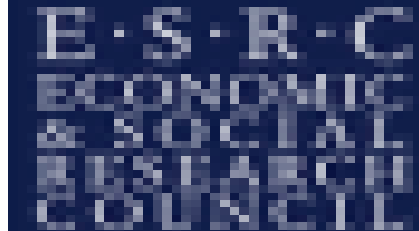




The University of Manchester



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
CEPE CENTRO PERUANO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES

HUANCA BAMB
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

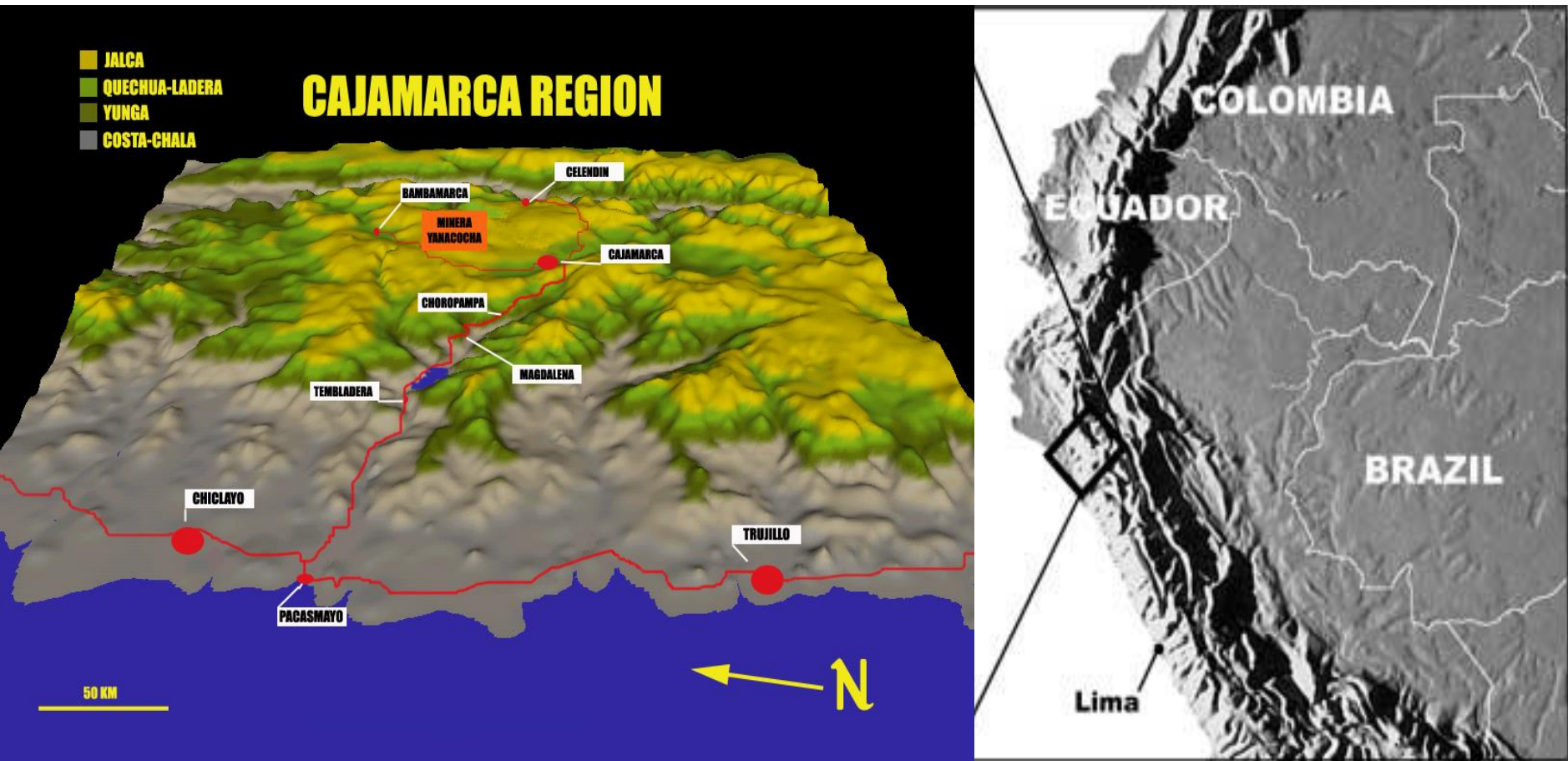
Oxfam
Internacional

- 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

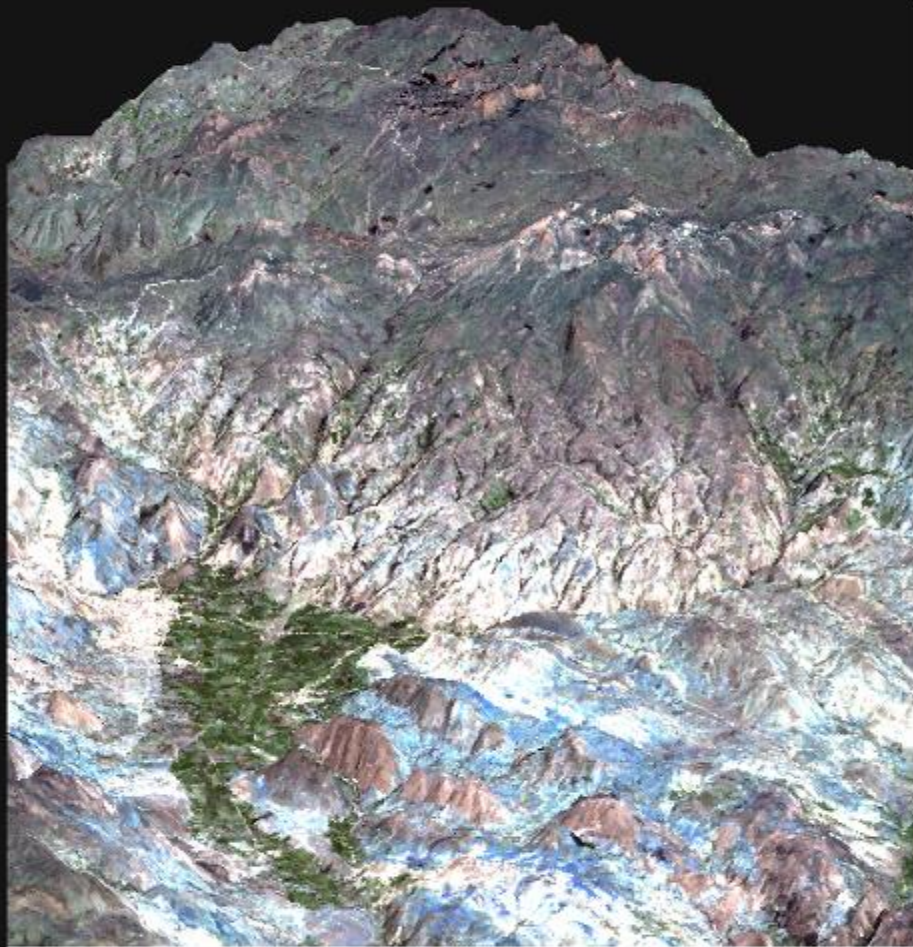


Basic information

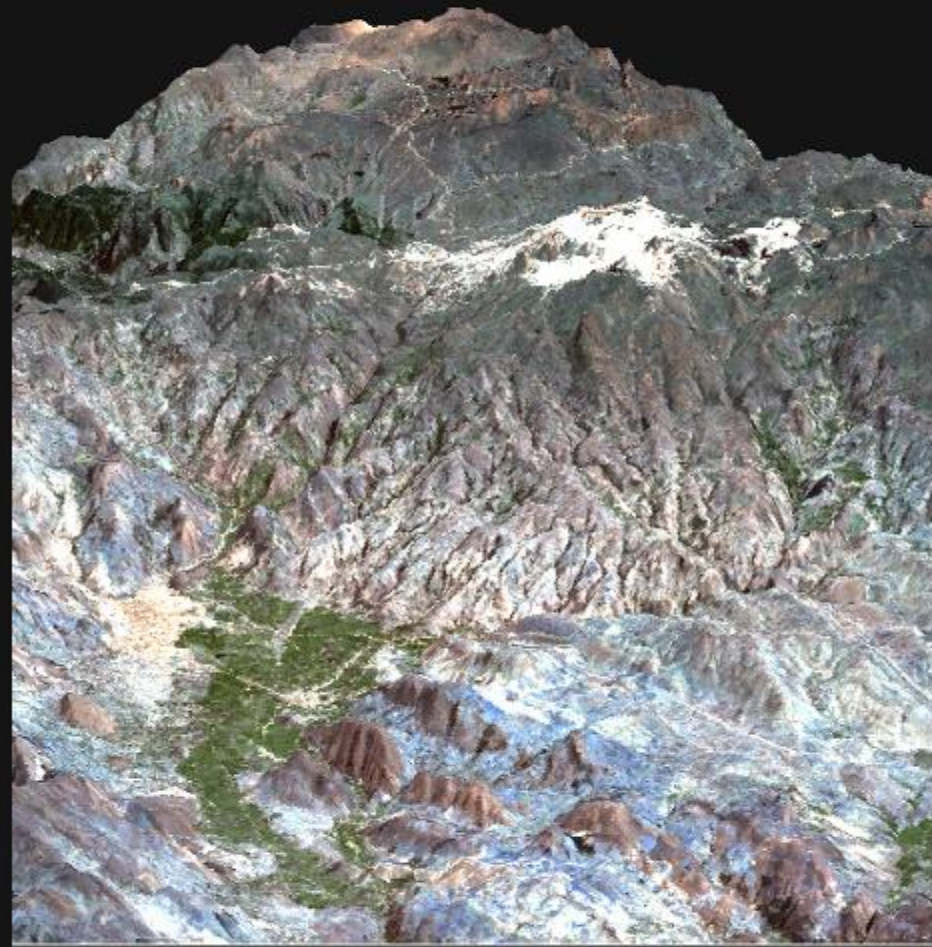
- Latin America's largest gold mine, world's second largest
- Cyanide heap leach
- Newmont 51.35%; Buenaventura 43.65%; IFC 5%
 - Newmont-world's largest gold mining company
 - Buenaventura – Peru's largest mining company
 - Significant income stream for IFC too
- For each owner, Yanacocha's profits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

Cajamarca and Minera Yanacocha

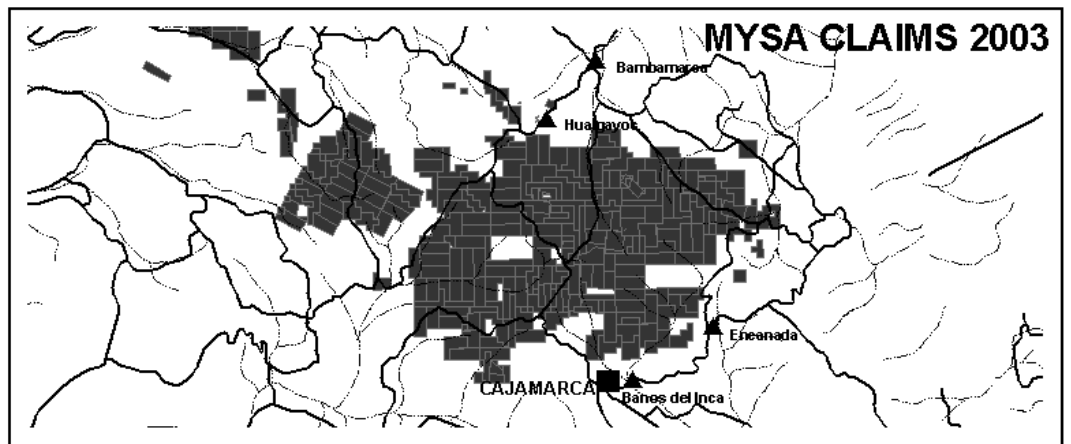
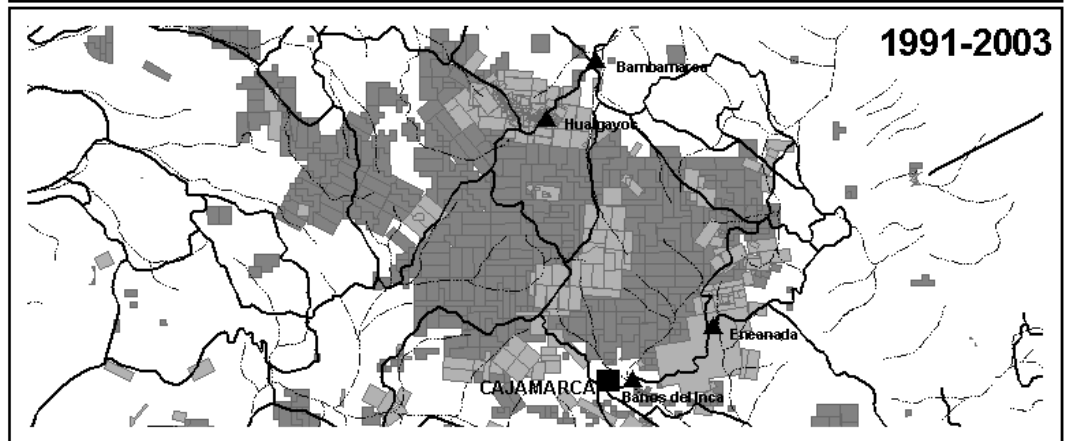
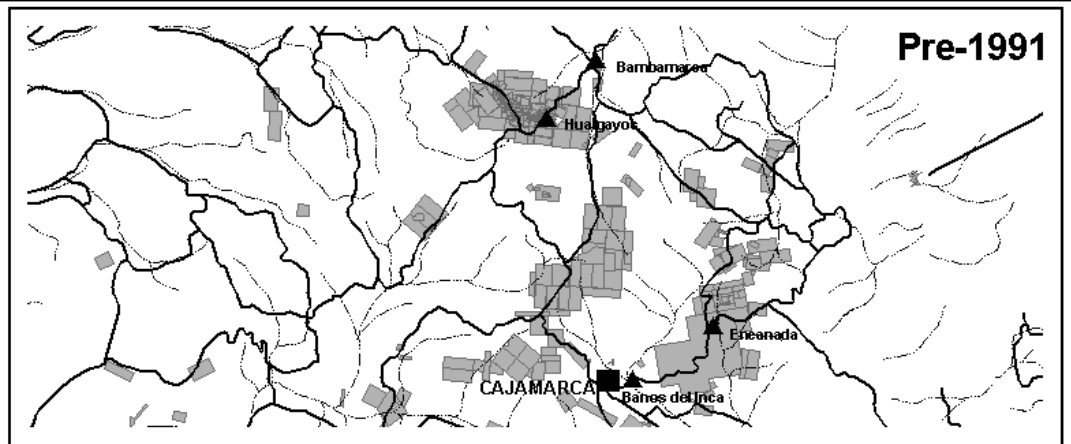
1989



2001



0 3 6 12 18 24
Kilometers



0 5 10 20 30 40
Kilometers



- 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

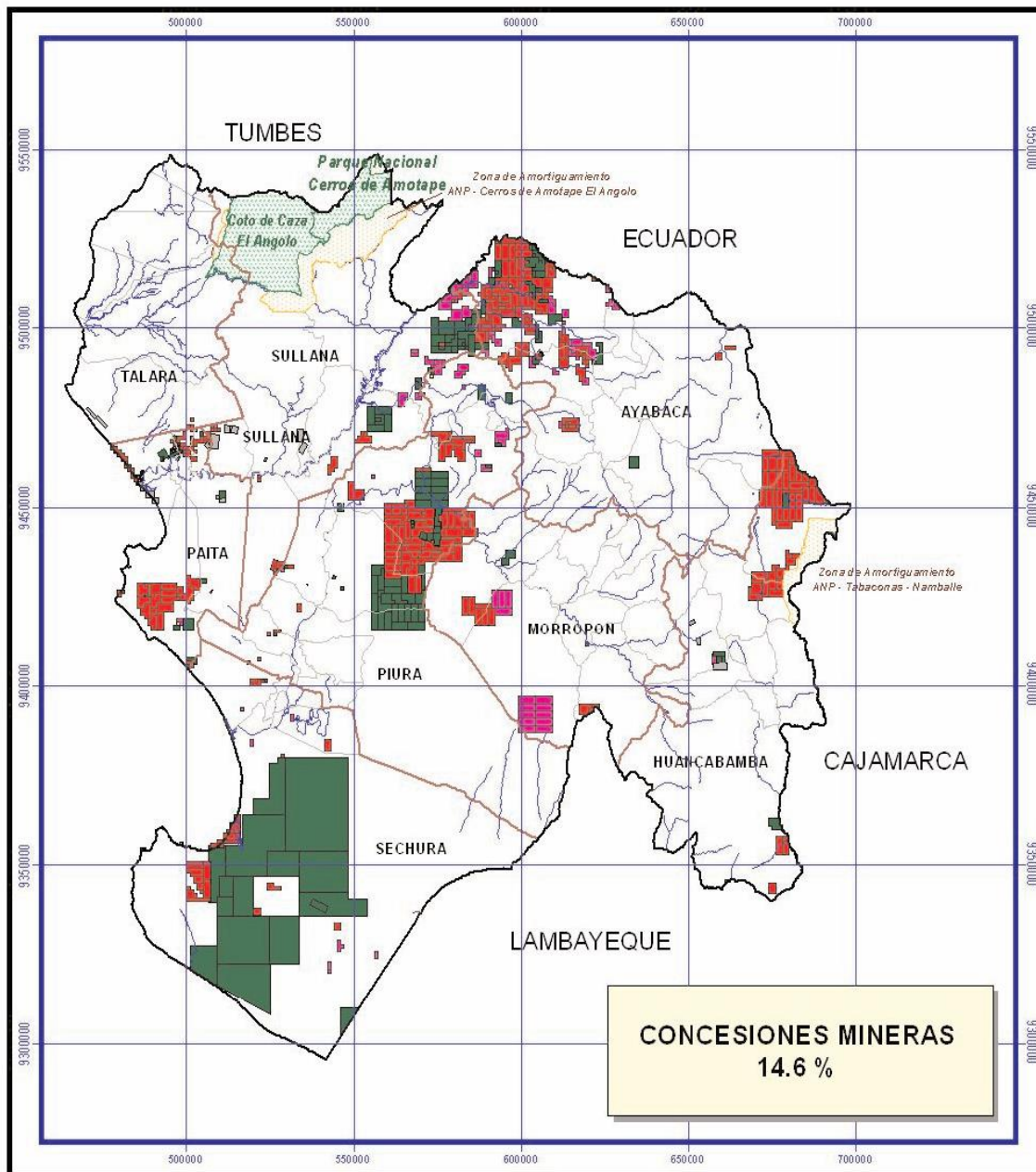
Territorial implications?

- 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])

New mining frontiers in Peru:

- Piura ----->





CONCESIONES MINERAS
14.6 %

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)

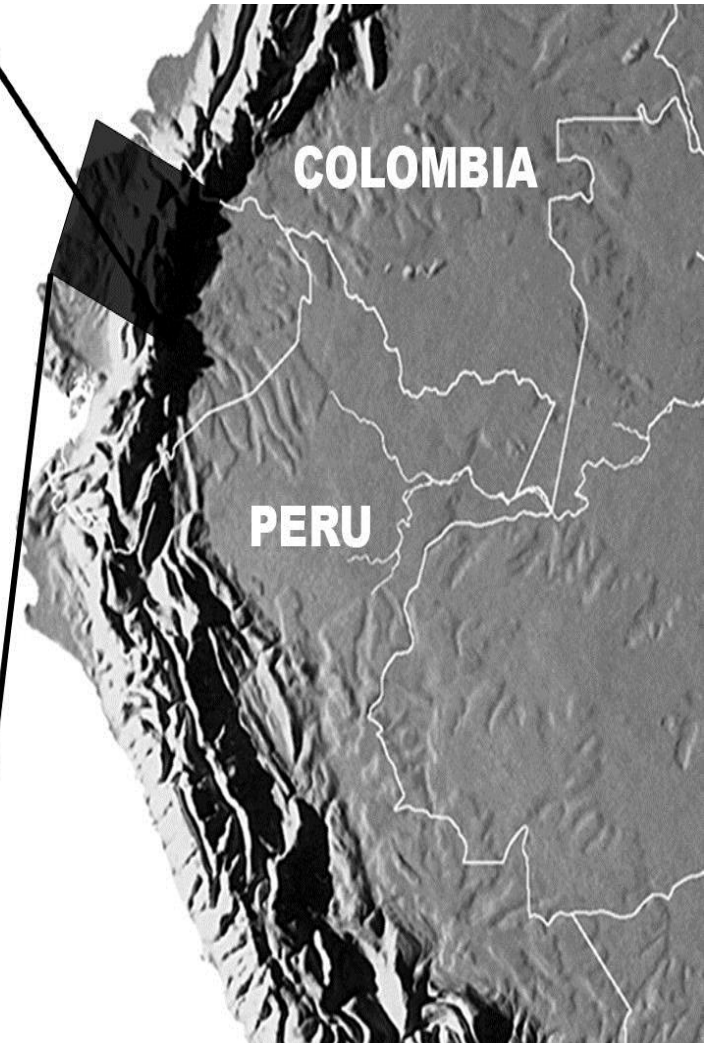
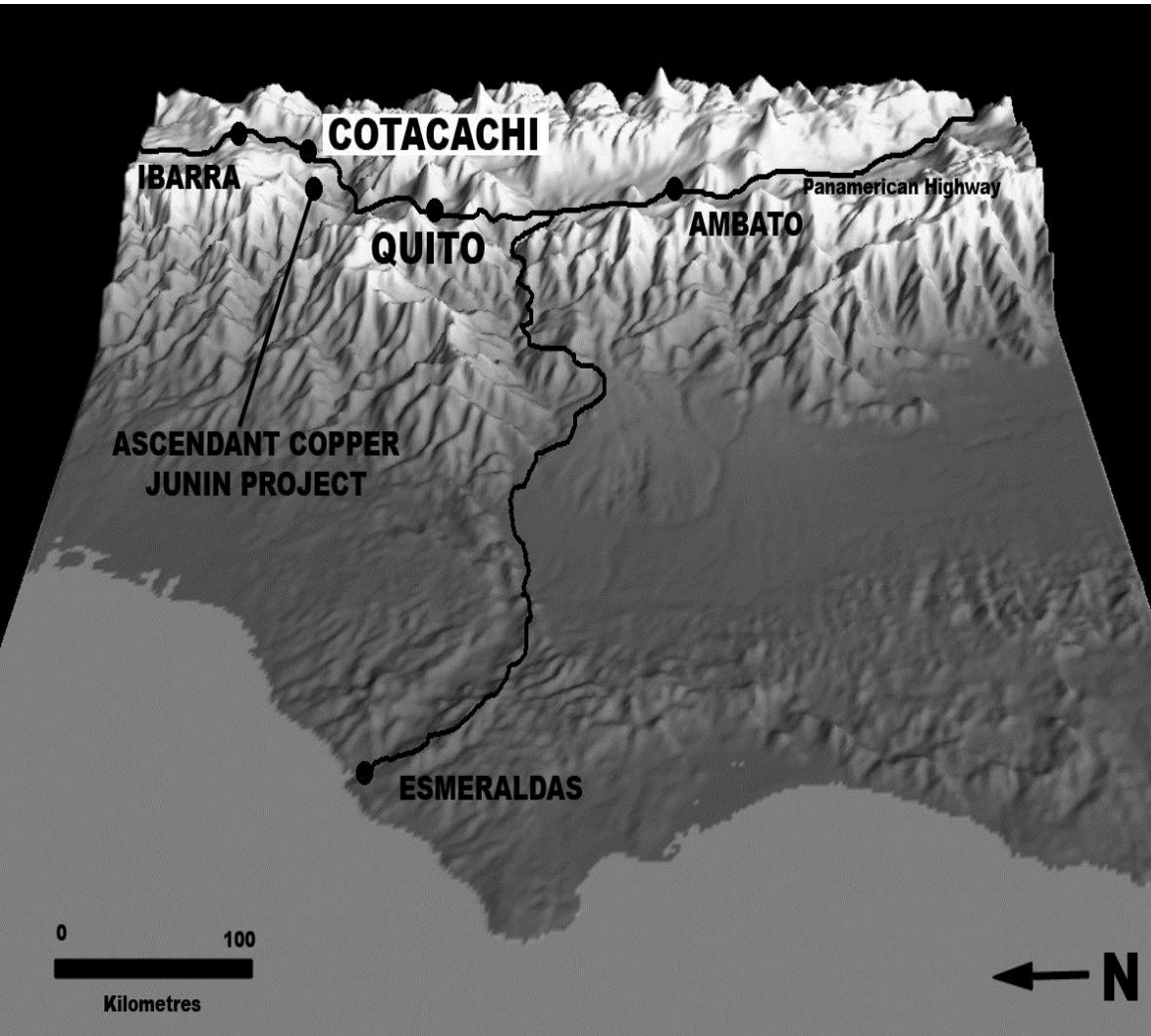
Piura 2: Rio Blanco

- 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