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## States of (in)security: corporeal geographies and the elsewhere war

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**Abstract.** This paper examines embodied representations of state (in)security within three broad thematic categories: biometrics, prosthetics, and military biopower. This analysis elucidates the ways in which gender and race are put to work through representational framings of US state security. These framings, while diverse, offer similar taxonomies of inclusion–exclusion, security–insecurity, and violence against or care for certain bodies. This critical examination explicates how security is succinctly situated by autonomous state actors, ‘life politics’, and manipulations of the global–intimate through the lens of mimetic gendered and raced bodies. I argue that these various visual representations aid in reinforcing to the mainstream/white US citizen-subject that he or she remains secure within the immediate US homeland by way of the displacement of contemporary war violence elsewhere—rather than such violence circulating ‘everywhere’. A visual and discursive representation of security–insecurity illustrates a purposeful militarized illusion, inscribed through the many examples discussed in this paper. These disparate techniques shape US citizens’ imagination of ‘terror’ as potentially ‘everywhere’, while simultaneously situating the US military’s war ‘over there’ (elsewhere) as part of securing the homeland. These corporeal exemplifications help to situate security within the homeland and a/effectively shroud the flesh-and-bone devastation of US military violence elsewhere.

**Keywords:** security, gender, race, biotechnologies, war, violence

### Introduction

Feminist scholars have identified the importance of examining security through a gendered lens (Detraz, 2012; Enloe, 2007) and analyzing the personal, private, and embodied experiences of (in)security (Dowler, 2012; Hyndman, 2007; Hyndman and De Alwis, 2004; Koopman, 2011; Puwar, 2004). Butler (2004) contends that gaining representation is a necessary component of humanization and argues, “those [who] have no chance to represent themselves run the risk of being regarded as less than human, or indeed not regarded at all.” This paper examines how representational tropes of the gendered/raced ‘other’ and citizen-subject are manipulated in support of US state ‘security’, considering which bodies procure representations, how, and with what consequences. Gendered, racialized, and embodied representations of state (in)security are analyzed through a concatenation of examples within three broad themes: biometrics, prosthetics, and gendered military biopower. The gendered and racialized representations of corporeal and spatial (in)security exemplify what Gallagher (2012, page 71) describes as the US’s carefully constructed “bloodless and clean war”. Visual analyses of bodies provide the focal point for this examination because the body operates as a central space upon which the cartographies of war and reconstruction are enacted and experienced (Opondo and Shapiro, 2012).

The disparate examples in this paper address “the technologies of the self” and “technologies of domination”, in order to elucidate the interconnected relationship between the citizen-subject and the state (Giroux, 2008, page 591), foregrounding how gendered

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and raced ‘others’ become incorporated into this relationship. In order to contextualize the meaning of ‘state’, I draw on Elden’s (2009) research, which identifies the state as a sovereign entity which acquires and claims control over territory, thus rendering it with legitimacy over the means of violence and determination within its spatial limits. The legitimacy to use violence against both its own citizens and citizens of other states in protection of population and territory remains a pivotal condition of modern statehood (Benhabib, 2002). State sovereignty, as discussed by Agamben (1998), is also linked to spatial inclusion or exclusion and, relatedly, used to protect or to kill. In Foucauldian biopolitical terms, the security apparatus of the state increases with its ability to monitor, control, and regulate the basic biological needs for securing daily life, but arguably also with its ability to control, authorize, and circulate representations of those it wishes to include (protect) or exclude (even kill). The state regularly operates, across both material and representational domains, within a dialectical position of both protector from and arbitrator of violence and insecurity. As an important caveat, though, it has to be acknowledged that the state is never a seamless, internally coherent, and fully formed entity, but rather is itself always uneven, fractured, and a complex amalgam of diverse elements (people, documents, and devices of all kinds, a number of which will be encountered below).

Methods of incorporating and defining those in and outside the purview of state security often rely on nationalistic forms of representation. The imagination of the ‘nation’ as a community of shared interests is particularly significant for redefining the ideal citizen-subject during times of crisis (Anderson, 2006; Dahlman and Brunn, 2003; Dowler, 2002). The US state’s legitimacy in striking out violently after 9/11 was coupled with political and media-driven rhetoric designed to situate the US nation as a heroic victim and present this state as a moral subject with the legitimated ability to seek retributive ‘justice’ avenging the loss of American lives—simultaneously serving to secure and protect the homeland (Anker, 2005; Brunn, 2004; Engle, 2007; Gunn, 2004). This process arguably included a reimagining of masculinized state security, while correspondingly feminizing the homeland (Dowler, 2002; 2012), as well as determining the US position globally through neo-Orientalized West–rest binaries as rhetorically defined by former President Bush’s “with us or against us” mantra (Abdo, 2002). Moreover, after 11 September 2001 US-led military, aid, and development interventions in Afghanistan included a discursive focus on saving and liberating Afghan women, as part of the larger moralizing vision of US state violence and protection. This prompted critiques from feminist scholars, who identified the actions of the US as a cooptation of women’s rights and undermining of the voices of Afghan women through an ocular-centric focus on their oppression, often symbolized by the burqa (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Hunt, 2002; Macdonald, 2006).

Aesthetic representations of gendered bodies, as discussed by feminist–political geographers, highlight how idealized femininity becomes representative of nationalism (Faria, 2010; Fluri, 2009; Gökariksel and Secor, 2010; Oza, 2006; Secor and Gökariksel, 2009; Sharp, 1996). Afghan nationalism was also reimagined by the US after 9/11. One example of a gendering in the US-inspired imagination of Afghan national representation can be seen in the case of California resident and Afghan native, Vida Samadzai, who participated in the Miss US International beauty pageant. This competition allowed her to compete as Miss Afghanistan in the 2003 Miss Earth pageant, where she received a Beauty for a Cause award (Fluri, 2009). This form of coopted nationalism illustrates efforts by the US state, alongside autonomous–transnational actors, to reshape feminine representations of the Afghan nation, exemplifying one way that gendered corporeal aesthetics resonate geopolitically. As Anderson and Adey (2011, page 1107) argue, we cannot understand a “security affect” without researching the various mechanisms “that attempt to secure liberal life”. My paper accordingly seeks to explore aesthetic representations, rearticulated into

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racial and gender categories, as instances of just such affective mechanisms in action. The US<sup>(1)</sup> visual representations of state security to be discussed in this paper, going well beyond the example of pageantry, incorporate gendered and racialized bodies in order to sustain the moral–authoritative position and e/affectively legitimize state sovereign violence.

Foucauldian theories on governmentality situate how “autonomous actors have become key resources for present forms of government that rely in crucial respects on forms of scientific expertise and knowledge” (Lemke, 2005, page 10). Contemporary state sovereignty is bolstered through both formal and informal techniques of governance, indicating “fundamental transformations in statehood and a new relation between state and civil society actors” (Lemke, 2002, page 58). Government, sovereignty, and, by extension, state security require interventions in what Giddens (1991) refers to as the ‘life politics’ of sovereign subjects. The interworkings of life politics are therefore necessary, if not imperative, objects of attention for the continued legitimacy of the state by way of fashioning citizen-subjects’ acceptance of and belief in various security programs. By examining the embodiments of life politics through different security technologies and techniques, a range of state (in)securities emerge from intimate to international, both within and outside the mechanisms of statecraft. The examples of machines and technologies below hence represent various autonomous actors, life politics, and manipulations of intimate portraits of state governance under the security rubric.

If the sovereign state is defined by its legitimized ability to kill and the technologies and machinations of state regulation include an expectation of citizen protection through security frameworks, the state must redefine its hold over the means of violence and the means by which it enacts security when its ability to protect has been threatened. Therefore, the US post-9/11 response has included a recalibration of its existing security apparatus, including diverse plays on gendered and racial tropes endeavoring visually and aesthetically to foster new fronts in these machinations of US security. Philo argues that “it is all too easy for ‘big-S’ Security concerns to crowd out seemingly more mundane matters of ‘small-s’ security, despite the fact that these two facets of S/security cannot but be closely inter-linked” (Philo, 2012, page 2). The examples below are used to elucidate ways in which ‘big-S’ Security regimes clearly do employ and manipulate the ‘small-s’ security through representational and embodied techniques and technologies. The embodied representations of security in the following thematic categories can be claimed to shroud the everyday violence perpetrated by the US as part of the Global War on Terror. I argue that these visual representations aid in reinforcing to the citizen-subject that he or she remains secured *within* the immediate US homeland by way of the (dis)placement of contemporary military war violence *elsewhere*—rather than such violence diffusing everywhere, as suggested by Gregory (2011)—an argument to be amplified in the paper’s conclusion.

Taxonomies of bodies and spaces are necessary for representations of state security in order to frame epistemologically what is ‘secure’ and what is not and who should be secured and who should not (also see Butler, 2004; 2010). Contemporary state ‘security’ therefore reveals interrelated political, social, and economic parameters. Technologies and techniques of biopower exemplify what Haraway (1996) identifies as the political ontology of ‘the cyborg’. She defines the cyborg as “a condensed image of both imagination and material reality” (Haraway, 1996, page 149), and she argues that the relationship between organisms and machines stakes out ‘territories’ in a border war that seeks to protect the traditional practices of male-dominated Western science and politics. The machines of state security necessarily focus on the body as a site to ‘protect’ or as a potential agent of ‘insecurity’.

<sup>(1)</sup> While the author recognizes that most states are involved in mitigating and creating various forms of security and insecurity for its own citizens and ‘others’, this paper is focused on the United States.

Thus, cyborg security links the material realities of biotechnologies together with imagined geographies of the nation, creating strongly binarized senses of included–excluded citizen-subjects over and against ‘others’, based particularly on raced and gendered sociopolitical categories.

### ***National Geographic* bodies and the selling of biometric security**

*National*<sup>(2)</sup> *Geographic*’s infamous image of ‘the Afghan girl’<sup>(3)</sup> adorned the magazine’s June 1985 cover during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and US support of resistance groups known as the mujahideen (Denker, 1985). This image launched the photographer’s<sup>(4)</sup> career and became one of *National Geographic*’s most famous cover photos. This image and the corresponding article’s tale of Afghan victimization under Soviet occupation operated as a crucial instrument of representation serving US interests in Afghanistan (Schwartz-DuPre, 2010). The depiction of ‘the Afghan girl’ frames a ‘clean and bloodless’ (Gallagher, 2012) Orientalized face to represent war in Afghanistan (Zeiger, 2008). Specific information about the girl remained absent from the corresponding article, because neither her name nor her permission to take or use her photograph were obtained by the photographer or the magazine. After the US-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, and because of subsequent ‘renewed interest’, *National Geographic* set its sights on finding its ‘Afghan girl’, and the April 2002 cover includes the text “Found: After 17 Years—an Afghan Refugee’s Story”. The cover image depicts a (presumably female) body, clad in an indigo burqa, holding the cover photograph of ‘the Afghan girl’ from the 1980s (Newman, 2002). *National Geographic*’s ‘rediscovery’ of ‘the Afghan girl’<sup>(5)</sup> exemplifies a particular gendered–aesthetic representation of war and suffering. As stated in the print and online versions of the 2002 cover story: “Her eyes have captivated the world since she appeared on our cover in 1985. Now we can tell her story.”

The 1980s childhood portrait represents a Western racialized aesthetic of the green-eyed ‘sympathetic other’—a beautifully feminine child refugee having fled conflict (Schwartz-DuPre, 2010). Her green eyes, dark skin, and youth locate her as both ‘other’ and recognizably tragic to *National Geographic*’s readership. In the 2002 article her eyes are the predominant feature that simultaneously represents ‘our’ distance from her and our connectedness to her. For example, the article states:

“Now, consider this photograph of a *young girl with sea green eyes. Her eyes challenge ours. Most of all, they disturb. We cannot turn away*” (Newman, 2002, emphasis mine<sup>(6)</sup>).

*National Geographic*’s ability to find Sharbat Gula and represent ‘her story’ provides an interesting twist on the global–intimate (Mountz and Hyndman, 2006; Pratt and Rosner, 2012). In this example, the intimacy of her face and eyes are used to ‘captivate’ the viewer and, it might be inferred, to represent war. Feminist scholarship emphasizes localized and intimate scale knowledge of sites and situations for understanding the complexities and complications of gender, race, class, and other sociopolitical categories represented by and experienced on the body. However, *National Geographic*’s rescaling of this intimate portrait does not challenge the viewer but rather serves as a manipulative technique to incorporate this representational framing within macroscale economic and political power hierarchies. As with other ‘framings’ of Afghan women, intimate or local representations of war, oppression,

<sup>(2)</sup>The United States represents the ‘National’ in *National Geographic*.

<sup>(3)</sup>For an overview of these images see: <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2002/04/afghan-girl/index-text>

<sup>(4)</sup>Steve McCurry.

<sup>(5)</sup>Also see the *National Geographic* website: <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2002/04/afghan-girl/index-text>

<sup>(6)</sup>This article is part of a special report section of the magazine and the pages are unnumbered.

and suffering are put to work for political purposes. Geopolitically, she represents US support for the mujahideen resistance in the 1980s and US-led military aid and development intervention in the 2002 version, the aesthetically recognizable intimacy of her body—her eyes—situated as objects of war.

In the 2002 article biometric technologies additionally situate her eyes as objects of identity. The 2002 issue dramatizes the ‘discovery’ of Gula as ‘*National Geographic’s* Afghan girl’ from among a vast number of people by way of ‘Western expertise’ and algorithmic technologies, as exemplified in the following quote:

“Iris patterns are even more individual than fingerprints. So the *Geographic* turned to the inventor of automatic iris recognition, John Daugman, a professor of computer science at England’s University of Cambridge. His biometric technique uses mathematical calculations, and the numbers Daugman got left no question in his mind that *the haunted eyes of the young Afghan refugee and the eyes of the adult Sharbat Gula belong to the same person*”<sup>(7)</sup> (Newman, 2002, emphasis mine).

This visual and textual representation accentuates the technological capacity of iris recognition biometrics to definitively identify Gula (out of a vast number of other women) as the owner of the eyes that ‘captivated the world’ in the 1980s. The magazine article also provides a hierarchical ordering of different experts to ‘prove’ her identity, which begins with Gula, who paradoxically remains the first and least credible authority on her own identity. The aesthetics of her eyes and the drama of her story construct her identity as an ‘undeniable’ fact.

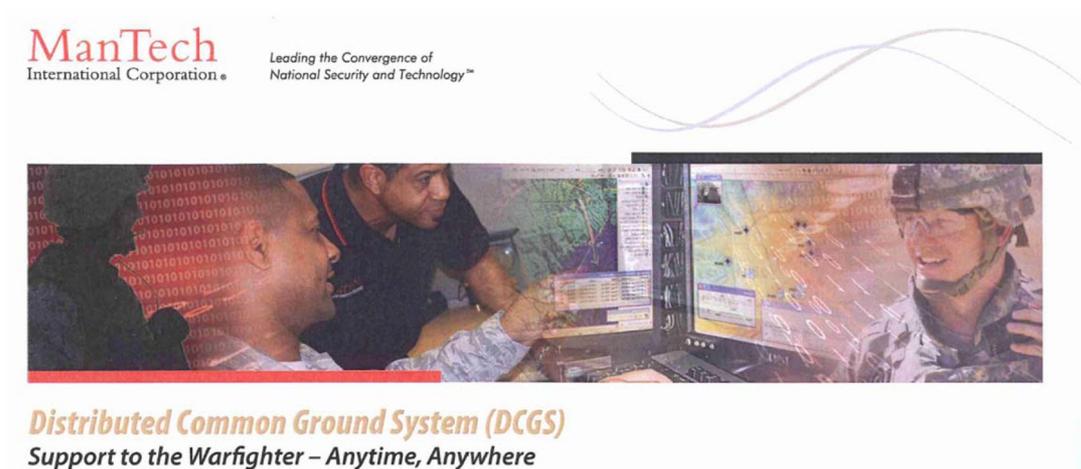
Much of the commercial-security discourse surrounding biometric technologies emphasizes impartiality in order to identify and distinguish the use of algorithms as free from human prejudices. As Magnet’s (2011) research finds, impartiality here remains a false promise, because racial stereotypes are still built into the design and functionality of biometric technologies. Several geographic studies of biometrics analyze the ways in which they operate as virtual bordering processes that reinforce sovereign territorial power through securitization (Muller, 2011); as violence by other means (Amore, 2009); and as preemptive forms of security (Martin, 2010). This scholarship offers important areas for critical security studies in geography. The following examination departs from the security regimes created by biometrics in order to consider the representational framing of race and gender as part of the sales and promotion of these technologies. Visual representations of biometric security as marketed by the corporations selling these products to the state, military, and law enforcement agencies permit an examination of how conventional gender and racial stereotypes function in order to frame the promise of these security technologies. The following visual examination of gender and race in biometric advertising stems from a visual analysis of forty brochures from twenty-one different biometrics companies (Rose, 2011).<sup>(8)</sup>

In these brochures white males were predominantly pictured as law enforcement and military personnel, particularly when US state authorities were the expected consumer. White men were also primarily identified with monitoring border crossings and other forms of mobility. Correspondingly, white women were pictured in images illustrating the ease of securing one’s access to a home or office or the uses of biometrics for secure airport mobility. The international cosmopolitan traveler was hence marked by the white feminine tropes of

<sup>(7)</sup> <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2002/04/afghan-girl/mccurry-photography#/4aeba107-6f77-4502-b9f2-5d6dd661c16e.jpg>

<sup>(8)</sup> These corporations exhibited their respective products at the 2012 Biometrics and Identity Management Summit, and included: Akela, Inc.; ManTech; JUSTNET; ANVIZ; Aoptix; Beijing Techshino Technology Co. Ltd; Biomorph; Bode Technologies; Carnegie Mellon University—Cylab Biometrics Center; CGI Biometrics and Identity Management; Cornerstone Identity; CrossMatch Technologies; DEV Technology Group; WCC Smart Search and Match; Fujitsu; Green-Bit Biometric Systems; Hitachi: Inspire the Next; Identity X: Uniquely You.

vulnerability and secured mobility. When men or women of color were shown in positions of authority or in active roles collecting, managing, or analyzing biometric data, a white man or woman always accompanied them. Conversely, when a diversity of races appeared, gender diversity was largely absent, as in the case of the company ManTech, which markets its biometric technologies specifically for military operations (see figure 1). When using color photographs or drawings, the vast majority of brochures selling iris recognition biometrics depicted eyes aesthetically highlighted with blue or green color. Individuals without blue or green eyes and exhibiting a diversity of skin color and gender representations were predominantly shown in relation to crowd-sorting technologies.



**Figure 1.** [In color online.] ManTech advertisement (image courtesy of ManTech International Corporation).

Cornerstone Identity's advertisement for multimodal biometrics provides a particularly poignant example of the combined use of gender and aesthetics to sell biometric technologies: an image of a masked/veiled woman (see figure 2). A dual face is represented: one half of the face illustrates a white woman with blonde hair and a bare neckline, her blue eye showing from beneath a highly decorated white and gold masquerade mask; the other side of the face shows a dark-skinned woman with her neckline and face covered by a black veil, except for her green eye. The white woman is linked to masquerade, while the dark-skinned woman is linked to the Muslim veil. This company thereby employs a particular feminine aesthetic of a dichotomized woman (black–white, masked–veiled, blue-eyed—green-eyed) to represent the company's ability to 'unmask and unveil' identity through multimodal biometrics. Although these brochures included different raced and gendered subjects, the modes of representation in conjunction with security arguably fall back on conventional or existing tropes of corporeal vulnerability, power, authority, and security.

The uses of biometric technologies represent Foucauldian disciplining structures of governmentality and autonomous actors of state governance. The militarized state, border security, and everyday business usage of biometrics exemplify Giddens's (1991) life politics of state security. In the case of the military and law enforcement, security is often measured by the capacity of the technology to find individuals within communal and complex groups or crowds, rendering the populated commons as a potential site of criminal or combatant escape (particularly in territories outside US borders but under its military 'control'). This capacity underscores individuation as a method for the state to 'ensure the security' of the collective by removing 'identified' individuals from public to private controlled spaces of state disciplinary structures (see Adey, 2009; Gregory, 2011; Hardt and Negri, 2009).

*Multi-Mode Biometric Device*  
*Iris, Fingerprint, Face and Voice Recognition*

*Fast Iris Image Acquisition*  
 Pre-Screen Image Quality  
 Auto Focus 3 cm to infinity, Fast Response <20 ms

*Rapid Fingerprint Recognition*  
 High Performance Optical Sensor

*Easy Face Recognition*  
 Rich Peripherals

*USB Host/OTG, WIFI, 3G/Wifi, HDMI, Touch LCD*

*Cornerstone Identity*  
 San Ramon, California 94582, USA.  
 (925) 587-5282. [www.cornerstonecorp.com](http://www.cornerstonecorp.com)

**Figure 2.** [In color online.] Cornerstone Identity Advertisement.

The civilian battlegrounds of contemporary US initiated war zones (Graham, 2009) duly reposition these technologies as a method for sorting out the ‘good guys’ from the ‘bad guys’—a simultaneously gendered and racialized claim. The discursive framing of biometric technologies offers a ‘promise’ of accuracy that aids in emphasizing the military’s legitimacy and ability to define, capture, detain, or kill insurgents (the ‘bad guys’) in pursuit of ‘securing’ citizens and civilian populations (the ‘good guys’) within the theater of war. However,

technological advancements that provide new tools for sorting, dividing, and predicting human behavior do little to solve the problems of hierarchical and unequal forms of power, as expressed both politically and economically. While biometrics technologically map bodies to determine one's identity and place within or outside a given society, postwar prosthetics illustrate corporeal vulnerability and the need to reclaim (able)bodiedness through physical mobility and ease-of-access to the built environment. The following section examines how a similar gendered aesthetic—an Afghan girl's face—becomes a gendered and racialized representation of US military and state security, respectively.

### Prosthetics biopower

Aesha's image on *TIME* magazine's August 2010 cover situates her seated body, turned toward the viewer, her head partially covered by a veil but most of her long black hair remaining visible (Baker, 2010, pages 20–22). Her face is positioned in a three-quarter pose to highlight her facial disfigurement, which was caused by her husband who cut off her nose and ears as punishment after she fled from her home in Afghanistan. The image of Aesha is accompanied by the text: "What Happens if We Leave Afghanistan?" in large print, followed in smaller print by: "Aesha, 18, had her nose and ears cut off last year on orders from the Taliban because she fled abusive in-laws." The involvement of the Taliban in this case, although plausible, remains inconclusive. The tag line is both haunting and ironic, as this act of violence happened while US and coalition forces had significant troops on the ground in Afghanistan. Aesha became known as *TIME*'s 'cover girl', in several follow-up articles and discussions about her plight in magazines, newspapers, and blogs. The photographer, Jodi Bieber, won the 2010 World Press Photo award.

Aesha's image operates as a simultaneous symbol of Taliban brutality, US military care, and corporeal aesthetics, as exemplified in the following *New York Times* article:

"Bibi<sup>(9)</sup> Aesha ... makes an apt symbol of the excesses of the Taliban, and of Pashtun tribal society in remote parts of Afghanistan more generally. Her face, aside from the disfigurement, *is as beautiful as that of the Afghan refugee girl whose cover photograph in National Geographic in 1985 became an iconic image of the country's plight*" (Nordland, 2010, emphasis mine).

The disfiguration and violence perpetrated against Aesha was a horrific form of domestic violence, but it was politically rescaled by *TIME* to represent the Taliban and 'tribal culture' more broadly. The story of Aesha also helps to emphasize the 'humanism' of armed forces because she was treated at a US military hospital in Afghanistan. Some Afghan women's groups will take women, severely injured by abusive family members, to military hospitals because these facilities offer much better emergency care than local hospitals or clinics,<sup>(10)</sup> while women's groups are able to trade on the existing geopolitical drive and desire to 'save' Afghan women (Fluri, 2011). Women in the US who are severely injured as the result of domestic abuse, including fatalities, generally do not become 'cover girl' stories, and US media outlets rarely, if ever, illustrate a story about a female US citizen who suffered abuse by her husband or boyfriend with an image of her beaten or mutilated body. The abuse of women by their husbands or families in countries outside the US therefore helps to reinforce domestic abuse as a crime that happens 'there' rather than 'here' (Butler, 2004, Narayan, 1997).<sup>(11)</sup>

<sup>(9)</sup>Bibi is an honorific title for grandmothers and therefore a misused addition to her name by this writer and other journalists.

<sup>(10)</sup>This information is based on interviews with Afghan women's organizations who operate shelters for abused and trafficked women (December 2012).

<sup>(11)</sup>For example, Holly Collins is the first US citizen who sought and was granted asylum in the Netherlands for herself and her children on the grounds of domestic abuse (Michael, 2011).

Aesha's reconstructive drama has been documented on two CNN blogs, 'Saving Aesha' and 'The Evolution of Aesha'<sup>(12)</sup> by journalist Jessica Ravitz (2012), with the 'evolution' blog detailing the ongoing stages and changes to Aesha's face through reconstructive surgery. The corporeal geopolitics at work in this story parallel how women's bodies act as emblems and at times measures of national triumph. In this case corporeal security is represented by way of military medical care, both in the theater of war and through biotechnologies available in the US homeland; that is, the reconstruction of her face as well as the use of a prosthetic nose prior to this surgery. Aesha's 'bare-facedness' or 'loss of face' is arguably an expression of "pure exhibition" (see Agamben, 2009, page 89). Her naked face concurrently represents a 'second skin' that transforms what her body is and does (Grosz, 2006, page 201). Thus, her face provides a space upon which the technologies of corporeal reconstruction map human aesthetics as exhibitions of US state security, territorialized by way of military care in Afghanistan and the life politics of Aesha inside the US homeland. State and nonstate representations of these technologies exemplify a dialectic ontology that identifies biometrics and prosthetics as paving a progressive and egalitarian path toward securing bodies through identity and care. Her surgical transformations also suggest her racial-gendered incorporation into US geopolitically driven grand narratives that position the Afghan female 'other' as the passive visualized recipient of US saving, protection, and ultimately security—through unveiling and facial reconstruction.

This use of the beautiful 'other' (Fluri, 2009) to illustrate technological advancement, and reclaim the facial aesthetics of the 'other' injured by violence is not new. After World War 2, the US orchestrated a highly publicized project to provide free reconstructive surgery to twenty-five women injured by the atomic bomb dropped on the city of Hiroshima. They became known as the Hiroshima Maidens, and were a showcase of US postwar 'humanitarianism' and technological superiority (Serlin, 2004). The post-World War 2 reconstruction of war-injured male bodies through the use of technologically innovative prosthetic devices also employed female (able) bodies in an effort to reclaim masculine heterosexuality and virility (Serlin, 2004). This maneuver included men painting 'pin-up' girls onto their prosthetic legs and also resulted in the popularity of war heroes such as Jimmy Wilson, a quadriplegic who became the 'poster boy' for post-World War 2 corporeal recovery. His embodiment of technological prosthetic advancement combined with his military service elevated him to celebrity status; for instance, he was photographed with Bess Myerson, Miss America 1945 (Serlin, 2004). Myerson's white skin, and that of the soldiers with whom she was pictured, is illustrative of the existing racial demarcations of space in the US during the Jim Crow era.<sup>(13)</sup> The Miss America pageant was restricted to white females, and the armed forces remained racially segregated. Myerson as the first Jewish Miss America illustrated the US triumph over Nazism and anti-Semitism, although Myerson herself experienced significant anti-Semitism in the US during her reign as Miss America (Dworkin, 1987).

To illustrate the operationalization of her white, feminine idealized, and nationalized beauty and the corresponding male virility of US soldiers, I focus on one of the many images of Wilson and Myerson. This image depicts Myerson, Wilson, and three other wounded veterans; she stands wearing her crown and one-piece bathing suit with the Miss America sash across her body and the signature cape draped behind her. The four white servicemen, fully dressed in military uniforms, flank her, two standing to her left and two sitting before her

<sup>(12)</sup> 'The Evolution of Aesha' is the title of the photograph series of her recent surgeries; the title of the corresponding article is 'For Aesha, healing comes in many forms', <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/12/16/us/aesha-surgery-healing>

<sup>(13)</sup> Jim Crow is the colloquial term for legalized racial segregation in the southern region of the United States which began in 1896 with the Supreme Court decision in the Plessy v Ferguson case and existed until segregation was outlawed beginning with the 1954 case Brown v Board of Education.

in wheelchairs. The standing veterans fix their gaze onto her, as do the two veterans sitting in front of her, their heads turned toward her. Myerson places her hand on the wheelchairs of each seated veteran and looks directly at the camera and viewer. Miss America's body furnishes an idealized feminine representation of the nation, and this image further accentuates male protection and savior tropes associated with soldiering. The men in this photograph claim and command their gaze by staring at her rather than looking at the camera, directing the viewer's gaze toward Myerson's body rather than their own. Thus, her bathing-suit-clad able body heterosexualizes the scene in order to guarantee that the soldiers have indeed reclaimed their masculinity and virility.<sup>(14)</sup>

The US military's Warrior Games provide a contemporary nationalist example of representing and reclaiming disabled and able soldiers' bodies. These games began in 2010 as a joint venture between the US Department of Defense (DOD) and the US Olympic committee. The games allow for paralympic competition for injured service men and women, who receive training and an opportunity to compete in physical activities as part of their rehabilitation (Gregoy, 2012, page A1). Participation in the games is limited to active duty soldiers with specific injuries.<sup>(15)</sup> The Warrior Games competition is open to both men and women, and some events do not separate into gender categories. Visual analyses of the DOD's several photo essays on the games (2010–13) illustrate a modicum of racially diverse bodies and female soldiers, while white men represent the majority of servicepersons depicted. This configuration of bodies also relies on conventional representations of competition between the armed forces as a method for reincorporating war-injured soldier bodies as national subjects. Additionally, innovations in prosthetic biotechnologies have allowed soldiers with significant limb amputations (such as the loss of an arm, leg, hand, or foot) to return to active duty in theaters of war, while adaptive sports and other rehabilitation procedures provide venues for testing the new innovations in prosthetic technologies. These prosthetic bodies hence operate as conduits for highlighting an aesthetic transformation from raced, gendered, and flesh-and-bone corporeality to a site for highlighting a state-sponsored advancement of high-tech prosthetic technologies. Multiple cross-codings are accordingly put into play, implying a politics of prosthetics, circulating around the differential visibilities and comportments of bodies, which continues to sustain conventional hierarchies of gender, race, and 'ability' (all also saturated by senses of what is valued and valuable in ensuring US state security, home and away).

Veteran amputees have been enrolled in the research/development of prosthetics and biomechanics, such as the BiOM ankle for below-the-knee amputations and the BiOM AK for above-the-knee amputees, both produced by the company iWalk (Department of Veterans Affairs, 2012). These bionic prosthetics provide relatively easy mobility for amputees, as they include computerized motors to simulate walking without the added effort necessary when using nonmechanical prosthetics. The costs for nonmechanical prosthetics range from \$200–\$500, while the BiOM prosthetics range from \$65 000–\$120 000 (Burke, 2012). These advances in prosthetic technologies also incorporate a particular aesthetic that highlights the technology together with the intersection of human and machine, rather than attempting to have the prosthetic simulate the look of human limbs. Hugh Herr,<sup>(16)</sup> a double below-the-knee

<sup>(14)</sup> To see a copy of this image see: <http://planetbarberella.blogspot.com/2012/03/tuesday-pictorial-our-bess-miss-america.html>.

<sup>(15)</sup> Disabilities include: amputations, spinal cord injuries, visual impairment, posttraumatic stress disorder, and traumatic brain injury; this category also includes cerebral palsy and stroke.

<sup>(16)</sup> Hugh Herr lost both of his legs after a climbing accident, and has dedicated his education and work life to the development of bionic leg prosthetics, which is detailed in Alison Osius's (1991) book *The Second Ascent*. He is also the feature of a *National Geographic* channel special (see Moss, 2011).

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amputee, lead scientist and inventor of this device, and founder of iWalk, states:

“We want the bionic limb to have a humanlike shape but we don’t want the bionic leg to look human. We want it to look like a *beautiful machine, to express machine beauty as opposed to human beauty*—and the reason is, we want the user to pull a black sock over their bionic limb and have their limb appear to be fully biological and then the very next evening, go to a fancy party where they pull that sock off and they expose the fact that part of their body is bionic” (National Public Radio, 2011, my emphasis).

The technological advances of prosthetics help individuals with amputations to walk as ‘normally’ as they would on flesh-and-bone limbs. Thus, the ability to effectively conceal the bionic limb with clothing, but then to reveal the technology (Moss, 2011), adds to the performative aspects of revealing the ability and ‘beauty’ of the bionic machine. As in the case of biometric technologies, the advancements made in prosthetic and orthotic biotechnologies have been sponsored by the militarized state (Andrews, 2012).

The biotechnologies available to these soldiers, in comparison with those available to injured civilians who remain within theaters of conflict, illustrate some of the many spatial, political, and economically driven inequalities that mitigate one’s access (or lack thereof) to these biotechnologies. Differentiated corporeal technologies further underscore the postconflict geographies of care available to agents of violence (ie, US soldiers) who are extracted from the battlefield or conflict zone to spaces of relative security and rehabilitation. Conversely, amputees living within theaters of war, such as Afghanistan, have a very different level of access to prosthetic devices. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) center in Kabul, Afghanistan produces prosthetic limbs on-site and provides them free of charge to amputees.<sup>(17)</sup> These prosthetic devices are made of recycled plastics and polypropylene and simulate the ‘look’ of human limbs. These prosthetic limbs do not include motors or metals and require regular replacement, as they deteriorate at a much faster rate than the prosthetics produced by iWalk.

Reconstructions of war-injured bodies exemplify intersectional sociopolitical ontologies, epistemologies, and taxonomies of bodies and spaces. Injured soldiers returning from battle-zones are reenrolled into the nation through uneven forms of care, which underscores the technological prowess of the US State as an example of the nation’s supposed social, economic, and technological ‘superiority.’ These ‘abstract machines’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988) also work to distract ‘us’ away from the devastation of military violence and toward the technological progress of corporeal reconstruction. As explained earlier, the representations of and advertisements for biometric securities rely on gendered and racial tropes to imagine and visualize security and insecurity, respectively. Both Aesha and Gula provide a gendered and racial representative space for nonstate actors to illustrate cyborg security by combining the US state’s ‘saving women’ trope while also displaying technological ‘superiority’. Correspondingly, the ‘superiority’ of the contemporary US prosthetics industry fosters care for soldiers within the ‘safety’ of the homeland and helps to reclaim everyday mobilities for soldiers predominantly injured in spaces outside the homeland. The Warrior Games allow for gender pluralism in both the participation and the performance of the games, but still transfer the representation of US security to the technological superiority of prosthetics. These examples illustrate material intersections between the violent technologies of injury and postviolent technologies of care, which provide important examples to push our current theoretical analyses of power hierarchies and geometries (Massey, 1994) of security, insecurity, conflict, and its aftermaths. The female engagement teams (FETs), discussed in

<sup>(17)</sup> Prosthetic devices generally need to be replaced once per year. Since the beginning of its activities in 1988, ICRC in Afghanistan has made 83 500 prosthetics and 131 356 orthoses. Of the amputee victims served by ICRC 82% are adult males, 76% are civilians, and 68% are registered mine victims (personal communication with the director of ICRC, Kabul, 26 December, 2012).

the next section, exemplify military strategy in manipulating the gendered division of space as a neocolonial weapon. Indeed, this program manipulates gender and military techniques of care to access hidden spaces and people in locations ‘of interest’.

### Female engagement teams

The cover of *Perspective: Humanitarian and International Affairs*<sup>(18)</sup> for January 2012 features a pencil drawing of a female soldier wearing a UN-peacekeeper helmet and sunglasses reflecting the image of several veiled women (one clutching a baby) standing close to each other, appearing as if they are waiting in line to receive aid provisions. The cover title reads: “Angels and warriors: female peacekeepers are being called on to protect women trapped in armed conflict.” The article provides an overview of all female units in the armed services from multiple perspectives, and it includes the US FETs working in Afghanistan as an “important part of ISAF’s efforts to interact with local women” (Alfsen, 2012, page 16). Female soldiers in this program are part of US-led strategic military operations for counterinsurgency (COIN) in Iraq and Afghanistan, demonstrating the US military’s ‘operationalization’ of gender in theaters of war. The premise of the FET program is that US servicewomen can access private locations more easily (than servicemen) and speak with ‘local women’ in Afghanistan and Iraq. Local women would otherwise not engage with men outside their family, and the use of FETs to access these women reinforces both actual and symbolic representations of localized patriarchy. It also positions Afghan and Iraqi women as a site of potentiality for international assistance and as ‘necessary’ for effective nation-building, as discussed in a recent RAND<sup>(19)</sup> corporation report (Benard et al, 2008; also see Azarbaijani-Moghaddam et al, 2008; Kandiyoti, 2007; Zulfacar, 2006). Accessing and influencing women as part of military operations arguably offers similar false promises to those expected in the social engineering of communities by way of international development programs (Duffield, 2001; 2007; Goodhand, 2006; Riley et al, 2008).

The US government’s representations of this project are worthy of note and critical examination. Women (both soldiers and civilians) are framed as categorically distinct based on the mere fact that they are all women, with all-female units perceived as ‘allowing’ the military to move the COIN line of operation from a public to a ‘gentle’ (rather than forced) infiltration into domestic spaces. In order to contextualize the state’s representation of FETs, I focus on a short propaganda video, available on the US White House website, combined with a content analysis of DOD reports about FETs and informal discussions with female soldiers.<sup>(20)</sup> In the White House video, interviews with FETs, in their formal-dress uniforms, and with Second Lady Jill Biden are interspersed with images of female soldiers in the field with full combat gear and weapons, along with various still snapshots of Afghan and Iraqi children and women ‘happily’ engaging with FETs. Despite the racial diversity of the armed forces and the FET program, all of the US servicewomen in this video are phenotypically white, suggesting a dichotomized racialized aesthetic representation of female military personnel on the one hand and Afghan and Iraqi women and children on the other. This video relies on already established tropes established by the US toward the saving and liberating of Afghan women. As one female soldier states: “This is everyday, you’re trying to build up, you, know, this country that’s war torn and women’s rights are not even acknowledged in the

<sup>(18)</sup> Published by the Norwegian Refugee Council.

<sup>(19)</sup> RAND is cited here as it is considered a key military think tank with significant influence and the ability to shape policy.

<sup>(20)</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2012/05/09/female-engagement-teams-changing-face-us-marines>

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case of even being seen.”<sup>(21)</sup> This short video dramatizes the military’s operationalization of narrow, categorical, and conservative gendered expectations of female soldiers for multiple humanitarian and military purposes associated with the COIN doctrine (The US Army/Marine Corps, 2007). The *actual* voices of Afghan or Iraqi women, as suggested by Jill Biden, ‘are being heard’ by the military, but remain *absent* from this video. The FETs represent the state and military, but also act as the assumed interlocutors for Afghan and Iraqi women. Jill Biden discursively identifies these female military personnel as “pioneers” and the servicewomen identify their biological sex as a “hidden talent”. The women-to-women connection identified in this video, as in much of military and state-department publicity surrounding the FET program, attempts to manipulate liberal Western feminist discourses which suggest a common connection among women across geographic spaces based on mutual experiences of patriarchy (Mohanty, 2004). As Captain Angela Nelson states: “You get a bunch of women in the same room no matter what country you’re from and you are going to talk about things.” This expected link between female service personnel and Afghan women assumes a common connection through an imperialist–feminist lens that erases intersectionality.

Intersectionality, a methodological approach in critical social science, underscores the importance of understanding how multiple categories (such as gender, race, ethnicity, language, class, and belief) intersect to form complex sociocultural and political identities (see Crenshaw, 1991). Gender roles in Afghanistan and Iraq are complex and intersected by other sociopolitical classifications. Some communities may be demarcated by gendered divisions of space, such as associating private domestic spaces with women and public spaces with men, but this does not necessarily mean that women are fully excluded from public spaces. Rather, women’s presence in local public spaces may be mitigated by other intersecting conditions such as dress, location, status, age, or whether they are accompanied. The White House video also conflates Afghanistan and Iraq on the basis of presumed cultural and religious similarities as defined by the military. By *displacing* these (and other) multiple facets of identity, the public representations of the FETs attempt to reduce the talents of female military personnel and the identities of Afghan or Iraqi women in order to focus on the assumed commonalities among them as women. This representation suggests that Afghan and Iraqi women are not accessible to foreign military personnel—simply because of ‘local cultural practice’—without considering the gender-based violence brought forth by the presence of foreign militaries. Male soldiers as a potential sexual threat to communities has a well-documented history, which remains a significant aspect of contemporary war zones (Kelly, 2000; Kent, 2007; Riley et al, 2008).

The public representation of the FET program also attempts to package US female military personnel as engaging in acts of humanitarian care through health, hygiene, education, and small-business operations. This portrayal situates Afghan and Iraqi women’s subject position as oppressed by local patriarchy, poverty, culture, and violence, and subsequently as in ‘need’ of foreign military ‘saving’ (Oliver, 2007); it emphasizes the discursive trope that US-led military intervention is necessary to ‘save’ local Muslim women (also see Abu-Lughod, 2002). It also attempts to frame female soldiers as participating in acts of military humanitarianism and technologies of care, rather than in acts of military combat, brutality, or torture as seen in the Abu Ghraib scandals (also see McKelvey, 2007; Moser and Clark, 2001). This representation of the FET program clearly relies on a limited taxonomy of gender that can be manipulated for geopolitical purposes. Sergeant Sheena Adams states that “Afghanistan is not the only place we can use it, there are other places where cultural

<sup>(21)</sup> Sergeant Jamie Isaacson, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2012/05/09/female-engagement-teams-changing-face-us-marines>

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sensitivity matters”<sup>(22)</sup> which ironically identifies gender as a social construction without acknowledging or incorporating the complex sociocultural and political intersectionalities of gendered identities.

The socialspatial and contextual layers that form gender roles and relations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the US are subsequently reduced to the biological foundations of gender. This biological reductionism assumes that women, by virtue of their sex, share common interests and epistemologies of security–insecurity, thereby ‘uniting’ around providing health care and building relationships. The US military packages the use of medical provisions as a form of assistance and a ‘good thing’ that they can do for ‘others’, and medical care<sup>(23)</sup> operates as a technique for enticing rural populations to engage with troops. FETs are placed on the front line of these initial (medical care) encounters as part of the ‘enticement’. The military believes that FETs help to lure male civilians to engage with troops because these women (even though they are armed) are not seen as providing the same level of threat as male soldiers. The gendering of military space for these operations position FETs on the front line of engagement with local populations, often without the visible presence of male troops, while they are still in radio contact with nearby all-male combat units. This gendered spatializing of FET operations illustrates, at a microscale, gendered security logics. Women soldiers providing medical care operate as manipulative tools for strategic infiltration, while being surrounded by armed male colleagues for their protection.

The operationalization of women for military purposes must be included as part of the growing analysis and critiques of military/militarized ‘humanitarianism’. Just as biometrics and prosthetics can operate as ‘abstract machines’ and geopolitical tools of the state, all-female military units retool biological sex into gendered assumptions about women. This affirmative gender essentialism may help to increase women’s combat roles in military units, but it risks ‘selling out’ gender equality by presenting gender as a geopolitical tool that both relies on and strengthens “conservative gender regimes” (Jennings, 2011, pages 1–2, 9).

The security technologies discussed in this paper rely on and reinforce conventional and conservative gendered and racial corporeal forms of security–insecurity, serving specific political and economic advantages associated with and outside the purview of the state. The public body also acts as a representative space from (or onto) which layers of social and political meaning are displaced (or placed). Encroachments into private or domestic spaces further reinforce civilian spaces as the battlegrounds for COIN operations. Reducing or essentializing the female sex as the basis for cross-border interactions erases the intersectionalities that challenge and disrupt the geopolitically driven epistemologies shaping the military ontologies about Afghan women, Iraqi women, and US servicewomen. Conflict-development geographies, sovereignty, and corporate mechanisms that promise human security all trade on conventional aspects of corporeality that attempt to view security through progressive and technological advancements, while still, as is stressed here, relying on conventional and conservative gender norms and racialized taxonomies.

## Conclusions

Biometrics, prosthetics, and gendered military biopower represent the incorporation of autonomous actors, life politics, and intimately global portraits to represent different aspects of US state—and perhaps other amalgamations of—(in)security. The use of aesthetics, as scripted and sculpted into gendered and racialized bodies, to exemplify spaces, sites, and situations remains a hallmark of geopolitically inspired representations and discourses.

<sup>(22)</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2012/05/09/female-engagement-teams-changing-face-us-marines>

<sup>(23)</sup> Both medical care and FETs operate only in places of strategic military interest.

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The state operates (or is expected to operate) as a protector of its citizens, but one's access to state security remains contingent upon the mitigated relationship between citizen-subjects and the state. This further situates the state as the arbiter of individual rights and corporeal protections—legitimizing its ability to either provide or deprive citizens, and selected 'others', of these rights and protections (see Arendt, 1969). The disparate examples discussed above illustrate gendered and racialized tropes for promoting US state security, highlighting hierarchical relationships of power that raise the question of which bodies are 'worth' securing, reconstructing, protecting, or providing with healthcare and other forms of care. Regrettably, the discourses and technologies in play in these examples operate as 'weapons of distraction' that can be used to 'secure' as well as to locate rights and sociopolitical complexities in narrow and limited taxonomies.

Power regimes that support such hierarchical 'us–them' binaries propagate the design and development of biopolitical (in)security. In each example explored here, binaries, boundaries, and bounded security are represented. New technologies suggest more plural representations of gender and race of both citizen-subjects and the 'other', along with the novel deployments of liberal rights discourses and egalitarianism, such as women's rights in Afghanistan, women's combat roles in the military, and racial diversity. These representations, despite apparent attempts to signify plurality of security and care, continually slip into conservative, conventional, and often prejudicial racial and gender stereotypes, ultimately to convince the majority-white citizen-subject of his or her own security (and of what potentially threatens that security). When representations focus on providing care or assistance to the racialized Afghan or Iraqi 'other', these bodies are predominantly gendered female in order to fit within the post-9/11 'saving women' trope. Women's bodies as military representatives, such as FETs, also become associated with stereotypically feminized techniques of care and the ability to make connections based on assumed commonalities as women. The voices of the Afghan and Iraqi women are inferred rather than included in these propaganda press releases, relying on the predominantly white FETs to represent them. Biometrics use a diverse visualization of racial bodies to sell crowd-sorting biometrics, while relying on gendered and racial tropes to signal vulnerability and security, respectively. When racially diverse bodies are shown in positions of authority (ie, the military and law enforcement), women are nonetheless largely, and revealingly, absent, such as in the ManTech advertisements. The security binary hence continues to rest within conservative and conventional representations of gendered and racialized 'security'. Some representations may discursively suggest greater pluralism by way of entraining a diverse array of actors and agencies operating within and outside the state security apparatus, but in practice they arguably all remain rooted in what might be regarded as colonial essentialisms about gender and race.

All of these examples also symbolize a spatial security transfer. In order to identify Gula as 'the Afghan girl', expertise was transferred to the FBI and ultimately to the power of biometric technology. Aesha, along with soldiers injured in theaters of war, was physically transferred from the conflict zone to the US, and subsequently experienced corporeal transformations by way of biotechnologies. These tales illustrate a spatial–corporeal transfer, whether through reconstructive surgery, prosthetic, or adaptive sports, that highlights assumed technological superiority as well as the supposed security of the US homeland. While Aesha represents the 'saving' trope, the soldiers' bodies within the Warrior Games highlight a corporeally nationalized triumph by way of sports competition and cutting-edge technologies. This process racializes the taxonomy of prosthetics from high-tech to low-tech: machine-like, state-of-the-art prosthetics (for soldiers in the US) in comparison with recycled plastic human-looking limbs (for civilians in Afghanistan). Prosthetics become racialized through a categorical lens that does not focus on corporeal color, but rather on the differentially

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valued look, feel, and ability of these biotechnologies to simulate human mobility. Other military techniques incorporate a specific gendering of care for strategic use in the battlefield. FETs offer temporally limited and spatially distinct engagements with Afghan and Iraqi communities, respectively. By way of military strategies of care, they spatially transfer the COIN line from public to domestic, and also from male to female, with the ultimate goal of attempting to ‘win hearts and minds’, a strategic COIN objective.

This situation exemplifies the geographies of violence and care that demarcate the Global War on Terror as potentially everywhere (see Gregory, 2011). Conversely, it highlights the spatial distance between the war ‘over there’ and the security of the homeland through the care provided to injured bodies within the US. The military techniques of care for Aesha within the theater of war are transferred to the US by way of her ongoing care within the US and the chronicling of her reconstructive surgeries by CNN. The soldier’s return home offers both distinct and similar spatial transfers from war zone to secured homeland as well as a transformation from brutal injuries to medical care and ‘superior’ prosthetics. The aesthetic of technologically advanced and bionic prosthetics links the transformation of security for both Aesha and injured soldiers to the secured US homeland through an aesthetically spatial transformation from sites or situations of violent insecurity.

Gregory (2011) defines the Global War on Terror as the ‘everywhere war’ because the battle space is not easily demarcated, one site bleeding into the other through the increased militarization of spaces by the US. This may indeed be true when considering the macroscale geopolitics of ‘big-S’ Security (Philo, 2012). However, when we examine corporeal geopolitics, the places inside and outside the nebulous battle space are more acutely illuminated. Gallagher’s “clean and bloodless war” (2012, page 71) is representative of Gregory’s ‘everywhere war’, while the flesh-and-bone, messy, bloody, disease-producing and long-term environmentally destructive (Loyd, 2009) ‘War’ is really still elsewhere. In order for ‘us’ (or the US) to care about Afghans, they must be incorporated into the discursive framing of the docile, feminine, and nonthreatening ‘other’ in need of care, saving, and protection. Gula’s eyes and Aesha’s corporeal transformation do not pose a threat to ‘us’ (or the US), but each works to reinforce the symbolic trope of burqa-clad oppression and the brutality of localized suffering in Afghanistan—while simultaneously being found, saved, protected, and cared for by US interventions. The homeland is reciprocally reinscribed as a site of security, care, and rehabilitation through these and other representations. The corporeality of both *elsewhere* and homeland, as in the representational identity politics discussed above, operates dialectically to frame militarism as security—which prevents the ‘big W’ of the Global War on Terror from reaching inside the borders of the homeland. Thus, the aesthetic, gendered, and racialized corporeality of geopolitical (in)security emphasizes the inextricable entanglement between the ‘everywhere war’ (Gregory 2011) and what might be configured as the *elsewhere* war. These case studies illustrate the disparate techniques for shaping US citizens’ imagination of ‘terror’ as potentially ‘everywhere’, while simultaneously situating the US military W/war ‘over there’ (‘elsewhere’) as part of securing the homeland. This move is coupled with the continual placement of military violence and hostile bodies *elsewhere*. US citizens may be regularly reminded of ‘terror’ and the state’s role in providing ‘security’, while they can choose whether or not to view the *elsewhere war* from a ‘safe’ distance within the homeland through magazines, blogs, videos, and other media.

The gendered and racialized representations of (in)security, as discussed in this paper, attempt to exhibit to the fearful public that the state security apparatus ultimately protects its citizens and designated ‘others’ through various techniques and technologies. They might be conceived as low-level, even quite mundane interventions —ones pervading the ‘small-s’ security mechanisms of discourse, technology, and intimate body parts or spaces.

These seemingly small spectacles and stories of US intervention and security systems portray the ‘good guys’ and the ‘bad guys’, ideal citizen-subjects and ‘others’, all traversed by diverse (but usually staid and reductive) representations of gender, race, and ‘otherness’. Such ‘small’ and at times intimate portraits carry significant geographical imaginaries of the Global War on Terror, embodied by on-the-ground or drones-in-the-air militaries operating *elsewhere*, rather than in the US homeland. Military boots, tanks, and munitions are not located in US suburban centers, and military drones do not execute targeted strikes in US towns and cities [although they do target and kill US citizens elsewhere; see Shaw and Akhter (2012)]. Military strikes within the US may be the military strategy of the future, but the contemporary violence of the ‘capital-W’ War On Terror is not actively waged within the US and therefore does not truly exist everywhere. The ‘everywhere war’—like Katz’s (2007) ‘banal terrorism’ and Klein’s (2007) research on the exploitative political economy of disasters (also see Klein and Smith, 2008)—illustrates a purposeful militarized illusion, inscribed through the representations addressed in the examples above, that securely shrouds the flesh-and-bone bloody bodies and the health and environmental devastation caused by US military violence elsewhere.

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