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Mining and social movements: struggles over livelihood and rural territorial development in the Andes

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The question

- In a context of increasing commoditisation of the sub-soil, under what conditions are civil society actors able to change:
 - The terms of national and local debate on the types of rural economy that ought be promoted?
 - The forms of (mineral) investment characterizing this most recent round of capitalist transformation of the Andes

The paper and the panel

- ... explore processes of commoditisation of Nature
 - As they pertain to the mining sector
- their social consequences in terms of (in)equality of access to natural resources ...
 - As they pertain to the effects of expansion in the mining economy on resource access and control
- and the ways such processes are resisted or supported by political/institutional agendas
 - As reflected in distinct processes of social mobilization and state response to mineral development

The basic argument

- Mineral expansion elicits new forms of commoditisation of nature *in particular places*
-inducing forms of protest against the effects of this expansion on access to and control of resources
- forms, structures and coherence of protest vary across space with important consequences for
- geographies of territorial transformation, which vary as a result of the combined effects of capitalist expansion and social protest
- social movements rework place based forms and effects of capitalist expansion
- the internal characteristics of these social movements and the state influence the nature of this reworking

Outline

- *Commodification:*
 - Geographies of expansion in extractive industry investment in Latin America
- *The politics and institutionalisation of capitalism:*
 - Mining, protest and the state: 3 paths of territorial transformation
- *Forms of investment that accompany development processes within capitalism:*
 - Conclusions: co-producing territorially based development through conflict

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Commodification:
Geographies of expansion in extractive
industry investment in Latin America

New geographies of EI investment in Latin
America:

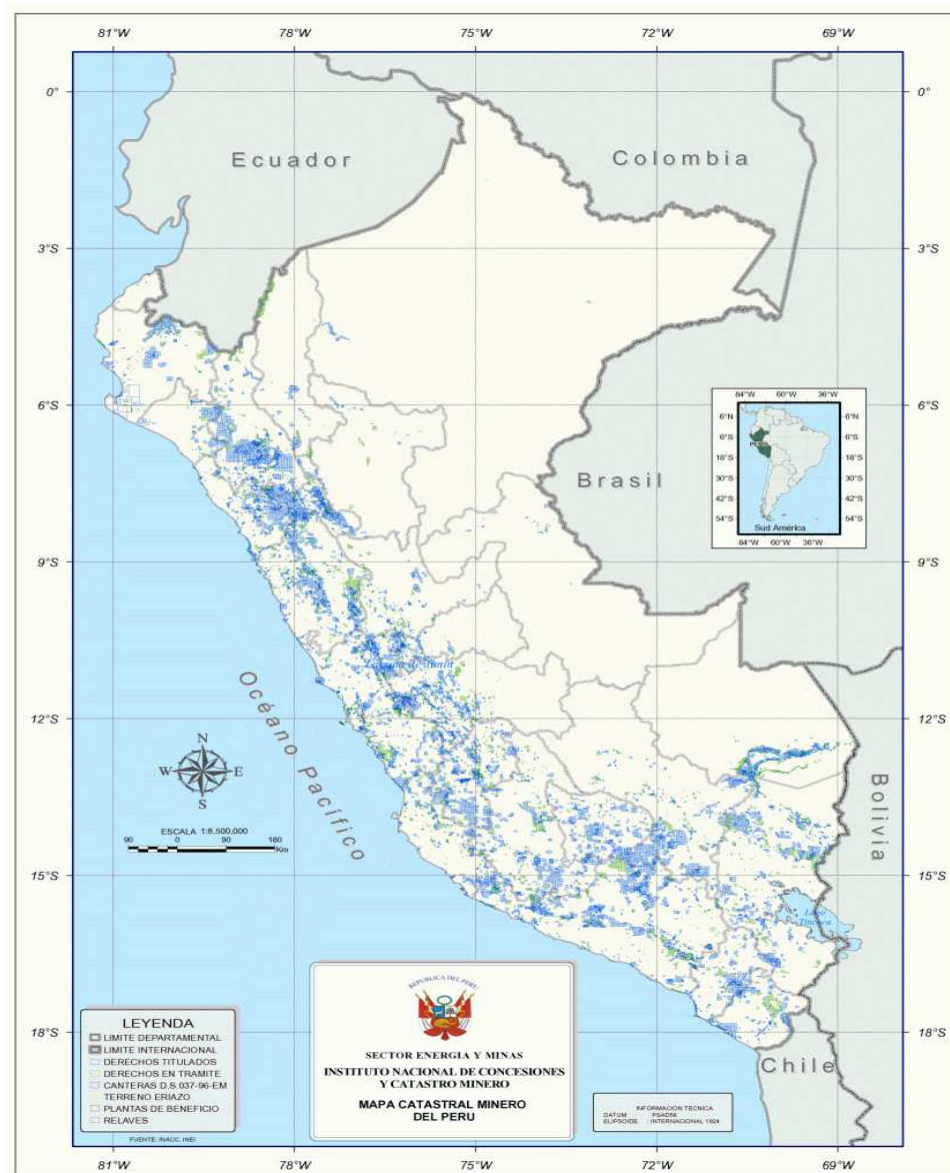
- New government policies and institutional
arrangements
- Technological and price changes

- Between 1990-97
 - global investment in mining *exploration* increased 90%
 - in América Latina it increased 400%
 - in Perú it increased 2000 % (Banco Mundial, 2005).
- 1990 – 2001
 - of the 10 countries that saw most investment in mining, 4 are in LAC: Chile, 1; Peru, 6; Argentina, 9; Mexico 10 (Bridge, 2004)
- Peru:
 - 1990-2000, mining investment increases five-fold
 - Mining – c. 6% of GDP
 - c. 50% of foreign currency generated by mineral exports
 - c. 15% of FDI
 - projected to increase

.... Socio-spatial implications?

- Old cores
- New frontiers

- 1990s: area affected by mining concessions increases from 4 million to 16 million hectares
- 1999, around fifty-five per cent of Peru's six thousand or so *campesino* (peasant) communities influenced in one way or another by mining (de Echave, 2006)



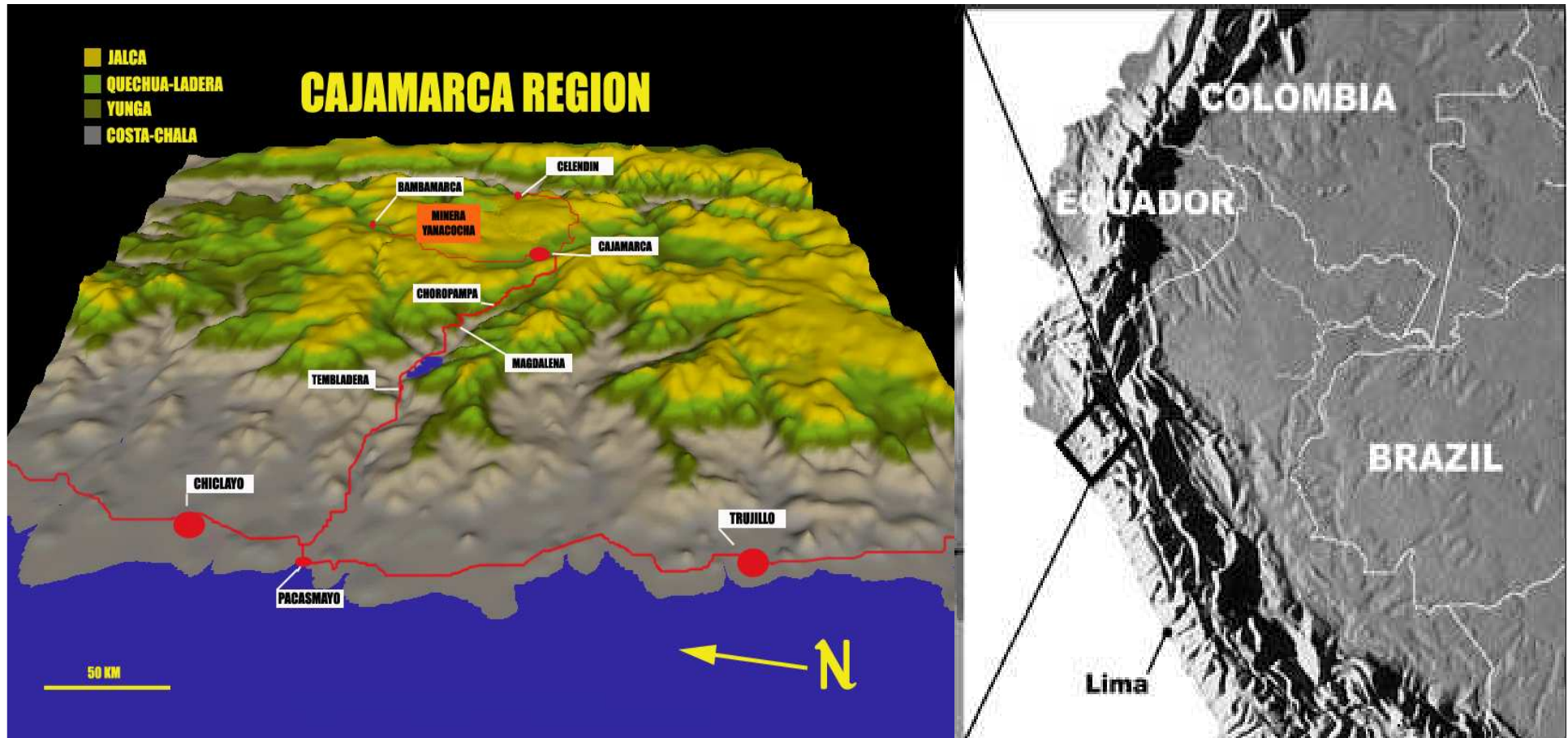
- What is the significance of this?
 - Concessions \neq mines/wells
 - Concessions **do** mean uncertainty for residents/local authorities
 - New geographies of risk/uncertainty and of conflict
 - Over resource use and control
 - Over territorial occupation
 - Over relationships between existing livelihoods and mining investment

The politics and institutionalisation of capitalism

Mining, protest and the state: 3 paths of territorial transformation



Cajamarca: Minera Yanacocha



Basic information

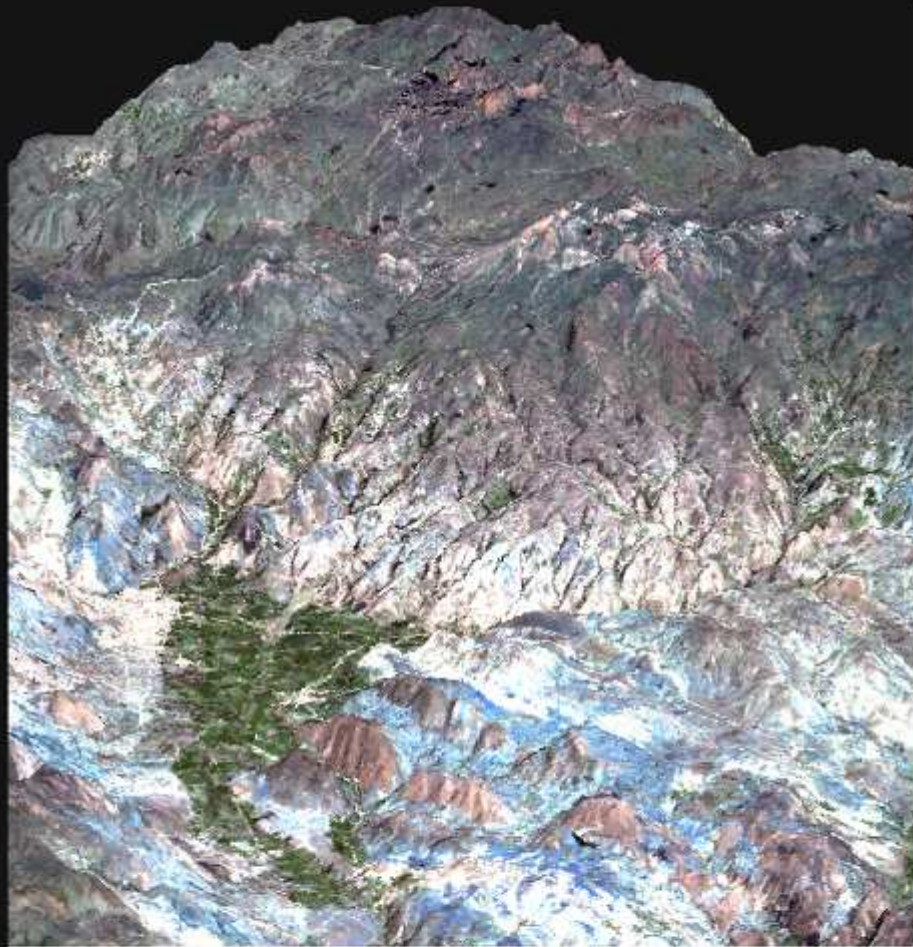
- Newmont 51.35%; Buenaventura 43.65%; IFC 5%
- Mine begins in 1992
- First significant FDI since armed conflict
- Latin America's largest gold mine, world's second largest
- Cyanide heap leach

- 1993-1999:
 - Rural movement gains strength, protesting mine expansion, land purchases and mine behavior
 - The church, peasant organizations and international linkages
- 2000-2005:
 - Environmental effects urbanize
 - Movement urbanizes, internal tensions
 - Leadership, ethnicity, class
 - Political party affiliations
 - External pressures and attacks on movement
- Movement characterized by internal differences and weaknesses
- No-single counter-proposal
- No clear articulation of forces or ideas

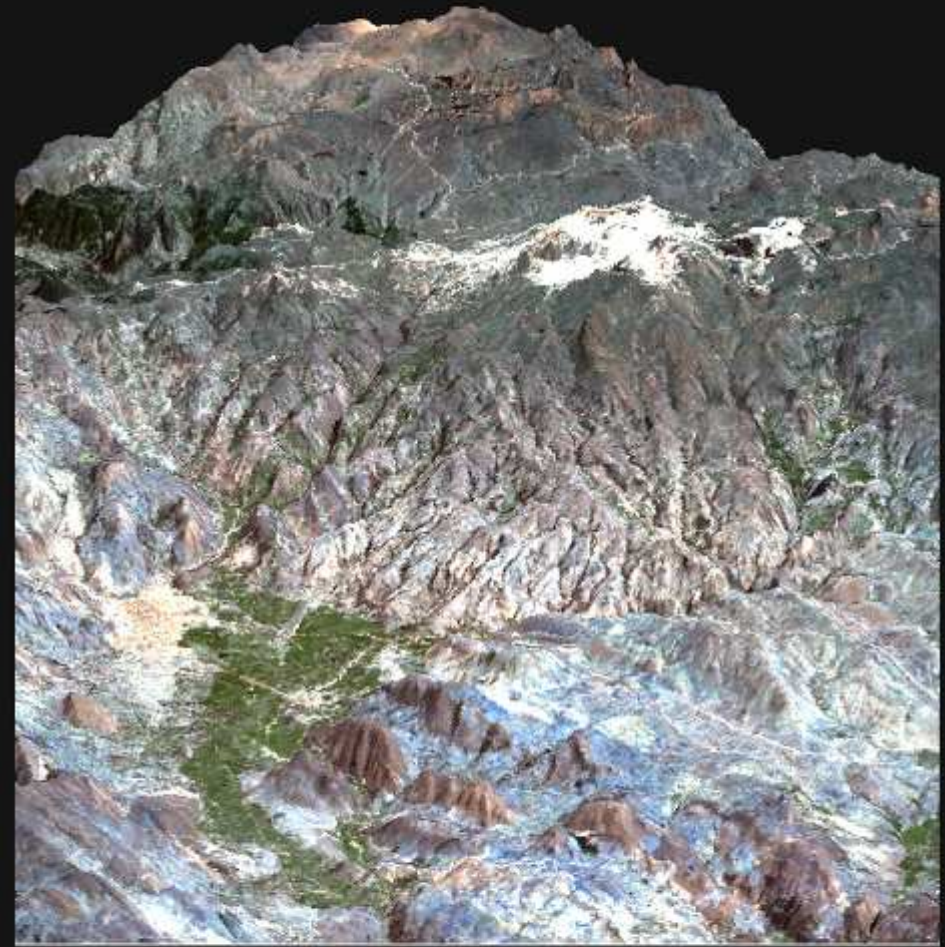
- Effects on patterns of mineral led capitalist transformation?
 - Localized influences on geography of mine expansion
 - Conflict associated with increased mine investment in: 1999-2004 see increases in mine's
 - Environmental programmes (300%)
 - Social programmes (900%)
 - Local sourcing (700%)
 - Mine continues to grow
 - Social transformation deepens
 - Fiscal transfers increase
 - Catalyses new mines in surrounding area
 - Some provinces now >90% under concession

Cajamarca and Minera Yanacocha

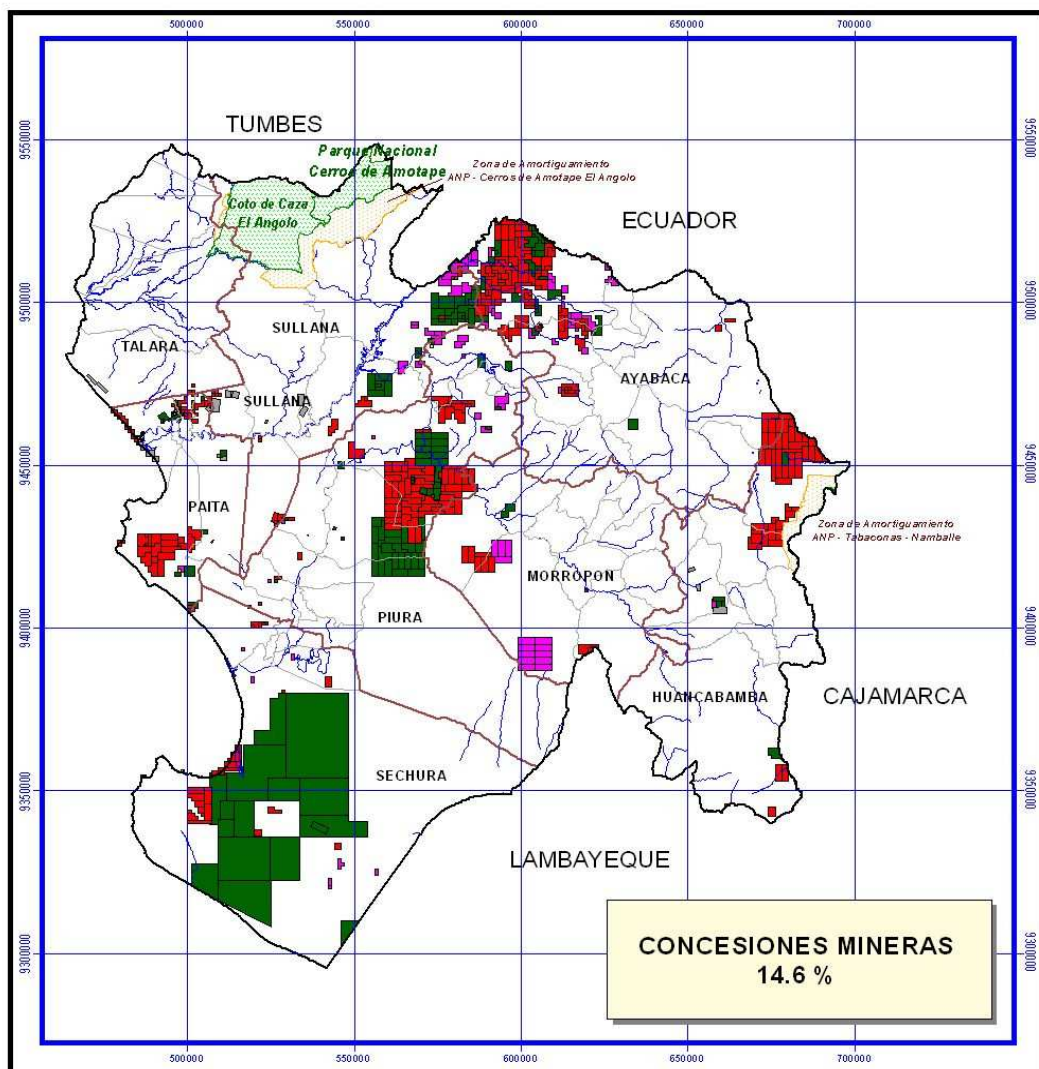
1989



2001



Piura: Tambogrande and Rio Blanco



CONCESIONES MINERAS	
SIMBOLO	DESCRIPCION
	Derechos Mineros en Trámite
	Derechos Mineros Titulados
	Derechos Mineros Extinguidos
	Plantas de Beneficio, Canteras y otros
	Derechos Mineros otorgados desde Nov. 2005 No se conoce su estado



**MAPA DE CONCESIONES MINERAS
DEPARTAMENTO DE PIURA**

Fecha: Noviembre del 2006	Ubicación: Departamento de Piura
Escala: 1: 1'800,000	Fuente: I N A C C

- Piura: new frontiers in new geographies of mining
- Tambogrande: deposit beneath town, in an irrigated valley dedicated to agricultural exports
- Canadian junior Manhattan acquires concession
- Social mobilization: 1999-
 - Defence fronts formed linking various actors
 - Agro-exports as counter-proposal
 - Violence
 - 2002, referendum,
 - organized by local government
 - support from international networks
 - 93.85% against mining

- Not legally binding but company leaves
- Rural resource use continues as before:
 - Internal market agriculture
 - Agro-exports
- But:
 - MEM still wants mining expansion in Piura
 - Buenaventura (Yanacocha) buys concessions from Manhattan
- Rio Blanco, the next battle in the same war
 - UK junior acquires concession and gets exploration permission
 - Concession deemed by all to be the means of opening Piura to mining

- Social mobilization: 2003-
 - Tambogrande and Yanacocha as a points of reference
 - Social organizations and local authorities take lead
 - Reconstruction of Tambogrande networks
 - Idea of referendum
 - Mass protest and violence
 - Peasant agriculture as counterproposal; coupled with concerns about water resources downstream
 - ... but movement far less consolidated, counterproposal for rural resource use less coherent
 - International support again, but more cautious (defensive)

- Territorial transformation at a crossroads
- Option 1: mineral Piura
 - Increased canon/municipal income
 - Social change
 - Environmental risk
 - Within region redistribution issues
- Option 2: agrarian Piura
 - Slow agrarian growth
 - Creeping agricultural frontier
 - Limited changes in risk (real, perceived)
 - Incremental socio-cultural change

... and the state and mineral led capitalist transformation?...

- Ministry of Energy and Mines and the Presidency
- Ombudsman's office and human rights: pressure on MEM and Congress
- Local state – highly varied positions depending on balance of power (and local power relations and political networks)
- No single story on the state – different parts of state seek different forms of capitalist transformation

Development processes within capitalism:

Conclusions

- Territories are transformed at intersection of capital investment and protest
- Final outcomes depend on:
 - Relationships of power among (and within) state, market and societal actors interested in these resources
 - Relative power of actors depends much on internal coherence of actors and their proposals
 - Conflicts also affect public debates on sustainability options

These conflicts are domains in which:

- Meanings that define resource use and definitions of what should be commodified are contested

- The very meanings of “development” are argued over - land as:
 - Mineral source, water source, identity source, territory.....
 - Land as private, communal, regional, national

- “Poverty” fashions capital, even as capital fashions poverty