

# Notes

## Introduction: The Settler Colonial Present

1. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, p. 163.
2. On the evolution of settler colonialism as an interpretative category during the last four decades, and on the consolidation of settler colonial studies as a distinct scholarly field, see Lorenzo Veracini, 'Constructing "Settler Colonialism"'
3. On the recent wave of formal apologies for settler colonial historical injustice, see, for example, Miranda Johnson, 'Reconciliation, Indigeneity, and Postcolonial Nationhood in Settler States'
4. See, for example, but this list does not aim to be comprehensive, Daiva Stasiulis, Nira Yuval-Davis (eds), *Unsettling Settler Societies*, Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, Lynette Russell, (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers*, Annie E. Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*, David Pearson, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies*, Caroline Elkins, Susan Pedersen (eds), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, Carole Pateman, 'The Settler Contract', Alyosha Goldstein, Alex Lubin (eds), 'Settler Colonialism', James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty*, Tracey Banivanua-Mar, Penelope Edmonds (eds), *Making Settler Colonial Space*, Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, and Fiona Bateman, Lionel Pilkington (eds), *Studies in Settler Colonialism*. See also *Settler Colonial Studies*, a scholarly journal dedicated to the study of settler colonial formations. This scholarship, however, has had important precursors. See, for examples, D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, Arghiri Emmanuel, 'White-Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism', Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*, and George M. Fredrickson, 'Colonialism and Racism'.
5. Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, p. 25.
6. Significantly, a focus on a negative definition is also often applied to fascism as a response to modernity. See, for example, Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*.
7. See James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*.
8. 'Co-ethnics' is the term Aziz Rana utilises in his analysis of isopolitical citizenship in nineteenth-century US ('isopolity', however, is my term). See Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom*, and Lorenzo Veracini, 'Isopolitics, Deep Colonizing, Settler Colonialism'.
9. See, for example, Alan Lawson, 'Postcolonial Theory and the Settler Subject'.
10. Lorenzo Veracini, 'Why Settler Australia Needs Refugees'.
11. Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*.

12. Referring to settler forms of rule, Mahmood Mamdani insightfully noted that to 'focus on exclusion, on what *is not*, is not quite to show what *is*'. Fair point, simply acknowledging that most are excluded cannot be enough. On the other hand, Mamdani's remark confirms that settler colonialism operates contextually by way of negative definition. See Mahmood Mamdani, 'Historicising Power and Responses to Power'; quotation at p. 864.
13. Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia*, pp. 255, 256.
14. Werner Sombart, 'American Capitalism's Economic Rewards', p. 464.
15. This is an extraordinarily consistent interpretative line that includes, among others, Alexis de Tocqueville (but also J. Hector St John de Crèvecoeur before him), Frederick Engels, Werner Sombart, H.G. Wells, Max Weber, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Hartz, Hannah Arendt (for her, the US revolution, unlike the French and the Soviet ones, was ultimately non-revolutionary), Seymour Martin Lipset, and Michael Walzer. See Mahmood Mamdani, 'Settler Colonialism'.
16. See Gabriel Piterberg, Lorenzo Veracini, 'Wakefield, Marx, and the World Turned Inside Out'.
17. Manu Vimalassery, 'Counter-sovereignty', p. 142. Vimalassery also notes that this is indeed 'a brittle foundation'. It has 'no basis in the participation or acceptance of Native peoples themselves' and proposes a variation on Carole Pateman's rendition of the 'settler contract'. But while Pateman argues that *terra nullius* is at the heart of the settler contract, Vimalassery contends that at least in the case of the US the settler contract reframes 'international treaty relations as real estate contracts'. Manu Vimalassery, 'Counter-sovereignty', pp. 145, 148, n. 21.
18. In an Australian context, a similar argument was recently proposed in Toula Nicolacopoulos, George Vassilacopoulos, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of the Occupier*.
19. This book's title refers to Canadian geographer Derek Gregory's *The Colonial Present*. I find Gregory's approach to the analysis of contemporary dispensations compelling. Yet again, as I will argue, if we are globally facing a colonial present, we are also facing a settler colonial one. This suggestion is not unprecedented. Glen Coulthard's *Red Skin White Masks* repeatedly refers to the 'settler-colonial present' (pp. 11, 15, 155), and so does Alyosha Goldstein in his introduction to *Formations of United States Colonialism* (p. 6).
20. This was the opening sentence of a seminal lecture. See Mahmood Mamdani, *When Does a Settler Become a Native?* p. 1.
21. For an analysis of the first statement, see my discussion below of the Bonita Lawrence–Enakshi Dua versus Nandita Sharma–Cynthia Wright exchange. For a critique of the latter, see Mahmood Mamdani, 'Settler Colonialism', pp. 1–5. That Mamdani should begin an analysis of the contemporary relevance of settler colonialism from a critique of Michael Walzer's understanding of US 'immigrant' exceptionalism is probably not a coincidence. Mamdani was presenting the 10th Edward Said Lecture. In that context, a critique of Walzer's disavowal of colonised subjectivities fits extraordinarily well with Said's teaching and indeed with one of Said's most powerful interventions. See Edward Said, 'Michael Walzer's Exodus and Revolution'.
22. Robert E. Goodin, *On Settling*.

23. Marx noted: 'Philosophers have hitherto only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it'. Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 620 (emphasis added).
24. The expression, a very felicitous one, is Mark Rifkin's. See his *Settler Common Sense*.
25. Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*.
26. See Tim Rowse, 'Indigenous Heterogeneity', *Australian Historical Studies*, Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, Jeff Corntassel, 'Unsettling Settler Colonialism', p. 26, and Alyosha Goldstein, 'Introduction', p. 9.
27. Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*.
28. Lisa Ford, 'Locating Indigenous Self-Determination in the Margins of Settler Sovereignty', p. 11.
29. See Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty*.
30. On the 'logic of elimination', see Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native'.
31. Noam Chomsky, quoted in Javier Sethness, 'Noam Chomsky: Ecology, Ethics, Anarchism'. Alex Young alerted me to the significance of this interview.
32. Alejandro Colás, *Empire*, p. 30.
33. Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Empire*.
34. Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, p. 372 (emphasis in original).
35. See David Cannadine, "'The Transformation of the World'", and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, 'Book Review'.
36. Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, p. 391.
37. The parable about the bicycle and the possibility of reconciliation, of course, is not mine. It circulated in many versions during South Africa's post-apartheid reconciliation debate. See, for example, Lyn S. Graybill, 'South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission'.
38. See Jeremy Waldron, 'Indigeneity?'
39. Gregory S. Alexander, 'The Complexities of Land Reparations'.

## 1 Settler Colonialism is not Colonialism

1. James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*.
2. Claudia Moreau, Claude Bhérer, Hélène Vézina, Michèle Jomphe, Damian Labuda, Laurent Excoffier, 'Deep Human Genealogies Reveal a Selective Advantage to Be on an Expanding Wave Front' (emphasis added).
3. See Sarah Fecht, 'Why Pioneers Breed Like Rabbits'.
4. Albert Galloway Keller, *Colonization*, p. 5.
5. Of Malthus, Alfred W. Crosby authoritatively notes: 'At the end of the [eighteenth] century, Thomas Malthus, seeking evidence of how fast humans might increase under optimal conditions, looked to the northern colonies of British North America, where two great checks, "misery and vice", did not seem to be operating'. Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, p. 296.
6. See Alison Bashford, 'Malthus and Colonial History'.
7. Tequila Sovereign (Joanne Barker), "'Settler" What?'
8. For an unsurpassed definition of colonialism as primarily characterised by exogenous domination, see Ronald J. Horvath, 'A Definition of Colonialism'.

9. For a remarkable example of how this could be done, see Ed Cohen, *A Body Worth Defending*.
10. See Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, p. 140.
11. Hobson focuses on what he terms 'the economic parasites of imperialism' and repeatedly likens the 'moneyed interest within the State' to a 'social parasitic process' that fastens its 'economic suckers into foreign bodies so as to drain them of their wealth'. John A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, pp. v, vi.
12. See, for example, Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, and Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel*. Studies combining epidemiology and colonialism, however, constitute a vast literature. See, for examples, Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History*, and Harvard University Library, Open Collections Program, 'Colonialism and International Medicine'.
13. See, for examples, Trevor Burnard, 'A Failed Settler Society', Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development', and Robert Peckham, 'Economies of Contagion'.
14. On the mutual co-constitution of coloniser and colonised, see, for example, Albert A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*.
15. This argument was initially proposed in Perry Anderson, 'Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism'.
16. On crypto-colonialism, see, Michael Herzfeld, 'The Absence Presence'.
17. For a comprehensive taxonomy of colonial forms, see, for example, Jurgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism*.
18. For a comparative approach, see, for example, Matthew Lange, James Mahoney, Matthias von Hau, 'Colonialism and Development', and Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*. Yet again, the comparative analysis of Spanish and British colonial systems is as old as Las Casas' construction of the 'Black Legend'.
19. Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, p. 305.
20. Donald Denoon, 'Understanding Settler Societies', p. 512. See also Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*.
21. Richard Pares, 'The Economic Factors in the History of the Empire'. On the global 'land rush', see John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World*.
22. See, for example, Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*.
23. The ultimate origin of anticolonial resistance has been the subject of loaded, intense and protracted scholarly debate, a topic that is beyond the scope of my analysis here. See, for example, Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion*.
24. See Hyman Kublin, 'The Evolution of Japanese Colonialism'.
25. John L. Comaroff, Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, and David Lambert, Alan Lester, 'Geographies of Colonial Philanthropy'.
26. John Stuart Mill, as quoted in Duncan Bell, 'Republican Imperialism', p. 172.
27. On the importance of Bentham's utilitarianism in the development of Mill's notion of colonial trusteeship, see Paul Moon 'The Influence of "Benthamite" Philosophies on British Colonial Policy on New Zealand in the Era of the Treaty of Waitangi'.
28. For exceptions, see Albert Galloway Keller, *Colonization*, p. 1, James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, pp. 177–8, and Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, pp. 2–3.
29. It is also significant that 'economic entomology' as a science and biological environmental control as a practice were born in a peculiarly settler

- colonial transnational exchange of ideas, seeds, plants, animals and other biotas at the end of the nineteenth century. It was exotics that were exchanging exotics from different countries. See Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, especially pp. 174–9.
30. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 221.
  31. Francis Bacon, as quoted in Sarah Irving, 'In a Pure Soil', p. 249.
  32. See Alison Bashford, 'Malthus and Colonial History', and David Williams, 'Adam Smith and Colonialism'.
  33. See D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*.
  34. See Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Territory*.
  35. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*.
  36. Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*.
  37. For an example of the inherent symbiosis between urban cores and rural hinterlands in colonisation processes, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*.
  38. Eric P. Kaufmann, 'Naturalizing the Nation', p. 690.
  39. James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*. Reflection on this issue has produced a massive comparative literature. For three exemplary moments in the evolution of this debate, see Louis Hartz (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies*, Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation*, R. Cole Harris, 'The Simplification of Europe Overseas', R. Cole Harris, Leonard Guelke, 'Land and Society in Early Canada and South Africa', and Gérard Bouchard, *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World*. Hartz argued that the isolated 'fragments' remain unchanged until they reconnect with an evolved core. Conversely, Lipset, Harris, Guelke and Bouchard argued that the fragments inevitably mutate.
  40. See Conevery Bolton Valencius, *The Health of the Country*.
  41. See Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*.
  42. James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*. These are: i) 'incremental colonization', ii) 'explosive colonization', and iii) 'recolonisation'.
  43. See Peter Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium*, especially pp. 43–72.
  44. Richard White, *The Middle Ground*. Even as he argued for recognising its importance, White explicitly noted the ultimate instability of the 'middle ground'.
  45. See Taiaiake Alfred, Jeff Corntassel, 'Being Indigenous', especially pp. 601–605.
  46. Mill consistently displayed a bodily imagination. In *On Liberty* (1869) he famously noted that '[o]ver himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign'. In Mill's conception, an autonomous individual is inherently autoimmune, free of all subjection, while colonised 'others' are defined by a lack of sovereign control over their bodies. He repeatedly recognised that settlers were individuals who *autonomously* decided to 'remove' to the colonies – for him, as good a definition of individual sovereignty as any. See Duncan Bell, 'John Stuart Mill on Colonies'.
  47. Duncan Bell, 'John Stuart Mill on Colonies', p. 36.
  48. Benjamin Kidd quoted in Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, pp. 186–7.
  49. See Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*.
  50. Edward A. Freeman, *Greater Greece and Greater Britain*.
  51. See Duncan Bell, 'John Stuart Mill on Colonies'.

52. Achille Mbembe, 'Necropolitics', and Scott Lauria Morgensen, 'The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism'.
53. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, pp. 1–2 (emphasis in original).
54. See Caroline Elkins, Susan Pedersen, 'Settler Colonialism'. Elkins and Pedersen focus almost exclusively on the twentieth century and do not include the settler projects that were established during the nineteenth century and Latin America in the purview of their work.
55. See Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*.
56. See Lorenzo Veracini, 'Emphatically Not a White Man's Colony'.
57. Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', p. 402.
58. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.
59. See Francesca Merlan, 'Indigeneity', and below, Chapter 3.
60. For an example of how these 'culture techniques' could be developed, see Ingrid Huygens, 'Developing a Decolonisation Practice for Settler-Colonisers'. This is in my opinion an excellent beginning, even if, as Huygens explains, this is a case study that benefits from decades of indigenous-led practice. Another 'prefigurative' proposal for a settler decolonising practice, an approach that focuses on the need to deconstruct the 'affective' dimension of settler colonial space-making as a way to turn 'Settler people against settler colonisation', is outlined in Adam J. Barker, '(Re-) Ordering the New World', and especially in 'Chapter 7: Conceptualising a Decolonising Settler World' (pp. 364–90; quotation at p. 388). For entry points to indigenous scholarship advocating decolonisation, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Craig Scott, 'Indigenous Self-Determination and Decolonization of the International Imagination', Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, and Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse*. On the decolonization of settler colonialism see also Glen Coulthard's 'five theses'. Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks*, pp. 165–79.
61. On this politics, see Charles Taylor, 'The Politics of Recognition'. For a critique of the ways in which this politics confirms rather than challenges settler domination, see, for example, Mark Rifkin, 'Indigenizing Agamben', and, most convincingly, Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*. In a previous paper, Coulthard noted that the politics of recognition 'promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonial power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend'. Glen Sean Coulthard, 'Subjects of Empire', p. 439. For a less rejectionist approach to indigenous recognition, see the essays collected in Amy E. Den Ouden, Jean O'Brien (eds), *Recognition, Sovereignty Struggles, and Indigenous rights in the United States*.

## 2 Settlers are not Migrants

1. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, p. 2.
2. Anthony D. Smith, 'State-Making and Nation-Building', p. 241. A similar typology of national formation was put forward by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*. Anderson theorised the 'creole' state. See Benedict Anderson, 'Creole Pioneers'.

3. Alison Bashford, 'Immigration Restriction', p. 34.
4. Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*.
5. For recent analyses of these contradictions in the context of British colonial and imperial history, see Marjory Harper, Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates*, Kent Fedorowich, Andrew S. Thompson (eds), *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, and Gary B. Magee, Andrew S. Thompson (eds), *Empire and Globalisation*. These works can be seen as the most recent responses to Pocock's original call for a 'new British history', a history that was to be 'imperial' because it was moving away from various settler national focuses. See J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History'.
6. For a recent instance of this tendency, see, for example, Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*.
7. Marjory Harper, Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire*. See also Stephen Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880'.
8. Stephen Castles, Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*. See also Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History*, and Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*. This is, of course, a massive literature, and these works are referred to here primarily as entry points to current scholarly trends.
9. In *Atlas mondial des migrations*, for example, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden pays special attention to 'new' migratory phenomena and to the recent globalisation of migration trends. She does refer to 'traditional immigration countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia', but does not distinguish between settlers and migrants.
10. Paul A. Kramer, 'Power and Connection', p. 1382.
11. This is a point forcefully made, for example, by Joanna Brooks, in *Why We Left*. On the historiography of forced migrations, see for example, Patrick Manning (ed.), *Slave Trades, 1500–1800*, Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus, Marcus Rediker (eds), *Many Middle Passages*, and David Eltis (ed.), *Coerced and Free Migration*.
12. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, p. i.
13. Perry Anderson, 'Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism', p. 101.
14. Malcolm Bull, 'Hate is the New Love'.
15. I use 'him' and 'himself', rather than the more politically correct 'her' and 'herself', advisedly: as it is primarily about reproducing one body social in place of another, settler colonial orders are especially about establishing strictly patrolled gendered orders. Settlers are crucially concerned with limiting the reproduction of indigenous men, controlling the reproduction of indigenous women, and stealing indigenous children. The standard comparative text on this topic is Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*.
16. See Ronald J. Horvath, 'A Definition of Colonialism'.
17. See Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, and Mahmood Mamdani, 'Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities'.
18. See, for example, but it is a remarkable one, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*.
19. This is John C. Weaver's metaphor: 'frontiers congealed into settler societies', he noted. See John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush*, p. 69, and Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, p. 370.

20. See Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation*, David Pearson, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies*, and Anthony Moran, 'As Australia Decolonizes'.
21. See Ghassan Hage, *White Nation*, and Ann Curthoys, 'An Uneasy Conversation'.
22. While some indigenous spokespersons have expressed a cross-cultural solidarity response, others have noted that attending humanely to asylum seekers can detract resources from addressing ongoing Aboriginal disadvantage. Some Aboriginal communities have been especially involved in attempts to enlist local people in military units dedicated to 'defending' Australia's northern frontier. See Emma Cox, 'Welcome to Country?'
23. See Augie Fleras, Jean Leonard Elliott, *The 'Nations Within'*, and, more recently, Anthony J. Hall, *The American Empire and the Fourth World*.
24. See Arghiri Emmanuel, 'White-Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism', and Daiva Stasiulis, Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Introduction'.
25. For a critique of exceptionalist discourse in the historiography of US 'empire' (an outline that does refer to settler colonialism as a potential paradigm), see Paul A. Kramer, 'Power and Connection'.
26. See, for example, H.O. Pappé, 'Wakefield and Marx'.
27. Duncan Bell, 'John Stuart Mill on Colonies', and Tadhg Foley, 'An Unknown and Feeble Body'.
28. See, for example, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*.
29. Ronald Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism'.
30. See, for examples, Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, and Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*.
31. See George Manuel, *The Fourth World*, Alan Lawson, 'A Cultural Paradigm for the Second World', and Stephen Slemon, 'Unsettling the Empire'.
32. For a recent exchange on this topic, an exchange that is significant for the way in which the local and the global are positioned in a way that forecloses an understanding of specifically settler colonial relations, see Bruce Robbins, 'Subaltern Speak', and Vivek Chibber, 'Subaltern Mythologies'. Robbins was reviewing Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. For Robbins' final reply, see Bruce Robbins, 'Response to Vivek Chibber'.
33. Mahmood Mamdani, 'When Does a Settler Become a Native?'
34. For an interesting distinction between 'settlers' and 'immigrants', see Neophytos Loizides, 'Contested Migration and Settler Politics in Cyprus'. Loizides' initial assumption is that immigrants, unlike settlers, do not promote or participate in civil and territorial conflicts. Comparable cases he mentions beyond divided Cyprus are Tibet and Western Sahara. Based on this assumption, and on the appraisal of their measurable disadvantage, he recommends that Turkish settlers in Cyprus be reconceptualised as 'immigrants'. This reconceptualisation could promote 'peace building' and enable their acceptance in a reunited Cyprus. His proposal is to recategorise 'settlers' as 'migrants': the latter, unlike the former, could be acceptable on humanitarian grounds. Whether this could be done, and the ethical implications of this move is beside the point, what matters is that these remain fluid categorisations.
35. Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom*.



36. On contemporary migratory flows as inherently subversive of established sovereign orders, see, for example, Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Empire*, and Sandro Mezzadra, Brett Neilson, *Border as Method*.
37. Abdelmalek Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant*.
38. James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*.
39. This distinction is especially explicit in the case of Russian turn of the century and pre-revolutionary debates over Siberia. In this case, two very different terminologies were used to identify radically different types of population movements. See Alberto Masoero, 'Territorial Colonization in Late Imperial Russia'. On imperial resettlements and their comparative analysis, see William H. McNeill's classic *Europe's Steppe Frontier*.
40. See, for example, Mark I. Choate, 'From Territorial to Ethnographic Colonies and Back Again'. Choate deals with the Italian network of expatriate colonies in the western hemisphere: Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, New York, etc., but Scandinavian, German, Irish and Swiss communities expressed a similar type of 'colonialism'. The Scots also experienced forms of ethnographic imperialism, even if Scotland's mediated inclusion within 'British' sets this case apart.
41. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground*.
42. See Ann Curthoys, 'Whose Home?'
43. Bonita Lawrence, Enakshi Dua, 'Decolonizing Antiracism', and Nandita Sharma, Cynthia Wright, 'Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States'. On the 'settlers of colour', see also Zainab Amadahy, Bonita Lawrence, 'Indigenous Peoples and Black people in Canada'.
44. See Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*.
45. Bonita Lawrence, Enakshi Dua, 'Decolonizing Antiracism', pp. 120, 123.
46. Joanne Barker also recommended that we avoid conflating antiracism and Indigenous struggles. See Joanne Barker, *Native Acts*, especially pp. 3–7. Recognising a specific distinction, Denise Ferreira Da Silva also talks about the ways in which her theorisation of race relates specifically to expansionary processes in US history and to current Indian struggles for sovereignty. See Denise Ferreira Da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*, pp. 205–7. Alex Young alerted me to these two sources.
47. Bonita Lawrence, Enakshi Dua, 'Decolonizing Antiracism', pp. 127–8.
48. This is, by the way, one of the several 'moves to innocence' identified by Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang in 'Decolonization is not a Metaphor'.
49. Bonita Lawrence, Enakshi Dua, 'Decolonizing Antiracism', pp. 120, 143.
50. Candace Fujikane, 'Introduction', p. 12.
51. Candace Fujikane, 'Introduction', p. 11.
52. Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, p. xx.
53. See Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, pp. xxx, xv–xl, and Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, Jeff Corntassel, 'Unsettling Settler Colonialism', p. 6.
54. Nandita Sharma, Cynthia Wright, 'Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States', p. 121.
55. Nandita Sharma, Cynthia Wright, 'Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States', p. 126.
56. Nandita Sharma, Cynthia Wright, 'Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States', pp. 133, 126.

57. For an alternative attempt to do so, see Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us*, especially pp. 20–2. Morgensen also notes that ‘non-Native’ and ‘settler’ should not be considered as synonymous terms.
58. See Sandro Mezzadra, Brett Neilson, *Border as Method*.

### 3 Settler Colonialism is not Somewhere Else

1. Robert E. Goodin, *On Settling*, p. 1.
2. Robert E. Goodin, *On Settling*, pp. 30, 31 (emphasis in original).
3. Robert E. Goodin, *On Settling*, p. 3 (emphasis in original).
4. Robert E. Goodin, *On Settling*, p. 3.
5. For recent contributions to this debate, see Erik Alternbernd, Alex Trimble Young, ‘Introduction’, and Patrick Wolfe, ‘Recuperating Binarism’.
6. Mamdani notes: ‘One is struck by how Tocquevillian thought, whether left or right in orientation, was stamped with a Eurocentric focus. With its sights set on an absence, that of a feudal past [and therefore of revolution], this body of thought was unable to focus on what was overwhelmingly present – the key social and political encounter in the making of America. That encounter was the conquest of America. It made for the native question in the United States’. Mahmood Mamdani, ‘Settler Colonialism’, p. 5 (emphasis added).
7. See Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*.
8. See Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*.
9. See Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*.
10. Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhmoon, Jeff Corntassel, ‘Unsettling Settler Colonialism’, p. 22.
11. On the spatial positioning of settler colonial phenomena, see, for example, Adam J. Barker, ‘Locating Settler Colonialism’.
12. On the ways an indigenous perspective can contribute to reframing the notion of a ‘global South’, see Jodi A. Byrd, ‘A Return to the South’.
13. For the first strand, see, for example, Samir Amin, *Capitalism in the Age of Globalization*, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis*; for the second, see Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Empire*, and Parag Khanna, *The Second World*.
14. See, for example, Michael Adas, ‘From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon’.
15. See, for examples, Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, ‘The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development’, and Matthew Lange, James Mahoney, Matthias von Hau, ‘Colonialism and Development’. Of course, an emphasis on economic development could only be sustained if the condition of indigenous peoples in the settler locales was disavowed. Indigenous peoples did not collectively benefit from settler development. The authors referred to above, however, seem more than happy to disregard their experience.
16. Penny Edwards, ‘On Home Ground’, paragraph 1.
17. See Ben Silverstein, *Governing Natives*.
18. Michael Adas, ‘From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon’.
19. Alyosha Goldstein perceptively points out that one crucial way in which all US colonialisms could and can be obscured is by pointing to recurring

- proclamations of impermanence. In the case of the 'territories' acquired in processes of continental expansion, because they would become in due course states and cease to be colonies ('territories' were colonies until then, as many observed, including James Monroe, who wrote that a 'territory' would 'in effect' be under 'a colonial government similar to that which prevail'd in these States previous to the revolution'); in the case of 'unincorporated territories' or military occupations because they were ostensibly to cease as soon as 'practicable'. In both cases this was a colonialism that aimed at its own supersession. See Alyosha Goldstein, 'Introduction' (quotation at p. 17).
20. In Mamdani's case this was in line with a research agenda he had been developing since the 1990s. See Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, Mahmood Mamdani, 'Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities', Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*, and Mahmood Mamdani, *Saviours and Survivors*. For Gott's intervention, see Richard Gott, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society'.
  21. And yet, and somewhat ironically, but also proving how normalised settler realities had become in the settler societies, the 'colon' or 'settler' state as an interpretative category had originally been developed to interpret African realities in the 1970s! See Kenneth Good, 'Settler Colonialism'.
  22. And even this comparison remained problematic. See Barrie Dyster, 'Argentine and Australian Development Compared', and Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*.
  23. See, for example, Felix Mukwiza Ndahinda, *Indigeness in Africa*.
  24. See Ozlem Ulgen, 'Developing the Doctrine of Aboriginal Title in South Africa', and Edward Cavanagh, 'Land Rights that Come With Cut-Off Dates'.
  25. For an earlier analysis of frontier processes in the whole of Latin America, see Alistair Hennessy, *The Frontier in Latin American History*.
  26. Richard Gott, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society', p. 286.
  27. Richard Gott, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society', p. 287.
  28. Charles Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, pp. 110–11, and Jocelyn E. Getgen, 'Untold Truths'.
  29. See Uradyn E. Bulag 'From Yeke-juu League to Ordos Municipality', Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming 'Japanese'*, Hiroko Matsuda, 'Becoming Japanese in the Colony', John C. de Boer, 'Circumventing the Evils of Colonialism', Shu-Mei Shih, 'The Concept of the Sinophone', Robert Bickers, 'Shanghaianders', and Penny Edwards, 'On Home Ground'.
  30. Edward Watts, *An American Colony*, Candace Fujikane, Jonathan Y. Okamura (eds), *Asian Settler Colonialism*, Gabriel Piterberg, *The Returns of Zionism*, Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, and Audra Simpson, 'Settlement's Secret'. The settler colonial studies blog has been following the development of this growing subfield since late 2009 in more than one thousand posts. Most posts were alerting scholars to new publications relevant to this line of inquiry. See Edward Cavanagh, 'settler colonial studies blog'.
  31. This is at the same time a commonplace and an important point to make. James Clifford recently explored the ultra-modernity and current global relevance of 'indigeneity' as a term. See James Clifford, *Returns*, p. 6.
  32. Francesca Merlan, 'Indigeneity'. On this evolution, see also Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism*, and Peter H. Russell, *Recognizing Aboriginal Title*.

- 'Indigeneity', of course, remains a contested category. For a definition of 'indigeneness' as 'oppositional, place-based existence', see Taiaiake Alfred, Jeff Corntassel, 'Being Indigenous', especially p. 597. On global indigenous struggles, see, for example, Makere Stewart-Harawira, *The New Imperial Order*, and Jerry Mander, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (eds), *Paradigm Wars*.
33. On the Declaration and its reception, see also Stephen Allen, Alexandra Xanthaki (eds), *Reflections on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.
  34. Francesca Merlan, 'Indigeneity', p. 303.
  35. See Sasha Williams, Ian Law, 'Legitimising Racism'. They note: 'The disintegration of the British National Party (BNP) has removed the threat of the party securing a place in the political mainstream in the UK. But, in coming close to this objective it has succeeded in renewing and legitimising both its own claims to speak on behalf of the indigenous people of Britain, as well as the similar claims of other groups such as the English Defence League (EDL), the English Democrats and the Freedom Party' (emphasis added). Pierre André Taguieff also emphasised the indigenisation of 'Europe'. He also noted the 'new' right's xenophobic cultural differentialism. See Pierre André Taguieff (ed.), *Face au racism*.
  36. Mouvement des indigènes de la république, 'Nous sommes les indigènes de la république' (emphasis added, my translation).
  37. See Robine Jérémy, 'Les 'indigènes de la République'. 'Continuum' here is a crucial notion: a continuum by definition denies chronological and spatial discontinuity: chronological discontinuity between a colonial past and an allegedly postcolonial present, and spatial discontinuity between a colony elsewhere and a metropole right there.
  38. Robine Jérémy, 'Les 'indigènes de la République', p. 143.
  39. Robert Castel, *La discrimination négative*.
  40. Stéphane Hessel, *Indignez-vous!*
  41. Indigène Editions, 'Indignez-vous! Par Stéphane Hessel' (emphasis added, my translation). Hessel's essay was translated in English as *Time for Outrage!*
  42. On the contemporary politics of 'indigeneity' in the Third World, see, for example, Felix Mukwiza Ndahinda (ed.), 'Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights'.
  43. Stefan Andreasson, 'Confronting the Settler Legacy'.
  44. See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, especially pp. 119–65.
  45. See Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*, and Ivan Sablin, Maria Savelyeva, 'Mapping Indigenous Siberia', especially p. 90.
  46. It is significant that indigenous Tatars have been leaving Crimea after Russia's recent annexation, and that Russian authorities and indeed Russian public discourse refer to eastern Ukraine as 'New Russia'.
  47. On settler indigenisations, see, for example, Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation*, David Pearson, 'Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies', Anthony Moran, 'As Australia Decolonizes', Gérard Bouchard, *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World*, and Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, especially pp. 20–4. On indigenisation in the settler politics, see also Elina Hill, 'A Critique of the Call to "Always Indigenize!"'. In this rejoinder to Len Findlay's 'Always Indigenize', a widely circulated call to promote

indigenous voices in academic institutions, Hill draws attention to the risks of appropriating indigeneity to further essentially settler colonial purposes. Hill juxtaposes Findlay's use of 'indigenisation', let's call it the postcolonial interpretation of the concept, and Canada's ongoing settler colonial practices to highlight the gap between postcolonial rhetoric and settler colonial realities.

48. Scott Morgensen, 'The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism', p. 53.
49. See, for example, Stefano Liberti, *Land Grabbing*.
50. Oakland Institute, 'Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa'.
51. Stefano Liberti, *Land Grabbing*, pp. 26, 53, 114.
52. Charles Geisler, 'New *Terra Nullius* Narratives and the Gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands"', p. 16.
53. Charles Geisler, 'New *Terra Nullius* Narratives and the Gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands"', p. 19.
54. Charles Geisler, 'New *Terra Nullius* Narratives and the Gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands"', pp. 20–1.
55. Charles Geisler, 'New *Terra Nullius* Narratives and the Gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands"', p. 21.
56. Quoted in Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*, p. 19.
57. John Winthrop, 'What Warrant Have We to Take That Land?' (emphasis added).
58. Charles Geisler, 'New *Terra Nullius* Narratives and the Gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands"', p. 19.
59. Climate change legislation and settler colonialism are indeed related. In an insightful paper entitled 'On the Climate Rent', Romain Felli talks about 'the constitution of public entitlements to emit greenhouse gases', which he defines as 'a form of public property over a necessary condition of production', and notes their unequal distribution, a distribution 'predicated on inter-imperialist competition [...] whereby more powerful states can claim a greater access to the entitlements thus constituted' (p. 4). Internationally sanctioned permission to pollute is generally seen as a commodity but it isn't, Felli argues. For him, the 'commodification' of the atmosphere by means of carbon markets or other 'ecosystem services' requires deeper examination because 'what these markets create are not commodities' (p. 3). Crucially, Felli explains, this is a type of rent extraction, a type of rent that operates in ways that are very similar to the ways in which rent is traditionally extracted from property in land. But only in settler colonial conditions is land 'produced' *ex novo* as 'a form of public property over a necessary condition of production' through the dispossession of indigenous peoples and their erasure. This observation is crucial to an analysis of the settler colonial present, even if Felli does not address this issue. These developments confirm a settler colonial mode of appropriation. It was the appropriated land of indigenous peoples that produced settler rent as the very possibility of indigenous social reproduction became foreclosed; it is the unequally appropriated rights to pollute that produce rent out of the repression of the social reproduction of everybody.
60. See Tom Griffiths, 'Seeing "REDD"', and Thomas Sikor, Johannes Stahl, Thomas Enters, Jesse C. Ribot, Neera Singh, William D. Sunderlin, Lini

- Wollenberg, 'REDD-plus, Forest People's Rights and Nested Climate Governance'.
61. Yogi Hale Hendlin, 'From *Terra Nullius* to *Terra Communis*', p. 1. Hendlin refers to David Harvey's intuition that private investment in conservation efforts reproduces and mirrors in important ways colonial acts of dispossession. See David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*.
  62. Yogi Hale Hendlin, 'From *Terra Nullius* to *Terra Communis*', p. 3.
  63. Kathryn Milun, *The Political Uncommons*, p. 26, quoted in Yogi Hale Hendlin, 'From *Terra Nullius* to *Terra Communis*', p. 19.
  64. See Clint Carroll, 'Native Enclosures'.
  65. See Allan Greer, 'Commons and Enclosure in the Colonization of North America'. However, the interaction between commons and expropriation in settler colonial contexts is especially complex. For an alternative narrative, see Daniel Rueck, 'Commons, Enclosure, and Resistance in Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory'.
  66. Yogi Hale Hendlin, 'From *Terra Nullius* to *Terra Communis*', p. 21.
  67. The US Wilderness Act, 1964, defined a wilderness area as 'an area where man himself is a visitor who does not remain', a definition that assumed settlement – a determination to stay – as normative. Similarly, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature defines national parks as areas 'where ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation'. See Yogi Hale Hendlin, 'From *Terra Nullius* to *Terra Communis*', p. 16. There are no indigenous peoples in the areas identified by these definitions and in their dialectical counterpoints! On the relationship between indigenous peoples and conservation efforts, see also Mark Dowie, *Conservation Refugees*, and Edward Humes, *Eco Barons*.

#### 4 Settler Colonialism is not Finished

1. Tony Fry, 'Urban Futures in the Age of Unsettlement', p. 434.
2. Tony Fry, 'Urban Futures in the Age of Unsettlement', p. 437.
3. See Eleni Kalantidou, Tony Fry (eds), *Design in the Borderlands*.
4. Tony Fry, *Becoming Human by Design*.
5. Robert Nichols, 'Indigeneity and the Social Contract Today', p. 180. See also Robert Nichols, 'Realizing the Social Contract'.
6. Jody Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, p. 20.
7. See Joyce Dalsheim, 'Anachronism and Morality'.
8. See Carl Abbott, *Frontiers Past and Future*, and John Rieder, *Colonialism and the Emergence of Science Fiction*. I have focused on this connection elsewhere. See Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, pp. 84–6, and Lorenzo Veracini, 'District 9 and Avatar'.
9. See Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist'. An Irishman writing in London at the end of the nineteenth century Bram Stoker enjoyed a privileged point of view over the consequences of settler colonial displacements.
10. See IMDB, '*Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (TV Series 1997–2003)', and IMDB, '*Firefly* (TV Series 2002–2003)'. *Firefly* was entirely dedicated to the representation of the 'wild west' of the intergalactic future. Less successfully, *Cowboys & Aliens* (2011) also recently mixed science fiction and frontier

- genres. See Lorenzo Veracini, 'On Settler Colonialism and Science Fiction (Again)'.
11. Stephanie Meyer, *Twilight*, Stephanie Meyer, *New Moon*, Stephanie Meyer, *Eclipse*, and Stephanie Meyer, *Breaking Dawn*.
  12. On the issue of cultural theft and misrepresentation in *Twilight*, see Deanna Dartt-Newton, Tasia Endo, 'Truth vs. Twilight'. For more details on a not unusual story of nonindigenous appropriation of indigenous collective cultural property, see Angela R. Riley, 'Sucking the Quileute Dry'.
  13. For critical work on the *Twilight* series, a literature that does not recognise its fundamentally settler colonial elements, see, for example, Michelle Pan, *Bella Should have Dumped Edward*, Natalie Wilson, *Seduced by Twilight*, and Amy M. Clarke, Marijane Osborn (eds), *The Twilight Mystique*.
  14. Clay Griffith, Susan Griffith, *Vampire Empire*.
  15. Pyr Publishers, 'The Greyfriar: Vampire Empire Book 1'.
  16. Seth Grahame-Smith, *Abraham Lincoln, Vampire Hunter*. The book became a Twentieth Century Fox movie in 2012.
  17. Jesse Carr, 'Lynching and Anti-Lynching in the Contemporary United States'. Interpreting lynching as a quintessentially settler colonial practice directed against the indigenous and exogenous alterities of a settler colonial localised sovereignty, Carr noted 'the ongoing public fascination' with 'explorations of what kinds of limitations (if any) should be imposed on the use of violence to enforce the law', and how in 'many crime dramas and police procedurals, lynching dramas are central to seasonal arcs and character development, appearing on the most highly rated shows and episodes'.
  18. See IMDB, 'Synopsis for The Croods (2013)'.
  19. John Winthrop, 'What Warrant Have We to Take That Land?'
  20. See IMDB, 'Synopsis for Free Birds (2013)'.
  21. On 'lasting' (and indeed on 'firsting'), see Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*.
  22. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.
  23. The boardgame was originally developed by Klaus Teuber and first published in 1995. Various expansions, a card game, and children, online, dice, video and travel versions followed.
  24. See Blake Eskin, 'Like Monopoly in the Depression, Settlers of Catan is the Board Game of our Time'. The first edition of 'The Oregon Trail' videogame was first released in 1971. Its latest release dates back to 2011. The game is about successful one-way displacement.
  25. On 'sea changers' and 'tree changers', see, respectively, I.H. Burnley, Peter Murphy, *Sea Change*, and Phil McManus, John Connell, *Rural Revival?*
  26. See Michael Tortorello, 'Small World, Big Idea'. On the 'tiny house people' see Kirsten Dirksen's successful 2012 documentary. The very title of Dirksen's movie, *We the Tiny House People* captures this movement's self-constitution as a sovereign collective.
  27. See Sarah Susanka, *This not so Big House*.
  28. Founded in 2002, the Small House Society is 'a cooperatively managed organization dedicated to the promotion of smaller housing alternatives which can be more affordable and ecological'. See Small House Society, 'Homepage'.
  29. Andrew Odom, Crystal Odom, 'Manifesto' (emphasis added).

30. For reflections on this flexibility, see Michael Holtby, *The Tiny House Revolution*, and Jay Shafer, *The Small House Book*.
31. Small House Society, 'A Voice for the Small House Movement'.
32. See Jay Shafer, *The Small House Book*.
33. See Penelope Green, 'So Small but Already a TV Star', and FYI, 'Tiny House Nation'. CBS News also had a story on the tiny house movement. See CBS News, 'Inside the tiny house movement'.
34. See Lester Walker, *Tiny Houses*. Primarily a construction manual, *Tiny Houses* begins with a section dedicated to 'Tiny Historic homes'. They include the 'English Settlers Cottage' in Plymouth, Massachusetts, the 'Thomas Jefferson's Honeymoon Cottage', the 'Frontier Cabin', and 'Henry Thoreau's Cabin'. Kirsten Dirksen's 'We the Tiny House People' also concludes with a reference to Thoreau.
35. Henry David Thoreau, 'Where I Lived, and What I Lived for', paragraph 16.
36. In her insightful thesis Sarah E. Thorne, has examined 'the coincidence of the "small house" movement with the transformation of the house into a "media centre"'. She noted how 'digital media technologies have opened up a new virtual world to explore that radically defies and blurs our conventional understanding of interior and exterior spaces'. See Sarah E. Thorne, 'The Cleaving of House and Home', iii.
37. The idea of permanently living at sea on fixed man-made structures, of course, is not recent. For a critical outline of these proposals, see Creed O'Hanlon, 'Seeland'. O'Hanlon stresses the profound difference between 'seafarer' and 'sea-settler'. 'Permanent autonomous ocean communities' is the Seasteading Institute's definition. See Philip E. Steinberg, Elizabeth Nyman, Mauro J. Caraccioli, 'Atlas Swam'. For outlines of their propositions, see Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', and Patri Friedman, Wayne Gramlich, *Seasteading*. See also Laura Sydell, 'Don't Like The Government?' Sydell refers to a group of 'rich techies in Northern California', a mix of 'geeks and hippies'. This specific social milieu has been a hub of ideological neoliberal renewal since the 1970s. On the ways in which Silicon Valley millionaires dabble in 'social engineering', see Michael Shermer, 'Heavens on Earth'.
38. Patri Friedman quoted in Robin Wilkey, 'Seasteading Institute Convenes in San Francisco'. Patri is the nephew of neoliberal champion Milton Friedman.
39. Former Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan Doug Bandow is an enthusiastic supporter of seasteading. His 'Getting Around Big Government' provides a brief review of the main works emanating from the Seasteading Institute and concludes that 'Seasteading advocates are not crazed anarchists against the government'.
40. Thiel founded PayPal 'as an attempt to create a web-based currency that would undermine government tax structures'. See Philip E. Steinberg, Elizabeth Nyman, Mauro J. Caraccioli, 'Atlas Swam', p. 1537.
41. Wayne Gramlich, 'SeaStead – Homesteading the High Seas'.
42. See Philip E. Steinberg, Elizabeth Nyman, Mauro J. Caraccioli, 'Atlas Swam'.
43. See Ayn Rand, *Atlas Shrugged*, and Seasteading Institute, 'Homepage'.
44. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', p. 218.
45. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', p. 219 (emphases added).



46. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', p. 222.
47. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', p. 223 (emphasis added). In *Replenishing the Earth* James Belich also emphasises the direct link between the transport and the settler 'revolutions'.
48. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', pp. 223–4.
49. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', p. 224.
50. See Allen P. Mendenhall, 'My "Country" Lies over the Ocean'.
51. Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading', p. 225 (emphasis added).
52. See, Sandy Grande, 'Accumulation of the Primitive', Konstantin Kilibarda, 'Lessons from #Occupy in Canada', and Adam J. Barker, 'Already Occupied'.
53. Sandy Grande, 'Accumulation of the Primitive', p. 370.
54. On the difficulties the #Occupy movement has faced in attempting to recognise indigenous struggles and accommodate for indigenous perspectives, see Konstantin Kilibarda, 'Lessons from #Occupy in Canada'.
55. #Occupy Wall Street, NYC General Assembly, 'Declaration of the Occupation of New York City'.
56. Adam J. Barker, 'Already Occupied', p. 327.
57. See Continental Congress. 2, 'A New Declaration Petition for a Redress of Grievances'. The whole of the [the99declaration.org/](http://the99declaration.org/) site is dedicated to the replication of a settler assertion of freedom.
58. David Bell, *An Introduction to Cybercultures*, p. 97.
59. Evgeny Morozov, *To Save Everything, Click Here*, p. 130.
60. Thiel cited in Evgeny Morozov, *To Save Everything, Click Here*, p. 130 (emphasis added).
61. See Christian Sandvig, 'Welcome to 1927', p. 62.
62. Christian Sandvig, 'Welcome to 1927', p. 61. It should be noted that while territorialising metaphors have retained their cogency through time, water-based ones have lost a capacity to reflect internet-based activities. We no longer 'surf' the net, really.
63. See Luke Goode, 'Cultural Citizenship Online', p. 535.
64. On the issue of indigenous domain names, see Luke Goode, 'Cultural Citizenship Online'.
65. See Gautham Nagesh, 'FCC to Propose New "Net Neutrality" Rules'.
66. L. Gordon Crovitz, 'Fast Lanes Saved the Internet'.
67. It is somewhat ironic that 'netstead.com' and 'related extensions' is already someone else's prior claim. Automatically redirected to 'enom.com', a domain registration services provider, one is then invited to purchase rights to it.
68. It is not by chance, perhaps, that a 'leading nonprofit organization defending civil liberties in the digital world' should be called the 'Electronic Frontier Foundation'. See Electronic Frontier Foundation, 'About EFF'.
69. Astra Taylor, 'How the Internet Is Transforming from a Tool of Liberation to One of Oppression'.
70. Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*. On Henry George, see, for example, Charles A. Barker, *Henry George*.
71. Astra Taylor, 'How the Internet Is Transforming from a Tool of Liberation to One of Oppression'.
72. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, 'A Letter from Sydney', p. 135 (emphasis added). Gabi Piterberg alerted me to this definition's importance. We explore its

- significance more in detail in 'Wakefield, Marx, and the World Turned Inside Out'.
73. See IMDB, 'Synopsis for The Matrix (1999)'.
  74. See Kathryn Westcott, 'Osama Bin Laden', and Deirdre Howard-Wagner, 'Reclaiming the Northern Territory as a Settler Colonial Space'. Resonating powerfully with Zionist renditions, the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST), the 'Landless Peoples' Movement', adopts former Brazilian president Emílio Garrastazu Medici's description of the Amazon as 'the land without people for the people without land'. According to Brazil's 1988 constitution, land can be expropriated if it does not fulfil a 'social function'.
  75. In a recent paper on the 'Biopolitics of Indigeneity' Marjo Lindroth and Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen trace the emergence of adaptation as an unavoidable demand. These authors identify three fundamental demands in the vocabulary of adaptation: 'a call for agency [self-management in accordance to neoliberal rationales], a sustaining of authenticity [if they fail, they may be excluded from being considered indigenous], and a politics of placation [if they are dispossessed they can access compensation but they must adapt]'. In the end, as 'adaptation' is limitless, they note, it 'might mean death'. See Marjo Lindroth, Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen, 'Adapt or Die?', pp. 180, 183, 187, 192. On definitions of indigeneity that focus on poverty and therefore disallow indigenous communities that were able to benefit from economic opportunities, see, for example, Jessica R. Cattelino, 'The Double Bind of American Indian Need-based Sovereignty', and Alexandra Harmon, *Rich Indians*.
  76. Sarah Maddison, 'Indigenous Identity, "Authenticity" and the Structural Violence of Settler Colonialism', p. 292.
  77. Sarah Maddison, 'Indigenous Identity, "Authenticity" and the Structural Violence of Settler Colonialism', p. 293 (emphasis in original).
  78. Sarah Maddison, 'Indigenous Identity, "Authenticity" and the Structural Violence of Settler Colonialism', pp. 295–6.
  79. Avril Bell, *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities*, p. 4.
  80. On contemporary settler-colonial strategies of spatial control, see David Lloyd, Laura Pulido, 'In the Long Shadow of the Settler'.
  81. See Lorenzo Veracini, 'Suburbia, Settler Colonialism and the World Turned Inside Out', and Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*.
  82. See Sara Safransky, 'Greening the Urban Frontier'.
  83. Sara Safransky, 'Greening the Urban Frontier', pp. 1, 8.
  84. Sara Safransky, 'Greening the Urban Frontier', pp. 3, 5, 8.
  85. Indeed, the ability of Israeli settler NGOs to effectively mobilise the language of human rights to sustain the occupation and the settler project in the West Bank should be seen as yet another symptom of the settler colonial present. See Nicola Perugini, Neve Gordon, *The Human Right to Dominate*, and Nicola Perugini, Kareem Rabie, 'The Human Right to the Colony'. Rabie and Perugini insightfully note a moral inversion. Colonialism and settler colonialism are typically represented as necessary evils: an authoritarian formation that will produce civilisation, or the necessary subjection of indigenous people that enables the opportunity for the production of a settler regenerative polity. The discourse Perugini and Rabie uncover argues

the opposite: colonisation is a universal good that must be terminated locally at times (for example, in the Sinai or in Gaza) precisely because it must proceed elsewhere. The settlers and the government ostensibly argue on the specific limits of these localities, but this false opposition only reproduces the ideology of an inherently positive settler colonial effort. They share the same Zionism even as they are apparently opposed.

86. See Joyce Dalsheim, 'Anachronism and Morality'.
87. See Lorenzo Veracini, 'Interacting Imaginaries in Israel and the United States', and Steven Salaita, *The Holy Land in Transit*.
88. US support for Israel is well known, enabling and long lasting. Lately, Australia and Canada have conspicuously emulated. In June 2014, for example, the Australian government reversed its established policy and decided to recognise Israel's unilateral annexation of East Jerusalem. 'The description of East Jerusalem as "Occupied East Jerusalem" is a term freighted with perjorative implications, which is neither appropriate nor useful', it officially stated. The Australian ambassador to Israel later clarified that it had been a mistake and that the whole of the West Bank should *not* be referred to as 'Occupied'. It is significant that this is a stance that enjoys bipartisan support. 'Through fire and water, Canada will stand with you', Canada's Prime Minister uttered in an unprecedented speech to the Israeli parliament during a much publicised recent visit. These are mere examples in the context of comprehensive policy stances, but they are especially notable in the case of these two minor partners of a settler colonial international, because they actually contradict established traditions of support for international conventions. It should be noted that these shifts, however, are not about policy as much as identity; an *identity* of views regarding East Jerusalem (Australia and Israel are the two only countries assuming that the city is not occupied), and the identity that is established by the prayer prime Minister Harper was referring to. See David Wroe, 'Attorney-General George Brandis says use of term "occupied" over East Jerusalem as inappropriate', Sarah Whyte, 'Australia Attacked for Refusal to Call West Bank Occupied', James Massola, 'Labor factions split over government's decision to "reclassify" East Jerusalem', and Laura Payton, 'Stephen Harper Vows Loyalty to Israel in Speech to Knesset'.
89. David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, p. 172.
90. Paula Chakravartty and Denise Ferreira da Silva criticise Harvey's failure to understand the 'new' dispensation as a reiteration of a colonial paradigm. Harvey thinks of the capitalist 'new territories' of consumption and investment, but they are not new, they argue. See Paula Chakravartty, Denise Ferreira da Silva, 'Accumulation, Dispossession and Debt', p. 368.
91. Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, p. 346.
92. 'Circumspectly', he had added, producing a variation on the typically settler colonial theme of 'manifest' destiny. Theodor Herzl, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, p. 88. One important feature of this entry is that it highlights how this thinking was transferable. When he wrote this proposition into his diary, he was still thinking about Argentina as a possible site for the Jewish settler colonisation he had in mind. See also Jamil Hilal, 'Imperialism and Settler-Colonialism in West Asia', p. 53.

93. Glen Coulthard, 'Place Against Empire', p. 81.
94. See Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks*, p. 13.
95. David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, p. 295.
96. See Marco Bascetta, 'L'economia politica della promessa'.
97. Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing*.
98. See David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*.
99. Brenna Bhandar, 'Possession, Occupation and Settler Colonial Property Relations'.
100. See Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*.
101. This argument reframes John Collins' call to see Palestine everywhere, and Etienne Balibar's notion of the universality of the Palestinian question. See John Collins, *Global Palestine*, and Etienne Balibar, 'Universalité de la cause palestinienne'.
102. On transnational solidarity between indigenous peoples and Palestinians, see, for example, Mike Krebs, Dana M. Olwan 'From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One'.
103. See Andrew Ross, *Creditocracy*.
104. In *Border as Method* Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Nielsen have recently proposed a powerful argument regarding current processes underpinning what they call the global 'multiplication of labour'. I only partially agree: in my opinion 'fragmentation' of labour may better describe the current phase.
105. See Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*.
106. On the ways in which neoliberal orders can easily accommodate indigeneity, see, for example, Lucas Bessire, 'The Rise of Indigenous Hypermarginality'.
107. See Alyosha Goldstein, 'Finance and Foreclosure in the Colonial Present'.

## Conclusion: Transcending the Settler Colonial Present

1. Mark Rifkin, 'Settler Common Sense'.
2. Mark Rifkin, 'Settler Common Sense', p. 330.
3. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*.
4. Mark Rifkin, 'Settler Common Sense', p. 324.
5. Mark Rifkin, 'Settler Common Sense', pp. 336–7.
6. On the rise of a global oligarchy, see, for example, Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*. Being an excellent book and tapping pent up demand it became an absolute best seller. On the US as a post-Tocquevillian oligarchy, see, for example, Martin Gilens, Benjamin I. Page, 'Testing Theories of American Politics'. These arguments are not new; what is new is that they are based on non-refutable evidence and that they are being very publicly discussed.
7. See David Bromwich, *The Intellectual Life of Edmund Burke*.
8. See Gabriel Piterberg, Lorenzo Veracini, 'Wakefield, Marx and the World Turned Inside Out'. On Henry George, see, for example, Charles A. Barker, *Henry George*.
9. For an entry point into Edward Gibbon Wakefield, see M.F. Lloyd-Prichard's introduction in M.F. Lloyd-Prichard (ed.), *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*.

10. Paul Krugman, 'Why We're in a New Gilded Age'.
11. On the proliferation of borders, on the emergence of a system of internally stratified geographies, see Brett Nielsen, Sandro Mezzadra, *Border as Method*. On the triumph of the city, see Edward Glaeser, *Triumph of the City*. While I disagree with Glaeser's triumphal narrative (the city does not make us 'Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier and Happier'), this is the era of the city.
12. See IMDB, 'True Blood (TV Series 2008–2014)'.
13. See Patrick Wolfe, 'Recuperating Binarism'.
14. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, p. 2.
15. For an entry point to the analysis of indigenous–nonindigenous 'collaborative struggles' as a decolonising approach, see Marcelo Svirsky (ed.), 'Settler Colonialism and Collaborative Struggles in Australia and Israel–Palestine'.
16. Alison Jones, 'The Limits of Cross-Cultural Dialogue', p. 313.
17. See Tim Rowse, 'Indigenous Heterogeneity'. Indeed, Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, and Jeff Corntassel have argued that 'studies of settler colonialism and practices of [settler] solidarity [with indigenous struggles] run the risk of reifying (and possibly replicating) settler colonial, as well as other, modes of domination'. Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, Jeff Corntassel, 'Unsettling Settler Colonialism', p. 4.
18. Andrea Smith, 'The Colonialism that is Settled and the Colonialism that Never Happened'.
19. See Audra Simpson, Andrea Smith (eds), *Theorizing Native Studies*.
20. Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', p. 402.
21. Robert Nichols has recently warned against the possibility that settler colonialism be allowed to do such thing. See Robert Nichols, 'Contract and Usurpation'.
22. A focus on movement and sovereign capacities – and on settler colonial forms as distinct from colonial ones – displaces race as the primary category of analysis (this point is also forcefully argued by Jodi A. Byrd in *Transit of Empire*). This, of course, does not mean that different racialisations are not operating in the settler societies, or that these processes should not be the subject of serious scholarly analysis (they are). However, the distinction between 'settler' and 'migrant' does not replicate the distinction between a racialised nonindigenous collective and a 'white' nonindigenous one. Some migrants are white, and some settlers are black. Yet again, clarifying the distinction between sovereign and nonsovereign displacements, that is, between settlers and migrants as distinct collectives, can contribute to discussions of race.
23. Describing what they define as 'on-to-pathology', Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos recognise a triangular system of relationships: 'In an act of Nietzschean resentment, white Australia has cultivated a slave morality grounded in a negative self-affirmation. Instead of the claim, "I come from here. You are not like me, therefore you do not belong", the dominant white Australian asserts: "you do not come from here. I am not like you, therefore I do belong"'. Toulia Nicolacopoulos, George Vassilacopoulos, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of the Occupier*, p. 14. Note the typically settler colonial process of negative self-affirmation.
24. See George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*. We should pay attention to the 'metaphors we live by'. Describing recent financial crises

- with reference to viral and bacterial phenomena, for example, can be misleading. These are routinely described in terms of 'contagion' (other metaphorical descriptions borrow from the language of meteorology: 'turbulences' and 'storms'). The implied 'treatment' could be likened to antibiotics: fiscal rigour and debt reduction. These metaphors perform important ideological labour. While references to meteorological phenomena naturalise occurrences that are anything but natural, the language of viral infection and associated dangers pre-empts discussion as to what should be done ('meltdown' is also often evoked for the same purpose).
25. This was, after all, Georg W.F. Hegel's seminal recommendation: 'What is well known, precisely because it is well known, is not known. In the knowledge process, the commonest way to mislead oneself and others is to assume that something is well known and to accept it as such'. Hegel, quoted in Domenico Losurdo, *Liberalism*, p. 27.
  26. See David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, p. 43.
  27. Indigenous scholars Glen Coulthard and Kehaulani Kauanui, however, actually say it. In 'liberal settler states such as Canada', the former observes in *Red Skin White Masks*, the commons 'actually belong to somebody – *the First peoples of this land*' (p. 12). Similarly, in a forthcoming paper entitled 'The Settler Colonial "Tragedy of the Commons"', the latter notes that the 'commons' itself is a settler concept, that it was transferred to New England, and that there it became entrenched in the organisation of the settler 'towns'. In America, she further argues, it eventually developed and acquired a specific racial and ethnic dimension. Most settlers in nineteenth-century North America believed that they had an inalienable right to a share of the 'people's domain' and of the 'public lands'. This was a settler 'commons' established on dispossessed indigenous property. Kauanui concludes: 'the seemingly radical formulation of a common good' actually 'shortcuts the ongoing history of settler colonialism'. For ideas surrounding a settler commons, Kauanui refers to Taylor Spence's 'The Endless Commons'.
  28. Most recently, for example, by Joanna Brooks in *Why We Left*.
  29. On 'indigenous resurgence', see Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks*, especially pp. 154–9. For Coulthard, 'Resurgence' is a decolonising paradigm and practice that turns away from engagement with settler institutions and constituencies and pursues a (modified and non-dialectical) Fanonian policy of self-affirmation and 'self-actualization' (p. 24). Regarding the politics of recognition, Coulthard concludes: 'instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of *reciprocity* or *mutual* recognition, the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend' (p. 3). Also opposed to a multicultural politics of recognition, Avril Bell, instead, proposes a Levinasian ethical stance. See Avril Bell, 'Recognition or Ethics?'
  30. See Terry Wotherspoon, John Hansen, 'The "Idle No More" Movement', Adam J. Barker, '"A Direct Act of Resurgence"', and Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks*, pp. 159–165.
  31. On this vigilance, see Celia Haig-Brown, 'Indigenous Thought, Appropriation, and Non-Aboriginal People'.

32. Adam J. Barker, '(Re-) Ordering the New World', p. 377 (emphasis in original). The need to target settler behaviour and consciousness is also emphasised by Scott Lauria Morgensen in *Spaces Between Us*, and Norman George Dale, in 'Decolonizing the Settler Mind'. Dale's decolonising proposal focuses on 'emphatic settlers' and their ability to support indigenous decolonising practices.
33. Avril Bell, *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities*, p. 4.
34. For arguments proposing such a move, see, for example, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Sovereign Subjects*, Toula Nicolacopoulos, George Vassilacopoulos, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of the Occupier*, and Fiona Nicoll, 'Reconciliation In and Out of Perspective'.
35. See Deborah Bird Rose, 'Land Rights and Deep Colonising'.
36. Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, 'Decolonization is not a Metaphor'. Settlers, Tuck and Young note, routinely attempt to exempt themselves from the consequences of the realisation of colonial injustice. Tuck and Yang identify six 'moves to innocence' strategies.
37. See Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism*, p. 207.
38. Carole Pateman, 'The Settler Contract'.
39. For a powerful argument regarding the constitution of a sovereign space outside of the settler one, see Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*.
40. Sovereignty, not equality is the ongoing demand of indigenous struggles. As Kehaulani Kauanui noted, indigenous efforts aim 'for radically different goals than those that emerge from the project of civil rights'. 'Civil rights are', she notes, 'fundamentally about equality under the law: equal protection, equal access, and equal opportunity'. J. Kehaulani Kauanui, 'Colonialism in Equality', p. 636. But the extension of rights is part of the general process by which sovereignty was historically consolidated. As Charles Tilly has noted: 'women and male servants' had to be emancipated in the context of the progressive extension of 'rights' that is characteristic of Western modernity. If the extension of rights is a marker of modern sovereignty, in a settler colonial context this extension necessarily constitutes a denial of indigenous sovereign capacities. Charles Tilly, 'Where Do Rights Come From', p. 63.
41. See, for example, Michael Asch, *On Being Here to Stay*. On the risks, see, for example, Nicholas Blomley, 'Making Space for Property'.
42. In their call to apply an 'enriched' transitional justice practice to address the structural injustice that characterises the settler colonial societies, Jennifer Balint, Julie Evans and Nesam McMillan note that transitional justice models assumes 'a moment of political change and upheaval', that this moment is not available in such contexts, that transitional justice usually focuses on 'strengthening, rather than challenging, the state', and that this is problematic in settler societies. Yet, they add that such practice may indeed be conducive to 'structural change'. Jennifer Balint, Julie Evans, Nesam McMillan, 'Rethinking Transitional Justice, Redressing Indigenous Harm', pp. 23, 7, 8, 22. One reason for this promise is, I would add, that transitional justice operates *outside* of the constraints established by the settler contract. On transitional justice in settler colonial contexts, see also Stephen Winter, *Transitional Justice in Established Democracies*. Despite its title, Winter's book is primarily about transitional justice in the settler societies as a

- decolonising practice. For a critique of transitional justice frameworks, see Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks*, pp. 105–29.
43. See Kirsty Gover, *Tribal Constitutionalism*, Steven Curry, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Democratic Project*, and Duncan Ivison, *Postcolonial Liberalism*.
  44. Erich Steinman, 'Settler Colonial Power and the American Indian Sovereignty Movement', p. 1081.
  45. Erich Steinman, 'Settler Colonial Power and the American Indian Sovereignty Movement', p. 1120.
  46. This is Marcelo Svirsky's turn of phrase. See Marcelo Svirsky, 'The Collaborative Struggle and the Permeability of Settler Colonialism', p. 329.
  47. On these political assemblages, see, for example, Lynne Davis (ed.), *Alliances*.
  48. Non-assimilating migrants were theorised as 'transmigrants' in Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, Cristina Szanton Blanc, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant'.
  49. Susanne Schech, Jane Haggis, 'Migrancy, Whiteness and the Settler Self in Contemporary Australia', pp. 231, 237, 238.
  50. Held in 2008 in Quebec, the 'Bouchard–Taylor Commission on reasonable accommodation' focused on 'ethnocultural deviance from an assumed norm'. As 'recent immigrant difference' was *discussed*, the indigenous question was *foreclosed*. See Laura Schaepli, Anne Godlewska, 'Social Ignorance and Indigenous Exclusion'.
  51. Mahmood Mamdani, 'Settler Colonialism: Then and Now', pp. 2, 13.
  52. For a similar approach, see Adam J. Barker, '(Re-) Ordering the New World', especially pp. 40–1.
  53. Avril Bell, 'Being "At Home" in the Nation'.
  54. See Jacques Derrida, 'Hostipitality', pp. 360–2.
  55. Mireille Rosello, *Postcolonial Hospitality*, p. 167. See also Avril Bell, 'Being "At Home" in the Nation', p. 247.
  56. See Homer, *The Odyssey*.
  57. On Australian 'indigenous welcome to country', see Mark McKenna, 'Tokenism or Belated Recognition?'
  58. This point is also made in Toula Nicolacopoulos, George Vassilacopoulos, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of the Occupier*, p. 13.
  59. See Gabriel Piterberg, *The Returns of Zionism*.
  60. See Jason Frank, *Constituent Moments*.
  61. Gabriel Piterberg, Lorenzo Veracini, 'Wakefield, Marx, and the World Turned Inside Out'.



# Bibliography

- Carl Abbott, *Frontiers Past and Future: Science Fiction and the American West*, Lawrence, KA, University Press of Kansas, 2006.
- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation', *American Economic Review*, 91, 5, 2001, pp. 1369–401.
- Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Michael Adas, 'From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History', *American Historical Review*, 106, 5, 2001, pp. 1692–720.
- Gregory S. Alexander, 'The Complexities of Land Reparations', *Law & Social Inquiry*, 39, 4, 2014, pp. 874–901.
- Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, Peterborough, Ont., Broadview Press, 2005.
- Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Don Mills, Ont., Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Taiaiake Alfred, Jeff Corntassel, 'Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism', *Government and Opposition*, 40, 4, 2005, pp. 597–614.
- Stephen Allen, Alexandra Xanthaki (eds), *Reflections on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2010.
- Erik Alternbernd, Alex Trimble Young, 'Introduction: The Significance of the Frontier in an Age of Transnational History', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 4, 2, 2014, pp. 127–50.
- Zainab Amadahy, Bonita Lawrence, 'Indigenous Peoples and Black People in Canada: Settlers or Allies?', in Arlo Kempf (ed.), *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-colonialism in the US and Canada*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2009, pp. 105–36.
- Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*, Sussex, Harvester Press, 1974.
- Samir Amin, *Capitalism in the Age of Globalization: The Management of Contemporary Society*, London, Zed Books, 1997.
- Benedict Anderson, 'Creole Pioneers', in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso, 1991, pp. 47–66.
- Perry Anderson, 'Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism', *New Left Review*, 15, 16, 17, 1962, pp. 83–102, 88–123, 85–114.
- Stefan Andreasson, 'Confronting the Settler Legacy: Indigenisation and Transformation in South Africa and Zimbabwe', *Political Geography*, XXX, 2010, pp. 1–10.
- Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: "Dracula" and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization', *Victorian Studies*, 33, 4, 1990, pp. 621–45.

- Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*, New York, Verso, 2007.
- Michael Asch, *On Being Here to Stay: Treaties and Aboriginal Rights in Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, London, Routledge, 1989.
- Etienne Balibar, 'Universalité de la cause palestinienne', *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2004, pp. 26–7.
- Jennifer Balint, Julie Evans, Nesam McMillan, 'Rethinking Transitional Justice, Redressing Indigenous Harm: A New Conceptual Approach', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 2014, pp. 1–23. Available at: doi:10.1093/ijtj/iju004 (accessed: 08/06/14).
- Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012.
- Doug Bandow, 'Getting around Big Government: The Seastead Revolution Begins to Take Shape', *Forbes*, 30/07/12.
- Tracey Banivanua-Mar, Penelope Edmonds (eds), *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier*, Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press, 2007.
- Adam J. Barker, 'Already Occupied: Indigenous Peoples, Settler Colonialism and the Occupy Movements in North America', *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 11, 3–4, 2012, pp. 327–34.
- Adam J. Barker, 'Locating Settler Colonialism', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 13, 3, 2012. Available at: [http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal\\_of\\_colonialism\\_and\\_colonial\\_history/v013/13.3.barker.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/v013/13.3.barker.html) (accessed: 12/06/14).
- Adam J. Barker, '(Re-) Ordering the New World: Settler Colonialism, Space, and Identity', PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2012.
- Adam J. Barker, "'A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty": Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism', *Globalizations*, 2014 (available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2014.971531>)
- Charles A. Barker, *Henry George*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2011.
- Marco Bascetta, 'L'economia politica della promessa', *il manifesto*, 22/10/14.
- Alison Bashford, 'Malthus and Colonial History', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 36, 1, 2012, pp. 99–110.
- Alison Bashford, 'Immigration Restriction: Rethinking Period and Place from Settler Colonies to Postcolonial Nations', *Journal of Global History*, 9, 2014, pp. 26–48.
- Fiona Bateman, Lionel Pilkington (eds), *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Avril Bell, 'Recognition or Ethics?', *Cultural Studies*, 22, 6, 2008, pp. 850–69.
- Avril Bell, 'Being "At Home" in the Nation: Hospitality and Sovereignty in Talk about Immigration', *Ethnicities*, 10, 2010, pp. 236–56.

- Avril Bell, *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- David Bell, *An Introduction to Cybercultures*, New York, Routledge, 2001.
- Duncan Bell, 'Republican Imperialism: J.A. Froude and the Virtue of Empire', *History of Political Thought*, XXX, 1, 2009, pp. 166–91.
- Duncan Bell, 'John Stuart Mill on Colonies', *Political Theory*, 38, 1, 2010, pp. 34–64.
- Lucas Bessire, 'The Rise of Indigenous Hypermarginality: Native Culture as a Neoliberal Politics of Life', *Current Anthropology*, 55, 3, 2014, pp. 276–95.
- Brenna Bhandar, 'Possession, Occupation and Settler Colonial Property Relations', *Settler Colonial Studies*, forthcoming.
- Robert Bickers, 'Shanghaianders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai, 1843–1937', *Past and Present*, 159, 1998, pp. 161–211.
- Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992 [1954].
- Nicholas Blomley, 'Making Space for Property', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 2014. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00045608.2014.941738> (accessed: 15/09/14).
- Gérard Bouchard, *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Sue Branford, Oriel Glock, *Last Frontier: Fighting over Land in the Amazon*, London, Zed Books, 1985.
- Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1988.
- David Bromwich, *The Intellectual Life of Edmund Burke: From the Sublime and Beautiful to American Independence*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Joanna Brooks, *Why We Left: Untold Stories and Songs of America's First Immigrants*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
- Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, New York, Zone Books, 2010.
- Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.–Indigenous Relations*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Uradyn E. Bulag 'From Yeke-juu League to Ordos Municipality: Settler Colonialism and Alter/Native Urbanization in Inner Mongolia', *Provincial China*, 7, 2, 2002, pp. 196–234.
- Malcolm Bull, 'Hate is the New Love', *London Review of Books*, 23, 2, 2001, pp. 23–4.
- Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1969.
- Trevor Burnard, 'A Failed Settler Society: Marriage and Demographic Failure in Early Jamaica', *Journal of Social History*, 28, 1, 1994, pp. 63–82.
- I.H. Burnley, Peter Murphy, *Sea Change: Movement from Metropolitan to Arcadian Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2004.

- Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Settler Colonialism*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Jodi A. Byrd, 'A Return to the South', *American Quarterly*, 66, 3, 2014, pp. 609–20.
- David Cannadine, '"The Transformation of the World"', by Jürgen Osterhammel', *Financial Times*, 02/05/14.
- Jesse Carr, 'Lynching and Anti-Lynching in the Contemporary United States', *Settler Colonial Studies*, forthcoming.
- Clint Carroll, 'Native Enclosures: Tribal National Parks and the Progressive Politics of Environmental Stewardship in Indian Country', *Geoforum*, 53, 2014, pp. 31–40.
- Robert Castel, *La discrimination négative. Citoyens ou indigènes?* Paris, Seuil, 2007.
- Stephen Castles, Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, New York, Guilford Press, 2009.
- Jessica R. Cattellino, 'The Double Bind of American Indian Need-based Sovereignty', *Cultural Anthropology*, 25, 2010, pp. 235–62.
- Edward Cavanagh, 'Land Rights that Come with Cut-Off Dates: A Comparative Reflection on Restitution, Aboriginal Title, and Historical Injustice', *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 28, 3, 2012, pp. 437–57.
- Edward Cavanagh, 'settler colonial studies blog'. Available at: [www.settlercolonialstudies.org](http://www.settlercolonialstudies.org) (accessed: 02/06/14).
- CBS News, 'Inside the tiny house movement: How one woman downsized her life to just 84 square feet', 01/05/14. Available at: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/inside-the-tiny-house-movement-how-one-woman-downsized-her-life-to-just-84-square-feet/> (accessed: 20/06/14).
- Paula Chakravartty, Denise Ferreira da Silva, 'Accumulation, Dispossession and Debt: The Racial Logic of Global Capitalism; an Introduction', *American Quarterly*, 64, 3, 2012, pp. 361–85.
- Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*, London, Verso, 2013.
- Vivek Chibber, 'Subaltern Mythologies: Postcolonial Theorists Have to Stop Insisting We Choose Between the Universal and the Particular', *Jacobin: A Magazine of Culture and Polemic*, 06/01/14. Available at: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/01/subaltern-mythologies> (accessed: 22/04/14).
- Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2001.
- Mark I. Choate, 'From Territorial to Ethnographic Colonies and Back again: The Politics of Italian Expansion, 1890–1912', *Modern Italy*, 8, 1, 2003, pp. 65–75.
- 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.
- Amy M. Clarke, Marijane Osborn (eds), *The Twilight Mystique: Critical Essays on the Novels and Films*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Co., 2010.
- James Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Alejandro Colás, *Empire*, Cambridge, Polity, 2007.
- Ed Cohen, *A Body Worth Defending: Immunity, Biopolitics, and the Apotheosis of the Modern Body*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2009.
- John Collins, *Global Palestine*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2011.
- John L. Comaroff, Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991.

- Continental Congress.2, 'A New Declaration Petition for a Redress of Grievances'. Available at: [http://www.the99declaration.org/html/latest\\_draft.html](http://www.the99declaration.org/html/latest_draft.html) (accessed: 02/05/14).
- Stephen Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880: From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31, 2, 2003, pp. 16–35.
- Annie E. Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Glen Sean Coulthard, 'Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Recognition in Canada', *Contemporary Political Theory*, 6, 4, 2007, pp. 437–60.
- Glen Sean Coulthard, 'Place Against Empire: Understanding Indigenous Anti-Colonialism', *Affinities*, 4, 2, 2010, pp. 79–83.
- Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
- Emma Cox, 'Welcome to Country? Aboriginal Sovereignties and Asylum Seekers', *Australian Studies*, 3, 2011. Available at: <http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/australian-studies/article/viewArticle/2100> (accessed: 10/05/14).
- William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, New York, Hill & Wang, 1983.
- William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, New York, Norton, 1991.
- Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, Westport, CT, Praeger, 2003.
- Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- L. Gordon Crovitz, 'Fast Lanes Saved the Internet', *Wall Street Journal*, 03/08/14.
- Steven Curry, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Democratic Project*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004.
- Ann Curthoys, 'Whose Home? Expulsion, Exodus, and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 61, 1999, pp. 1–18.
- Ann Curthoys, 'An Uneasy Conversation: The Indigenous and the Multicultural', in John Docker, Gerhard Fischer (eds), *Race Colour and Identity in Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2000, pp. 21–36.
- Norman George Dale, 'Decolonizing the Settler Mind: An Autoethnographic Inquiry', PhD Thesis, Antioch University, 2014.
- Joyce Dalsheim, 'Anachronism and Morality: Israeli Settlement, Palestinian Nationalism, and Human Liberation', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 30, 3, 2013, pp. 29–60.
- Deanna Dartt-Newton, Tasia Endo, 'Truth vs. Twilight'. Available at: [http://www.burkhemuseum.org/truth\\_vs\\_twilight](http://www.burkhemuseum.org/truth_vs_twilight) (accessed: 02/05/14).
- Charles Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, London, Penguin Classics, 1989.
- Denise Ferreira Da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*, Minneapolis, Minnesota University Press, 2007.
- Lynne Davis (ed.), *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous–non-Indigenous Relationships*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2010.

- John C. de Boer, 'Circumventing the Evils of Colonialism: Yanaihara Tadao and Zionist Settler Colonialism in Palestine', *Positions*, 14, 3, 2006, pp. 567–95.
- Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, Lawrence, KA, University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- Donald Denoon, 'Understanding Settler Societies', *Historical Studies*, 73, 1979, pp. 511–27.
- Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism: The Dynamics of Dependent Development in the Southern Hemisphere*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Amy E. Den Ouden, Jean O'Brien (eds), *Recognition, Sovereignty Struggles, and Indigenous rights in the United States*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Jacques Derrida, 'Hospitality', in Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Religion*, London, Routledge, 2002, pp. 356–420.
- Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years*, London, Vintage, 2005.
- Kirsten Dirksen, 'We the Tiny House People' (2012). Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDcVrVA4bSQ> (accessed: 19/07/14).
- Mark Dowie, *Conservation Refugees: The Hundred-Year Conflict between Global Conservation and Native People*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2009.
- Barrie Dyster, 'Argentine and Australian Development Compared', *Past and Present*, 84, 1979, pp. 91–110.
- Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2010.
- Penny Edwards, 'On Home Ground: Settling Land and Domesticating Difference in the "Non-Settler" Colonies of Burma and Cambodia', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 4, 3, 2003. Available at: [https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_colonialism\\_and\\_colonial\\_history/summary/v004/4.3edwards.html](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/summary/v004/4.3edwards.html) (accessed: 12/06/14).
- Electronic Frontier Foundation, 'About EFF'. Available at: <https://www.eff.org/about> (accessed: 07/06/14).
- Caroline Elkins, Susan Pedersen, 'Settler Colonialism: A Concept and its Uses', in Caroline Elkins, Susan Pedersen (eds), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, New York, Routledge, 2005, pp. 1–20.
- Caroline Elkins, Susan Pedersen (eds), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, New York, Routledge, 2005.
- David Eltis (ed.), *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Arghiri Emmanuel, 'White-Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism', *New Left Review*, 73, 1, 1972, pp. 35–57.
- Blake Eskin, 'Like Monopoly in the Depression, Settlers of Catan is the Board Game of Our Time', *Washington Post*, 21/11/10.
- Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1967.
- Sarah Fecht, 'Why Pioneers Breed Like Rabbits: Families that Colonized the Canadian Frontier Contributed More Genetic Material to the Modern Population than Folks who Stayed Home, Says a New Study', *Scientific*

- American*, 03/11/11. Available at: <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/why-pioneers-breed-like-rabbits> (accessed: 21/04/14).
- Kent Fedorowich, Andrew S. Thompson (eds), *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Romain Felli, 'On the Climate Rent', *Historical Materialism*, 2014 (doi: 10.1163/1569206X-12341368).
- D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966.
- Len Findlay, 'Always Indigenize! The Radical Humanities in the Postcolonial Canadian University', *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, 31, 1–2, 2000. Available at: <http://www.ariel.ucalgary.ca/ariel/index.php/ariel/article/view/3400/3341> (accessed, 14/05/14).
- Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Augie Fleras, Jean Leonard Elliott, *The 'Nations Within': Aboriginal–State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Tadhg Foley, "'An Unknown and Feeble Body": How Settler Colonialism was Theorized in the Nineteenth Century', in Fiona Bateman, Lionel Pilkington (eds), *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, pp. 10–27.
- Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788–1836*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Lisa Ford, 'Locating Indigenous Self-Determination in the Margins of Settler Sovereignty: An Introduction', in Lisa Ford, Tim Rowse (eds), *Between Indigenous and Settler Governance*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2012.
- Jason Frank, *Constituent Moments: Enacting the People in Postrevolutionary America*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2010.
- George M. Fredrickson, 'Colonialism and Racism', in George M. Fredrickson, *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality*, Middletown, CT, Wesleyan University Press, 1988, pp. 216–35.
- Edward A. Freeman, *Greater Greece and Greater Britain; and, George Washington, the Expander of England*, London, Macmillan & Co, 1886.
- Patri Friedman, Wayne Gramlich, *Seasteading: A Practical Guide to Homesteading the High Seas*. Available at: [http://seasteading.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/full\\_book\\_beta.pdf](http://seasteading.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/full_book_beta.pdf) (accessed: 02/05/14).
- Patri Friedman, Brad Taylor, 'Seasteading: Competitive Governments on the Ocean', *Kyklos*, 65, 2, 2012, pp. 218–35.
- Tony Fry, 'Urban Futures in the Age of Unsettlement', *Futures*, 43, 2011, pp. 432–39.
- Tony Fry, *Becoming Human by Design*, London, Berg, 2012.
- Candace Fujikane, 'Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i', in Candace Fujikane, Jonathan Y. Okamura (eds), *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2008, pp. 1–42.
- FYI, 'Tiny House Nation'. Available at: <http://www.fyi.tv/shows/tiny-house-nation> (accessed: 22/07/14).
- Charles Geisler, 'New Terra Nullius Narratives and the Gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands"', *Journal of World Systems Research*, 18, 1, 2013, pp. 15–29.

- Henry George, *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth*, New York, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1979 [1879].
- Jocelyn E. Getgen, 'Untold Truths: The Exclusion of Enforced Sterilizations from the Peruvian Truth Commission's Final Report', *Boston College Third World Law Journal*, XXIX, 1, 2009, pp. 1–34.
- Martin Gilens, Benjamin I. Page, 'Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens', *Perspectives on Politics*, 12, 3, 2014, pp. 564–81.
- Edward Glaeser, *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier and Happier*, London, Pan Macmillan, 2011.
- Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures*, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1989.
- Alyosha Goldstein, 'Finance and Foreclosure in the Colonial Present', *Radical History Review*, 118, 2014, pp. 42–63.
- Alyosha Goldstein, 'Introduction: Toward a Genealogy of the U.S. Colonial Present', in Alyosha Goldstein (ed.), *Formations of United States Colonialism*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2014, pp. 1–30.
- Alyosha Goldstein, Alex Lubin (eds), 'Settler Colonialism', special issue of *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 107, 4, 2008.
- Kenneth Good, 'Settler Colonialism: Economic Development and Class Formation', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 14, 4, 1976, pp. 597–620.
- Luke Goode, 'Cultural Citizenship Online: The Internet and Digital Culture', *Citizenship Studies*, 14, 5, 2010, pp. 527–42.
- Robert E. Goodin, *On Settling*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Richard Gott, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 26, 2, 2007, pp. 269–89.
- Kirsty Gover, *Tribal Constitutionalism: States, Tribes, and the Governance of Membership*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.
- David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, Brooklyn, Melville House, 2011.
- Seth Grahame-Smith, *Abraham Lincoln, Vampire Hunter*, New York, Grand Central Publishing, 2010.
- Wayne Gramlich, 'SeaSteading – Homesteading the High Seas'. Available at: <http://gramlich.net/projects/oceania/seastead1.html> (accessed: 17/07/14).
- Sandy Grande, 'Accumulation of the Primitive: The Limits of Liberalism and the Politics of Occupy Wall Street', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3, 3–4, 2013, pp. 369–80.
- Lyn S. Graybill, 'South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Ethical and Theological Perspectives', *Ethics & International Affairs*, 12, 1998, pp. 43–62.
- Penelope Green, 'So Small but Already a TV Star', *New York Times*, 02/07/14.
- Allan Greer, 'Commons and Enclosure in the Colonization of North America', *American Historical Review*, 117, 2, 2012, pp. 365–86.
- Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, and Iraq*, Malden, MA, Blackwell, 2004.
- Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Clay Griffith, Susan Griffith, *Vampire Empire*, Amherst, NY, Pyr, 2010.
- Tom Griffiths, 'Seeing "REDD"? Forests, Climate Change Mitigation and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples', *Forest Peoples Programme*, 2008. Available



- at: [http://www.rightsandresources.org/documents/files/doc\\_923.pdf](http://www.rightsandresources.org/documents/files/doc_923.pdf) (accessed: 18/12/11).
- Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, Sydney, Pluto Press, 1998.
- Celia Haig-Brown, 'Indigenous Thought, Appropriation, and Non-Aboriginal People', *Canadian Journal of Education*, 33, 4, pp. 925–50.
- Anthony J. Hall, *The American Empire and the Fourth World*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Alexandra Harmon, *Rich Indians: Native People and the Problem of Wealth in American History*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Marjory Harper, Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.
- R. Cole Harris, 'The Simplification of Europe Overseas', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 67, 4, 1977, pp. 469–83.
- R. Cole Harris, Leonard Guelke, 'Land and Society in Early Canada and South Africa', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3, 2, 1977, pp. 135–53.
- Louis Hartz (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia*, San Diego, Harvest/HBJ, 1964.
- Harvard University Library, Open Collections Program, 'Colonialism and International Medicine'. Available at: <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/contagion/colonialism.html> (accessed: 21/04/14).
- David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.
- David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Yogi Hale Hendlin, 'From Terra Nullius to Terra Communis: Reconsidering Wild Land in an Era of Conservation and Indigenous Rights', *Environmental Philosophy*, 2014. Available at: [http://www.pdcnet.org/pdc/bvdb.nsf/purchase?openform&fp=envirophil&id=envirophil\\_2014\\_0999\\_3\\_20\\_5](http://www.pdcnet.org/pdc/bvdb.nsf/purchase?openform&fp=envirophil&id=envirophil_2014_0999_3_20_5) (accessed: 12/06/14).
- Alistair Hennessy, *The Frontier in Latin American History*, London, Edward Arnold, 1978.
- Michael Herzfeld, 'The Absence Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101, 4, 2002, pp. 899–926.
- Theodor Herzl, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, New York, Herzl Press, 1960.
- Stéphane Hessel, *Indignez-vous!*, Montpellier, Indigène Editions, 2010.
- 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.
- Elina Hill, 'A Critique of the Call to "Always Indigenize!"', *Peninsula: A Journal of Relational Politics*, 2, 1, 2012. Available at: <http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/peninsula/article/view/11513/3212> (accessed: 22/12/12).
- Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1651].

- John A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*, London, James Nisbet, 1902.
- Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2002.
- Michael Holtby, *The Tiny House Revolution: A Guide to Living Large in Small Spaces*, North Charleston, NC, CreateSpace, 2013.
- Homer, *The Odyssey*, London, Penguin, 1996.
- Ronald J. Horvath, 'A Definition of Colonialism', *Current Anthropology*, 13, 1, 1972, pp. 45–57.
- Deirdre Howard-Wagner, 'Reclaiming the Northern Territory as a Settler Colonial Space', in John Hinkson, Paul James, Lorenzo Veracini (eds), *Broken Lands, Stolen Cultures*, Melbourne, Arena, 2012, pp. 220–40.
- Edward Humes, *Eco Barons*, New York, HarperCollins, 2009.
- Ingrid Huygens, 'Developing a Decolonisation Practice for Settler-Colonisers: A Case Study from Aotearoa New Zealand', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 2, 2011, pp. 53–81.
- IMDB, 'Buffy the Vampire Slayer (TV Series 1997–2003)'. Available at: [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0118276/?ref\\_=nv\\_sr\\_1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0118276/?ref_=nv_sr_1) (accessed: 11/06/14).
- IMDB, 'Firefly (TV Series 2002–2003)'. Available at: [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0303461/?ref\\_=ttpl\\_pl\\_tt](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0303461/?ref_=ttpl_pl_tt) (accessed: 11/06/14).
- IMDB, 'Synopsis for Free Birds (2013)'. Available at: [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1621039/synopsis?ref\\_=tt\\_stry\\_pl](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1621039/synopsis?ref_=tt_stry_pl) (accessed: 04/08/14).
- IMDB, 'Synopsis for The Croods (2013)'. Available at: [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0481499/synopsis?ref\\_=tt\\_stry\\_pl](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0481499/synopsis?ref_=tt_stry_pl) (accessed: 30/05/14).
- IMDB, 'Synopsys for The Matrix (1999)'. Available at: [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0133093/synopsis?ref\\_=tt\\_stry\\_pl](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0133093/synopsis?ref_=tt_stry_pl) (accessed: 15/09/14).
- IMDB, 'True Blood (TV Series 2008–)'. Available at: [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0844441/?ref\\_=nv\\_sr\\_1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0844441/?ref_=nv_sr_1) (accessed: 11/06/14).
- Indigène Editions, 'Indignez-vous! Par Stéphane Hessel', 21/10/10. Available at: [http://indigene-editions.blogspot.com/2010\\_10\\_01\\_archive.html](http://indigene-editions.blogspot.com/2010_10_01_archive.html) (accessed: 30/05/11).
- Sarah Irving, "'In a Pure Soil": Colonial Anxieties in the Work of Francis Bacon', *History of European Ideas*, 32, 2006, pp. 249–62.
- Duncan Ivison, *Postcolonial Liberalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940*, Lincoln, NE, University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Robine Jérémy, 'Les 'indigènes de la République': nation et question postcoloniale', *Hérodote*, 120, 2006, pp. 118–48.
- Miranda Johnson, 'Reconciliation, Indigeneity, and Postcolonial Nationhood in Settler States', *Postcolonial Studies*, 14, 2, 2011, pp. 187–201.
- Alison Jones, 'The Limits of Cross-Cultural Dialogue: Pedagogy, Desire and Absolution in the Classroom', *Educational Theory*, 49, 3, 1999, pp. 299–316.
- Eleni Kalantidou, Tony Fry (eds), *Design in the Borderlands*, New York, Routledge, 2014.
- J. Kehaulani Kauanui, 'Colonialism in Equality: Hawaiian Sovereignty and the Question of U.S. Civil Rights', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 107, 4, 2008.
- J. Kehaulani Kauanui, 'The Settler Colonial "Tragedy of the Commons" and the Politics of Contemporary "Reclamation"', forthcoming.

- Eric P. Kaufmann, '“Naturalizing the Nation”: The Rise of Naturalistic Nationalism in the United States and Canada', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40, 4, 1998, pp. 666–95.
- Albert Galloway Keller, *Colonization: A Study of the Founding of New Societies*, Boston, Ginn & Co, 1907.
- Parag Khanna, *The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order*, New York, Random House, 2008.
- Konstantin Kilibarda, 'Lessons from #Occupy in Canada: Contesting Space, Settler Consciousness and Erasures within the 99%', *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies*, 5, 2012, pp. 24–41.
- Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Territory*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1983.
- Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 2007.
- Paul A. Kramer, 'Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World', *American Historical Review*, 116, 15, 2011, pp. 1348–91.
- Mike Krebs, Dana M. Olwan, '“From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One”: Challenging Canadian and Israeli Settler Colonialism', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2, 2, 2012, pp. 138–64.
- Paul Krugman, 'Why We're in a New Gilded Age', *New York Review of Books*, 08/05/14. Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2014/may/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/> (accessed: 25/04/14).
- Hyman Kublin, 'The Evolution of Japanese Colonialism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2, 1, 1959, pp. 67–84.
- Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2008.
- George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- David Lambert, Alan Lester, 'Geographies of Colonial Philanthropy', *Progress in Human Geography*, 28, 2004, pp. 320–41.
- Matthew Lange, James Mahoney, Matthias von Hau, 'Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies', *American Journal of Sociology*, 111, 5, 2006, pp. 1412–62.
- Alan Lawson, 'A Cultural Paradigm for the Second World', *Australian-Canadian Studies*, 9, 1–2, 1991, pp. 67–78.
- Alan Lawson, 'Postcolonial Theory and the Settler Subject', in Cynthia Sugars (ed.), *Unhomely States: Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism*, Peterborough, Ont., Broadview Press, 2004, pp. 151–64.
- Bonita Lawrence, Enakshi Dua, 'Decolonizing Antiracism', *Social Justice*, 32, 4, 2005, pp. 120–43.
- Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1874.
- Stefano Liberti, *Land Grabbing. Come il mercato delle terre crea il nuovo colonialismo*, Rome, Minimum Fax, 2011.
- Marjo Lindroth, Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen, 'Adapt or Die? The Biopolitics of Indigeneity – From the Civilising Mission to the Need for Adaptation', *Global Society*, 28, 2, 2014, pp. 180–94.

- Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, Garden City, NJ, Anchor, 1967.
- David Lloyd, Laura Pulido, 'In the Long Shadow of the Settler: On Israeli and U.S. Colonialisms', *American Quarterly*, 62, 4, 2010, pp. 795–809.
- Neophytos Loizides, 'Contested Migration and Settler Politics in Cyprus', *Political Geography*, XXX, 2011, pp. 1–11.
- Domenico Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, London, Verso, 2011.
- Sarah Maddison, 'Indigenous Identity, "Authenticity" and the Structural Violence of Settler Colonialism', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 20, 3, 2013, pp. 288–303.
- Gary B. Magee, Andrew S. Thompson (eds), *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods, and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Oxford, James Currey, 1996.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *When Does a Settler Become a Native? Reflections of the Colonial Roots of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1998.
- Mahmood Mamdani, 'Historicising Power and Responses to Power: Indirect Rule and Its Reform', *Social Research*, 66, 3, 1999, pp. 859–86.
- Mahmood Mamdani, 'Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43, 4, 2001, pp. 651–64.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Saviours and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror*, London, Verso, 2009.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Mahmood Mamdani, 'Settler Colonialism: Then and Now', 10th Edward Said Memorial Lecture, 06/12/12. Available at: <http://misr.mak.ac.ug/news/settler-colonialism-then-and-now-text-prof-mamdani-lecture-10th-annual-edward-said-memorial> (accessed: 14/05/14).
- Jerry Mander, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (eds), *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*, San Francisco, Sierra Book Club, 2006.
- Patrick Manning (ed.), *Slave Trades, 1500–1800: The Globalization of Forced Labour*, Brookfield, VT, Variorum, 1996.
- Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History*, New York, Routledge, 2005.
- George Manuel, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, Don Mills, Ont., Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1974.
- Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976.
- Alberto Masoero, 'Territorial Colonization in Late Imperial Russia: Stages in the Development of a Concept', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 14, 1, 2013, pp. 59–91.
- James Massola, 'Labor factions split over government's decision to "reclassify" East Jerusalem', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19/06/14.

- Hiroko Matsuda, 'Becoming Japanese in the Colony: Okinawan Migrants in Colonial Taiwan', *Cultural Studies*, 26, 5, 2012, pp. 688–709.
- Achille Mbembe, 'Necropolitics', *Public Culture*, 15, 1, 2003, pp. 11–40.
- Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, London, Routledge, 1995.
- Mark McKenna, 'Tokenism or Belated Recognition? Welcome to Country and the Emergence of Indigenous Protocol in Australia, 1991–2014', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 38, 4, 2014, pp. 476–89.
- Phil McManus, John Connell, *Rural Revival? Place Marketing, Tree Change and Regional Migration in Australia*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011.
- William H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia: An Argument Concerning the Social Origins of Australian Radicalism and Nationalism*, Melbourne, Penguin Books, 1986.
- Albert A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, London, Earthscan, 2003 [1965].
- Allen P. Mendenhall, 'My "Country" Lies over the Ocean: Seasteading and Polycentric Law', *Studies in Emergent Order*, 5, 2012, pp. 137–56.
- Francesca Merlan, 'Indigeneity: Global and Local', *Current Anthropology*, 50, 3, 2009, pp. 303–33.
- Stephanie Meyer, *Twilight*, Little, Brown and Company, New York, 2005.
- Stephanie Meyer, *New Moon*, Little, Brown and Company, New York, 2006.
- Stephanie Meyer, *Eclipse*, Little, Brown and Company, New York, 2007.
- Stephanie Meyer, *Breaking Dawn*, Little, Brown and Company, New York, 2008.
- Sandro Mezzadra, Brett Neilson, *Border as Method, or the Multiplication of Labor*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2013.
- Kathryn Milun, *The Political Uncommons: The Cross-Cultural Logic of the Global Commons*, Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2011.
- Paul Moon, 'The Influence of "Benthamite" Philosophies on British Colonial Policy on New Zealand in the Era of the Treaty of Waitangi', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2014 (DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2014.941168).
- Anthony Moran, 'As Australia Decolonizes: Indigenizing Settler Nationalism and the Challenges of Settler/Indigenous Relations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25, 6, 2002, pp. 1013–42.
- Claudia Moreau, Claude Bhérier, Hélène Vézina, Michèle Jomphe, Damian Labuda, Laurent Excoffier, 'Deep Human Genealogies Reveal a Selective Advantage to Be on an Expanding Wave Front', *Science*, 03/11/11. Available at: <https://www.sciencemag.org/content/334/6059/1148.abstract> (accessed: 21/04/13).
- Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Sovereign Subjects*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin 2007.
- Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Scott Lauria Morgensen, 'The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1, 2011, pp. 52–76.
- Mouvement des indigènes de la république, 'Nous sommes les indigènes de la république', 10/10/05. Available at: <http://www.indigenes-republique.org/spip.php?article1> (accessed: 20/05/11).
- Gautham Nagesh, 'FCC to Propose New "Net Neutrality" Rules: Proposal Would Allow Broadband Providers to Give Preferential Treatment to Some Traffic', *Wall Street Journal*, 23/04/14.

- Evgeny Morozov, *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*, New York, Public Affairs, 2013.
- Felix Mukwiza Ndahinda, *Indigenouness in Africa: A Contested Legal Framework for Empowerment of 'Marginalized' Communities*, Houten, Springer, 2011.
- Felix Mukwiza Ndahinda (ed.), 'Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights', special issue of the *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 18, 4, 2011.
- Robert Nichols, 'Realizing the Social Contract: The Case of Colonialism and Indigenous Peoples', *Contemporary Political Theory*, 4, 2005, pp. 42–62.
- Robert Nichols, 'Indigeneity and the Social Contract Today', *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 39, 2, 2013, pp. 165–96.
- Robert Nichols, 'Contract and Usurpation: Enfranchisement and Racial Governance in Settler-Colonial Contexts', in Audra Simpson, Andrea Smith (eds), *Theorizing Native Studies*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2014, pp. 99–122.
- Toula Nicolacopoulos, George Vassilacopoulos, *Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of the Occupier: Manifesto for a White Australian Philosophy of Origins*, Melbourne, re.press, 2014.
- Fiona Nicoll, 'Reconciliation In and Out of Perspective: White Knowing, Seeing, Curating and Being at Home in and Against Indigenous Sovereignty', in Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed.), *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Canberra, AIATSIS Press, 2004, pp. 17–31.
- Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2003.
- Oakland Institute, 'Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa', 07/06/11. Available at: <http://media.oaklandinstitute.org/press-release-understanding-land-investment-deals-africa> (accessed: 09/06/11).
- Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- #Occupy Wall Street, NYC General Assembly, 'Declaration of the Occupation of New York City'. Available at: <http://www.nycga.net/resources/documents/declaration> (accessed: 02/05/14).
- Andrew Odom, Crystal Odom, 'Manifesto'. Available at: <http://tinyrevolution.us/about/manifesto> (accessed: 15/07/14).
- Creed O'Hanlon, 'Seeland', *Griffith Review*, 20, 2008. Available at: <https://griffithreview.com/articles/sealand> (accessed: 14/06/14).
- Jurgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Princeton, NJ, Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997.
- Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, New York, Barnes & Noble Books, 1995 [1776].
- Michelle Pan, *Bella Should have Dumped Edward: Controversial Views & Debates on the Twilight Series*, Berkeley, CA, Ulysses Press, 2010.
- H.O. Pappe, 'Wakefield and Marx', *Economic History Review*, 4, 1, 1951, pp. 88–97.
- Richard Pares, 'The Economic Factors in the History of the Empire', *Economic History Review*, 7, 2, 1937, pp. 119–44.
- Carole Pateman, 'The Settler Contract', in Carole Pateman, Charles W. Mills, *Contract and Domination*, Cambridge, Polity, 2007, pp. 35–78.

- Laura Payton, 'Stephen Harper Vows Loyalty to Israel in Speech to Knesset: Speech to Israeli Parliament Unique for a Canadian Prime Minister', *CBC News*, 20/01/14. Available at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/stephen-harper-vows-loyalty-to-israel-in-speech-to-knesset-1.2503393> (accessed: 13/06/14).
- David Pearson, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies: States of Unease*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- David Pearson, 'Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25, 6, 2002, pp. 989–1012.
- Robert Peckham, 'Economies of Contagion: Financial Crisis and Pandemic', *Economy and Society*, 42, 2, 2013, pp. 226–48.
- Gamaliel Perruci, "'Green McWorld" Versus "Gold Jihad": The Clash of Ideas in the Brazilian Amazon', *Global Society*, 13, 2, 2008, pp. 163–80.
- Nicola Perugini, Neve Gordon, *The Human Right to Dominate*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- Nicola Perugini, Kareem Rabie, 'The Human Right to the Colony', in Tommaso Sbriccoli, Stefano Jacoviello (eds), *Shifting Borders: European Perspectives on Creolisation*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, pp. 35–56.
- Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*, Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Gabriel Piterberg, *The Returns of Zionism: Myths, Politics and Scholarship in Israel*, London, Verso, 2008.
- Gabriel Piterberg, Lorenzo Veracini, 'Wakefield, Marx, and the World Turned Inside Out', *Journal of Global History*, forthcoming.
- J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47, 1975, pp. 601–24.
- M.F. Lloyd Prichard (ed.), *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, Glasgow, Collins, 1968.
- Pyr Publishers, 'The Greyfriar: Vampire Empire Book 1'. Available at: <http://www.pyrsf.com/greyfriar.html> (accessed: 29/05/14).
- Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Ayn Rand, *Atlas Shrugged: 50th Anniversary Edition*, New York, Penguin, 1999.
- Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2010.
- John Rieder, *Colonialism and the Emergence of Science Fiction*, Middletown, CT, Wesleyan University Press, 2008.
- Mark Rifkin, 'Indigenizing Agamben: Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the "Peculiar" Status of Native Peoples', *Cultural Critique*, 73, 2009, pp. 88–124.
- Mark Rifkin, 'Settler Common Sense', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3, 3–4, 2013, pp. 322–40.
- Mark Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
- Angela R. Riley, 'Sucking the Quileute Dry', *New York Times*, 07/02/12.
- Bruce Robbins, 'Subaltern Speak', *n+1 Magazine*, 18, 2013. Available at: <https://nplusonemag.com/issue-18/reviews/subaltern> (accessed: 22/04/14).
- Bruce Robbins, 'Response to Vivek Chibber', *n+1 Magazine*, 09/01/14. Available at: <https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/response-to-vivek-chibber> (accessed: 22/04/14).

- Ronald Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration', in Roger Owen, Bob Sutcliffe (eds), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, London, Longmans, 1972, pp. 117–40.
- Deborah Bird Rose, 'Land Rights and Deep Colonising: The Erasure of Women', *Aboriginal Law Bulletin*, 3, 85, 1996, pp. 6–13.
- Mireille Rosello, *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Andrew Ross, *Creditocracy and the Case for Debt Refusal*, New York, OR Books, 2013.
- Tim Rowse, 'Indigenous Heterogeneity', *Australian Historical Studies*, 45, 3, 2014, pp. 297–310.
- Daniel Rueck, 'Commons, Enclosure, and Resistance in Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory, 1850–1900', *Canadian Historical Review*, 95, 3, 2014, pp. 352–81.
- Lynette Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous–European Encounters in Settler Societies*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Peter H. Russell, *Recognizing Aboriginal Title: The Mabo Case and Indigenous Resistance to English-Settler Colonialism*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Ivan Sablin, Maria Savelyeva, 'Mapping Indigenous Siberia: Spatial Changes and Ethnic Realities, 1900–2010', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1, 2011, pp. 77–110.
- Sara Safransky, 'Greening the Urban Frontier: Race, Property, and Resettlement in Detroit' *Geoforum*, 56, 2014, pp. 237–48.
- Edward Said, 'Michael Walzer's Exodus and Revolution: A Canaanite Reading', in Edward Said, Christopher Hitchens (eds), *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, London, Verso, 1988, pp. 161–78.
- Steven Salaita, *The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan*, Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Christian Sandvig, 'Welcome to 1927: The Creation of Property Rights and Internet Domain Name Policy in Historical Perspective', in Peter Day, Doug Schuler (eds), *Community Practice in the Network Society Local Action / Global Interaction*, London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 52–65.
- Abdelmalek Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, Cambridge, Polity, 2004.
- Laura Schaeffli, Anne Godlewska, 'Social Ignorance and Indigenous Exclusion: Public Voices in the Province of Quebec, Canada', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 4, 3, 2014, pp. 227–44.
- Susanne Schech, Jane Haggis, 'Migrancy, Whiteness and the Settler Self in Contemporary Australia', in John Docker, Gerhard Fischer (eds), *Race, Colour and Identity in Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2000, pp. 231–39.
- Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, Cristina Szanton Blanc, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68, 1, 1995, pp. 48–63.
- Craig Scott, 'Indigenous Self-Determination and Decolonization of the International Imagination: A Plea', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 18, 4, 1996, pp. 814–20.
- The Seasteading Institute, 'Homepage'. Available at: <http://www.seasteading.org> (accessed: 15/06/14).
- Javier Sethness, 'Noam Chomsky: Ecology, Ethics, Anarchism', *Truthout*, 03/04/14. Available at: <http://truth-out.org/news/item/22819-noam-chomsky-ecology-ethics-anarchism> (accessed: 02/06/14).



- Jay Shafer, *The Small House Book*, Boyes Hot Springs, CA, Tumbleweeds, 2009.
- Nandita Sharma, Cynthia Wright, 'Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States', *Social Justice*, 35, 3, 2009, pp. 120–38.
- Michael Shermer, 'Heavens on Earth: Can a Scientific Utopia Succeed?', *Scientific American*, 310, 77, 2014. Available at: <http://www.nature.com/scientificamerican/journal/v310/n2/full/scientificamerican0214-77.html> (accessed: 15/09/14).
- Shu-Mei Shih, 'The Concept of the Sinophone', *PMLA*, 12, 6, 3, pp. 709–18.
- Thomas Sikor, Johannes Stahl, Thomas Enters, Jesse C. Ribot, Neera Singh, William D. Sunderlin, Lini Wollenberg, 'REDD-plus, Forest People's Rights and Nested Climate Governance', *Global Environmental Change*, 20, 2010, pp. 423–5.
- Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Ben Silverstein, *Governing Natives: Indirect rule and Settler Colonialism in Australia's North*, forthcoming.
- Audra Simpson, 'Settlement's Secret', *Cultural Anthropology*, 26, 2, 2011, pp. 205–17.
- Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2014.
- Audra Simpson, Andrea Smith (eds), *Theorizing Native Studies*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2014.
- Stephen Slemon, 'Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 30, 2, 1990, pp. 30–41.
- Small House Society, 'Homepage'. Available at: <http://smallhousesociety.net> (accessed: 19/06/14).
- Small House Society, 'A Voice for the Small House Movement'. Available at <http://smallhousesociety.net/about> (accessed: 22/06/14).
- Andrea Smith, 'The Colonialism that is Settled and the Colonialism that Never Happened', 20/06/14. Available at: <http://decolonization.wordpress.com/2014/06/20/the-colonialism-that-is-settled-and-the-colonialism-that-never-happened> (accessed: 22/06/14).
- Anthony D. Smith, 'State-Making and Nation-Building', in John A. Hall (ed.), *States in History*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, pp. 228–63.
- Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, Jeff Corntassel, 'Unsettling Settler Colonialism: The Discourse and Politics of Settlers, and Solidarity with Indigenous Nations', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3, 2, 2014, pp. 1–32.
- Werner Sombart, 'American Capitalism's Economic Rewards', in John H.M. Laslett, Seymour Martin Lipset (eds), *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1984, pp. 452–67.
- Tequila Sovereign (Joanne Barker), "'Settler" What?', 09/04/11. Available at: <http://tequilasovereign.blogspot.com/2011/04/settler-what.html> (accessed: 21/04/14).
- Taylor Spence, 'The Endless Commons: Indigenous and Immigrant in the British-American Borderland, 1835–1848', PhD dissertation, Yale, 2012.
- Daiva Stasiulis, Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies – Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies', in Daiva Stasiulis, Nira

- Yuval-Davis (eds), *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, London, Sage, 1995, pp. 1–38.
- Daiva Stasiulis, Nira Yuval-Davis (eds), *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, London, Sage, 1995.
- Phillip E. Steinberg, Elizabeth Nyman, Mauro J. Caraccioli, 'Atlas Swam: Freedom, Capital, and Floating Sovereignities in the Seasteading Vision', *Antipode*, 44, 4, 2012, pp. 1532–50.
- Erich Steinman, 'Settler Colonial Power and the American Indian Sovereignty Movement: Forms of Domination, Strategies of Transformation', *American Journal of Sociology*, 117, 4, 2012, pp. 1073–130.
- Makere Stewart-Harawira, *The New Imperial Order: Indigenous Responses to Globalization*, London, Zed Books, 2005.
- Sarah Susanka, *This not so Big House*, Newtown, CT, Taunton Press, 2001 [1997].
- Marcelo Svirsky (ed.), 'Settler Colonialism and Collaborative Struggles in Australia and Israel-Palestine', special issue of *Settler Colonial Studies*, 4, 4, 2014.
- Marcelo Svirsky, 'The Collaborative Struggle and the Permeability of Settler Colonialism', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 4, 4, 2014, pp. 327–33.
- Laura Sydell, 'Don't Like The Government? Make Your Own, On International Waters', *NPR Radio*, 17/12/12. Available at: <http://www.npr.org/blogs/alltechconsidered/2012/12/17/166887292/dont-like-the-government-make-your-own-on-international-waters> [(accessed: 17/07/14).]
- Pierre André Taguieff (ed.), *Face au racisme*, Paris, La Découverte, 1991.
- Astra Taylor, 'How the Internet Is Transforming from a Tool of Liberation to One of Oppression', *Huffington Post*, 05/06/14. Available at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/astra-taylor/internet-oppression-liberation\\_b\\_5449838.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/astra-taylor/internet-oppression-liberation_b_5449838.html) (accessed: 06/06/14).
- Astra Taylor, *The People's Platform: Taking Back Power and Culture in the Digital Age*, New York, Metropolitan Books, 2014.
- Charles Taylor, 'The Politics of Recognition', in Amy Guttmann (ed.), *Re-examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 25–73.
- Henry David Thoreau, 'Where I Lived, and What I Lived for', in Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*. Available at: <http://thoreau.eserver.org/walden02.html#14> (accessed: 19/06/14).
- Sarah E. Thorne, 'The Cleaving of House and Home: A Lacanian Analysis of Architectural Aesthetics', MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2012.
- Charles Tilly, 'Where Do Rights Come From', in Theda Skocpol (ed.), *Democracy, Revolution and History*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 55–72.
- Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian–Australian Environmental Reform, 1860–1930*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1999.
- Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Michael Tortorello, 'Small World, Big Idea', *New York Times*, 19/02/14.
- Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, 'Decolonization is not a Metaphor', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1, 1, 2012, pp. 1–40.
- Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1999.
- Ozlem Ulgen, 'Developing the Doctrine of Aboriginal Title in South Africa: Source and Content', *Journal of African Law*, 46, 2, 2002, pp. 131–54.

- Coney Bolton Valencius, *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*, New York, Basic Books, 2002.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'Interacting Imaginaries in Israel and the United States', in Ned Curthoys, Debjani Ganguly (eds), *Edward Said: Debating the Legacy of a Public Intellectual*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2007, pp. 293–312.
- Lorenzo Veracini, "'Emphatically Not a White Man's Colony": Settler Colonialism and the Construction of Colonial Fiji', *Journal of Pacific History*, 43, 3, 2008, pp. 189–205.
- Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'District 9 and Avatar: Science Fiction and Settler Colonialism', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 32, 4, 2011, pp. 355–67.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'Isopolitics, Deep Colonizing, Settler Colonialism', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 13, 2, 2011, pp. 171–89.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'On Settler Colonialism and Science Fiction (Again): "Cowboys and Aliens" (2011) Tells a Settler Colonial Story', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2, 1, 2012, pp. 268–72.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'Suburbia, Settler Colonialism and the World Turned Inside Out', *Housing, Theory and Society*, 29, 4, 2012, pp. 339–57.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'Constructing "Settler Colonialism": Career of a Concept', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41, 2, 2013, pp. 313–33.
- Lorenzo Veracini, 'Why Settler Australia Needs Refugees', *Arena Magazine*, 125, 2013, pp. 35–8.
- Manu Vimalassery, 'Counter-sovereignty', *J19: Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists*, 2, 1, 2014, pp. 142–8.
- Jeremy Waldron, 'Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy', *New Zealand Journal of Public and International Law*, 1, 2003, pp. 55–82.
- Lester Walker, *Tiny Houses: How to Get Away from it All*, Woodstock, Overlook Press, 1987.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, New York, Academic Press, 1974.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2004.
- Jeffrey Wasserstrom, 'Book Review: "The Transformation of the World" by Jürgen Osterhammel', *Wall Street Journal*, 23/05/14.
- Edward Watts, *An American Colony: Regionalism and the Roots of Midwestern Culture*, Athens, OH, Ohio University Press, 2002.
- Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease Power and Imperialism*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1988.
- John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Peter Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium*, Wellington, Price Milburn/Victoria University Press, 1979.
- Kathryn Westcott, 'Osama Bin Laden: Why Geronimo?', *BBC News*, 03/05/11. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-13265069> (accessed: 12/06/14).
- Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Sarah Whyte, 'Australia Attacked for Refusal to Call West Bank Occupied', *The Age*, 18/06/14.

- Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, *Atlas mondial des migrations*, Paris, Autrement, 2009.
- Robin Wilkey, 'Seasteading Institute Convened In San Francisco: Group Fights For Floating Cities (PHOTOS)', *Huffington Post*, 04/06/12. Available at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/04/seasteading-institute\\_n\\_1568951.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/04/seasteading-institute_n_1568951.html) (accessed: 25/05/14).
- David Williams, 'Adam Smith and Colonialism', *Journal of International Political Theory*, 2014.
- Sasha Williams, Ian Law, 'Legitimising Racism: An Exploration of the Challenges Posed by the Use of Indigeneity Discourses by the Far Right', *Sociological Research Online*, 17, 2 2012. Available at: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/17/2/2.html> (accessed: 16/05/14).
- Natalie Wilson, *Seduced by Twilight: The Allure and Contradictory Messages of the Poplar Saga*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Co., 2011.
- Stephen Winter, *Transitional Justice in Established Democracies: A Political Theory*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- John Winthrop, 'What Warrant Have We to Take That Land?', Available at: <http://www.historytools.org/sources/winthrop-land.html> (accessed: 29/05/14).
- Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1982.
- Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, London, Cassell, 1999.
- Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, 4, 2006, pp. 387–409.
- Patrick Wolfe, 'Recuperating Binarianism: A Heretical Introduction', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3, 3–4, 2013, pp. 257–79.
- Terry Wotherspoon, John Hansen, 'The "Idle No More" Movement: Paradoxes of First Nations Inclusion in the Canadian Context', *Social Inclusion*, 1, 1, 2013, pp. 21–36.
- David Wroe, 'Attorney-General George Brandis says use of term "occupied" over East Jerusalem as inappropriate', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 05/06/14.

# Index

- Aboriginal activism 44  
*Abraham Lincoln, Vampire Hunter* 73,  
124 n. 16  
accumulation by dispossession 90,  
91–3  
accumulation without  
dispossession 92  
accumulation without reproduction  
92–4  
Africa 19, 24, 54–5, 56, 61, 62–4, 70,  
120 n. 21  
age of settlement/age of unsettlement  
68–9  
Agricultural and Acclimatisation  
Societies 23  
Alexander, Gregory 12  
Alfred, Taiaiake and Jeff  
Cornstassel 26  
Algeria 24, 60, 108  
America 3, 4, 14, 32, 54, 106, 119 n.  
6, 120 n. 22  
American dream 77–8  
anachronism 70, 74, 90  
Anderson, Benedict 115 n. 2  
Anderson, Perry 36, 44  
Andreasson, Stefan 61  
*A New Britannia* 3  
Anglo-Saxonism 27  
antiracism 44, 118 n. 46  
ANZAC 51  
Aotearoa New Zealand 12, 25, 57,  
58, 60, 91, 104, 108  
Arata, Stephen 71  
Arendt, Hannah 111 n. 15  
Argentina 40, 129 n. 92  
Arrighi, Giovanni 92  
Asia 56  
'Asians' (in Hawaii) 45–6  
Asia-Pacific region 16, 33  
asylum seekers (refugees) 3, 34, 38,  
44, 68, 117 n. 22  
*Atlas Shrugged* 81  
Australia 3, 32, 38, 52, 57, 58, 77, 88,  
104, 106, 116 n. 9, 117 n. 22, 128  
n. 88, 130 n. 23  
Australian labour movement 3  
autochthony 47  
Bacon, Francis 22  
bacterial logic 16, 26, 44  
Barker, Adam 83, 103, 115 n. 60  
Barker, Joanne 118 n. 46  
Bashford, Alison 33  
Belich, James 2, 7, 13, 23, 24, 42, 95,  
103, 114 n. 42, 126 n. 47  
Bell, Avril 89, 103, 107, 131 n. 29  
Bell, David 84  
Bentham, Jeremy 113 n. 27  
Bhandar, Brenna 92  
Boer Treks 24  
Bolivia 56  
Book of Mormon 22  
border as method 48, 118 n. 36  
Boston 28  
Brazil 127 n. 74  
Bull, Malcolm 36–7  
Burke, Edmund 97  
Burke, Kenneth 2  
Burma 53, 56  
Byrd, Jody A. 46, 130 n. 22  
Cabral, Amílcar 28  
Cambodia 53  
*Capital in the Twenty-First Century* 97,  
129 n. 6  
capitalism 10, 39–40, 68, 75, 97, 99  
*Capital's* 33rd Chapter 39  
Carr, Jesse 73, 124 n. 17  
Castel, Robert 59  
Castles, Stephen and Frank Miller 34  
Cato Institute 80  
Chakravartty, Paula and Denise  
Ferreira da Silva 91, 128 n. 90  
*Changes in the Land* 22, 75  
China 19, 63,

- Chomsky, Noam 10, 101  
 Christian Zionists 90  
 'city upon the hill' 81  
 Clifford, James 121 n. 31  
 climate change legislation  
 122–3 n. 59  
 Colás, Alejandro 11  
 colonialism, as a viral form 16–21  
 colonialism's 'host range' 17–18  
 colonialism's transmission 18–19  
 colonial rule of difference 18  
 colon states 56  
 Columbian exchange 23  
 Comaroff, Jean and John 20  
 commensalism 25  
 Commons 63, 65–6, 87, 90, 93,  
 102–3, 123 n. 65, 131 n. 27  
*Considerations on Representative  
 Government* 21  
 Continental Congress.2 84  
 contextual definition 2, 5, 99, 103,  
 111 n. 12  
 coolies 3  
 Corntassel, Jeff 26, 52  
 Coulthard, Glen 92, 111 n. 19, 131  
 n. 27, 131 n. 29  
 Cox, Emma 38–9  
 'creditocracy' 93  
 Creole state 115 n. 2  
 Crèvecoeur, J. Hector de St John 111  
 n. 15  
 Crimea 121 n. 46  
 critical race studies 45  
 Cronon, William 22, 75  
 Crosby, Alfred W. 32, 112 n. 5  
 culture techniques 24, 26, 31, 43–4,  
 98, 100, 115 n. 60  
*Current Anthropology* 57  
 Cyprus 117 n. 34  
  
 Dalsheim, Joyce 70  
 Darwin, Charles 56  
 decolonisation (post-settler passage)  
 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 24, 29–30, 34, 36,  
 38, 46, 48, 59, 61, 96, 98, 100,  
 101–6, 109, 115 n. 60  
 debt 75, 78, 79, 92, 93, 96, 131 n. 24  
 Declaration of the Occupation of New  
 York City 83  
  
 deep colonising 104  
 De Gaulle 24  
 degenerative hypothesis 27  
 Deloria, Philip J. 52  
 Denoon, Donald 18  
 Department of Immigration and  
 Border Protection (Australia) 3  
 dependency theory 40  
 Derrida, Jacques 107  
 Deseret 22  
 Detroit 90  
 Disney World 36–7  
 Doctrine of Discovery 4  
 domestic dependent nations 57,  
 67, 91  
*Dracula* 71  
 dynamic geographies 82  
  
*East Jerusalem* 128 n. 88  
*Ecological Imperialism* 32  
 economic entomology 113–14 n. 29  
 Ecuador 56  
 Edwards, Penny 53  
 effective use law (Brazil) 88  
 egalitarianism 3, 87  
 Egypt 19  
 elimination, logic of 9  
*Empire* 11  
 Engels, Friedrich 39, 111 n. 15  
*Essay on the Principle of Population* 14  
 Ethiopia 19  
 ethnographic colonialism 118 n. 40  
 Europeanisation 22  
 exceptionalism 3, 51, 106, 111 n. 21,  
 117 n. 25  
 Excoffier, Laurent 13–14, 15, 16  
 exile 44, 108–9  
  
 Fanon, Frantz 28, 30, 61,  
 131 n. 29  
 Felli, Roman 122–3 n. 59  
 Ferreira da Silva, Denise 91,  
 118, n. 46  
 Fieldhouse, D.K. 22, 54  
*Financial Times* 12  
 First World 39, 70  
 Ford, Lisa 9  
 Fourth World 39, 40, 70  
 France 59–60

- Franklin, Benjamin 22  
*Free Birds* 74  
 Freeman, E. Edward 27  
 Friedman, Milton 125 n. 38  
 Friedman, Petri 80–2, 124 n. 38  
 Friedman, Thomas 36  
 Fry, Tony 68–9, 98  
 Fujikane, Candace 45–6
- Geisler, Charles 62–4  
 George, Henry 75, 87, 97  
 Germany 63  
 Ghost Dance religion 25  
 Glaeser, Edward 130 n. 11  
 globalisation 46, 62, 70, 116 n. 9  
 Global North 40, 53  
 Goldstein, Alyosha 111 n. 19,  
 120 n. 19  
 Goodin, Robert E. 6, 49–51, 68  
 Graeber, David 102  
 Grahame-Smith, Susan 73  
 Gramlich, Wayne 80  
 Gramsci, Antonio 111 n. 15  
 Grande, Sandy 82–3  
 ‘great land Rush’ 18, 28, 54, 64,  
 86, 97  
 Greeks, ancient 27  
 Greer, Allan 66, 123 n. 65  
 Gregory, Derek 111 n. 19  
 Griffith, Clay and Susan 72
- Harper, Marjory and Stephen  
 Constantine 34  
 Harper, Stephen 128 n. 88  
 Hartz, Louis 111 n. 15, 114 n. 39  
 Harvey, David 91, 92, 123 n. 61, 128  
 n. 90  
 Hawaii 45–6, 56  
 Hegel, Georg W.F. 131 n. 25  
 Heidegger, Martin 69  
 Hendlin, Yogi Hale 65–6, 123 n. 61  
 Herzl, Theodor 92  
 Hessel, Stephan 60  
 heuristics 5, 7, 15, 16, 28, 29, 37, 93,  
 98, 100, 101, 106, 109  
 ‘higher use’ rhetoric 62  
 Hobbes, Thomas 21, 49, 70  
 Hobson, John A. 16, 113 n. 11
- homogeneity, racial and cultural 24,  
 54, 89, 96, 98  
 Huygens, Ingrid; 115 n. 60  
 ‘humax’ 69
- Idle No More 103  
 imperialism 10, 16, 17, 26, 28, 39,  
 40, 94, 113 n. 11  
*Imperialism: A Study* 16  
 India 10, 29, 39  
 Indian Shaker Church 25  
 Indian Sovereignty Movement 105  
*indigénat* 59  
*Indigène Editions* 60  
 indigeneity 38, 54, 57–9, 70, 88, 107,  
 122 n. 47, 127 n. 75  
 indigenisation 29, 38, 39, 50, 55,  
 59–61, 66, 72, 88, 93, 99, 106, 121  
 n. 35, 122 n. 47  
 indigenous ‘renaissance’ 55  
 indigenous ‘resurgence’ 103,  
 131 n. 29  
*Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of  
 the Occupier* 102  
*Indignados* 60, 83–4  
 indirect rule 29, 54  
 Indochina 56  
 industrial reserve army 92  
 International Union for the  
 Conservation of Nature  
 123 n. 67  
 internet 79, 80, 84–7, 126 n. 62
- Jackson, Frederick 51  
 Japan (Meiji era) 19  
 Japanese colonisations 56  
 Jefferson, Thomas 10, 86, 98  
 Jones, Alston 100  
*Journal of Global History* 33
- Kauanaui, Keahulani 131 n. 27,  
 132 n. 40  
 Keller, Albert Galloway 14, 15  
 Kidd, Benjamin 26  
 Kimmerling, Baruch 22  
 Klein, Naomi 92  
 Kramer, Paul A. 34–5  
 Krugman, Paul 97

- Lake, Marilyn and Henry Reynolds 33  
 Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson 102, 131 n. 24  
 Lambert, David and Alan Lester 20  
 land grabs 62–4, 70, 98  
 Landlord's Game 75  
 Latin America 25, 54, 55–6, 115 n. 54  
 Lawrence, Bonita and Enkashi Dua 44–8, 98–9  
 Lenin, Vladimir Ilic 39  
 Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul 35–6  
*Les indigènes de la République* 59–60, 83, 121 n. 37  
*Leviathan* 21  
 liberal democratic political cultures 57–8, 67  
 liberalism 97  
 Lindroth, Marjo and Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen 127 n. 75  
 Lipset, Seymour Martin 111 n. 15  
 lynching 124 n. 17  
 lynching dramas 73  
 Longhouse Religion 25  
 low/high frontierity 22, 28  
  
 Maddison, Sarah 88–9  
 Maghreb 59  
 Magritte, René 4  
 Mather, Cotton 28  
 Malthus, Thomas 14, 15, 22, 112 n. 5,  
 Mamdani, Mahmood 5, 6, 38, 40, 54, 61, 62, 98, 106, 111 n. 12, 111 n. 21, 119 n. 6, 120 n. 20  
 mandatory detention 39  
 Marx, Karl 4, 8, 39, 91, 112 n. 23  
 Massachusetts 64  
 Mbembe, Achille 27  
 McClintock, Anne 74  
 McQueen, Humphrey 3  
 Merlan, Francesca 57–8  
 Meyer, Stephanie 71–2  
*Migration and Empire* 33–4  
 Mill, John Stuart 21, 26, 36, 39, 113 n. 27, 114 n. 46  
 Milun, Kathryn 66  
  
*Mohawk Interruptus* 9  
 Mongolia 56  
 monoculture 31  
 Monopoly boardgame 75  
 Monroe, James 120 n. 19  
 Morgensen, Scott Lauria 27, 62, 119 n. 57, 132 n. 32  
 Mormons 22  
 'moves to innocence' 118 n. 48  
 Mozorov, Evgeny 84  
 Mutualism 31  
  
 native studies 101  
 Negri, Antonio and Michael Hardt 11  
 neo-colonialism 20, 37, 56, 62, 99  
 neoliberalism 47, 64, 80, 81, 82, 93, 99, 123 n. 61, 125 n. 37, 127 n. 35, 129 n. 106  
 new British history 116 n. 5  
 new enclosures 64, 91–2, 93, 103, 133 n. 65  
 new frontier 81, 82, 90  
 New South Wales 14  
 New World 16, 71, 72  
 Nichols, Robert 69–70, 130 n. 21  
 Nicolacopoulos, Toula and George Vassilacopoulos 102, 111 n. 18, 130 n. 23  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 69  
 North America 9, 14, 22, 25, 66, 81, 91, 131 n. 27  
 Northern Territory Emergency Response (2007) 88  
 Northwest Ordinance 86  
  
 Obama, Barack 85  
 Occupy Wall Street 82–3, 84  
 Odyssey 107–8  
*Of Plantations* 22  
 Old Northwest 56  
*On Colonisation among Modern Peoples* 35–6  
*On Liberty* 114 n. 46  
*On Settling* 49–51  
 Oregon Trail videogame 75, 124 n. 24  
 Osterhammel, Jurgen 11–12, 91



- Pacific Islanders 3  
 Pai Marire 25  
 Paine, Thomas 95  
 Palestine (West Bank, Palestinian question) 30, 56, 90–1, 93, 94, 129 n. 101  
 parasitism 25, 27, 107, 113 n. 11  
 Pares, Richard 18  
 Pateman, Carole 104, 111 n. 17  
 ‘patent model’ for social change 81  
 Paypal 80, 125 n. 40  
 Persia 19  
 Peru 56  
 Piketty, Thomas 97, 129 n. 6  
 Pocahontas 74  
 Pocock, J.G.A. 116 n. 5  
 polycentric law 82  
 Portuguese colonialism 36  
 Potlaches 107  
 primitive accumulation of capital 91–2, 93  
*Progress and Poverty* 87  
 ‘pure’ settlement colonies 22, 54
- Quebec 13, 133 n. 50  
 Queensland 3
- Racial Discrimination Act 1975, suspension of 88  
 Rana, Aziz 41, 110 n. 8  
 Rand, Ayn 81  
 Regan, Paulette 8, 52  
 recognition, politics of 31, 103, 115 n. 61, 131 n. 29  
 REDD deals 65, 122 n. 59  
 regressive hypothesis 27  
 rent extraction 79, 92, 96, 122 n. 59  
*Replenishing the Earth* 24, 114 n. 42, 126 n. 47  
 Rifkin, Mark 95–6  
 Romans, ancient 27  
 Rose, Deborah Bird 104  
 Rosello, Mirelle 107  
 Royal Proclamation of 1763 24  
 Russia 61, 118 n. 39, 121 n. 46  
 RVs 77
- Saguenay Lac Saint-Jean 13  
 Safransky, Sara 90
- Said, Edward 111 n. 21  
 Saudi Arabia 63  
 Sayad, Abdelmalek 41  
 Scandinavia 57  
 sea change 77  
 seasteading 79–82  
 Seasteading Institute 80–1  
 Second Intifada 30  
 Second World 39, 40, 52, 70  
 semiperiphery 52, 56  
*Science* 13, 14  
 Schect, Susanne and Jane Haggis 106  
 science fiction 71, 124 n. 10  
 ‘Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native’ 30  
*Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* 27, 98  
 settler colonialism as a bacterial form 21–6  
 settler colonialism as a return 42, 96  
 settler colonialism, as ‘structure and not an event’ 1, 3, 6, 9  
*Settler Colonialism A Theoretical Overview* 6  
 settler colonial reflexes 65, 69, 76, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 95, 98  
 settler colonial structures of feeling 95, 96  
 settler colonial studies 1, 6, 9–10, 27, 52, 54, 56, 70, 93, 100–1, 109  
 settler colonial studies blog 120–1 n. 30  
 settler common sense 8, 84, 95–7  
 settler contract 104, 111 n. 17  
 settler revolution 2, 7, 43, 49, 54, 75, 81, 82, 85, 87, 95–8  
 Settler societies (see also ‘Angloworld’, Anglo-settler politics, ‘CANZAUS’) 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, 23, 24, 31, 35, 38, 40, 41, 43, 52, 56, 57–8, 61, 62, 66, 70, 89, 91, 102, 106, 107, 116 n. 19, 120 n. 21, 130 n. 22, 132 n. 42  
 ‘Settlers of Catan’ boardgame 74–6  
 Shafer, Jay 79  
 Shanghai 56  
 Sharma, Nandita and Cythia Wright 44, 46–8, 98–9

- Siam 19  
 Siberia 56, 118 n. 39  
 Simpson, Audra 9  
 sinophone expansion 56  
 slave–master relation 17  
 Small House Society 78  
 Smith, Adam 22  
 Smith, Andrea 100–1  
 Smith, Anthony 32, 37  
*Social Evolution* 26  
 Sombart, Werner 4  
 South Africa 24, 55, 61, 108,  
 112 n. 37  
 South Korea 63  
 Soviet nationality policy 61  
 Spanish colonialism 55, 56  
 Spinoza, Baruch 2, 103  
 Steinman, Erich 105  
 Stoker, Bram 71, 124 n. 9  
 surplus populations 92  
 Susanka, Sarah 77  
 Svirsky, Marcelo 133 n. 46
- Taiwan 56  
 Taylor, Astra 87  
 Taylor, Brad 81  
 technoescapists 84  
*terra nullius* 4–5, 37, 41, 62–6, 69, 76,  
 85, 90, 111 n. 17  
 Thanksgiving 73  
*The Colonial Present* 111 n. 19  
*The Croods* 73  
*The Global Colour Line* 33  
*The Matrix* 88  
*The Middle Ground* 25, 43, 54,  
 114 n. 44  
*The Shock Doctrine* 92  
*The Transformation of the World*  
 11, 91  
*The Wretched of the Earth* 30, 36–7  
 the99declaration.org 83–4, 126 n. 57  
 Thiel, Peter 80, 84–5, 125 n. 40  
 Third World 15, 39, 40, 47, 70  
*This not So Big House* 77  
 Thoreau, Henry David 79,  
 Tibet 117 n. 34  
 Tilly, Charles 132 n. 40  
*Tiny Homes* 125 n. 34  
 tiny houses movement 77–9
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 3, 96, 111 n.  
 15, 119 n. 6, 129 n. 6  
*To Save Everything, Click Here* 84  
 transitional justice 104–5,  
 132 n. 42  
 Treaty of Waitangi 104  
 tree change 77  
*Triumph of the City* 130 n. 11  
*True Blood* 98  
 Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne  
 Young 104  
 Turkey 19  
*Twilight* 71–2  
 ‘tyranny of distance’ 51
- Ukraine 121 n. 46  
 United Nations Declaration on the  
 Rights of Indigenous Peoples  
 (2007) 31, 57–8, 66–7, 91  
 United States 45–6, 106  
 Universal Law of Gravitation 100  
 Urban Homesteading Act  
 (Michigan) 90  
 urban pioneers 90  
 Utah 22
- Vampire Empire* 72–3  
 vampires 71–3, 92, 96, 98, 108  
 Van Diemen’s Land 14  
 Venezuela 56  
 Vimalassery, Manu 4, 111 n. 17  
 viral logic 16, 67, 100
- Walden* 79  
 Waldron, Jeremy 12  
*Wall Street Journal* 12  
 Walzer, Michael 106, 111 n. 15, 111  
 n. 21  
 Wakefield, Edward Gibbon 4, 87, 97  
 warehousing 92  
 Washington, George 10  
*Washington Post* 75  
 Weber, Max 111 n. 15  
 welcome as sovereignty 38–9, 99,  
 107–8  
 Wells, H.G. 111 n. 15  
 Western Sahara 117 n. 34  
 Wilderness Act 1964 (US) 123 n. 67  
 Winthrop, John 64, 73

- Whedon, Joss 71  
White Australia Policy 3  
White, Richard 25, 114 n. 44  
Wolf, Eric 18  
Wolfe, Patrick 1, 6, 9, 27–8,  
30, 98
- World Bank 64  
world systems 38, 40, 52–3  
Zhou En Lai 96  
Zimbabwe 61, 108  
Zionism as negation of exile 108–9