

# Negotiating extraction: TCO experiences from the Bolivian Chaco

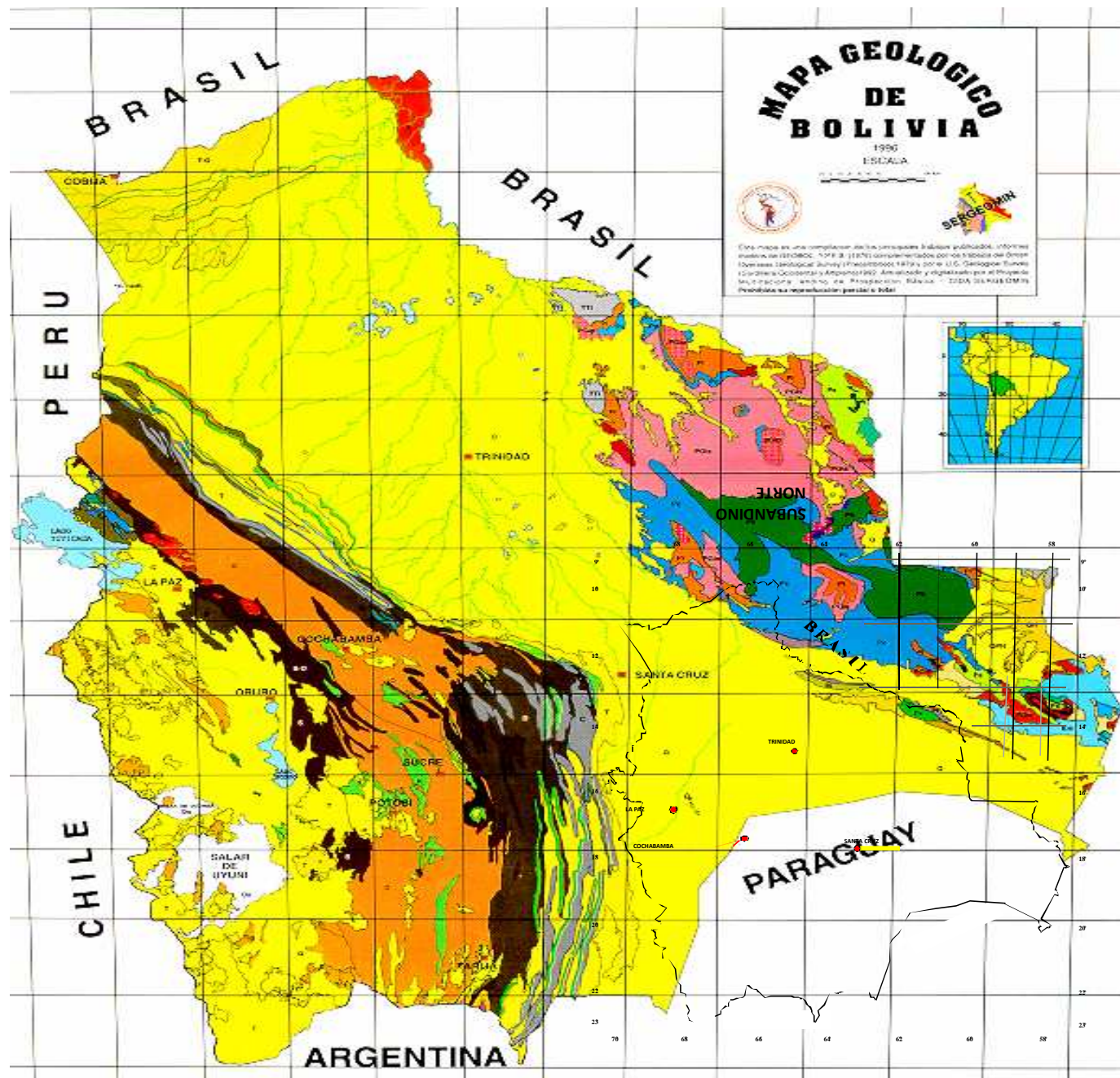


# Outline

- Recent contexts
- Gas and territory in Tarija
  - Guarani
  - Weenhayek
- A return to state-led extraction?
- Concluding thoughts

# Negotiating Extraction: Context

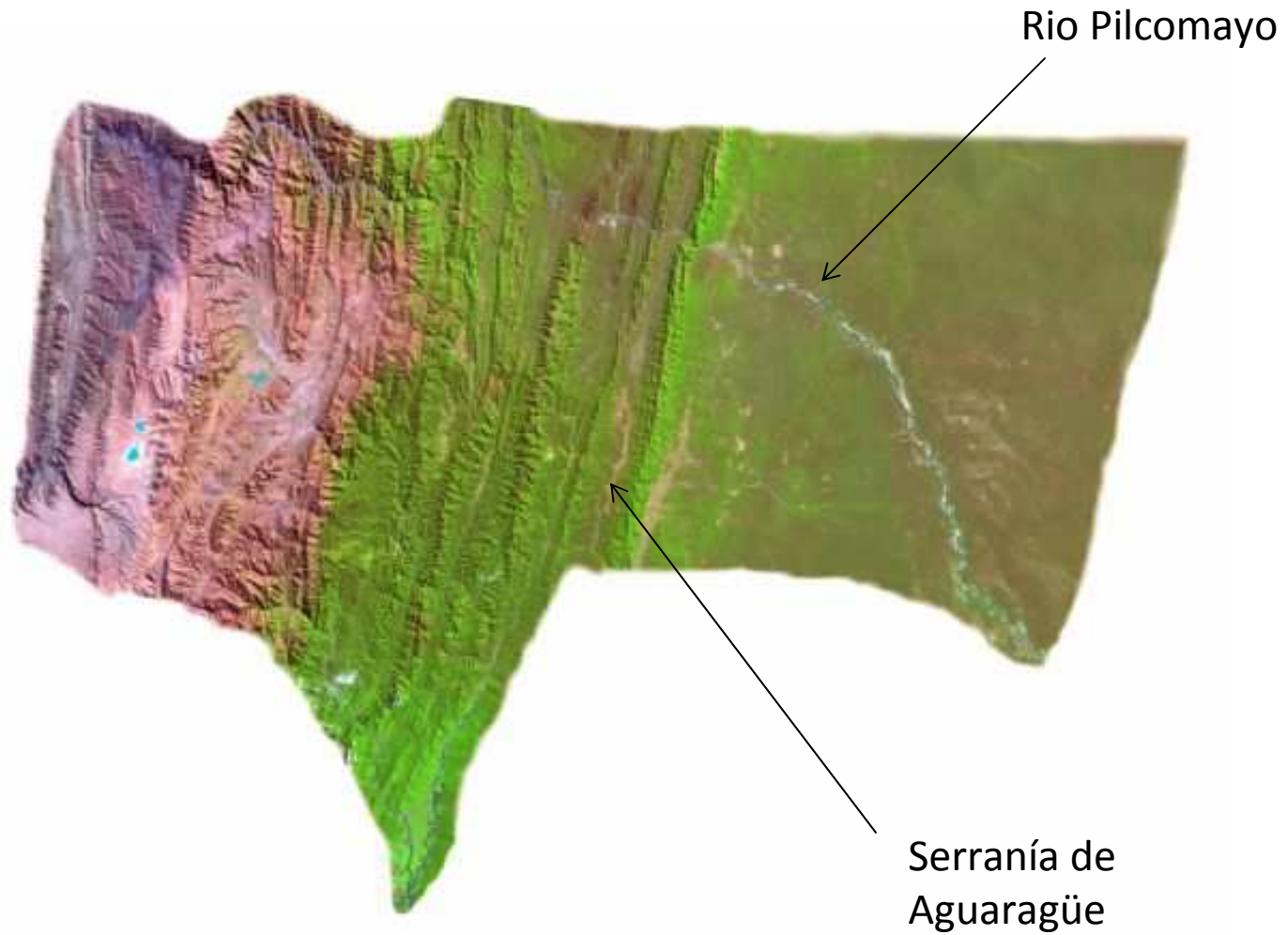
- 1990s increased FDI sparks gas boom;
- Post 2005 sector re-nationalised, proposals to double gas production, enter non-traditional areas;
- Export with industrialisation;
- New actors: both NOCs and IOCs include PDVSA (Venezuela), GAZPROM (Russia), Eastern Petrogas (China), GTLI (India);
- PETROBRAS continues to dominate sector;
- Other transnational firms: REPSOL, BG-Bolivia, Total, Vintage, Pluspetrol maintain presence.



# Negotiating Extraction: Context

- Investment/expansion plans uncertain;
- New operations focus on areas reserved for YPFB, “overcome unevenness of opportunity” (Plan de Acción Inmediato 2009);
- Pressure on TNCs to increase investment/production levels but this time as “socios no dueños”
- Impacts of YPFB scandal.

# Department of Tarija



# Negotiating Extraction: Conflicts in the Chaco

Consejo de Capitanes Guaranies de Tarija:

- Gas expansion
- Gas and the land question (INRA, terceros , TCOs);
- Significant and increasing pressure on the National Park and Protected Area Serranía de Aguaragüe - the source of freshwater for the Chaco and claimed as ancestral Guarani land;
- Unresolved environmental contamination;
- Indigenous-state co-administration of National Park

**AREAS DE EXPLORACION  
SUBANDINO SUR  
EN ZONA TRADICIONAL**

Bloque 9 IÑAU

Bloque 13 TIACIA

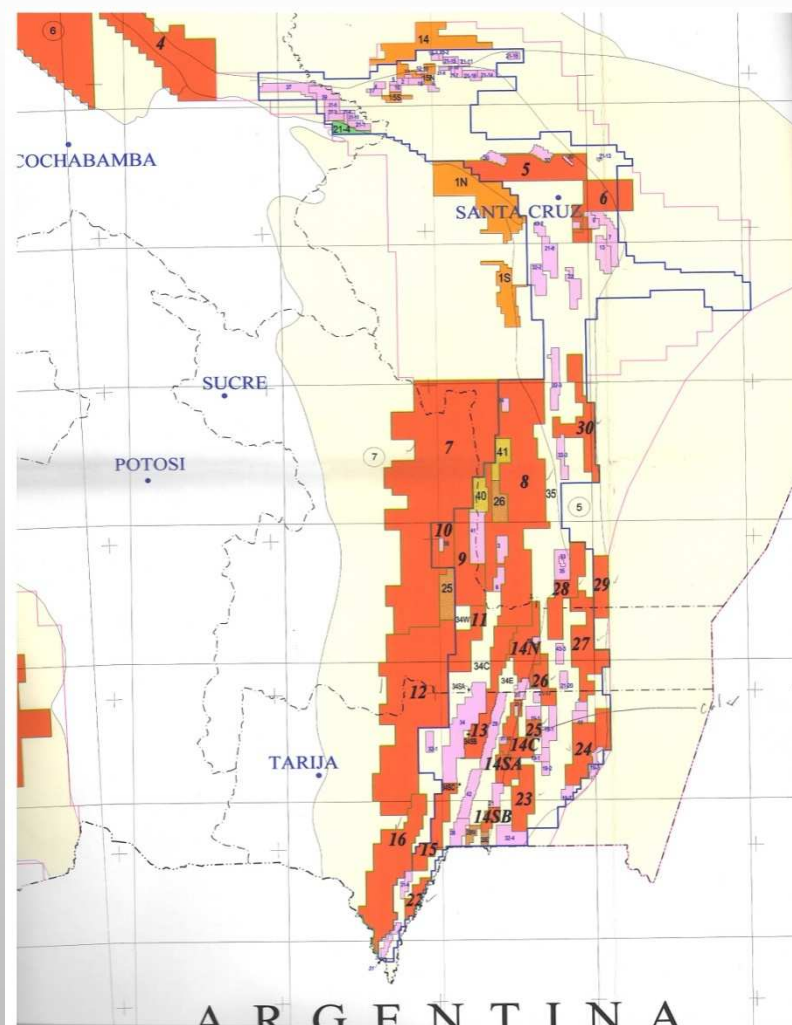
Bloque 14 "N" AGUARAGUE NORTE

Bloque 14 "C" AGUARAGUE CENTRO

Bloque 14 "S A" AGUARAGUE SUR A

Bloque 14 "S B" AGUARAGUE SUR B

Bloque 15 IÑIGUAZU



# Negotiating Extraction

Weenhayek (Orcaweta)

- Gas discovered in 1980s
- Hunt, gather and fish
- TCO claim pending, overlaps with known gas reserves
- Accessing resources

# Negotiating Extraction

## A return to state-led extraction?

Post 2005 – ruptures with neoliberal model of extraction.  
Leads to new relationships and negotiations between  
the state and social organisations affected by  
extraction

Before:

Concession model >>> TNC deals directly with  
community leaders

Now:

Contract model >>> TNC now the state's "socio," and  
state deals directly with community/TCOs/social  
organisations

# Negotiating Extraction

Government introduces new institutions and norms that reshape State/Indigenous-TCO relations:

- Process of Consulta y Participación
- Monitoring of socio-environmental impacts
- Indigenous Fund
- Indigenous autonomy

>>> constrain options, close out space for alternatives, prevent contestation of centrality of gas

But: tendency on the part of the government to abbreviate or shortcut processes (Consulta, technical studies,) & employ political solutions to resolve conflicts in order to advance projects

# Negotiating Extraction

## Concluding Thoughts

State effects on indigenous social organisations:

- Social-environmental and territorial concerns subordinated to anti-globalization frame;
- Pending recognition of TCO lands: unlikely for TCOs with known hydrocarbon reserves;
- Scope for criticism has been reduced

# Negotiating Extraction

## Concluding Thoughts

- Effects on how Guarani/Weenhayek “see” the state
  - State/government subject to increasing indigenous critique
  - Risks of fractures in the MAS project