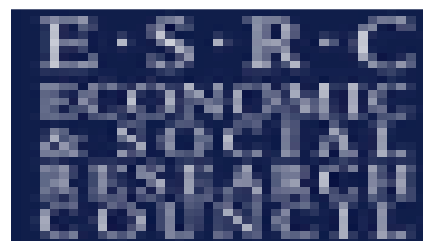




The University of Manchester



# **Territory, Conflicts and Development in the Andes**

Anthony Bebbington

University of Manchester/CEPES

# Outline

- Background
- Conflicts over the countryside
  - The programme and early products
- Mining, conflict and paths of territorial transformation
  - Observations from Cajamarca/Piura/Cotacachi

# 1. Background

1. Social movements, environmental governance and rural territorial development (RIMISP-IDRC)
  - Mining
2. Geographies of NGO intervention (B. Academy; Netherlands; ...)
  - Stagnant rural economies
3. Relationships between NGOs and indigenous organizations, sierra and lowlands (Hivos, Oxfam-America, Ibis, SNV)
  - Hydrocarbons

## **2. Conflicts over the countryside: civil society and the political ecology of rural development in the Andean region**

- ESRC Professorial Research Fellowship 2007-10:
  - To build on and synthesize prior work
  - New complementary work
- Social mobilization and territorial change in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador (Colombia), under three contexts
  - Territories affected by expansion of mineral extraction
  - Territories affected by expansion of hydrocarbon extraction
  - Territories characterized by less dynamic rural economies

	Peru	Bolivia	Ecuador	Colombia
<i>Mineral expansion</i>	Cajamarca Piura	Oruro	Cotacachi Morona Santiago	
<i>Oil/gas expansion</i>	Camisea	Tarija	Morona Santiago	Magdalena Medio
<i>Stagnant rural economy</i>	Ayacucho		Chimborazo	

- Collaborations: research/“user engagement”
  - CEPES, Peru (Researcher based in Cepes; two other researchers in programme on social movements)
  - Rimisp-Latin American Center for Rural Development (“Dinámicas territoriales rurales”)
  - Prisma, El Salvador (“Dinámicas y gestión territoriales en Centro América”)
  - Peru Support Group
  - Oxfam International (South America)
    - Extractive industries
    - Agriculture and sustainable livelihoods

- Input into teaching at Manchester
  - Linked doctoral projects
  - “a network of scholars working on the links between civil society organizations and development alternatives will have been strengthened as a result of seminar based and other activities related to the fellowship”
- Seminar series; 2 speakers from LAC

Early products





# MINERÍA, MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES Y RESPUESTAS CAMPELINAS

Una ecología política de  
transformaciones territoriales

ANTHONY BEBBINGTON  
Editor

IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos  
CEPEZ CENTRO PERUANO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES

HUANABAMBA  
- SÍ AL AGRO  
- NO A LA MINERÍA  
- SÍ AL ECOTURISMO  
LA SANGRE  
DERRAMADA  
JAMAS SERA  
OLVIDADA  
la mina  
contamina  
al medio  
ambiente

Minería y Desarrollo en el Perú  
con especial referencia al  
proyecto Río Blanco, Piura



IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos

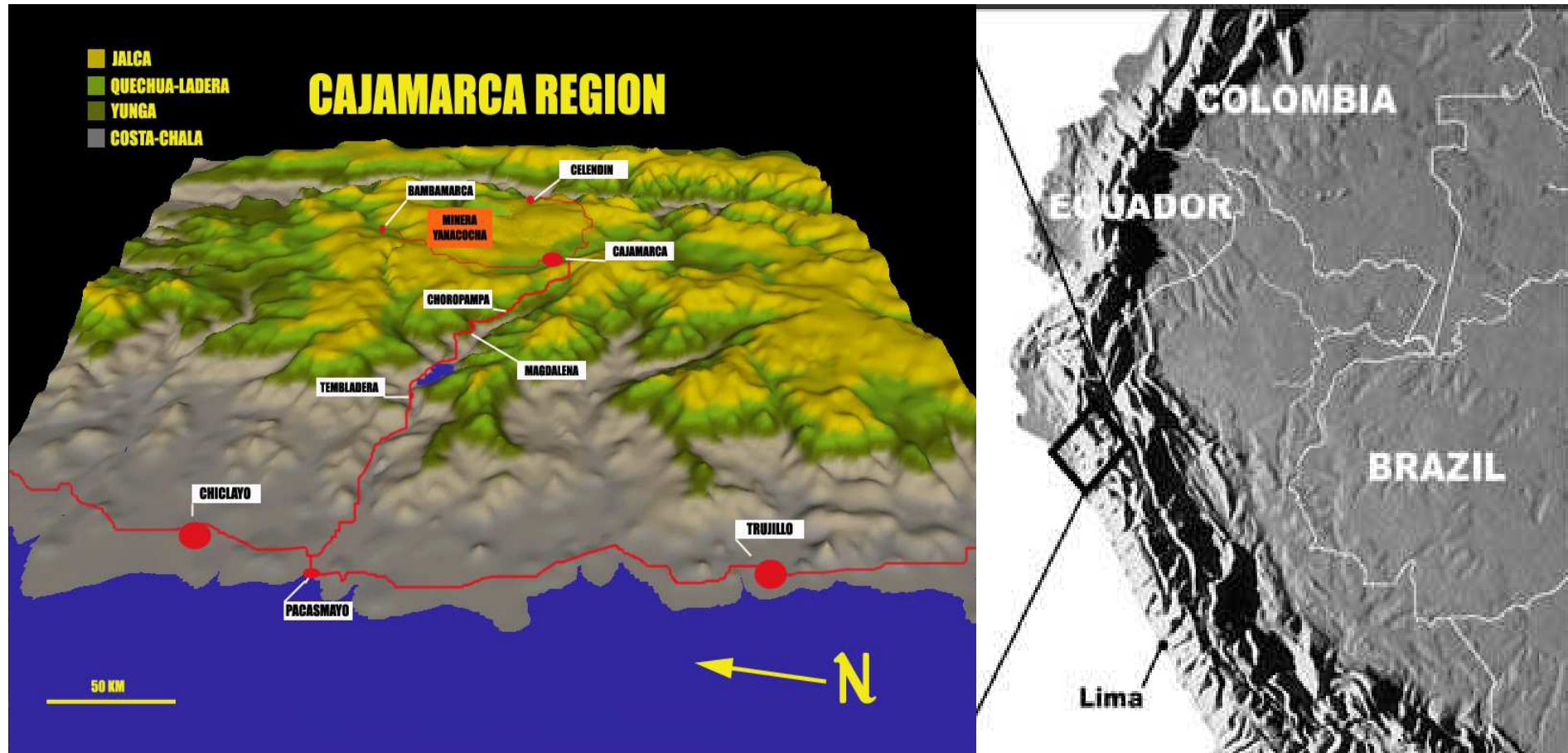


- Launches:
  - London (3-07), Lima (4, 5, 6-07), Piura (5-07) [PSG, Oxfam]
  - Lima (8-07), Cajamarca (10-07), Quito (11-07)
- *World Development*, special supplement *Social movements and the dynamics of rural territorial development in Latin America*, Anthony Bebbington, Ricardo Abramovay, Manuel Chiriboga
- *Debate Agrario*, SER, regional/alternative press on Rio Blanco
- Press briefings (Oxfam/PSG facilitated), agency briefings (OI, Germany, WB)
- Need to do more in Ecuador and Bolivia

### **3. Mining, conflict and paths of territorial transformation**

- Cajamarca: Yanacocha
- Piura: Tambogrande and Rio Blanco
- Cotacachi

# Cajamarca: Minera Yanacocha



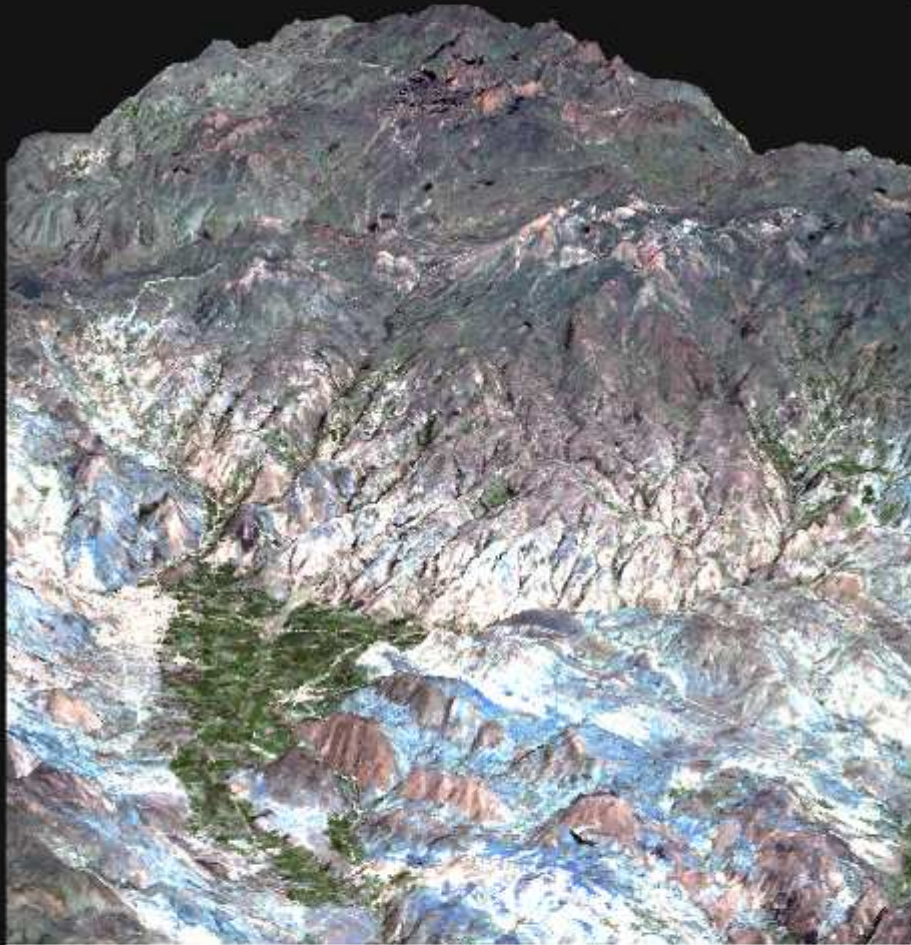


# Basic information

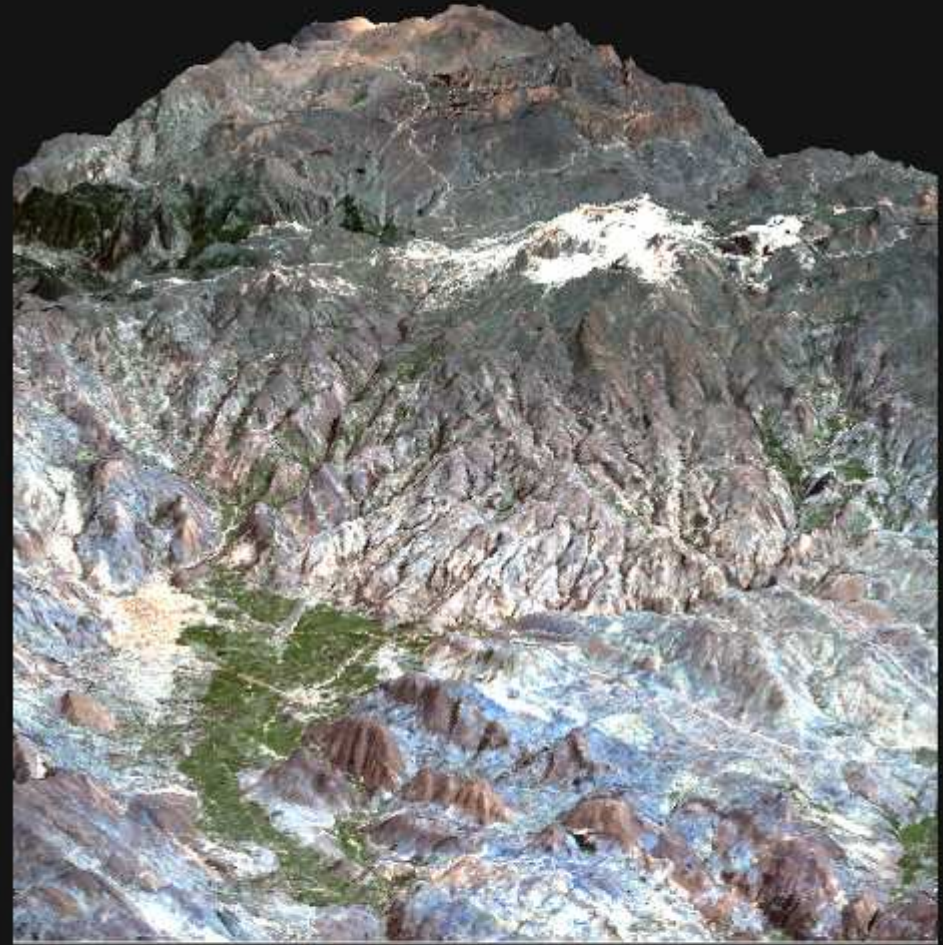
- Latin America's largest gold mine, world's second largest
- Cyanide heap leach
- Newmont 51.35%; Buenaventura 43.65%; IFC 5%
  - Newmont-world's largest gold mining company
  - Buenaventura – Peru's largest mining company
  - Significant income stream for IFC too
- For each owner, Yanacocha's profits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

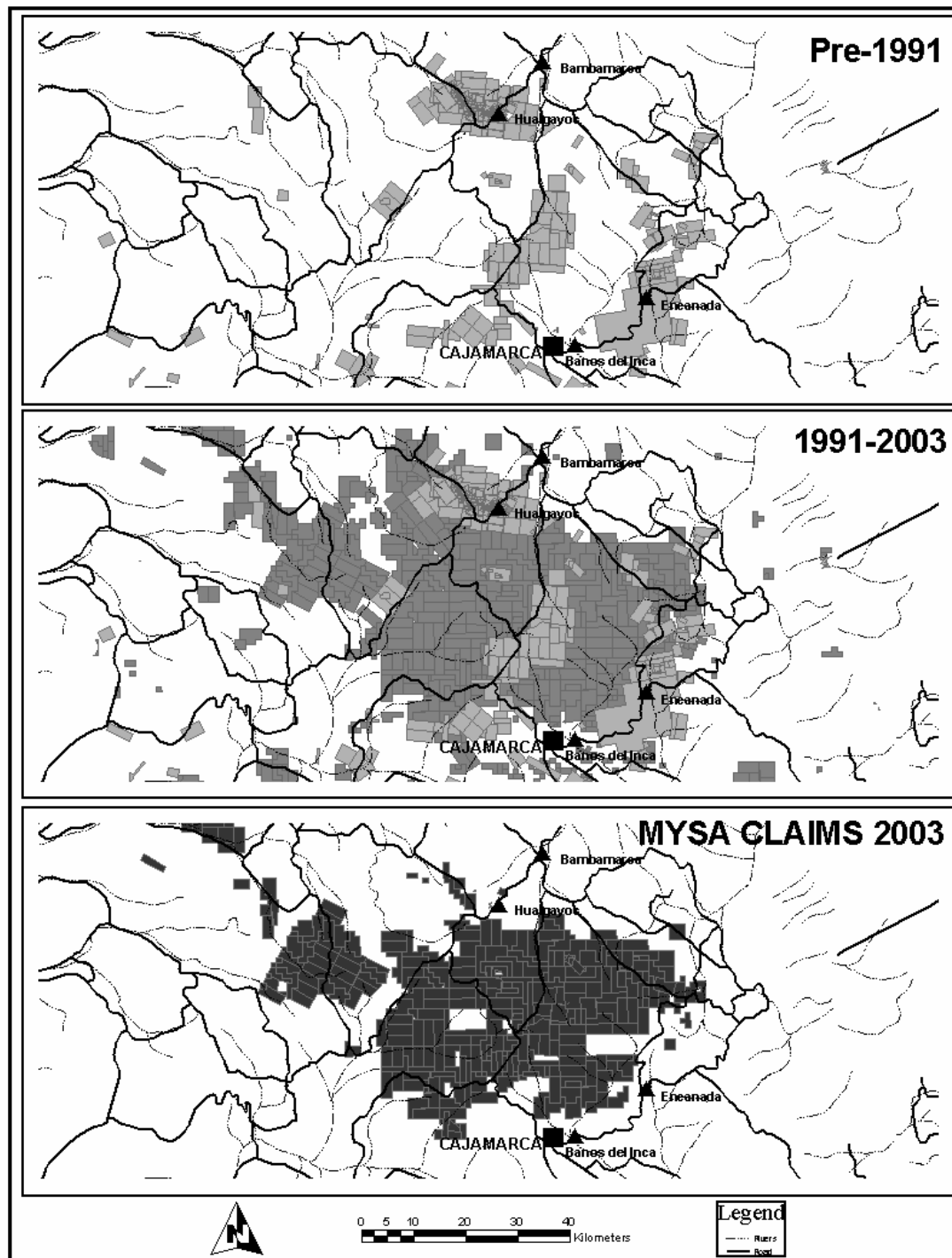
# Cajamarca and Minera Yanacocha

1989



2001





- 1993-1999:
  - Rural movement gains strength
  - The church, peasant organizations and international linkages
- 2000-2006:
  - (Relative) urbanization and “environmentalization” of movement
  - Water as emerging axis of conflict: Quilish
  - Social change in Cajamarca as another axis
- Movement characterized by internal differences and weaknesses
- No-single counter-proposal
- ..... and sustained legal, media, church authority and criminal attacks on the organization with potential to articulate

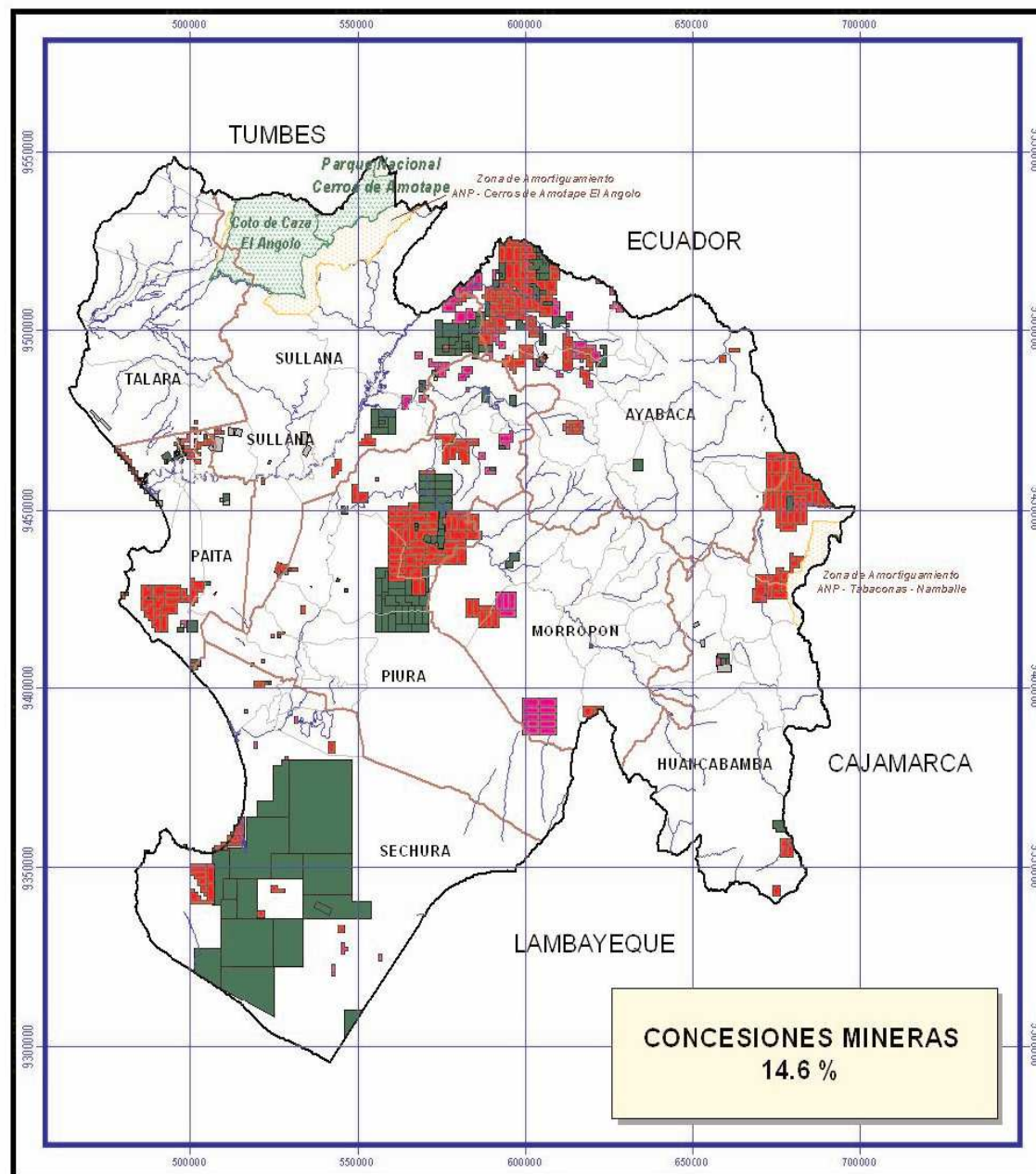


## Territorial implications?

- Effects on mine
  - Localized influences on geography of mine expansion
  - Conflict associated with increased mine expenditure on: 1999-2004 see increases in
    - Environmental programmes (300%)
    - Social programmes (900%)
    - Local sourcing (700%)
  - Mine continues to grow
    - Social transformation deepens
    - Fiscal transfers increase
    - Implications for regional economy?
- Catalyses new mines in surrounding area
  - Some provinces now >90% under concession
  - New large scale concessions (Miski Mayo [Brazilian]; Michiquillay [Anglo-American])

- Piura ----->





## 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 beginning water exploration (links to dynamics of accumulation in Yanacocha)

## Piura 2: Rio Blanco

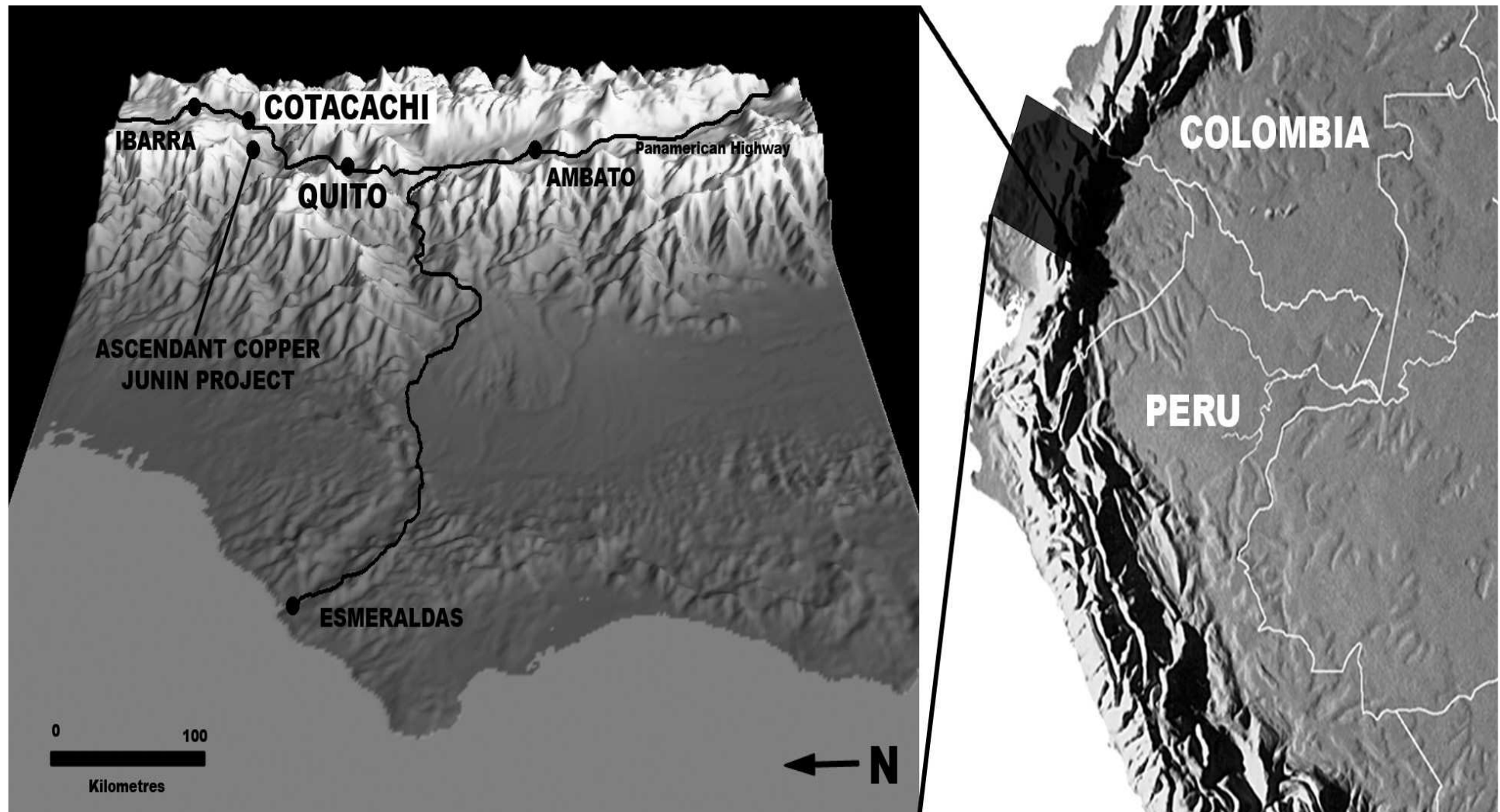
- Concessions in upper reaches of drainage basin
- Issues slightly different from Tambogrande
  - Export agriculture and water in lowlands
  - Social, demographic and economic options in highlands
  - Growth and public revenue shortfalls in region
  - Tradeoffs – over time, across space and with (chronically) imperfect information
- UK junior acquires concession and gets exploration permission (2007, majority ownership by Zijin, China)
- 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 NGO support
    - Reconstitution of Tambogrande networks
  - Peasant agriculture as counterproposal; coupled with concerns about water resources
  - Movement far less consolidated, counter-proposal for rural resource use less coherent
  - International/national support again, but more cautious (defensive)
  - Referendum, September 2007
    - “No” wins
    - Referendum elicits central government response
    - National debate intensifies

- 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



# Cotacachi



# Chronology

- Similar timeline to Cajamarca-Yanacocha, different territorial transformation
  - 80s: Indicative exploration (Belgian aid)
  - 90s: Begin targeted exploration (Mitsubishi/JICA)
  - 1990-96: steady articulation of a resistance movement:
    - Church
    - Ecotourist entrepreneur
    - Youth groups
    - Villages
    - National NGO/FoE affiliate
  - 96: Election of Auki Tituaña as mayor – one of CONAIE-linked alternative municipalities
  - 97: Attack on camp - Mitsubishi/Bishi Metals withdraws, as does JICA

## – 1997-2003: building alternatives

- Deepen linkages between movement organizations and local government
  - Colonize parts of local government
  - Cotacachi as canton ecológico
- Environmental education
- Urban-rural linkages
- Broaden transnational linkages
- Development experiments

➤ Construct counter-discourse on territory and development

- 2004: New company acquires concession  
(Ascendant: Canada, Colorado)
- Movement response: local, national, US, and Canada
  - Eg. legal challenges to IPO of Ascendant in Toronto stock exchange (complex international linkages make this possible)
- 2005: Attack company installations again
- 2007: Correa government suspends Ascendant activities in Cotacachi (though not the concession)
- Agrarian, multi-activity rural economy persists

# Conclusions

- Territories are produced 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
    - Orientations of local government and central state

- Conflicts operate at multiple scales
  - Relationships across scales are mobilized in localized conflicts
    - In civil society
    - Also among market and state actors
  - Local conflicts reach up to other scales affecting debates on
    - Development models
      - Trade offs; fiscal arrangements; development and democracy
    - Sustainability issues
      - Importance of water in national resource management
    - National identity
      - Peru, “país minero” or “país megadiverso”
    - Regulatory institutions
      - From Cotacachi as canton ecológico to regulating Ecuador’s mining conflicts (Correa, Acosta, Chiriboga)
      - Rio Blanco and Peru’s independent environmental authority

# Team

- Research team:
  - Tony Bebbington, Manchester
  - Leonith Hinojosa, Manchester
  - Mari Burneo, Cepes, Lima
- Associated PhD projects
  - Jorge Castro
  - Denise Humphreys B.
  - Ximena Waarners
- [www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/andes](http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/andes)