



The University of Manchester

Anatomies of conflict: social mobilization, extractive industry and territorial change

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Context 1

New geographies of extractive industry investment

- New government policies and institutional arrangements (North and South)
 - Important roles of Bank Group in this (IFC as investor, IBRD as reformer)
- Technological and price changes
 - Expansion of the mining frontier
 - New areas, old areas – among and within countries

Context 2

New geographies of uncertainty and protest

- Produces potential conflicts
 - Over resource use and control
 - Over territorial occupation
 - Over relationships between existing livelihoods and mining investment
 - Correa: Ecuador on the brink of explosion
 - Defensoria del Pueblo, Peru: 2007 extraordinary report to Congress on EI conflicts
- Differing scales of protest
 - Local, national and transnationalized actors
 - Local, national and transnational campaigns/agendas

Context 3

Territorially based rural development as articulating concept?

- IDB rural development strategy
 - WDR 2008
 - A conflict blind concept?
-
- Postulate 1: social protest mediates and affects relationship between EI investment, RTD and livelihoods
 - Postulate 2: social protest is therefore analytically important to the Bank (and not merely a problem for CAO and inspection panels)

Outline

- Framework
 - Extraction, livelihoods and protest
 - Inside (and outside) movements: strength, fragility and power
- Co-producing territorially based development through conflict
 - Extractive industries growth: macroeconomic and socio-spatial dimensions
 - Mining, protest and paths of territorial transformation
- Conclusions

Framework

1. Extraction, livelihoods and protest

- Harvey's two modes of accumulation:
 - By exploitation
 - By dispossession
- driving different types of protest?
 - Workplace based protest
 - New social movement protest (land, identity, territory, risk, rights, environment)

- Movements increasingly as responses to (actual or perceived) accumulation by dispossession
 - Of land
 - Of assets
 - Quantity
 - Quality
 - Of inherent value (and unpaid tax/royalty)
 - Of way of life
- Movements as defence of livelihood
 - Material bases of livelihood
 - Cultural significance of livelihood
- Movements as responses to “colonization of the lifeworld”

- Dissonances within movement responses
 - Shared *general* concerns
 - Different *specific* concerns
 - Distinct approaches to confrontation/negotiation within movements
- Differing implications for territorial change?
 - Confrontation >>>> no extraction; or extraction with violence
 - Negotiation >>>> extraction with redistribution; or extraction with co-optation

2. Inside movements: strength, fragility and power

- Movements as sustained processes of collective action across space and time
 - Grievances, justice and alternatives
- Distinguishing
 - Movements, networks, organizations
 - Social movement organizations (SMO)
 - Access/channel resources
 - Access spheres
 - Keep movements moving
 - “Faces” of movements
 - SMOs at different levels (DC, Lima, Cajamarca)

- Multiple groupings within movements
 - As strength
 - As weakness
 - The immense difficulty of holding movements together
- Power relationships within movements
 - Class, gender, ethnicity, place
 - Scale of SMO
 - The special problem of power within transnational advocacy/issue networks

3. Outside movements

- Difficulties external to movements
 - Counter movements (of those benefiting from extraction)
 - Counter movements supported by companies
- Relative power of actors becomes critical
 - Weight of EI sector in macroeconomy
 - Policy sources of power
 - Financial sources of power
 - Relationship sources of power
 - Positioning of the state

Co-producing territorially based development through conflict: EIs and protest in Latin America

1. EI Growth: macroeconomic and socio-spatial dimensions

- Between 1990 y 2001 (Bridge, 2004)
 - 12 of 25 largest mining *investment* projects were in LAC (9 in Chile, 2 en Perú [Antamina, Yanachocha], 1 in Argentina)
 - Worldwide, of the 10 countries that saw most investment in mining, 4 are in LAC (Chile, 1; Peru, 6; Argentina, 9; Mexico 10)
- Between 1990-97
 - global investment in mining *exploration* increased 90%
 - in América Latina it increased 400%
 - in Perú it increased 2000 % (Banco Mundial, 2005).

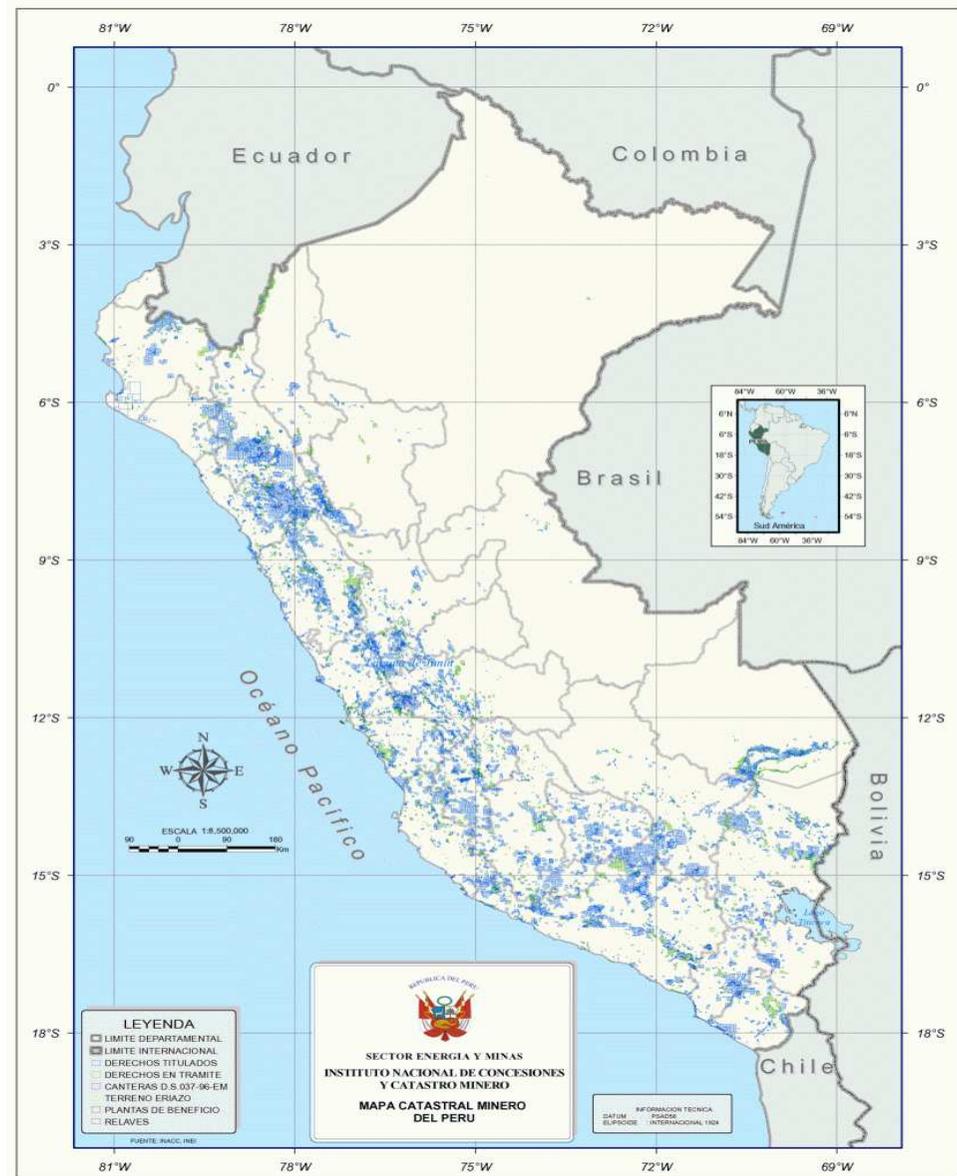
Macroeconomic implications

- Extractive industries as growth strategies
- Eg. Peru's new mining economy
 - 1990-2000, mining investment increases five-fold
 - Mining – c. 6% of GDP
 - 1990-2003, mineral exports pass from US\$ 1447 million to US \$ 4554 million
 - c. 50% of foreign currency generated by exports
 - c. 15% of FDI
 - projected to increase

.... Socio-spatial implications?

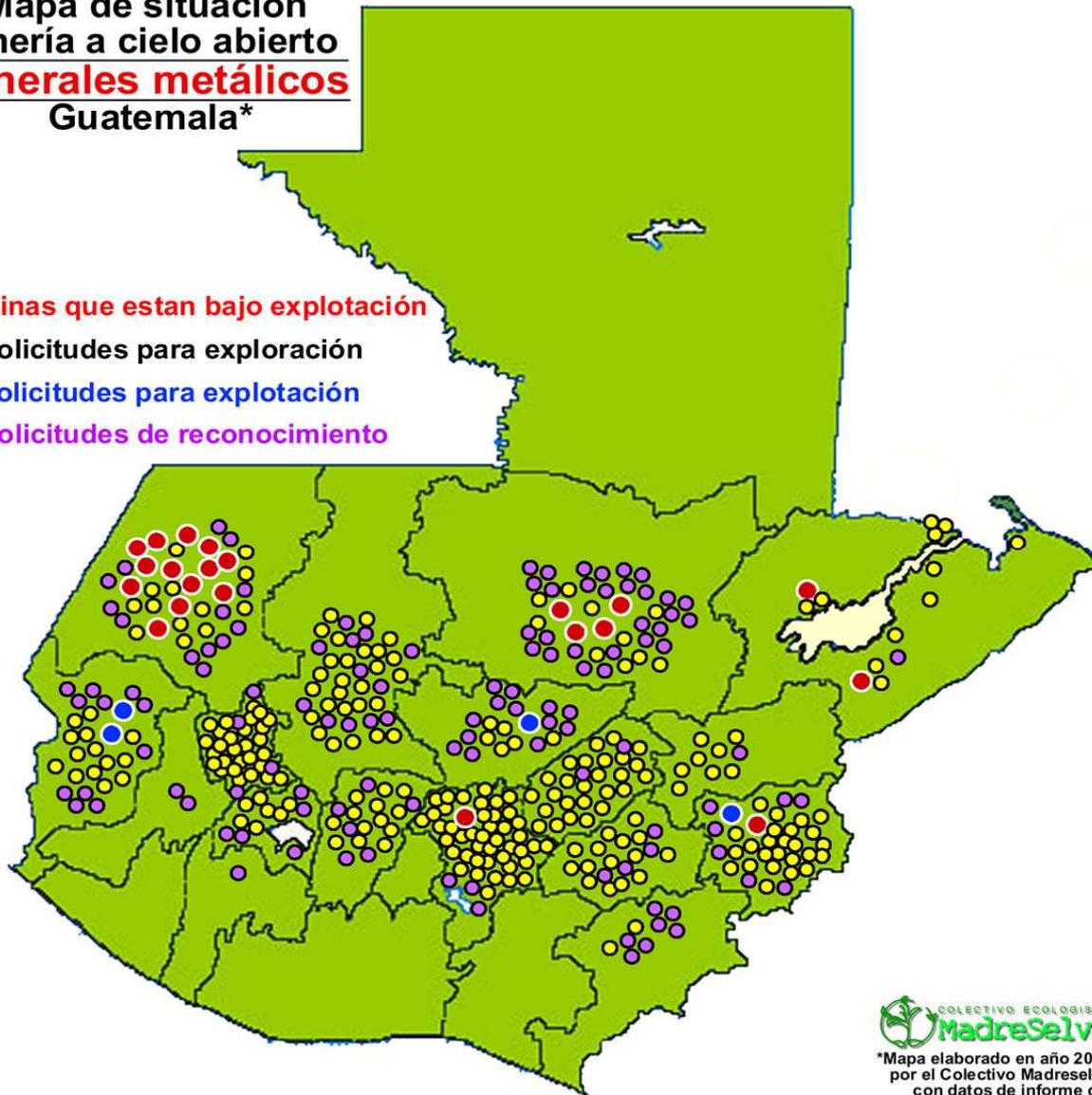
PERU

- 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)



**Mapa de situación
minería a cielo abierto
minerales metálicos
Guatemala***

- Minas que están bajo explotación
- Solicitudes para exploración
- Solicitudes para explotación
- Solicitudes de reconocimiento



*Mapa elaborado en año 2004
por el Colectivo MadreSelva
con datos de informe del
Ministerio de Energía
y Minas de Guatemala

Por departamento

- Minas que están bajo explotación

Departamento Minas

Alta Verapaz	4
Chiquimula	1
Izabal	2
Huehuetenango	13
Guatemala	1

- Solicitudes para exploración

Departamento solicitudes

Quiché	27
Huehuetenango	13
El Progreso	26
Chiquimula	25
Izabal	11
Chimaltenango	13
Alta Verapaz	9
Guatemala	42
Totonicapán	28
Sololá	7
Jutiapa	2
Baja Verapaz	6
Jalapa	15
Zacapa	8
San Marcos	14

- Solicitudes para explotación

Departamento solicitudes

Chiquimula	1
San Marcos	2
Baja Verapaz	1

- Solicitudes de reconocimiento

Departamento solicitudes

Quiché	12
Huehuetenango	13
El Progreso	2
Chiquimula	7
Izabal	1
Chimaltenango	6
Alta Verapaz	22
Guatemala	3
Totonicapán	4
Sololá	5
Jutiapa	7
Baja Verapaz	13
Jalapa	4
Zacapa	1
San Marcos	11
Quetzaltenango	2
Suchitepéquez	1

- 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
 - No presence of state in exploration processes
 - Juniors lack capacity to de-fuse conflict
 - Reworking of rural territories
 - Co-production of territory at interface of accumulation and resistance

Images of uncertainty and conflict: Peru, Guatemala



MOVILIZACIÓN SOCIAL EN TORNO A LA MINERÍA EN GUATEMALA



Dicen 'no' a la minería

Vecinos de Sipacapa, San Marcos, votan en medio de pugna legal

Unas 400 personas firmaron fis en la aldea Quecá, para firmar en el libro de actas tras ejercer el voto. Foto Prensa Libre, Myher De León.
Unos dos mil 600 vecinos de Sipacapa, San Marcos, participaron ayer en la consulta comunitaria sobre minería. De los 73 actas, 71 votaron por el 'no', en una de ellas ganó el 'sí' y otra se abstuvo.



2. Mining, protest and paths of territorial transformation

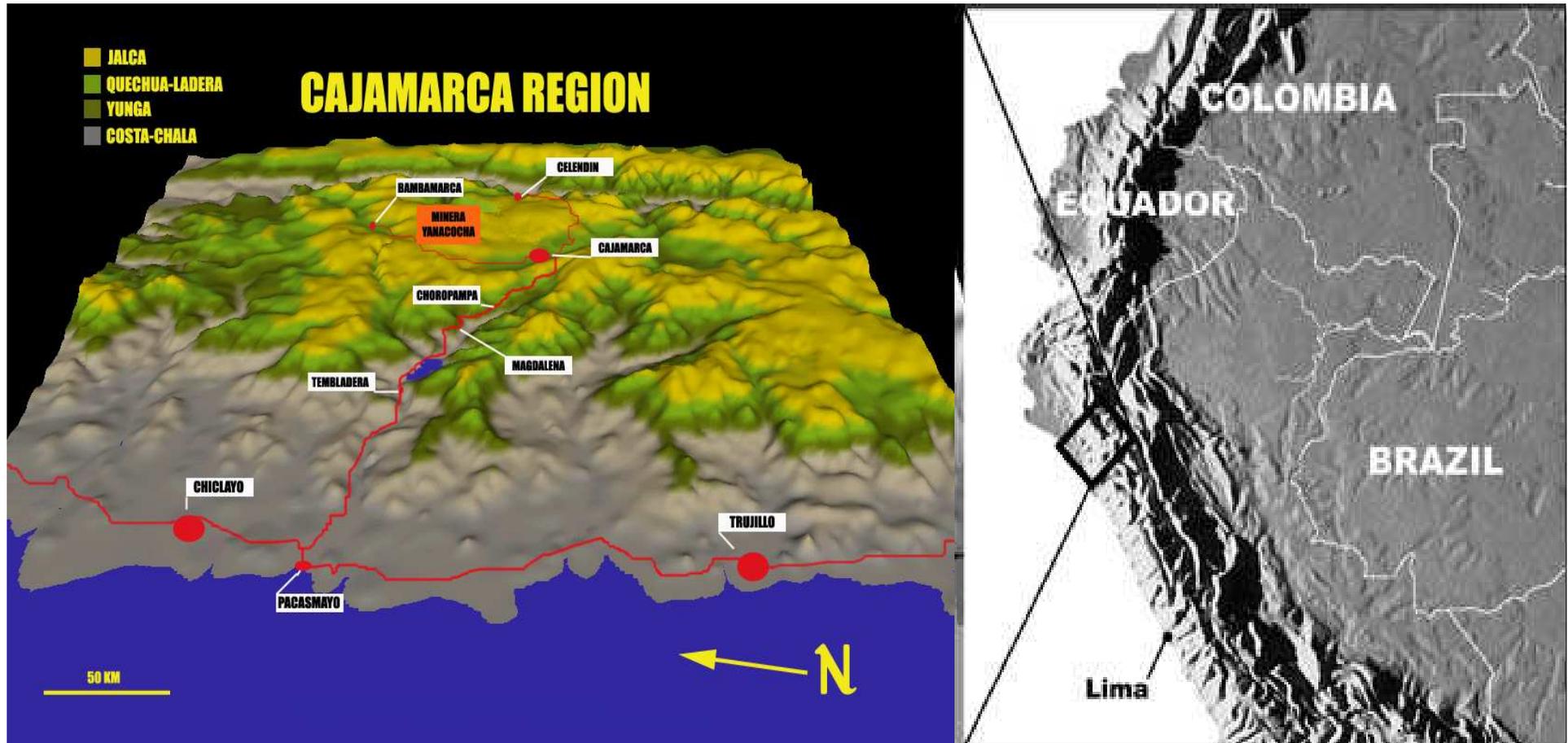
Three territories, three conflict dynamics,
three transformations

- Cajamarca: Yanacocha
- Piura 1: Tambogrande
- Piura 2: Rio Blanco

Conflicts over the countryside: civil society and the political economy of rural development in the Andes

- ESRC supported program analyzing these conflicts and their implications for territorial change
 - Territories affected by mineral expansion
 - Territories affected by hydrocarbon expansion
 - Territories of stagnant rural economies
 - Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador
- Qn: What forms does social mobilization take and how does it affect territorial dynamics under such political economic conditions?

Cajamarca: Minera Yanacocha

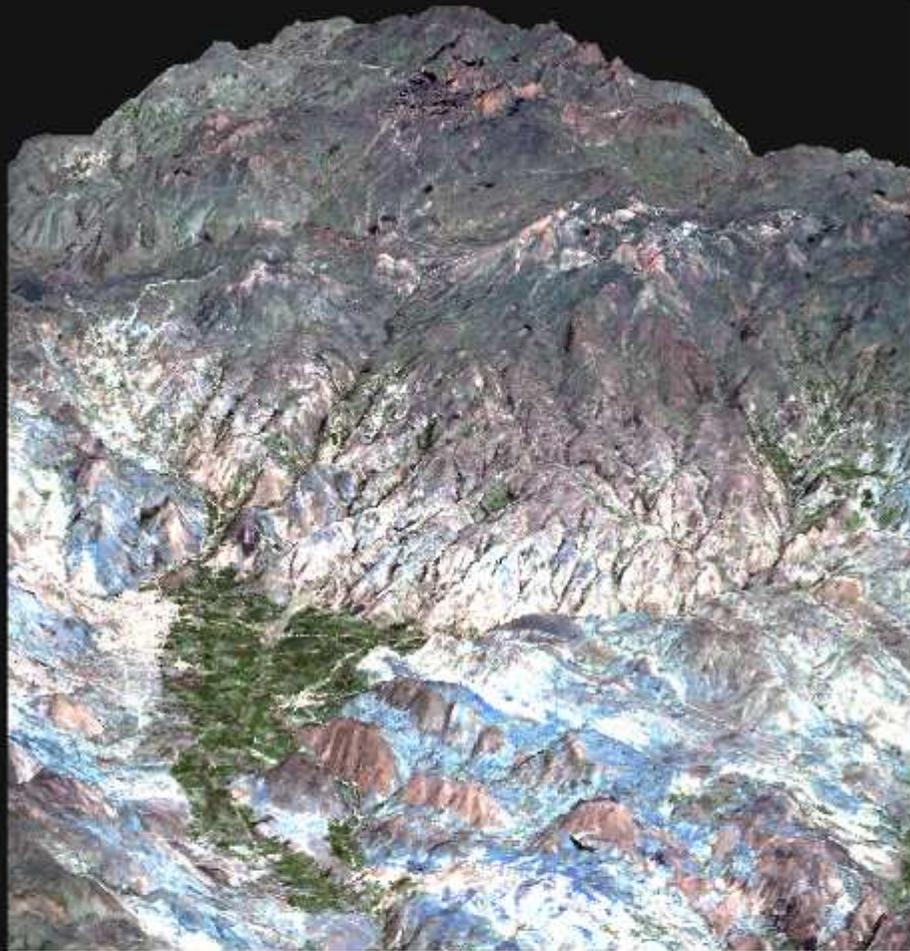


Basic information

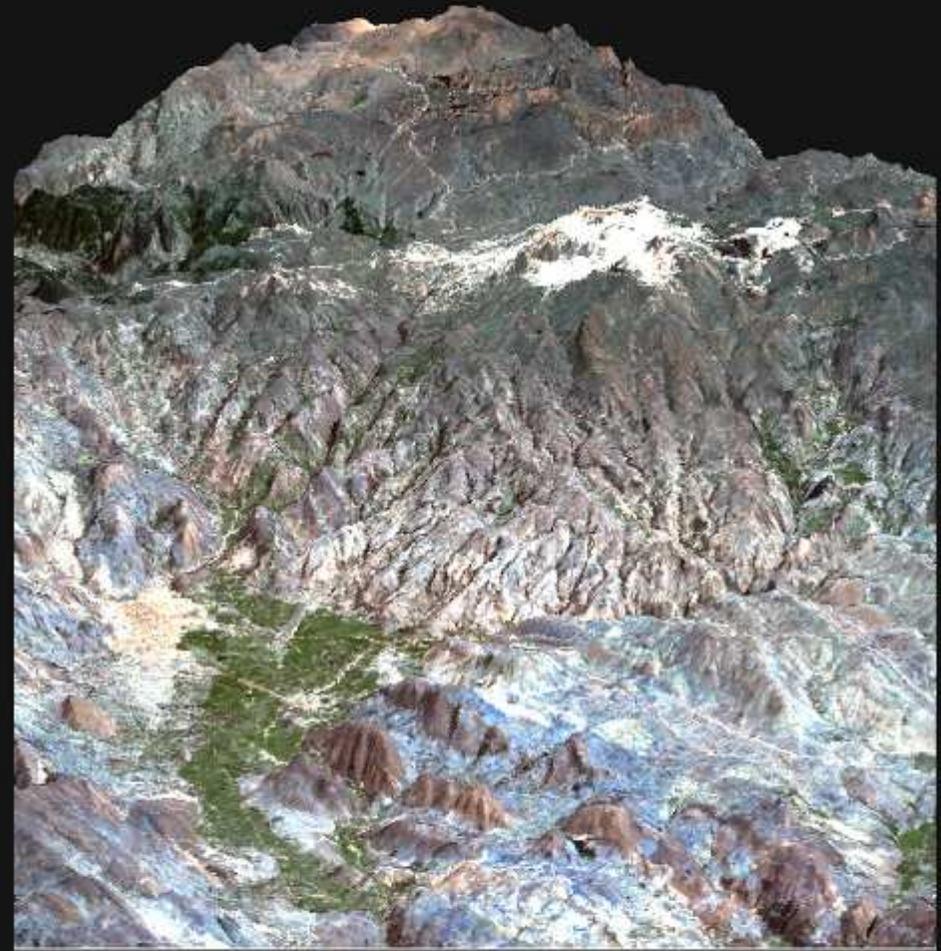
- Latin America's largest gold mine, world's second largest
- Cyanide heap leach
- Newmont 51.35%; Buenaventura 43.65%; IFC 5%
 - Newmont-world's largest gold mining company
 - Buenaventura – Peru's largest mining company
 - Apparently important income stream for IFC too
- For each owner, Yanacocha's profits allow them to make investments they otherwise would not have made

Cajamarca and Minera Yanacocha

1989



2001



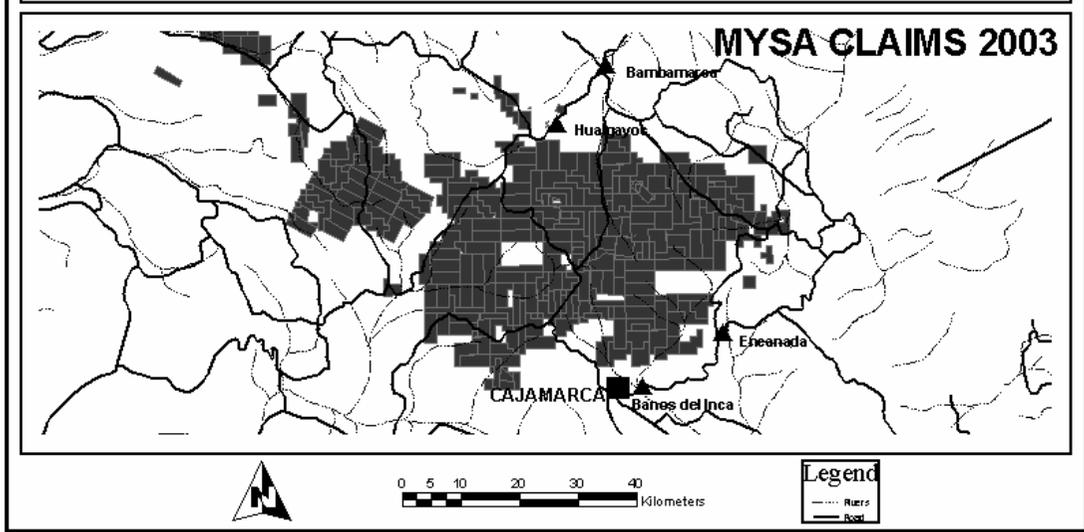
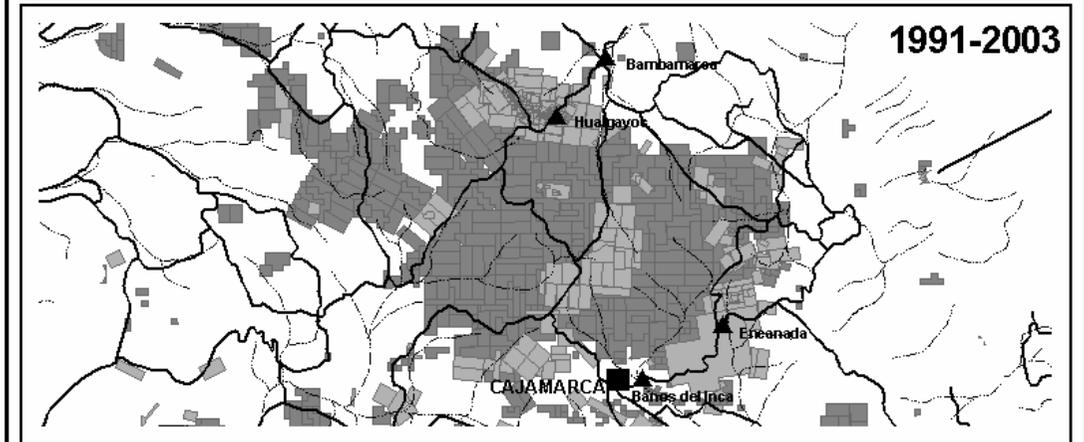
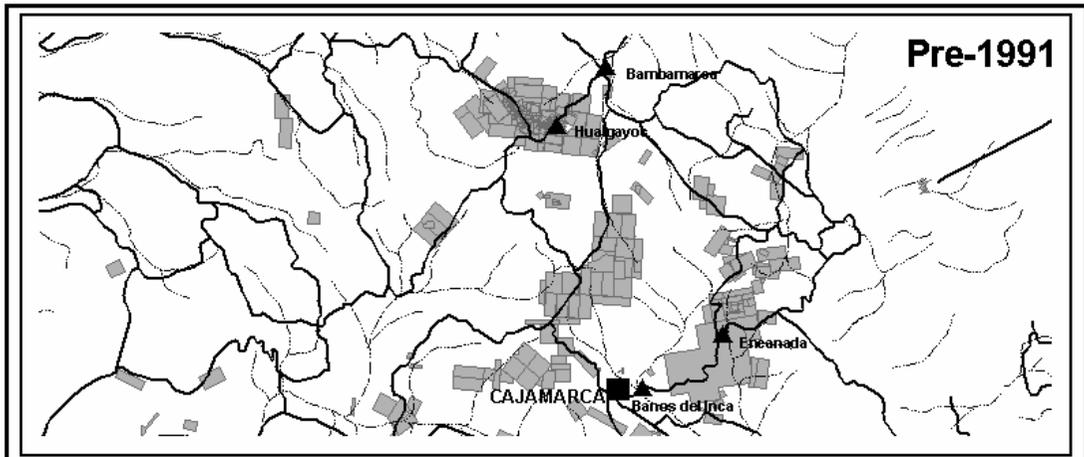
- 1992: begins activity
- 1993-1999:
 - Rural movement gains strength, protesting mine expansion, land purchases and mine behavior
 - The church and peasant organizations
 - International linkages: protests in Denver, DC, and Peru
 - International linkages and the decision against direct action
- 2000-2005:
 - Internal tensions in movement
 - Leadership
 - Ethnicity, class
 - Political party affiliations
 - External pressures on movement
 - Rural movement weakened by mine, and state
 - Pro-mine forces mobilized by Yanacocha, Chamber of Commerce

– Spike in urban concerns about water, health and society

- Accidents
 - Water as the axis of conflict
 - The Quilish struggle
 - Social change in Cajamarca as another axis
-
- Movement characterized by internal differences and weaknesses
 - No-single counter-proposal
 - No clear articulation
 - and sustained legal, media, church authority and criminal attacks on the organization with potential to articulate

Territorial implications?

- Effects on mine
 - Localized influences on geography of mine expansion
 - Conflict associated with increased mine investment in: 1999-2004 see increases in
 - Environmental programmes (300%)
 - Social programmes (900%)
 - Local sourcing (700%)
 - Mine continues to grow
 - Social transformation deepens
 - Canon minero expands
- Catalyses new mines in surrounding area
- Some provinces now >90% under concession

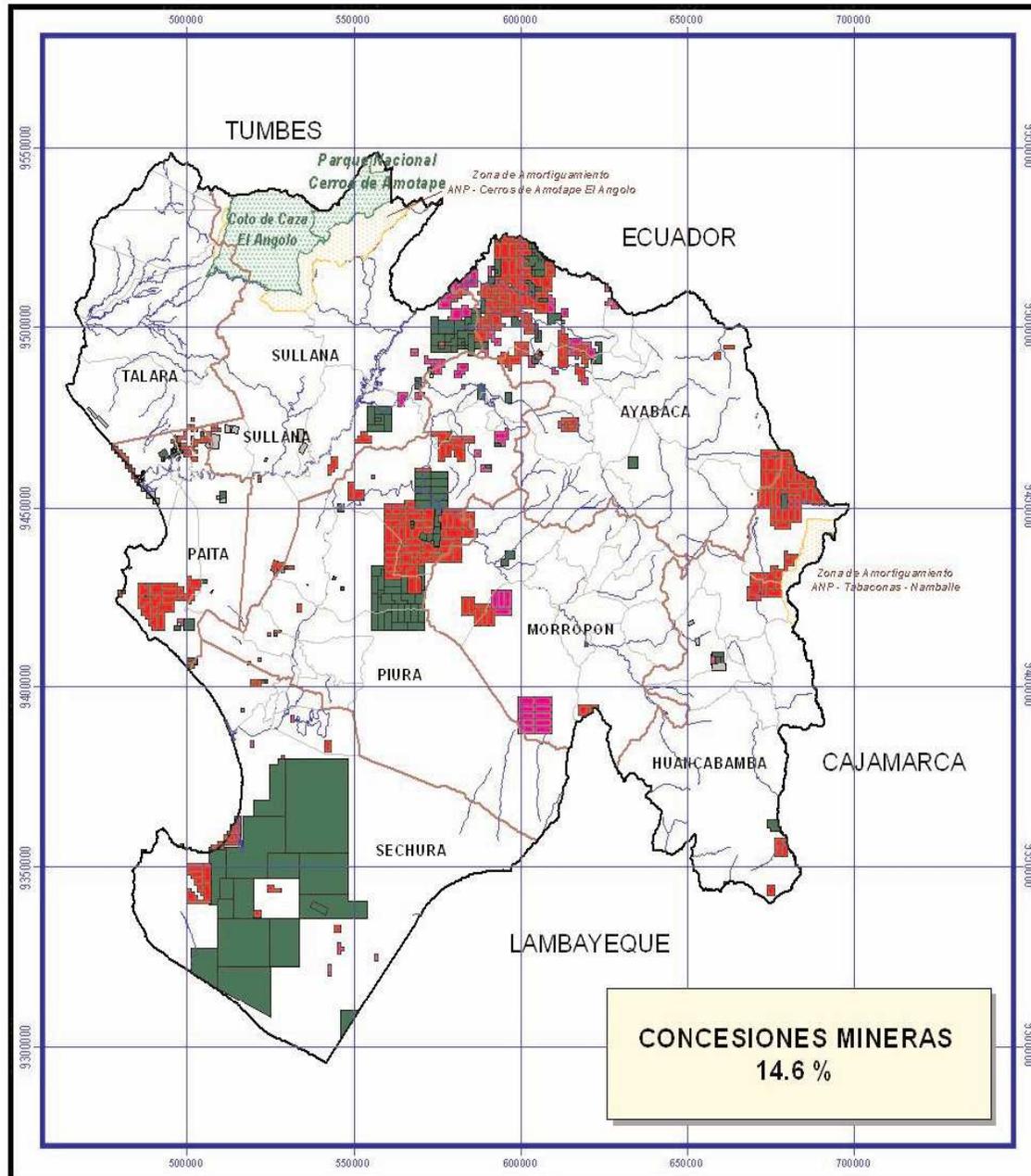


New mining frontiers in Peru:

• Piura ----->

• Apurimac ----->





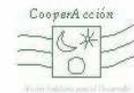
CONCESIONES MINERAS

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 POLITICO DEL PERU



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 1: 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:
 - Agro-exports

- But:
 - Congress and MEM still want mining expansion in Piura
 - Criticisms of international actors who supported consulta
 - Buenaventura (Yanacocha) buys concessions from Manhattan
 - Water exploration beginning

Piura 2: Rio Blanco

- Concessions in upper reaches of drainage basin
- Issues:
 - Export agriculture and water in lowlands
 - Social, demographic and economic options in highlands
 - Growth and public revenue shortfalls in region
 - Tradeoffs – over time, across space and with (chronically) imperfect information
- 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
 - National SMOs support
 - Reconstruction of Tambogrande networks
 - Peasant agriculture as counterproposal; coupled with concerns about water resources downstream
 - Violence
 - Movement far less consolidated, counter-proposal for rural resource use less coherent
 - International support again, but more cautious (defensive)
 - Idea of referendum But who should participate

- 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

- **Cajamarca:**
 - Territorial development with weak sustainability, preference of mine and central state
- **Tambogrande:**
 - Territorial development with strong sustainability, preference of regional movement
- **Rio Blanco:**
 - Pattern of territorial development will be determined by outcome of conflict
 - Decision will be made politically rather than technocratically or through independent courts

Conclusions

- Territories are transformed at intersection of 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 on:
 - Actor's relative internal cohesion
 - Relative policy/political coherence of its proposals for rural resource use
 - Assets they can mobilize (financial, human, social ...)
 - Ability to build and sustain networks at different scales
 - Local government

- Conflicts also affect public debates on sustainability options:
 - Peru, “pais minero” or “pais megadiverso” (mining country, or country of mega-diversity)
 - Agriculture and/or mining as
 - Vehicles of poverty reduction
 - Sources of resource degradation
 - Conceptions of acceptable risk in development
 - Importance of water in national resource management
- And thus, in effect, debates on:
 - The role of EIs in society
 - Who should determine that role
 - State/market/society
 - Scale at which role should be determined
 - Central/regional/local

These conflicts are domains in which:

- Meanings that define resource use are defined
- Ideas are struggled over (and some become common sense – “hegemonic”)
- The very meanings of “development” are argued over - land as:
 - Mineral source, water source, identity source, territory.....
 - Land as private, communal, regional, national