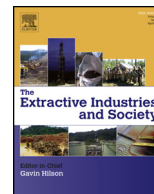




Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

## The Extractive Industries and Society

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/exis](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/exis)



Original article

### The *glocalization* of mining conflict: Cases from Peru

Maritza Paredes<sup>1</sup>

Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, Peru

#### ARTICLE INFO

##### Article history:

Received 14 April 2015

Received in revised form 13 August 2016

Accepted 13 August 2016

Available online xxx

##### Keywords:

Mining conflict

Glocalization

Social movements

Transnational networks of activism

Peru

#### ABSTRACT

Investments in extractive industries, predominantly mining, have catalyzed significant economic growth at the national level in Latin America. However, they have also been met with opposition and resistance from many local communities. This paper argues that global extractive industries have not only introduced radical changes and territorial pressures across many local communities but have also introduced important changes in the “dynamics of contention.” The paper analyzes the ‘glocalization’ of mining conflict, examining, on one hand, the globalization of communities’ mobilization against mining, and on the other, the localization and fragmentation of these protests domestically. It argues that the combination of three conditions has provoked these simultaneous and paradoxical characteristics. First, technological changes within the mining industry have led to an increasing geographical extension of mining operations, reaching small localities where the industry had never arrived before. Second, the centrality of the industry in the economy of the country has resulted in a direct institutional nexus and in a contentious ‘counterpoint’ between scattered mining communities and agencies of the central government. Third, rural communities opposing transnational mining companies have become allied to transnational networks of activism injecting mobilization resources and facilitating international media coverage.

© 2016 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

#### 1. Introduction

Since the turn of the century, a new cycle of economic growth based on the extraction of natural resources has transformed many local communities in Latin America. In countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, and Panamá, many settlements have experienced dramatic economic, social, and political transformation, induced by their interaction with large-scale mines and their accompanying financial injections. For the most part, investments in the extractive industries, predominantly in mining, have catalyzed significant economic growth at the national level but at the same time, have sparked opposition and resistance from many local communities.

There is a vast body of literature that investigates the origins of local resistance against the mining industry worldwide (Kirsch, 2014). This literature claims that extractive industries such as mining have introduced acute asymmetries within communities and exerted competition over natural resources, often exercising pressures over the natural environment of communities. Thus,

today's discussion on extractive industries does not focus solely on the economic and political aspects of the resource curse (Sachs and Warner, 2001; Atkinson and Hamilton, 2003; Karl, 1997; Ross 2012), but also on how these industries damage the social fabric in different ways and produce social unrest locally. Unlike Africa, where disputes seem to be mostly over access to and/or control of natural resources (Le Billon, 2005), in Latin America, the conflict is more commonly associated with the dispute over territorial sovereignty (Perreault, 2008; Bebbington, 2007; Bebbington and Hinojosa, 2007; Svampa and Antonelli, 2009; Bury, 2004, 2005), the right to indigenous consultation (Schilling-Vacaflo, 2013; Fulmer, 2011; Rodríguez-Garavito, 2011), negative environmental effects (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Sawyer, 2004; Kirsch, 2014), high expectations for economic development from communities located near these industries, and an inadequate redistribution of resource rents, both by the state and enterprises (Thorp et al., 2012; Gilberthorpe and Papyrakis, 2015; Gamu et al., 2015; Pozas et al., 2015; Arce, 2014; McClintock and Ponce, 2014; Helwege, 2014; Arellano-Yanguas, 2011, 2012).

While the origin of conflicts has been greatly debated in the literature, changes in the dynamics of protest and social mobilization related to extractive industries have sparked less interest. The work of Bebbington et al. (2008), however, illustrates very clearly how the dynamic of contention influences the way

<sup>1</sup> The author is grateful to Narda Henriquez, Eduardo Dargent and Tomáš Došek for reading previous versions of the paper and for their important recommendations. The author also thanks the editor and two anonymous referees for their many helpful comments on the paper.

mining governance and territorial development is negotiated locally. Overall, global extractive industries have not only introduced radical changes and pressures in many local communities during the last boom cycle (2004–2014), but have also introduced important changes in the “dynamic of contention” (McAdam et al., 2001). Mining labor unions linked to national labor movements that arose in the 19th and 20th centuries, with “repertoires” of protest, such as strikes and sacrifice marches, were the organized contention and prevailed in areas of mineral extraction (Bridge, 2004; Dore, 2000). In the 21st century, these have been replaced by the protest of diverse local communities located in the mining environment.

Small rural communities have been the locations of mobilization campaigns with high levels of organizational coherence and effectiveness in fulfilling local and immediate objectives. Many communities have become emblematic cases in facilitating the distribution of financial benefits from enterprises, agreements on environmental mitigation measures between communities and enterprises, and even the suspension of large-scale mining and oil projects (Haarstad and Floyssand, 2007; Kuecker, 2007; Svampa et al., 2009; Urkidi, 2010, 2011; Rasch, 2012). However, the dynamics of contention through which these communities have successfully stopped or exercised pressure on state-supported private corporation projects remain unclear.

The purpose of this article is to explore how new dynamics of mobilization have arisen in relation to the extractive industries, the mining industry in particular. The most striking characteristic of this has been the emergence of mobilized yet fragmented small local communities. The labor dynamics of large mining camps have yielded multiple environmental conflicts. Moreover, the social movements spearheaded by united organizations of mining workers have given way to a fragmented and scattered number of local conflicts that achieve their short-term objectives yet fall short on fulfilling common national objectives.

In completing this examination, this paper analyzes the role of three contextual factors. First, technological changes within the mining industry have led to an increasing geographical extension of mining operations, reaching small localities where the industry had never arrived before. Second, the centrality of the industry in the economy of the country has resulted in a direct institutional nexus and in a contentious “counterpoint” between scattered mining communities and agencies of the central government. Third, rural communities opposing transnational mining companies have become allied with transnational networks of activism, injecting mobilization resources and facilitating international media coverage.

The paper argues that a combination of these three phenomena has resulted in the “glocalization” of mining conflicts. The glocalization of conflicts has two simultaneous characteristics: on the one hand, the globalization of mobilization, and on the other hand, the localization of these protests domestically. We argue that the new form in which mining settles in areas near isolated communities produces a particular form of “glocalized” mobilization that resembles an archipelago of dynamic conflicts without the prospect of convergence. Each island in the archipelago is connected individually to transnational actors, mining enterprises, the central state, and transnational activism networks – but each is also greatly disconnected from one another. Thus, these protests are globalized by their connection with globalized state institutions (environmental, trade, and economic state agencies), international capital, and transnational activism networks, but at the same time, they are localized because they are isolated from neighboring localities with similar problems.

The glocalization of conflicts in the extractive industries poses important analytic implications in relation to the theory of contention and social mobilization. The globalization of social

movements and transnational activism has not only meant an expansion of domestic actors on a global scale (Smith, 2008; Tarrow, 2005; Keck and Sikkink, 1998) or the ability of these actors to master both the domestic and international scale (Hochstetler and Keck, 2007) but has also caused a fragmentation of local actors. This paper argues that under certain conditions such as those created by mining operations, the connection between global and local dynamics has produced a very different outcome on both sides of the mobilization process: convergence of local and international actors at the global level, but also fragmentation of domestic actors on a local scale. This outcome is a consequence of the same globalization process.

Empirically, the paper studies the characteristics of this new form of glocalized mobilization by examining in-depth two case studies of mining conflict in Peru: Espinar and Tambogrande. Peru has experienced the highest rate of growth in Latin America, the result of a recent resource boom (Orihuela, 2014). However, accompanying this growth has been an increasing amount of social protest, most of it targeting extractive industries. In Peru, mining is an important source of income for the government at both the national and local levels, but the contentious relationship between its activity and surrounding local communities has been widely discussed.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, these conflicts are not unique to Peru. They also persist in many communities in other countries: Pascualama in Chile, Esquel in Argentina, Merlin in Guatemala, and Cotacachi in Ecuador have all become emblematic cases of opposition against extractive industries.<sup>2</sup> However, in Peru, the number and intensity of these conflicts in the recent resource boom is unmatched (Li, 2014). Since 2004, the Ombudsman Office (La Defensoría del Pueblo) has recorded approximately 270 conflicts in Peru, with mining identified as the primary cause in 50% of these cases (DP 2015).

This paper focuses on the cases of Tambogrande and Espinar because they represent two very different forms of conflicts in the country. According to Echave (2008), Tambogrande is an illustrative example of the opposition to extractive industries, and Espinar is an example of a community negotiation for coexistence. The former is located in the north of the country in the region of Piura and the latter in the south of the country in the region of Cusco (See Fig. 1). The research draws on findings from 50 interviews with local leaders and activists (listed in the Appendix A) as well as on an extensive review of local documentation, newspapers, and literature.

This article is divided into five parts. Section 2 discusses the glocalization of mining conflict and its implications in the Peruvian case. Section 3 presents and analyzes the case of Tambogrande, while Section 4 details the case of Espinar. Lastly, Section 5 presents some brief conclusions.

## 2. The glocalization of mining conflict

The concept of “glocalization” was first used in the social

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Peru, scholars have primarily argued that these industries increase competition in accessing strategic resources and are responsible for widespread socio-environmental impact in local communities (Damonte, 2014; Bebbington and Bury, 2013; Acuña, 2015). Other researchers have explored mobilization in Peru under conditions of deficient governance in the context of these industries' rents and poor institutional performance *vis-à-vis* the social and political challenges created by these industries' expansion (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011, 2012; Arce, 2014; McClintock and Ponce, 2014; Bebbington and Bury, 2013; Helwege, 2014; Slack, 2012). Finally, another group of scholars reflects upon development models, the eradication of poverty in areas surrounding extractive industries, and the potential consequences of these actions (Orihuela, 2014; Zegarra et al., 2007; Barrantes et al., 2005).

<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.conflictosmineros.net> and <http://ejatlas.org> to find selected Latin American and international databases of these conflicts.

Download English Version:

<https://daneshyari.com/en/article/5114432>

Download Persian Version:

<https://daneshyari.com/article/5114432>

[Daneshyari.com](https://daneshyari.com)