Introducing *settler colonial studies*

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settler colonial studies *aims to contribute to the consolidation of a new scholarly field. This process requires that colonial and settler colonial phenomena be analytically disentangled. They have generally been seen either as entirely separate, or as different manifestations of colonialism at large. Neither stance, however, allows a proper appraisal of settler colonialism in its specificity. In contrast, in this introduction to this new scholarly journal, I suggest that colonialism and settler colonialism should be understood in their dialectical relation. On the basis of this distinction, in the second part of this introduction I reflect on the need to develop dedicated interpretative tools capable of sustaining an approach to the decolonisation of settler colonial formations.*

Colonialism is primarily defined by exogenous domination.[1] It thus has two fundamental and necessary components: an original displacement and unequal relations. Colonisers move to a new setting *and* establish their ascendancy. This is why not all movements across space and not all types of domination are 'colonial'. Migrants, for example, move but remain subordinate; elites are in charge but do not necessarily come from elsewhere. Even the notion of 'internal colonialism' is underpinned by a necessarily hierarchical distinction between different locales within a single polity.[2] However, if I come and say: 'you, work for me', it's not the same as saying 'you, go away'. This is why colonialism is not settler colonialism: both colonisers and settler colonisers move across space, and both establish their ascendancy in specific locales. While significant, the similarities end there.

COLONIALISM IS NOT SETTLER COLONIALISM

Colonisers and settler colonisers want essentially different things.[3] True; in practice, the two stances are often intimately intertwined

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and there are elements of both demands in most statements uttered by both colonisers and settler colonisers. Moreover, this confusion is necessarily compounded by the fact that in any given colonial setting there often are different groups of colonisers demanding different things of the colonised while entertaining different definitions of what may constitute 'labour' (i.e., physical, spiritual, consumption, sexual, reproductive labour, and so on). Similarly, different settler colonisers may disagree on what indigenous people 'going away' should actually mean (i.e., being physically eliminated or displaced, having one's cultural practices erased, being 'absorbed', 'assimilated' or 'amalgamated' in the wider population, but the list could go on). In the end, what is being said in the context of a sometime contradictory cacophony is: 'you, work for me while we wait for you to disappear', and 'you, move on so that you can work for me'. Dreaming of establishing a Jewish community in Palestine, Theodor Herzl, for example, encapsulated the first type of mixed stance and wrote in his *Diaries* that Palestinian Arabs were to be 'worked across the frontier'. It is significant that he added that this had to be done 'surreptitiously'; he knew that it is not a fate one should wish on anybody.[4] The slave and indentured labour trades are examples of the second type of mixing between displacement and exploitation.[5]

Being routinely concomitant, however, does not make these fundamental directives any less distinct. This analytical distinction, and the dissimilarity between the relational systems they establish, remains crucial especially because distinct stances create different conditions of possibility for different patterns of relationships. On the one hand, the colonial 'encounter' is mirrored by what I have theorised as a settler colonial 'non-encounter', a circumstance fundamentally shaped by a recurring need to disavow the presence of indigenous 'others'.[6] On the other hand, in the case of colonial systems, a determination to exploit sustains a drive to sustain the *permanent* subordination of the colonised.[7] Albert Memmi's classic outline of the relationship between coloniser and colonised effectively encapsulated colonialism's unchanging nature: true, he noted, some colonised people are relatively more privileged than others, but the coloniser knows 'that the most favored colonized will *never* be anything but colonized people' and that 'certain rights will forever be refused them'.[8]

This permanence is not present under settler colonialism, which, on the contrary, is characterised by a persistent drive to ultimately supersede the conditions of its operation. The successful settler colonies 'tame' a variety of wildernesses, end up establishing independent nations, effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities, and productively manage ethnic diversity. By the end of this trajectory, they claim to be no longer settler colonial (they are putatively 'settled' and 'postcolonial' – except that unsettling anxieties remain, and references to a postcolonial condition appear hollow as soon as indigenous disadvantage is taken into account). Settler colonialism thus covers its tracks and operates towards its self-supersession (this is why, paradoxically, settler colonialism is most recognisable when it is most imperfect – say, 1950s Kenya or 1970s Zimbabwe – and least visible in the settler cities).[9] In other words, whereas colonialism *reinforces* the distinction between colony and metropole, settler colonialism *erases* it.[10] If, as Patrick Wolfe remarked in a frequently quoted passage, settler 'invasion is a structure' and not 'an event', it is also true that the structure persistently pursues a specific end point.[11] Colonialism *reproduces* itself, and the freedom and equality of the colonised is forever postponed; settler colonialism, by contrast, *extinguishes* itself. Settler colonialism justifies its operation on the basis of the expectation of its future demise. Colonialism and settler colonialism are not merely different, they are in some ways antithetical formations (again, this is not to say that these antithetical formations do not intertwine in practice: they remain compatible, and the settler colonial polities routinely operate colonially and settler colonially at once).[12]

Moreover, structurally different demands prompt structurally different reactions, however intertwined. Differently colonised groups develop distinct anticolonial responses. If the fundamental demand is for labour, opposition must aim to withhold it (or to sustain an agency that could allow withholding it). In this context, multiple resistential strategies and their combination are possible: direct anticolonial attack, sabotage, self-mutilation, insubordination, evasion, non-compliance, ostensible collaboration, mimicry, just to name a few. If the demand, by contrast, is to go away, it is indigenous persistence and survival that become crucial. Resistance and survival are thus the weapons of the colonised and the settler

colonised; it is resistance and survival that make certain that colonialism and settler colonialism are never ultimately triumphant. Of course, once more, emphasising analytical distinction does not imply a denial of their simultaneous operation; resistance and survival are also at all times inevitably mixed, and different people in different circumstances survive to resist and resist by surviving. Displacement is a further complicating factor in this context. Colonised people may decide to move on in order to deny labour (i.e., runaway slaves), and settler colonised people may decide to engage in ostensibly unequal labour relations in order to stay put, fulfil customary obligations, and survive as a distinct group (i.e., the Australian Aboriginal labourers participating in the northern cattle industry).[13] Even if these strategies are routinely concomitant, they are no less distinct. And even if they are ultimately compatible with, respectively, colonialism and settler colonialism (they challenge colonial and settler colonial orders, but do so from within these regime's constitutive structures), they should be seen as separate responses to different imperatives.

In turn, since a demand for labour and a demand to go away (and a determination to resist and to survive) define possible patterns of relations, colonised and settler colonised people are routinely perceived and represented according to structurally distinct paradigms: docility on the one hand and fragility on the other.[14] It is significant that the genealogy of 'indigenous' as a conceptual category during the twentieth century is inherently connected to a perception of vulnerability.[15] Fragility fundamentally defines the 'indigenous', both in its relation against the settler colonisers and against the emerging nationalist majorities of the postcolonial world.[16]

Finally, the analytical distinction between colonial and settler colonial phenomena is also important because while statements by colonisers can be confusing, statements by scholars of colonialism can be especially difficult to understand.[17] It should not be surprising: utilising the same language to describe something that wants itself ongoing and something that wants itself terminated is bound to result in some theoretical ambiguity (anyone who has been, for example, dumped in the language of love or loved in the language of breaking up can confirm it). This is why we need settler colonial

studies (and *settler colonial studies*); colonial, imperial and postcolonial studies have primarily focused on something else. They have looked at colonial and postcolonial phenomena in a compelling and most sophisticated way, but these scholarly literatures have ultimately failed to detect the settler colonial 'situation' in its specific operation.

DECOLONISATION IS NOT SETTLER DECOLONISATION

If colonialism is defined by exogenous domination, a genuine postcolonial and decolonised condition should require that at least one of these prerequisite conditions cease to exist. The exogenous coloniser should depart, or, alternatively, the equality between former coloniser and former colonised should replace a relationship of domination.

However, as colonialism is structurally unlike settler colonialism, the decolonisation of one circumstance should differ from the decolonisation of the other. We know how one works, at least in theory (the colonial state, for example, is turned into its postcolonial successor), but we do not yet exactly know how the other should appear.[18] Indigenous advocacy in settler colonial settings can simultaneously deploy an anti-colonial rhetoric expressing a demand for indigenous sovereign independence and self-determination and what could be construed in some ways as an 'ultra' colonial one, one that seeks a reconstituted partnership with the Crown and advocates a return to relatively more respectful 'middle ground' and 'treaty' traditions (a better colonial order is better but it is not a noncolonial one).[19] This range of stances can also be confusing, especially because arguing against colonialism is not the same thing as condemning *settler* colonialism. True, anticolonial rhetorics remain powerful and are linked to a compelling narrative structure – decolonisation *is* 'progress'.[20] The language of partnership is also politically correct and persuasive. Utilising both as weapons for change remains tempting, but these strategies have proven ultimately ineffective against settler colonial structures of domination.[21] As Patrick Wolfe has concluded, settler colonialism has remained 'impervious to regime change'.[22] A new language and

imagination are needed; we must become able to *represent* the decolonisation of settler colonial forms.

The very language of settler colonialism does not allow an adequate approach to a post-settler passage. 'Settler', for a start, underscores permanence, and 'settler' as a term is premised on a fundamental contradiction pitting the uncommitted colonist who will return home (or the greedy absent speculator and his agents) against the *bona fide*/actual/genuine settler who will stay. While this dyad inevitably obscures indigenous presences, yet alone the need to decolonise, 'pioneer' as a term performs a similar disappearing act: its etymology relates it to the soldiers that open the way for the army (it derives from *paonier*, an Old French term for 'foot soldier'). Thus, as it distinguishes between the newcomers who come first and the newcomers who come at a later stage, 'pioneer' also discursively erases the indigenous peoples who were there *ab origine*. Moreover, as 'settler' is characterised by permanence and 'indigenous' by fragility, these terms frame an inevitably lopsided relationship that preempts the possibility of a genuinely decolonised relationship. Besides, the prospect of reaching *a settlement* between contending settler and indigenous constituencies inevitably favours the settler element (striving for *an indigenment* may be another matter).

Even talking about 'decolonisation' may be misleading: all the settler polities have already asserted their unfettered self-governing capacity. The perception of a fully accomplished decolonisation is not a suitable platform to assert the need for decolonisation; the appeal against exogenous rule – a classic trait of the era and language of decolonisation – cannot work in the case of settler locales. To overcome this impasse, I propose to start from what the decolonisation of settler colonial forms is not: decolonisation as it is normally understood.[23] Independence ostensibly proclaims that the polity is no longer exogenously *ruled*, emancipation ostensibly proclaims that the person is no longer exogenously *owned* or otherwise impaired. But under settler colonial conditions the independent polity is the *settler* polity and sanctioning the equal rights of indigenous peoples has historically been used as a powerful weapon in the denial of indigenous entitlement and in the enactment of various forms of coercive assimilation. This decolonisation actually *enhances* the subjection of indigenous peoples under settler

colonialism. It is at best irrelevant and at worst detrimental to indigenous peoples in settler societies.

Moreover, there is a further structural reason why the two should be different. While colonialism envisages a never-ending relationship where the coloniser is forever subjecting the colonised, anticolonialism necessarily endeavours to produce a fundamental discontinuity. Decolonisation, in theory, ruptures the colonial cycle. In theory: in practice structural inequalities remain, and neo-colonial arrangements preserve/reintroduce a fundamental continuity whereby the colonised still labours for the coloniser even after the colonial relation has been formally discontinued. On the contrary and logically, whereas settler colonialism is designed to produce a fundamental discontinuity as its 'logic of elimination' runs its course until it actually *extinguishes* the settler colonial relation, the struggle against settler colonialism must aim to keep the settler-indigenous relationship ongoing.[24] A similar point is made by Benedict Kingsbury in his analysis of indigenous claims to self-determination: indigenous peoples routinely demand enduring relations, not their end.[25] In other words, if colonialism ends with the coloniser's departure (that is, as mentioned, not a merely formal departure that announces a neo-colonial system of exploitation), settler colonialism ends with an indigenous ultimate permanence. There must be distinct ways out of structurally dissimilar situations.

In thinking about decolonisation and the decolonisation of settler colonial forms as distinct propositions, I suggest we also distinguish between reverse and reciprocal circumstances. In the one case, we would hypothetically have the colonised talking back to the coloniser and saying: 'no, *you* work for me'. In the other one, we would have the settler colonised telling the settler: 'no, *you* go away'. That this type of reciprocity ultimately maintains the original drive of both the colonial and settler colonial situations should be emphasised: on the one hand, the prospect remains, as in the previous dispensation, for a relationship that is still premised on domination; on the other, the drive remains, as before, for extinguishing the relationship.[26] Thus, reciprocity is not decolonisation, a point Mahmood Mamdani also authoritatively made when he pessimistically concluded that 'in privileging the indigenous over the non-indigenous, we turned the colonial world upside down,

but we did not change it'.[27] There is justice in reciprocity, and yet, rather than a fundamental break with previous dispensations, reciprocity enables their logical fulfilment.

Decolonisation as it is normally understood supersedes the exogenous character of colonialism – the postcolonial polity is no longer ruled from the outside – but it is an illusion: the former colonised still works for the former coloniser in the context of neo-colonial arrangements. Correspondingly, in the case of the 'politics of recognition' in settler societies, it is the domination that is inherent in the colonial situation that is superseded. But this is also an illusion; an ostensible partnership does not alter the fundamental and original demand of settler colonialism, and indigenous alterities are still being subsumed/neutralised/extinguished.[28] In the case of decolonisation/neocolonialism, the original displacement was premised on the need to acquire labour, but the coloniser would consider leaving if labour could be extracted otherwise. Similarly, in the case of settler colonialism, domination was instituted as a means to facilitate indigenous disappearance, but the settler coloniser would consider equality, recognition, and reconciliation, provided that indigenous disappearance could be exacted otherwise. Not only at least one of the necessary prerequisites of colonialism as initially defined must finally come to an end; the original demands for labour and for indigenous disappearance must also cease.

In their specific ways, the settler polities have recently relented and shifted from active repression of indigeneity to its incorporation by recognition. And yet, as many have noted, this cannot be considered a genuinely decolonising move. Indigenous ultimate permanence goes way beyond a settler-controlled conciliatory rhetoric that does not discontinue settler colonial substantive attack against indigenous sovereign autonomy. Alas, as the politics of indigenous recognition and reconciliation institute a framework designed to *manage* and neutralise indigenous difference, the new dispensation primarily promotes the domestication of indigenous sovereignties for the benefit of the settler state.[29] Something else is needed.

Resistance and survival are the basis upon which genuine postcolonial and post settler colonial passages can be built, but resistance and survival must also become ultimately unnecessary.

There are, after all, two ways out of both: defeat and victory and death and life. Genuine postcolonial circumstances would ultimately extinguish any need for either resistance or survival: only when the original demand for labour in any form is finally dropped is there no longer a need to resist, and only when the original demand to disappear is at last abandoned can a post-settler condition supersede the need for indigenous survival. Correspondingly, colonised 'others' must cease being perceived as fundamentally docile and indigenous people must cease being and being understood as inherently vulnerable and endangered. Considering the direct discursive link joining fragility and 'indigeneity', indigenous peoples' exiting survival on the side of life will then contradict the most fundamental characteristic of what being 'indigenous' (in the eyes of the settler) is all about: they will not go away. If settler colonialism routinely forecloses a final 'settled' status, a postsettler move must emphasise open-endedness. Reconciliation should be a practice and not a process.

In order to focus on settler colonialism as a specific formation, *settler colonial studies* will publish original research emanating from a variety of disciplinary and area studies backgrounds. The feature articles that we have collected in this volume are consistent with this multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach. At the same time, we are aware that settler colonialism is as much a thing of the past as a thing of the present. For example, in the documentary section that concludes this volume, we present one historical document and two contemporary documents (and a commentary note). *settler colonial studies* will focus on both past and present settler colonialisms.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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NOTES

[1] See Ronald J. Horvath, 'A Definition of Colonialism', *Current Anthropology* 13, 1, 1972, pp. 45–57. This is an early definitory attempt. Since then an extensive literature has reflected on colonial and postcolonial phenomena. However, this literature did not particularly focus on definitional matters.
[2] See, for example, Robert J. Hind, 'The Internal Colonial Concept', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (1984), pp. 543–68.
[3] On settler colonialism, see Daiva K. Stasiulis and Nira Yuval–Davis (eds), *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (London: Sage, 1995); Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999); Lynette Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); David Pearson, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies: States of Unease* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen (eds), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Annie Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Carole Pateman, 'The Settler Contract', in Carole Pateman, Charles W. Mills, *Contract and Domination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), pp. 35-78; Alyosha Goldstein and Alex Lubin (eds), Settler Colonialism, special issue of *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, 4 (2008); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[4] Theodor Herzl quoted in Jamil Hilal, 'Imperialism and Settler-Colonialism in West Asia: Israel and the Arab Palestinian Struggle', *Utafiti: Journal of the Arts and Social Sciences* (1976), pp. 51-69. Quotations at p. 53.
[5] See, for example, Patrick Manning (ed.), *Slave Trades, 1500-1800: The Globalization of Forced Labour* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996). On many 'middle' passages as 'the structuring link between expropriation in one geographic setting and exploitation in another' see Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus, Marcus Rediker (eds), *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007). Quotation at p. 2.
[6] Lorenzo Veracini, 'On Settlerness', *borderlands e-journal* forthcoming (2011).
[7] See, for example, Abdul R. JanMohamed, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', *Critical Inquiry* 12, 1 (1985), pp. 59-87.
[8] Albert A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (London: Earthscan, 2003), p. 53 (emphasis added).
[9] See Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010). For a review of *Urbanizing Frontiers,* see Edward Cavanagh, 'Settler Colonialism's Spatial Cultures', in this issue.
[10] On this trajectory, see Michael Adas, 'From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History', *The American Historical Review* 106, 5 (2001), pp. 1692-720.
[11] Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, p. 163.
[12] For a more extended version of this argument, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*.

[13] See Ann McGrath, *Born in the Cattle: Aborigines in Cattle Country* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Dawn May, *Aboriginal Labour and the Cattle Industry: Queensland from White Settlement to the Present* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[14] For a reflection on these systems of perception and how they shaped colonial imaginaries since their very inception, see Nicolas Wey Gomez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).
[15] See Francesca Merlan, 'Indigeneity: Global and Local', *Current Anthropology* 50, 3 (2009), pp. 303-33.
[16] See Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).
[17] *Philosophy and Literature* notably awarded Homi Bhabha the 1998 'Bad Writing Competition' for this passage: 'If, for a while, the ruse of desire is calculable for the uses of discipline soon the repetition of guilt, justification, pseudo-scientific theories, superstition, spurious authorities and classifications can be seen as the desperate effort to "normalize" formally the disturbance of a discourse of splitting that violates the rational, enlightened claims of its enunciatory modality'. Thanks to Norman Dale for alerting me to this episode.
[18] I find Kevin Bruyneel's *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007) especially stimulating. It is probably the most developed attempt to articulate a theory of postsettler colonial arrangements.
[19] For a positive review of an eventually discontinued tradition of indigenous-nonindigenous diplomacy and associated more equitable relations in a colonial setting, see, for example, Tony Hall, *The Bowl with One Spoon* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).
[20] See Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
[21] On the failure to enact the decolonisation of settler colonial formations, see, for example, Pateman, 'The Settler Contract', p. 73; Lorenzo Veracini, 'Settler Colonialism and Decolonisation', *borderlands e-journal* 6, 2 (2007). Available online at: <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol6no2_2007/veracini_settler.htm>, viewed 28 January 2011.
[22] Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, 4 (2006), pp. 387-409. Quotation at p. 402
[23] See, for example, Dietmar Rothermund, *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization* (London: Routledge, 2006); Todd Shepard, 'Decolonization', in John Merriman and Jay Winters (eds), *Europe since 1914— Encyclopedia of the Age of War and Reconstruction* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006), pp. 790-803.
[24] On settler colonialism operating in accordance with a 'logic of elimination', see Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native'.
[25] Benedict Kingsbury, 'Reconciling Five Competing Conceptual Structures of Indigenous Peoples' Claims in International and Comparative Law', *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 34, (2002), pp. 189-250. See especially p. 224.
[26] I have elsewhere noted that settler departure crucially sustains a settler colonial rationale. See Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, p. 49.
[27] Mahmood Mamdani, 'Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43 (2001), pp. 651-664. Quotation at p. 658.
[28] On the 'politics of recognition', see Charles Taylor, 'The Politics of Recognition', in Amy Gutmann (ed.), *Re-examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 25–73.
[29] On liberal settler multiculturalisms and the reproduction of indigenous subjection, see, for example, Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism* (Durham, NC: Duke

University Press, 2002); Glen S. Coulthard, 'Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the "Politics of Recognition" in Canada', *Contemporary Political Theory* 6, (2007), pp. 437–460; Mark Rifkin, 'Indigenizing Agamben: Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the "Peculiar" Status of Native Peoples', *Cultural Critique* 73 (2009), pp. 88-124. For a more optimistic assessment of these developments, see A. Dirk Moses, 'Official Apologies, Reconciliation, and Settler Colonialism: Australian Indigenous Alterity and Political Agency', *Citizenship Studies* 15, 2 (2011), pp. 145-159.