

Kathleen Klaus
Office: PAC 221
kklaus@wesleyan.edu
Office Hours: 4:30-5:30 MW (or by apt)

GOV306/AFAM326
Wesleyan University
Fall 2017
T 1:20-4:10pm

SEM: LAND AND CONFLICT IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Course Description

For much of the world's population, land sustains livelihoods, shapes identities, and provides a source of investment and security. Yet the centrality of land in everyday life also means that it can become a source of contentious politics and violence. This class explores how struggles over access and rights to land shape different forms of conflict and violence: between squatters and state officials, different ethnic or religious communities, or armed groups and the state.

We examine questions of land and conflict in several ways. We start by examining the meanings that people attach to land and territory and how these meanings help explain different forms of conflict. We then take a theoretical and historical view of the institutions and political objectives that shape land policies and land rights. The third part of the class explores potential sources of land-related conflict, including environmental change, land inequality and grievance, and "foreign land grabs." We analyze these theories using a range of case studies and conclude the course by thinking about how issues of land can shape post-conflict politics.

The course is interdisciplinary in its approach, drawing heavily on political science as well as economics and anthropology. It should appeal to students interested in peace and conflict issues, environmental politics, international development, and human rights.

Course Requirements

Assignment	% of Grade
Seminar Participation (including questions)	25
Analytic Essay 1	15
Analytic Essay 2	15
Draft of Final Paper	10
Final Research Paper	25
Presentation of Research Paper	10

1. Participation

Students are expected to participate actively in each class and engage with the comments of their classmates. Attendance is therefore mandatory and students must have completed the required reading. Students with more than two unexcused absences will lose 5 points for attendance.

- *Weekly discussion questions:* As part of the participation grade, students must post two questions for class discussion in advance of each seminar. Students should post these questions to the Moodle discussion board no later than 10am on Tuesday. Failure to contribute questions will count against the student's participation grade.

2. Analytic Essays

Students are required to write 2 short analytic essays that synthesize any two separate weeks of readings. Students will sign up for readings the first day of class.

- Students should post their essay by midnight the day of class on Moodle (using the class Wiki) so that it is publically available. They should also send me a copy directly.
- In these essays, students should simplify the main arguments of a set of readings and state clearly the significance for non-specialists. These essays should be modeled in the genre of blog posts at Vox.com or *New York Times'* The Upshot and can include graphs, tables, and maps. They should be no longer than 1,000 words. These essays should not simply summarize but should highlight the most important or interesting concepts or questions from the larger body of literature or debate. A good analytic essay should do the following:
 - Situate the readings in a larger context: why should people care about the book/ articles/ argument?
 - Clearly state the author(s) argument(s) or major findings.
 - Outline and evaluate the evidence and approach the author uses to make the argument.
 - Present direct evidence, including page numbers and quotes from readings.

3. Research Paper

Students will work on developing their research papers over the course of the semester. Papers should present a clear and well-motivated research question that addresses themes or debates that we have covered in the class. The paper should also present a clear set of hypotheses and should draw on original data to support hypotheses. They should be 15-20 pages, due the final day of class. **Due via TurnItIn (Moodle): Friday, December 15, by 5:00 pm.**

- *Draft research paper* (10% of grade): To help students with the writing process, rough drafts are **due Oct 31st**. Drafts should be at least 7 pages (TNR, 12 point font, double-spaced) and include a 120 word abstract and 8+ scholarly citations.

4. *Final Presentation of Research*

Each student will give a 10-minute presentation based on their research paper on the final week of class (Tuesday, December 5th). Details to follow.

Required Book:

Cotula, Lorenzo. 2013. *The Great African Land Grab? Agricultural Investments and the Global Food System*. London: Zed Books.

This book is also on reserve at Olin Library. All other readings will be uploaded to Moodle, or are available online. Some weeks also include recommended readings. These additional materials can enhance your understanding of the issues discussed and can serve as valuable reference points if you have a special interest in any particular subject (i.e. for helping with your research papers). However, you are not required to read these supplemental materials for class.

I: LAND MEANINGS: LIVELIHOOD, IDENTITIES, AND TERRITORY

Week 1- Sept 5 - Introduction

What is the Problem? Why look at land?

- [USAID Issue Brief: Land and Conflict](#)
- Burgis, Tom. "The Great Land Rush." *Financial Times*. March 1, 2016. <https://ig.ft.com/sites/land-rush-investment/ethiopia/>
- "[A green evolution](#)." *The Economist*, March 12 2016.
- United States Institute of Peace, "[Nigeria's New Threat: Guns, Cows and Clashes Over Land: Muslim-Christian Overtones Inflammate Violence Between Herders and Farmers](#)." April 20, 2017.
- "[Land, Conflict, and Sustainable Development](#)." Blog post by USAID officer on Medium

Narratives of Land Conflict in the Media:

- [Loss of Fertile Land Fuels 'Looming Crisis' Across Africa](#), *New York Times*, July 30, 2017.

- [Siege Has Ended, but Battle Over Public Lands Rages On](#), New York Times, April 14, 2017.
- Film (in class): [Worth Dying For?](#)

Week 2- Sept 12- Land as identity, territory, and belonging

Belonging

- Geschiere, Peter, and Stephen Jackson. "Autochthony and the crisis of citizenship: democratization, decentralization, and the politics of belonging (Intro)." *African studies review* 49.2 (2006): 1-8
- Ceuppens, Bambi. "Allochthons, colonizers, and scroungers: Exclusionary populism in Belgium." *African Studies Review* 49.2 (2006): 147-186. [Skim]
- Bøås, Morten. "'New' Nationalism and Autochthony: Tales of Origin as Political Cleavage." *Africa Spectrum* (2009): 19-38.
- New York Times, Oct 16 2016, [Nicaragua Dispute Over Indigenous Land Erupts in Wave of Killings](#).

Land as Territory

- Toft, Monica. 2003. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence*. (Chapter 1 & 2)
- Fearon, James and David Laitin (2011) "Sons of the soil, migrants, and civil war." *World Development*, 199-211.

Recommended:

- Jenkins, Sarah (2012) Ethnicity, violence, and the immigrant-guest metaphor in Kenya. *African Affairs* 111(445): 1-21.
- Lentz, Carola (2013) *Land, Mobility, and Belonging in West Africa: Natives and Strangers*. Indiana University Press.
- Shelef, Nadav. (2015). "Unequal Ground: Homelands and Conflict." *International Organization*, 70(33-63).

II. THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF LAND RIGHTS

Week 3- Sept 19- Land, Institutions, and Colonial Rule

- Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2012. "Reversing development: How European colonialism impoverished large parts of the world (Chap 9)." In, *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. New York: Crown Business
- Shipton, Parker. 2009. *Mortgaging the Ancestors: Ideologies of Attachment in Africa*. Yale University Press. Chapter 6.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. Chapter 3, "Indirect Rule: the Politics of Decentralized Despotism," in *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Film: [the Land Beneath our Feet](#)

Recommended:

- Banerjee, Abhijit, and Lakshmi Iyer. "History, institutions, and economic performance: the legacy of colonial land tenure systems in India." *The American economic review* 95.4 (2005): 1190-1213.
- Berry, Sara. (1993). *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. (Chap 5).
- Potts, Deborah. 2012. "Land alienation under white settler and colonial rule in southern Africa." In, Allan Anthony (ed). *Handbook of land and water grabs in Africa: Foreign direct investment and food and water security*. Routledge.
- Robert H. Bates. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Week 4- Sept 24- Theories of property rights

- "[Why Property Rights Matter](#)," New America Foundation.
- Holland, Alisha. 12 April, 2017. *Vox*, "[Latin America's floods have been rough. Bad housing policy helped make them deadly.](#)"
- Joireman, Sandra F. *Where there is no Government: Enforcing property rights in common law Africa*. Oxford University Press, 2011. (Chap 1)
- Onoma, Ato Kwamena. (2009). *The Politics of Property Rights Institutions in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chap 1)

- Murtazashvili, Ilia and Jennifer Murtazashvili. (2015). “The Origins of Private Property Rights: States or Customary Organizations?” *Journal of Institutional Economics*, Dec (1-24).

Recommended:

- De Soto, Hernando. (2000). *The Mystery of Capital. Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. New York: Perseus
- Weimer, David (ed). 1997. *The Political Economy of Property Rights: Institutional Change and Credibility in the Reform of Centrally Planned Economies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 5- Oct 3- Land Rights: Tool of Control, Coercion, and State-Making

North America

- Frymer, Paul. (2014). " A Rush and a Push and the Land Is Ours": Territorial Expansion, Land Policy, and US State Formation. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(1), 119-144.
- Albertus, Michael. "["This was your land."](#) *Foreign Policy*, 13 Nov. 2015

Africa

- Boone, Catherine (2014) *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: (Chapter 2)
- Baldwin, Kate. (2014). When politicians cede control of resources: Land, chiefs, and coalition-building in Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 46(3), 253-271.

Israel/Palestine:

- <https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2017/50-years-illegal-settlements/index.html>

Recommended

- Albertus, Michael (2015). *Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform*.
- Finkel, Evgeny, S. Gehlbach, and T. Olsen (2015) “Does Reform Prevent Rebellion? Evidence from Russia’s Emancipation of the Serfs.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(8): 984-1019.
- Branch, Daniel. 2007. “The Enemy Within: Loyalists and the War Against Mau Mau.” *Journal of African History*, 48(2): 291-315.

Theories of Land and Conflict

Week 6 – Oct 10- Scarcity and Environmental Change

- Homer-Dixon, T. (1999). *Environment, scarcity, and violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (Chap. 2)
- Kahl, Colin (2006) *States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (Chap 1).
- Raleigh, Clionadh (2010), Political Marginalization, Climate Change, and Conflict in African Sahel States. *International Studies Review*, 12: 69–86
- Buhaug, Halvard (2016) Climate Change and Conflict: Taking Stock, *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 22(4): 331–338.
- [The Land of Salt and Fire](#) (Video), *The New York Times*
- *New York Times*: "[Heat Hunger and War Forces African onto a Road of Fire.](#)"
- *The Guardian*, May 3, "[Inequality, Drought, and the deadly fight for precious grazing land in Kenya](#) ."

Recommended:

- André, Catherine, and Jean-Philippe Platteau (1998) "Land relations under unbearable stress: Rwanda caught in the Malthusian trap." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 34(1): 1-47.
- Butler, Christopher K & Scott Gates. (2012) "African Range wars: Climate, Conflict, and Property Rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 49.1 (2012): 23-34.
- Barnett, Jon, and W. Neil Adger. (2007) "Climate change, human security and violent conflict." *Political Geography* 26(6): 639-655.

Week 7- Oct 17- “Greed” and Grievance Theories

- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), 563-595.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug (2013) *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil war*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chap 2)
- Østby, Gudrun. "Inequality and political violence: A review of the literature." *International Area Studies Review* 16.2 (2013): 206-231.

- Van Leeuwen, Mathijs, and Gemma Van Der Haar. (2016). "Theorizing the Land-Violent Conflict Nexus." *World Development* 78: 94-104.

IV. CASE STUDIES OF LAND-RELATED CONFLICT

Week – 8 - Oct 24– NO CLASS (Fall Break)

- Start reading, *Great African Land Grab*

Week 9—Oct 31—Large-Scale Land Investments

- Cotula, Lorenzo. *The Great African Land Grab? Agricultural Investments and the Global Food System*
- Ansoms, An & Thea Hilhorst. 2014. *Losing your Land: Dispossession in the Great Lakes*. Chap 4, "Land Grabbing by Mining Companies Local Contentions & State Reconfiguration in South Kivu (DRC)." pp. 58-81
- In fight for secure land rights, corporations and communities find common ground: <https://www.devex.com/news/in-fight-for-secure-land-rights-corporations-and-communities-find-common-ground-90592>
- Film: Virunga (Available on Netflix)

**** Draft of Final Paper Due****

Recommended:

- Brautigam, Deborah et al (2012) "Briefing: Rumours and realities of Chinese agricultural engagement in Mozambique." *African Affairs*, 111(444): 483-492.
- Chen, Wenjie, David D, & Heiwai T (2016)"Why is China investing in Africa? Evidence from the firm level." *The World Bank Economic Review*
- German, Laura, G. Schoneveld, & E. Mwangi (2013) "Contemporary processes of large-scale land acquisition in Sub-Saharan Africa: legal deficiency or elite capture of the rule of law?" *World Development* 48: 1-18.

Week 10 – Nov 7- Land and Insurgency in Latin America

- ["This Land is Our Land."](#) *The Economist*, 16 Sept 2010.
- Wood, Elisabeth. "Agrarian Reform, Land Occupation, and the Transition to

Democracy in El Salvador.” In, Bergsmo, Morten, Cesar A. Rodriguez Garavito, and Pablo Kalmanovitz (2010). [*Distributive Justice in Transitions*](#).

- Albertus, Michael & Kaplan, Oliver (2012). Land reform as a counterinsurgency policy: Evidence from Colombia. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57, 198-231.
- Mason, T. David. "Take Two Acres and Call Me in the Morning": Is Land Reform a Prescription for Peasant Unrest?" *The Journal of Politics* (1998): 199-230.

Recommended:

- Carter, Miguel. "The landless rural workers movement and democracy in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 45.4 (2010): 186-217.
- Mueller Edward N, Seligson Mitchell A., Fu Hung-der, Midlarsky Manus I.1989. "Land Inequality and Political Violence." *American Political Science Review* 83 (2): 577-596
- Hidalgo F. Daniel, Naidu Suresh, Nichter Simeon, Richardson Neal. 2010. "Economic Determinants of Land Invasions." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 92 (3): 505-523.
- Wolford Wendy. 2010. *This Land Is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Week 11 – Nov 14- Election-Related Violence (Kenya, Côte d’Ivoire, Zimbabwe)

- Boone, Catherine. 2009. "Electoral populism where property rights are weak: land politics in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Politics*, 2:183-201.
- Klaus, Kathleen & Matthew Mitchell. (2015). "Land Grievances and the Mobilization of Electoral Violence: Evidence from Côte d’Ivoire and Kenya," *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(2): 622-635
- Boone, C. & N. Kriger. (2012). "Land Patronage and Elections: Winners and Losers in Zimbabwe and Côte d’Ivoire." In, *Voting in Fear: Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C: United States Institute of Peace.

Recommended:

- Boone, Catherine. (2011). "Politically allocated land rights and the geography of electoral violence: The case of Kenya in the 1990s." *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(10): 1311-1342.

Week 12 – Nov 21- Forced Urbanization and State Land Grabs (China)

- Ho, Peter. 2001. "Who owns China's land? Policies, property rights and deliberate institutional ambiguity." *The China Quarterly* 166: 394-421.
- Chuang, Julia. "China's rural land politics: bureaucratic absorption and the muting of rightful resistance." *The China Quarterly* 219 (2014): 649-669.
- Cui, Ernan et al. (2015). "How do Land Takings affect Political Trust in Rural China?" *Political Studies*, 63(S1): 91-109.
- Cai, Yongshun. 2003. "Collective ownership or cadres' ownership? The non-agricultural use of farmland in China." *The China Quarterly* 175: 662-680. (*Recommended*)
- Johnson, Ian. "[Leaving the Land- China's Great Uprooting: Moving 250 Million Into Cities](#)." *New York Times* 15 June. 2013: (Read online):
- Johnson, Ian. "[Leaving the Land- Picking Death Over Eviction](#)." *New York Times* 8 Sept. 2013: (Read online)

Week 13 – Nov 28- Land Rights in Post-Conflict Environments

- Autesserre, Séverine. (2009). "Hobbes and the Congo: frames, local violence, and international intervention." *International Organization*, 63(2): 249-280.
- Gibson, James. 2010. "Land redistribution/restitution in South Africa: A model of multiple values, as the past meets the present." *British Journal of Political Science* 40(1): 135-169.
- Elhawary, Samir. *Uncharted territory: Land, conflict and humanitarian action*. Ed. Sara Pantuliano. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing, 2009.
 - De Waal, Alex, Chap 1. "Why humanitarian organizations need to tackle land issues"

Recommended:

- Bovensiepen, Judith M. (2011) Opening and Closing the Land: Land and power in the Idaté highlands (Indonesia). In: McWilliam, A. & Traube, E, eds. *Land and Life in Timor-Leste. Ethnographic Essays*. ANU E-press, Canberra , pp. 47-60.

Week 14 – Dec 5- In- Class Presentations

USEFUL LINKS

International Organizations and Land-

USAID: Land Tenure: <http://usaidlandtenure.net>

Global Activism around Land Rights-

Rights and Resources Initiative:

<http://www.rightsandresources.org/en/>

Global Land Tool Network:

<http://www.gltm.net/index.php>

Landesa.org <http://landrightsnow.org/>

[International Land Coalition: http://www.landcoalition.org/](http://www.landcoalition.org/)

Databases on Land transactions and land grabs-

[Landportal.info](http://landportal.info)

<http://www.landmatrix.org/en/>

<http://www.future-agricultures.org/>

<http://www.openlandcontracts.org/>