# Extraction, inequalities and territories in Bolivia

Anthony Bebbington Denise Humphreys Bebbington Leonith Hinojosa Valencia

University of Manchester, UK

www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/andes/es

### Outline

- Extractive industries and territorial inequalities
- Institutional transitions to equity?
- Hydrocarbons and the challenges of new inequalities: Tarija and Bolivia
- Conclusions

## Extractive industry and territorial inequalities

Inequalities between territories

- Geological difference and differences in territorial dynamics
- Fiscal arrangements and geographic inequalities in redistribution
- Territories of extraction and places of accumulation

#### Inequalities within territories

- New inequalities of power lead to new inequalities
  - in access to resources
  - in labor markets
  - in service provision markets
  - of access to community development
  - Inequalities of exposure to environment change and risk

## Institutional transitions to equity

- Inequality as outcome, inequity as cause?
- Sources of equity enhancing institutional change?
  - Social protest and mobilization
  - Policy networks
  - Political economies of growth dynamics

Hydrocarbons and the challenges of new inequalities: Tarija and Bolivia



Primeras actividades 1913 1929

Traslado del centro de la producción a la región de Santa Cruz 1960

Prospección en el Chapare y La Paz-

Ampliación de la región de prospección al Beni, Pando y el Altiplano 1972 - 1990

- Departamentos principales
- Campos de producción importante

Zona de existencia potencial de petroleo y gas



Región tradicional







#### YPFB PETROANDINA S.A.M.





- "Desequilibrios":
  - Tarija accounts for 35% of Bolivian departmental public investment
  - Government in 2008 redirects funds to national social programs
- Tensions around territorial inequalities
  - > department-centre conflicts
  - inter-departmental conflicts
  - > intra-departmental conflicts

#### Department of Tarija



• Overlapping geographies of gas and territory

- Weenhayek, Taipete, Guarani

- TCO Weenhayek
  - Gas exploration in 80s: imposed
  - TCO, 1993
  - Weenhayek Federation : ORCAWETA
  - Pending TCO claims: claims fail in presence of hydrocarbons
  - Increasing resistance: British Gas offers "Indigenous Development Plan"

#### Inequalities of intervention

- Indigenous Dev Plan
  - BG selects communities
- IDP structures relationships
  - Extraction/territory
  - British Gas / Weenhayek
  - Among Weenhayek
- Issues among Weenhayek:
  - Transparency in negotiations (BG bilateralises negotiations)
  - Socio-spatial inequality in distribution of benefits
  - Dissatisfaction with impact/amount
- Effects:
  - Internal conflicts
  - Rival leaderships
  - ORCAWETA weakened?
- A territory in which "structured inequities" become the "central political fact in the landscape"

#### Conclusions

- Inequalities in power:
  - Central government-territory
  - Government-company
  - Company-community
- Geographical inequalities
  - Among departments within Bolivia
  - Among provinces within Tarija
  - Among groups within the Weenhayek

- Institutional pathways to equity?
  - Territorial dynamics undermine capacity for collective action
    - State-societyAcross and within social groups
  - Undermines public sphere the space for the debate on what is "fair"
  - Short-circuits institutional pathways to equity
  - Undermines institutional routes out of the resource curse