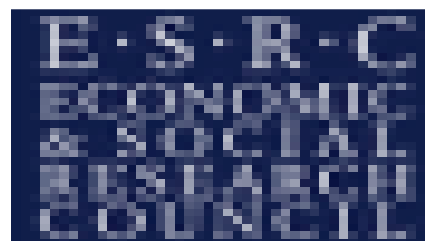




The University of Manchester



CENTRO PERUANO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES

*Extraction, dispossession,  
mobilization:  
mining, territory and politics in  
contemporary Latin America*

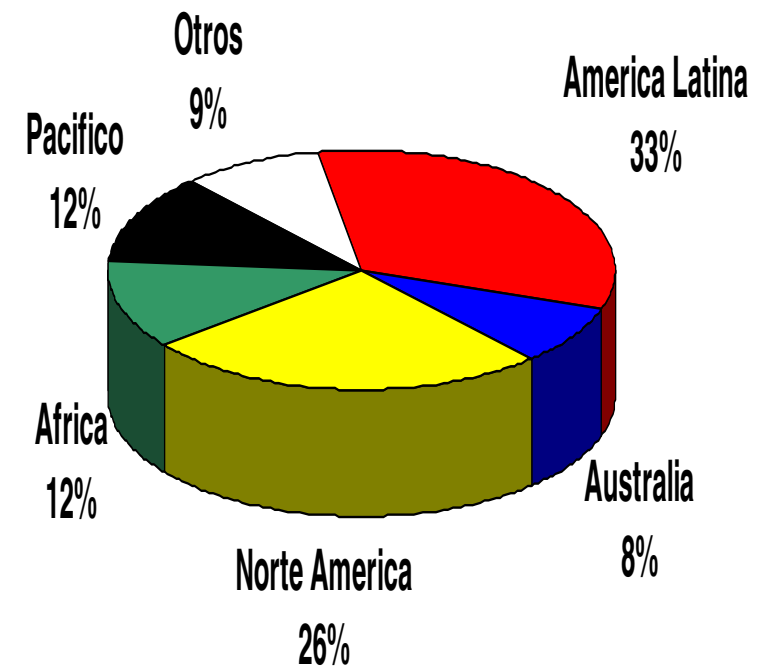
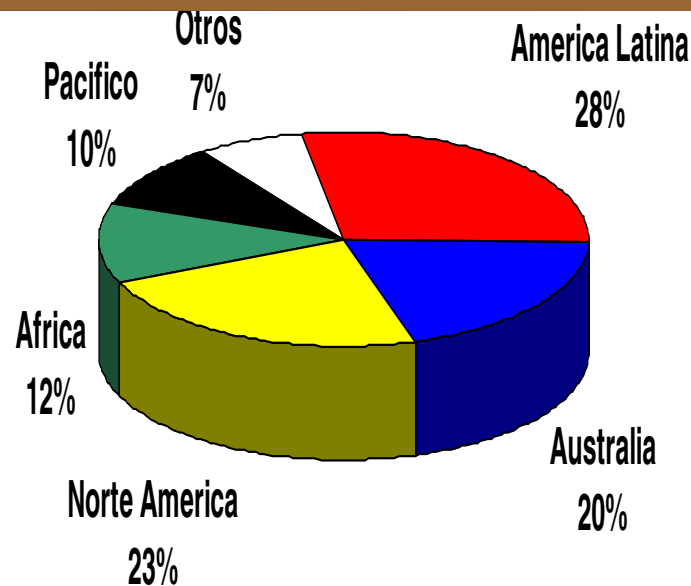
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School of Environment and Development,  
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# Outline

- Context: why worry about mining?
- Mineral expansion, mobilization and conflict
- Mobilization, mining and territorial dynamics
- From territorial conflicts to national political debate

# Mining investments, 1990, 1995, 2000

[Source: Cooperación]



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

- A result of ....
  - Technological and price changes
  - New government policies and institutional arrangements
    - Peru: “the legislation created an extremely attractive investment regime for the large multinational mining companies” (ICMM, 2007)
    - Ecuador: the state has been required to give concessions; concessions can be renewed in perpetuity; no royalty payments

## ➤ Consequence 1: Mining/macro-economy inter-dependencies

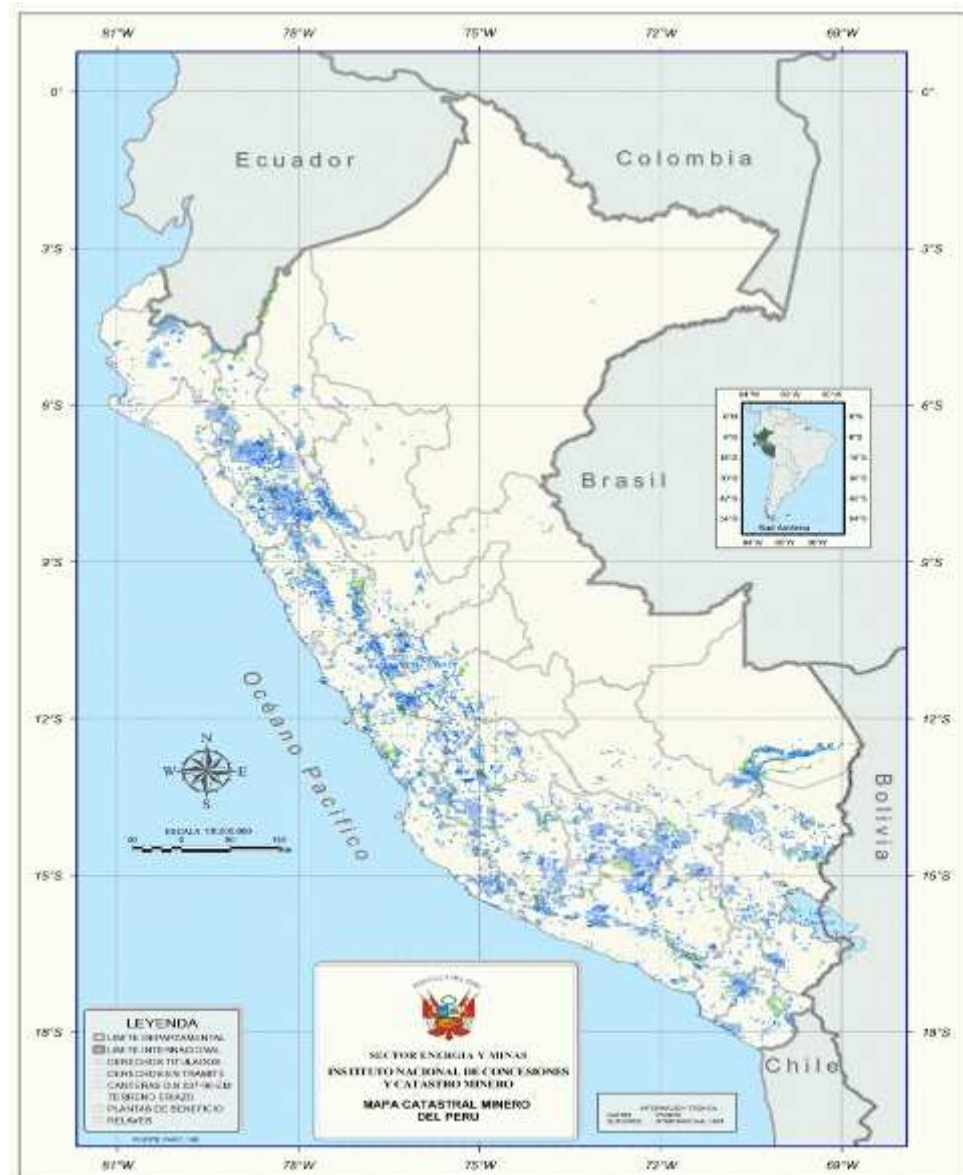
- Extractive industries as strategies for growth and stabilization:  
e.g. Peru
  - 1990-2000, mining investment increases five-fold
  - c. 15% of FDI and 50% of foreign currency generated by exports
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> most mineral dependent economy in LAC (UNCTAD, 2007)
- Efforts to build a new mining economy in Ecuador
  - Mining and a post-petroleum economy
  - Mining and the effort to build new fiscal basis for government spending

## ➤ Consequence 2: Geographies of expansion

This investment is going to traditional areas of extraction, but also to new frontiers with no history of extraction

- Among countries
  - Traditional countries: e.g. Peru, Chile
  - New frontiers: e.g. Ecuador; Central America
- Within countries:
  - e.g. Peru
    - Traditional mining areas (Pasco, Huancavelica, Junin)
    - New mining areas (Piura, Ayacucho, Apurimac)
  - e.g. Bolivia
    - Traditional mining areas (Potosi, Oruro)
    - New areas (e.g. Santa Cruz: Mutun)
  - e.g. Ecuador
    - Traditional areas (small scale mining in S.E.; now large inv)
    - New areas (Cuenca, Cotacachi)
- Between countries
  - e.g. Pascua Lama, Chile-Argentina
  - e.g.(?) Cordillera del Condor, Ecuador-Peru

- 1990s: area affected by mining concessions increases from 4 million to 16 million hectares (1997 peak)
- 2002-2007, concessions increased 77.4%: from 7,045,000 ha to 13,224,000 ha
- Around fifty-five per cent (3126) of Peru's six thousand or so *campesino* (peasant) communities are influenced by mining

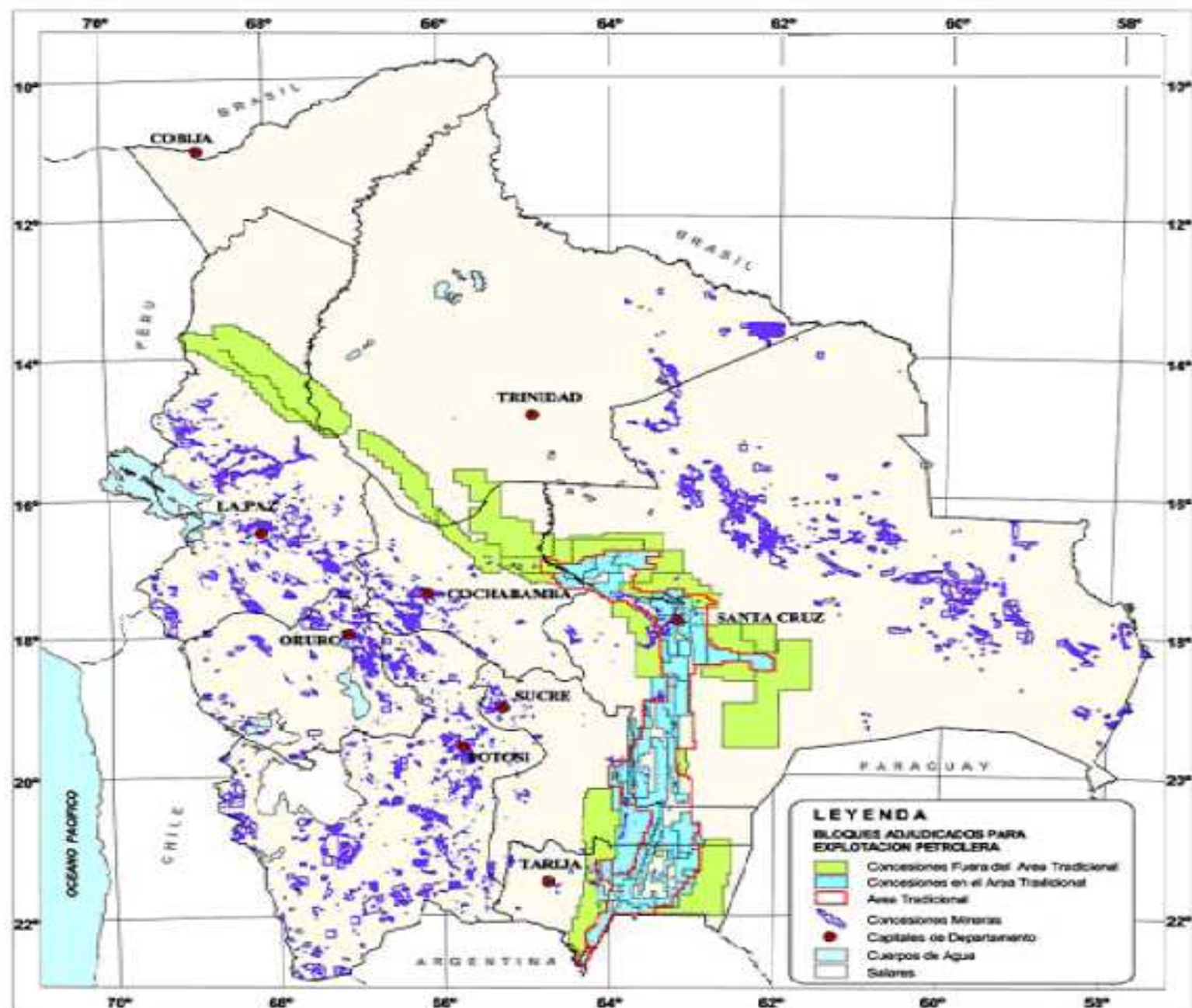








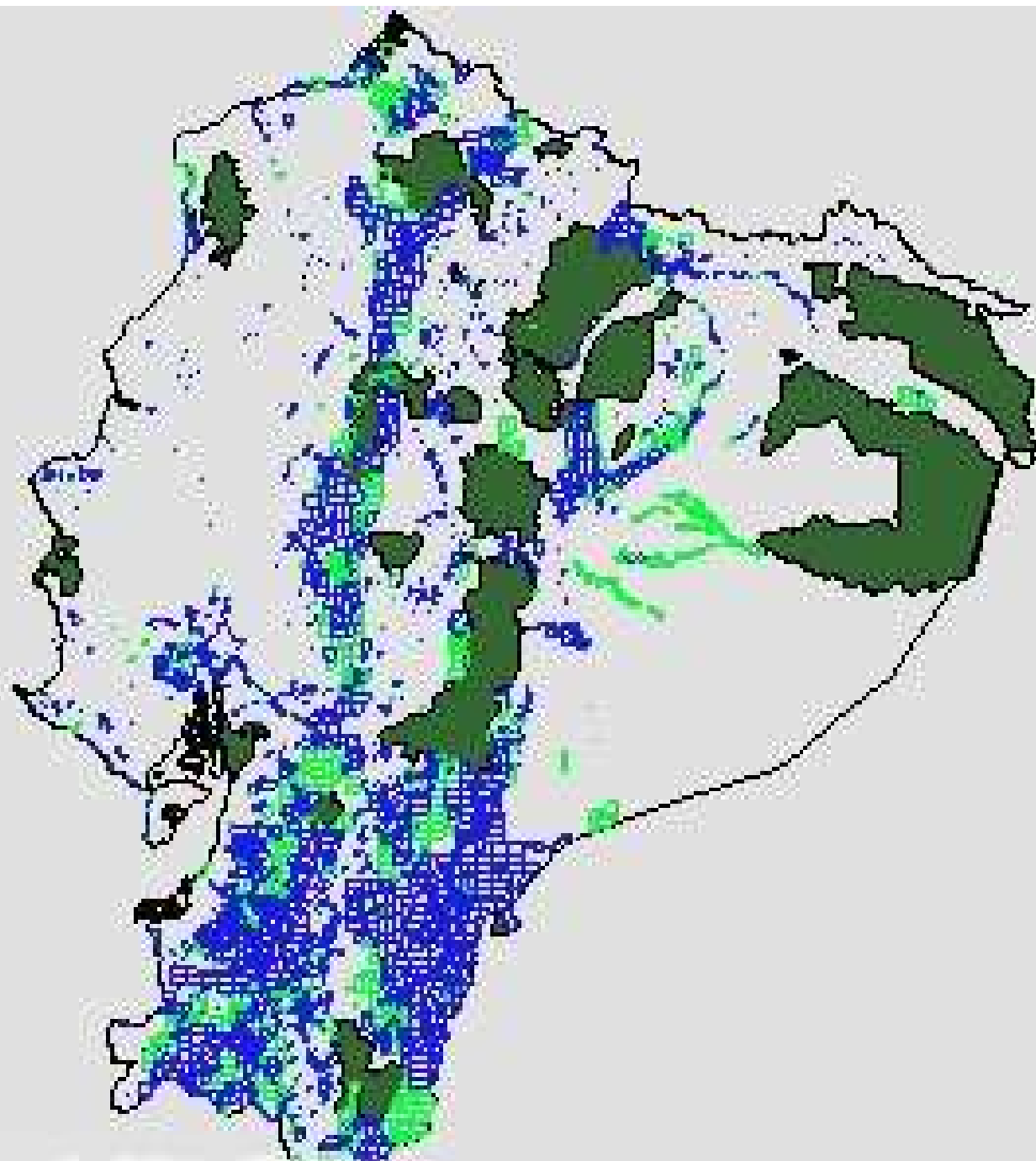




Elaboración propia en base a:  
 YPFB  
 SETMIN  
 IOM

0 100 200 300 400 500 Kms.  
 Escala 1 : 8.000.000





Sistemas de Información Minera

0 250000m

- Typically, concessioning process has been:
  - Centrally led by Ministries of Energy and Mines
  - Independent of any regional/ecological planning criteria
    - Indeed, active resistance to ecologically based land use planning
  - Not constrained by regional development plans or protected areas (national or municipal)
  - Only marginally subject to consultation

# Mineral expansion, mobilization and conflict

# Geographies of concession and mobilization

- Concessions as geographies of:
  - Uncertainty
  - Instability
  - Risk (perceived, real)
  - Threat



# Geographies of mines and mobilization

- From geographies of uncertainty to geographies of loss
  - Land, landscape, water
  - Subsoil, value
  - Ways of life
  - Territorial control and familiar forms of governance





- Geographies of loss and modes of accumulation:
  - By exploitation
  - By dispossession
- .... driving different types of protest?
  - Workplace based protest
  - New social movement protest (land, identity, territory, rights, environment ....)
- Mining protest movements as:
  - responses to (actual or perceived) accumulation by dispossession
  - responses to new practices of imperialism
  - hybrids of the old, new, borrowed and blue





# Caveats

- Dissonances and tensions in movement
  - North/South
  - Class/ethnicity/gender
  - Political ideology
  - Social organization/NGO
  - Power relations *within* movement
  - *Liderazgos*



.... and mining also as geographies of gain and sources of countermovement ...





... and as geographies of division ...







Mobilization, mining and  
territorial dynamics:  
illustrations from Piura, Peru





# MINERÍA, MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES Y RESPUESTAS CAMPELINAS

Una ecología política de  
transformaciones territoriales

ANTHONY BEBBINGTON  
Editor

IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos  
CEPEL

HUANUCABAMBA  
SÍ AL AGRO  
NO A LA MINERÍA  
SÍ AL ECOTURISMO  
LA SANGRE  
DERRAMADA  
JAMÁS SERÁ  
OLVIDADA  
la mina  
contamina  
al medio  
ambiente

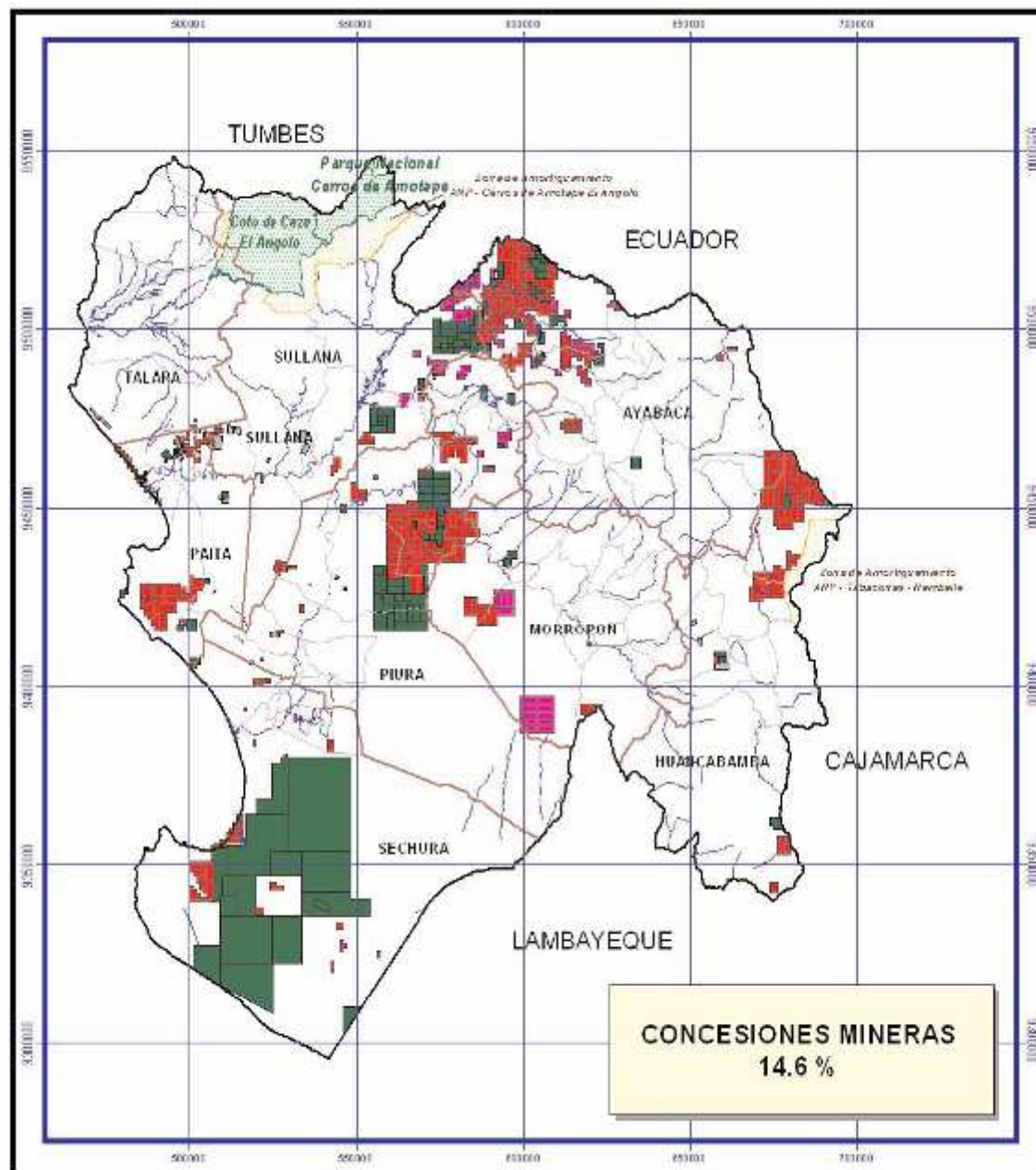
Minería y Desarrollo en el Perú  
con especial referencia al  
proyecto Río Blanco, Piura



Ministerio de Energía y Minas







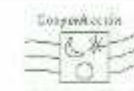
### CONCESIONES MINERAS

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 : 1800,000

Fuente : I N A C C I

- Conflict and territorial dynamics
  - Option 1: mineral Piura
    - Increased tax transfers/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

From territorial conflict to  
national political debate

Peru and Ecuador

# Peru: towards authoritarian modernization?

- Alan Garcia: frontal attack on those questioning current forms of mining expansion
  - Rio Blanco/Monterrico as the lightning rod
  - “False prophets,” red priests and “outdated ideologies”
  - Change from campaign commitments
- Commitments to companies
  - Tax stability agreements
  - 20 projects in the national interest
  - Late 2007 statements by Garcia – “mining throughout the land”

Alan Garcia in El Comercio: 28/10/07

### The problem:

- “There are millions of hectares for timber lying idle, millions more that communities and peasant associations have not cultivated and will never cultivate, in addition to hundreds of mineral deposits that can’t be worked and millions of hectares of sea which will never be made productive nor used for mariculture”
- “.. the old anticapitalist communists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century disguised themselves as protectionists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and have once again changed their tee-shirts in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to become environmentalists”

### Agriculture:

- “we’ve been fooled into giving small lots of land to poor families who don’t have a penny to invest”
- “That same land, if sold in large plots, would attract technology from which the community members would also benefit, but the ideological spider’s web of the 19<sup>th</sup> century continues to be an obstacle.”

## Amazonia – forestry and hydrocarbons:

- “formal property for large corporate enterprises like pension funds would allow us to make long term investments, beginning from the initial planting through to harvest many years later”
- “And against oil, they have created the image of the ‘non-contact’ jungle native”

## Mining

- “barely a tenth of those (mineral) resources are being exploited, because here we are still discussing whether mining technology destroys the environment, which was only an issue last century ....
- .....today mines coexist with cities without any problems, or at least this is the case when the state demands strict technological standards of mining companies, and negotiates a greater share of profits and employment possibilities for the departments in which the mines operate”

## *A modern hacienda based model of development? (Eguren)*

- Re-concentrate land and resources
- Development to be delivered by large property, technology and foreign capital
- Territory to be governed more efficiently by large property owners
- Large scale capital plus a strong state = well regulated development

## *Issues emerging*

- Ambiguous attitudes to ethnic difference?
- A sense of rights being bestowed by efficiency more than citizenship?
- An optimistic conception of state capacity?
- Attitudes to dissent: frustration or intolerance?

## Ecuador: towards what ...?

- Mining expansion and spreading (and radical) mobilization
- Correa 2007: country on the brink of open conflict
- The search for new forms of governing the sector: convergence/divergence in the state?



### Ministry – more pro-mining

- Failed moratorium .....
- Suspension of 500+ concessions ... but ..?
- Possible regionalization of mining

### Constituent Assembly – more cautious, considering

- Ban on open cast mining
- Constitutional changes to limit options
- On-going lobbying of Assembly members

### President Correa – more pro-mining

- Mining and fiscal income
- Centralizing tendencies (tax transfer implications?)
- State mining company?
- Authoritarian use of force

Final resolution *will* be conflictive

# Final words

## Movements influence:

- Local and national debates on the meanings of development and environment
- Local and national debates on the meanings of land and resources: should land be
  - Mineral source, water source, identity source, territory.....
  - Private, communal, regional, national ....
- Swings between democracy deepening and authoritarianism
- Patterns of territorial and environmental change

- 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
    - Ability to build and sustain networks at different scales
    - Local government



- Learning and linkages among communities and activists across the region
  - Information and exchanges
  - The spread of referenda on mining
- Processes of expansion, accumulation and conflict in the region as inter-linked
  - By activist networks
  - By economic processes and their own networks
  - By regional political economic projects



# Colombia ...

- Uribe, speech to open Agroexpo, 2007
  - Sea la oportunidad de repetir ante ustedes que Colombia es un país totalmente garantista de la inversión privada, con la exigencia de la responsabilidad social.
  - Para nosotros es muy importante un Estado como garante de responsabilidad social, una garantía de plenas posibilidades al sector privado como camino hacia la responsabilidad social.
  - Esa confianza inversionista la sustentamos en varios puntos: primero, en nuestro modelo: un Estado garantista a la inversión privada. Segundo, en la política de seguridad, que es más importante medirla por la determinación que por los resultados de corto plazo. Tercero, por las políticas económicas. Salud fiscal de la Nación y políticas sectoriales.
  - De 2002 a 2006 introdujimos una serie de incentivos: la exención a la madera, en lo cual el país tiene tantísimas posibilidades. A mí me da tristeza que cuando nosotros en especies demandadas en el mercado, podemos producir 25 metros cúbicos de madera por hectárea año, apenas estamos llegando a 250 mil hectáreas de bosque comercial.
- EL TIEMPO
  - Carimagua - 17 mil hectáreas, ubicadas en Puerto Gaitán(Meta), para 800 familias de desplazados
  - Feb 2008: Carimagua será entregada en 9 días y por 50 años a empresarios para la siembra de caucho, madera o palma a cambio de una retribución económica para el Estado