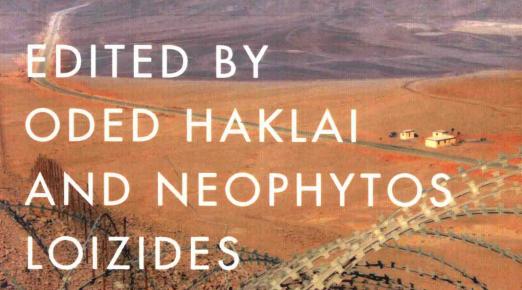
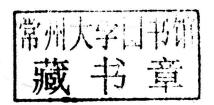
SETTLERS IN
CONTESTED
LANDS
TERRITORIAL
DISPUTES AND
ETHNIC CONFLICTS



SETTLERS IN CONTESTED LANDS

Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflicts

Edited by Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides



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SETTLERS IN CONTESTED LANDS

For Na'ama, Maya, and Tom (Oded)

> For Ayşe, Mira, and Teo (Neo)

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SETTLERS IN CONTESTED LANDS

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Settlers and Conflict over Contested Territories

Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides

Now, Israel is going to have to take some difficult steps as well, and I shared with the [Israeli] prime minister the fact that under the roadmap and under Annapolis, there is a clear understanding that we have to make progress on settlements. Settlements have to be stopped in order for us to move forward. That's a difficult issue and I recognize that. But it's important and it has to be addressed.

—Barack Obama, May 18, 2009

Lant Israeli government to halt all settlement activities, the administration of the United States abandoned its demand. Proponents of a halt to settlements were dismayed by this about-face and denounced the recalibrated policy. In retrospect, it appears that the newly elected Barack Obama may not have fully appreciated just how thorny the settlement issue was, despite recognizing its political significance.

Settlements in contested territories are by no means unique to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In fact, they have presented major challenges in many conflicts around the world in the contemporary era. To name only a few, the ramifications of settlers from Turkey in Cyprus remain a central concern in ongoing negotiations over the future governance of the island; Luzon settlers in the Mindanao islands of the Philippines are a profound source of

contention; the future of French settlers in Algeria proved to be one of the toughest obstacles the French government had to overcome when it sought to withdraw from its North African colony; and Javanese settlers in Aceh, Arab settlers in Kurdish populated parts of Iraq, and Chinese settlers in Tibet have all been viewed as significant aspects of inter-communal and inter-nation conflicts.

That settlers and settlements will cause contention is not a given, however. Population movements from one part of the world to another have characterized much of modern history. In many instances, especially in Anglo-Saxon settler societies, migration is celebrated as a source of cultural vibrancy and a desirable resource for a cosmopolitan society (Pearson 2001). Elsewhere, for instance, in the Baltic Republics, the presence of settlers has been initially contested by indigenous populations, but the latter have gradually, if reluctantly, come to accept Russian speakers as permanent inhabitants (Laitin 1998; Hogan-Brun et al. 2008). At the same time, there is little doubt that in many instances, population movements referred to as settlements, particularly those on a large scale, are accompanied by protracted, sometimes violent, ethnopolitical conflict.

Relationships between "old" and "new" populations have been examined from several angles, with immigration and "sons-of-the-soil" literatures often providing contrasting evaluations of relationships between "newcomers" and "indigenous" groups. On the one hand, immigration studies emphasize that newcomers, particularly migrants, almost never fight civil wars. Kymlicka (1995, 67–68) and, more recently, Laitin (2009) argue that international migrants are less likely to mobilize for self-government or other political reasons and are almost never implicated in civil war violence, even when they face security threats in their new communities. Ultimately, however, there is a significant analytical distinction between immigrants "effectively permitted" into a *non*-disputed territory and settlers introduced, as we argue in this volume, purposefully, with the explicit aim of gradually transforming patterns of sovereignty in a disputed region.

Sons-of-the-soil studies, on the other hand, emphasize hostile relations between migrants and native populations.² Fearon (2004) and Fearon and Laitin (2011), for example, argue that sons-of-the-soil conflicts engender the most protracted civil wars worldwide. This literature typically focuses on domestic population movements involving the migration of members of one or more ethnic groups into a region inhabited by a different ethnic group in

search of better material opportunities. Ensuing conflicts are, thus, generally understood to be primarily about scarce resources. To the extent that sons-of-the-soil conflicts invoke identity, it is usually only in an instrumental way, to serve the interests of self-utility maximizing (and mobilizing) elites.³

Thus far, the politics of settlers and settlements in contested territories has not been studied as a principal phenomenon in its own right. Considering that settlements have been a conspicuous feature of many protracted conflicts around the world, the scarcity of comparative and theoretical studies published on this topic is puzzling. Settlements, as this book shows, are a distinct phenomenon whereby demographic engineering is put into play in order to consolidate territorial control, and where identity questions often play a primary role. Indeed, as Ron Hassner (2006/07) usefully demonstrates, in many protracted conflicts over territory, the disputed territory actually has little material value.

The remainder of this introductory chapter provides the comparative framework of analysis for the rest of this volume. Our overarching purpose in this book is to provide a comparative investigation of how settler-related conflicts have unfolded in different parts of the world, identify common patterns and case-specific peculiarities, and generate insights into this highly important phenomenon. There is much to be learned by comparing and contrasting the ways settler-related conflicts emerge, evolve, and resolve (or not). Why and how are settlement endeavors initiated and pursued? How do sending states and settler populations respond to ensuing conflicts in the settled contested territories? How do the relations between sending states and their settler populations transform over time, particularly if their preferences diverge and the sending state reassesses its settlement policies? Bringing together cases from around the world with many similar characteristics as well as revealing differences, this book's various chapters address these interrelated questions. Ultimately, settlers may not be the only factor fueling protracted conflicts over territories—but their influence is certainly powerful.

Settlers and Settlements

We define *settlement* as political action involving the organized movement of a population belonging to one national group into a territory in order to create a permanent presence and influence patterns of sovereignty in the settled territory. It is largely because of their political and ideological attributes that

settlements are distinct from other forms of population migration and have become such an intensely contentious issue worldwide. Simply stated, in the modern era of nationalism, settlers and settlements have served as mechanisms of control and territorial expansion over disputed territories.

Settlement endeavors can take many shapes and forms. Settlements can take place in scarcely or already densely populated territories. Settlers can arrive in relatively early stages of state-building processes, like the Anglo-Saxon settlers in the United States, Canada, and Australia, or during advanced stages of expansion of existing states, including empires, like the French and British settlers in their respective empires. Settlement projects can take place in internationally disputed territories, like Western Sahara or the West Bank, or in territories contested between ethnic groups within the borders of a recognized state, like Kirkuk in Iraq. Settlers can remain linked to their sending states, but they can also gradually disengage from them and build a post-settlement state, like Rhodesia, Canada, and New Zealand (Pearson 2001). Settlers can be mostly civilians, like Turks in Cyprus, or primarily military personnel, as in the case of Polish soldiers in territories that Ukrainians claimed as their own following World War I.

One thing our definition of settlements immediately reveals is the close relationship between the demographic makeup of a population in a given territory and the processes of state formation and the shaping and reshaping of territorial boundaries. Unlike conventional immigration, settlement projects are closely tied to the physical expansion of a core state into contested lands. Indeed, the processes of modern state formation and state expansion, including imperial states, have typically relied heavily on this close relationship. The boundaries of the contemporary Chinese state, for example, were largely shaped by the movement of the Han population to outlying areas starting in the 15th century (Shin 2006). Bureaucratic institutions followed the population movements, allowing the Ming Empire to expand the territory under its control. The story of state-construction in North America is comparable. Population movements westward in both Canada and the United States shaped the boundaries of these two polities (Weinberg 1935; Frymer 2014). So significant was settler presence in the U.S. state-building project that the 1787 Northwest Ordinance decreed that 60,000 inhabitants constituted the minimum population required for a new state to be admitted to the Union. The presence of this number of residents must have seemed to the authors of the Ordinance as necessary for ensuring a permanent American hold on the settled territories. Likewise, as touched on above, Poland sought to expand to Galicia following World War I through settlements of military personnel in the territories, while some Israeli governments have sought to influence the position of Israel's eastern border through the instrument of settlements in the territories captured from Jordan in the war of 1967.

What has always been important for shaping the patterns of sovereignty is for the settler population to be identified as belonging to the racial, ethnic, or national community to which the sending state belongs, thus boosting the prospect of settler loyalty to the settlement project. The purpose of settlers, therefore, has typically been to perform the function that Brendan O'Leary (2001, 101) calls "right-peopling" the territory. Thus, to return to our earlier example, for the Ming Empire's expansion endeavor to be successful, its settler population had to be Han. Several centuries later, on the other side of the Pacific, most U.S. state-builders sought settlers who were white Anglo-Saxons. Incorporating territories that were not dominated by white Anglo-Saxon Americans was undesirable (Weinberg 1935, 160-189; Onea 2009; Frymer 2014). Hence, when the non-Anglo-Saxon Dominican Republic sought accession to the Union in 1869, it was rejected. Similarly, the settlement projects studied in this volume typically identify settlers as belonging to the "core group" or "titular nation" that dominates the sending state, such as Jews in Israel, Arabs in Iraq, or Javanese in Indonesia.

Yet although states have a definite objective in right-peopling, it ought to be noted that settlers can fail to form an ethnically or politically homogeneous group. French settlers in Algeria were not exclusively "French" but included Spaniards, Italians, Maltese, and Greeks (Lustick 1985). British settlers in Northern Ireland included both Anglicans and Scottish Presbyterians, a distinction that has shaped modern Irish history and remains prevalent in Ulster politics. Similarly, settlers in modern U.S. history have been diverse, as indicated by the introduction of "othering" terms, such as "hillbillies" to refer to those of Ulster-Scottish background in the Appalachian mountains, "butternut settlers" for southerners competing for land with northern Yankee settlers, and "carpetbaggers," a pejorative term for Yankee colonists moving south after the American Civil War. The chapter by Mundy and Zunes on Morocco's settlers in Western Sahara identifies how the plans of the sending state can be derailed when the settlers do not belong to the "right" group. According to Mundy and Zunes, Morocco had to reconsider its planned referendum on the future of the contested lands-a referendum about which it