Land struggles and nonviolent resistance:
Local communities’ nonviolent resistance and construction of alternatives in the Americas

STPEC Focus Seminar II, 492H-01
UMass, Amherst, Fall Semester, 09/04 – 12/12/2018

Elm Room 212
Wednesday 4:00PM - 6:30 PM
Instructors: Stellan Vinthagen and Joanne Sheehan

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Joanne Sheehan has been an organizer, nonviolence trainer and educator for over 45 years. She has been on the staff of War Resisters League’s New England Office in Norwich, CT since co-founding it in 1985. Active with War Resister’s International (WRI) since 1983, she served as WRI Chair from 1998 to 2006. She has been an editor and contributor to the Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns (2009 and 2014). Joanne has been the Chair of the Voluntown Peace Trust since 2012.

Joanne has worked for economic alternatives to weapons production as part of the Trident Conversion Campaign (1977 – 1980) and the Community Coalition for Economic Conversion
through the 1990'S. She has also been involved with community land trusts for decades. She was a co-founder of the Rose City Community Land Trust for Housing in Norwich, CT (1985), President of the Board of the Institute for Community Economics (1990-1998) and is presently assisting in the development of the New London Community Land Trust.

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OVERVIEW

This course focuses on how ordinary people struggle for land and housing in the US and Latin America. It brings up the contexts, values, strategies, tactics and mobilization of movements like the Community Land Trusts (CLT) in the US, the landless workers movement in Brazil (MST), and the Indigenous peoples of Chiapas (Zapatistas). This course brings together two teachers that combine their academic and activist backgrounds in a collaboration, making sure the course has both a clear activist perspective and an academic basis. The course gives a necessary political-economic background to land issues and injustices, but focuses on how poor and marginalized communities go to direct action: try to create autonomy, self-governance and build their own constructive programs and resist injustices. Key themes are community-based struggles and the combination of resisting injustice with building new societies and alternatives. Seminars will involve students through discussions, which follow up on background lectures, guest visits from researchers and activists, films, literature readings, student projects, etc. Assignments consist mainly of a book review, oral presentations, and a course paper analyzing a chosen case of relevance. Extra credits are offered for excursions to relevant projects in New England. The overall aim with this course is strategy and social change development: to critically assess popular land struggles, and what challenges and possibilities movement activists face when they try to combine resistance with the building of new societies.

Description of a Community Land Trust (CLT)

A Community Land Trust (CLT) holds land in trust, taking it off the for profit speculative market. A CLT is a non-profit organization, open to members living in the community it covers. The land may hold affordable housing, community organizations, community gardens and green spaces. The model is flexible, allowing for many kinds of housing including individual home ownership, coops and rental units. The board is made up of 1/3 individuals or reps of organizations using the land, 1/3 community members, 1/3 public representatives.

CLT principles include:
- Balance of interests between the individual and the community.
- Community control and stewardship of the land.
- Community ownership and community empowerment, recognizing that land is power.
- Builds relationships among individuals, organizations, and municipalities for mutual aid.

Description of the landless workers' movement in Brazil (MST)

MST makes land occupations of non-used land or land used for modernization projects they oppose. The movement started in the 1980s, consists of 1.5 million activists, and today they have done thousands of land occupations, liberating more land for landless people than what
the state has redistributed in land reform programs. The MST transgresses property titles and builds a village of black plastic-tents, a school, and cultivates the land. They are regularly violently evicted, but will return and rebuild. With persistence (firmeza permanente) they claim their land right and defend their emerging society with unarmed collective force, international media attention and urban alliances (with lawyers, politicians, journalists, etc.). Their resistance might go on for years, even decades. However, the key is that they are not just protesting or waiting for legal recognition from the state.

With time, they develop cooperatives, ecological farming techniques, local democracy institutions, a school with Freire pedagogic that teach not only literacy and theoretical knowledge but also political awareness. They create, the "New Brazil". Thus, in the process of resisting one of the most unjust land distributions in the world, they also start creating the alternative institutions they envision. Therefore, they embody the politico-ethical future through their resistance practice, i.e. constructive resistance.

**Description of the Indigenous movement in Chiapas, Mexico (Zapatistas)**

Leading nonviolent resistance scholars have interpreted nonviolence as an effective strategy for political reform within the violent world-system. In contrast, a revolutionary approach requires us to change the violent world-system by creating alternative ways of life. Nonviolence is not just a strategy without and against violence; it is a holistic and constructive process for making other worlds without-against-and-beyond violence possible. As the indigenous Maya Indians of the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico, show: it involves one No against systemic violence as well as many Yeses beyond it. That is, a collaborative struggle against all forms of violence inherent in the contemporary world system, while we experiment with a range of revolutionary alternatives for going beyond it.

Although Zapatista rebels asserted their dignity with “Fire” (a short-lived and initial armed uprising 1994), they learned to confront and move beyond violence with “Word” (negotiations and mass mobilization of civil society groups on a local, national and transnational scale) and “Autonomy” (creation of health, educational, economic and political institutions enabling the self-governing of their villages) as their weapons. This ongoing experimental revolutionary struggle does not only engage with the Mexican state’s colonization of indigenous territories, lives and culture, or with the world capitalism system, but also with internal patriarchal violence in Zapatista communities. Revolutionary Zapatista women engaging in counter-conduct within the movement are on the frontlines of contemporary struggles without-against-and-beyond violence.

**Course goals**

By the end of the course you should, based on your learning from the literature and class discussions:

- show ability to read a larger text material and extract the main points claimed by different authors
- recognize key features of nonviolent resistance, construction of alternatives and land struggles
- understand the differences between key concepts connected to the theme of the course
- be familiar with several different theoretical frameworks that try to explain the nonviolent resistance, construction of alternatives and land struggles
- be able to apply at least one theoretical framework on a case of land struggles
• recognize ethical, political and methodological challenges that nonviolent movements that engage in land struggles encounter
• show ability to critically analyze and problematize a case involving nonviolent resistance, construction of alternatives and land struggles (including critically show risks of recreation of power relations through resistance).

REQUIREMENTS

Participation in class discussions: This course is organized with a combination of different class meetings (lectures, text seminars, and paper seminars). During text seminars we discuss some key texts together, and during lectures and other types of seminars you will be given supplementary perspectives on the course theme. Therefore, you must complete the required readings of some specified texts before the class meeting for which they are assigned (see schedule below), and it is expected that you actively participate in the discussion of the readings during seminar sessions. In addition to demonstrating an understanding of the main arguments and themes of the readings, you are encouraged to think critically about the readings (i.e. identify strengths and weaknesses), compare and contrast them to other readings or literatures, and make connections to ongoing social processes and current events.

Text seminar rapporteurs (oral and written): For each of the seminars for which we have required readings, one or more students will be designated as rapporteurs, who are responsible for presenting to the class a concise summary of the main points and arguments of the readings (time limit: 20 minutes). This report also has to be written and copied to everyone in the class as a handout. It can be made in form of definitions of key concepts, quotes of main theses and bullet-points, but need page numbers for all main statements.

Text seminar questions: Each student will have to team up with another student and together hand in a paper with two questions to the seminar (i.e. 2 questions per pair of students). Based on the reading of the required reading for the seminar your question has to be well informed, and one that is a problematizing one. (It is not accepted to hand in a question that can be answered with a simple yes or no, or where the answer is to find on a certain page.) Make copies of your paper with questions to yourself and your student team member, as well as one copy to the professor to hand in before the meeting starts (i.e. three copies in total).

News rapporteurs for “Here are the news” (oral and written performance): News about land struggles within mainstream media is generally sporadic, misguided, distorted and incomplete. In order to counter that we at several class meetings have a news report of about 10 minutes with a selection of highlights relevant to the course theme. Students, according to an elective schedule, conduct this report function. Making the news report is only possible if you have actively searched for news from activist sites and alternative media outlets using Internet (for some suggested outlets to begin with, see below). You are supposed to search for relevant news on land struggles globally that are of either (1) general interest for the class and new information about ongoing struggles we have not covered yet, or (2) that occurred in the time since the last report was given. In this way the class will stay updated on what happens on the activist front. Once the report is done you hand in your notes to the professor (as plain text or keywords in a bullet list). Only when the notes, with full name stated at the top of the paper, are handed in is the assignment complete.
**Text readings** (of course literature): This course applies some more texts to read than normal, since one of the course aims is to learn to read extensive: to learn and understand the main concepts, models, claims and theoretical frameworks – without reading everything equally careful. The emphasis is not on remembering details in a smaller collection of texts, rather on your ability to compare, criticize, problematize and discuss differences within the literature, and to form your own positions in relation to that literature. To secure that kind of learning we apply the learning form of seminars with discussions, and lectures that bring in perspectives that supplement the readings.

**Review essay:** Each student is required to choose one recent scholarly book (published the last three years) that falls within the substantive domain of this course, such as a form of resistance, a particular land struggle, or a relevant theoretical issue that link to land struggles, and to make a review essay of the book. The book needs approval from the professor before you start to write. Email a description of the content of the book and a link to its website to stellan.vinthagen@gmail.com Since each student need to choose a book someone else has not yet chosen, it is good to be quick in reporting which book you choose. This essay should consist of 3 double spaced pages, and the text shall be evenly distributed with 1/3 of the text (1 page) per section: (1) Summary of the main content and points of the chosen book, (2) Analytical comparison with the mandatory literature at this course, and (3) Your critical reflection of the strengths and weakness of the chosen book. The review is due on **Oct 24.**

**Course Paper and presentation, and peer-review:** The main assignment of this class is the course paper. A paper is required on a topic of your choice that falls within the substantive domain of this course. However, the topic needs to cover some case of land struggle involving resistance and building of alternatives. Look for a case where a marginalized group of people are creating some kind of constructive program/alternative on the land they struggle to maintain. You can possibly compare two cases, if you prefer. However, note that there will not be time to gather your own data. You will have to base your work on material written by others on the case(s). You can get inspiration in choosing ideas for your paper by looking at the recommended websites below.

You can structure your paper in different ways, but as one possible model you will get help with a basic case study outline from the War Resisters International Nonviolence Committee that works on a handbook on “Constructive Programs” (will be distributed at class in Sep). The aim is to write a report that could be submitted as a journal article (it does not have to be submitted, but it is recommended. If you do not submit let the professor know, and you will be informed about other options, as for example Working Papers, or blog postings). You do not, of course, have to make your text publicly accessible if you do not want! However, the course is an opportunity to write something for a wider audience, if you would like to do that.

You have the opportunity to get direct feedback on your choice of topic if you have one idea to present on the class **Sep 26** (see schedule). You must get approval from the professor of your topic before starting to write. To get an approval you need to send an email with the title and an abstract of the content to your professor. After getting approval, submit a 2-page paper that describes your topic (similar to an abstract) and includes a preliminary bibliography with at least 10 scholarly sources. It is also part of the assignment to search, find and name a possible academic journal that tentatively could be interested in your paper. This is due at the beginning of class on **Oct 10.** Include your email on this submission, and you will get written feedback from the professor.
The draft version of the paper is due at the beginning of class on Nov 28. The paper should be double spaced, with between 6 000 and 7 000 words in total, including references (which is a common limit for some journals), with a consistent style of specific referencing to the literature (preferably you use the style of the journal you have in mind). Remember to discuss and refer to the course literature when relevant. It is absolutely necessary to follow conventional principles of academic honesty and not use any concepts or text (even shorter sections) from other sources without referring to the source. Failure to follow this basic principle of academic honesty might have severe consequences (see specifications below). Presentations will be scheduled for some of the last classes (more information later). The presentations should be no more than 15 minutes in length.

All students are expected to read all papers before the seminars, and have comments to share.

Finally, the papers will go through a peer-review process in which each student will comment on one paper written by someone else. The written peer-review, which will be copied and given to the author, shall follow either the format of the journal in question, or a standard format of some journal you know of (including recommendation for publishing or not, and detailed comments for editing). The peer-reviewing student will also give a 5-10 minutes oral review with the main points during the seminar. More details will be provided in a separate handout.

With the help of review comments and discussions at the paper seminar at the end of class you have the chance to rework your paper one more time. Dec 17: NOTE: This is the absolute deadline for the final version of your course Paper. Submit via email to the professor: stellan.vinthagen@gmail.com Late submissions are not accepted. Make sure you get a reply back, confirming the submission of the paper in a readable format.

Always remember to identify yourself: Remember to state your full name and class when you communicate with the instructors via email, handing in papers or in any other way hand in material for the grading of the course. The only exception is the written evaluations that are done anonymously.

Extra credit is possible (Excursions to land struggles)
There are current land struggles happening in our area, and making a visit to a group, learning about their struggle and write up a report can be an important learning experience. The instructors of the class can help out with suggestions of places to visit, but the student needs to facilitate the contact and agreement of an appropriate time and form for a learning visit. You will need to write a report from your visit and what you learnt. More information about this possibility will be provided during the course. If you are interested take contact with the instructors. Some possible groups to visit: Excursions to various local CLT groups (e.g. Equity Trust, Amherst, Pioneer Valley Land Trust, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative), or the Seeds of Solidarity farm at Orange County MA, or the anti-gentrification neighborhood activists in Movement for Justice in El Barrio, Harlem, etc.

Grading

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<th>Participation in class discussions</th>
<th>15 %</th>
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<td>Text Seminar rapporteur</td>
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Higher grading of your performance demands an ability to show – both verbally and in written format – a critical understanding and application of the core ideas formulated in the course literature and the key themes of the course. What that means will be explained with illustrating examples during class.

Accommodation Statement
The University of Massachusetts Amherst is committed to providing an equal educational opportunity for all students. If you have a documented physical, psychological, or learning disability on file with Disability Services (DS), you may be eligible for reasonable academic accommodations to help you succeed in this course. If you have a documented disability that requires an accommodation, please notify me within the first two weeks of the semester so that we may make appropriate arrangements.

Academic Honesty Statement
Since the integrity of the academic enterprise of any institution of higher education requires honesty in scholarship and research, academic honesty is required of all students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Academic dishonesty is prohibited in all programs of the University. Academic dishonesty includes but is not limited to: cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and facilitating dishonesty. Appropriate sanctions may be imposed on any student who has committed an act of academic dishonesty. Instructors should take reasonable steps to address academic misconduct. Any person who has reason to believe that a student has committed academic dishonesty should bring such information to the attention of the appropriate course instructor as soon as possible. Instances of academic dishonesty not related to a specific course should be brought to the attention of the appropriate department Head or Chair. Since students are expected to be familiar with this policy and the commonly accepted standards of academic integrity, ignorance of such standards is not normally sufficient evidence of lack of intent (http://www.umass.edu/dean_students/codeofconduct/acadhonesty/).

REQUIRED READINGS (Changes will occur up until class starts)
In total we have quite little literature (about 70 pages per week, including your own chosen book for review), which means it is vital you read it all, and are prepared for reflecting on and discussing the texts in class, particularly when we have TEXT SEMINARS (see schedule below). If you read every week it will not be any problem to keep up. So, don’t wait until just before class to read.

Most literature is accessible via the UMass library or can be downloaded online or will be provided by the instructors. There is however one book you will have to order (Vergara-Camus, Leandro, 2014) and it is important to do that directly making it possible for you to get it in time.
Readings during Sep and Oct in relation to lectures (145 pages)


3. Davis, John Emmeus “*Roots of CLT’s*” - [http://cltnetwork.org/roots-clt-chapter-1/](http://cltnetwork.org/roots-clt-chapter-1/) (Listen to Chapter 1-4, ca 70 min)


6. Engler, Mark and Paul Engler (2014) Should We Fight the System or Be the Change?, *Common Dreams*, June 4, [http://www.commondreams.org/views/2014/06/04/should-we-fight-system-or-be-change](http://www.commondreams.org/views/2014/06/04/should-we-fight-system-or-be-change) (8 pages)


8. “Bob Swann: An Interview” (1992), *Community Economics* (Will provided by the instructors as a scanned copy). (5 pages)


Text seminar 1: Fundamental theoretical perspectives (Part 1) (352 pages)

Text Seminar 2: Empirical cases of Land Struggles (168 pages)


Text seminar 3: Fundamental theoretical perspectives (Part 2) (77 pages)


Recommended readings (not required)


Zapatista statements
Opening statement at the First Intercontinental Encuentro for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism (1996):


Recommended outlets to get inspiration for the news reports:
The primary recommendation is the unique collected sources of news at one site:
http://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/related-news

Other sources:
http://www.indymedia.org/or/index.shtml (not very active nowadays, but there are 50+ sites from different countries and cities with updates)
http://zcomm.org/zmag/
http://www.earthtribe.co
http://newsactivist.com
http://www.trueactivist.com

Recommended websites for inspiration about movements and land struggles:

Case studies of Campaigns (search for struggles around “land”) at Swarthmore database, Global
https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu

Via Campesina, Global
https://viacampesina.org/en/

National Network of CLT, USA
http://cltnetwork.org

MST, Brazil
https://www.mstbrazil.org

Zapatistas, Chiapas, Mexico
https://chiapas-support.org
http://www.schoolsforchiapas.org
http://www.struggle.ws/mexico/ezlnco.html
http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx
ZAD, Nantes, France
https://zad.nadir.org/?lang=en

Ekta Parishad, India
http://www.ektaparishad.in

Abahlali baseMjondolo, Durban, South Africa
http://abahlali.org

Gentrification struggles El Barrio, Harlem, NYC, USA
https://eastharlempreservation.org/tag/movement-for-justice-in-el-barrio/
http://newyorkencuentros.org
https://www.facebook.com/Movement-for-Justice-in-El-Barrio-54775959685/

Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Boston, MA
https://www.dsni.org

Cooperation Jackson, Mississippi, USA
https://cooperationjackson.org

A commons movement strategy center, Minnesota, USA
http://www.onthecommons.org

News and resources on “the commons” by David Bollier, Amherst, MA
http://www.bollier.org

Resources for community wealth building activities, USA
https://community-wealth.org

The US Cohousing Association
https://www.cohousing.org

Global Ecovillage Network
https://ecovillage.org

The Free State Project, New Hampshire, USA
https://www.fsp.org

Beautiful Solutions (Alternative projects), Global
https://solutions.thischangeseverything.org/#

Fellowship of Intentional Community, USA and Canada
https://www.ic.org

Texts on the “Commons” by D. Bollier
http://www.bollier.org/about

Indigenous Struggles for land
http://welrp.org
https://www.culturalsurvival.org
SCHEDULE OVERVIEW (Changes of content will occur until class starts)

More details on class meetings will be provided during the course.

This schedule may be modified. If so, changes will be announced in class and via mail.

You are encouraged to join/form discussion/study group and create your schedule of meetings in relation to the class meetings. This will facilitate your studies of the texts.

Course instructors: Stellan Vinthagen (SV) and Joanne Sheehan (JS)

Sep 5 LECTURE (SV and JS) Course intro (Syllabus; What is Nonviolence?)

Sep 12 LECTURE (JS and SV) Land Issues, Movements of Nonviolent Resistance and Construction (illustration from the WRI committee on Constructive Programs)
Reading: Sheehan, Engler & Engler, Schock (see literature above), and an email attachment of the file of a summary text from WRI committee on Constructive Programs

Sep 19 LECTURE (JS) Development of Community Land Trusts CLT’s– Why and how CLT’s were developed.
Reading: “Roots of CLT’s”, and the Swann interview (see literature above)

Sep 26 LECTURE (SV) Intro to the Brazilian movement of landless workers MST and constructive resistance
Reading: Participatory Democracy in Action: Practices of the Zapatistas and the Movimento Sem Terra (see literature above)
Note: Present a general idea of the focus of your paper

Oct 3 GUEST/MOVIE (SV) Land and economic injustice in the US (Possibly the movie Race - the power of an illusion)
Reading: The Ever Growing Gap (see literature above)

Oct 10 LECTURE (JS) Description of a CLT - Students present examples of community land trusts, answering some case study questions
Reading: Cooperation Jackson, Dudley Street, and Davis (2017) Common Ground (see literature above)
Assignment: Research a CLT, using their websites (see recommendations above, especially the CLT Network)
Note: 2-page abstract of your course paper is due
Oct 13, Saturday WORKSHOP (Note: Voluntary option, not on class time) The Movement for Justice in El Barrio, Harlem is conducting a free workshop this whole day for neighborhood activism in Springfield, MA. If you are interested in joining, see the website of the Resistance Studies Initiative, UMass, Amherst https://www.umass.edu/resistancestudies/

Oct 17 LECTURE (SV) The indigenous movement in Chiapas, Mexico: Zapatistas and Decolonial resistance
Reading: EZLN (2013) Autonomous Resistance (see literature above), and look at the recommended websites and Zapatista Statements (see above)
Note: Review is due

Oct 24 LECTURE (JS) The dilemma of resistance: Organizing against the hand that may feed you (Example with the film on the Arc of Justice – The Rise, Fall and Rebirth of a Beloved Community, a CLT, Albany, Georgia, the grew out of the Civil Rights Movement)
Reading: Check out the website http://www.newcommunitiesinc.com

Oct 31 TEXT SEMINAR (SV) Text seminar 1 on literature (with student presentation and discussions based on questions to the literature)
See reading instructions above for the Text seminar 1

Nov 7 TEXT SEMINAR (SV) Text seminar 2 on literature (with student presentation and discussions based on questions to the literature)
See reading instructions above for the Text seminar 2

Nov 14 NO LECTURE (Work on your course paper!)

Nov 21 Fall break

Nov 28 TEXT SEMINAR (SV) Text seminar 3 on literature (with student presentation and discussions based on questions to the literature)
See reading instructions above for the Text seminar 3
Note: Your draft version of the paper is due. Email a word or txt file to stellan.vinthagen@gmail.com

Dec 5 CASE ANALYSIS (SV and JS) Student presentations of course papers (in groups)
Assignment: Read all course papers, and prepare comments (written and oral presentation) on one assigned paper (instructions will be given during class)

Dec 12 SUMMARY (SV and JS) Course summing up, and how to apply the knowledge and evaluation of the course

Dec 17: NOTE: This is the absolute deadline for the final version of your course Paper. Submit via email to the professor: stellan.vinthagen@gmail.com Late submissions are not accepted.