

# Landlords vs. Settlers: Cross-Ethnic Land Conflicts on the Bolivian Frontier

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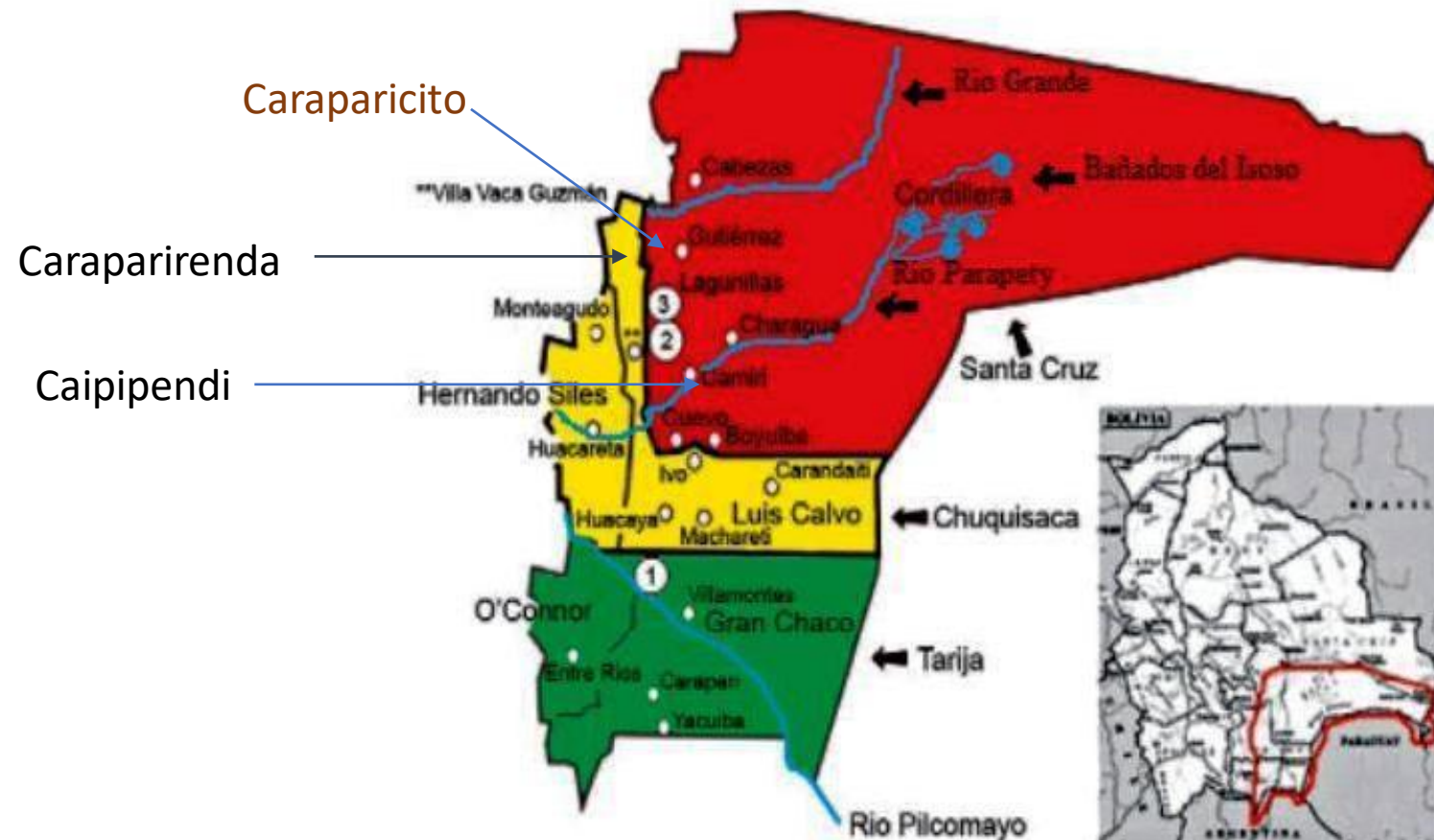




# Frontiers as Building Infrastructure

- Physical Infrastructures (Roads, Housing, Livestock, etc.)
- Conceptual Infrastructures
  - Laws/Regulations (Written vs. Customary)  
Land Tenure Systems – Rules about Land
- Novelty of State Infrastructures on the Frontier
  - New Rules
  - Power to Enforce
  - Adaptation

# Political Divisions of the Chiriguanía



# Types of Land Tenure Arrangements in Cordillera Province (Santa Cruz Dept.)

Chiriguano Communities (Capitanías)

vs

Haciendas

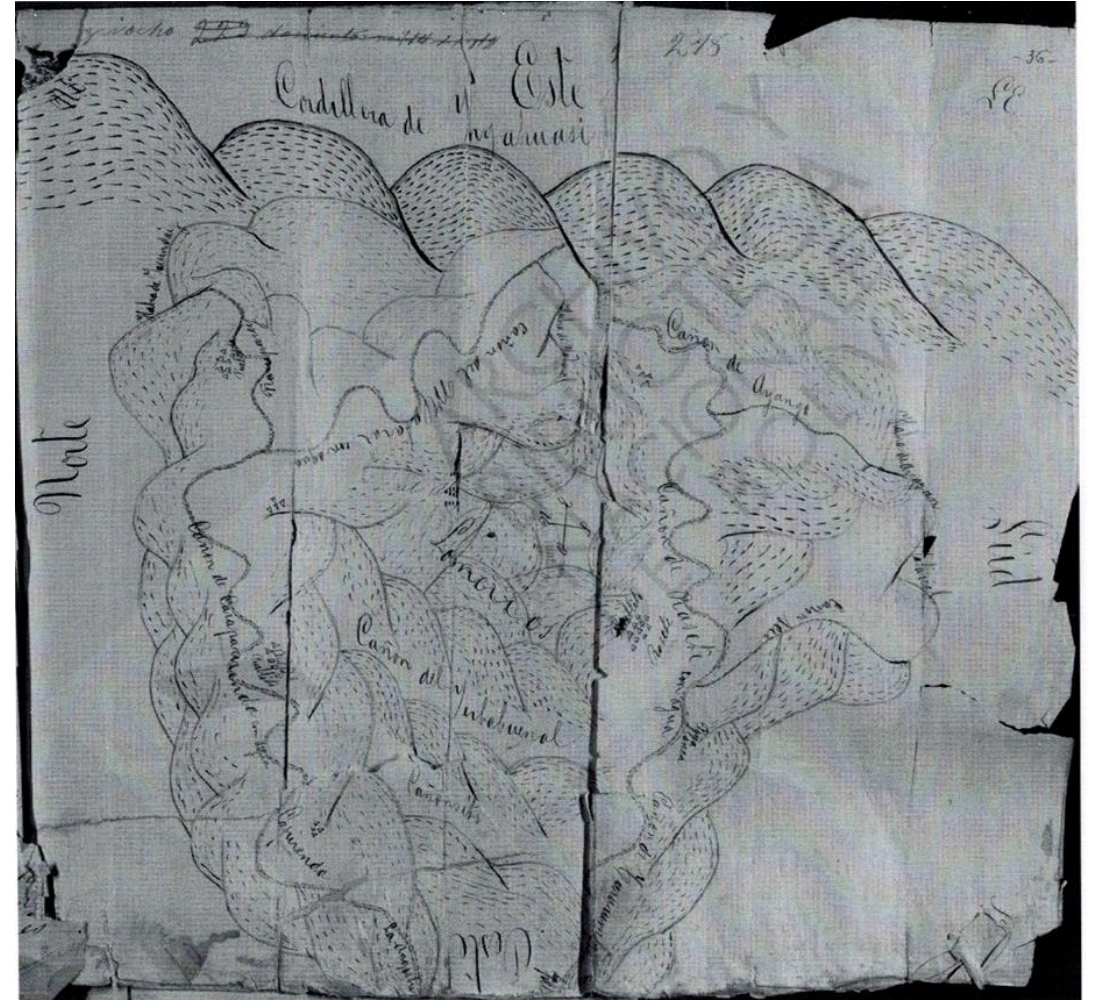


Instrument: Land Grants (1886, 1905)



# Complexities

- Large Landlords in Alliance with Chiriguano Capitanías
- Exchange of Indigenous Women (*Concuñadazgo*)
- Land Grants Given to Chiriguano Capitanes/Communities
  - Caraparirenda, Caipipendi



# Class Alliances?

- Community of Aquio
  - José Manuel Antesana – Land Grant in 1866
  - Capitanía of Aquio (José Manuel Guaracupe)
  - Other Settlers (español-americanos, mestizos, Indians) – 1858 Census
- 1886 – Octavio Padilla “inherit” Aquio
  - Peons?
- Resistance in the Courts



# Power of Attorney, 1900 (Lagunillas Court)

- José Manuel Guaracupe, Capitan Grande of Aquio of this jurisdiction, and Tacuaral, in representation of his subjects Manuel José Chuparango, Ayuripa and other dependents of the previous Capitan, and successor of him who was the Capitan Grande Abacayo and Mariano Tarurare, deceased, as property owners and settler [poblador] jointly with the other cristianos in the locations of Aquio, Itapochi, Aguaragua and other names...the power of attorney that all the inhabitants [vecinos] of Aquio have conferred in their role of property owning inhabitants, to oppose themselves against the pretensions of Buenaventura Sandoval who attempts to appropriate for himself someone else's properties with fraud and strategies.



# Infrastructure as a Concept: Useful for Frontiers?

- Frontiers have overlapping conceptual infrastructures
- State recognize different legal definitions – competing interpretations
- Not just Hacendados vs. Indians
- Different groups use different concepts of infrastructures strategically
  - Landlords (español-americanos)
  - Indigenous communities (capitanes)
  - Small-scale settlers too – not necessarily enemies of Indigenous, but can ally
- Concept of *Infrastructures* can help us understand frontier regions better











