment at the social cost discussed earlier. This limitation is further supported by Zu'bi (2009):

> Statistics published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics further demonstrate that in 2007 there was a clear disparity between the wages earned by Palestinian women and Jewish women: the average monthly wages of Palestinian women stood at NIS 4350, compared with NIS 6112 among Jewish women (Zu'bi, 2009: 5).

In both cases, the Indigenous women need to integrate themselves into a settler-colonial political economy, imposed on them, in order to secure or elevate their economic contributions. In addition to the financial cost and social costs of re-locating for work faced by Arab women in Israel, there is the added barrier of discriminatory policies imposed by selection committees which illegally exclude Palestinian citizens of Israel, Mizrahi (Arab) Jews, single parents, and gay people from living in community towns (Jamal, 2007; Abdo, 2013). Given such limitless barriers to economic participation for Palestinian women within the settler-colonial state of Israel, one can recall the historical context in which their previous economic structures provided them with equal opportunities of socio-economic contribution to situate their economic displacement. This connection combats the racist bias within liberal approaches of analysis that may justify the observed lower economic participation of Palestinian women in comparison to their Jewish counterparts through an imperialist, settler-colonial lens that draws on factors of culture and tradition as the main causal factors in the economic participation gap, rather than addressing the varying causal factors of systemic settler-colonial oppression they continue to resist. Rita Giacaman and Muna Odeh (1988) argue that the high level of education and the advanced stage of development of Palestinian politics and society prior to colonialism, and in comparison to other Arab countries would have created a context which provides a much greater advancements for women, and a position equal to that of men, had settler colonialism not held Palestinian women and society back. Thus, it can be deduced, that the barriers to participating in the labour force faced by Palestinian Arab women in Israel must be due to barriers to entry not faced by either, Arab women outside the settler-colonial state or settler-Jewish women living in Israel. The status of Indigenous women or their economic advancements and contributions can not be justly assessed without addressing the oppressive system they are subjected to. Palestinian women are oppressed based on their race first, and gender second, in which their labour force contributions are similarly subjected to political resistance and resisting systemic racism first, and adhering to the patriarchal hierarchies embedded in the nature of a capitalist economy. As of 2004, for each NIS 100 (New Israeli Shekel) earned by an Ashkenazi Jewish woman, a Mizrahi Jewish woman would earn 74.1, and an Arab woman would earn 55.6 NIS (Abdo, 2013). The exclusionary policies imposed by the settler colonial state to inhibit Palestinians are not a component of historical context but are a continually enforced and re-invented means of enforcing the existence of the state of Israel at the cost of oppressing the Indigenous

Palestinian women. Institutions within Israeli, including the education system, are not only gendered but they are also gendered and ethnicized (Abdo, 2013). One example of the disadvantage to Palestinian women within a systemically discriminatory settler-colonial system is evident in the availability of day cares which facilitate increased accessibility for mothers to re-join the labour force. Abdo (2013) expands on this:

> Of the 1600 day-care centres in Israel for children aged 0-3 who attend publicly subsidized day care centres or house care programs, only 25 centres operate in Arab villages. Out of approximately 80,000 children aged 0-3 who attend publicly subsidized day care centres or house care programs, only 4,200 of them are Arab children (Abdo, 2013: 134).

Despite all the systemic variables which contribute to the economic disempowerment of Palestinian women, they continue to persist and resist the settler-colonial narratives imposed on them. A testament to the great extent of achievements Palestinian women will gain even within a racist, settler-colonial society, is Haneen Zoabi, the first Arab elected member of the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament. Despite her great achievements within Israeli society, she was stripped of her diplomatic immunity for speaking against an action by Israel in Gaza (Abdo, 2014). This example provides a key perspective as it highlights the racism and systemic oppression of Palestinian women, despite their greatest efforts and achievements. It is generally not the Palestinian women's abilities, education, or culture that hold them back economically. Rather it is the systemic racism, discriminatory policies, oppressive regulation and above all the imposition of settler-colonialism, that compromise the economic welfare and advancement of Palestinian women.

Chapter 7

Settler Colonialism: Gendered Process

Canada

- Violence

Much like Palestinian women, the Indigenous women resisting colonialism in Canada are key contributors to the regeneration, restitution and resurgence of their families,

communities and Nations as a collective. Only with an understanding of their cultural significance in upholding and reviving their societies, can an analysis be made on the extent of violence continually imposed on Indigenous women. Such an understanding is what facilitates the correlation between the disempowerment of Indigenous women with the sustenance of settler colonialism. As Indigenous women are key contributors to their societies, any negative impact on them is therefore a direct impact on their society as a whole. Analyzing the extensive data of systemic violence against Indigenous women must be situated in the decolonizing understanding of how such statistics are a direct representation of enforcing colonialism. The 2014 General Society Survey (GSS) conducted by Statistics Canada (2016) validates the vast over-representation of Indigenous people as victims of crime in Canada, in which violent victimization rates are particularly higher in the case of Indigenous women (Statistics Canada, 2016b). All forms of systemic injustice against Indigenous women occur and continue to exist without effective legal resolution. In assessing the gendered process of settler colonialism within Canada, this analysis addresses instances of violence against Indigenous women which include forced and coerced sterilization; missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, incarceration as well as victimization of Indigenous women. Not only did settler colonialism in Canada introduce and impose the concept of gender, but it has had long-term effects on the well-being and livelihood of Indigenous women. Displaced from a political economy in which they were autonomous, equal contributors, Indigenous women have become the most marginalized demographic based on both race and gender. A report by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) (2014) on Missing and Murdered Indigenous women in Canada states that Indigenous women make up to 11.3% of the cumulative number of missing women, despite only representing 4% of the female population in Canada (RCMP, 2014). Such trends portraying the extent to which Indigenous women are discriminated against also include their over representation in the quantity of female homicides. Between 1980 and 2012, Indigenous women were the victims of 16% of all female homicides (RCMP, 2014). Additionally, the General social survey of 2014 reported that Indigenous women recorded a sexual assault rate of 115 incidents per 1000 women. This is a drastic amount, especially in comparison to their non-Indigenous counterparts who faced less than a third of that rate at 35 reported incidents of sexual assault per 1000 women (RCMP, 2014). Andrea Smith stresses the importance of re-defining sexual violence in order to address and examine how sexual violence serves the goals of settler colonialism (Smith, 2005).

This approach is relevant in addressing all forms of violence against Indigenous women, as it facilitates and enforces settler-colonialism and therefore violence against Indigenous women is a mechanism of the gendered process of settler colonialism.

- Coerced Sterilization

One vulgar form of systemic violence, and arguably a continuation of genocide, is the continued existence of forced or coerced sterilization, which is documented to exist from the 1800s and has come to light as recently as 2014 (Maurice Law, 2018). Sterilization under coercion is when people give their consent for the procedure, but on the basis of incorrect information (i.e. women being told the procedure is reversible) or other coercive tactics such as intimidation or that conditions are attached to sterilization, such as financial incentives or access to health services (Amnesty International, 2016). One factor to keep in consideration is that all sterilization data represents only cases which have been reported or documented. In the 1970s, there was a surge in the number of documented coerced sterilizations imposed on Indigenous women, with approximately 1200 cases which were reportedly enforced with the specific intention of reducing the Indigenous population (Collier, 2017). The blatant violation of human rights was not left behind in the past, and has persisted to exist as a part of the systemic discrimination that upholds Canada's settler colonialism. More than 60 Indigenous women took part in a class action law suit in 2017 in Saskatchewan, reporting forced or coerced sterilization within the last 10 to 15 years (Maurice Law, 2018, p.4). Three of the documented cases happened as recently as 2014 (Maurice Law, 2018). The racist nature of these intentional violations of human rights was executed in a variety of ways mentioned by Maurice Law (2018):

> There is evidence to support that health care professionals consistently misrepresented the permanency of tubal ligation in advising the women that it was reversible. In other cases, it is reported that women unequivocally refused to be sterilized and were told that, failing sterilization, the hospital would not let them see their baby or release them. In other cases, women were worn down and acquiesced to the coercion of health professionals persistently calling for their sterilization. In yet other cases, women were coerced into tubal ligation while incapacitated on the operating table undergoing a caesarean section, and in other cases, women were forcibly wheeled while protesting into an operating room, administered an epidural, and forcibly sterilized against their will. In one reported case, an abortion performed, without proper and informed consent and without an explained medical reason, on a 15 year old girl resulted in irreparable damages to her

left ovary, miscarriages and grave fertility challenges (Maurice Law, 2018:4).

Recognizing this intrusive violation of human rights can also rely on the Charter of Organization of American States which Canada is included within and is expected to adhere to within the realm of international law (Charter of the Organization of American States, 1948). Additionally, a report on Reproductive Health in relation to Human Rights notes the endorsement of coerced or forced sterilization to be a violation of a woman's human rights to "equality, non-discrimination and personal integrity" (Mamerita Mestanza Chavez, 2003). Such evidence supporting the continuation of coerced sterilization targeted at indigenous women further supports the context of genocide within the settler colonial state of Canada. This discriminatory effort targeting indigenous populations is a component of genocide based on the definition provided by Lemkin himself (Lemkin, 1944). Within his own definition, Lemkin (1944) says:

> A policy of depopulation is pursued. Foremost among methods employed for this purpose is the adoption of measures calculated to decrease the birthrate of the national groups of non-related blood (Lemkin, 1944: 82).

Evidently, the continued practice of coerced sterilization is an act which contributes to the ongoing genocide of indigenous people which uphold the ongoing settler-colonialism of Canada.

- Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

The extent of gendered violence evident in upholding settler colonialism and the sovereignty of Canada are the vast amount of unresolved cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. The inter-American Commission, along with the United Nations, confirmed that as of 2016, at least 1200 Indigenous women and girls have been "murdered or have forcibly disappeared" within the past 30 years (Perkins, 2017). Whether the continued cases of extreme violence against Indigenous people, including Indigenous women and girls, are caused by the systemic racism inherent within a settler-colonial society or specifically as an ethnic cleansing mechanism of upholding the settler-colonial structure, this continued violence against Indigenous women is directly rooted within colonialism (Gislason, et. al., 2017). The NIMMIWG supports this direct causation by publicly declaring within their organization's executive summary, that in order for "the continued violence against Indigenous women and girls to end, the ongoing colonial relationship that facilitates it must end" (NIMMIWG, 2017). Additionally, the Committee

on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (2015) confirms the correlation between the systemic discrimination against Indigenous women with violations on their rights, including all the continued forms of violence against them (The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2015). CEDAW confirms the connection between discrimination against Indigenous women with systemic violence imposed on them; concluding that such violence is rooted in the continued denial of cultural, social, economic and political rights of Indigenous women (CEDAW, 2015).

The causal systemic discrimination at the heart of these human rights violations is a continuation of a colonial pattern in which the sovereignty of the patriarchal settler-colonial culture relies on the continued oppression of the Indigenous. As Veracini (2010) observes:

> selective inclusion is premised both on a categorization that allows particular people to be considered for an inclusion within the structures of the settler body politic and on a particular consciousness that allows specific migrants to embrace a settler colonial ethos(Veracini, 2010: 26).

The systemic racism and settler colonial context of discrimination and exclusion are at the heart of the continued violence against Indigenous women, and one cannot, by any means, attempt to analyze the welfare of Indigenous women without addressing and understanding this key correlation. The oppression of Indigenous women is deeply rooted and dependent on settler colonialism. Andrea Smith (2005) highlights how sexual violence against Indigenous women serves the goals of a colonialism, and urges for a redefining of "Sexual violence", addressing the strategies used to "eradicate gender violence", in which such violence is understood and addressed as both a mechanism of and outcome of settler-colonialism (Smith, 2005). Indigenous women led to work within the sex industry often report the frequency of experiencing violence, by strangers, clients, partners, and a direct arm of settler colonialism, the police (Smith, 2005). The poverty faced by many Indigenous people as an outcome of their varied experiences of oppression such as forced assimilation, socioeconomic exclusion and obvious disadvantages within settler colonial structures and society based on discrimination, are all key contributors to the high risk of violence they face collectively. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) (2010) addresses many risk factors of victimization faced by Indigenous women such as higher rates of poverty and unemployment, lower levels of educational achievement, lack of housing and worse physical and mental health than non-Indigenous women within Canada (CCPA, 2010).

Evidently the sovereignty of the settler colonial sate persists on the backs of the key upholders of Indigenous society, Indigenous women. It is by the compromise of the safety, well-being, and socioeconomic welfare of Indigenous women that the settler-colonial state continues to be upheld. In fact, research conducted by the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) proves that in some cases Indigenous women were vulnerable solely based on the reality of being Indigenous and women (NWAC, 2018). One thousand and two hundred Missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls later, and the continued violence against Indigenous women continues to receive insufficient legal attention or resolution. At what cost will the weight of the settler colonial state of Canada continue to be forced onto the human rights and lives of Indigenous women?

- Incarceration of Indigenous Women

Another mechanism of violence against Indigenous people and Indigenous women, used specifically to uphold the colonial system and achieve its settler-colonial sovereignty, is the prison system and the practice of Indigenous incarceration. Indigenous incarceration can be defined by the following:

> When Indigenous peoples are forcibly institutionalized in one way or another – As Indigenous people are collectively reclassified as a criminal class, the Indigenous sector of the population systems is emptied and seclusively transferred to another domain. Similar transfers are activated when Indigenous people are reclassified as "the poor" – in the Canadian system of residential schools, (transfer by assimilation and this type of transfer) are seen concurrently (Veracini, 2010: 45).

Algonquin, Metis criminologist Lisa Monchlain (2016), lays the direct blame on the settler colonial structure for evident factors such as over-policing of Indigenous communities along with systemic racism within Government reporting as key components of the continued failure of the Canadian Government to offer justice to Indigenous people (Monchalin, 2016).

She addresses these factors as the key reasons why Canada's criminal justice system has continued to fail a standard set by international human rights law, in bringing justice to Indigenous people (Monchalin, 2016). The discourse on Indigenous incarceration being rooted in and a mechanism of settler colonialism is especially evident in the overrepresentation of Indigenous women in Canadian prisons. Despite only making up 5% of the total female population, Indigenous women make up 39% of the prison population, and 50% of federal segregation placements (NWAC, 2018). In addition to a vast

overrepresentation of Indigenous women within the prison system, Indigenous women in Canada are more likely to be involuntarily segregated and endure longer periods of segregation than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Thompson and Rubenfield, 2013; Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). As defined by the Native Women's Association, Solitary confinement can be defined by the NWAC (2018) as:

> Solitary confinement: the practice of confining a prisoner alone in their cell for prolonged periods of time, where prolonged constitutes 15 days or more (NWAC, 2018).

The high incidence of solitary confinement creates a culture of recidivism and re-victimizes Indigenous women as it brings forth many harmful effects such as lower chances of reintegration after release, limited opportunity to access programming during incarceration, and reduced chances of earning discretionary release (Correctional Services Canada, 2013; NWAC, 2018). NWAC (2018) adds on the dangers of solitary confinement:

> Indigenous women's specific lived experiences of colonial patriarchy and state violence (including but not limited to the Residential School System, Sixties Scoop, intergenerational trauma, and over vulnerability to violence, murder, and abduction) make segregation/solitary even more torturous and dangerous. It is these same historical and sociological realities that result in the criminalization of Indigenous women, pushing them into poverty and increasing their likelihood of engaging in precarious and/or illegal work (NWAC, 2018).

The re-victimization of Indigenous women and continued perpetuation of violence against them is a direct continuation of settler colonialism, and the terms of its existence being written onto the lives and bodies of Indigenous women. This reality of the correlation of the sovereignty of the settler-structure and the oppression of Indigenous women is more-so evident given the fact that Indigenous women have the legal right to serve their sentences in an alternative setting, designed to facilitate their healing in an Indigenous manner, yet they are often forced into the settler-colonial prisons without the option of accessing the alternatives rightfully available to them (NWAC, 2018). The systemic racism which takes place is addressed by NWAC (2018):

> Although Sections 81 and 84 of the CCRA allow Indigenous peoples to serve their sentences in non-institutional Healing Lodges, 90% of Indigenous prisoners are prevented from accessing these services due to their security classification. The OCI has asserted that CSC's policy of only admitting minimum security prisoners to Healing Lodges "was neither Parliament's intent nor CSC's original vision" and "is seen as a way for the Service to minimize risk and exposure (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012; NWAC, 2018).

In addition to the extensive amount and variety of violence perpetuated and overlooked against Indigenous women, they are victims of a prison system which violates their rights

and contributes to their victimization. Indigenous women resist colonialism by existing, which is evident in the threat their welfare poses to the discriminatory system which continues to neglect to bring them justice.

- Victimization within a Gendered Process

In the 2014 General Social Survey (GSS), it was observed that, 28% of Indigenous people age 15 and older, reported that either they or their household had been a victim of at least one of the 8 offences which qualify for measuring victimization by the GSS, within the past 12 months (Statistics Canada, 2016a). These 8 offences measured by Statistics Canada include sexual assault, robbery, physical assault, theft of personal property, household victimization, break and enter, theft of motor vehicle or parts, theft of household property, and vandalism (Perrault, 2015). The following authors provide insight on the rates of violent victimization:

> Aboriginal females (200 incidents per 1,000 people) had an overall rate of violent victimization that was double that of Aboriginal males (110 pet 1,000), close to triple that of non-Aboriginal females (81 per 1,000) and more than triple that of non-Aboriginal males (66 per 1,000). The overall rate of victimization became even higher when considering Aboriginal females between the ages of 15 and 24, who had a violent victimization rate of 613 incidents per 1,000(Perrault and Simpson, 2016).

Perrault (2015), clarifies that even when controlling for external risk factors, Indigenous identity on its own remained a key factor contributing to the victimization and violence perpetrated against Indigenous women. "Risk factors" of victimization would arguably include, "being young, having lower educational attainment, being unemployed, being a member of a lone-parent family or a foster child, having a mental health or substance abuse disorder, or having lifetime thoughts of suicide" (Statistics Canada 2015; Statistics Canada 2013; Boyce et al. 2015; Kumar 2016; Boyce, J., 2016). High instance of poverty amongst Indigenous women, is another form of victimization, as it is evidently due to causal factors upholding settler-colonialism, such as generations of systemic oppression, economic displacement, and economic exclusion. A study conducted in 2012 by APS, shows that 21% of Indigenous women, ages 15+, lived in households which experienced food insecurity in the past 12 months as opposed to only 8% of the non-Indigenous female population within Canada (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Likewise the economic disadvantage reflects on Inuit women living Nunangat vs their Inuit female counter parts not living in Nunangat and facing the same scope of disadvantages in which over half of Inuit women

living in Nunangat faced food insecurity in the past 12 months at a severe rate of 53%, in comparison of 22% Inuit women living outside of Nunangat (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Statistics Canada (2012) situates the data within the context of settler-colonialism:

> These factors maintain the constant correlation with colonialism as they are products of generational trauma, systemic discrimination, insufficient government funding, insufficient legal protocol or accountability, and ultimately the displacement from land and previous community structures (Statistics Canada, 2012a).

The gendered process of sustaining a settler colonial structure is evident in both the alarming rates of violence against Indigenous women and the unacceptably high incidence of systemic racism in seeking legal justice for them. The gendered process which continues to victimize Indigenous women is most certainly evident in the extent of insufficient government funding which enables and supports the high incidence of victimization risk factors, amongst Indigenous people as a whole, and especially Indigenous women. The MMWIG rightfully calls out the insufficient government funding that serves a systemic barrier towards achieving gains against the continued violation of human rights of Indigenous women. They contribute an Indigenous approach and call for funding models which enforce and strengthen the self-determination of Indigenous peoples rather than continue to enforce oppressive colonial patterns (NIMMIWG, 2017). A particularly relevant component in analyzing the gendered process of settler colonialism as a mechanism of oppressing Indigenous women, is considering that 2SLGBTQ people in particular, experience increased rates of violence due to the same factors which may contribute to the increased victimization of Indigenous women previously discussed, as well as high rates of discriminatory biases in the health care system due to homophobia and transphobia, and limitations on LGBTQ services for Indigenous people, including Indigenous women (NIMMIWG, 2017). The NIMMIWG also asserts a decolonizing approach as they address the lack of "expertise" within existing LGBTQ services to accommodate and equally support Two-Spirit people and other Indigenous gender minorities' (NIMMIWG, 2017). The intergenerational trauma which continues to cast a strong shadow on the lives and well-being of Indigenous women, is only enforced by the vast continuation of colonialism within all aspects of their life. The systemic racism and discrimination against Indigenous people, including Indigenous women within Canada is statistically evident within the unacceptably high incidence of violence and human rights violations against them. The aforementioned modalities of systemic oppression which Indigenous women within Canada are continually resisting may be considered as causal

factors in observing the high instance of Indigenous women who are reportedly struggling with their mental health. As of 2012, 42%of Indigenous women did not report "good mental health" as opposed to only 28% of non-Indigenous women in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2012a). This statistic excludes Indigenous women living on reserve. In which case, the observation of high incidence of poor or compromised mental health amongst Indigenous women, excludes the members of the female Indigenous population who face increased risks of victimization factors and deeper exclusion from participating in the settler-colonial socio-economic structure.

The settler colonial reality upholding Canada was and continues to be written on the bodies of Indigenous women; As survivors of medical discrimination and genocide through the continued racist practice of forced and coerced sterilization; As victims of over 1200 murders which have received absolutely no justice accountability, or resolution from the Canadian justice system; As continued resistors of victimization and violence perpetrated against them both by a systemically racist settler-colonial society and a discriminatory and negligent settler-colonial government. Indigenous women resisting colonialism within Canada carry the weight of the nation on their shoulders as they bare the continued gendered process of settler colonialism.

Palestine

- Victimization within a Gendered Process

The gendered process of settler colonialism imposed on Palestinian women to enforce the state of Israel's authority relies heavily on a wide scope of systemic violence. The many mechanisms of violence and oppression enforced onto Palestinian women include but are not limited to, the continued expansion of settlements resulting in further demolition of Palestinian homes and displacement of Palestinian women, continued aggression against civilians, endless restrictions on movement and access to medical facilities and resources, and illegal detainment of Palestinians under severe prison conditions. In addition to the existing intergenerational trauma carried by each and every Palestinian from the onset of their experience under settler colonialism, their welfare is continually threatened by the continued prevalence of traumatic experiences of systemic violence imposed by the State of Israel. One of the many forms of aggression and psychological violence that have a particularly negative impact on women are frequent instances of sudden night raids and

intrusive search operations by the Israeli military (Special rapporteur UN, 2017) Women interviewed by the special rapporteur report that the extent of psychological trauma they face results in a limitation in their ability to "move, as well as take part in political, social and economic life within their communities" (Special rapporteur UN, 2017 paragraphs 6, 62) The Women's Center for Legal aid and Counselling (WCLAC) predicts an approximate 1 360 night raids conducted each year on Palestinians (Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling, 2017). Through many testimonies collected by WCLAC, Palestinian women reported that the night raids enforced onto their families by Israeli forces often occur between 2 and 4 am (WCLAC, 2017). These raids are conducted by armed soldiers onto civilians, in which most night raids are aggressive, often using tear gas, threatening citizens, damaging their personal items and forcibly removing them from their homes (WCLAC, 2016). This is especially traumatic and important to consider with an analysis of settler colonialism as it is a repetition of the exact method of displacing Palestinians in the first place, the Nakba. Palestinians are continually forced to relive the scenarios which initiated their intergenerational trauma, creating new realities of negative psychological impact and increasingly threatening the well-being of Palestinians, including women and children. The WCLAC reports one of the reasons night raids have negative psychological effects on women is due to the frequency of arrest or injury during the raids of family members, often including children (WCLAC, 2016). The violence imposed on children within night raids impacts Palestinian mothers directly as it leaves them with the psychological trauma of fearing for their children's lives (WCLAC, 2016). Night raids are a method of systemic violence, used as a strategy to enforce the settler-colonial state of Israel and assert its authority over the Indigenous Palestinian population by inflicting violence and terror onto civilians.

Another method of systemic violence, further victimizing Palestinian women is the continued demolition of Palestinian homes and forced displacement of Palestinian families to facilitate the continued expansion of settler-colonial settlements by the state of Israel. Human Rights Watch (2016) reports the following:

> Human Rights Watch has reported in its World Report 2017/18 that as of October 31st 2016, Israeli authorities have issued demolitions, or demolished 925 Palestinian homes in the West Bank Area C and East Jerusalem. The resulting trauma from housing demolition, and threat of eviction, mean that Palestinian women cannot enjoy the level of human rights and quality of life they deserve(Human Rights Watch, 2016).

This (systemic) violence not only displaces Palestinian women from their homes, but it perpetuates entire cycles of victimization, in which their homes which have often been within the families for decades are taken from them or demolished, their belongings are stolen or destroyed, they are forced into poverty and they are left with severe trauma from both the negative effects of their displacement as well as the aggressive attacks which cause their forcible displacement. The frequency of such instances of aggression limit the ability of Palestinian women to feel safe and secure, adding further oppression onto them in the process of upholding the settler-colonial state. Palestinian women are further victimized by the oppressive restrictions made by the State of Israel on their access to resources and medical facilities. In an Inquiry in 2014 by the WCLAC, personal cases from Palestinian women were included in which it states how the permit system limits their access to medical care in Gaza (wclac?Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling, 2015). This limitation is made worse by increased restrictions on mothers travelling with their children seeking life-saving treatments in hospitals within the West Bank and Jerusalem (Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling, 2015). The same restrictions on movement and access to resources create an added disadvantage for Palestinian women who (experience) Gender based Violence, restricting their access to psychological support and safe spaces (UN Women, 2016). The UN Special Rapporteur on gender-based violence stresses the extent of negative impact that the lack of humanitarian aid and access to resources has on Palestinian women and their capacity to address violence against them (UN Doc A/HRC/35/30/Add.2, 2017). Smith (2005) situates violence as a key mechanism of oppression:

> The analysis of and strategies around addressing gender violence must also address how gender violence is a tool of racism, economic oppression and colonialism, as well as patriarchy. We must recognize how colonial relationships, as well as race and class relations, are themselves gendered and sexualized (Smith, 2005: 151).

Smith (2005) recognizes gender-based violence as a tool of colonialism and stresses the importance of recognizing colonial relationships as gendered. These restrictions are key elements of the gendered process of settler-colonialism as they highlight the many ways in which the restrictions, aggression and violence imposed to uphold the settler colonial state, have the greatest impact on the women within the Indigenous society being oppressed. The oppression of Palestinian women is caused directly by settler-colonialism and the state of Israel, first and foremost. On top of all the severe methods victimizing Palestinian women

to enforce and sustain settler-colonialism, Palestinian women are faced with violence for resisting their oppression by the settler-colonial state. The following indicates the incidence of violence against Palestinian female journalists:

> Between 2013 and May 2017, MADA monitored and documented 116 total violations against Palestinian women journalists and media students. During this period, physical assaults accounted for more than 50% of the total violations committed by occupation forces against women journalists, which constitute a form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Alodaat, 2017).

The physical aggression endured by Palestinian journalists is a mechanism of systemic violence exerting further oppression onto Indigenous women while contributing to the violent reality imposed onto Palestinian women who are actively involved in resisting settler-colonialism. Palestinian women, as civilians, are impacted by various factors of a violent gendered process which facilitates and enforces settler-colonialism. As activists, they are subjected to violence and aggression in an effort to oppress their activism and terrorize them into compliance thus sustaining the sovereignty and authority of the settler colonial state of Israel. The aforementioned mechanisms of systemic violence endured by Palestinian women facilitate the correlation between the direct and physical oppression of Indigenous women and maintaining the sovereignty of their settler-colonial occupier.

- Incarceration of Palestinian Women

Amongst the many forms of systemic oppression and violence which contribute to the gendered process of settler colonialism faced by Palestinian people, including women, is Israel's common practice of detaining Palestinians as political detainees. For the purpose of understanding this form of oppression, one must first understand the following definitions and the distinction between the terms "political prisoner" and "political detainee". Subjugating female political activists to undeserved punishment is a mechanism of the gendered process of settler colonialism, as they are often negatively portrayed as "powerless", "lacking agency" and "submissive", and in the case of those resisting colonialism and occupation they are often represented as "terrorists" in an effort to undermine their struggle, villainize them and further oppress them through unjust prison systems (Rosenberg, 1990). Rosenberg (1990) defines the terms "Political Prisoner" and "Political detainee" as follows:

> Political Prisoner: someone whose beliefs or actions have put them into direct conflict with the US government, or someone who has been targeted

> by the government because of his/her beliefs and who has been targeted by the government because of his/her beliefs and actions.
> Political Detainees: individuals who make the claim of prisoners of war, such as the Puerto Rican and New Afrikan/ African American liberation movements, who are in pursuit of the recognition of their national liberation struggles for elf-determination, are defined by legal scholars as political detainees (Rosenberg, 1990, 16-17).

In the case the majority of Palestinian political detainees are often not informed of their rights or reasons of their detainment, and they are kept under interrogation for days to months at a times without access to an attorney (In her report to the Human Rights Council (A/HRC/35/30/Add.1, 8 June 2017) the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women its causes and consequences). Further, Palestinians are tried in a Military court which is condemned by international human rights organizations for drastically failing to meet the standards of a "fair trial" and holding a conviction rate of 99%, all while Israeli citizens are subject to a trial system under civil law that Palestinians are excluded from (Institute for Middle East Understanding, 2017). For the sake of maintaining a decolonizing approach it is essential to refer to the definition of Political Detainees as defined by a Palestinian Academic, and a previous Political Detainee, Nahla Abdo (2014), where she defines the term "political detainee" and situates it separately from the distinction of "political prisoners". Abdo (2014) says:

> I consider political detainees to be those individuals who were (or are) activists, politically conscious of different modes of oppression, and who have struggled and continue to engage in a struggle, including the armed struggle against oppressive conditions. Political detainees differ from other prisoners in that they continue their political struggle during detention and re-invent new modes of determination for exercising their rights to resist and to further the goal of justice and freedom. The term political detainees used here can include prisoners of conscience: persons locked up for speaking out against their government or state, for practising their religion, or on account of their culture, race or gender. The focus of the book will be on women activists and resisters who actively challenge the state (colonial, occupying, settler, or totalitarian) (Abdo, 2014: 19).

The victimization and incarceration of Palestinian Political Detainees enforces the settler-colonial structure by limiting the threats which are actively advocating against it. This mechanism of incarcerating political detainees is rooted in systemic racism and is perpetuated by a settler-colonial narrative which villainizes Palestinians resisting colonialism. It is essential to draw on Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, which shapes the Western perception of Arab women, including Palestinian women as "terrorists", and enforces the racist narrative which situates their oppression to be based on their culture, religion or families (Said, 1979). For the purpose of addressing this modality of systemic

violence against Indigenous Palestinian women, one can rely on the qualitative analysis presented in Abdo's research presented in Captive Revolution (2014), which gives a profound analysis of the forces of resistance taking place within Israeli prisons (Abdo, 2014). In reference to Palestinian political detainees in the Israeli prison system, Abdo (2014) explains:

> female political activists, especially those involved in militant struggles against colonialism and occupation, are portrayed negatively, are described as submissive, and are depicted as powerless subjects lacking agency or simply as 'terrorists'. In reality, the subjectivity and agency of the women involved in the struggle deserves memorialization (Abdo, 2014: 15-16).

It is essential to understand the existence of political detainees as a product of the strong resistance embodied by Palestinian Woman by their own agency. It is also essential to understand the violence and violation of human rights evident in imprisoning them as a mechanism of enforcing the settler colonial structure, targeted at oppressing Palestinian women as the key contributors to their societies. As Abdo (2014) notes:

> The global atmosphere (1960s to 1980s) was conductive to such activism, as major international bodies and international movements such as the UN sanctioned resistance to colonialism and occupation, recognizing it as a right of the colonized or occupied to resist. It was not until the late 1980s that the global mood took a drastic shift, labelling all forms of resistance and anti-state activism as terrorist activities and de-legitimizing and criminalizing all form of resistance (Abdo, 2014: 20).

In response to the victimization and criminalization of political activists and those who are continually punished for resisting the settler-colonial state, Palestinian official documentation of political detainees was instated in 1993, after the OSLO Accords (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, 2016). This was shortly followed by the creation of the first Palestinian Ministry of detainees in 1998 (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, 2016). As a product of this data collection, Addameer Prisoner Support and Human rights Association (2014) predicts that Israel has arrested approximately 10 000 women since 1967 (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, 2014). The NGO reports 6200 Palestinian prisoners within Israeli jails as of May 2017, in which Israel has detained 516 Palestinian women since 2015 (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, 2017). In addition to the incarceration of female activists as political detainees, it is important to stress the frequency of arrests made on Palestinian women and girls who do not partake in any political activity or activism, but are simply arrested as a show of force. Palestinian women and girls are victimized through this form of systemic violence as they are often and

regularly arrested from the streets, from Israeli checkpoints, and during violent night raids during military trespasses into their homes. (In her report to the Human Rights Council (A/HRC/35/30/Add.1, 8 June 2017) - the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences). The detainment of Palestinian women and girls poses a serious threat on their well-being and creates a restriction on their freedom and movement as they can be provoked, arrested and/ or detained by the Israeli Military at any time.

Abdo's research (2014) provides key insight on the oppressive mechanisms instituted in incarcerating Palestinian women as well as the extent of resistance portrayed in response. This contribution facilitates the understanding of how the systemic violence upholding settler colonialism is heavily based on a gendered process. According to the author:

> One particularly significant finding in the study of the incarceration of women involved in the armed anti-colonial struggle has been the extent to which the state through the prison institution, tries to control women. State patriarchy, which in prisons targets women's bodies and sexuality in ways very different than it does men's, aims at controlling and disciplining them not only as women but more importantly as agents of change (Abdo, 2014: 208).

The UN special rapporteur highlights the experiences of Palestinian women who have been detained, in which they report being subject to torture or poor treatment, in which the report presents "Beatings, insults, threats and sexual harassment were reported to be common practices as well as intrusive body searches, which often occur before and after court hearings or during the night as punitive measures." (In her report to the Human Rights Council (A/HRC/35/30/Add.1, 8 June 2017) the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences). In their 2016/2017 annual report, Amnesty International provides further evidence supporting the oppressive extent and gendered process evident in the incarceration of Palestinian women as political prisoners, highlighting the violation of international law posed by Israel in imprisoning Palestinians from the occupied territories and addressing over one thousand complaints filed against the extensive human rights conditions imposed on Palestinians within Israeli prisons (Amnesty International, 2017). Amnesty International (2017) reports:

> Israeli soldiers, police and Israel Security Agency (ISA) officers subjected Palestinian detainees, including children, to torture and other ill-treatment with impunity, particularly on arrest and during interrogation. Reported methods included beatings, slapping, painful shackling, sleep deprivation, use of stress positions and threats. Although complaints alleging torture by

> ISA officers have been handled by the Ministry of Justice since 2014, and more than 1,000 had been filed since 2001, no criminal investigations were opened.---- Israel imprisons most Palestinians from the occupied territories inside Israel in <u>violation of international law,</u> which prohibits the transfer of prisoners out of occupied lands (Amnesty International, 2017).

In the case of Palestinian women, all forms of abuse are inflicted upon political detainees as part of a strategy to further oppress them and limit their will and agency to resist their won oppression. To which, Palestinian women react using their bodies and voices as a means of challenging and resisting their oppressors (Abdo, 2014). The particular attack on Palestinian women in Israeli prisons in which they are degraded based on their womanhood, in addition to their race and resistance, supports the gendered process required to sustain settler-colonialism. In experiencing gendered violence within prison institutions in response to resisting the settler-colonial structure, the resistance of colonialism is being defined and written on the bodies and lives of Palestinian women. They must bear the consequences of their resistance physically, mentally and emotionally, and they more often than not do that while continuing to resist and organize against their oppressors. The strength of Palestinian women, as traditional key contributors to the social wellbeing of their families and communities, is continually tested by the settler-colonial body as a mechanism of oppressing all Palestinians as a collective. Their political resistance poses a greater threat than their male counterparts, as they not only challenge the settler-colonial structure and its vast extents of discrimination, but they also challenge the patriarchal hierarchy which benefits the sovereignty of settler-colonialism. In addition to asserting autonomy over their bodies and resisting abuse perpetrated against them by the Israeli prison institution, Abdo (2014) reports the great extents of collective organization and resistance displayed by female political detainees within Israeli prisons:

> women organized themselves as a collective, dividing themselves into different committees. Some were responsible for formal education, while others were for organizing political discussions and for consciousness raising sessions. They would select or elect from among themselves someone to liaise between different political parties (Abdo, 2014:179).

Female Palestinian detainees make use of their time to not only resist the direct oppression they face daily within prison, but they organize to resist their collective oppression under settler colonialism. The extent of personal power to resist oppression and sustain a collective resistance that is displayed by female Palestinian political detainees is a great testament of the strength of Palestinian women. In the face of greater oppression, gendered violence and continued violations of their international human rights, Palestinian women

get stronger and bolder and claim their power to resist by organizing from inside prisons to fight for the collective cause of Palestinian liberation as a causal issue to their liberation as women. In April of 2018, Palestinian prisoners and detainees, including Palestinian women, took part in a hunger strike protesting their oppression which lasted 41 days (Amnesty International, 2018). This hunger strike was launched in an effort to achieve better conditions including family visits, ending solitary confinement and administrative detention and access to education, but the Israeli Prison service responded by punishing hunger striking detainees via solitary confinement, fines and denying family visits (Amnesty International, 2018).

Chapter 8

Resistance

Resistance of Indigenous Women under Settler Colonialism

Reframing the negative experiences of Indigenous women within Canada previously discussed from an anti-colonial approach highlights the power and resilience in their continued resistance against settler-colonialism. It is through the continued effort and dedication of Indigenous women that entire movements and grassroots organizations are being created and succeed to bring light to their experiences under settler-colonialism. It is in their persistent resilience that the government of Canada has begun to "discuss" reconciliation, and it is through their continued effort that government who only knows how to verbally apologize may show justice towards its previous violations. The cases of sterilization over the past 30 years came forth because of the collective empowerment amongst Indigenous women to come forth with their truth and seek restitution. The NIMMIWG has gained national attention due to the activism by Indigenous people, especially Indigenous women. Its initiatives, such as the NIMMIWG, are accountable for collecting data and providing the means to achieving justice for missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. The NIMMIWG (2017) highlights their core principle:

> that all Indigenous women and girls are sacred—our vision is to see Indigenous women and girls restored to their rightful power and place (NIMMIWG, 2017).

The organization's purpose aligns with the resistance and restitution of Indigenous women as their purpose declaration is as follows:

> to direct the Commissioners to inquire into and to report on the following: i. systemic causes of all forms of violence — including sexual violence — against Indigenous women and girls in Canada, including underlying social, economic, cultural, institutional and historical causes contributing to the ongoing violence and particular vulnerabilities of Indigenous women and girls in Canada, and ii. institutional policies and practices implemented in response to violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls in Canada, including the identification and examination of practices that have been effective in reducing violence and increasing safety. To be trauma-informed. To accomplish this, we strive to support healing without further harm. To be decolonizing. To accomplish this, we strive to undo the forces of colonialism and root our work in Indigenous values, philosophies, and knowledge systems (NIMMIWG, 2017).

In the pursuit of resistance to settler-colonialism, the NIMMWIG (2017), highlights key challenges to developing and ensuring a decolonizing approach within their public inquiries and continued work towards restitution for Indigenous women. According to the NIMMIWG

"Some of our most significant challenges include: re-centering Indigenous laws, while balancing the requirements of a public inquiry in Western law; working with federal rules and requirements not designed for short-term inquiries like ours; and building stronger connections with families and survivors, as well as with women's organizations and Indigenous communities" (NIMMIWG, 2017).

Palestinian women, along with their Levantine sisters elsewhere in Greater Syria and other Arab women within north Africa, have a long history of gathering to address the social and political realities of their people. The emergence of the Palestinian Women's movement as a mechanism of resisting oppression was established more specifically in the 1920s in response to the impositions of British Colonialism (Qumsyieh, 2011). They collectively gathered to protest the mass migration of European Jews and the Balfour declaration (Qumsyieh, 2011). As the colonial British mandate became more and more conflicting, and the Zionist plot to enforce a new economy which prioritized the European Jewish settlers became more prominent, the collective effort of resistance amongst Palestinians and Palestinian women grew stronger. October 1929 marked the first Arab Women's Congress with 200 representatives from all regions across the Levant (Qumsyieh, 2011: 68). This form of resistance was mostly comprised of educated middle- and upper-class women, who were often the relatives of bourgeoise leaders and derived their identities from their family

profiles (Qumsyieh, 2011). Notable women leading this component of the woman's movement include Hind Al-Husseini and Zlikha Al-Shihabi (Pappe, 2010). Resistance to colonialism and Zionism took a different form for the Palestinian women among the poorer classes. In the mid 1930s and throughout the 1936-1939 revolution, Palestinian women's resistance was also a key contributor to the collective militant resistance (Qumsyieh, 2011). Abdo-Zubi (1998) offers an example of their collective resistance:

> May 14, 1936 strike by 600 female students who decided to boycott Zionist and foreign goods and to participate in another demonstration held the same month…. Women from poor classes also participated in other tasks of the revolution by transporting arms, ammunition and provisions to the revolution by transporting arms, ammunition and provisions to the fighters in the hills during the period of armed struggle. Some women also bore arms and participated in the armed struggle. Five women were reported to have fallen martyrs between 1936-7" (PLO report 13) (Abdo-Zubi, 1998: 21-22).

From the onset of the Nakba in 1948 onwards, the Palestinian Women's organizations in the Western part of Palestine which did not fall under Israel focused their efforts on alleviating the impact on the poor within their communities. (source 1a) Palestinian Rita Giacaman and Muna Odeh (1988) frame it best when they refer to this shift in collective action by Palestinian women as "absorbing the shock":

> They did everything possible to absorb the shock and care for the refugees that flooded the West Bank and Gaza (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988:58).

This foreshadows the decolonizing relationship between resisting colonialism and the Palestinian women's movement, as the national struggle remains at the very heart of the feminist struggle of Palestinian women. This initial shift in the women's movement in response to the Nakba, played a key role in substituting for State services between 1947-1950 (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988). The authors explain:

> These organizations were especially active in the 1947-1950 period – During this period, the women performed the crucial function of substituting for state services. They set up training centers for women nurses – they successfully operated first aid stations where even minor surgery was performed – they campaigned increasingly for donations, ranging from canned foods to clothes to money – they organized soup kitchens and succeeded in getting even bourgeois society women to participate in cooking , and they washed and mended the clothes they had collected and distributed them to those who needed them (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988: 57).

The collective response to settler colonialism by Palestinian women at the onset of the Nakba in 1948 set the precedent for the next 50 years, in which their key contributions mostly revolved around providing the social services necessary to support their communities in resisting settler-colonialism and its harsh impacts. As the authors note:

> for over 50 years women's activities remained confined within a formula devoid of the concept of internal social contradictions independent of colonialism or the occupation, and without an analysis of the relation of those contradictions to the oppression of certain sectors in Palestinian society." – "until the birth of the new movement in the 1970s, both the structure and the function of women's organization in the west bank and the Gaza strip mirrored the middle-class nature of those organizations. Initially most of them took the form of charitable organizations, with highly centralized structures, located almost invariably in towns and urban centers, with middle class, town-dwelling women overseeing the work, understood as a philanthropic expression of middle-class values (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988:58).

The charitable, service-oriented, collective effort of the Palestinian Women's resistance transitioned into the birth of formal Palestinian women's organizations (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988). In a response to colonialism, and a resistance to limit and address the negative impact of its' resulting aggression and dispossession, the establishment of the Palestinian women's organizations as well as the establishment of Palestinian women's roles within society under a new social condition, took place (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988).

The context of settler colonialism and national liberation remain a key component within the Palestinian women's movement and the plight for their rights. The feminist action and collective effort to improve women's rights and conditions, rely heavily on a decolonizing approach which situates their struggle as Indigenous women resisting settler-colonialism first and foremost. Prior to their displacement in 1948, Palestinian women shared a common experience of resistance and national history but as an outcome of their displacement, their experiences of resistance began to differ based on their locations after 1948 (Rishmawi, 1988). The impact of the settler-colonial state casts its shadow on the welfare of Palestinian women within Israel, the Palestinian territories and within the diaspora, including those who have 70/80 years later remain in refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan. The General Union of Palestinian Woman (GUPW), an umbrella organization of the PLO formed in 1965, is a strong testament of Palestinian women's contributions to the national resistance against settler-colonialism (Kawar, 1996). Sabbagh (1995) highlights:

> In the first paragraph of the second draft, the writers feel compelled to bring up first and foremost the issues that still concern the whole Palestinian society, such as "Zionist settlements are set up on large parts of it (Palestine)" this is a reflection of the fact that women's agenda in Tunis has always prioritized the national issue over equal rights for women (Sabbagh, 1995: 116-118).

Within their contribution to these documents, the GUPW centralizes decolonizing at the heart of the movement towards their rights as women. This is essential as it is one of many cases in which the Palestinian women's movement targets their reality under settler-colonialism formally, and firstly, relying on a decolonizing approach and rooting the key factors of their oppression as women as key outcomes of their oppression as Palestinians. Within the West Bank and Gaza in the late 1970s and onwards, a new approach was founded in the emergence of new grassroots Palestinian women's committees. This approach presented a shift in activism from a focus on nationalism, development and feminism to a new approach which stresses the gender dimensions of socio-economic change at the policy level (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988). This shift introduced a politicized generation of Palestinian women and new organizational techniques. The authors explain:

> The committees have spread social as well as nationalist consciousness from urban to rural areas, while offering services in health and education, along with a range of income-generating activities." "the centers see their roles as advocates for policy reform so as to create an enabling environment for women's socio-economic and political rights. They are tackling hitherto undiscussed issues related to women's legal and economic status, such as violence in the family, inheritance, school drop-out rates, and women's economic activities in the informal sector(Giacaman and Odeh, 1988: 51).

As Palestinian societies faced vast social and economic re-structuring, and continued to resist oppression and conditions of displacement, the disparities in Palestinian society required a rediscovery of the political struggle and facilitated a new understanding within analysis. The women's movement was reshaped:

> The emergence of a new type of struggle, one that attempted to change the predicament of these neglected women, to help them solve their daily problems so that they could then develop their own roles and positions in the popular resistance against occupation.—once this reformation took place, the progressive women's committees' movement adopted a platform demanding simultaneous improvement in women's status, politically, economically, socially, and culturally and their liberation from all forms of exploitation (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988).

The new approach of addressing women's rights and well-being specifically provided a new modality of resisting settler colonialism. The focus on empowering women is a direct mechanism of empowering an entire Indigenous society, thus resisting settler colonialism through resurgence. This improves upon previous approaches with single targets as it addresses women's concerns within specific historical circumstances and focuses on the direct relationship between women's issues with their political realities. An example of this

is the work presented by Giacaman and Odeh (1988) in which the limits set by military occupation are surpassed to benefit the Indigenous Palestinian women:

> Working with the committees, we developed a feminist theory which views the health situation as directly related to our social and sexual reality; on one level, we wanted to deal with the health situation by developing women-oriented programs to make women aware of health problems specifically related to them and how they can treat them in the cheapest and easiest way. We also achieved our goals of completely undermining the military law and superseding its limitations and of reaching people's health needs in their villages instead of waiting for villagers to come to the clinics in the city (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988: 129).

This provides a key example of how resolving issues faced by Palestinian women is a key step towards decolonizing. This argument can especially be made on the grounds that Palestinian women are at the heart of their families' and communities' welfare. Addressing their issues and empowering them, is strengthening the collective in the face of oppression and against the conditions of settler colonialism. Sabbagh (1995) adds to the connection between women's rights and political oppression:

> Just as the intifada in its initial stage offered remarkable opportunities for the development of the women's movement, the obverse is also true; the women's movement, reflects each twist and turn of the national fortune. The shape that the fledging women's movement will take in the future depends on the political future of the territories occupied by Israel (Sabbagh, 1995:113).

In the collective resistance against settler-colonialism, Palestinian women are united in the resistance against their political oppression. Relying on their political resistance as a key mechanism to their liberation, Palestinian women collectively view their liberation as women to be tied to their liberation as Palestinians resisting settler colonialism. The resistance of Palestinian women is rooted in and emphasizes solidarity, on the grounds of anti-colonial struggle. The following remark by Tuck and Yang (2012) situates solidarity within the ongoing resistance of indigenous people:

> Solidarity is an uneasy, reserved, and unsettled matter that neither reconciles present grievances nor forecloses future conflict (Tuck and Yang, 2012:3).

Conclusion: Centralizing Indigenous Women at the Heart of Decolonizing

From the context supporting the gendered process of settler colonialism, one can deduce the extent of negative impact settler colonialism poses onto the socioeconomic welfare and lives of Indigenous women within Canada and Palestinian women. Settler colonialism and

its continued prevalence through ongoing genocide is at the core of the oppression of Indigenous women. Throughout the research, varied incidences of violence and systemic oppression are addressed to clarify the extent of impact of mechanisms such as genocide on the indigenous populations, and indigenous women in particular which these mechanisms oppress. If one were to observe the socio-economic impact of genocide and settler-colonialism alone, on indigenous women, the words of Raphael Lemkin (1944) himself can be relied on as he says:

> The destruction of foundations of the economic existence of a national group necessarily brings about a crippling of its development, even a retrogression (Lemkin, 1944: 85)

In his own definition of genocide, Lemkin (1944) addresses the negative impact on the economic development of those oppressed. Thus, all instances of violence supporting the gendered process of settler-colonialism, systemic racism and genocide perpetuated to uphold these settler colonial structures can be addressed as key causal factors of the socio-economic realities of indigenous women.

Relatively, the struggle of resisting settler colonialism and resisting settler-colonial economic structures is at the heart of an Indigenous feminism. Rishmawi (1988) explains:

> the strongest guarantee of strengthening women's position in any given society is the existence of a vital movement which places women's rights and freedoms among its national priorities of liberation, progress, and the exercise of basic rights and freedoms (Rishmawi, 1988:79).

Palestinian women identify and centralize their political situation as a key implication on their rights in the sense that their displacement under the occupying state of Israel is the first and foremost of their problems as a collective. Indigenous women within Canada maintain a consciousness that settler-colonialism is the oppressive system at the root of their displacement. Any movement intended to liberate or empower Indigenous women must centralize decolonizing.

> The national question is a major factor which both supports the movement for women's liberation and simultaneously limits its further development. It supports liberation by calling on women to move beyond the household realm and to face the occupation side by side with men. But it deters further development by emptying it of its feminist and class content and limiting it to the confines of the national liberation struggle. This in turn, impedes the development of a feminist strategy independent of, yet integrally linked to, the national struggle (Giacaman, and Odeh, 1988:62-63).

As decolonizing is a required approach within the effort to empower and elevate Indigenous women, the rights of Indigenous women are inversely at the heart of decolonizing. Both Indigenous populations included within this analysis require self-

determination within their causes, in identifying the systemic racism and measures of victimization imposed upon them as central contributors to their oppression, poverty and continued resistance against settler colonialism. Walia (2014) situates self-determination and says:

> Indigenous self-determination is increasingly understood as intertwined with struggles against racism, poverty, police violence, war and occupation, violence against women and environmental justice (Walia, 2014: 45).

Self-determination is a key component for both Indigenous groups' efforts in decolonizing. The analysis articulates the connection between settler-colonialism and the gendered process it comprises which continues to disempower Indigenous women, especially in a socioeconomic context. As this connection is made, a key understanding is facilitated in which decolonizing is stressed further as a key component to the empowerment and liberation of Indigenous women. Both populations of Indigenous women assessed face marginalization, misrepresentation, systemic violence, continued and intergenerational trauma as well as varied realities of systemic oppression. Yet, despite the imposition of settler-colonial structures, culture, and methods of erasure and assimilation, both groups of Indigenous women continue to display a powerful force of resistance against their oppression, from activist efforts of political organization, to communal efforts of social responsibility. Despite facing major barriers to all of the key components to gaining political or economic achievements, Indigenous women in both Canada and Israel have been at the heart of Indigenous resilience, political resistance, and activism. The following conditions provided by a prominent Arab feminist, Nawal el Saadawi (1988) apply to both Palestinian women and Indigenous women within Canada who are collectively resisting the oppressive forces of settler-colonialism:

> no oppressed social group can become an influential political force unless these conditions are present:
> (1)- A consciousness of the true reasons for existing oppression and exploitation;
> (2)- political organization;
> (3) - the economic ability to organize.
> It must be admitted that Arab women of all social strata, are still deprived of these three basic conditions, despite their increasing gains in the fields of education, paid employment, and participation in professional unions, labour, organizations and parliaments (El Saadawi, 1988: 16).

Achieving the economic empowerment of Indigenous women is directly related to decolonizing their realities, unlearning the settler-colonial restrictions and narratives imposed upon them and resurgence from the shared experiences of systemic violence and oppression. Decolonizing for both Indigenous populations, is an effort to surpass the racial

barriers set to exclude them from the social progress available to settlers in their own land. Only in addressing such realities of systemic discrimination, can Indigenous women address their own socio-economic realities, and feminist struggle. Decolonizing the understanding of the "why" and "how" of the current socioeconomic status of indigenous women will contribute to the creation of de-colonial alternatives to these realities within the settler colonial state. Thus, dismantling the existing structures and institutions of the settler colonial state by situating them as causal components of the socio-economic displacement of indigenous women.

The prevalence of settler-colonialism is the root cause of struggle for Indigenous women, as a dominant mechanism of systemic oppression. It is from a framework of decolonizing that the issues of Indigenous women may be justly assessed and resolved.

> If decolonization were to happen tomorrow, what would we do with the structures and institutions that were left behind? I worry that we would just repurpose the nation-state and reproduce the colonial structures that have us where we are now. And that is a deep concern of Indigenous and global feminists (Valaskakis and Dion-Stout, 2009: 88).

Re-thinking colonial spatial restructuring, decolonizing with an understanding of the current structures as structures which serve the greater purpose of settler-colonialism, in which such structures must be excluded from a decolonizing solution, rather than a search for a decolonizing solution within the imposition of such settler-colonial structures.

References

Abdo, N. (2014). *Captive Revolution: Palestinian Women's Anti-Colonial Struggle within the Israeli Prison System.* London: Pluto Press.

Abdo, N. (2018). An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba. In Abdo, N. and Masalha, N. *An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba* (pp. 50-62). London:Zed Books.

Abdo, N. & Lentin, R. (2002). Writing Dislocation, Writing the Self: Bringing (Back) the Political into Gendered Israeli-Palestinian Dialoguing. In Abdo, N and Lentin, R. *Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gender Narratives of Dislocation*

(pp. 1 – 36). New York and Oxford: Berghan Books.

Abdo-Zubi, N. (1987). *Family, Women and Social Change in the Middle East: The Palestinian Case*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Abdo-Zubi, N. (2011). *Women in Israel: Race, Gender and Citizenship.* London: Zed Books.

Abdul Hadi, F. (2018). Gender representation of Oral History: Palestinian Women Narrating the Stories of their Displacement. In Abdo, N. and Masalha, N. *An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba* (pp. 164-175)*. London: Zed Books.

Abu-Lughod, L. (2013). *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ackerman, L. & Klein, L. (1995). *Women and Power in Native North America.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association. (2014). *Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israeli Prisons.*

Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association. (2016). *The Economic Exploitation of Palestinian Political Prisoners.*

Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association. (2017). *Annual Violations Report: Violations of Palestinian Prisoners' Rights in Israeli Prisons.*

Aikau, H.K., Arvin, M., Goeman, M. & Morgensen S. (2015). Indigenous Feminisms Roundtable. *Frontiers : A Journal of Women Studies, 36*(3), 84-106.

Albalawi, M. (2015). Arabs' Stereotypes Revisited: The Need for a Literary Solution. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 6(2), 200-211.

Alhesi, R. (2011). *A Voice from Palestine.* Occupied Palestine. Available at https://occupiedpalestine.wordpress.com/2011/04/09/deir-yassin-massacre-april-9-1948/

Alodaat, L. (Ed.). (2017). Palestinian Women Under Prolonged Israeli Occupation. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1st ed.), 1-32. https://wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Palestine-UPR_web-2-5.pdf

Amin, S. (1989). *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Amnesty International. (2004). *Canada: Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada.* Available at https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/92000/amr200032004en.pdf

Amnesty International. (2016). "The State as a Catalyst for Violence Against Women: Violence Against Women and Torture or other Ill-Treatment in the Context of Sexual and Reproductive Health in Latin America and the Caribbean." London: Amnesty International Publications. Available at https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/AMR0133882016ENGLISH.PDF

Amnesty International. (2017). *Amnesty International Report 2016/2017: The State of the World's Human Rights.* London, United Kingdom: Amnesty International Ltd.

Amnesty International. (2018). *Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories, 2017/2018*. London, United Kingdom: Amnesty International Ltd.

Anderson, K. (1982). *Huron Women and Huron Men: The Effects of demography, kinship and the social division of labour on male/female relations among the 17th century Huron.* Toronto: University of Toronto.

Balfour, A.J. (1917). Balfour Declaration. Available at

https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/text-of-the-balfour-declaration

Bang, M., Curley, L., Kessel, A., Marin, A., Suzukovich III, E.S. & Strack, G. (2014). Muskrat theories, tobacco in the streets, and living Chicago as Indigenous Land. *Environmental Education Research, 20*(1), 37-55.

Baskin, C. (2003). From Victims to Leaders: Activism against Violence towards Women. In Anderson, K. and Lawrence, B (Eds.), *Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival* (pp. 215-216). Toronto: Sumach Press.Bill C-31. (2009). First Nations and Indigenous studies. The University of British Colombia. Available at https://Indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/bill_c-31/

Binnema, T. & Hutchings, K. (2004). The Emigrant and the Nobel Savage: Sir Francis Bond Head's Romantic Approach to Aboriginal Policy in Upper Canada, 1836-1838. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, *39*(1), 115- 138.

Birnbaum, N. (1885). *Self-Emancipation!* Periodical. Vienna.

Bougie, E., Kelly-Scott, K. & Arrigada. P. (2012). *The Education and Employment Experiences of First Nations People Living Off Reserve, Inuit, and Métis* (Aboriginal People's Survey) Ottawa: Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division.

Boyce. J., (2016) *Victimization of Aboriginal People, 2014.* Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Brownridge, D. A., Chan, K., Hiebert-Murphy, D., Ristock, J., Tiwari, A., Leungm W. & Santos, S. (2008). The Elevated Risk for Non-Lethal Post-Separation Violence in Canada: A Comparison of Separated, Divorced, and Married Women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *23*(1), 117–135.

Burrows, J. (1992). A Genealogy of Law: Inherent Sovereignty and First Nations Self-Government. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, *30*(2), 291-353.

Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA). (2010). *Getting the job done right: Alternative federal budget 2010.* Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Carlson, E. (2016). Anti-Colonial Methodologies and Practices for Settler Colonial Studies. *Settler Colonial Studies.*

Charter of the Organization of American States, adopted at the Ninth International Conference of American States (1948), reprinted in Basic Documents Pertaining to Human Rights in the Inter-American System, OEA/Ser. L/V/I.4 rev.13 at 106 (2010).

Churchill, W. (1993). Naming Our Destiny: Toward a Language of American Indian Liberation. In Churchill, W. *Indians Are Us? Culture and Genocide in Native North America* (pp. 291 - 357)*.* Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1989) Demarlginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a black Feminist critique of anti-discrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989:1*(8).

Croft, A. (2011). *Treaty Interpretation: A Tale of Two Stories (*Unpublished paper)*.* The Canadian Bar Association: University of Victoria, British Columbia.

Cobb, D. (2015). *Say we are Nations: documents of politics and protest in Indigenous American since 1887.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Collier, R. (2017). Reports of coerced sterilization of Indigenous women in Canada mirrors shameful past. *The Canadian Medical Association Journal*, *189*(33), 1080-1081.

Correctional Service Canada. (2013). Coroner's Inquest Touching the Death of Ashley Smith: Jury Recommendations. Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Coulthard, G. (2014). From Wards of the State to Subjects of Recognition?: Marx, Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Dispossession in Denendeh. In Simpson, A. & Smith, A. (Eds.) *Theorizing Native Studies.* North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Coulthard, G. (2014). *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Curtiss, R. (1996). Women's Rights: An Affair of State for Tunisia. In Sabbagh, S. (Ed.), *Arab Women: Between Defiance and Restraint* (pp.46). New York: Olive Branch Press.

Dajani, S. (1993). Palestinian Women under Israeli Occupation: Implications for Development. In Tucker, J. (Ed.), *Arab Women: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers* (pp. 102.128). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

De Leeuw, S. (2007). Intimate Colonialisms: the material and experienced places of British Columbia's residential schools. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Geographe Canadien*, *51*(3), 339-359.

Devens, C. (1992). *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions 1630-1900.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Eisenstein, Z. (1979). *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Emberley, J. (2007). *Defamiliarizing the Aboriginal: Cultural Practices and Decolonization in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Engel, D. (2009). *Zionism*. London: Routledge.

Engels, F. (1902). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State: in the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan*. English Edition. Hotringen-Zurich.

Espanyoli, N. (1997). Women and Labour in Israel (Status of Palestinian Women Citizens in Israel - NGO Alternative Report). Nazareth: the Working Group to CEDAW.

Even-Tzur, E. (2016). The Road to the Village: Israeli Social Unconscious and the Palestinian Nakba. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, *13*(4), 305-322

Family Law Act, R.S.O. (1990). Chapter F.3. Regulation 367. Ontario, Canada.

Farsoun, S. (2004). *Culture and Customs of the Palestinians.* Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press.

Farsoun, S and Aruri, N. (2006). *Palestine and the Palestinians: a Social and Political History* (2nd ed.). Colorado: Westview Press.

Fernandez, C. (2003). Coming Full Circle: A Young Man's perspective on building Gender Equity in Aboriginal Communities. In Anderson, K and Lawrence, B. *Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival*. Sumach Press. P. 244

Fumoleau, R. (2004). *As Long as this Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1970-1939*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Giacaman, R and Odeh, M. (1988). Palestinian Women's Movement in the Israeli Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. In Toubia, N. *Women of the Arab World. (Ppp.* London: Zed Press.

Gislason, M. K., et. Al., (2017). Impacts of Intensive Resource Extraction. In Griffin-Cohen, M. (Ed.) *Climate Change and Gender in Rich Countries: Work, Public Policy and Action* (pp/ 224). London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

Gonzalez, E. (1981). *Changing Economic Roles for Micmac Men and Women: An Ethnohistorical Analysis.* Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Gorni, Y. (1987). *Zionism and the Arabs, 1882- 1948: A Study of Ideology.* Translated by Chaya Galai. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University.

Government of Canada. (1982). *Section 35: Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada* (Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982) Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Government of Canada. (2014). *Economic Action Plan 2014 Act, No. 1.* Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Gregory, D.C., (1994). *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Hansen, J. (2018). Amnesty Canada Blog. Indigenous Women in Canada continue to be coercively or forcibly sterilized. Retrieved from: https://www.amnesty.ca/blog/indigenous-women-canada-continue-be-coercively-or-forcibly-sterilized

Heidenreich, C. (1971). *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650.* Toronto: McLellan and Stewart.

Holt, M. and Jawad, H. (2013). *Women, Islam, and Resistance in the Arab World*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Human Rights Watch. (2016). Israel/ Palestine: Events of 2016. Retrieved from: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/israel/palestine

Government of Canada (1985). Indian Act, 1876 (R.S.C., 1985, c.l-5). Ottawa: Justice Laws Website.

Government of Canada Publications. (1906). Indian Act, 1906 (R.S.C., c.81). Ottawa: Government of Canada Publications Collections.

Inuulitisivik Health Center. (2019). Activities et Culture: Le peuple Inuit. Retrieved from https://www.inuulitsivik.ca/activities-et-culture/le-peuple-inuit/

Institute for Middle East Understanding. (2017). Israel's Mass Incarceration of Palestinians. Retrieved from https://imeu.org/article/israels-mass-incarceration-of-palestinians

International Labour Organization. (2018). Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+). The World Bank: ILOSTAT Database.

Jamal, A., (2007). Strategies of Minority Struggle for Equality in Ethnic States: Arab Politics in Israel. *Citizenship Studie*s, *11*(3), 262-282.

Jewish Voice for Peace. (2017). #RETURNTHEBIRTHRIGHT FAQ. Retrieved from https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/returnthebirthright-faq/

Joseph, S. (2001). *Women and Power in the Middle East.* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.

Jull, P. and Craig, D. (1997). Reflections on Regional Agreements: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. *The Australian Indigenous Law Reporter*, *2*(4), 475-493.

Kauanui, J. K. (2008). *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indignity.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Kawar, A. (1996). *Daughters of Palestine: Leading Women of the Palestinian National Movement.* Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Kenny, C. (2002). *North American Indian, Métis and Inuit Women Speak about Culture, Education and Work*. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Khatib, M., & Rezek-Marjieh, S. (2018*) Israel in Palestinians, The 5th Socio-economic Survey*. Israel: The Galilee Society - The Arab National Society for Health Research and Services.

Khoury, L & Ghazi-Walid Falah, S. (2013). Palestine as a Woman: Feminizing Resistance and Popular Literature. *The Arab World Geographer*, *16*, 147-176.

King George III. (1763). Royal Proclamation.

King, H. (2014) Ghosts of Indigenous Activism past, present and future: #idlenomore's transformative potential. In The Kino-nda-niimi Collective*, The Winter We Danced: Voices from the Past, the Future, and the Idle No More Movement* (pp.80). Winnipeg, Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

Kohm, M. and McBride, Keally. (2011). *Political theories of decolonization: post-colonialism and the problem of foundations*. Oxford University Press.

Kubik, W., Bourassa, C., and Hampton, M. (2009). Stolen Sisters, Second Class Citizens, Poor Health: The Legacy of Colonization in Canada. *Humanity and Society, 33*, 18-34.

Lawrence, B., (2004). "Real" Indians and Others: Mixed-blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposal for Redress.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Lemking, R. (1945). Genocide: A Modern Crime. *Free World,* 4, 39-43.

Lemkin, R. (1947). Genocide as a Crime under International Law. *American Journal of International Law,* 41(1), 147.

Loeffler, J. (2017). Becoming Cleopatra: the forgotten Zionism of Raphael Lemkin. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *19*(3), 340-360.

Lugones, M. (2010) Toward a Decolonial Feminism. *Hypatia, 25*(4), 742-759.

Lyons, O. (1986). Indian Self-Government in the Haudenosaunee Constitution. Ottawa: Carleton University Library.

Centre for African Studies (1998). *When does a Settler become a Native? Reflections of the Colonial Roots of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa*. Cape Town: Mamdani, M.

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. (2003). Report No 71/03 - Petition 12.191: Friendly Settlement. Peru: MamÉrita Mestanza Chávez, M.

Masalha, N. (2012). *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory*. Zed Books.

Maurice Law. (2018). Court File Number Q.B. N.o. 1485 of 2017. Court of Queen's bench for Saskatchewan.

Meriwether, M. (1993). Women and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Syria: The Case of Aleppo. In Tucker, J. *Women in Arab Society* (pp.65-83). Bloomington: Indian University Press.

Miaari, S. (2012). Arab women in the labour market: Empirical implications and policy orientation. The Galilee Society - The Arab National Society for Health Research and Services. Publication is funded by the European Union. Retrieved from: http://www.gal-soc.org/gal-soc/files/userfiles/women%20in%20the%20lm_en.pdf

Mignolo, W. (2011). *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, decolonial options*. Oxford University Press.

Mihesuah, D. (2003). *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism*. University of Nebraska Press.

Mikdashi, M. (2016). *What is Settler Colonialism. In Wolfe, P. The Settler Complex: Recapturing Binarism in Colonial Studies*. UCLA: American Indian Studies Center.

Miller, K. (2003). The Other Side of the Coin: A Look at Islamic Law as Compared to Anglo-American Law - Do Muslim Women Really have Fewer Rights than American Women? *New York International Law Review*. Vol 16(76), 65 -148.

Miller, J.R. (2018). Compact, Contract, Covenant: The Evolution of First Nations Treaty-Making. In Heidt, D., *Reconsidering confederation: Canada's Founding Debates, 1864-1999*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Monchalin, L. (2016). *The Colonial Problem: An Indigenous Perspective on Crime and Injustice in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Monture, P., and McGuire, P. (2009). *First voices: an aboriginal women's reader*. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education.

Morgensen, S.L. (2012) Theorising Gender, Sexuality and Settler Colonialism: An Introduction, Settler Colonial Studies. *Settler Colonial Studies, 2*(2), 2-22.

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2018). *Indigenous Women in Solitary Confinement: Policy Backgrounder*. Ottawa: Skye, C. & Wakeford, K.

Nettelbeck, A., & Smandych, R. (2010). Policing Indigenous Peoples on Two Colonial Frontiers: Australia's Mounted Police and Canada's North-West Mounted Police. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 43*(2), 356–375.

Newcomb, S.T. (2008). *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery*. Boulder, Colorado: Fulcrum Press.

Olson, J. (2013). *Nathan Birnbaum and Jewish Modernity: Architect of Zionism, Yiddishism and Orthodoxy*. Stanford University Press.

Ontario Native Women's Association. (2018). *Until our hearts are on the ground: Contemporary Issues facing aboriginal women in Ontario.* Thunder Bay: Ontario Native Women's Association Position Paper.

Palmater, P. (2015). Indigenous Nationhood: Empowering Grassroots Citizens. Fernwood Publishing

Pappe, I. (2010). *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis 1700-1948. Berkley, LA: University of California Press*

Pappe, I. (2006). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. London: Oneworld Publications.

Pappe, I. (2015). *Israel and South Africa: The many faces of Apartheid.* London: Zed Press.

Pasternak, S. (2014). Occupy(ed) Canada: The Political Economy of Indigenous Dispossession. In The Kino-nda-niimi Collective, *The Winter We Danced: Voices from the Past, the Future, and the Idle No More Movement* (pp.40-43). Winnipeg, Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

Perkins, P.E. (2017). Canadian Indigenous Female Leadership. In Climate Change and Gender. In Griffin-Cohen, M., *Rich Countries: Work, Public Policy and Action* (pp.228). London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

Perrault, S. (2015). *Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2014*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Perrault, S. and Simpson, L. (2016). *Criminal Victimization in the territories, 2014.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Qumsiyeh, M. (2011). *Popular Resistance in Palestine: a History of hope and empowerment*. London: Pluto Press.

Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press.

Rishmawi, M. (1988). The Legal Status of Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories. In Toubia, N. (Ed.) *Women of the Arab World: the Coming Challenge: Papers of the Arab Women's Solidarity Conference, 1986 (Cairo, Egypt).* London and New Jersey: Zed Press.

Rose, J. (2004). *Myths of Zionism*. Pluto Press.

Rosenberg, S. (1990). Female Political Prisoners and Anti-Imperialist Struggles. *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, 2(2).

Roumani, M., Korn, H., & Goldman, D. (1975). *The case of the Jews from Arab countries: a neglected issue*. The Initiating Committee of the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (2014). *Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview.*

Sa'di, A. (1995). "Incorporation without Integration: Palestinian Citizens In Israel's Labour Market. *Sociology*, *29*(3).

Saadawi, N. (1988). The Political Challenges Facing Arab Women at the End of the 20th Century. In Toubia, N. (Ed.) *Women of the Arab World: the Coming Challenge: Papers of the Arab Women's Solidarity Conference, 1986 (Cairo, Egypt).* London and New Jersey: Zed Books.

Sabbagh, S. (1995). *Arab Women: Between Defiance and Restraint*. Olive Branch Press.

Said, E. (1979). *Zionism from the standpoint of Its Victims.* Duke University Press.

Salaita, S. (2008). The Ethics of Intercultural Approaches to Indigenous studies: Conjoining Natives and Palestinians in Context. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, *1*(1), 12.

Sapers, H. (2016). Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator 2015-2016. Ottawa: Office of the Correctional Investigator.

Sayigh, R. (1979). *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries.* London: Zed Press.

Schwartz, D & Stein, B. (2008). *Religious Zionism: History and Ideology*. Academic Studies Press.

Secretary of State for the Colonies to the United Kingdom Parliament. (1937). British Palestine Mandate: Text of the Peel Commission Report. Series of League of Nations Publications.

Sewid-Smith, D. (1991). In Time Immemorial. *BC Studies, 89*(Special Issue).

Sioui, G. (1999). *Huron Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle. English Edition*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press

Smith, A. (2005). *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Smith, A. (2008). *Native Americans and the Christina Right: The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Smith, K. (2016). Living with Treaties. In *Canadian History: Post-Confederation.* By Belshaw, J.D. Victoria, B.C.: BCampus. Retrieved from https://opentextbc.ca/postconfederation/chapter/11-6-living-with-treaties/

Special Rapporteur, UN. (2017). UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences (Human Rights Council A/HRC/35/30/Add.1).

Statistics Canada. (2012a). *Aboriginal Peoples Survey*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada. (2012b). *Guide to the Labour Force Survey*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada. (2016a). *Aboriginal Population Profile, 2016 Census*. Ottawa: The 2016 Census of Population Program.

Statistics Canada. (2016b). *2014 General Social Survey, Cycle 28: Canadians' Safety (Victimization).* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Swirski, B. (2000). The Citizenship of Jewish and Palestinian Arab Women in Israel. In Joseph, S., *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (pp.314 – 344). Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.

The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. (2016). *Resource Development in Northern Communities; Local Women Matter. Feminist Northern Network*. Social

Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Retrieved from http://fnn.criaw-icref.ca/images/userfiles/files/LWM4_ColonialismWomen.pdf

The Center for Social Justice. (2019). *Aboriginal Issues Ontario*. Retrieved from http://www.socialjustice.org/index.php?page=aboriginal-issues

The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. (2017). *Interim Report: Our Women and Girls ARE SACRED*.

The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. (2018). Lexicon of Terminology. Retrieved from http://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/NIMMIWG_Lexicon_ENFR-1.pdf

Thompson, J. and Rubenfield, S. (2013). *A Profile of Women in Segregation.* Ottawa: Correctional Services Canada.

Tooker, E. (1967). *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians 1615-1649.* Washington D.C: The Smithsonian Institution.

Trigger, B. (1990). *The Huron: Farmers of the North. In Case Studies in Cultural* Anthropology (2nd ed.) Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston Place.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015)*. Missing Children and Unmarked Burials: Canada's Residential School* (Vol 4). Montreal, Kingston, London, and Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *The 1946-1948 Special Joint Committee hearings and education. Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2 1939 to 2000*. (Vol 1). Montreal, Kingston, London, and Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Tuck, E. and Yang, K.W. (2012). Decolonization is not a Metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Socie*ty, *1*(1), 1-40.

Tully, J. (1993). *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts*. Cambridge University Press.

Turkey, Ongley, F., & Miller, H. E. (1892). *The Ottoman land code*. London: W. Clowes and Sons.

UN. (1986). Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. Nairobi, 1985. New York. Available at http://www.5wwc.org/downloads/Report_of_WCW-1985.pdf

UN General Assembly. (1948). Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. *United Nations Treaty Series*, 78(1021).

UN Human Rights Council. (2017). Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, on her mission to the Occupied Palestinian Territory/State of Palestine. *35*.

UN Women. (2016). Seminar Report on The International Seminar of Gender Based Violence. The Humanitarian Context of the Gaza Strip.

Valaskakis, G. and Dion-Stout, M. (2009). *Restoring the Balance: First Nations Women, Community and Culture*. Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press.

Veracini, L. (2010) *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Melbourne: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walia, H. (2014). Decolonizing Together: Moving beyond a Politics of Solidarity toward a Practice of Decolonization. In The Kino-nda-niimi Collective. The Winter We Danced: Voices from the Past, the Future, and the Idle No More Movement. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing. P. 45

Weiss, G. and Mackenzie, P. (1999). *Trying to get it back: Indigenous women, culture, and education.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Wolfe, P. (2012). Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine Nakba and Zionism's Conquest of Economics. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2(1).

Wolfe, P. (2013). The Settler Complex: An introduction. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 37*(2), 1-22.

Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling. (2015). *UN Independent Commission of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict.* Occupied Palestinian Territory: Ramallah, B.

Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling. (2016). *Israeli Military Night-Raids on Palestinian Residences in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.*

Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling. (2017). Women's Voices. Nov. 2013 – June 2017.

Yiftachel, O. (1999). 'Ethnocracy': The Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine. In Constellations: An International Journal of Critical Democratic Theory. Vol 6. No 3. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Zu'bi, H. (2009). Palestinian Women in the Israeli labor Market. Jadal:Mada Al-Carmel Electronic Journal. Issue No. 4. Available at http://mada-research.org/en/files/2009/10/jadal4/jadal4-eng/Jadal_Zubi_FINAL1.pdf

Zubi, H. (2017). Palestinian Women in the Israeli Labor Market. Jadal Issue no. 4. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265672110

Zubi, H. (2018). The Ongoing Nakba: Urban Palestinians survival in Haifa. In Abdo, N. & Masalha, N. *An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba* (pp.183). Zed Books.