

LAND AND CONFLICT IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE 1750 (Postgraduate Seminar)

Extending from the late Spanish colonial era, through the wars of independence and up to present-day social conflicts, this course will focus on land. How has land been conceptualised and fought over? How have different social groups developed relationships with the land? In what ways have conflicts over land shaped Latin American politics? Students will be encouraged to take an interdisciplinary approach to these questions, drawing on new research in geography, anthropology and political science, as well as various strands of history. Despite the great diversity of the Latin American continent, land is a constant reference point and one that lends itself to rich comparative study. Topics will include the global and local politics of the colonial hacienda system, anti-colonial indigenous rebellions, scientific exploration and population displacement, peasant movements, land reform, the Green Revolution and ongoing social protests over land and resource extraction. Knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese language is not a requirement of the course.

Learning objectives

The course has three main objectives:

1. To critically examine the causes, dynamics and consequences of conflict over land in Latin American societies from the late colonial era to the present.
2. To familiarise students with the conceptual frameworks and methodologies used to study the history of land conflicts.
3. To enable students to develop skills in comparative history and the analysis of primary sources.

Teaching

10 x 2-hour seminars in the AT; 10x 2-hour seminars in the WT. Students on this course will have a reading week in Week 6 of AT and WT.

Coursework

One 3000-word formative essay is due at 12:00 noon on Wednesday 8th November, week 7 of Autumn term.

One summative 3000-word essay (30% of final grade) is due at 12:00 noon on Wednesday 17th January, week 1 of Winter term. One summative 5,000-word essay (50% of final grade) is due at 12:00 noon on Wednesday 8th May, week 2 of Summer term.

Other forms of assessment

Participation (20%): this will be assessed through the teacher's observations in class and on the basis of the student's participation in the Moodle discussion forum (students must upload a 400-word post to Moodle each week in advance of the seminar). Further guidance will be provided on Moodle and in class.

Reading List

Please read two essential readings per class, plus at least one recommended reading.

Autumn

Week 1: Introduction

No required reading but you may like to look at the introduction in Derek Hall, *Land* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

Week 2: Late colonialism: competing ideas of land and property

To what extent did colonial and indigenous subjects have different ideas about land and property?

How did ideas about land shape settlement patterns and conflicts within and between communities?

Essential reading:

Abercrombie, Thomas A., *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History Among an Andean People* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), chap. 6.

Wake, Eleanor, 'The Dawning Places: Celestially Defined Land Maps, Títulos Primordiales, and Indigenous Statements of Territorial Possession in Early Colonial Mexico' in Gabriela Ramos & Yanna Yannakakis (eds.), *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Duke University Press, 2014): 202-236. E-book.

Week 3: Late colonialism: the hacienda system and the economics of power

How did the hacienda system come about? How did *hacendados* use land to consolidate their power?

In what ways did indigenous peoples and slaves resist or challenge this system?

Essential reading:

Klein, Herbert, *Haciendas and Ayllus. Rural Society in the Bolivian Andes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), chap. 2.

Larson, Brooke, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900 colonialism and agrarian transformation in Bolivia*, expanded ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), chaps. 4 & 5. E-Book.

Week 4: Indigenous rebellions and colonial responses (1770s and 1780s)

How important was land in motivating indigenous rebellions?

What strategies did colonial authorities use to suppress dissent?

Essential reading:

Macfarlane, Anthony, 'Rebellions in late colonial Spanish America: a comparative perspective', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (1995), Vol. 14(3): 313-338.

Penry, Elizabeth, 'Letters of Insurrection: The Rebellion of the Communities' in Richard Boyer and Geoffrey Spurling (eds.), *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850* (OUP, 2009): 201-15.

Stern, Steve, 'The Age of Andean Insurrection, 1742-1782,' in Steve Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1987): 34-93.

Week 5: The wars of independence

How did different actors in the wars of independence understand the notion of territory?

How did the emergence of the nation state alter the division and management of land?

Essential reading:

Hill, Jonathan, 'Indigenous Peoples and the Rise of Independent Nation-States in Lowland South America', in Frank Salomon (ed.), *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: South America Vol 3 Part 2* (CUP, 1999): 704-64. E-Book.

Ortega, Francisco A., 'The Conceptual History of Independence and the Colonial Question in Spanish America,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 79:1 (2018): 89-103.

Week 6: Reading week

No class.

Week 7: Mapping the republic: the Chorographic Commission in nineteenth-century Colombia

How were ideas about race implicated in the mapping of the new republics?

What role did maps play in the assertion of state control?

For use in class: 'Impresiones de un viaje a América 1870-1884', Biblioteca Virtual at: <http://babel.banrepcultural.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/p17054coll16>

Essential reading

Appelbaum, Nancy, *Mapping the country of regions: the Chorographic Commission of nineteenth-century Colombia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2016), chap. 2,

Del Castillo, Lina, *Crafting a republic for the world. Scientific, geographic and historiographic inventions of Colombia* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), chap. 4.

Week 8: Migration and 'whitening' in Chile and Brazil

What motivated the desire to 'whiten' Latin American nations?

How did racial thought shape the demarcation of national territory?

Essential reading:

Gott, Richard, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* Vol 26, No. 2 (2007): 269-289.

Skidmore, Thomas E., 'Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870-1940' in Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004).

Week 9: Liberal capitalism and indigenous displacement in Mexico and Peru

How did liberal economic policy undermine indigenous claims to land?

What were the legal and extra-legal mechanisms used to displace indigenous communities? How were these contested?

Essential reading:

Jacobsen, Nils, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930* (California: University of California Press, 1993), chaps 6 & 7. E-Book.

Wolfe, Mikael, 'The Sociolegal Redesignation of *Ejido* Land Use, 1856-1912' in Antonio Escobar Ohmstede & Matthew Butler (eds.), *Mexico in Transition: New Perspectives on Mexican Agrarian History, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Mexico: CIESAS, 2013): 291-320. ONLINE: <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/20399>

Week 10: Land rights in the Andean borderlands

What is the relationship between borderlands and nation-state formation?

How were socio-economic conflicts in the Andean borderlands linked to transformations in the world economy?

Essential reading:

Cottyn, Hanne, 'A World-Systems Frontier Perspective to Land: Exploring the Uneven Trajectory of Land Rights Standardization in the Andes', *Journal of World-Systems Research* 23 (2) (2017): 515-39.

Arreola, Pablo-Raúl, 'Reorganization of Chile's Frontier Administration and the Origins of the Mapuche Revolt of 1859', *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (2000) 25(50): 131-67.

Week 11: The rubber industry and frontier capitalism in the Amazon

What can be gained from comparing the Andean and Amazonian borderlands?

How have cultural perceptions of the Amazon shaped the interventions of governments and companies?

What was the impact of the Amazon rubber industry on land use and land struggles?

Essential reading:

Espelt-Bombin, Silvia and Mark Harris, 'Changing Narratives of Race and Environment in the Nineteenth-Century and Early-Twentieth Century Brazilian Amazon,' *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 38:2 (2019): 150-163.

Weinstein, Barbara, *The Amazon rubber boom, 1850-1920* (Stanford, Calif : Stanford University Press 1983), chaps 1-3.

Winter

Week 12: Land struggles in the Mexican Revolution

To what extent was the Revolution a continuation of nineteenth-century land struggles?

How and why did revolutionary land struggles vary across Mexico?

Essential reading:

Baitenmann, Helga, 'Popular Participation in State Formation: Land Reform in Revolutionary Mexico', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2011, 43 (1): 1-31.

Tutino, John, *From insurrection to revolution in Mexico: social bases of agrarian violence, 1750-1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press c1986): chap 8 (277-326).

Week 13: Peasant movements and the defence of land rights (1920s-1960s)

What strategies did peasant movements use to reclaim and defend their land?

Why did peasant movements emerge in some areas and not others?

Essential reading:

Gotkowitz, Laura, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (Durham NC and London: Duke University Press, 2008): chap. 8.

Hobsbawm, E.J., 'A case of Neo-feudalism: La Convención, Peru', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1 (1969): 31-50.

Week 14: The Cold War and guerrilla warfare (1960s-80s)

Archive session at Senate House Library using the Latin American Pamphlets collection and the Central America Photographic Collection.

In what ways were local land conflicts linked to the global Cold War?

How did guerrilla tactics evolve between the 1960s and 1980s?

Essential reading:

Grandin, Greg and G.M. Joseph (eds.), *A century of revolution insurgent and counterinsurgent violence during Latin America's long cold war* (Durham, N.C. : Duke University Press 2010), Intro, pp 1-42. E-Book.

Guevara, Che, *Guerrilla warfare*, edited by Brian Loveman & Thomas M Davies (Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press c1985), chap. 1.

Week 15: The Green Revolution

What were the guiding principles of the Green Revolution?

To what extent was the Green Revolution a neo-imperial imposition?

Essential reading:

Fitzgerald, Deborah, 'Exporting American Agriculture: The Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico, 1943-1953', *Social Studies of Science* 16:3 (1986): 457-483.

Perkins, John H. Perkins, *Geopolitics and the green revolution: wheat, genes, and the Cold War* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chap. 5. E-Book.

Week 16: Land reform - origins and process

Why did so many countries embrace land reform in the mid- to late-twentieth century?

In what ways did land reform deepen existing conflicts and/or generate new ones?

Essential reading:

Thiesenhusen, William C., *Searching for agrarian reform in Latin America* (Boston MA; London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), Introduction.

Seligmann, Linda J., *Between reform & revolution: political struggles in the Peruvian Andes, 1969-1991* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press 1995), chap. 3.

Week 17: Reading week

Week 18: Land reform - consequences

How were different social sectors affected by land reform?

How did the consequences of reform vary between countries/regions and why?

Essential reading:

Mayer, Enrique, *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform* (Duke University Press, 2009), chap. 3.

Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena León, *Empowering Women: Land and Property Rights in Latin America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001) chap. 3. E-Book.

Week 19: Neoliberalism, multiculturalism and land rights

What motivated the territorial tilting of collective lands to indigenous and black communities? What social and political conflicts did this generate?

What do such policies tell us about the ways in which identity and territory constitute one another?

Essential reading:

Hale, Charles R., 'Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2002, 34(3): 485-524.

Offen, Karl H. 'The Territorial Turn: Making Black Territories in Pacific Colombia', *Journal of Latin American Geography* Vol 2, No. 1 (2003): 43-73.

Week 20: Social movements and resistance to extractivism

How has the growth of extractive industries shaped how land is perceived and governed?

What have been the social consequences of extractive industries and how have social movements fought back?

Essential reading:

Anthias, Penelope, *Limits to Decolonization: Indigeneity, Territory, and Hydrocarbon Politics in the Bolivian Chaco* (Cornell University Press, 2018), chap. 5.

Bebbington, Anthony et al, *Governing extractive industries: Politics, histories, ideas*, (OUP: 2018), chaps 1 & 2. [open access: <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/governing-extractive-industries-9780198820932?cc=gb&lang=en&>]

Week 21: Tourism and the production of space

What can the study of tourism tell us about the cultural production of space?

How new are present-day conflicts surrounding tourism?

Essential reading:

González Velarde, Fernando, 'Tourism in Fishing Communities in Peru: Dominant discourses and social exclusion', *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 105 (2018): 1–20.

Rice, Mark, *Making Machu Picchu: The Politics of Tourism in Twentieth-Century Peru* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018), chap. 1.

Week 22: Ongoing land conflicts in Latin America

What are the prospects for peace in rural Colombia?

How is the threat of climate change intensifying existing environmental conflicts?

Essential reading:

Legrand, Catherine C.; Van Isschot, Luis; Riaño-Alcalá, Pilar, 'Land, justice, and memory: challenges for peace in Colombia', *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 2017, Vol.42(3): 259-276.

Ribeiro, Marilene & Sue Branford, 'The hydroelectric threat to the Amazon basin' in Tom Gatehouse (ed.), *Voices of Latin America* (Practical Action Publishing, 2019). E-Book.