
**COLONIAL ATTRITIONS:
State Violence and Social Forgetting**

5 August 2015

**CEN 3, Information Services Building
University of Otago**

Professor Richard Hill (Victoria University of Wellington) Police Surveillance and State Coercion	11.30am
Annabel Cooper (University of Otago) Colonial Conflict and the Unevenness of Memory in Aotearoa/New Zealand	12.00pm
Suzanne Menzies-Culling & Maria Laufiso (Tuiwi Solutions) Decolonisation: The Empire Strikes Back – Thinking the Unthinkable and Moving On Anyway	12.30pm
Lunch Break	1.00pm
Ryan Tippet (University of Otago) Corporate Geocorographies: Surveillance and Social Media Expansion	2.00pm
Sean H. Wang (Syracuse University) Fetal Citizens? Birthright Citizenship, Reproductive Futurism, and the Panic over Chinese Birth Tourism in Southern California	2.30pm
Break	3.00pm
Dr Raymond Nairn & Dr Tim McCreanor (Massey University) A Window on the Naturalised Ordinarity that Occludes New Zealand's Imperial History	3.10pm
Dr Hadas Ore (University of Auckland) What Lies Beyond Nostalgic Colonial Imagination? A comparison between the Food Media and the Experiences of Migrant Women	3.40pm
Dr Holly Randell-Moon (University of Otago) Body, Crown, Territory: Geocorographies of the British Monarchy and White Settler Sovereignty	4.10pm
SYMPOSIUM KEYNOTE: Professor Sherene Razack (University of Toronto) Archway 2 Lecture Theatre Marking the Body as Placeless: Memorializing Colonial Power	5.00pm

The symposium recognises the sovereignty of First Nations peoples past and present and acknowledges the sovereignty of Ngāi Tahu and their connection to the lands known as Dunedin.

The Postcolonial Studies Research Network and the Department of Media, Film and Communication are pleased to present *Colonial Attritions: State Violence and Social Forgetting*. This symposium seeks to draw attention to state violence through remembering imperial and colonial histories and their embodied, everyday effects. We would like to thank Professor Sherene Razack and the symposium delegates for their contributions in this endeavour and the donation of their intellectual labour, time and expertise to the event.

We would also like to acknowledge the administrative work of Maureen Lloyd, Paulette Milnes and Liz Lammers in assisting with the organisation of the symposium.

Symposium convenors:

Holly Randell-Moon

Mahdis Azarmandi

On behalf of the Postcolonial Studies Research Network:

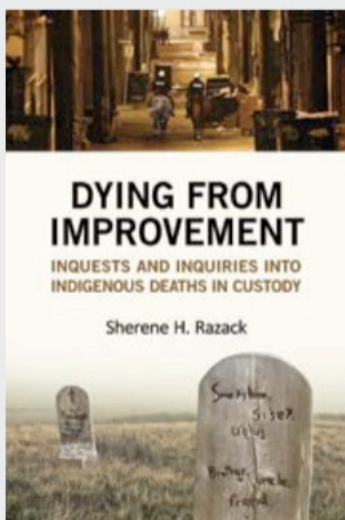
Dr Chris Prentice (Director)

Associate Professor Vijay Devadas

Dr Simone Drichel

For more information about the Postcolonial Studies Research Network, please visit our website here:

<http://www.otago.ac.nz/humanities/research/research-centres/otago062214.html>



DYING FROM IMPROVEMENT

Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody

Sherene H. Razack

Approx. 288 pp / 6 x 9 / May 2015

Cloth 978-1-4426-3737-5 - \$75.00 CDN/US

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No matter where in Canada they occur, inquiries and inquests into the deaths of Indigenous people while in state custody often tell the same story. Repeating details of fatty livers, mental illness, alcoholic belligerence, and a mysterious incapacity to cope with modern life, the legal proceedings declare that there are no villains here, only inevitable casualties of Indigenous life.

But what about a sixty-seven-year-old man who dies in a hospital in police custody with a large, visible, purple boot print on his chest? Or a barely conscious, alcoholic older man, dropped off by police in a dark alley on a cold Vancouver night? Or Saskatoon's infamous and lethal starlight tours, whose victims were left on the outskirts of town in sub-zero temperatures? How do we account for the repeated failure to care evident in so many cases of Indigenous deaths in custody?

In *Dying from Improvement*, Sherene H. Razack argues that, amidst systematic state violence against Indigenous people, inquiries and inquests serve to obscure the violence of ongoing settler colonialism under the guise of benevolent concern. They tell settler society that it is caring, compassionate, and engaged in improving the lives of Indigenous people – even as the incarceration rate of Indigenous men and women increases and the number of those who die in custody rises.

Razack's powerful critique of the Canadian settler state and its legal system speaks to many of today's most pressing issues of social justice: the treatment of Indigenous people, the unparalleled authority of the police and the justice system, and their systematic inhumanity towards those whose lives they perceive as insignificant.

SHERENE H. RAZACK is a professor in the Department of Social Justice Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.

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KEYNOTE SPEAKER:

Sherene H. Razack

Marking the Body as Placeless: Memorializing Colonial Power

Each chapter in my book *Dying From Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* represents an iteration of the colonial story about disappearing Indians, a story that law sustains. In the settler's version of events, all the Indians have vanished or are unable to thrive in modern life, leaving settlers as the original citizens. In chapter one I show that the police dumping of Frank Paul in an alley in the city of Vancouver where he was left to die, is the outcome of a long history of what Samira Kawash has described as the marking of the body as placeless, that is, as not belonging to the spaces of respectable citizens and thus as having no place. In his lifetime, Frank Paul could not be allowed to rest, to heal or to thrive in the settlers' spaces. Instead, his body had to bear the imprint of colonial power, first forcibly confined to reserves and to residential schools, and then denied bodily integrity as he moved through the city of Vancouver. Branded as bestial, as a man who could only crawl, and whose life was lived on the edge of existence, Frank Paul was a presence that law establishes was only an absence, that is, barely human, barely alive, and thus reduced to the status in law of bare life. Settler sovereignty requires no less than its full share of disappearing Indians. The inquiry into his death tried its best not to confront the meaning of Indigeneity, retreating instead into long meditations on wasted lives and wounded flesh.

Biography:

Sherene Razack is a full professor in the Department of Social Justice Education, at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Her most recent book, *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* was published in 2015 by the University of Toronto Press. She has also published *At the Limits of Justice: Women of Colour On Terror* (2014, ed. With Suvendrini Perera); *States of Race* (2011, co-editor with Malinda Smith and Sunera Thobani); (2008) *Casting Out: Race and the Eviction of Muslims From Western Law and Politics*; (2004) *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism*. (2002, Editor) *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a white settler society*. Toronto: Between the Lines;(1998) *Looking white people in the eye: gender, race and culture in courtrooms and classrooms*; (1991) *Canadian feminism and the law: The women's legal education and action fund and the pursuit of equality*. She is a founding member of Researchers and Academics of Colour for Equality.

Annabel Cooper
***Colonial Conflict and the Unevenness of Memory in
Aotearoa/New Zealand***

In this paper I reflect on my current research, a study of memory and forgetting of New Zealand's colonial wars of the nineteenth century. Here I offer a broad overview that is both temporal and spatial, and I consider particularly the unevenness of memory: change over time in state memory and forgetting; variations across national and local memory; divergences between different arms of the state; and discrepancies between the state's and other publics' memorialisation. I therefore contest, to some degree, the repressive hypothesis proposed by some writers, and instead argue for a more detailed and contextual historical approach to memory.

Biography:

Annabel Cooper is Associate Professor of Gender Studies, University of Otago. Her research field is the cultural history of identities, especially gender and settler identities, mainly in New Zealand. She is currently working on Pākehā collective memory of the New Zealand Wars across several media, including film and television.

Richard Hill
Police Surveillance and State Coercion

Only a few colonies during the age of 19th and 20th empire were, technically, prison-colonies. But from their own perspective, colonised peoples throughout entire empires were carceralised – both extensively surveilled, and subjected to laceration of the body and correction of the mind. The effective ‘incarceration of the indigene’ flowed from a fundamental clash between two imperatives – imperial extraction of profit from indigenous land and labour, and indigenous resistance to exploitation and the imperial occupiers who enforced it. As a consequence of such resistance, colonised peoples were subjected to: (1) intense scrutiny by police, the specialist surveillers operating within or on behalf of the state machinery; this was generally effected by means of the police patrol (2) brutal follow-up intervention by the state’s coercive forces, again often conducted by the police patrol. In other words, normalised discipline and control of the indigenous peoples of empire came from instrumentalising the information gained from surveillance – from the capacity to coercively intervene when surveillance indicated the state’s need to do so. This paper will canvass the police patrol’s dual role of panoptical scrutiny and disciplinary capacity. It will argue that, while colonial policing has now been forgotten, it was central to empire and its purposes.

Biography:

Richard Hill is Professor of New Zealand Studies at Victoria University’s Stout Research Centre, where he also directs the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit. He has written books on the history of policing in New Zealand, and on Crown-Maori relations, and recently began research on a history of state surveillance in New Zealand.

Suzanne Menziers-Culling & Marie Laufiso
***Decolonisation: The Empire Strikes Back – Thinking the Unthinkable
and Moving On Anyway***

The culture of forgetting is indispensable to Colonisation, which is not only a historical but also an ongoing process. If this were not so, then the Welsh, the Irish, the English and the Scots could not have done what they did as settlers in “the New World.” These are some of the understandings that we, in 1991, began to understand when we began to explore “the colonialist mind-set.” We were challenged to be brave enough to explore our own stories and understand what made us the way we are if we were going to be committed to liberation. We were clear about the impact of colonisation on Tangata whenua. We were struggling to understand why others were not able to turn their learning into a commitment for change. We began by wanting to support Maaori, but as we explored, we realised that this was about our own liberation. The key was understanding how settler peoples and migrant peoples are also colonised. Until we came to terms with what that meant, the struggle to find humanity’s common identity would just be papering over all the losses, the pains, the hurts that people had imposed on one another. Decolonisation is about Unpacking our myths.

Biography:

Suzanne Menzies-Culling’s ancestries are of Britain and Africa. Suzanne grew up in Dunedin, where she lives with husband, Tony. She and Marie Laufiso, (Samoan/Tongan), another Dunedin-born activist, have worked together politically since the 1980s. In 1991 they designed Decolonisation workshops, which explored the impact of colonisation on everyone.

Raymond Nairn & Tim McCreanor
***A Window on the Naturalised Ordinarity that Occludes New Zealand's
Imperial History***

Settler amnesia about how our society was established is fuelled by routine re-affirmations of coloniser-inflected 'reality' that obscure the rich, complex, relational detail of Maori/Pakeha history. Monocultural structural and material developments along with intergenerational transmission of discursive constructions that utilise vocabulary, tropes, and narrative resources, originating in settler culture and the imperial enterprise, entrench and reproduce this status quo. Mass media news is a key institution in this social formation: analyses of media production practices and products show they are grounded in and reinforcing of settler ontologies and epistemologies. In this hegemonic media discourse, Maori people, knowledge, practices, relationships and spirituality are disparaged, discounted and rendered invisible, naturalising settler perspectives, practices, and culture as reality. Rather than provide yet another analysis of news about Maori absence, failure, and weakness we explore one of the most positive items we found in three representative samples of mass media coverage of 'Maori stories'. The presentation explains how, irrespective of journalistic intent, mass media reports of the passing of Hone Tuwhare deployed language, storytelling, and visual images that worked to celebrate the achievements of a great New Zealand poet while concurrently positioning Maori identity, tikanga and kawa as marginal to settler sensibilities.

Biography:

Raymond Nairn is Pākehā of Scots and English descent. A psychologist committed to anti-racism and Treaty education studying media representations of Māori in New Zealand. Member of Kupu Taea media research team documenting the effect of settler language in use. Honorary Research Associate in Whariki Research Group, Massey University.

Tim McCreanor is Pākehā of Scots and Irish descent working at Whariki Research Group within Massey University. His interests are in discourse, affect and privilege in national and personal narratives of identity, social relations and nation. Particular foci are colonisation, media and institutional racism.

Hadas Ore
***What Lies Beyond Nostalgic Colonial Imagination? A Comparison between
the Food Media and the Experiences of Migrant Women***

In questioning ‘what lies beyond nostalgic colonial imagination’ my answer considers mythological, experiential and theoretical elements in two colonial settings, Israel and New Zealand. Based on my PhD research in social anthropology I show that “the land of milk and honey” is the mythological resting place of nostalgic colonialism. My analysis looks into the food media and commercial packaging for milk in both Israel and New Zealand in comparison to the experiences of twenty-five Jewish-Israeli migrant women, amongst whom I conducted my fieldwork in New Zealand (2007-2012). Though these women express deep longing for Israeli dairy products, complemented by their disappointment in what they regard as the ‘Empire of Dairy Farming’, they also criticize Israel as “a land that eats up its inhabitants”. Incorporating the recent developments in the social theory of nostalgia, I argue for a case of contrasting nostalgia between the food media and the women. Whilst the food media presents the territory of home as a feminised nation through nostalgic consumption of dairy products that uses pleasure to sanitize the past from any social tensions, the women employ their nostalgic ambivalence as a form of social critique toward these tensions.

Biography:

Dr. Hadas Ore is a social anthropologist interested in gender, power relations and forms of contestation. Following her MA in social anthropology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Hadas worked in leading social research institutes; The Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem and Israel Democracy Institute. Winning the Top Achiever Bright Future Doctoral Scholarship (TEC), Hadas conducted her PhD in the University of Auckland, contributing to the social theory of home and nostalgia. Her next research project will look into how memories shape the wellbeing and success of people living in New Zealand with Maori and Jewish ancestors.

Holly Randell-Moon
Body, Crown, Territory: Geocorpographies of the British Monarchy and White Settler Sovereignty

The possession and discovery of Indigenous lands in Australia and New Zealand was undertaken by imperial explorers and colonial officials under the imprimatur of the British Crown. Central to these acts was a body capable of exercising possession and discovery, an extension of the Crown's inter-corporeal and scalar power. Such an exercise of authorial expansion exemplifies what Joseph Pugliese describes as 'geocorpography'. In coining this term, Pugliese emphasises "the violent enmeshment of the flesh and blood of the body within the geopolitics of war, race and empire" (2007, p. 1). In analysing the Crown's legal and cultural relationships with settler Commonwealth nations as geocorpographic, this paper draws attention to the racial and religious role of British bodies in securing the sovereignty of settler Commonwealth nations. I focus on recent changes to succession laws in the United Kingdom, which remove the presumption of masculinity for inheriting the throne, to explain how whiteness and Protestant Christianity remain crucial to the geopolitical and corporeal exercise of Crown authority even as this authority is rendered compatible with liberal secular conceptions of 'equal rights' and 'gender equality'.

Biography:

Holly Randell-Moon is a Lecturer in Communication and Media at the University of Otago, New Zealand. She has published on race, religion, and secularism in the journals *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*, *borderlands* and *Social Semiotics* and in the edited book collections *Mediating Faiths* (2010) and *Religion After Secularization in Australia* (2015). Her publications on popular culture, gender, and sexuality have appeared in the edited book collections *Common Sense: Intelligence as Presented on Popular Television* (2008) and *Television Aesthetics and Style* (2013) and the journals *Feminist Media Studies* and *Refractory*.

Ryan Tippet
Corporate Geocorpographies: Surveillance and Social Media Expansion

This paper investigates the 'Internet.org' non-profit collective started by Facebook in 2013 to deliver affordable internet access to the two-thirds of the world still without access. In particular, it examines the 'Internet.org' mobile app for Android, which offers a select list of services for free to customers of certain carriers in parts of Africa and Asia, and the public relations output of the collective in whitepapers and advertisements. The paper situates Internet.org as a corporate mechanism for expanding the surveillant business model of Facebook, in order to theorise the 'digital enclosure' it institutes, ultimately, as a space of corporate geocorpography.

Biography:

Ryan Tippet is a doctoral student in the department of Media, Film and Communication at the University of Otago in New Zealand. His Honours work examined discourses of everyday and national security in Australia and New Zealand in reality TV, while the focus of his current doctoral research is on re-framing the relationship between surveillance and social media.

Sean H. Wang
***Fetal Citizens? Birthright Citizenship, Reproductive Futurism, and the
Panic over Chinese Birth Tourism in Southern California***

In September 2012, residents of Chino Hills, California – a wealthy suburb of Los Angeles – exposed a maternity hotel in their city. Part of an emergent birth tourism industry, maternity hotels catered to pregnant Chinese women traveling to the U.S. to give birth. A controversy erupted as protesting residents argued that Chinese birth tourism is an immigration loophole, where foreigners took advantage of *jus soli* birthright citizenship guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This paper uses this controversy as a case study to explore how temporalities – both the past and the future – come to shape politics in the present. Extending Eithne Luibhéid's (2013) application of reproductive futurism to theorize migration controls, this paper argues that all parties involved mobilized the figure of the fetal child and her U.S. citizen-ness to construct their political arguments. Thus, not only does the panic over Chinese birth tourism constitute a racialized violence where the colonial history of anti-Asian fear is resurrected, it ironically forces these women to resort to a pro-life defense to secure an uncertain future for their descendants in the U.S.

Biography:

Sean H. Wang is a PhD candidate in geography at Syracuse University (USA) and a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow. He is also the review editor of *H-Citizenship* at *H-Net Reviews*. His doctoral research examines the practices and politics of Chinese birth tourism.