



"Fire-fighters or fire-makers? Mining transnational companies and transnational civil-society networks in the Andes".

Leonith Hinojosa Anthony Bebbington

School of Environment and Development University of Manchester

The new mining *boom* in a neoliberal context

Neoliberal policies and mining as a financial national strategy

- Peru, Ecuador y Bolivia grew consistently at high average rates (4.66 %, 4.16 % and 3.11 %)
- poverty –rural poverty no significant improvement
- Much of growth has been based on the extraction and export of minerals and hydrocarbons

Policies for attracting and facilitating entry of TNCs

- equal treatment as national investors
- no barriers to profits repatriation
- no or very low fiscal obligations (other than canon)
- long-term fiscal stability
- facilities for inputs and technology imports
- ratification of international agreements on private investments

FDI in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, 1989-1999 (%)

Country/ Region	Average FDI/GDP		FDI Average annual growth rate		FDI in Primary Sectors (percentage of GDP)	
	1989-93	1994- 98	1989- 93	1994- 98	Average 1990-95	Average 1996-99
Bolivia	1.01	6.70	124.22	60.93	1.8	5.8
Ecuador	1.61	3.28	55.60	11.81	1.9	3.1
Peru	0.46	4.17	84.73	-11.23	0.3	0.3
Andean countries	1.12	3.38	30.38	14.49	1.0	2.1
LAC	0.95	2.42	18.11	21.96	0.9	1.3

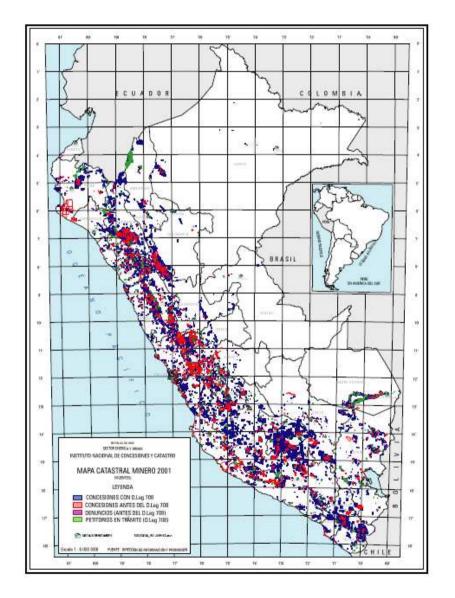
The source of conflicts:

access & control of the rural territory

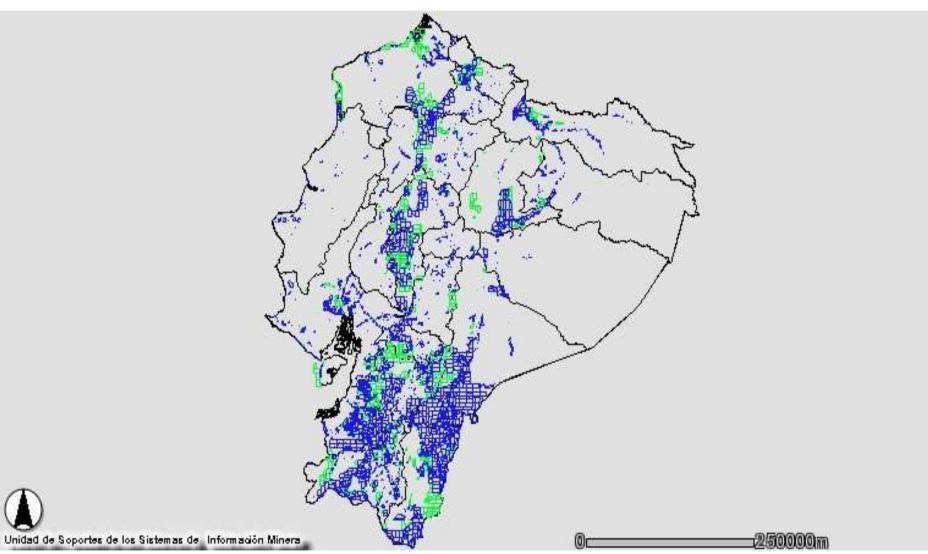
conflicts are:

- → struggles over whose rights and voices count most in political economic decision making
- → arguments over the effects of different types of development

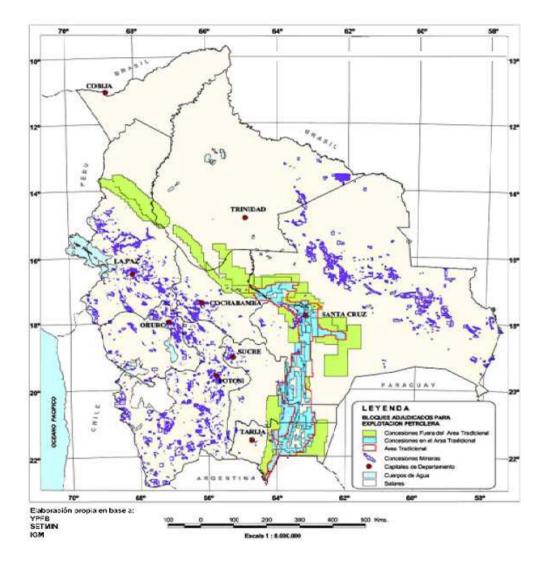
Peru (mining)



Ecuador (mining)



Bolivia (mining & hydrocarbons)



Factors of conflict

- the dynamics of neoliberalism have threatened the <u>viability</u> of much small and medium farm agriculture
- social conflicts increasingly polarized, recurrent and violent b/c social discontent
- challenge the <u>capability</u> of rural people to control patterns of change in their lived environments
- Involvement of <u>civil soc. and TNN</u>

Study sites

- 10 in total
- For this paper:
 - Cajamarca and Piura (Peru)
 - Cotacachi (Ecuador)
 - Oruro (Bolivia)

Cajamarca-Yanacocha

- Newmont Mining Corporation 51.35%, Compañía de Minas Buenaventura 43.65%, IFC 5%
- biggest gold mine in Latin America and the 5th largest in the world.
- 10000 hectares in the Cajamarca region
- land acquired from *campesino* households through imperfect and hardly transparent mechanisms

Piura-Majaz (Rio Blanco)

- copper deposit
- project includes between 400 and 1000 Ha. of lands belonging to two *campesino* communities
- concession in 2001 to Monterrico Metals plc. (a London based company)
- open-pit mine dry-filtered storage of tailings and waste on-site
- Initial EIA approved by MEM rejected by CC

Oruro - Inti Raymi

- Newmont Mining Corporation 88%, Beatriz Rocabado 20%
- biggest gold mine in Bolivia.
- 70000 hectares in mining rights (7000 explored)
- land acquired from two communities Chuquina and La Joya
- 2003: Closure of Kori Kollo

Cotacachi-Intag (Ecuador)

- Important copper reserves
- Ascendant Copper Corporation (Canadian company based in Colorado)
- After more than 20 years of initiated the exploration phase, no mine yet.

Mining brought resources to national and local economies...(Bury 2007)

Table 1: Minera Yanachocha economic impacts in Cajamarca (thousands of US\$ dolars)

Actividades de la mina	Subtotals	Total investments
Investments in mining instalations (1992-2000)		85,542
Exploration (1992-2000)		770,158
Employment		153,573
Expenses in goods and services		1,720,497
Goods and services from Cajamarca (1993-2000)	127,248	
Goods and services purchased in national and international markets (1992-2000)	1,593,249	
Rural development programmes (1993-2000)		11,898
Total		2,741,668

But had environmental impacts

- open-pit mining and lixiviation with cyanide
- Change of vegetation patterns
- Deviation of the course of waters
- Plans for expansion into urban areas (Cerro Quillish in Cajamarca, Kori-Chaca in Oruro)

Conflict & TNN (Cajamarca)

- The conflict moved from rural to urban areas
- Surge of local NGOs
- Sensibilizacion, awareness, establishment of international contacts
- Active rural GROs, but at the end divided
- Internationally: an emblematic case
- Mesas de concertacion: failure and standby

Conflict (Majaz)

- Reaction and mobilization against Minera Majaz (2002)
- Leadership of GROs
- Marches and confrontation with police
- Failure of negotiation commissions
- Multi-province front (Front for the Sustainable Development of the Northern Frontier of Peru)
- Stand-by process

Conflict (Inti Raymi)

- After IR announced Kori Kollo closure
- Remote communities claim compensation
- The Transredes referent
- Environmental audit
- Process delayed for almost 3 years
- IR acts through ECR + IR Foundation

Conflict & TNN (Cotacachi)

- strong at some points violent movement of opposition
- Church/NGOs/private entrepreneur: environmental education
- Strong connections with international NGOs
- High visibility from the beginning
- Alternatives of local development strategies

Factors (actors)		Peru		Ecuador	Bolivia
		Yanacocha- Cajamarca	Piura- Majaz	Cotacachi- Intag	Oruro-Inti Raymi
Local	Local leadership (campesino communities)	\checkmark			
	Local leadership (local governments)	W	W		W
	Local leadership (private sector)	Ν	N		Ν
	Local church representatives	\checkmark	\checkmark		Ν
National/Inter national	Catholic church (national)	Ν	\checkmark		Ν
	Regional Campesino Federations	W	\checkmark		W
	National Campesino Federations	W	W		No influence
	Local NGOs	\checkmark	N		
	National NGOs involvement	N	N		
	International NGOs & Watchdogs support	\checkmark	\checkmark		W
	Central government intervention		\checkmark	W	

Factors (structural)

- 1. Scarcity and poverty of non-mining resources in rural areas
- 2. Economic priorities in people's livelihoods
- 3. Institutional land issues
- 4. Territorial aspects
- 5. Asymmetrical relationships between and inside civil society organisations
- 6. Knowledge gaps

Concluding remarks

- Environmental conflicts are fairly recent
- Factors: Neoliberal dynamics, Actors, Structures
- International concern for the environment (Summits, institutions, financial resources)
- New agenda for governments, international cooperation, NGOs
- Referents for acting through networks (division of labor/tasks)
- The environment as an instrument to claim for economic and social rights

Thank you

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

Leonith.hinojosa@manchester.ac.uk

Tony.bebbington@manchester.ac.uk