Papel en Blanco

Mire el papel en blanco/ yo tenia
Palabras y palabras y palabras
pero ninguna de ellas me servía

probé con vendaval arroyo tedio
vislumbre maderamen injusticia
besos de lengua árbol hemorragia
memoria cueva patriarcado hambruna
palabras que otras veces me sirvieron
para encender un fuego o apagarlo

tuve que descansar de tanta búsqueda
la mente en blanco y el papel sin nada
afuera muy afuera sonó un piano
y después un violín que maravilla

sentí en el corazón una puntada
y era en dolor dulcísimo / una Pascua
algo estaba cambiando en lo imposible
desde el lacónico papel en blanco
una palabra
vida
me miraba

Mario Benedetti

University of Alberta

Reframing the World. Local Communities and Multinational Corporations. The case of Cajamarca, Colombia

by

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To the people of Colombia from whom I have learned strength, passion and dedication!

Abstract

This research seeks to develop our understanding of the elements that define the relationship between multinational mining corporations and local peasant communities living in areas affected by large-scale gold mining in Latin America. Previous research has focused on describing the forms this relationship takes and has presumed that the relation is mostly defined by the political and economic context of the host country. This thesis argues that this relationship could be defined as essentially conflictive in nature.

The relationship between mining corporations and local communities is explored through the case study of the relationship between AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) and the local peasant community of Cajamarca, Colombia. Contested mental frameworks (ethical, esthetic, imagery and epistemological discourses that are traversed by power relations) are identified as the root of conflicts that are triggered by the decisions of politically and geographically distant governments.

Acknowledgements

The acquisition and creation of knowledge are perhaps some of those human activities that are, to my view, mainly social. Inspiration, guidance, and support in walking this path should be acknowledged because without them this thesis would not have been possible. Thus, the list is long, but remind me of all the people that make this reflections worth and possible.

Thanks to the people of Tolima who have voiced their concerns and struggles for the world to understand who they are and what they want. Thank you to the Indigenous peoples of northern Alberta, who have revealed to me the devastating consequences of open pit mining on their land, their economies, and their culture. I also have to recognize Dr. Arturo Escobar, whose talks and documents inspired me to think and explore the "homogenization tendencies" of neoliberalism that became an essential element of reflection that guided this thesis. Those were my main sources of inspiration.

The guidance and helpful critique of my supervisor, Dr. Isabel Altamirano—Jiménez, and the unconditional support, advice, and mentorship of Dr. Makere Stewart-Harawira were key in the completion of this research thesis. The company of Tye and Mariam who where always there to help me traverse the academic labyrinth. The geographically distant, but hearty close company and support of my mom, dad and brothers were also key parts in building this puzzle. With all of them I have the privilege of sharing not only my passion for knowledge, but also my academic interests. Lastly, from the bottom of my heart, it goes an especial thanks to the inspiration and support that Leo and Sebas are in every endeavour of my life. My husband and child are the engine that take me to believe in and work for a brighter future.

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Introduction: Different places, same conflict?

> *Power, as Foucault so keenly instructs, produces new identities, territories, and relations. It is those spaces of production, assertion and reinsertion that become, then, the Gramscian terrain of struggle. That which emerges often through violent collision in a force-field of power-inevitably transforms through impact. The task becomes unraveling the historically specific conjunctures for how and why effects emerge the way they do.* (Sawyer, 2004, p. 222)

A country rich in gold and other minerals, Colombia has seen three waves of gold mining occur since the early days of the colonial encounter in 1502. Since 2010, Colombia has been riven by increasing conflicts, at the heart of which lies strong oppositional positions between local peasant and Indigenous communities and mining corporations over the use and ownership of land. This thesis attempts to understand the cause of these conflicts by examining the processes and consequences of framing and enframing of the groups involved, using the lens of mental frameworks.

1) Background Context

In February 2007, I met Manuel Rozental, a Colombian surgeon and social justice activist who has worked and lived close to the Nasa Indigenous people in Colombia. He came to the *International Week* at University of Alberta to present on "Terror and Criminalization of Dissent in Colombia," speaking on the country where I was born and raised. Not only did he talk about terror and criminalization, two well-known historical and present political illnesses in my country, but he also addressed the topic of current indigenous struggles and mobilizations in this context (Rozental, 2007).

According to Rozental, the Nasa Indigenous people opposed the presence of multinational mining corporations on their traditional lands. Corporations were disturbing, using, and making plans on indigenous lands without due community consultation. The Colombian presenter argued that since 30% of the country's total national surface had been allocated by the Colombian Government to multinational mining corporations and all of the

licenses were in rural areas, mining was not only a threat to Indigenous peoples but also to ecological reserved lands and territories dedicated to peasantry economies. Throughout the presentation, Rozental portrayed the economic interest of mining corporations in exploiting minerals in Cauca, Colombia and the interest of the Nasa Indigenous peoples in upholding their land and their traditional ways of living as conflicting, to say the least. Rozental asserts that pressure for the current mining rush in Colombia originated from the combined economic interests of the Canadian Government and Canadian mining corporations. Luis Alvaro Pardo (2011) goes so far as to contend that the current mining wave in Colombia could be understood as Canadian colonialism.

In a 2011 publication, Pardo reminds us that in 2001 the Canadian Energy Research Institute (CERI) created a project funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) directed to aid the Colombian Government in the "modernization" of the "Colombian Mining Code" (Pardo, 2011). According to Pardo, the CERI had access to plenty of information regarding mineral surveys in Colombia, which later were used by Canadian mining corporations in their multiple applications for mining permits in the South American country. Furthermore, in two of the essential policy documents written by Fedesarrollo[1] on mining development in Colombia, the Canadian mining model is presented as an example of how to make mining a tool for development. Canada, as a developed mining country, has not only been a model but also a source of advice, support and capital to fuel the 'Mining Locomotive' in Colombia.

Conflicts between mining corporations and local peasant and Indigenous communities are not only found in Colombia. Internet sites of respected Canadian NGO's such as Mining Watch reported in 2012 conflicts in Mexico, Honduras, Ghana, Congo, Guatemala, and Papua New Guinea, just

[1] The Foundation for the Superior Education and Development (Fedesarrollo) is a non-for-profit private entity. It was established in 1970 and focuses on researching topics of political economy and social policy. Its purpose is to contribute to creating, following, and making better public policy. (Fedesarrollo, 2007AD)

to mention a few. The NGO also recounted closer to home conflicts in Alaska and in the Canadian provinces and territories of Yukon, British Columbia, Ontario, and Alberta (Mining Watch, 2013).

Emergent economies and developed, well-known democratic nations-states such as Canada or the United States (US) are both host to conflicts between local communities and mining corporations. Such conflicts are a widespread global condition. However, the conflicts between local communities and multinational mining corporations in Latin America are particularly interesting due the high number of cases reported. The "Observatiorio de Conflictos Mineros de America Latina"[2] (2013) reported that by April 2013 there were 187 conflicts between local communities and multinational mining corporations in Latin America alone, with 272 local communities affected by 192 mining projects. Of these 192 projects, 187 are not well received by the neighboring local communities. Community opposition manifests in road blockades, rallies, popular referendums, and/or by means of the judicial system.

An interesting, yet to my view, contradictory analysis of the conflictual relation between multinational mining corporations and local communities is presented by Veiga, Scoble, and McAllister (2001). They start by defining mining communities as those groups of people who are "significantly affected by a nearby mining operations" (p. 191). This association between the community and the mine is defined by direct employment, environmental, social, economic and other impacts that production brings upon communities. According to their examination, mining communities in different geographic locations "may differ widely in terms of culture, political orientation, environmental characteristics collective attitudes toward resources and development," which would define a poor or a good relationship with the mining corporation. Veiga *et al*. (2001) describe communities that have had a poor relationship with a mining company as

[2] Latin American Observatory of Mining Conflict

sharing a common perception "that the mining operation is intruding into their environment, culture and history" (p. 2). In presenting the cases, Veiga *et al*. contend that the situation in developing countries tends to be more difficult because rural remote communities may not be prepared to change their lifestyles to accept new concepts of development. Finally, they state that if communities perceive that they are losing important cultural and spiritual values by succumbing to the impacts created by mining operations in mining communities, they will reject the changes, even though the communities' material standards may be improved.

However, instead of following this important situation that the opposing values, political position, understanding of development and collective attitudes raise, Veiga *et al*.'s elaboration ignores this aspect of the relationship between multinational corporations and local communities, proposing instead that mining companies today must bring long-term biophysical and socio-economic improvement to a region in a way that is consistent with the principles of sustainability. It is exactly this gap in the literature that this thesis explores. Some scholars and corporations have identified a conflict that seems to be rooted in the opposing spiritual, cultural, political and economic values of certain local communities and multinational corporations (Veiga *et al*., 2001). However, in the multiple conferences on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) that I have attended, the evidence is that despite the rhetoric of '"benefit sharing with communities," "responsible exploitation", "environmental sustainability", "distribution of the wealth with communities" that are common ground in CSR policies, corporate discourses do not seriously address the dimension of the conflict between mental frameworks that Veiga *et al.* depict in their article. Conflictual relations between local peasant communities and multinational mining corporations are widely present in the world and this thesis focuses on fully understanding this relationship. The goal of this research, then, is to understand those elements that define the relationship between local peasant communities and multinational mining corporations.

The findings of the research could be taken as intrinsic to the relationship between mining corporations and local peasant communities in some key ways and may thus illuminate future research.

2) Methods and Methodology

The central question of this thesis and that defines this case study is as follows: what are the fundamental elements that define the relation between AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) and the peasant community of Cajamarca, Tolima? The objective is to use the relations between AGA and the community of Cajamarca as a case study by which to explore the relations between multinational corporations and local peasant communities.

As suggested by the literature regarding the case study method of analysis (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Klandermans, 2002; Yin, 2011), I undertook an in-depth exploration of the context of the relationship that is presented in these pages. Thus, the nature of the current political and economic situation of the peasants in Colombia, as much as the situation of gold mining explorations, became fundamental sub-questions to address. It was also necessary to examine how the peasant community of Cajamarca and AngloGold Ashanti understand and talk about land, perceptions of justice, and the perception of the "other". For instance, how do these social actors identify themselves? What symbols and images are used to refer to themselves and the "other"?

My original intention in this research was to undertake a comparative case study involving a single gold mining company and its operations in two different countries, Colombia and Canada. In the end, however, a single case study approach was selected. Focusing on one representative case in which the relationship between multinational mining corporations and local communities as a recent phenomenon created an analytical opportunity to study the conflict in its earliest moments when the sources of the conflict can be more clearly identified. For reasons of accessibility and also because this is the land of my birth, I undertook a qualitative study of the relation

between the community of Cajamarca, Colombia and AngloGold Ashanti, a Gold mining exploration company with headquarters in South Africa.

My research is directed towards understanding how the local peasant community and the multinational corporation understand their world, their activities and those of other social actors. Thus, the qualitative methodology directed me in the processes and strategies of thinking, collecting and organizing the information. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003), qualitative explorations study things in their natural setting "attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 5). This interpretation is done through empirical materials (field notes, interviews, photographs, recordings, memos) that describe the situation on the field, the problematic moments and the meanings that individuals give to them. Robert K Yin describes qualitative research as inviting, encouraging, and calling for the full personal involvement and creativity of each researcher (Yin, 2011). Both Denzin and Lincoln and Yin agree that the analysis of the research would illuminate the subject matter while also reflecting the researcher as a person. Thus, inspired by the interests and affection that link me to my country of origin, and due to the possibility of doing research intended to inform other situations or cases, I decided to undertake the case study as a method of research to explore the relationship between AGA and the peasant community of Cajamarca, Tolima in Colombia.

2.1) Case study as the research strategy

In this research, the case study is the strategy selected to move from the paradigmatic to the empirical world. It suggests practices of "collecting and analyzing the empirical world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p.36). The understanding of the method was illuminated by the explorations of Creswell and Denzin and Lincoln. As suggested by Creswell (2007), it is most important to provide a solid context to the case. After the context, or bounded system, is located and clear they suggest that the researcher

"deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretative practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 36). These texts also advise giving attention to defining clear forms of collecting, selecting, and organizing the information. I would like to emphasize this point because, as the author warned and as I learned through the research process, it can be challenging to end up with large amounts of data that are difficult to understand, organize, and obviously present. The data collected should come from multiple sources of information and should detail, describe and address the case (Creswell, 2007).

As indicated by this body of literature, I began with a description and analysis of the political and economic history of gold exploitation in Colombia and the political and economic trends that inform the current situation. Second, I considered the political science literature in order to find categories and concepts by which to explore the relationship between multinational corporations and local communities. These became the categories of analysis to study the case. Consequently, the study of the political mentalities and mental frameworks became fundamental in the theoretical analysis and led me to define ethical, esthetic, imagery and epistemological discourses as the categories that guided the exploration of corporations' and communities' mental frameworks.

At the beginning of the research process I considered traveling to the area and attending meetings with the community and/or talking to individuals. However, I was not able to travel, and the lack of this contact with the people of the territory is a limitation of my methodology. Nonetheless, conscious of this limitation, in the efforts made to collect and classify documents I went to great lengths to ensure a complete picture of the situation. Because of the overwhelming number of sources found to analyze corporation' mental framework, I chose to select the most recent (from 2007 to 2013) reports, books and fact-sheets. On the other hand, accessing material to study communities' mental frameworks brought a different challenge due the difficulties in capturing the voice of the community from

this great distance. Thus, I accepted and analyzed all the material found regarding communities.

2.2) Document analysis[3]

The exploration of the relations between AGA and the community of Cajamarca was based on document analysis. Here a news review of the Tolima region in Colombia was fundamental. Ibague is the capital city of the Department of Tolima, and a neighbor to the municipality of Cajamarca, and the written and radio news from this city are accessible online. The archives of the regional newspaper "El Nuevo Día"[4] and the regional radio station the "Ecos del Combeima" were thoroughly surveyed for information regarding gold mining and the La Colosa mining project. News items that addressed these subjects between 2010 and 2012 were selected to understand who talks about the topic and how they talk about it. I tried to identify how the community and the corporation talk about their history, their identity, what is just, and what kind of images are used to represent these ideas. I also approached "El Salmon,"[5] "Comités Ambientales y Campesinos del Tolima"[6] and "Bio-Ecos," three organizations actively involved in opposing AGA's operations in the area. They provided me with some of their 2010-2011 handouts, flyers and newssheets. I also talked to AGA's Sustainability Director who helped me explore their web pages. AGA's Sustainability policy and AGA-Colombia were essential sources of information to capture the mental framework of the corporations. Social media sources were also used. I followed "Conciencia Campesina,"[7] "AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia," "La Colosa," and "Comité Ambiental en Defensa de la Vida"[8] on Facebook to track

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[3] In this thesis I worked with and cited literature and data in both English and Spanish. All the Spanish citations were translated by me

[4] The New Day

[5] The Salmon

[6] Environmental and Peasant Committees of Tolima

[7] Peasant Conscious

[8] Environmental Committee in Defense of Life

the facts that are defining the conflict on a daily basis. Through these methods a large amount of information was compiled and analyzed.

2.3) Thematic analysis

As suggested by Denzin and Lincoln, in order to understand this amount of information oriented by my theoretical discussion, I designed a thematic analysis. The small number of research questions previously designed to explore the mental frameworks of the social actors illuminated this thematic analysis. I separated and sorted the information into five main groups: the identity of each actor, what is perceived as just/legal according to the corporation and the community, how is land perceived and talked about, how corporations and community see each other, and what solutions are proposed. These themes were selected to capture the ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemology discourses of AGA and the community of Cajamarca, but were at the same time repetitive and easier to capture in the literature.

Specific tools and methods aided my analysis. The analysis of the coats of arms provided a compressed imagery of the community's identity, word clouds were used to identify the most recurrent value themes within discourses, and in depth periodical reviews were fundamental sources of information. According to Bendford and Snow (2000), mental frameworks could be operationalized by exploring elements of the social cognitive structure found in records, brochures, fliers and placards. These were also primary sources of information.

3) Theoretical frameworks and concepts

As stated earlier, my objective in this thesis is to examine the relations between multinational corporations and local peasant communities from a political science viewpoint and through the lens of mental frameworks. I elaborate extensively on the concept of mental frameworks in Chapter One, and summarize them here as the array of discourses (ethical, aesthetic,

imaginaries, and epistemologies) that are fed by the economic and political realities shared by a group of people and that help these social groups make sense of the world. Mental frameworks are the result of social constructions in which social groups live, and consequently they tend to reflect and reproduce the realities in which each of the social actor lives. I therefore argue that mental frameworks are essential to understand political discourses and individual and group reasons for political action. The power struggle that I identify in this thesis is analyzed, then, as the result of two distinctive ways of understanding the world that are obliged to share the same space. Multinational mining corporations come to local communities' territories with a set of ideas, motivations, justifications and plans to radically change the landscape and the ways people have traditionally related and built their territory. As a consequence, there is a profound impact on the traditional political and economic structures as well as on the community's mental frameworks that supported those political and economic forms.

The theories of "framing" and "enframing" illuminated the analysis of the way the mental frameworks of multinational corporations and local peasant communities are created and how they interrelate. However, the case I studied in this thesis allowed me to explore how hegemonic discourses are forced upon a specific group with the objective of compelling that group to accept major changes in the material world. The concept of enframing helped me elaborate the processes by which multinational corporations' assert, often successfully, their own hegemonic mental frameworks on local communities. Egyptian scholar Timothy Mitchell, in his work *Colonizing Egypt*, used this concept to explain the purposeful introduction of new values into Egyptian society by means of reforming mainly the education system and urban development policies. According to Mitchell, these changes had as an objective the control and discipline of the populace, while making the Egyptian population adopt new ways of understanding their reality through the hegemonic value system of the French government (Mitchell, 1988).

Similarly, it appears that enframing is an important characteristic of the dialogues that shape the relations between mining corporations and local communities. Through the process of enframing, corporations endeavor to control the concepts, categories and values that guide the dialogues. In this way, the corporation attempts to impose new mental frameworks, seeking to compel peasants to see their reality from the outsider's point of view. The desired outcome of the corporation's enframing and a reflection of its power in controlling the political, environmental, and economic understanding of mining projects is some degree of incorporation by the community of the corporation's ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemology discourses or mental frameworks. The goal is that the community accepts the presence of the corporation and becomes "engaged" with the project.

On the other hand, for local peasant communities, a strong embracing of their identity and understanding of their territory are the tools by which they respond to the array of hegemonic discourses imposed upon them by Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) frameworks. The key to a united community response would thus appear to be their capacity for preventing those hegemonic mental frameworks to detach the conversation from their own lived reality.

The current understanding of CSR discourse is, then, defined in this thesis as those policies used by the corporation to successfully coopt communities' mental frameworks and persuade the communities to identify with the corporation's values. This change is reflected in obtaining the social license to operate or the social support to act upon people's territory. The way this conflict is created and lived out in Cajamarca will suggest how this dynamic is moving today, will illuminate how and why are communities still feel silenced and, finally, will assist in identifying what elements of this relationship are still in the shadows. The exploration undertaken in this thesis may therefore be significant in trying to find new ways to resolve and/or reduce further conflicts in mining corporations/local communities relations.

4) Thesis Structure

Chapter One offers an overview of the major theories used in the analysis. Here I contextualize the theoretical concepts that supported the exploration through the theories of neoliberalism, globalization and imperialism. These theoretical frames helped me understand the root of the homogenization tendencies of the mental frameworks of multinational corporations and the close relationship between what I have called the ”Western civilization” or imperialist mental framework and the multinational corporations' mental framework. The notion of western mentality is essential to this chapter since it describes the kind of ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemology discourses that reveal and reproduce the imperial system of domination. Finally, the concepts of framing and enframing are presented as key notions in understanding and carrying the study of mental frameworks.

Chapter Two elaborates the conflict that surrounds the relation between local communities and multinational mining corporations, beginning with a definition of both actors. I argue that this relationship could be characterized as essentially conflictive. This conflict confronts two different mentalities that each desire to see their ethical, aesthetic, imagery, and epistemological ideas reflected in the reality in which they live. Thus, the mental frameworks of mining corporations validate changes in the socio/economic/cultural realities that, if carried throughout the land, would radically change the peasant ways of life. Here the concepts of framing and enframing allow me to interrogate corporations' and communities' mental frameworks and operationalize this conflict. Following Delgado (2007), I define identity, demands, and perceptions of the ”just” as the key element of those social mental schemes that determine the building of these relationships. Chapter Two, then, serves to move from the theoretical conception of metal frameworks to the exploration of corporations and local peasant communities' mental frameworks.

Chapter Three provides the necessary context to the case study. The boundaries of the discussion are provided by the three waves of gold mining

in Colombia and the current economic and political situations that are creating political unrest in peasant communities throughout the country. Here I discuss the history of the three waves of gold mining in Colombia. Each one of those waves shares two characteristics. First, it happens when there is an international rise in the price of gold, and second, it is based on foreign investment. Also, each one of those waves has left its political and economic footprint on the country, and these are discussed in this chapter. Finally, I outline the political and economic changes that the neoliberal model of free-trade agreements and the resource exploitation are imposing upon Columbia and the debates that have ensued. Under this new model, the agrarian economy, based on small-peasant families units, seems not to be an option for development, and that is creating profound political and economic unrest among this sector of the population.

Chapter Four is dedicated to a detailed exploration of the case study itself. After defining the boundaries of the case study, here, I attempt to further develop the fundamental elements that describe the relationship between AGA and the local community of Cajamarca. Using the elements of mental frameworks as discussed in Chapter One, I explore the ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemological discourses of local communities and AGA. This in depth exploration allows me to identify the conflictual elements of this relationship.

In the final chapter, the findings of the case study are analyzed and discussed and directions for further research identified.

Chapter One: Theories and Concepts

1) Introduction

As much as I resisted opening my research with an account of imperialism, neoliberalism and globalization that have become almost cliché for certain political analyses, I am glad I was driven to engage with these theoretical concepts that unquestionably have deepened my possibilities for analysis and understanding of the relationships that summon these pages. The exploration of imperialism, neoliberalism and globalization helped me frame not only the empirical study but also the theories used to interpret the facts. It is noteworthy that this research has drawn on theories from a range of sources to explore the encounter of conflicting mental frameworks. This first chapter, then, maps the theoretical concepts that guide the analysis. I begin by contextualizing the fundamental concepts within the idea of the imperialist system of domination, namely neoliberalism and globalization. This is followed by an exploration of the notion of the western mentality as a mental framework intrinsic to this system. An elaboration of the concept of mental framework, its definition and previous uses comprises the second section of the chapter. In the following section, I elaborate on the concepts of framing and enframing as key notions in the operationalization of the study of the mental frameworks. Finally, based on the concepts of framing and enframing, I explain why the homogenization tendencies that characterize the western mentality justify the use of enframing of ”other mental frameworks” as a theoretical tool.

The content of this chapter is inspired by the perception that in order to understand the ways the relationship between multinational corporations and local communities unfold on the ground not only should economic and political actions and interest be examined but it is also essential to develop a clear understanding of the mental frameworks or the array of discourses that create identity and a sense of justice for each actor.

2) Globalization, Neoliberalism and the Imperialist System of Power

Peter Smith (2012) argues that globalization or the human "comprehension and consciousness of the world as a whole" (p. 5) extends back more than 500 years. Yet, since the 1970s this global awareness has spun under the force of the hegemonic neoliberal economic and political doctrine which, according to Castells, has led the globalized world to become and "act[…] as a unit in real time, or chosen time, on a planetary scale" (cited in Smith, 2012, p.5). The perception of the world as a whole was crisscrossed by the concept of the world as one place, connected by the international financial markets, trade and production of goods and services, where the market can function synchronically and where private companies reach beyond national borders looking to access resources, cheap labor and flexible legislation to increase profit (Escobar, 2010). Even though, as Castells argues, neoliberal global ways of relating to space and production seem to be new, the system of power resembles, and indeed inherits or preserves many of the imperial ways of the Western European colonies. I contend that there is in fact a clear continuity in the mental frameworks that the current imperialist system of domination, characterized by the globalization of neoliberalism, shares with historic Western European domination. So, let me explore the concept and implications of the globalization of neoliberalism.

Although the neoliberal hegemonic project has "materialized differently in diverse places" (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2013, p. 5) and the debates and developments of neoliberalism have expanded in the last decades, the concept is often easier to understand, as demonstrated by Altamirano-Jimenez, by describing the kind of ideas and doctrines that are embedded in it. I use the word "doctrine," because the ideas of "deregulation [of markets], privatization, individualization, transformation of the state-citizen relationship […] decentralization of power, reduction of state intervention in the market, affirmation of basic human rights" (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2013, p. 5) are seen as teaching and instructions necessary for neoliberalism and are related to a high human moral standard.

An example of how certain ideas and policies related to neoliberalism have become a doctrine is the *New York Times Op-Ed* written by the former president of the United States of America (US), President George W Bush Jr., in justification of the invasion of Iraq. He wrote,

> [c]ommon interests and values among the great powers are also the basis for promoting peace and security around the globe [...]. We seek a just peace, where repression resentment and poverty are replaced with the hope of democracy, development, free markets and free trade [...] free trade and free markets have proved their ability to lift whole cities out of poverty[9]. (Bush, 2002, p.8. & 10)

According to the president, free trade and free markets will work in any context at any time to combat poverty and are intrinsically related to just peace and democracy. Thus, economic and political measures are mixed in Bush's reflection with images of poverty and peace and values that are fundamental to reach peace and development. The US intervention in Iraq is then justified by the economic, political and moral superiority of the US whose moral act is "to build a world that trades in freedom and therefore grows in prosperity" (Bush, 2002). Regarding this piece, David Harvey (2003) argues that right wing politicians in the US and Britain had openly accepted the notion of a new imperialism by the US, a Pax Americana, as the contemporary reality. Hence all their later interventionist actions in Iraq, Afghanistan, etc. are justified as "committed to some high sounding moral mission to free the people and implant American-style enlightenment" (Bush, 2002). In this way, the imposition of neoliberalism and its free markets in this globalized world are justified as acts of moral responsibility, an obligation acquired by "great powers" that act guided by their great "shared values." Harvey describes these great powers as imperialist nations.

However the globalized synchronization of the markets and production needs more than technological tools to act synchronically. The

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[9] My underlining

Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar argues that neoliberalism advances a homogenization not only of markets and production, as Smith (2012) argues, but also of political principles and ways of understanding the world. Parallel to the homogenization of markets and following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the so-called ”New World Order”[10] sought to further promote economic, political and ideological homogenization throughout the globalized world (Escobar, 2001). The model to follow was neoliberalism[11]. This model coopted rapidly political, economic and cultural spaces around the globe. As clearly put by Escobar, “[t]he global dimension of this hegemony began with Thatcherism in England and the Regan-Bush years, when neoliberalism expanded to most corners of the world” (Escobar, 2010). This justification for this expansion, promoted under the rhetoric of higher moral standards, strongly echoes the attitudes of the Western European nations who brought Christianity and, allegedly, ”civilization” to the ”New World's savages” during the colonial era.

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[10] Stewart-Harawira defines the end of the 1980s as the beginning of assertions of a 'New World Order'. She contends, “that the collapse of Communism was widely seen as denoting the triumph of Enlightenment and the modernity project, and the beginning of a new global era that embodied the West's ideals of freedom, justice and democracy. This was represented in declarations of a New World Order whose key signifiers were economic globalization through structural adjustment, trade liberalization and the free market” (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 6)

[11] The concept of neoliberalism for this thesis is important since it contextualizes the political and theoretical. However, the theoretical debate focuses on the concept of mental frameworks, framing and enframing. Nonetheless, I feel it is important to make clear that neoliberalism is understood in this thesis as proposed by David Harvey (2005): “Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit”.(p.2)

A world that shares the same economic, political and value systems in order to guarantee the peace of the world seems to be the argument. According to this discourse, imperialism is that system of domination that extends around the world, compelling the creation of homogenous spaces in which democracy, neoliberalism and a set of high moral standards allow for prosperity for all. This prosperity is the one offered by the trickle down effect of neoliberal capitalism. Omitting the question of whether this economic prosperity for all is possible under this economic and political system of domination, what I want to call attention to here is the homogenization tendencies that this mental framework proposes. In spite of the fact that neoliberalism materialized differently in diverse spaces, its objective is to preserve only those differences that are required to maintain the global neoliberal system[12].

3) Homogenizing the World

3.1) Western mentality

The notions of 'western nations' and 'western mentality' have been widely used in historical, anthropological and political science analysis. My considerations and the importance of these notions to this thesis are based on Brett Bowden's 2009 work *The Empire of Civilization: the evolution of an imperial idea*. According to Bowden, the concept of 'western nations' has emerged as a way to designate the group of Western European states that expanded their colonial power and political identities throughout the globe between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Bowden, 2009). Bowden argues that since this group identified their colonial behavior with the moral task of 'civilizing', and with the self-appointed duty of bringing "the blessings of civilization to the 'savage", they supported each other in creating a shared identity. Without denying the difference of their colonial practices, it can be argued, as Harvey and others have elaborated, that the values in political and

[12] For more detailed discussion on the limits to the kind of differences neoliberalism promotes, see for example, Altamirano-Jiménez (2013) and Hardt and Negri (2000)

economic organization shared by these countries were the same values that were imposed upon other peoples, and the international world order was built on this political and ideological foundation. It is in this sense that the notion of the 'western mentality' comes from a mental colonial framework shared by Western colonizing nations.

Along with that colonial passé, liberal values born in these Western nations, and the power that came from their raising imperial capitalist economies became the accepted standard by which to identify what is Western and what is the "other": who are in the core of civilization and who are outsiders. A clear identification of the "other", the peoples that do not belong to the western world, is a definitive characteristic of western mentalities (Bowden, 2009). Throughout history, the western world has used defined comparisons of political, ideological, geographical and even religious forms of "otherness" as threatening Western economic, political and cultural power, in order to justify suppressing difference. As Bowden argues, "the East, the Orient, Islam, Asia, the Third World" (Bowden, 2009, p.7), Communism, all have been targets of otherness by 'western civilization'. Similarly, Mitchell (1988) argues that one of the most important connotations of the colonial past in his home country was the objective of making Egyptians adopt the ways of thinking that characterized French people, in which education was an important tool.

Arturo Escobar expresses similar apprehension regarding neoliberal globalization efforts to homogenize not only the ways markets function but also the ethical, esthetic, imagery and epistemology of peoples that can be recognized as "others" (Escobar, 2001; 2010; 2013). In this sense, and by means of ascribing a high moral standard to mental frameworks, supported by economic and political power, imperialism strives to homogenize the world through mirroring the accepted standards, or what I am calling here 'western mentality'. Drawing on the work of Escobar, Bowden and Harvey, my objective has been to emphasize the systemic power discussion in the power inflicted by ideas. As Dip Kapoor (2013) points out, however, these

ideas under which homogenization takes place, are not powerful in themselves. The supremacy of these ideas is reached in the consolidation of economic, political and military power. In an effort to portrait this complex multidimensional relation between economic, politic and ideological power, Kapoor (2013) describes the system of power that prevails in the world today as having three pillars: a system of exploitation (neoliberal/capitalism), a system of domination based on states, and mental constructs. It is these mental constructs or the group of ideas that are identified with this neoliberal-globalized system of power, that I have called "western mentalities."

Subsequently, in this research the 'western mentality' is understood as the mental framework or the array of discourses that justify and support imperialist power. This mentality is expressed in norms and values that accept and give high moral standard to the political, economic, and cultural identity of the imperialist power. It is pertinent to mention that according to O'Hagan (2002), those political and economic structures are based on neoliberalism, democracy, and Christianity and likewise, the nations that embody those values are recognized as part of the Western civilization, which is epitomized by the US.

3.2) Homogenizing tendencies

Hardt and Negri's 'Empire' explores the idea of the US as part of the 'west', and demonstrates how acceptance and defence of those discourses that maintain the imperialist power make a country part of the west: "In the twenty-first century, the West means the US more than Europe, as well as the globalized forms of cultural capitalism which no longer have any one geographical location. The flows travel from global capital to sites everywhere" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 24). However, the west has become so defined by the values it defends that they even add later that a geographical location of the west today is not possible: "western is identified with (Juedeo-Christianism), democracy, neoliberalism as universals and warrantors of

pace and development. A world built on false universals" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 24).

The consideration and analysis of what Hardt and Negri call "false universals" proposed by western mentalities has been identified in several political science analyses. Stephansen, Hussey, and Curnow are examples of this new body of literature in political science that addresses what I have called in this thesis "western mentality", the kind of power it inflicts, and the conflict and the resistance movements it triggers[13]. Stephansen (2013), for example, analyses the resistance to 'pensamientos unicos' – one way of thinking- of neoliberal globalization. She contends that there is a need to reach epistemic or "cognitive justice for knowledges and practices that have been discredited by 'western modernity'" (Stephansen, 2013 , p. 104). The author criticizes 'western academia' and its mono-cultural epistemology that spreads its dominant framework throughout the world. Using the same line of argumentation, Hussey and Curnow argue that there are Eurocentric teleological notions of history that view 'western-european' nation-states and individualism as universal models for every one to emulate. This kind of understanding of history conserves the evolutionary perception (Hussey & Curnow, 2013). As clearly expressed by Hardt and Negri, Hussey and Curnow, Stephansen, and Bowden, western mentalities express mono-cultural epistemological ways of thinking in teleological notions of past and future and in the Judeo-Christian faith, to name some of those discourses that are represented in the "western mentality."

In 2010 Escobar constructed a detailed and useful description of the western mentality:

> [it] promotes a separation of nature and culture, where humans are on earth to rule and humans are divided (us and them). It also encourages the idea of the autonomous individual separated from community; the belief in objective knowledge, reason, and science as

[13] For more in depth discussion on homogenization tendencies, see Taylor, (2008), Moore, (2011), Frodin, (2011).

> the only valid modes of knowing; and the cultural construction of the economy' as an independent realm of social practice, with 'the market' as a self-regulating entity outside of social relation- all of this ontological assumptions became prominent. (p. 42)

As he describes, the western mentality speaks through imperialist hegemonic political and economic institutions and 'recommends', or more accurately imposes, neoliberal measures. Deregulation of the economy, opening markets, and free trade agreements are the most common measures imposed upon countries to overcome economic crisis (Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Without due acknowledgment of the triumphs and successes of the knowledge built on the scientific way of thinking, the homogenization tendencies previously identified, lead this western mentality to deny any other ways of knowing or other economic and political organizations as valid.

It could be argued that denying other economic, political, epistemic or faith systems as valid do not bring any political consequence. However when lack of acknowledgement is accompanied by the intention of replacing supposed invalid ideas with ones that are assumed to be more correct, the denial becomes political. The denial of the existence of the "other" and their ways of thinking become a denial of the reasons that inspire their political action. The hegemonic mental framework attempts to coopt the space, political organization, and ways of production of non-hegemonic mental frameworks. The perception of moral superiority drives western mentality to disqualify the '"other'" by using terms such as "pre-modern," "irrational" and "savage" to describe other mentalities, taking over their geographical and political space in the process.

4) Mental Frameworks: Framing Reality

The way individuals understand, analyze, and interpret the world has puzzled not only psychologists but also other researchers of the social sciences. In trying to understand how to study two social actors with

radically different values and ideas, I encountered Gregory Bateson's theory of "frame." Although finding Bateson's own thoughts on the topic has proven to be a challenging task, it was obvious that political scientists, sociologists, and linguists alike acknowledge Bateson as the creator of this concept (Benford & Snow, 2000; Delgado, 2007; Johnston, 2002; Tannen, 1993).

> In 1954 Gregory Bateson introduced the concept of a frame as a mental construct that defines "what is going on" in interactive situations ([1954] 1972). He showed that participants always apply interpretative frameworks in order to ascertain how others' actions and words are to be understood. (Johnston 2002)

According to Johnson, who uses the concept of 'framing' within the study of social movements, Bateson, an anthropologist and linguist, proposed the term "frameworks" to describe the mental structure that each individual uses to analyze the actions and words of other people (Johnston, 2002). Johnston proposed that both individual and group interpretative frameworks could be studied in this way.

In 1974 the sociologist Erving Goffman introduced the "frame analysis." Building on Bateson's definition of framework, Goffman argued that the purpose of the mental frames[14] is to organize experience and guide action by enabling individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences and events within their life spaces (Goffman, 1974, p.21). In his description, Goffman uses two clear examples to explain the concept. First, he compares social frames with picture frames. As a picture frame, social frames focus people's attentions on a few things that are contained within the frame, separating what is important and what is not. Similarly, in interpreting an event or a social relation, mental schemes or frames help people to understand and give meaning to reality. Second, social frames could also be compared with the first few scenes of a play, in which the public is given all the information that will allow them to understand every event that will

[14] Mental frames and frameworks of analysis are used as interchangeable concepts by all the authors consulted in this thesis.

follow. As Johnston explained regarding the scope of experience of an individual, “frames indicate what to look at and what is important, and thereby indicate what is going on” (Johnston, 2002, p.64).

By 1993, many disciplines had used framing as a theoretical model and methodological approach to understand diversity of issues. In that year, Debora Tannen proposed a classification of frame theories in which she identified both Bateson’s and Goffman’s definitions as ‘interactive frames’. From a purely linguistic point of view, Tannen argues that “interactive frames are […] what people think they are doing when they talk to each other” (Tannen, 1993), when they relate to others. This definition gives a pure social context to frames. Even though they are constructed individually, they are the result of social experiences and at the same time, they make sense of social experiences. Social incidents such as living in a rural area or in an urban setting tend to define the kind of experiences to which each individual member of the community and the group is exposed.

Thus far, it is evident that framing is an important concept to comprehend individual behavior. But why is it relevant to this research? David Snow develops a more social perspective of framing by using it in the study of social movements. Snow suggests that individuals do use ‘cognitive schemata’ to understand their social relations, but, that “individually held cognitive schema is important in collective action […] as it is shared by enough individuals to channel their behaviors in shared and patterned ways” (Snow *et al*., 1986, p. 464). Following Snow, Ricardo Delgado, a political scientist, argues that framing is an interactionist orientation that focused on the elaboration of meaning by means of which “social movements define their identity, schemes of interpretation and demands” (Delgado, 2007, p. 45). Framing allows an approach based on symbolic interactionism and constructionism in which meanings do not “automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead through interactively based interpretive” (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2003, p. 46).

Although the notion of framing has psychological roots, the value of the concept to this research is not in the understanding of values and beliefs of particular individuals who get together to cause action in a social movement. Rather, it is relevant in capturing the values, feelings and understandings that are built socially in the collective. This research looks to interactive frames, as categorized by Tannen (1993), that are built in the relations among members of the communities.

5) Undertaking a Study of Mental Frameworks

While this research argues that the relation between large mining companies and local communities who occupied the area prior to the arrival of the company is essentially conflictive, it cannot be assumed that local communities will always create social movements that lead to collective actions. However in order to explore the relation among members of the communities and the relation with the mining company, it is possible to explore the 'local community' as a social actor by recognizing their collective definition of identity, demands, perception of injustice, and solidarity. Delgado pointed to these elements as key components of social mental schemes (Delgado, 2007).

Along the same line of argumentation and with the objective of developing methodologies and tools to understand frames, Snow and Bendford maintain that although cognitive structures or frames can be operationalized or studied by approaching individuals, several studies have suggested that all those key elements of the collective cognitive structure can be found on written and video records, pictures, fliers, placards rather than only talking to individuals (Benford and Snow, 2000). All these written elements have been drawn on as essential sources of information for this research.

Albeit social relations may be static enough to capture essential elements of the mental framework in a specific moment and time in brochures and flyers, they are also dynamic and changing in time, as Snow,

Delagado, and Bendford emphasize. Frames are not static; they are as dynamic as reality. Social frames help the community make sense of an event and are also affected by "biographical, local, national, and international" (Snow, 2003, p. 11) events that "have a way of intruding into our realities and forcing us either to incorporate them into our current understandings or modify those understandings accordingly" (Delgado, 2007, p. 162). A collective re-elaboration of values, symbols and concepts helps local communities to make sense of the decisions made by groups and the participation of individuals (Delgado, 2007). In this order of ideas, the local community and corporation's records of meetings, brochures, fliers, reports, news and placards are sources of information in this thesis but are understood in a historical context.

5.1) Framing

The theory of framing came to this research in the process of trying to make sense of why corporations and local communities are essentially in conflict from the beginning of their forced relationship. Framing theory will allow the research to explain but mainly provide a structure for following the different social schemata by which both local peasant communities and multinational corporations understand reality. How local communities and corporations perceive themselves and others, which arguments, values and concepts are used, and the means and strategies of negotiation justified by each group are essential questions that will be explored.

Here I will introduce a thought that will be developed in the following chapter. Multinational mining corporations' mental framework appear as associated with and, importantly, benefiting from imperialist homogenization tendencies. On the other hand, local communities' mental framework presents as locally based and different from those of mining corporations. Thus, while multinational corporations relate to the imperialist system of domination by sharing their mental framework, local peasant communities are located on the periphery of this system and have a different mental

framework by which to understand their reality. I could infer that this identification with the ethical, aesthetic, epistemology and imagery discourses of the imperialist system of domination gives multinational mining corporations a perceived sense of moral superiority that is reflected in the way they relate with local communities. This moral superiority could be seen as a first indication of a power differential that seems to define this relationship.

Moreover, when thinking about framing theory, I argue that power imbalances can also be seen in how these frames are discussed and portrayed and how much individual influence they create not only within one community but also in a bigger picture of society—national and international. Hence, both local peasant communities and corporations have their own mental frameworks, but the tendency to homogenize and the power that supports the corporation's mental framework should be described theoretically to avoid assuming that both actors see each other as equals.

Summarizing, the concept of mental frameworks has been used in Sociological work to explore the ways in which groups of people make sense of their world (Johnston, 2002) and in Political Science to study social movements (Delgado, 2007). Framing theory proposes that the elaboration of meaning arises from the social effort to interpret reality (Snow, 2003). For example, the cited idea of the 'values shared by the group of great nations' could be understood as a concrete expression of a group of people that uses similar values in the interpretation of reality. However, in the theory of mental frameworks, the elements that are essential in the elaboration of social meaning were not clearly described by any of the scholars discussed. In looking for a more systematic way to organize the information regarding the case study, my research led me to the work of Fernando Coronil. In his last published article, Coronil undertook an exploration of the elements that help the 'left' governments in Latin America understand their present and animate changes for a "better future" (Coronil, 2011, p. 232). Coronil focused

on ethical, aesthetic, epistemology and imagery ideas as the key notions that allowed him to study this 'imagined future'. The consistent elaboration of these elements in Coronil's analysis became fundamental for this thesis. Ethical, aesthetic, epistemology and imagery discourses are then recognized in my research as the elements that comprise the definition of mental frameworks. These ethical, aesthetic, epistemic and imagery discourses shared by a group of people, I propose, are fundamental in the way those groups give meaning to reality. Thus, mental frameworks give a sense of identity and justice and justify political action.

Finally, I was concerned that within mental framework theory, the perception of the validity and power of every mental framework is assumed to be the same. In a relationship between a multinational corporation and a local peasant community, I will argue, we have two different mental frameworks, but it could be deceiving to the analysis if the power differential is not reflected in the theory. Thus, in spite of the fact that both actors have their own mental framework, I used theoretical differentiation to emphasize the power and homogenization tendencies that corporations attempt to inflict upon communities. Under these circumstances and in an effort to answer the question of power differentials, the concept of enframing became an important tool for theoretical analysis.

5.2) Enframing

In the early stages of this research I was impelled to investigate case studies that portrayed relations between multinational extraction industries and local communities, a process that made me familiar with the topic and reaffirmed my academic passion for it. Suasana Sawyer's book *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*" was one of these first fascinating encounters. In this book, Sawyer undertook a detailed description and analysis of a conflictive relationship between an oil extraction corporation and an Indigenous local community in Ecuador. Most of the literature I had read up until that point focused on

efforts to negotiate and reconcile both parties in order to make mining possible and positive for local communities and corporations, more like the World Bank perspective previously discussed. Susana Sawyer, on the other hand, emphasized the point of view of the Indigenous group, their self-perception as a community, their understanding of land and nature, and their relation with the Ecuadorian National Government and the oil company.

In her approach to the oil company, I found a most remarkable paragon in Sawyer's book. She defines the oil company's strategy of 'enframing' the local community as a technique "to discipline, coordinate, and control the movements of [local] individuals" (Sawyer, 2004, p. 58–59). Enframing appears as the materialization of the power of the oil company's discourse that imposes on Indigenous peoples the neoliberal way of thinking about nationhood, identity, property and historical belonging (Sawyer, 2004). This new way of thinking tends to be disconnected from the daily life of the local community she argues. The oil company embraced negotiations from a corporate-encouraged rationale, and "assumed a pastoral role, shaping individuals' expectations, transforming their allegiances, and defining what was an appropriate neoliberal subject" (Sawyer, 2004, p. 59). Forcing local communities to discuss their reality based on an outsider's mental structure exercises discipline and control over the community and diminishes the validity of the community's opinions.

As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, Timothy Mitchell, whose doctoral dissertation developed the 'metaphysical representation' of the western culture and its power to colonize non-westerners, seems to be the first author to reference the concept of enframing. He developed this concept through the study of the changes in the realm of the mind, particularly on the perceptions of authority that Egyptians went through during Colonization[15].

[15] Egypt was under French occupation between 1798 and 1801, and under British occupation between 1882 and 1953.

As explained by Mitchell, the arrival of the western mentality in Egypt could be understood as the landing in Cairo of a mental structure of order that seemed to exist naturally, prior to life itself, and within which structure every single Egyptian was compelled to understand, locate and become incorporated. The Egyptian reality was understood by the western mentality as orderless, discontinuous and chaotic (Mitchell, 1988). The representation of order brought by British and French colonizers was spread within the Egyptian community through the school system, the laws and regulations, the planning of the cities and the media.

To Egyptians, the world became divided between the actual material reality they lived in and that contributed to the formations of their social frames on one side and the 'admired' ideas of order and structure brought from abroad. These ideas of order and structure enframed the Egyptian mind. Mitchell argues that a "framework that seemed to exist apart from, and prior to, the particular individuals or actions could be considered as enframing" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 14). A frame that is imposed on people's realities enframes their minds and has as its objective to push for a change in reality by changing the mental frame first.

According to Mitchell, the rational for the concept of enframing is rooted in the philosophical developments of Karl Marx. Like the architect, as "Marx explained in a well-known phrase, man raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 21). Mitchell describes the nineteenth century World Exhibitions in France as good examples of how the theory of enframing works. Visitors to the exhibition entered pavilion after pavilion in which accurate representations of other cities of the world were displayed. However, the fact that the exhibition was settled in the middle of a French city gave a sense of disconnection to the regular visitor. One cultural frame and set of ideas of organization of daily life was lived outside the pavilions while a complete set of mental structures, organization and cultural frames was portrayed in the material world inside the pavilions. The visitors were compelled to see and understand the world

inside the pavilions through ”French eyes” and the French schemata that belonged to the outside world. Therefore, the visitors had a mental structure that did not correspond to the reality they saw before them. In this case, the mental structure did not correspond with the reality the visitor walked through in the exhibition. Similarly to what occurred in Egypt, the visitors were forced to experience the inside of a reality with an outsider mental structure (Mitchell, 1988).

Comparatively, in the situation described by Sawyer, the Indigenous peoples of Ecuador were situated at the negotiation table to discuss exploration on their land, but were enframed by an outsider mental structure.

> [Enframing] provides a place from which the individual can observe…creates a precise perspective on the eye of the correctly positioned individual, who was given an external point of view by the enframing architecture… is the novelty of the modern subjectivity, which is not a natural relation of the person to the world but a careful and curious construction. (Mitchell, 1988, p. 59)

It seems fundamental to highlight that, as defined by Sawyer, the colonizer enframing technique locates the individual's moral and political positions, because the outsider frame is regarded as the ethically correct, developed, modern and naturally positioned. On the other hand, peasant peoples' mental frames are diminished and classified as incorrect, backward, orderless, wrong, and pre-modern. Mitchell addresses enframing as a form of power that passes by unnoticed because of the lack of material enforcement. In this manner, it is the invisibility of the power of discourses and ideas that made colonial ideas acceptable and efficiently reproduced (Mitchell, 1988).

There is an undeniable effect of mining on populations that live on the land. According to Rio Tinto, a multinational mining corporation, the mining business "can accelerate social change, and [the corporation] accept[s] the obligation to work with our neighbours to manage that change" (Rio Tinto

Community and Environment, cited Veiga, Scoble, & McAllister, 2001, p.198). Enframing, then, refers to the discourses and techniques used by mining corporations to bring about the change that should happen in the community's mental framework. Veiga *et al*. suggest that community education is one of the key steps for corporations to be accepted by a community. Rio Tinto's selection of words gives an idea of the mental framework and actions that this article inspires. For example, mining activities are described as 'accelerators of social change'. Communities are not static, a premise that seems obvious is presented as if only one kind of change was possible, and the corporation is just accelerating it. A teleological idea of future is intrinsic to this view, and corporations are agents and facilitators of this change. Also, Viega proposes that communities need to be educated on the possibilities of mining so they understand and do not create false imagery about the corporation. By emphasizing the lack of education and ignorance of communities, the corporations is presented as knowledgeable and capable of playing the role of educator. One might ask why is there no suggestion in this literature that the corporation should educate itself regarding the culture, values, etc., of the community. Instead there is an assumption that the actor that should change is the community, and this change should be directed towards making communities resemble corporation's mental frameworks. In Cajamarca, Colombia, this is demonstrated by the publicity campaign conducted by AGA, a campaign that includes radio, tv, and the frequent publication of documents, meetings at different levels, and even an important effort to influence the policy of elementary schools. This campaign has the objective of convincing the community that AGA brings development for the people[16].

Returning to the explanation of the concepts, it could be argued that there is a clear correspondence between framing and enframing as concepts and tools for the interpretation and of study social relations. However

[16] This discussion will be further developed in Chapter Four

Timothy Mitchell, whose theory came later in date than Bateson's and Goffman's framing, does not cite or acknowledge any of them. Rather, Mitchell refers to Karl Marx, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Edward Said, and Jaques Derrida as influential to the creation of his concept. On the other hand, none of the authors I have referenced regarding the theory of framing cite Timothy Mitchell, which leads me to think that the two concepts developed in parallel. Nonetheless, both concepts of framing and enframing address mental structures that are used to interpret the world. Enframing points to the disconnection between reality and ideas due to the power of an outside influence and describes the action of one mental framework acting upon another. Enframing refers to the mental structure or mental framework that holds the power to inflict their ethical, esthetic, epistemological, and imagery discourses on others. Foreign social actors such as multinational corporations require the modification of the mental structures of the local individuals with whom they are establishing relations, in order to gain their acceptance and become an internal player.

On the other hand, framing is regarded as the socially created mental structures that help understanding, give meaning to reality and inspire opposition, collective action, and the creation of social movements.

For Peter Smith, the political is dynamic and changing. Inasmuch as an outsider actor wants to enframe the mental structures of a local community, the local community response is not limited to accepting and embracing the new ways, as presumed in Mitchells' account of enframing. Communities also oppose the enframing, and this opposition becomes part of their social frame. Smith follows the development of the debate on oil sands development in Northern Alberta, focusing on the polarization of discourses regarding oil sands development as differing sides try to frame the debate to their liking. In this concrete analysis, the power differential among actors is not a centerpiece since, as argued by Smith, opponents and supporters of the oil sands have access to national and international stages where the topic is discussed. Smith rather concentrated his analysis on "how the debate has

been framed and how both sides take advantage of various political opportunities to press their case" (Smith, 2012, p. 2). Smith referred to framing as "thought organizers," in the same way Bateson did; however, he argued that frames could collide and conflict in political stages. In social movements, frames enunciate the problem and a way to act on it, and

> in an attempt to sway public opinion governments can frame as well and provide meaning. Thus frames can compete and clash with the battle ground being mass opinion [...] it is difficult to determine where the process of framing and counterframing begins and ends (Smith, 2012, p.9).

In this case study, the concepts of framing and enframing provide answers to the question of how to study both mining corporations and local communities as collective actors. Framing and enframing were used in this research to define what to look at and what kind of explanation of the dynamic and clashes of both sets of mental frames can be attempted, i.e. the mental frames formed in local communities and those that accompany mining companies who attempt to convince and arguably force a particular mental structure regarding territory, land value, resources, and byproducts of mining on the local communities who will be 'undeniably affected'. These practices, along with CSR concepts, correspond to the enframing practice of impelling change in mental frameworks within and of the community in order that traditional territories can be transformed into open spaces available for exploitation.

5**) Concluding Comments**

As stated in the introduction, this thesis has drawn from a range of sources to understand a problem that has been understudied by academics. The encounter between the conflictive mental frameworks of local peasant communities and multinational mining companies has obliged me to reach far and wide in theoretical terms. However, the theoretical construction in this chapter has a strong point of integration: the identification of a system of

domination that has consolidated around the globalization of neoliberalism. This thesis subscribes to the study of the power inflicted by ideas, but with the clear notion that these ideas are part of a multidimensional system of power in which the consolidation of economic, political and military power are fundamental in the fact that particular ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemological discourses have become hegemonic. These hegemonic discourses are grouped under the concept of western mentalities and open up the question of what other kinds of discourses might exist. And how are these seen by the hegemonic discourses?

Responding to this acknowledges the existence of other cognitive social schemata shared by groups that are outside the core of the system of domination. These mental frameworks arise from the social efforts to interpret reality but also help reproduce those material conditions. On the other hand, when an encounter between the hegemonic discourses and the non-hegemonic ones happens, the western mentality strategy of inflicting their ethical, aesthetic, epistemological, and imagery discourses upon the other is applied. Enframing, then, describes the strategy used to spread the dominant mental framework and take over the space, political organization and ways of production of non-hegemonic mental frameworks. The encounter between multinational corporations' and local communities' mental frameworks appears to be inscribed in this framing-enframing relation. Chapter Two will conceptualize these social actors by exploring their mental frameworks and the way theory has defined their relationship.

Chapter Two: Multinational Corporations and Local Communities: Troubled Relationships

1) Introduction

After building on the basic map of concepts that are used in this exploration and establishing the context of the analysis, this second chapter of the thesis focuses on defining the social actors, i.e. local peasant and indigenous communities, and multinational corporations. The presence of conflict and negotiation between multinational mining corporations and local communities that was presented in the introduction suggests that conflict is a constant in this relationship. With that in mind, the objective of the chapter is to explore why the relationship established by multinational mining corporations and local peasant communities appears as essentially conflictive. The description of the mental frameworks of each actor provided in Chapter One may suggest reasons that trigger the conflict. In other words, it may be that the mental frameworks held by each group are not only different from but also actually oppose one another.

Drawing on the concept of mental frameworks, I begin the chapter with some considerations that help define, first, local peasant communities and, secondly, multinational mining corporations. The notions of 'framing' and 'enframing' are applied in an attempt to analyze the power relations that could be identified by the theory of mental frameworks. Finally, I examine the concept of corporate social responsibility as a theoretical framework and business concept that has increasingly been deployed to frame interactions between multinational mining corporations and local peasant communities

2) Peasant Local Communities

> It [our land] is our Casa Grande [Big House] because we live, work and die there. In our territories we harvest fruit from the forest, we have honey, we hunt and have meat for a week. This means we do not buy these products because we don´t have the money but also because we have them there. We do not sell timber, we look after the forest[17]

The advancement of neoliberal globalization and the expansion of the hegemonic perception of all geographical spaces as open to development and trade has intensified the conflicts and contradictions between the concept of land as a free space for development by the global market, and the understanding of land as a place in which local inhabitants' needs are satisfied through their relationship with nature. My intent in this section is to outline some of these scholarly definitions of 'local peasant communities' and the mental frameworks regarding land and nature that such communities share and which allow me to discuss them as a unitary group in this case, in spite of their differences.

In exploring these definitions, my focus is the thesis that a local "sense of place"[18], which is "endowed with meaning and the constitution of identities, subjectivities [and a sense of] difference" (Escobar, 2001 p. 153), is the fundamental component that describes the mental framework of local communities. This contrasts with the consideration that multinational corporations' mental framework sees 'place and culture in a highly increasingly deterritorialized' way (Escobar, 2001).

2.1) The land where they belong and that belongs to them

Escobar, Gudynas and Mançano-Fernandez are some of the Latin American scholars who have studied local communities. In their view, local communities play a contra-hegemonic role in the current neoliberal society,

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[17] Interview with Cesar Aguilar, President: Council of Guarany Capitanes - Department of Tarija. This interview was published in Kenner, 2012

[18] Escobar elaborated a simple and useful definition of place that I would like to quote here: "place refers to the experience of, and from, a particular location with some sense of boundaries, grounds, and links to everyday practices" (Escobar, 2001)

due to the construction of difference in ways that oppose homogenization tendencies. This differentiation is explained by the authors as rooted in the peasants' relationships with the locality (land and nature) where they live.

The concept of local communities suggests the existence of a group of people—communities—characterized by their place or position in a locality. However, the characterization to which I refer is not one given by agents external to the community. On the contrary, it is the community's self-identification with the place where they belong. It is a concept that appears from the community members themselves, who understand their existence as dependent on, and related to, 'that land' where they 'harvest, hunt, and protect', a land they know, respect and occupy. Indeed it is a component of their identity, as demonstrated above by Cesar Aguilar's interview.

Let me elaborate further through the voices of peasants themselves. 'Gender and Mining', a webpage affiliated to 'Global Democracy' created a series of three short videos that document a process of resistance against mining. Peruvian indigenous and peasant women, who claim to protect their water, are the organizers of the resistance. In this set of videos they follow Blanca Ester Yamoctanta and all the women around her who are also involved in this process. "Water for us is life for every living being, for humanity" (Genero y Mineria en Peru, 2013), Blanca says;

> "our people live from food that is harvested, not from gold. Water irrigates our land that we plant, and is also important for our animals. Besides, our children are going to stay, here, we are going to the cemetery, but our children are going to stay"

she argues to explain why do they fight against mining. A peasant man that appears in the video declares,

> We live out of milk products[19], and growing food. While mining will be only for few days, generations to come will always live from

[19] With the expression "we live out of milk products" the peasant refers to his activity of buying small amounts of milk from peasants from the area and making dairy products to sell locally

agriculture and cattle and we will be left with no water and with no water there is no agriculture, no cattle, no future.

Several ideas related to the mental framework of these peasants from the Cajamarca region in Peru can be identified that will help inform the analysis. In considering their relationship with land and nature, these testimonies make it clear that their livelihood is not only linked but also reliant on the place they live. The use of the possessive adjective 'our' to refer to 'our water', 'our animals' in the same way they talk about 'our children', 'our people' can be understood as not only implying ownership, but also belonging, connection, and reliance. Further, it emphasizes the perception that their families as much as their water and the animals are part of the landscape (territory). Finally, water and animals, as much as children, are seen to be the community's responsibility and are protected by them.

It could be argued that environmentalist-led struggles also defend water, air and land, and that the connection with land is not unique to peasant communities. Allow me to examine this argument. Greenpeace Canada for example, talks about the defense of the Boreal Forest, Canada's largest ecosystem, to protect "countless plants and animals and [because] it plays a critical role in mitigating global climate change. It is also the source of life and culture for many indigenous communities" (GreenPeace Canada, 2013, para. 1). In these statements a concern with the land and nature is clear, but the argument does not describe personal loss, personal endangering or personal connection with the land they defend. On the other hand, Yamoctanta's, declaration (Genero y Mineria en Peru, 2013) focuses on defending water, air and land, but the struggle is clearly framed in personal terms. The concrete sources of water that irrigate their land and specific places on the territory that they use for different reasons are the places they are defending. Cesar Aguilar, a peasant man from Brazil cited above, also makes his plea against mining and logging in personal terms: "In our territories we harvest fruit from the forest, we have honey, we hunt and have meat for a week". Land and nature are evidenced here as a source of food and

security. The close relationship between local communities and local land and nature is then well documented in the 'Genero y Mineria' videos (2013). As Yamoctanta did in the video, peasant communities frequently name the creeks, and lakes and rivers when they explain why are they opposing the mining project. There is no imagery of their children's future in a different place, and their perception of time is framed as much by the generations to come as those gone by. From this perspective, the perpetuation of their community versus the 10-20 years life span of mining is a relevant argument by which to oppose mining. Likewise, their knowledge regarding land and animals is specific to the location they inhabit and their sense of security depends on this place. Under this mental framework, the preservation of land and nature become just and necessary.

In the definition of mental frameworks, epistemic perceptions play a fundamental role; therefore, in order to define peasant local communities, I explored the nature of the knowledge that identifies them. Authors such as Huenchan-Navarro (2002), Barona (1987), Stewart-Harawira (2009), Basso (1996) and Battiste and Henderson (2000) have studied the knowledge created and transmitted in local indigenous and peasant communities and have described it as collective, oral, dynamic knowledge that is specific and deep about the location (Huenchuan-Navarro, 2002). Barona notes that besides oral and collective, peasant knowledge is also practical. Conclusions are derived from individual or collective experiences (Barona, 1987). This description fits the ways that Aguilar in Bolivia and Yamoctanta in Peru understand and defend their land. Furthermore, it has been argued by indigenous scholars and stated by local communities many times that land and nature are not seen by peasant communities as spaces to exploit or that can easily be abandoned, because they are intrinsic to their identity.

2.2) Territory

Up to this point I have attempted to explore how local indigenous and peasant communities talk about their land and the relationship with it. This

next section focuses on scholarly considerations. The field that has addressed this relationship between land and humans is vast. Thus, instead of providing a historical overview of hundred of years of theory, I focus on a current perspective of the relationship between humans and land that is established by peasant communities. There is, however, a central debate in the study of the relation between land and human beings that will help define the mental frameworks of peasant peoples.

According to Escobar, in the 1950s theoretical tendencies defined "environment as an inert background to which organisms and humans adapt"(Escobar, 2008, p. 29), a definition which opened a formal academic space and created the concepts for other explanations that later accredited humans with the ability to change the biophysical world through power and work. Hence, the questions of how much of human behavior could be explained as 'adaptation' to natural environment and how much power do humans have to change the biophysical world in which we live have been constant debates regarding human/nature relations.

For instance, geographer Mançano-Fernandes points out that there is a geographical space that pre-exists the social space and that is created by nature. However, political, economic, and cultural social relations continually transform this geographical space (Mançano-Fernandes, 2005) while at the same time social relations are transformed by nature. According to Mançano-Fernandes (2008), natural environment becomes 'space' when occupied by human beings, but not all human groups relate to nature in the same way. Even though each landscape offers different possibilities to different human groups, it is undeniable that each group relates to nature in different ways.

To illustrate this point, I turn to Cajamarca, Peru. Since 2011, the peasant communities and Indigenous peoples of Cajamarca have been actively opposing the 'Minas Conga' project[20]. In a massive march that took

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[20] The Conga project is a copper-gold porphyry deposit located 75 km northeast of the city of Cajamarca, Peru and 24 kilometers northeast of Newmont's Yanacocha gold mine. Newmont corporation owns the exploration/exploitation license in partnership with 'Compañía de

place in November 2011 there were many public pronouncements against the mining project. In these speeches, the relationship that the community has with their land is clearly stated. Jorge Rimarachin said, "I ask Yanacocha to give us back the natural source of our 'Rio Grande'[21]" ("Cajamarca se opone al proyecto Conga," 2011, para. 7). Gregorio Santos affirmed,

> you do not drink gold, you do not eat gold. We all drink water, our little-ones drink water, our cattle drink water. From cattle we get milk, cheese. That is wealth!! Agriculture is wealth and needs water as well. They (mining company) need to respect our will. They need to respect our agriculture, our water. ("Cajamarca se opone al proyecto Conga," 2011, para. 16 & 17)

Clearly peasant communities and Indigenous peoples from the Cajamarca region in Peru see the impact on the land and water as a threat to their existence as a community and a threat to their ways of life. They regard themselves as protectors of the location they live. On the other hand, when the Minas Conga Corporation addresses the water issues in Cajamarca, Peru, they speak from a detached and supposedly objective viewpoint. The mining company based its arguments on scientific studies and plans to secure water for people. For the mining corporation water is a 'resource' that they should manage in order to guarantee water for people. The corporation argues that

> Water management practices incorporated in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) were based on more than 10 years of hydrology and engineering studies conducted by respected independent firms. In addition, the Conga water management program is designed to provide a year-round water supply to surrounding communities. (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2010, para 1)

Minas Buenaventura' and the International Finance Corporation. Newmont Mining Corporation is trade at the New York Stock Exchange. (Newmont Mining Corporation, 2010)

[21] name of the river

Thus, two different perspectives on how to understand and relate to water clearly emerge in this example. At a first glance, the idea of 'administering water' opens the Newmont's statement and unveils an identity element of the company. Newmont understands itself as the rightful administrator of the 'resource'. Water, according to the corporation, is a resource for people to use, but it should be administrated and distributed. The community, on the other hand, always talks about the relation between water and their children, water and cows, water and agriculture. The community does not see water as needing an administrator but rather a protector (respect our water). No one owns it and no one administers the water provided by the lake and rivers on the peasants' account. The corporation's argument follows by supporting their capacity to administer water on scientific research that took more than 10 years of hydrology and engineering studies. Thus, their reflections on how to administer water are scientifically proven, which gives authority to the argument. The community's arguments are all based on their life experience using that water. The authority of the argument comes from experience. Their practice and relation with rivers and lakes is their main argument to assert that they need that water to survive. Finally, the corporation commits to provide water year round to all communities. However, regarding peasant use, water is always being used and there is no mention that the use has been previously administered or restricted. As sufficiently demonstrated, the existence of the water is a fact that is understood differently for the two groups, and the practice caused by that understanding reproduces the kind of relation that each group has with the water that runs in that locality. However, it is fundamental to the argument to comprehend that humans produce changes to nature, and those changes can trigger changes in the mental frameworks. Thus, in the region of Cajamarca, Peru, Newmont Corporation proposes to local communities to accept a change to the landscape that will radically affect the local community's relation with land, power structures, and ways of living.

To describe this relation with land and nature that peasant communities construct, scholars use the concept of 'territory'[22]. Territory does not only invoke land and nature in a specific geographic area, but also the intimate and intrinsic relation that peasant and indigenous communities create with nature in their daily lives. Cesar Gomez (2008) discusses that the concept of territory incorporates the material existence of land, the relation that a social group establishes with it, and the ways the landscape shapes the local group. Territory encompasses the meaning; practices, principles and relationships built between humans and nature.

Under the perspective of the relationship between humans and environment, 'territory' becomes a space of integration that syncretizes the human presence on land. In this theoretical perspective, territory is a "constitutive element of social identity" (Gomez, 2008, p.3). Territory cannot be considered only an object of production or an administrative term to refer to land; it is an essential part of culture. This social subjective dimension and symbolic appropriation of the physical space (culture) (Gomez, 2008) in which identity is built is crucial to comprehend the concept of local communities. Gomez' description of the phenomena of the collective appropriation of space and the semantization, dependence and sense of security that a specific location gives a social group provides a foundation for exploring the tensions produced when these local communities' understandings and ways to relate to land are challenged by the arrival of a multinational mining company.

In this order of ideas, 'local peasant communities' are understood as those localized groups of people that share an identity given by the relation with land and nature were they live. This relation is special because peasant communities' sense of safety, future existence of their community, social practices, and principles are related to the land they occupy, know, and rely on. The concept of territory describes how location/space is central to these

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[22] See for example, Gomez (2008); Escobar (2010 & 2001), Mançano Fernandez (2008)

communities' identity, as argued by Mançano-Fernandez As explained by this Brazilian geographer, "Individuals build territory from the social practices among the group and in relation with nature" (Mançano Fernandes, 2008, p. 10).

In spite of the emphasis on locality, 'local communities' are not completely foreign to the globalized capitalist system; sometimes, even parts of the local production are used to supply the demand of the global market. To clarify this point, I refer to the coffee market in Colombia. The Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia[23] defines their membership as formed by 563 family units (Federacion Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia, 2013a). 96% of the total membership could be described as peasant families who own less than 5 hectares of land. Only 4% of the membership plants and grows coffee on land bigger than 5 hectares. Yet the small production units have maintained average monthly coffee exports of 44,880 tons since 1958 (Federacion Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia, 2013b).

In spite of their participation in the global market, local communities have an essential dependence and perception of the land they live in, where they belong and where land 'belongs' to them (identity), and oppose the idea of their land as open spaces for exploitation of resources. However, to have that relation with land is only possible if one's well-being and subsistence depend directly on the land. According to Gudynas, at this point in history this kind of relationship with land is only preserved by either peasant or indigenous communities (Gudynas, 2011).

If territory refers to this relation/dependence with land and nature in a specific location, it could be argued then that the concept of deterritorialization would signify a rupture of this relationship, this emotional well-being that the community develops with their land. Supported by Karl Polanyi's work, Gomez contends that the tendency of capitalism is to treat land and people as merchandise ignores the given

[23] Colombian National Federation of Coffee Growers

meaning and cultural component of territory. According to Mançano-Fernandes, “The expansion of capitalism deterritorializes social relations and exterminates the non-capitalist relations by means […] accumulation by dispossession” (Mançano-Fernandes, 2008, p. 8). The concept of deterritorialization refers then to the release of the symbolic dimension of the social from the physical space.

3) Multinational Corporations

I begin this section with a simple business-dictionary definition of ‘multinational corporations’. According to the online source Web Finance Research, a multinational corporation is any enterprise operating in several countries but managed from one (home) country: “Generally, any company or group that derived a quarter of its revenue from operations outside its home country is considered a multinational corporation” (Web Finance Research, 2013, para. 1). More sophisticated and complex definitions are available, but for the purpose of this thesis, it is more useful, to have a standard, clear and precise definition. The Web Finance Research discusses four categories of multinational corporations according to their level of production, capital and management concentration. Corporations in the first category are decentralized and have a presence in several countries, but keep a strong home country presence. In the second category, global, centralized corporations acquire cost advantage through centralized production wherever cheaper resources are available. The third category includes companies built on a parent corporation’s technology or research and development department (R&D). 4. Finally, there is the transnational enterprise that combines the previous three approaches: “According to UN data, some 35000 companies have direct investment in foreign countries, and the largest 100 of them control about 40% of world trade” (Web Finance Research, 2013, para. 2).

From a practical standpoint, if a private business wants to either sell or produce its merchandise abroad it needs technological tools and

transportation methods that allow for efficient production and distribution. However, the corporation would also require a set of policies that at least protect the private ownership of its investment, and a set of economic policies that allow them to make profit and hire people in a lucrative way. Finally, in order for a multinational corporation to establish its presence in a given locale, it necessitates that the group of people living in the area and its government accept its presence and the way the corporation does business. Subsequently, the tendency to homogenize, I propose, is intrinsic to the way dominant western narratives understand the "other" because of the understanding of the 'other' and a need of neoliberal capitalism that would allow corporations to move capital and merchandise. Kotz (2002) argues that the freedom of movements of goods, services, capital, and money across national boundaries that are essential to neoliberalism are adaptations and responses of the political and economic systems to the needs of corporations.

In the last decade, the development discourses in Latin America have been shaped on the axis point formed by 'economic growth' and 'resource extraction'. Speaking about the condition of the mining sector in South America, Gudynas points out that despite the impossibility of hiding the diversity of social and environmental impacts the mining sector has triggered, South American governments are unequivocal in presenting the "extractive sector as a source of economic growth. In that sense, its real contribution towards development is debated" (Gudynas, 2011, p. 1).

In spite of the different political tendencies trending in Latin America today, (in which some governments have called themselves 'new left or progressive'[24]), the increase of exports, the attraction of foreign investment, and the celebration of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth are still used as indicators of development. With the objective of reaching development, every Latin American country except Paraguay has justified an unprecedented exponential growth of the extractive sector. As a result, the

[24] Gudynas includes among this 'new left' the governments of Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, with some reserve Paraguay and Chile.

pressure created by the extractive sector on the environment and the local communities in Latin American has not only aggravated old conflicts but, more importantly, also created new ones (Gudynas, 2011).

4) The Concept of Corporate Social Responsibility

The World Bank, the European Union, the United Nations, other political and economic international organizations, and scholars and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have referred to the relations between multinational corporations and local communities using the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). More recently the term "Environmental Sustainability" has been broadly used with the same purpose as CSR. In this research, both terms will be used interchangeably. Since 1930, CSR as a concept and its different conceptualizations have changed rapidly to fit the needs of the neoliberal society where they are applied. Cloud, for example, argues that in the case of mining CSR policies are the standards of self-regulation that corporations have adopted to make sure they respond to their shareholder needs (Cloud, 2007). Veiga *et al.*, contend that the "attention of mining companies to the surrounding social environment has historically been devoted to reduction of conflicts or compliance with legal requirements" (Veiga *et al*., 2001, p. 200). Therefore, a closer exploration of the concept appears necessary at this point.

The concept and understanding of CSR is not restricted to the relations between mining companies and local communities. Instead, it appeared in a more broad sense to talk about the relations between corporations and society in general. An important disagreement among scholars who have constructed definitions of CSR appears when talking about the beginnings and the causes of the creation of this concept.

The term entered the lexicon in 1930 when academic work was concentrated on identifying the "ethical principles" under which business ought to work, and the "social spheres" on which businesses have direct impact and consequently responsibility(Eells & Walton, 1969). According to

Cloud (2007), the concept of CSR emerged as a way to endorse capitalism while keeping a human, soft face of corporations available to serve social ends. In the first half of the 1900s, Cloud argues, there were expectations set on corporations, who were supposed to contribute to the well-being of the community. However others have argued that the concept was not born out of the good intentions of corporations. For example Carroll (1999), states that social movements pressured businesses to behave in a responsible way, but the term CSR was co-opted by corporations by the end of the 1900's. From a more radical point of view, Jan Jonker and Angela Marberg claimed that the real social movement and proponents of CSR were academics who were looking for a fundamental shift in the way 'businesses do business'. They presented the academic discourses as contesting business practices and creating opposite paradigms. These 'opposite paradigms' clash and make theory a battleground in which "business has thus far succeeded in dominating this discourse, and hence the debate, on CSR" (Jonker and Marberg, 2007:108).

The debate over the nature of CSR still occupies an important space in academic literature. It appears that understanding how and by whom the term "CSR" was created defines the concept's acceptance or its rejection. Sadler and Lloyd (2009), for example, argue that corporations have utilized CSR to increasingly position themselves as "direct providers of social services through privatization, and as 'partners' in poverty alleviation and development, shaping business relations with the rest of society at multiple levels and altering structural and institutional relationships" (p. 614). On the other hand, Lock (2011) approaches CSR as born from people's responses to top-down approaches of the 'needs' of selected stakeholders. As such, one can see that CSR could be argued as a "top down" or "bottom up" concept. What appears important then is its current application.

Two considerations arise from this discussion: first, independently of the framework in which CSR appears in the academic world, there seems to be a consensus that the current understandings and specially the practice of

CSR go hand-in-hand with the capitalist goal of accumulating and concentrating wealth. I will argue in the following pages that the current use and exercise of CSR is part of the 'western mentality' that corporations bring to their production process either because they coopted the term, or because they created it. Second, as Cloud (2007) argues, CSR cannot be explained as an economic or administrative concept but rather as a political one, currently used to "perpetuate necessary unequal relations of power" that guarantee the economic profit (p. 209).

My intention in discussing the history and the debates that surround CSR theory and application is not to presume to validate or deny the theory. In this thesis, CSR provides the basis for exploring the ways in which multinational corporations conceptualize their relationship with local communities. In the following section I explore the scholarly debates, International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and think-tanks that have helped construct and consolidate what corporations present today as their CSR policies.

4.1) Historical trajectory of the concept

After the appearance of the concept in 1930, it took the CSR debate 40 years to develop a new face. In its earliest years, discussion focused on defining the ethics under which business ought to work. However the Cold War gave a new context to the debate. In the 1970's, Milton Friedman (1962, 1970), championing the neoliberal idea of deregulation, argued that corporations could not accept any ethical responsibility other than creating profit for their shareholders under established government laws and regulations. All other obligations would go against the market mechanisms of allocation, and it would resemble the socialist view of political distribution of resources (Friedman, 2008). Since Friedman's condemnation of CSR appeared in the context of the Cold War and fit the emerging neoliberal model, his claim that CSR resembled socialism and violated the free market

laws appears to have had a powerful effect on the academic and political community.

A well-argued opposition against Friedman's separation of ethics and business took a few years to mature. It was not until 1979 that Archie Carroll opposed Friedman's argument by developing a model of 'ethics before business'. In his perspective corporations have not only one but multiple responsibilities to society, and those responsibilities can be organized in four spheres all equally important: economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary. In his article 'A Three dimensional conceptual Model of Corporate Performance', Carroll described how businesses have the economic responsibility to "produce goods and services that society wants and sell them at a profit," the legal responsibility to act under the regulations established by society, the obligation to follow "ethical behaviors and activities that are not necessarily codified into law but nevertheless are expected of business by society's members" and finally, the discretionary responsibility of supporting benevolent social roles (Carroll, 1979, p. 500).

According to the literature reviewed, a consequence of the development of Carroll's model was an outgrowth of similar theories along analogous lines of argumentation. These theories focused on re-building the theoretical relation between ethics and business (Baker, 1985). They based their academic constructs on the argument that industries that make profit out of producing and selling goods and services to societies have responsibilities to people in general (Wartick & Cochran, 1985). Parallel to this theoretical development was the emergence of infamous scandals like the one involving the defective infant formula produced by Nestle and sold in what Baker calls Less Developed Countries (LDCs) (Baker, 1985). This confronted society with the fact that acts of private business can cause tremendous harm. It therefore could be argued that scholarly and social pressures were essential to reach a general academic consensus regarding the need for CSR.

The literature review undertaken for this research showed that by the 1980's the academic world tended to formally accept that society expects ethical (responsible) behavior from private industries, and consequently, the focus of the literature shifted. Scholars moved from debating whether or not corporations have responsibilities to society to concentrating on the application, definition, and regulation of the ethical performance of private business. However, the political and economic neoliberal frame that has surrounded the debate indicates that the concept continues to develop under the Friedman's notion that the major (if not only responsibility) of a business lies with its shareholders.

Regarding CSR, Friedman (1962, 1970) denied any responsibility other that the one acquired with shareholders. However, by the mid-80's neoliberal theorists accepted the term and profiled a version of de-regulated responsibility that prioritized the needs of shareholders. Thus it can be argued that corporations have accepted a form of CSR that responds to the free market and deregulation components of the neoliberal doctrine. This version of CSR identifies with the discretionary responsibility exposed by Carroll. Corporations' CSR policies comprehend "ethical behaviors and activities that are not necessarily codified into law" (Carroll, 1979, p.500). CSR is thus socially accepted and expected but not obliged by national or international regulations. Since the mid-80's, the concept has been refined and has incorporated three terms that are essential to the current internationally-accepted definition of CSR and demonstrate the close relation to the principles of neoliberalism: 'stakeholders', 'engagement' and 'voluntary'.

4.2) Hierarchies within the stakeholder analysis

From a basic managerial perspective, Brugha and Varvasovszk affirmed that the stakeholder analysis focuses on the recognition among managers and policy makers of the role of individuals, groups, and organizations with interest and a possible influence (stake) in the planning

and actions of an organization (Brugha & Varvasovsky, 2000). Therefore, applying a stakeholder perspective to CSR would mean that corporation's managers should define and honor the responsibilities (expected ethical behaviours) of the corporations with all individuals, groups, and organizations that either could be interested in or could influence the activities of the business. A wide array of stakeholders could be named depending on the corporation. The European Commision (EC) and the United Nations (UN) however have attempted a standarization of the concept of stakeholders.

The 'World Investment Report' produced by the UN Conference on Trade and Development in 1999 contended that, "[a] stakeholder approach seeks to define corporate social responsibility broadly in relation to the groups or interest that affect, or are affected by, a corporation's action"(World Investment Report, 1999, p. 381). Following a similar line, the EC in its *Green Papers Promoting a European Framework for Corporate Social Responsibility* (2001) integrated the stakeholder approach. The Green Papers defined CSR as "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operation and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis" (Commission of the European Communities, 2001, p. 4).

David Crowther claims that the word "stakeholder" was introduced to the CSR lexicon during the 1990s with the objective of making the term 'society' more tangible and concrete (Crowther, 2012a). As a consequence, the responsibilities of the corporations went from being defined by its interactions with society at large, to being defined by the specific individuals, groups and organizations that are directly affected by the activities of the corporation.

At a first glance, social responsibility appears, indeed, as a broad term, and making the responsibilities of corporations more concrete emerges as a practical approach in making CSR implementation effective. In Crowther's account of how the idea of "society" identifies within the term "stakeholder,"

the author creates a list that would make "society" possible to grasp to business managers and elected representatives as well. In the stakeholder list Crowther includes owners, investors, employees, customers, and suppliers first, with national/local governments, civil society, and citizens living around the location of the corporations added later (Crowther, 2012a). It could be argued that this list encompasses a worrisome diversity of actors such as local and national governments and employees that may have not even been considered by the theory of "social responsibility" of corporations prior to 1990.

Looking back to the CSR debate at the end of 1970s, none of the Carroll's spheres of responsibilities referred to the internal functioning of the corporation other than the shareholders who were already introduced by Friedman. CSR was, in the 1970s and 1980s, mainly described as a relation of the corporation to the outside world. The stakeholder concept blurs the line between the responsibilities of the corporation to its own members and responsibilities to groups that are not associated with the corporation.

I attempt to explore how the inclusion of diversity of actors that are part of the inside and outside of the corporation and that hold different power to influence the corporation's decisions do not contribute to making the term more manageable but instead makes CSR more difficult to handle. The relation of the company with each one of those stakeholders is different, and each stakeholder's interests regarding the corporation are diverse as well. Also, some of the relations are clearly regulated under governmental laws, while others are not so. For example, the relationship between corporations and local governments, in most countries, has a strict legal framework, while the relation between corporations and local communities has a more flexible framework.

Generalizing, mixing and later organizing in a hierarchical way, organized and non-organized groups, institutions, peoples, individuals, and powered and disempowered actors under the same concept of "stakeholders" has consequently concentrated CSR policies on only a few of

the stakeholders that could affect production directly. I would say that the ascribed objective of making the term 'society' more concrete and the CSR application more effective could not be fulfilled by the use of the 'stakeholder' approach to operationalize CSR. Instead, the use of this operationalization framework widens to the point of dissolving the spheres in which 'social responsibility' should be applied. It appears that everyone is, or has the potential to be, a stakeholder instead of focusing the company in areas in which the responsibility could be easily overseen. In other words, it reaffirms the status quo of powerful institutions and individuals who hold economic and political power.

Furthermore, the stakeholder concept can be seen as blocking the realization of CSR. The first reason would be because the relations between corporations and each one of the diverse groups of stakeholder function under different regulated frameworks, which makes the creation of general policies and directives of CSR for a company almost impossible. For example, suppliers and customers relate to the corporation as business partners. Business operations (the essence of the corporate existence) carry explicit economic and legal responsibilities with suppliers and customers. In this way, most of the corporations' responsibilities with customers are legally defined. National and local governments issue the permits and negotiate the terms of the production. The owners and investors expect profit therefore, the responsibilities to them are clear and not negotiable. Even the responsibilities to the employees are, more or less, regulated, and usually legally binding depending on which country the corporation sets up its production. It could be argued, that most of the corporations' relations with governments, owners, investors, employees and customers are essential to the activities of the companies and are not as voluntarily or self-regulated as the concept of stakeholder would imply.

However, Crowther (2012a) argues that civil society, local communities, and the environment directly affected by the production are at the bottom of the priority list for corporations, and are also the relations that

seem to operate in a more de-regulated framework. These facts, I contend, can be understood as materializations of stakeholder power.

Since the relation between local communities and mining companies are the relations that inspired this research, I can affirm that based on these accounts, stakeholder theory does not give the deserved relevance to the interests and influence of local communities in the planning of the corporation. Crowther, for instance, invites managers of corporations to consider the impact of their operations on their stakeholders before making any decision. Yet he emphasizes that some stakeholders are more important than others for the life of the organization, and that managers should dedicate more time to those important ones (Crowther, 2012a). Under this hierarchical system, owners, investors, governments, and customers are usually more organized than communities. It is not possible to compare the power that the owners of the company have over the corporation's plans and decision to the power exerted by the community over the corporation's plans and decision. Clearly, these two stakeholders belong to different spheres of influence. Again, a consequence of this stakeholder approach is the disempowering and silencing of local communities who are directly affected by production: "So it can be considered that stakeholder theory is about power, just like other approaches to organizational management" (Crowther, 2012a, p. 48).

4.2.1) Engaging communities

There are other CSR theories that seem to empower local stakeholders through using the stakeholders approach. For example, Fossgard-Mosser (2005) argues, "the corner stone of any social performance strategy and plan is stakeholder engagement" (112). The company should thus engage local communities in a dialogue. To show the importance of local stakeholders, Fossgard-Mosser divides the stakeholder group into stakeholders that are important for the 'formal' license to operate and those that are important in their 'informal' license to operate. Local communities

are part of the second group. He suggests that even if the community is not organized enough to embrace an effective dialogue with the corporation, the private business should encourage and help build the capacity of local stakeholders to engage.

Fosgard-Mosser endorsed a concept of 'engaging stakeholders', which implies the careful review of potential impacts that operations could bring with and for local stakeholders. Through this 'dialogue' the mining company looks to limit adverse impacts (Fossgard-Moser, 2005) that their exploration/exploitation activities could have on communities. The conversation, according to Fosgard-Mosser, has as a final end to accomplishing business benefits by eliminating "negative operational and reputation impacts, [increasing] the ability to expand, facilitate[ing] process, lower[ing] social investment cost, and [increasing] employee morale and retention" (Fossgard-Mosser, 2005, p. 111). It could be argued, then, that Fosgard-Mosser's 'community engagement' theory has the final objective of bringing benefits to the company; hence, the community engagement approach commits the local stakeholders to the corporation instead of engaging private business with the well-being of the community. Under this concept, CSR cannot be understood as a two-way dialogue, and local communities' interests are, once again, located in the bottom of the pyramid and subjugated to the desires of the company.

Richard Parsons explored the stakeholder-community engagement approach in the mining sector in Australia, where mineral extraction constitutes a substantial proportion of the national economy. He argues that the mining corporations' rhetorical elevation of Aboriginal people to the lofty status of 'stakeholders" suggests that new practices of respect have superseded post-colonial practices of dispossession (Parsons, 2008). Yet, as Parsons effectively demonstrated, 'community engagement' theory denotes that the actions of corporations are something inherently and mutually desirable and beneficial for both communities and corporations and that the

only "appropriate reaction from the community is an enthusiastic 'Great! How do we do it?'" (Parsons, 2008, p. 123).

Assuming that a corporation can always engage local communities is to assume that there would be no conflict between equal parties, that both local communities and corporations follow the same objectives, that the benefit of the corporation is always the benefit of the community and that it is the responsibility of the corporation to demonstrate and engage community by compelling the community to adopt the corporation's logic and mental schema, this is to say by enframing their mental structures. From the perspective of the corporation, the successful negation of the conflict is only possible if the mental framework of the other is denied. Therefore, I would anticipate that the language used by mining companies in the case studied reflects how mining companies portray themselves as a 'good thing' that would bring a win-win situation to the local communities from the neoliberal perspective of well-being, development, and modernization.

Parsons added to his analysis that when sitting at the table with corporations, "the inherently weak negotiation position of indigenous communities means that the potential for their participation is often not realized" (Parsons, 2008, p. 124). The Australian author closed his remarks maintaining that "companies have generally considered indigenous relations in terms of instrumental and economic, rather than ethical, arguments" (Parsons, 2008, p. 125). Again, the end of the equation is always the benefit of the company.

The discussion developed in this section leads me to argue that defending CSR as possible through the recognition of the role of each stakeholder appears not to work towards local communities having a voice or being empowered by the dialogue framed by corporate interests. Furthermore, local communities are rhetorically characterized as a stakeholder, yet a stakeholder that is not essential for the functioning of the corporation, that holds no power, and that is at the bottom of the stakeholder hierarchy. The theory of stakeholder engagement instead silences them, and

accentuates the disempowerment that these communities face by allowing other stakeholders to speak loud and clear to corporations' managers, who have to follow internal regulations or governmental law to relate to other stakeholders. Therefore, to my view, local communities become second-class stakeholders whose interests and influence on the corporations' plans tend not to be heard and included but are instead transformed in a manner more favourable to the interests of the corporation.

It could be possible to conclude that the emergence of the 'stakeholder' concept displaced from the CSR concept the idea of advancing the interest of the society, the well-being of all, and the 'public interest', replacing it with the neo-liberal concept of the maximization of individual benefit in which each stakeholder supposedly gets room to negotiate its own interest. But since each stakeholder holds power that could affect the corporation on different levels, this uneven distribution of power is what defines the corporation's priorities. This modification preserves the status quo; for as Dominique Bessire (2012) argued, CSR is a matter of power, negotiation, and minority rights.

4.2.2) Voluntary-Responsibility?

Presently, the international community represented by the UN, World Trade Organization, and the EC seems to have agreed that corporations have voluntary responsibilities with stakeholders. Nonetheless, there are currently no generally accepted international legal standards for the articulation of these responsibilities. The only standards that do exist are found in the domestic laws of some countries, and they vary greatly in terms of what each country requires. However, by and large, these laws are not well enforced (Winston, 2002).

Classical liberal theory freed individuals to pursue their own ends (Bessire, 2012), and likewise freed corporations. A society built on liberal pillars took as normal the individualistic behavior and abuses of corporate power that ended, for example, in economic disasters like the Enron

economic bubble burst (Bessire, 2012). Neoliberal societies seem reluctant to force corporations to comply with social responsibilities. Furthermore, in some instances the responsibilities of corporations have been replaced by or perhaps reduced to a basic requirement to report (Crowther, 2012b). It is this 'CSR as reporting' tendency that is the object of the exploration in this section. I will now examine how assuming that making information public corroborates that corporation acts responsibly will usher in a new definition of corporate responsibility.

Crowther explores how several organizations, at the international level, are working on reaching consensus on how and what to report (Crowther, 2012b). Reporting is usually a complicated process done by experts for experts in which paper loads, with multiple variables, graphics, and numbers, and a low portion of explanations displaying a message, are generated (Crowther, 2012b). The ability to comprehend this kind of abstract thinking is not common, and so the report is usually not compiled for public consumption.

As proposed by Sidaway, when talking about the post-development understanding of the physical division of a space, the socio-spatial polarization of development involves "categories and articulations of citizens and subjects and places and spaces of accumulation, inclusion and exclusion" (Sidaway, 2007, p. 355). In other words, for a local community, the entrance of the extraction industry to their vicinity implies the creation of spaces divided by walls and fences that fragment the physical space from where wealth is extracted, and also the concentration of power behind the wall. Nonetheless, using Sidaway's argument, I would further contend that as much as the wall fragments the landscape, the incomprehensible reporting fragments the understanding of the consequences of the production and the responsibility that a corporation should assume with the local community outside the wall. If reports are not prepared in a manner that provide the local community with comprehensible and pertinent information, then it

seems to me that such reporting is neither relevant nor adequate tool to implement CSR.

Global non-for-profit organizations and think-tanks are working on the standardization of reporting as a means of advancing the CSR debate. 'Accountability' for instance, (a global INGO based on the United Kingdom), published in 1999 a set of indicators and variables that would allow the standardization of the responsibility reports. In the same direction, Global Reporting Initiative (GRI, a global network on reporting based in India and the United States) produced its Sustainability Reporting Guidelines which have been developed through multi-stakeholder dialogue[25]. Crowther (2012b) argues that setting the kind of global standards to report, such as these INGOs are promoting, should derive undeniably from consensual agreement of all stakeholders. According to Crowther, the guidelines to report should be reached by consensus of the actors involved and not through the imposition of a third party.

Reporting, as explained by Crowther (2012b), and opposed to what I argue above, is a way to reduce social asymmetry because it opens corporate information to the public, and therefore prevents managers from adopting opportunistic behaviors to control power imbalances. Furthermore, Accountability argues that reporting increases the possibilities of stakeholders to hold corporations responsible for their actions. Nevertheless, the standardization of reporting has been highly contested by other INGOs because the assumed transparency in the production of the reports does not always correspond to reality. In contrast, it seems that the information recorded "by companies [is] very selective: to focus light on defined areas allows others to be left in obscurity" (Bessire, 2012, p. 72). In other words, there are some things that are highlighted, usually initiatives that paint the corporation in a more positive light, and some that are deliberately silenced,

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[25] To further understand 'Accountability' and GIR see
https://www.globalreporting.org/Pages/default.aspx
http://www.accountability.org/

which could be seen to open a corporation to criticism. This raises strong criticisms of those who support maintaining the voluntary report and voluntary responsibility of corporations as the formula that supposedly advances CSR.

Since the information released by the corporations in the reports is selected, organized and formatted by them, it is perhaps a more self-vigilant, deregulated approach. Under this voluntary reports perspective, the decision of what and how to publish is entirely a corporation's decision. INGO's efforts to standardize reports could be seen as an effort to invite corporations to inform communities about aspects of the production that are important for the people. However, the array of stakeholders present at the negotiation table may not help this endeavor. As mentioned above, owners, shareholders, local/national government, environment, local communities, and employers are all considered stakeholders, and the needs and desires regarding the corporation's report could, to my view, be diverse and even opposing.

Morton Winston explores the risks of maintaining responsibility as voluntary and run by the model of stakeholders. Winston claimed that many corporations now look favorably on partnerships with environmental NGOs because those associations allow for the co-opting of demands made by more moderate groups, while dividing the environmental movement and isolating radicals. This is a standard way in which corporations have used CSR theory to purposely fracture social movement to isolate and disempower sectors of civil society (Winston, 2002).

It seems appropriate to conclude that this current understanding of CSR shatters the concept of corporate responsibility by focusing on reporting. It fractures the landscape by fencing a corporation's production sites, fractures the land to obtain the resources, deterritorializes local communities, and, finally, fractures social movements by focusing on moderated positions and isolating more radical demands. I would argue that as expected in this neoliberal globalized world, corporations still look at responsibility in a 'Friedmanian' manner, since the main responsibility of the

corporation is the one to its stakeholders. Responsibilities are organized into a hierarchy were shareholders are at the top of the list, while local communities are at the bottom. CSR is deregulated and has even been reduced to the periodical publication of information. Local communities are usually taken into account as issuers of the 'social license to operate', but the 'equal power' dynamic between corporations and local communities that appears to be embedded in this definition is deceiving. As argued above, corporations understand that to acquire social license to operate they should 'engage' communities with the project, with the corporations' projects and 'rights' to explore non-negotiable. Corporations establish relations with the community because they will benefit from it. They engage in CSR practices that benefit production and the creation of profit, or that at least do not go against their view and capacity of creating profit for their shareholders.

Neither Crowther, nor Accountability, nor GRI, who all defend reporting as a way corporations accounting for their actions and negotiating with stakeholders, can agree on the characteristics of the basic reporting. They cannot unpack any specifics on how the consensus is reached in a multi-stakeholder negotiation, where there are great power imbalances: "The real challenge is managing the dialogue between various stakeholder groups, building coalitions for action and creating additional learning opportunities through the implementation of sustainable action plans" (Petkoski & Twose, 2003, p. 1).

I would reiterate that the fragmented understanding of the responsibility, the profound power imbalances given by the neoliberal system itself, and the lack of regulation and accountability that are embodied in the CSR definition that the international community is working with are not allowing society to find that place where ethics and profit meet because the ethical responsibilities of corporations are even more vague now than they were in 1930. The ontological neoliberal essence of CSR makes impossible the intersection of responsibility and production. Corporations have centered their current action on what Carroll called discretionary

responsibilities. This voluntary benevolent role is not essential to the corporation's responsibilities, I argue, but permits corporations to present a good image in their reports. Also, corporations provide money for social or environmental causes or by negotiating with some groups, while ignoring other social or environmental demands.

Whether a capitalist idea or a co-opted term created by social movements in 1930, CSR can be understood as a discourse that is contained within the western mentality. Corporations assume that what is right is what they say is right, and that communities should be engaged in their vision of reality and their plans, which are seen as just and needed. Private industry defends reporting as a good measure of fairness even though reports are incomplete and incomprehensible.

It seems to be appropriate to conclude that the CSR as a theory and model to understand the relations between local communities and mining corporations does promote negotiations where local communities are seen as second-hand stakeholders while simultaneously promoting a false idea that communities have the power to affect mining operations. CSR could further be described as the operationalization of that mental structure used by corporations to enframe discussions with local communities. The concept of CSR reveals a mental construct, framed by neoliberal exploitation, where the realization of wealth has ultimate value.

5) The Conflict

As discussed throughout this thesis, the relations between the resource extraction industry and local peasant communities are, to say the least, difficult. Congo, Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, Salvador, Guyana, Canada, and the United States are some of the countries in which there are currently massive protests and/or lawsuits against resource extraction industries accused of bringing negative social and environmental effects on local communities. Furthermore, it could be argued that the tension and conflict between these social actors is not

new; in fact, the negative effects of the arrival of large extraction industries to territories is known in the academic world as the 'resource curse'[26].

The international community has also addressed the negative impacts that local communities receive from large mining exploitation. The World Bank, for example, has a 'Mining and Community' unit. The creation of this unit is justified under the general rationale that oil, gas, and mineral extraction brings an 'undeniable impact' on local, regional and national levels (World Bank Group, 2011). The World Bank web page follows this broad idea describing how NGOs, governments, and communities are currently challenged to secure that "

> the benefits accruing from mining, are maximized in a sustainable way and that the negative impacts of the mine are mitigated to the extent that the communities both during and after the life of the mine, are better advantaged by the presence of a mining investment." (World Bank Group, 2011, para. 1)

5.1) What Benefit, for Whom?

Both in the academic world and among international community institutions there is the sense that local communities are not receiving the same benefits from the exploitation of resources on their land as multinational mining corporations are receiving. The understanding of mining as a curse for communities says a lot about this unequal distribution of the benefits of resource exploitation. Asking how benefits are understood may shed some light to how the distribution of benefits is studied.

Since mining is a profitable activity, mining companies are looking to receive dividends from the exploitation of resources, and so obtaining enough money to cover expenses and make profit for the shareholders is what, in a simple way, is considered a successful mining exploitation. Barrick Gold, for example, delivered a 'solid and positive Second Quarter report in

[26] In 2010 the Journal of the Finnish Anthropology Society dedicated its forum section to this topic. (Rajak, 2010); (Muzio, 2010);(Weszkalnys, 2010)

2013' according to their standards. Their strategy for success, they tell their shareholders, consists of the following:

- Barrick's strategy prioritizes shareholder value creation by focusing on maximizing risk-adjusted rates of return and free cash flow through a disciplined approach to capital allocation.
- Returns will drive production. Production will not drive returns.
- We have an excellent track record of financial and operational performance, successful exploration, and a history of paying a progressive dividend.
- We are the lowest cost senior gold producer

(Barrick Gold, 2013, para 1-4)

In summary, if Barrick is able to secure big returns for their shareholders, it secures success. For AngoGold Ashanti the idea and reporting of success is not too different. In AGA's second quarterly report, they associate their success with the focus on a "safe, sustainable free cash flow generated by protecting margin and returns" (AngloGold Ashanti, 2013a, para. 5). As the World Bank (2011) outlines, it is challenging to reach a point where the perceived positive impact that owners and citizens investing in oil, gas, and mining exploitation receive from the resource extraction pairs up with positive impact on local communities.

A description of the kind of benefits mining brings to peasant communities living in mining areas is hard to find. Academics, NGO's (International Council of Metals, Canadian Environmental Law Association, CARC) and governments have spent many resources in studying how to make mining beneficial for communities. Yet, in the many reports that I read, I found that indigenous and peasant voices and participation is rarely described. Benefits to the community are usually described by these reports

as job creation, infrastructure building, royalties and local social investment (World Bank Group, 2011); (Mineria Panama, 2013); (AngloGold Ashanti, 2011).

When asked about the benefits that oil exploitation has brought to Northern Alberta, Elder Ellersi Fabian, an Elder from an indigenous community native to Northern Alberta suggested that mining has changed the land radically in a short period of time. In spite of consistently living in her land she seems puzzled by the recent changes: "The river used to be blue. Now it's brown. Nobody can fish or drink from it. The air is bad. This all happened so fast"[27] (cited in Indigenous Environmental Network, n.d.). In this answer there is no reference to jobs or infrastructure or royalties or social investment.

According to Lua Masham, Former Minister of Home Affairs in Tanzania, mineral exploitation is a unique kind of industry that can effectively live in harmony with environment and local peoples if CSR is applied correctly. In a presentation delivered in Montreal at McGill University, Masham argued that communities will be happy if corporations allow them a higher benefit share from the prosperity of the mine, if local communities are the source of products to supply mines and the profit that the mine receives is reflected in the daily life of the community. In this argument, if the former Minister's formula for avoiding conflict were applied, the distribution of money and resources within the community would be sufficient to avoid protest, lawsuits, blockades, or any other open opposition to mining projects coming from local communities. At some point in his presentation he summarized this thought by saying, "people want money!"

Nonetheless, Lau Masham's declaration does not seem to fit well with Aguilar's quote that opened the reflection on local communities, or the quotes from the peasant women from Peru, or the thoughts proposed by Elsie Fabian, the Elder from the community in Northern Alberta interviewed

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[27] Elsie Fabian, 63, an elder from a Native community along the Athabasca River

by the Indigenous Environmental Network. Aguilar, from Bolivia, Yamoctanta from Peru, and Fabian from Alberta do not argue they want money. These peasant and Indigenous people say they want clean land, rivers, and air where they can extend their existence as Indigenous and peasants. So it seems that the measurement of benefit and well-being for each group is contradictory. It goes without denying that most communities do not deny that job creation, infrastructure and social investment would help their community. In Panama or Colombia, for example, roads, health centers or school buildings are needed in almost every distant, isolated peasant communities. However, according to the cited testimonies, they may not negotiate land and water for jobs and roads.

Furthermore, the well-being of the corporation seems to collide against the well-being of the community. Even if a corporation can prevent any kind of contamination of the land, the change in the landscape and the change in social relations will result in a profound change in peasant and indigenous mental frameworks:

> Though the industry typically supports the view that with good technology and managerial skills, there should be no reason for preventing the opening of any mine, it is important to clarify that even in the most advanced of living conditions, above all, soil or land will always remain the medium that satisfy primary human needs for food and shelter (Verheye, 1997). Conflicts therefore, inevitably result between communities and mines simply because both place fundamentally different socioeconomic values on land. (Hilson,2002, p.68)

Gavin Hilson (2002) argues that "[t]hough economically, a great number of rewards are reaped from its activities [mining], the land demands placed by mines often cause severe community disruption and hinder the development of other potentially profitable industries" (p.67), including, I would add, local industries that could have been supported and maintained

by local capital. In most cases, as demonstrated by Caceres, Pardo y Torres local economies get destroyed as a result of the inflation in the area where the mining establishes its processing plant (Caceres-Gómez, Pardo-Enciso, & Torres-Cárdenas, 2012).

Finally, some scholars, e.g. Crowther and Veiga *et al.,* have maintained high hopes for the benefits that sound ecological sustainability principles of CSR policies will introduce in the relationship between multinational mining corporations and local communities. However, the evidence of an inherit conflict in this relationship is so strong that they cannot do other than acknowledge it. In their article, "Mining with Communities", Veiga *et al*. argue that at least in "developing countries remote communities may not be prepared to accept new concepts of development if they perceive a loss of important cultural and spiritual values, even if their material standards are improved" (Veiga *et al*., 2001, p. 194). I want to suggest that some communities in the 'developed' world are also not ready to accept the kind of development proposed by mining. However, that would be a topic for a future research.

As we have seen from this discussion, through the lens of CSR it is assumed that in order for benefits to the community to increase, corporations must engage them with the project, invest in infrastructure, social programs, funding for cultural events, and demonstrate to the community that these things will bring them well-being. While it cannot be argued that communities do not want these things, the comments cited here imply that this is not an idea of well-being that is commonly held by these communities. Instead they view well-being in terms of their relationships with their environment, clean water, healthy land, and healthy animals.

6) Concluding Comments

Based on the theoretical construction of Chapter One, Chapter Two focused on the definition of the social actors in the case study to follow and elaborated academic and political concepts by which to understand these

two actors' relationship. In the process, the conflictual mental frameworks and power differentials that define this relationship were examined. The difference in the power that each actor holds is explained by the economic, political and discursive validation that the hegemonic neoliberal system provides multinational corporations and removes from local communities.

The ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemology of local communities are described as deeply rooted in the community's relation with the territory where they belong and that belong to them. The community's relation with land and nature in that locality gives them a sense of dependence and safety. Their subsistence and cultural practices and imageries are linked to this specific place. The relation with land that defines local communities contrasts with the mental framework embedded in creating and finding spaces for extraction and production that define multinational corporations. Crossing national and local boundaries in search of new places to explore is the essence of the mental framework that guides the actions of multinational mining corporations. Peasant local communities and their ways of living and thinking are characterized by Mançano-Fernandez, Escobar, Gomez and others as contra-hegemonic, because they embody the existence of difference, of locality.

The relationship between these two actors was explored through the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility. However, as this exploration demonstrated, this concept is inadequate to identify causes of conflict in this relationship because the concept itself has evolved to fit the discursive needs of multinational corporations. CSR has overlooked the existence of a profound conflict. In fact the application of CSR functions to further disempower local communities by starting from the premise that the exploitation has to happen. The way to solve 'poor relations' with communities, as characterized by Veiga *el* al., is by engaging communities and helping them plan a better future for themselves that includes the existence of the mining project. The possibility of giving communities veto power over sections of or complete exploration/exploitation projects is not even

considered in the CSR literature reviewed. The epistemological power of neoliberalism accepts the corporations' responsibility to compel change upon communities, albeit in an organized manner to avoid conflict.

The next chapter, then, explores the context in which the case study takes place. The relations between AGA and the community of Cajamarca are studied as part of the picture of a country (Colombia) transitioning to a more rooted neoliberal model of development.

Chapter Three: The Colombian Encounter With Gold Mining

1) Introduction

The profound changes that the current wave of gold-rush is triggering throughout Colombia are likely to have deep political, economic, geographical and social impacts. This chapter therefore introduces the history of the gold mining industry in Colombia and the central role this industry is playing in the re-orientation of the economy. In order to contextualize the contemporary reality and the case study that follows in the next chapter, it is important to understand the historical effects of gold mining in the history of Colombia. Although it has not been continuous, the three waves of 'gold rush', that is, waves of international capital investment directed towards the gold mining sector, have left clear footprints on the political and economic history of Colombia. The first wave created the basis for the geographical distribution of population during the colonial period. The second reaffirmed Colombia as an agricultural economy and created a national mining sector characterized by the presence of small-capital family units, whose income was still dependent on traditional mining. The third and last wave started in the early twenty-first century and is discussed in the following chapter. The appearance and disappearance of gold mining developed by foreign capital corresponded with the demand of the international market, the national political situation, and the development of technology. These periods are summarized and discussed in this chapter.

In the Americas, the history of gold mining of the kind based on what this paper has defined as the "western mentality" unmistakably starts with the conquest and colonization that Spain, Portugal, France and England carried out over different sections of this vast "New World." Therefore, I begin this historical account with the mining activities between the 1500s, when Spaniards started their pursuit of "El Dorado," and 1819, when independence was formally declared. In the second section of this chapter, I review the gold mining activities that occurred in the post-independence

period. Between 1850 and 1940, national and international investors tried to re-build gold mining activities on the ruins of the colonial mines. However, the lack of capital to invest combined with the lack of competitive technology rapidly ended the second wave of large-scale gold mining in the South American country. Nonetheless, local traditional gold mining activities continued throughout this period. In the final section of the chapter I discuss the consequences of the historical rupture between the Colombian economy and big international gold mining companies/corporations, and the impact on the local economy of small, traditional gold miners.

2) The First Wave: Colonial Gold Mining

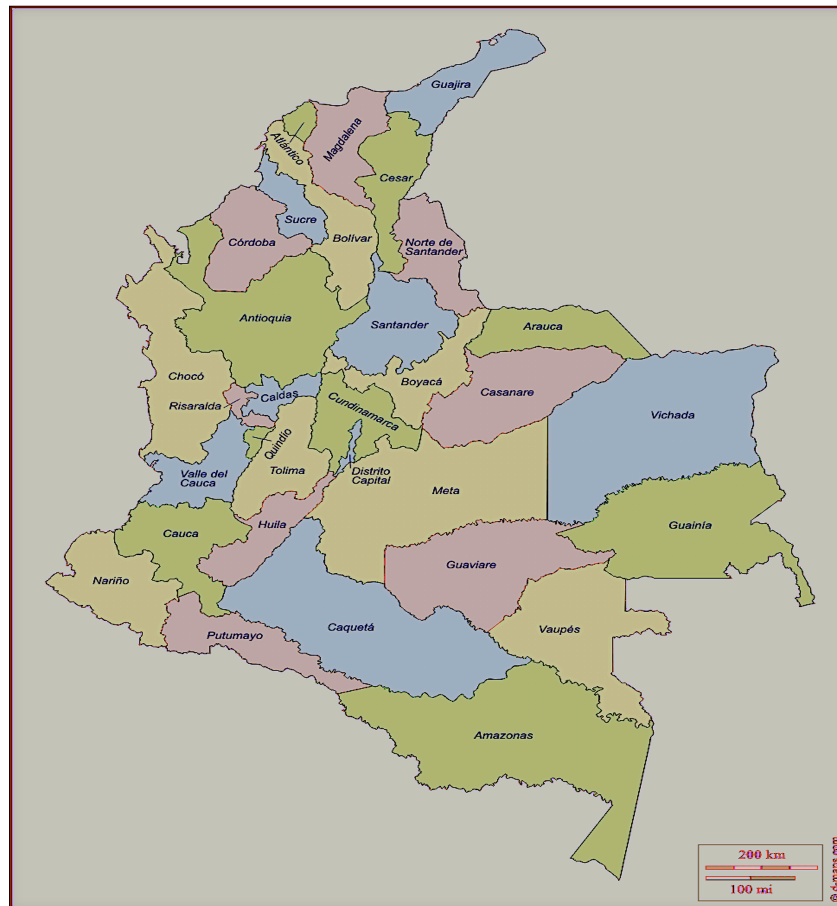
According to Peter L. Bernstain, who briefly described indigenous relationships with and manipulations of precious metals in South America, mining activities under the Indigenous empires were not any easier than under the colonial government. They were, however,

> supervised and carefully modulated to prevent exhaustion and to sustain the lives of the miners. Under the Spaniards, the merciless labor of the miners was devastating for the natives, as it was in every other golden venture of the Europeans.(Bernstein, 2000, p. 132)

During the conquest and colonization of Colombia, many indigenous and black slaves lives were discarded in this 'new world' due to the harsh working conditions in mines. However, the loss of human lives did not discourage the conquistadores. Regarding mining areas, gold mining in colonial Colombia -The Viceroyalty of Nueva Granda-[28] appeared along the Cordillera Occidental (west Andean Mountain chain) and was primary exploited by mine owners coming from Spain, using negro slaves, brought from African countries, and indigenous encomenderos, who were obliged to work in the mines for long periods of time (Sharp, 1976).

[28] The Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada was the name given to the colonial jurisdiction of north South America in 1717. Ecuador, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela were part of the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada (Gaviria-Liévano, 2005)

Illustration 3.1: Colonial Mining Zones in Colombia: Cauca, Choco & Antioquia[29]



As described by Robert C. West, Spanish colonial settlements appeared and disappeared in direct relation to the "mining of gold and silver and the exploitation of the large concentration of sedentary Indians" (West, 1952, p. 1). Hence, mining communities established the early economic structure of the country, formed around the large numbers of people who settled around areas where mining, trading, and agriculture flourished. Raising livestock also appeared as a source of food close to mining locations which were often

[29] Colombia is divided in 32 administrative divisions called Departments and one Capital District, Bogota, located in the center of the country. From d.maps.com.Departments of Colombia [map]. Retrieved From: http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=22491&lang=es. Open Source.

situated in isolated areas (West, 1952). The mining sector developed strongly and rapidly during this colonial period.

> The Viceroyalty of 'Nueva Granada' developed a dynamic mining sector that grew 2.5% annually between 1750 and 1800. This growth rate is outstanding for a pre-capitalist economy, and turned the mining sector in the leading economic activity for the Colonial Economy. (Kalmanovitz Krauter, 2008, p. 10)

Gold and silver were the two precious metals most exported from the 'New World' to Europe between 1680 and 1800 (Restrepo, 1888). The sources and methods of acquiring gold changed over time. During the early stage of the conquest, the appropriation of the gold and silver found in indigenous hands was the main source of minerals for Spaniards. According to Restrepo (1888), around 1580, gold and silver mining was consolidated as an economic activity. The way to extract the gold was by washing riverbeds, a labor that at this point in history was performed mainly by Indigenous peoples. This lasted until around 1680, when gold washing was replaced by mining of gold veins. Mining veins was the kind of labor given to 'negro slaves' and so trading slaves was also an important economic activity during this time. Thus, the model of gold mining used during the colonial times comprised the use of a slavery workforce working in mining gold veins (Restrepo, 1888). This model turned the mining sector into what Kalmanovitz Krauter describes as the leading economic activity until the beginning of the 1800s.

As West (1952) states, "In the New World, Spanish colonial settlement was based mainly on the mining of gold and silver and the exploitation of large concentration of sedentary Indians" (p.7). Consequently settlements were created as base camps of gold and silver mining. Such is the case of communities like Tiribiti, La Candelaria, Anori and Venadillo in Antioquia and Tolima (Restrepo, 1888). To a lesser extent, cultivation of lands and missionary activities also structured and located settlements. However,

mining activity and the large number of people associated with it deeply influenced the economic organization and early social structures of the area.

> Mining communities needed to be fed and clothed and supplied with tools, reagents, and labor. Consequently, the development of agriculture and stock raising was frequently associated with mining, and the supply of merchandise to the mines, often from distant areas in large part underlay the growth of colonial commerce. (West, 1952, p. 1)

Regarding colonial mining Sharp (1976) argues that "white [Spaniard] officials and miners […] viewed their tenure [of land and mine] as temporary and were never, therefore, vitally concerned with making changes that might limit their profits or alter the productivity of mines" (p. 191). As a consequence, when the Spaniards abandoned mining regions they left behind few roads, no decent housing or official buildings, few schools, slave based mining and isolated and disorganized villages.

> Spanish officials and mine owners constituted the ruling elite and exhibited little interest in anything except the accumulation of wealth…Gold brought the Spanish to an area they otherwise would have ignored; they neither intended nor sought to establish permanent residence. (Sharp, 1976, p. 4)

During the War of Independence that ended with the expulsion of the political and military presence of Spaniards from Colombia, many Spanish men and women sold or left the land to Criollos,[30] who began ruling the new country in 1819. Criollos did not have as many economic and technological resources as the Spanish crown and its loyalists, and the war had left the new ruling class mostly in debt (Kalmanovitz Krauter, 2008). For those reasons, in spite of the desire to bring new mining technologies seen in England and

[30] The term 'Criollos' refers to the children born of Spaniard conquistadors in the Americas. In the hierarchical social system, these became a privileged group, but they were still politically discriminated against. Only children born of Spaniards in Spain were eligible to occupy any government office during the colonial times. Criollos felt entitled to the territory of Nueva Granada and led the War of Independence between 1810-1819.

Germany to Colombia, gold and silver mining in Colombia relied on artisanal modes of extraction. The global demand for gold grew after independence and the inefficiency of the Colombian mining industry caused investors to lose interest in this market. As a consequence, the artisanal gold mining industry slowly decreased almost to the point of disappearing. Meanwhile coffee and quinoa plantations were becoming more profitable businesses in Tolima, the Administrative Department [31] where Cajamarca is located (Ospina, 2013).

The lack of infrastructure left by the colonizers did not make the economic integration of the country an easy task for the new ruling class. The transportation of products was difficult, and communication among regions was almost inexistent (Gonzalez, 1997). The new country had just emerged from the War of Independence and had no capital available to invest in capital-intensive sectors like gold mining, no infrastructure to move mined minerals within the country; and many legal restrictions to trade gold. Added to those difficulties, gold was still exploited by artisanal methods that failed to provide adequate surpluses. In addition, the attention of the government was focused on the six civil wars that consumed the country between 1819 and 1900. All of these factors, combined with the appearance of coffee and quinoa as alternate exports, contributed to the end of the first wave of gold mining exploitation in Colombia (Ospina, 2013): "Even Germans like Julius Richter, who still dreamed of 'El Dorado' realized that gold was less in mines and more in branches[32]" (Ospina, 2013, para. 10). Due to coffee growing, Colombia became visible in the global market by 1850.

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[31] Colombia is a Republic, and the executive branch dominates government structure. The legislative branch of the government is formed by the Congress or Senate (102 members elected by popular vote to serve for four years) and the Chamber of Representatives (166 members also elected by popular vote to serve for four years).

[32] Ospina refers to the branches of coffee and quinoa trees. These Colombian products were starting to commercialize in the international markets.

3) The Second Wave: Building a National Economy

1850 saw a renewal of hope in gold mining as a viable economic activity. The approval of liberal reforms that allowed individuals to commercialize, make coins and export gold without intervention from the government (Botero, 2007) and the fall of the international price of quinoa marked the beginning of the second wave of gold mining. The sector was fueled this time by English and French capital. The Departments of Antioquia and Tolima were the hub of this new investment, according to Botero (2007). Frontino and Bolivia Company in Remedios, Colombia Corporation in Anorí Compañía Francesa de Segovia, and Compañía Francesa de Nechí in Zaragoza were the mining companies that came to first Antioquia and later expanded to the neighbouring Department of Tolima.

By 1891, 145 gold and silver mines were situated in Tolima (Solano, 1896a). The El Gallo mine was located in 'el canon del Combeima' within the territory that AngloGold Ashanti is licenced to explore today. The owners of this industry and the national and French capital invested in it tried exploitation by means of the traditional 'molino antioqueno'[33]. As recalled by Solano, these mega projects would have only been possible if either the national government or the big foreign companies were interested in investing an important amount of capital to make Colombian gold extraction competitive globally, which did not happen (Solano, 1896). As a consequence, this second wave of gold came to an end around the 1940s (Molina Londoño, 2011).

In a similar account, Luis Fernando Molina Londoño records that in 1851 Hernan Vanegas discovered gold mining in Tolima. These mines were mainly exploited by indigenous washers of whom approximately 450 worked in these mines. However, this exploitation came to an end in 1927 because "bad neighbours, the Pijao, Indigenous people impeded mining

[33] Solano explains 'molino antioqueno' as a wooden built machine used to triturate rocks and access the gold within them. The industrialized world was already using metal build technology already in the US. (Solano, 1896)

labour"(Molina Londoño, 2011, para. 20)[34]. Molina Londoño (2011) contends that what was left in 1940 was a minor sector of small and traditional gold mining, most of which were comprised of family based businesses.

Londoño asserts that despite Colombia's mineral wealth, because its production is based on informal mining, the country had not rubbed shoulders with the big gold producing countries from 1940 until the present time. Indeed, more than 70 years passed before the most recent wave of gold mining in Colombia arrived with the turn of the twenty-first century.

3.1) The whereabouts of gold mining between 1940 and 2001

From all accounts, the relations between gold mine owners and local communities during the first two waves of gold mining in Colombia were unquestionably framed by the colonial political and economic system. Slavery, forced labour and the appropriation of land defined the way that colonial miners approached local indigenous communities. Artisanal mining methods, intensive labour and low levels of investment were the economic conditions that defined the second wave. Even today gold mining activities invariably evoke the colonial times and the looting of the resources, as the following section will demonstrate. At the same time, Cajamarca and the Department of Tolima have been acknowledged as the "Agricola pantry of Colombia" ("Cajamarca Despensa Agrícola Del Tolima," 1997) due to the amount of food this region of small peasant communities provides for the country. The encounter between these varying mental frameworks will define the third wave of gold mining.

In spite of the profound effects gold mining had during previous waves in the formation of the country, including the defining of the location of towns and cities, the disappearance of hundreds of indigenous communities and the appearance of slave labour brought from Africa, this

[34] Here Londoño refers to the opposition that the Pijao Indigenos people who inhabited the North of Tolima put against gold mining and the forced, slavery labor that Spanierds forced them to do. Molina Londoño describes the opposition as a wrong doing from the Indigenous peoples.

South American country has not become a ‘mining country’. It was, and still remains, far from the mining production or developmental levels of other countries in the region such as Chile or Peru (Idarraga, 2009). Thus, by the time of the arrival of AngloGold Ashanti in Colombia, gold mining as a family business and/or traditional/customary mining still occurred, with small and traditional mining concentrated mostly in Antioquia and Cauca. Small scale mining has become a way to survive for families that live under difficult economic conditions (Perez-Ortiz, Ramirez-Vanegas, Ardila-Ariza, Polo-Rosero, & Toro-Parra, 2010). As in other Latin American countries, these families were almost invisible to the country’s politicians up until 2001. That was the state of the gold mining sector up to 2000, when a new gold-rush came to Colombia.

The year 2001 saw the first attempt to regulate their activity through the Mining Code. The 2001 Mining Code divided small traditional mining activities into two groups. De facto mining is mining that has neither a mining title nor environmental licence. In some documents this type of mining activity is referred to as “illegal mining” (Perez-Ortiz *et al*., 2010). Traditional mining, on the other hand is defined by a minimum of 10 years of operations and at least 5 years of continual exploitation. This type of mining also has no licence. The Colombian Ombudsman Office calculates that at least 15,000 families live on non-licensed mining.

More than 100 civil wars, peace processes, development plans, roads and the consolidation of the state had taken place in Colombia when in 2005, the resilient and omnipresent neoliberal discourse of “the need to attract international capital to promote industry, jobs and development” reappeared, this time under the guise of “attract[ing] mining corporations” (Presidencia de la Republica De Colombia, 2010). This more recent wave is the one in which AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) is playing an important role.

4) Third Wave: Colombia's opportunity for development?

Two events that announced the beginning of a new gold-rush in a country where the total production of gold between 1995 and 1999 oscillated between 18.8 and 34.6 tons per year (Estadisticas Minero Energeticas de Colombia, 2000) acted as alarm bells. First, the abrupt and rapid appearance in remote areas of the country of multinational mining companies and its workers who were drilling holes and buying land. Second, between 2005 and 2007 the government approved thousands of permits to mining corporations to perform exploration work over 30% of the territory (Rozental, 2007). Today, the "mining locomotive" policy places mining as the central piece in the current national discussion on the path of development that the country should follow.

4.1) The path to development: abandoning local economies

While I was in the midst of writing the last few paragraphs of this thesis, the main pages of Colombian newspapers were inundated with images of Colombian peasants blocking roads, holding placards, giving interviews, chanting and suffering the cruelty of the riot police. During February 2013, coffee growers went on strike due to the hard economic situation they were facing. The price of coffee had decreased in the internal market and the few subsidies they received were not enough to sustain the economic activity (El espectador, 2013a; Salas, 2013). Eventually, coffee growers negotiated an increase in the subsidies with the national government. Nonetheless, in September 2013 there were potato, onion, rice, coffee, maize, wheat, beans and some other produce growers protesting side by side with small cattle ranchers and the private transportation sector.

In every single media interview the peasants pointed at the Free-Trade Agreement (FTA) signed with the US and Canada as the cause of their economic disgrace. As contended by Garay-Salamanca *et al.,* "[e]ven though significant tariff reduction were implemented in Colombia from the beginning of the 1990s, the (agricultural) sector remained protected by

various instruments" (Garay-Salamanca, Gómez, & Landínez, 2009). However, signing such an asymmetrical free trade agreement with the world's greatest economic power[35] imposed a lot of economic pressure on the agricultural sector in Colombia by having to compete against such a robust market. The political anxiety that the agricultural sector carries due to its historical relation with internal conflicts and illicit crops constitutes another weight that peasants in Colombia have to bear.

> Cesar Perez, one of the leaders, regrets the "politicized debate" […] and complains of their stigmatization, "The Defence Minister thinks that everything that has to do with peasants is related to the FARC[36]". Certainly, the guerrillas' support will do no favours to the peasant farmers ("Land in Colombia: Reserved for whom?," 2013).

Illustration 3.2: Evidence of the National Agricultural Strike[37]

In spite of these difficult situations, the small farm economy in Colombia provides a substantial part of the domestic food supply and accounts for at least 10% of the occupations of people employed in Colombia (Garay-

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[35] In 2001, the USGDP was 122 times that of Colombia, its agricultural GDP 15 times greater, the cultivated area was 26 times larger, and the number of tractors per thousand workers was 257 times higher in the US. (Garay-Salamanca *et al.*, 2009)

[36] Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) Ejercito del Pueblo, the oldest guerrilla group that still exists in Colombia. Its name in English translates as: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. Peoples' Army.

[37] This collage was made from *TeleSur.com*. "Paro Nacional Agrario en Colombia". Colombian Peasants protesting on roads [pictures]by TeleSur. Retrived from http://www.telesurtv.net/articulos/2013/08/14/ratifican-paro-nacional-agrario-en-colombia-para-el-proximo-lunes-6327.html. Copyright La nueva Television del Sur C.A. Reprinted with permission.

Salamanca *et al*., 2009). The characterization of small-scale economy is based on the size of land they own and on which they work: "Each one of the small-scale productive units utilized on average 4.8 hectares of land, of which 1.2 were in crops, 3.2 were used for livestock and 0.4 in forest" (Garay-Salamanca *et al*., 2009). In contrast, commercial agriculture uses 65.1 hectares per farm. In spite of the small size of land, small-scale farms accounted for 50% of the total cultivated area in 2005, and in products such as onions, small-scale farms accounted for 89% of the cultivated area. Senator Robledo (Comision Quinta del Senado, 2012) explains that the open market economic policies required under a free-trade agreement compelled unsubsidized small-scale farms of 4.8 hectares each to compete against the strong and protected US agricultural sector. As predicted by the analysis proposed by Garay-Salamanca *et al.* in 2009, the area cultivated of products such as beans, green peas, maize, sorghum and wheat has decreased substantially since 2009.

Illustration 3.3: Countries that Have Signed Free Trade Agreements with Colombia [38]

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[38] Map conventions: Yellow - Current and ratified free trade agreements. Green – Agreements signed and waiting to be ratified. Blue- Under negotiation. Free trade agreements subscribed by Colombia. [map]. *Proexport Colombia*. Retrived from http://www.slideshare.net/pasante/colombia-pas-de-oportunidades-septiembre-2011-9397460. Copyright SlideShare. Reprinted with permison.

The first free trade agreement signed by Colombia took place in 1995 between Colombia and Mexico[39]. As of 2013, Colombia has signed and ratified 15 free trade agreements, is negotiating 6 more and has another 4 waiting to be ratified by the legislative power. Nonetheless, in many interviews that took place during the Agrarian National Strike, peasants mainly refer to the US and the Canadian ones(Radio(R) Internacional, 2013) (Comité Dignidad Papera, 2013). How, then, does the Canada-Colombia free trade agreement affect this situation? In 2012 Foreign Direct Investment in Colombia reached 16,683 million dollars, an 11% increase from the previous year. 81,4% of that number was directed to the mining-energy sector (Martinez & Aguilar, 2012). Canada, the country that trades 70% of the mining shares in the world, is a key piece in this new plan for development.

The United Nations Human Development Report 2011 on Colombia provides an in-depth picture of the lived realities that I attempt to portray in this thesis. The report "Rural Colombia. Reasons for hope", discusses the historical political and human denial of peasants and Colombian peasants possible contributions towards development. The 60 years war that has focused its military actions in rural areas, the never completed agrarian reform and the political and economic priority given to urban areas are cited in the report as causes of this denial (PNUD, 2011). The report accurately identifies that one of the most shocking demonstrations of political and human denial of peasants in Colombia is the lack of a concrete category to refer to their human group in the National Census. As the UN report identifies, the major statistical project that takes place every 5 years in Colombia divides the population of the country between "urban" and "others". Urban is defined as every major populated town (cabecera municipal) in a municipality, the rest of being rural (DANE, 1994). In quantitative studies a wide definition of a category will not succeed in capturing the concrete conditions under which people live due to the

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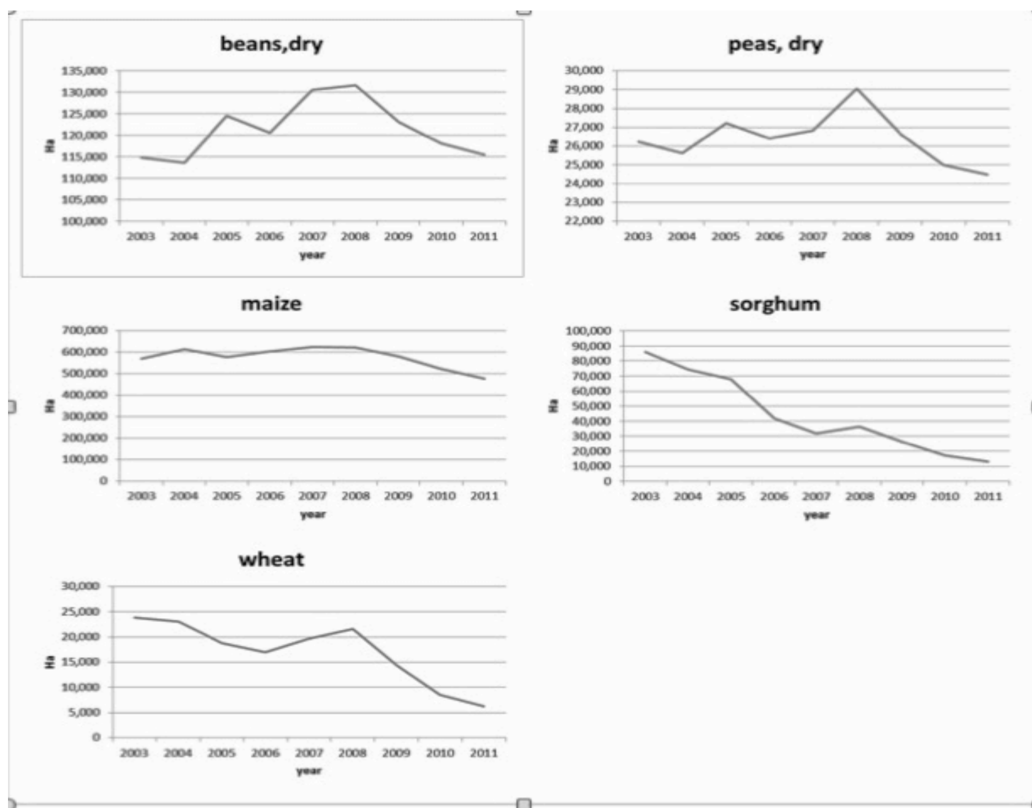
[39] For more information on the free trade agreement between Mexico and Colmbia see: Ministerio de Comercio Industria y Turismo, (2011)

variance of the data. So a lack of understanding and knowledge about the rural areas and their inhabitants, argues the report, is evident. The UN Human Development Report (HDR) describes the situation as follows

> Colombia is more rural than is generally realized [ ] yet? mining is taking over more hectares of rural land than food production. The government has signed Free trade and association agreements which have created incentives for the agro-industrial enterprises, but with few exceptions, the productive performance of the agricultural sector is not as high as expected. In the mean time, small and medium-capital peasant families wait for government measures to prevent the loss of their local economies. (PNUD, 2011).

Illustration 3.4: Total of Cultivated Areas per Year[40]



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[40] Illustration 3.3 presents the cultivated area of crops (in Ha) per year. The crops depicted were predicted to have a decrease in cultivated area by Gary-Salamanca *et al* (2009). A clear decrease trend in cultivated area is shown for beans, peas, maize, sorghum and wheat, especially from 2008 to 2011. Author's graphic using the data available at the Food and Agriculture Organization (United Nations). Retrieved in Sep 12, 2013 from http://faostat3.fao.org/faostat-gateway/go/to/home/E

4.1.1 The national debate triggered by the 'mining locomotive'

In the eyes of the private lobby groups and the national government, the recent mining wave in Colombia is linked to the hope and the opportunity of reaching development, a state that Colombian governments had anticipated for a few decades. According to Fedesarrollo,[41] since 2001 the rise in demand and price of minerals has seen an upsurge of mineral exploitation around the world, but until 2011 Latin America had received on average 30% of the capital flowing towards mineral exploration and exploitation (Martinez & Aguilar, 2012). It was in this context that AGA issued their plan to explore for 'long-life low-cost' greenfield mines in Canada, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Australia.

A 2012 report on the 'Socio-economic Impact of Mining in Colombia' by Fedesarrollo includes a discussion of the widespread negative connotations attached to mining (Cardenas & Reina, 2008) . According to this report, the negative connotations are related to the consequences in countries where booms and busts in the price of minerals have destroyed regional economies (Cardenas & Reina, 2008). However the report raises questions about these negative effects on the grounds of 'the Canadian case'. Canada is used as an example of one of those few countries, along with Australia and Chile, that according to Fedesarrollo, have overcome the economic risks of mining and successfully achieved economic growth through the exploitation of mineral resources.

Canadian GDP per capita and low inflation are the indicators that demonstrate the success the 'Canadian Case' reached, according Fedesarrollo, through strong macroeconomic frameworks and government institutions that protect the Canadian economy against the normal oscillations of the mineral markets. The model under which Canada is functioning is regarded as the example for Colombia. Would the relations between mining

[41] Foundation for the Superior Education and Development (Fedesarrollo) is a non-for-profit private entity. It was established in 1970 and focuses on researching topics of political economy and social policy. Its purpose is to contribute to creating, following and making better public policy. (Fedesarrollo, 2007AD)

corporations and local communities in Canada comprise part of what Fedesarrollo sees as an example to follow? On the contrary, a quick analysis of his report evidences the standard silencing of the conflict between local communities and mining corporations. Neither the 2008 nor the 2012 reports presented by Fedesarrollo for discussion to the government of Colombia mentions the relationship between local communities and mining corporations. The only social consequence mentioned in the reports is the 'opportunity to reach development' (Martinez & Aguilar, 2012; Cardenas & Reina, 2008).

Fedesarrollo stated that the 2009 rise in gold prices in the world and the identification of the gold mining potential in Colombia challenged the country to "transform the mineral wealth in opportunity while responding to future generations on how the resources coming from non-renewable resources were invested" (Martinez & Aguilar, 2012, p. 10). Hence, the intimate relationship between gold mining and the idea of 'opportunity' permeates the Colombian political and economic discussions on this new mining wave. The link established between the concept of 'development opportunity' and 'gold mining' in the framework used by the government policy was re-affirmed by Carlos Rodado Noriega, the Colombia's head of the Ministry of Mines and Energy in his presentation for the 2010 'International Mining Fair'. The title of his presentation was a clear sample of this link: "The Colombian Mining Sector: Fount of Opportunities" (Noriega, 2010). As of 2012, Colombia has 'taken some of those opportunities' and ranked 20th in the gold producing countries, with Canada in 7th place (Martinez & Aguilar, 2012).

This 'opportunity for development' is based on the attraction of foreign capital to the country and on the assumption of the open markets and free trade agreements of the neoliberal globalized system as the norm. In 2010, oil and mining absorbed 72.7% of the Direct Foreign Investment (Idarraga, 2011), in 2011 60%, and in 2012 it reached 53%(Garavito, Iregui, & Ramirez, 2012). Despite this recent apparent decrease, oil and mining are still the main sectors in which foreign capital is invested Colombia. Continuing

international investment is therefore regarded as essential in maintaining this economic sector in the country.

4.2) The dimension of the mining rush

As a centralized presidential system,[42] Colombia has decided to maintain jurisdiction of their mineral resources under the executive power concentrated in the President and the Ministries. The 'Ministry of Mines and Energy' and the 'National Mining Agency' are the two centralized national offices in charge of designing mining policy, procedures, rules, and regulations as well as processing licensing and following up exploration and exploitation sites.

Throughout this thesis, I have emphasized that until the year 2000, Colombia was far from being a mining country. As argued in my BA thesis, Colombia is a geographically and politically fractured country in which the monopolization of land and the clientelist relationships endemic to the political parties have triggered at least 20 civil wars since the first years of independence (Quesada, 2003). The most recent expression of civil war has lasted for over 50 years. During the Cold War period and inspired by the Cuban revolution and Marxist political thought and ideology, at least 5 guerrilla movements declared war on the political institutions. Maoism, Leninism, Trotskyism, and Guevarism all have had political and armed expressions in Colombia (Renderos, 2011; Medina Gallego, 2010). The strong anti-imperialist, anti-United States feeling of these guerrillas, who alleged that multinational corporations came to loot Colombian resources, targeted the resource extraction industry (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN), 2013).

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[42] Political power in Colombia is concentrated in the President and the Ministries that conform the executive power. The legislative powers (Congress or Senate and The Chamber of Representatives) share the tasks of creating and approving legislation. In 1990 the policy of decentralization of the country gave jurisdiction to the popularly elected Governors of the Departments over education, environmental regulation, health, infrastructure (Gutiérrez-Sanín, 2005)

At the end of the twentieth century, two of those left wing armed movements were still active. In the last 30 years some of the guerrilla movements signed peace agreements, while others have dissolved, yet all of them have fought fiercely against international investment in the resource extraction industry in Colombia. Thus, international investors were afraid to enter Colombia where they would run a high risk of facing either the kidnaping of their managers and/or bombing of buildings and pipes, two of the more common actions against them (Renderos, 2011; Medina Gallego, 2010).

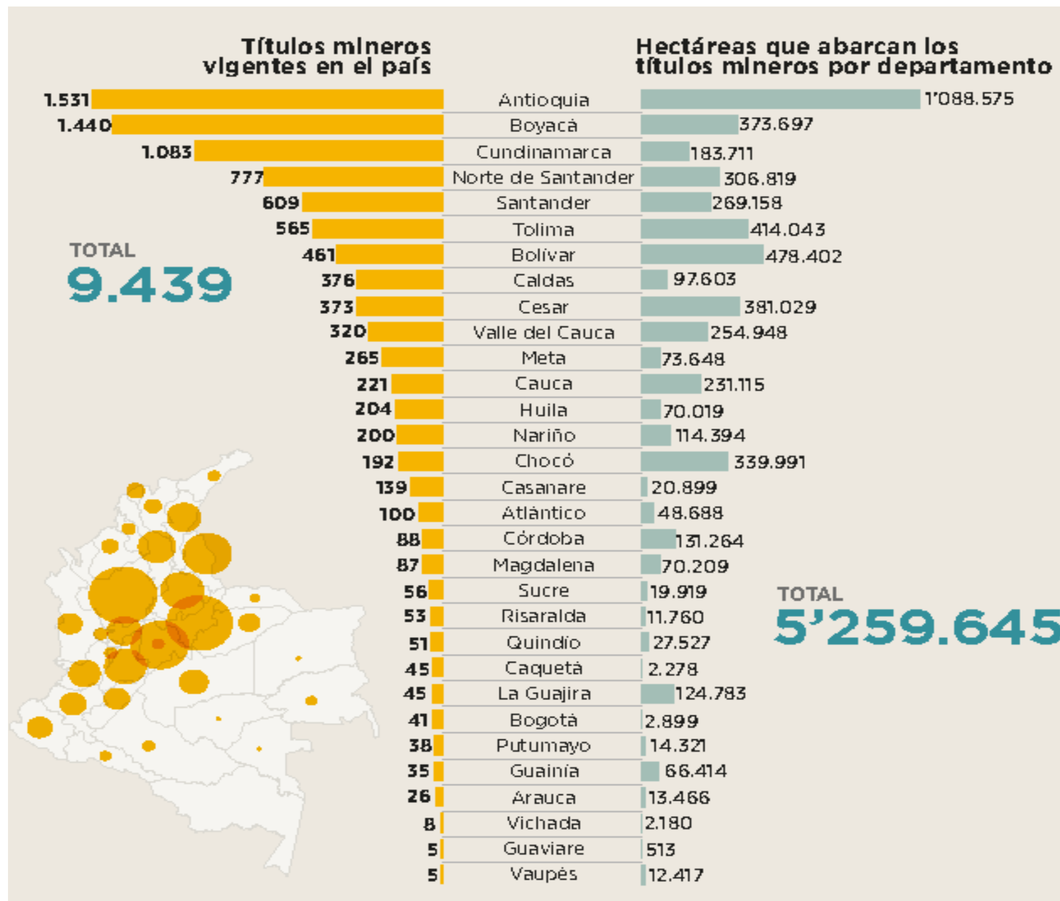
Some political analysts, for instance Renderos (2011), identify the 'improvement on the security conditions' as one of the fundamental factors that enabled the large-scale entrance of the international capitals to the country to be invested in high risk, isolated areas. However, rather than the general 'improvement of security' proposed by Renderos, a more persuasive argument, in my view, is that a clear governmental interest in attracting foreign investment to the mining sector and the series of political and military strikes that weakened the two guerrilla armies were the two internal conditions that permitted Colombia to take a seat in the mining car in which Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Bolivia and, Brazil were already riding.

> The combination of better prices and less risk resulted in an avalanche of mining permits that even put the national registry office in a difficult situation to study and analyze them all. Besides, under a flexible legislation approved in 2001, individuals and companies asked for 20 thousand exploration and exploitation permits –one title is good for both exploration and exploitation- that cover 22 million hectares out of the 114 millions that Colombia has in total. (Renderos, 2011, para. 6)

The quotation above is evidence that the impact of the mining rush in Colombia has now acquired national dimensions and is a countrywide debate that goes beyond AGA projects. Nonetheless, AngloGold Ashanti remains one of the main players in this downpour of exploration/exploitation permits.

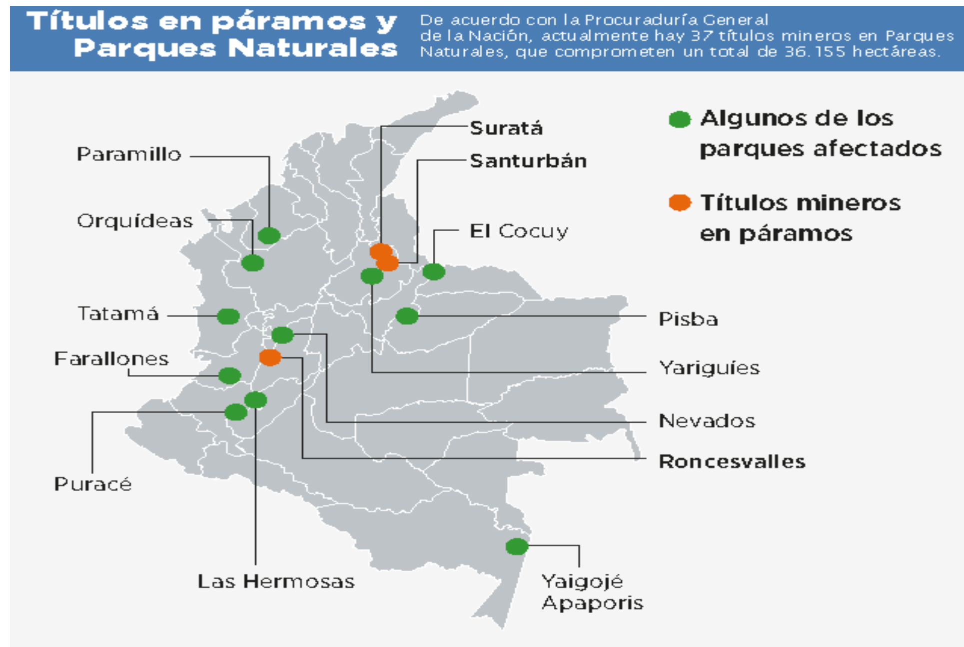
With 400 mining titles in 2013, AGA holds the most mining titles in Colombia (El espectador, 2013b). The following data illustrates the current size of the mineral rush in Colombia.

Illustration 3.5: Location and Quantity of Mining Titles in Colombia[43]



43 From *El Espectador.com* "Asi esta el mapa minero del pais, , infografia. Los Diez Departamentos con mas Titulos Mineros" [Illustration]. Retrieved from: http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/infografia/articulo-414719-asi-esta-el-mapa-minero-del-pais. Copyright DRA Editorial. Re-printed with permission.

Illustration 3.6: Mining Titles in Páramos and Natural Parks[44]



In spite of the dimensions of the human displacement that mega-mining projects would produce, the effect on population is not the only outcome discussed when talking about the dimensions of the mining feast at a national level. The flexibility of the 2001 Código Minero (Mining Code) gave the necessary room between 2001 and 2004 to issue mining permits on National Parks and sensitive mountain areas known as 'páramos'. Typically, páramo are characteristic ecosystems of the North-Andean region, which are located below the snow line. Páramos are an important source of water for entire cities and are recognised for their concentration of biodiversity. The páramos of Surata, Santurban, and Roncesvalles are compromised by mining titles and entire cities have turned against these licenses (Morales-Betancourt & Estevez-Varon, 2007)[45].

In Bucaramanga, the city that has perhaps hosted the most active social demonstrations against the several mining licenses approved on the 'Páramo

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[44] From *El Espectador.com* "Asi esta el mapa minero del pais. infografia. Los Diez Departamentos con mas Titulos Mineros" [Illustration]. Retrieved from: http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/infografia/articulo-414719-asi-esta-el-mapa-minero-del-pais Copyright DRA Editorial. Re-printed with permission. .

[45] (See Illustration 3.5)

de Santurban', marches and rallies have been massive ways of opposing mining on this delicate and complex ecosystem. The possible consequences of gold mining on land and water contamination and fears of mining affecting the quality and quantity of water sources for the city are presented as the main reasons to oppose mining. Since this conflict is not the case study of this research and is only mentioned to outline the national dimensions of the mining rush debate, I conclude this section of the discussion by sharing a picture published by the local media of the more recent rally against mining activities in Santurban, which took place in March 15th, 2013.

Illustration 3.7: "Everyone Marched for Water, Life and Dignity"[46]

4.3) The Colombian Government and its "Mining Locomotive"

In 2010, the Colombian National Congress approved the National Development Plan 2010-2014 (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo –PND) presented by Juan Manuel Santos, elected President of Colombia in 2009. The current PND proposes 5 'locomotives' that according to the President must drive the

[46] From *Vanguardia.com* "Todos Marcharon por la vida , el agua y la dignidad » . [picture] by Javier Gutierrez. Retrieved from: http://www.vanguardia.com/economia/local/200302-todos-marcharon-por-la-vida-el-agua-y-la-dignidad. Copyright 2013 Galvis Ramirez & Cia SA. Reprinted with permission

train of the economic development forward, and mining is one of them (Santos, 2010). Santos described the high expectations placed on the mining, oil and energy sectors by saying, “fortunately for the country, the locomotive is already running, in full vapor and full speed. Never before Colombia has started a journey of similar proportions, nor visualized such hopeful future by the hand of the mining and energy sector” (Santos, 2011, para. 8).

At the VII Congress of Petroleum, Mining and Energy in 2011, Juan Manuel Santos described the National Government’s policy regarding the mining locomotive. I ran the President’s speech on Tagxedo.com, a word cloud generator, which provides a visual idea of the most frequently used words.Even though the use of a word in itself would not mean as much as the context in which it is used, it is useful to identify the topics that the President judged as imperative to reiterate in this ‘Congress’ and that are directing national government’s planning. Based on the word cloud generated, Santos’ use of words infers a presidential concern with inclusivity. His use of verbs conjugated in the first person plural where ‘we’ refers to ‘Colombians’ (tenemos, hemos) mixed with the frequent repetition of first person plural possessives ‘our’ (nuestro-nuestra) gave the speech a tone of national agreement.

In this speech, Santos painted a picture in which Colombians are fully engaged with this plan, presenting a sense of national commitment and pride. This commitment was reinforced with words like ‘pais’ (country), ‘nacional’ (national), ‘Gobierno’ (government) that underpin nationalistic support to the specific form of development proposed by the leaders of the country. “We Colombians have the potential to grow.” “We are developing our resources,” according to Santos. All this potential, growth, and development opportunities were reflected onto mining companies. In a country with a nation wide debate on the developmental path followed by the current president, the denial of the existing conflict by using a speech form in which ‘all Colombians’ agree demonstrates a particular way of enframing the debate. Instead of acknowledging the debate and arguing the reasons for his

government to promote policies, the President pictured a reality in which Colombians were engaged with this 'mining locomotive', in which, in spite of the challenges, we all will benefit.

Illustration 3.8: Colombian Government Word Cloud[47]

In spite of the high hopes and expectations, and the silencing of the opposition, Santos (2011) could do no more than to also recognize what he called 'challenges that the government is facing' regarding the mining sector. The fact that mining has not "brought positive changes in the lives of people who reside in regions that have benefited from royalties [...] brings the attention of the government to the need of evaluating the royalty system" (para. 15). He did not, however, acknowledge that there is a national conflict; rather, he merely stated that the government should respond to these issues in order to speed up the mining locomotive. The President of Colombia said, "[w]e [the government] are conscious that mining institutions have not

[47] I run the word cloud with the President's speech in Tagxedo software.

achieved all their capacity to respond effectively to the mining activity requirements" (para. 21). The successes and challenges regarding security issues were also mentioned in the speech when he said: "terrorist acts, we went from 1645 in 2002 to 471 in 2010, and in kidnappings from 1708 in 2002 to 188 in 2010 –reduction of 90%-, but we have to keep going to reach '0'" (para. 24). Even though Santos mentioned problems that are related with the national debate on development, he did so by way of addressing the need for education on the industry of mining that the people in Colombia requires. Thus, he said,

> [it] seems natural that the arrival of national and international enterprises going into faraway places […] creates concern and curiosity on local governments […] people do not understand the complexities and amount of investment needed to mine and create false expectations so we need to educate people. (para. 120)

Three out of these four problems identified by Juan Manuel Santos are related to conflict between 'we' (Colombians) and resource extraction companies. Conflicts that are beyond the economic benefit and development that Fenalco, the Minister and the President have assumed as true include the following: first, royalties have not benefited local communities; second, security issues triggered by resource extraction in a country in civil war; and third, opposition of local communities, including local governments, to mining developments on their territories. This last topic and the explanation given by the President have become recurrent themes in the national debate. The President of Colombia affirms that if local governments oppose projects, it is due to a lack of education and understanding, in other words from ignorance. From a position of having superior knowledge, the head of the executive thus disqualifies all the national social movements organized in opposition to mining. Santos closed his speech by inviting mining owners and investors present in the room to be "part of a common and profitable enterprise called Colombia" (Santos, 2011, para. 144). The question might be

asked, if Colombia is an enterprise, are Colombians employees, investors Or owners? Or all three?

4.4) The academic debate

What is being discussed in the academic and political settings in Colombia regarding the 'mining locomotive'? Catalina Toro, coordinator of the Law and Environmental Group at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, described the dimension of the national impact and debate created by 'La Locomotora Minera'. Toro argued in a radio interview given to Radio Universidad de Colombia in February 2013 that the unprecedented dimensions of the mining investment threatens the Colombian territory and polarizes the Colombian population. Some people have high hopes regarding the 'benefits' of mining while others completely oppose it (Unimedios Producer, 2013). The national discussion has included topics such as impacts on the national economy of the current amount of international capital invested in Colombia, the role of Colombia in the global economic panorama, the strength and readiness of the government institutions to deal with this avalanche, the lack of legislation and regulation, trespassing in environmentally protected areas, ways to deal with artisanal, illegal mining and national miners, displacement and security. The dimension of the debates that Toro portrays in this interview well demonstrates the dimension of the debate in Colombia today. Colombians, in different scenarios, are not only discussing one or two projects scheduled to take place but the consequences of the model to the entire country.

4.5) A country in transition: Colombian mining legislation

As recognized by the President of the country, Colombian mining institutions were vastly ill-prepared to receive the volume of applications they received between 2002 and 2011. In 2012 the backlog reached 19,000 applications for exploration and exploitation of the Colombian subsoil (Santos, 2011; Renderos, 2011). A lack of institutional knowledge and

experience were cited as reasons for the backlog and in 2011 the executive power decided to freeze applications, creating the Mining National Agency and the Hydrocarbon National Agency as dependencies of the Minister of Mining and Energy to help process applications and develop new legal and regulatory frameworks.

According to the Constitution of Colombia and reaffirmed in Article 5 of the Mining Code, all minerals independently of kind, location or physical state are the exclusive property of the State without consideration of property, possession or tenancy of the land (Ministerio de Minas y Energia, 2010). This provision allows the Colombian government to appropriate the land necessary to access its mineral resources. As a consequence, a mining title grants access to the exploration of the land and the exploitation of the mineral. The title-holder would have to buy the land needed from the rightful owners, most of them peasants. In Colombia the government owns the subsoil. However if they want to have access to the resources that lay in the subsoil, they have to buy the soil. The owners of the soil are obliged to sell it in the name of the national interest (Ministerio de Minas y Energia, 2010).

Interest in 'modernizing' the mining legislation first began in 1996 and ended with the Law 685 of 2001 or the 2001 Mining Code. Law 685 was strongly criticized regarding the way it was created and the content it expressed. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) "supported a technical assistance project to help the Colombian government reform its mining law" (Mining Watch Canada & Censat-Agua Viva, 2009, p.9). The result of this 'modernization' of the Mining Code was the lifting of restrictions for mining in environmental sensitive areas, the requirement that small traditional miners obtain permits that are issued under restricted conditions, cuts in taxes to mining companies and the liquidation of the state mining company. Minercol, previously a state mining company, subsequently reduced controls and invited private international capitals to invest in Colombia. This more flexible regulation left the country dealing with thousands of applications that came at once, many of them from Canadian

companies like B2Gold or Barrick Gold. The lack of protection and experience aggravated the national debate regarding the viciousness of Law 685. In these debates, Canada has been accused of using its International Development Agency to promote the interest of private mining companies in Colombia by supporting a regulation change in which international corporations were benefited.

Following heated national debates, in 2010 the Congress issued Law 1382, a new Mining Code that replaced 685. This new law established limitations on minable areas and the need for consultation with ethnic peoples who would have priority over private business to mine their territories. However, the Colombian Constitutional Court declared the new Mining Code 'unconstitutional' due to lack of consultation with ethnic communities during their conception (Redaccion Semana, 2012). Ironically, ethnic groups were consulted regarding the law that expected to regulate consultations with ethnic communities. The Court deferred its sanction for two years to give the government prudential time to come up with a new, fully consulted code. During this period, Law 1382 was the approved law only until May 2013, when the period given ended. Due to the lack of a new code, in May 2013 Law 685 came back to 'regulate' mining. Jorge Enrique Robledo, a Senator of Colombia, told 'Noticias Uno' that the coming back of Law 685 would "push Colombia back 10 years regarding environmental protection, which would favor mining companies" (Robledo, as quoted by Noticias Uno, 2013 para. 5) Robledo explained that the protection of environmentally sensitive areas and regulation on consultation of Indigenous peoples were ruled out by multinational corporations in the 2001 code, which was written and approved when mining was not on the minds of Colombians. The Senator also affirmed that Colombians had to fight back to bring a version of consultation and protection back in 2010. Julio Fierro, a geologist professor at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, argued that with the return of Law 685, "the ones who lose are peasant communities that have been displaced by mining projects, indigenous communities who have been

mislead and coopted, and in some cases they are looted by mining mega projects" (Fierro, Julio as quoted by Noticias Uno, 2013, para. 2).

Notably, even though the 2010 Mining Code maintains the definition of mining as public interest (utilidad pública), which gives mining priority over any other use of land, the 2010 Code also had more room for environmental protection, legalization of traditional and small national mining, and some room for ethnic communities consultation. Even so, with those options open in 2010, the conflicts between local communities and big mining corporations have been increasing in recent years. Traditional miners, peasants, indigenous communities and even medium sized cities like Bucaramanga perceive large mining projects as the potential cause of negative consequences to their well-being.

The manifestation of the conflict between local communities and multinational mining corporations that seems to be most wide spread and the most concerning for human rights activism is related to traditional small miners. The Ombudsman's office described the conflict between small traditional miners and big mining corporations as follows:

> On one side the big mining industries have been adjudicated areas where from immemorial times traditional mining or de facto mining have operated, in spite of the fact that the traditional miners of the area have had applied to obtain legal permits to exploit the soil way before the contracts with mining were under revision. (Perez-Ortiz *et al.*, 2010, p. 238)

Not only does legislation seem to be favoring gold mining corporations, but also actual government and bureaucrats' actions and decisions have been identified as consciously ignoring legislation and procedures to rush through big mining corporations applications. The government has been accused of overseeing current restrictions present in the Mining Code to make decisions that favour big mining corporations interest.

5) Concluding Comments

Gold mining in Colombia, as was demonstrated, has not been a regular participant in the economic or political configuration of the country and its nation-state. However, it is sufficiently demonstrated in this chapter that in spite of large-scale gold mining industry appearance and disappearance throughout history, the three gold rush waves have left profound marks on the political and economic construction of Colombia. During the colonial times, mining influenced the appearance of the first settlements. Since the mental framework that influenced the extraction of the natural resource was the colonial one, the Spaniards did not take care in planning the construction of infrastructure that would help in moving the production or developing settlements that had enough and safe infrastructure to maintain the population who live in the town. Thus, the Spaniards were concerned only with extracting the gold, exploiting the labour provided by Indigenous peoples or African Slaves, and leaving the "New World" as soon as possible. So the geographical structure of the country and the mental relation between gold mining and the looting of the country are deeply embedded in the memory of the country and its peoples.

The second wave of gold rush was characterized as an attempt of the new ruling class to construct the industry, with the help of French and German capital, on the ruins of the colonial mines. However, the huge amounts of capital needed to make the industry profitable discouraged the investors in a few years. Gold rushes in the US and Canada were making the prices competitive at this time, and the technological delay and the lack of infrastructure put a halt on this second gold rush. The second gold rush finished with the spread of small-mining exploitations, based on the rural families as economic and labour resources to exploit the gold in traditional (los technology) and small-scale manners. Today, around 15,000 families live off this 'de facto' mining.

The third wave of gold rush in Colombia comprises a major piece in a development plan that became evident in 2001 with the reform of the mining

code and in 2005 with the entrance of multinational mining corporations. In this development plan the peasantry economy and small-scale gold mining have no clear place. The policies adopted by the government pressure peasants to dismantle their production units and allocate that land to industrial crops or mining exploitation. The national debate triggered by these political and economic measures is evident in academic debates, political opposition within governmental organizations such as the Senate, and in the massive social unrest whose main actors are the Colombian peasants. Colombian peasants in particular have been active since the beginning of 2013.

It is within this bound economic and political system that the current gold mining project is taking place. Significantly, 'La colosa', the project that AGA is building in Cajamarca, the "national pantry of Colombia", is one of the first of two open-pit mines that are under exploration, one in the Department of Tolima and the other in the neigbourhood to the north, the Department of Antioquia.

Chapter Four: The Case of Cajamarca and AngloGold Ashanti

1) Introduction

The previous chapter sought to demonstrate that the Colombian government's pursuit of development in the 21st century follows neoliberal political economic practices which include opening of markets to foreign capital and entering into free trade agreements. The peasant population whom, from their own accounts, see this new trajectory as threatening their very existence as a group perceives this economic orientation very negatively. The abandonment of peasant owned land due to bankruptcy, aggravated by the internal displacement caused by war, draws a very troubling picture of the future of peasants in the country. In this context, the current chapter explores in depth the characteristics and fundamental elements that comprise the relationship between the local community of Cajamarca, Tolima and the multinational mining corporation AGA. The objective is then to explore through this case study, the thesis that the mental frameworks of both groups are essentially conflictive.

Here, I analyze the characteristics of the mental schemata of AGA and the community of Cajamarca through the themes of: Identity of each actor, perceptions of just/legal held by the corporation and the community, perceptions of land and its relationship to each actor, perceptions of 'the other' actor, and finally, solutions proposed by each. These themes were chosen based on their repetitiveness in the literature and data compiled regarding the local community of Cajamarca and its relations with AngloGold Ashanti. These themes also assisted me to capture the ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemology discourses of The AGA Corporation and the local community of Cajamarca.

I begin this chapter with a description of Cajamarca, the location for the case study that is the subject of this thesis, followed by the thematic analysis of the mental frameworks of the population of Cajamarca, as

represented in the data. The second section of the chapter addresses the mental framework of AngloGold Ashanti as represented in the data.

2) The Community of Cajamarca, Colombia

2.1) Geography and population

Cajamarca is located in the Department of Tolima on the Colombian Central Andean Cordillera. According to the municipality's webpage, Cajamarca was founded on 1913, and covers an area of 520 km^2. Its name means 'tierra fría' (cold weather) in the Quechua indigenous language (Alcandia de Cajamarca, 2009). The neighboring city of Ibague is the Capital of the Department. As mentioned above, Cajamarca was recognized by the national government as the 'pantry of Colombia' due to its significant agricultural and animal husbandry production ("Cajamarca Despensa Agricola del Tolima," 1997) that provides agricultural resources to the country. This designation is featured on the welcoming message that opens the municipality's web page, representing the pride and embodying the identity of the region, as will be discussed later (Alcaldia de Cajamarca - Tolima, 2013).

According to the municipality's web page, Cajamarca's location on the Andean Cordillera is at the intersection of a variety of climates. The lowest part of the municipality is 1814m above sea level, while the highest peaks reach 3400m above sea level (Alcaldia de Cajamarca, 2009). The height and the tree rivers that run through the municipality give the region tremendous biodiversity, which is all the more impressive given that the area covers only 520km^2. Thirty-five percent of the total area, or 180km^2, fits the definition of páramo[48] and has been a protected ecological area since 1956.

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[48] Typically, páramos are characteristic ecosystems of the North Andean region, and are located below the snow line. Páramos are an important source of water for entire cities and are known for having a concentration of biodiversity. For more information on this kind of ecosystem, see (Morales-Betancourt & Estevez-Varon, 2007)

Illustration 4.1 Cajamarca, Colombia[49]

To capture a clearer picture of the nuances of the composition of the rural communities in Colombia, I decided to work with the model proposed by the Human Development Report for Colombia (PNUD, 2011). The Report contends that the current differentiation between urban and rural areas by the size of the population is not applicable for Colombia. The proposed rural index combines the "popular density, integrates the whole municipality as a unit of analysis, and assumes "rurality" as a continuum" This is a more complex indicator that abandons the simplistic dichotomy between rural/urban. According to the HDR rurality index and the map of the rural continuum in Colombia presented in the report, 25% to 50% of the population lives in the rural area of the Municipality of Cajamarca (PNUD, 2011, p. 19). The east side of the municipality is less rural, while the farther west on the map the rurality index increases up to 75%. The only tip of the

[49] From Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History Global Volcanism Local Villages in Proximity to Machin [map]. Courtesy of the IFRC and Relief Web to the Smithsonian Insitution. Retrived from: http://www.volcano.si.edu/volcano.cfm?vn=351040&bgvn=1&rnum=region15&snum=colombia&wvol=machin&tab=1. Open source

Municipality's land that is not licensed to exploration is the urban area located on the east side (see illustration 4.2).

According to the Municipal Government data, the rural population in 1993 was 12,551, while 8486 lived in the urban areas for a total population of 21,037 inhabitants (Alcandia de Cajamarca, 2009). However, according to the most recent development plan, the number of inhabitants dropped to 19,789 in 2005. This decrease is attributed to violence and the crisis of the agricultural sector in Colombia. According to the most recent population data, in 2005 there were 9,361 urban dwellers and 10,423 rural ones, which corresponds with the rurality index discussed above. Yet the index gives a clearer picture of the continuum. Furthermore and relevant to this research is the projected population increase. The 2012 Development Plan states that as a consequence of mining, Cajamarca must be prepared to receive a high number of immigrants (Plan de Desarrollo 2012-2015, 2012). The government calculates that by 2025, the inhabitants in the area will number 25,000. The changes gold mining is bringing to the area are starting to transform this picture, and the authors of the development plan note that within a few years the population could be expected to be mainly urban.

One last and important element I want to indicate in this section is that the land use in the Municipality of Cajarmaca is defined by agriculture and reserved forest. *The Para Volver a Creer 2012-2015 Development Plan* (2012) and the *2012 Atlas of Rural Property Distribution in Colombia* (IGAC, 2012)[50] demonstrate that the use of land in in Cajamarca is mainly for agriculture. The 0.2% of the total extension (520 Km^2) of the municipality is the urban area, while the 99.8% corresponds to a rural area. Of that, 56% is dedicated to agriculture and animal husbandry and 44% is reserved forest. The number of landowners has grown by 35% since 2005, and the average size of the property has decreased by 3%. The average parcel of land owned

[50] The Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazy (IGAC) is the governmental institution in charge of producing the official map and basic cartography of Colombia. It creates the inventory of land property and characterizes the soils. The institute is made up of a group of professionals in geographic information techniques.

by a peasant in Cajamarca is 13 ha. The most common cultivated products are coffee, beans, green peas, maize, and fruits. In Chapter Three, I recorded that the hectares dedicated to beans, green peas and maize are tending to decrease, apparently as a consequence of the opening of the Colombian markets. In 2009, in the midst of this convoluted economic situation, AGA arrived in Cajamarca.

3) Gold Mining in Cajamarca

In order to provide a visual representation of the possible impact of gold mining in Cajamarca and the size of the current exploration, I introduce a new map (Illustration 4.2) prepared by the 'Colombian Solidarity Campaign' with data from the DANE and IGAC, showing the dimensions of the gold rush in Cajamarca. AngloGold Ashanti alone has exploration licenses that cover more than 50% of the municipality's land. It is clear that the request for extraction occupies a much smaller area (in yellow), but the red area represents the potential for many more request extractions by AGA. On the other hand, AGA is not the only actor looking for mineable gold resources in the area. The blue areas belong to what 'Colombia Solidarity' identifies as 'other license holders'. The east edge of the map, which is not under exploration, corresponds to the 'urban' area of the municipality where a major town is located.

Illustration 4.2: Mining Licenses in the Municipality of Cajamarca[51]

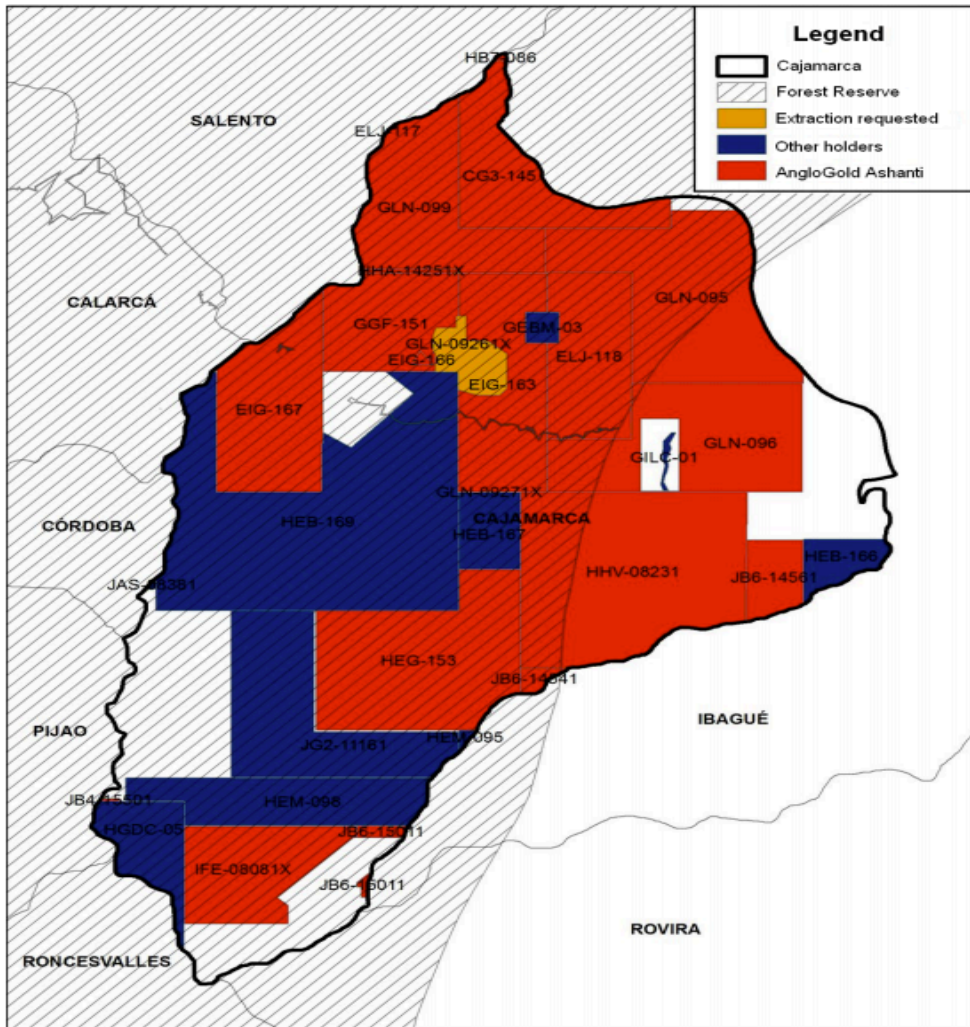


Figura 7: Concesiones mineras en el municipio de Cajamarca.

4) The Community's Mental Frameworks

Based on Fernando Coronil's theoretical developments (2011), this thesis has defined mental frameworks as the array of ethical, aesthetic, imagery and epistemological discourses shared by a group of people and that help them to make sense of their reality. In this section I attempt to build on the evidence provided by the material collected during the case study in

[51] Mineral exploitation licenses approved by 2011 in the Municipality of Cajamarca. [map] 'Concesiones mineras en el municipio de Cajamarca. Retrived from "LA COLOSA: La bÚqueda de EL Dorado en Cajamarca, Colombia. (Colombia Solidarity Campaign, 2011). Open source

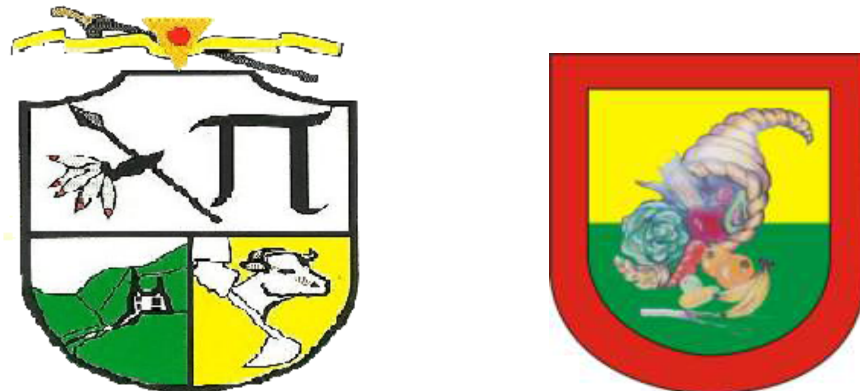
order to explore the mental framework of the community of Cajamarca, Tolima. As I contended in Chapter One, this mental schema corresponds to, reflects and reproduces the material world: that is, the economic, political and social relations that people have, and for that reason the previous description of the municipality is fundamental to the argument. Thus, to explore the mental framework of the peasant community of Cajamarca, I have created a set of themes that correspond to Coronil's discourses, but that are more practical in terms of identifying them in the literature.

4.1) Identity

4.1.1) Peasants

In 1978, 68 years after the municipality of Cajamarca was founded, there was a contest to celebrate the township's beginnings. Thirty-five contestants competed to design the most representative Coat of Arms for the region.

Illustration 4.3: Cajamarca and Anaime's Coats of Arms[52]



Jose Ignacio Marin-Varon describes the Coat of Arms of Cajamarca (left above) as follows:

> At the top of the Coat of Arms [are] the sword and shield of Archangel Saint Miguel […] laying on the words: PEACE, PROGRESS AND WORK. The inside of the Coat of Arms is formed on the top left by the spear

52 From Alcaldia de Cajamarca - Tolima. [illustrations]. Cajamarca and Anaime's Coats of Arms. Retrived from http://cajamarca-tolima.gov.co/presentacion.shtml. Open Source

> and feathers that symbolize the warrior status of the Pijao Indigenous peoples. On the top right 'pi' symbolizes culture and sciences. On the bottom left [are] the church and bridge among mountains and to the right [are] the hard working hand of a peasant with the mattock and the cow head. (Alcandia de Cajamarca, 2009)

Coats of Arms are defined by The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2004, p 138) as the "distinctive heralding bearing" in this case, of a region. These symbols are images that depict identity, belonging and inheritance. In Cajamarca, they are present in every government document and every formal celebration in town. In the Cajamarca municipality, the Coat of Arms of the towns Cajamarca and Anaime were images created to describe the people who live in these towns (Alcandia de Cajamarca, 2009). The Coat of Arms of Cajamarca, for example, clearly portrays a community that sees itself as occupying land that once was indigenous land, as represented by the spear and feathers that symbolize the warrior role and status of the Pijao Indigenous peoples. It could also be possible that the people from the region feel that they are descendants of the Pijao people. Also, their identity is tied closely to the Catholic church but, most relevant for this research, the Coat of Arms of Cajamarca portrays a group of people that sees husbandry and the 'hard working hand of peasants', as explained by Marin-Baron, as a fundamental part of the town's identity. Agriculture is something to be proud of and to present as a descriptive image of the community. Anaime, the other town that belongs to the municipality of Cajamarca, has a Coat of Arms (above right) with a clearer message. There is neither a church nor indigenous peoples: there is only food production. Thus, when thinking about the historical identity of the municipality, the coat of arms represents that history of the peasant economy. Jose Antonio Gutierrez, a journalist wrote for the daily Internet news site Rebelion, says that when he arrived in Anaime "a peasant explained to me that Tolima was like a paradise and Cajamarca was the garden of Eden" (Gutierrez, 2013). The characterization of Cajamarca as

the garden of Eden, one of the most sacred places for Catholics, helps me to understand how important Cajamarca is to this community of peasants.

The peasant economy remains a strong element of the town's identity today. Food production has become a recurrent identity element in the recent protest against AngloGold Ashanti's. Peasants from the region of Anaime blockaded the entrance to town at the beginning of 2013 (El Nuevo Día, 2013a), protesting AGA's intention to build a processing plant in the town of Anaime. Illustration 5.7 shows the symbol of their protest: a jeep loaded with products cultivated in the area. This image has become a recurrent symbol for opposition groups. Their identity as peasants from the region is clearly portrayed by this image. The day a forum, known as 'Mesa Ambiental' (environmental table) was taking place, the people from Anaime took the vehicle to Ibague and parked it in front of the government building. The objective of the forum was to explain the 'La Colosa' project in the city of Ibague. Representatives from AGA were present at the forum.

Illustration 4.4: Traditional Jeep Decorated With Products Locally Grown[53]

Gonzalo Sarmiento Gomez, representative of the National Federation of Rice Growers (Fedearroz), declared after the forum, "Tolima is an agricultural department, and rice and coffee growers are the locomotives

[53] From *El Nuevo Día* [pictures] Taken by Jorge Cuellar. A vehicle represents peasants' concerns. Retrieved from http://www.elnuevodia.com.co/nuevodia/tolima/regional/173039-comunidad-a-una-sola-voz-dijo-no-al-proyecto-la-colosa?quicktabs_3=2. Copyright Editorial Aguasclaras Reprinted with permission

that move the economy of the department. They (AGA and the government) are going to leave us begging in desolation" (El Nuevo Día, 2013b).

4.1.2) Pijao Indigenous peoples

Opposition to AGA exploration and exploitation in the Tolima region has not only reaffirmed the peasant identity in the area, it has also strengthened the identity of the Pijao Indigenous people. As mentioned previously, Pijao Indigenous people are part of the history and identity of the region. "We are tree-people; we are born from deep inside the land; and we walk on the land inherited by our ancestors," says Cortes Tocarema, one of the members of the Pijao community who, since 1983, has worked to recover and rebuild his Pijao community in Natagaima, Tolima (cited in Ramirez, 2012). Cortes Tocarema added that the current situation in Tolima makes the Pijao's struggle to survive as a culture even more important, because oil and mega-mining projects threaten their existence. If the community is 'relocated' or removed from the land, it will be impossible to survive, he argues. The Pijao community almost disappeared in the hands of Conquistadores, and in the mist of the renewal of their community, they have joined the struggle against the AGA projects. Although their presence in terms of numbers of people in the movement[54] is not massive, their identity as proud warrior native people has moved participants in the huge rallies, and has given an important connotation to the identity of the massive actions.

On Aug. 16, 2013, the Pijao indigenous peoples who live in the neighbouring Department of Quindio called a regional Pijao assembly. From that meeting 3 main conclusions emerged: 1. Apply immediately for the formal inclusion of the 'Páramo Chili' in the cartographic national network (in an endeavor to make the territory an environmentally protected area). 2. Join the peasant's Environmental Committees to oppose mining projects. 3. Ensure that anyone visiting the area to explore has the necessary licensing

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[54] According to Ramirez(2012) the Pijao people in Tolima is a community of about 80 people in total

papers (Lopez, 2013). As a result of the Indigeous peoples increasing their direct involvement, the identification of the movement with more pre-colonial inhabitants of the land has become a new phenomenon. Some schoolchildren living in the Cajamarca region asked the Pijao Indigenous people to attend the Carnaval rally dressed in traditional Pijao clothing. Their petition was granted, and this is one of the pictures (Lopez, 2013).

Illustration 4.5: Schoolchildren Dressed in Traditional Pijao Indigenous Peoples Clothing[55]

Humberto Jimenez Bernal, the Regional Representative of the Environmental Committees, closed his speech during the Environmental Table in Ibague by saying, that

> today, history has made justice to the Pijao people. Today, we see remember them as a valiant people who defended their territory and freedom facing an unequal war against conquistadors. Being heirs of that legacy, we too will fight to protect our "Tolima grande" and, I hope that when our children are weeping over our absence from this world, they

[55] From *El Salmon*. "Cuarta Marcha Carnaval" [Picture] nd. Retrieved from http://elsalmonurbano.blogspot.ca/2011/07/segunda-marcha-carnaval-agua-vida-y.html Open Source

feel the same respect and the same pride that we feel from being descendants of the Pijao people (Comité Ambiental del Tolima, 2013)

Two points make this speech meaningful. The first is that Bernal is the regional coordinator of the Environmental Committees that extend throughout the region, and include chapters in the neighbouring Department of Quindio. In this sense, Bernal is speaking in the name of the peasants of the area. Also meaningful is the identification with the Pijao people and their fight to protect the land. Bernal describes the attitude of local peasant communities as even willing to die defending their lands. As I mentioned above, including the Indigenous people in this struggle has lent a more confrontational flavor to the protest actions, because the Pijao were identified by Bernal as warriors, valiant fighters against colonialism.

4.1.3) The role of music and folklore in the struggle against 'La Colosa'

The Tolima region is recognized in Colombia for its traditional guitar rhythms like *bambuco* and *pasillo*, and the festivals that portrayed them[56]. Music is so important to this region that Bernal began his presentation at the Environmental Table by singing a traditional song about how the water, trees and mountains make the landscape in that area so fantastic. Also, in this region, people are proud of the deities that are part of their culture. The Mohan is the deity that protects the water of the region. In its 2011 newsletter, the group "Bios—Ecos" published an open letter from the Mohan to the people of Tolima. In this letter, the Mohan rejects and opposes open-pit mining in Tolima; indeed, he is "furious" about this "crazy foreign-born idea." The Mohan is a powerful image identified with the region, so the letter shows that opposition to the project of 'La Colosa' comes not only from the world of people, but also from the world of deities. The Mohan is clear in demonstrating how he protects the water of his territory not from natives,

[56] Duet Festival, Sacred Music Festival, Colombian Music Festival, and Folklore Festival are some of them.

but from greedy people who come from other lands and other waters to contaminate his fish, and starve his fisherman and his peasants. The Mohan is calling for the preservation of the relationship with nature that has characterized the region.

4.2) Community perceptions of AGA

The peasant community in Cajamarca has organized itself into various groups whose objective is to promote opposition to the 'La Colosa' project. The Collectivo Socio-Ambiental de Jóvenes de Cajamarca[57] (Cosajuca)-, the Union Campesina por la Defensa del Medio Ambiente y el Territorio[58] (UCAT)–, the Emprendedores por la Ecología y la Tierra[59] (Ecotierra), The Salmon, and the Comités Ambientales are some of the examples of these groups. I have collected these groups' images and pictures from rallies to discuss the community of Cajamarca's perception of AngloGold Ashanti. The most common representations of AGA include images of death, contamination and danger. 'No to the mine' is a common image and message seen in the groups' web pages and media. To the negative image of the mining corporation displayed by environmental and peasant groups, the same organizations offer a positive antidote: "life". Thus, 'La Colosa' 'the mine' and 'AGA' are used as antonyms to the word 'life'.

[57] Socio-Environmental Youth Collective
[58] Peasant Union To Defend The Environment And The Territory
[59] Entrepreneurial people for ecology and land

Illustration 4.6: 'Yes To Life No To Mines'[60]

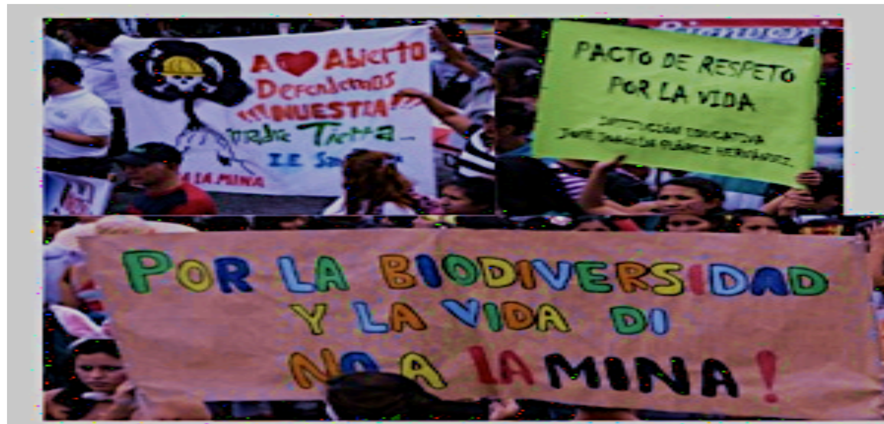

Illustration 4.7: Images Used By Community Organizations to Represent AGA[61]

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[60] This collage was done with pictures from 'El Nuevo Día'. Top left corner reads 'With open heart we defend our land. No to mine'. Top right reads 'Pact to respect life' and finally, the bottom picture reads 'For biodiversity and life say no to the mine'. [picture] Cuarta Marcha Carnaval. Retrieved in September 19, 2013. from http://www.elnuevodia.com.co/nuevodia/multimedia/fotos/galeria-160514-cuarta-marcha-carnaval-en-ibague Copy right. Editorial Aguasclaras 2011. Reprinted with permision

[61]". These pictures have different sources starting at left upper corner. This is an image used by the group 'Conciencia Campesina. It has been used in stickers and buttons. It was retrieved in September 19, 2013 from the group's Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/ concienciacampesina. Open Source. The right upper corner was created by the "El Salmon" Web page, and was the cover of their second special on La Colosa. [picture] Retrieved on Sep 19, 2013 from http://elsalmonurbano.blogspot.ca/2011/08/razones-para-oponerse-la-exploracion-y.html. Open Source.
Finally, the "Comité Ambiental del Tolima" (Tolima environmental Committee) is using this bottom illustration to invite people living in Ibague to a meeting. This bottom picture reads: "In order to not get buried by lies, we must dig up the truth about mega-mining projects. [Illustration] Retrieved from Facebook Group https://www.facebook.com/Comitéambiental.defensavida?fref=ts. Open Source
The following to pictures were retrieved from the Comité Ambiental's facebook group.

The last theme that can be identified as recurrent and common to most of these groups is the relationship between mining and misery. The fourth Carnival Rally, displayed this image at the bottom of its promotional poster. This image establishes a mathematical relationship of equality between mining and misery. There are additional themes that have begun to appear in the discussions but for which I do not yet have enough evidence. One example is that the militarization of the area and AGA's installation of security cameras around town are causing some people to foresee a strong relationship between AGA and control of the population in Cajamarca. Yesid Munoz and Carlos Gamez mentioned this in interviews given to Jose Antonio Gutierrez (Gutierrez, 2013). Respondent #13 in Laura Gutierrez Gomez's Master's thesis also refers to the militarization of the area, "He states that AGA can do whatever it wants because it is protected by a military brigade who shields it, even from entities who carry out state activities, such as Cortolima[62] (Gutierrez Gomez, 2012)

Finally, it is notable that since July 2013, the population of Cajamarca is no longer in complete agreement concerning 'La Colosa.' Some of the inhabitants, or as they describe themselves, 'workers and suppliers of the mine' have organized the 'Aprominca'. The group has an 'under construction webpage' (Empleados AngloGold Ashanti, 2013). None of the links work and the pictures of mining machinery among green rivers and beautiful sunsets rotate in periodically at the top of the page. There is no information about the group other than to say that its members work or provide material for AGA's La Colosa project and for that reason they want to protect it (Empleados AngloGold Ashanti, 2013). This phenomena is, however, only visible in the town of Cajamarca where exploration projects have employed 300 people. No other town has evidence of the presence of

[62] The Corporation Autónoma Regional del Tolima (CORTOLIMA) is the regional government institution in charge of overseeing environmental regulations.

this group. Robinson Mejia, a Cosajuca member, describes the situation as follows:

> Before fighting against AngloGold Ashanti, they are making us fight against ourselves, against our own neighbours and friends. While the government do not guarantee a dignified life for peasants, many of us will keep depending from 'La Colosa' mine to make sure we have the daily food on the table'. For that reason they are not going to risk and support us on our fight (cited in Gutierrez, 2013)

Ecos del Combeima, the regional radio station, reported on a rally that took place on Aug. 16, 2013, in which employees of AngloGold Ashanti participated. At the rally, participants demanded that the Governor of Tolima support the company in advancing their exploration process. The workers said that they marched to protect their right to work. Depending on which newscast was reporting, between 100 to 400 people attended the rally. Evidently some inhabitants of Cajamarca see in AngloGold Ashanti the possibility of having a job (El Nuevo Día, 2013d; RCN Radio, 2013). However, this number is not as representative of the population when compared with the 30,000 to 40,000 people that have participated in the five Carnival-rallies carried since 2010.

Illustration 4.8 Workers and Suppliers of AngloGold Ashanti Rally [63]

[63] From *El Nuevo Día*. "Empleados de AngloGold hacen planton frente a la Gobernación del Tolima. [picture] Redaccion. Retrieved from: http://www.elnuevodia.com.co/nuevodia/tolima/regional/191659-empleados-de-anglogold-hacen-planton-frente-a-la-gobernacion-del-tolima. Copy right: Editorial Aguasclaras. 2011 Reprinted with permission.

4.3) Peasants' perceptions of land and territory

The Quindio Chief of the Pijao people declared in an interview: "Our economic vocation is agricultural, our wealth is the soil, the páramos, the mountains, the fauna and flora. Loosing them in the rush of getting metals would be a disaster, a tragedy" (cited in Lopez, 2013, p. 14). In most of the community's references to land and territory, the comparison with gold is a constant. Protestors use this comparison to demonstrate that the wealth represented by gold is not as meaningful as the wealth and wellbeing represented by water and land. Thus, endangering the land with mining is not an option.

Among the few paper documents that COSAJUCA members gave me when I told them about my research topic and the need to find paper documentation about the community's position, was a piece of paper containing the words to the chants that they sing. These papers were distributed throughout one of the rallies opposing 'La Colosa'. Quoting these chants is challenging since most are wordplays that sound rhythmical in Spanish. Also, most of those chants use the constructions and rhythms of songs and music that are typical to the area.

-The mine arrived to the forest and expelled everyone, animals and families all got deterritorialized

- I am from Tolima, from Cajamarca, I am not a miner, I am a peasant, agriculturalist … I dedicate my life to animal husbandry… I take care of the rivers, the animals and the mountains… I do not believe in mines that contaminate and ruin them

- Tolima depends from the Coello and Combeima rivers and we are protecting water from AGA's grid

These chants, much as other evidence presented above, suggest that the struggle to reject the mine has become a regional one. Cajamarca and Anaime are the main affected areas, but protecting the rivers that are born in

those mountains is an issue for the whole Tolima region. The Governor of Tolima, Luis Carlos Delgado, declared publicly after the 5th Carnival rally that the people from Tolima must unite to save the environment from "the brutal attacks" coming from mega-mining projects (Lombana, 2013). The symbol of protecting a land and people that are under attack suggests that Tolima as a region has a common antagonist in the mega-mining projects and the corporations that want to undertake them. I would suggest also that the perception of Tolima as their territory is causing more people to identify with the struggle, and has given the people of Cajamarca and Anaime regional support. The idea of Tolima as a region is also observed in the poster that advertised the 4th Carnival rally. In this poster, indigenous communities, peasants, fishermen, and people from the city are united holding corn. The title displayed reads "IV Carnival rally. For water, life and sovereignty." This illustration represents the unity of the region to protect the agrarian economy, the land and the water that irrigates the department, but a new element is included, 'the sovereignty'. This reference to sovereignty could be related to people of Tolima claiming to have the power to decide on the future of their land, or could even be an invitation to Colombians in general to defend the national territory from foreign corporations, as mentioned in the Mohan letter above. However since there is no more evidence on this topic, I am unable to take the analysis further.

Illustration 4.9: IV carnival- rally for water, life and sovereignty[64]

The observations about land and territory overlap with the identity of the people, because the local community's perception is that the disappearance and contamination of land due to an open-pit mine will force peasants to leave their lands. As demonstrated above, they identify with both the land and the work they do on the land every day. Thus, leaving the land would fracture their identity. "Water is going to be ruined, our crops are going to be affected… they are creating displacement… buying land and kicking out peasants who produce food for the country" declared a member UCAT- (cited in Gutierrez, 2013).

4.4) Perceptions of what is just/ legal

This is perhaps one of the most difficult themes to analyze. Thus, I will start with a clear proposal that Humberto Bernal, the Regional Representative of Environmental committees, elaborated regarding the ethical problems involved in carrying out the 'La Colosa' project. Bernal argued that the economic and technical debates have obscured a serious

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[64] From *Comité Ambiental en Defensa de la Vida.* Facebook page. [illustration] Poster 4th Carnal—Rally Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=503308526347421&set=t.100003976686453&type=1&theater.
Open source

ethical debate regarding open-pit mining. He opens his ethical reflection by acknowledging that economic pragmatism has justified horrendous businesses around the world, and for that reason the ethical discussion is key to defining what should be done. Also, the unjust and unjustifiable displacement of a vulnerable population is perhaps one of the major issues that affects the lives of participants in the meeting, which should be sufficient to stop the project. However, he adds, harming large areas of land that currently mitigate the impacts of global warming should be seen as a crime against humanity: rivers, mountains and trees are not merchandise, they are the shelter of people and the landscape that reconcile humans with beauty and life; it is sinful to exchange rivers, mountains and water for craters, deserts and temporary money. It is not ethical to sacrifice the collective good for the private interest; it must be ethical to preserve, in the best conditions, the land for our children because their survival depends on it. (Comité Ambiental del Tolima, 2013)

Bernal's reflections appear continually in rallies and discourses. Planeta Paz (Peace Planet), for example, argues that building 'La Colosa' will put in danger 161 water springs in the mountain. In the same way that Bernal does, Planeta Paz contends that water is a common good and its destruction will affect the entire region. Common goods should not be sacrificed for private interest (Planeta Paz, 2013). In a different context, William Eliecer Torres, a young peasant from the region of Cajamarca, explains in a short documentary that the contaminating the land and water will endanger the local peasant community. These 'injustices,' Torres said, have been taken to the International Court of Human Rights, to the Congress and Senate (sic) of Colombia. The peasant community wants to present their arguments to oppose 'La Colosa'. "It is not just," Torres argues, "that they [the mining companies] put Colombia, a rich biodivers country, with profound agricultural roots, at risk of losing its biodiversity and eroding the land" (Agencia Techotiba, 2013). "The agriculture and touristic economy of the town of Piedras will be our future, and we will defend it," states a placard

carried by a youth from Piedras during the 5th Carnival-rally. Defending the water, the mountains, and the economy of the area are actions validated by the perception of justice of the communities. It is also ethical and just to think about the children and what kind of land are they going to inherit.

4.4.1) The legal and jurisdictional issues

The debate proposed by Bernal regarding the relationship between the regional/local governments and the national government has developed not so much in rallies and speeches, but in legal and bureaucratic decisions. In 2009 the jurisdictional debate on the management of natural resources took the form of a dispute between the Regional Autonomous Corporation (Cortolima), The Ministry of Environment, Housing and Territorial Development [65] and AngloGold Ashanti. Cortolima is an autonomous administrative office that manages the environment and renewable resources available in the region (CORTOLIMA, 2013). This regional office makes decisions in compliance with the Environment Ministry's policies and regulations. The first tension was felt when the 'Oficina de Ecosistemas' (Ecosystem Office) from the Ministry of Environment issued the *Resolution 814 of May 14th.* This Resolution authorized the subtraction of a section of the Central Forest Reserve in Cajamarca, in order to allow AngloGold Ashanti's exploration activities to take place (CORTOLIMA, 2009).

The relationship between the Ministry and Cortolima reflects the fact that in Colombia, mining is under national jurisdiction. Thus, the Ministry of Mining is responsible for issuing the mining title and the Ministry of Environment is responsible for issuing the environmental license, but the environmental regulation on the ground is the responsibility of Cortolima (CORTOLIMA, 2011). The application and compliance with environmental regulations are the responsibility of the autonomous corporations of each department, in this case, Cortolima. Cortolima's former director, Carmen

[65] The current president reformed the name and functions of the Ministry. Today, it is known as the Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development.

Sofia Bonilla, opposed Resolution 814, but it was not under her department's jurisdiction to repeal it. However, in 2011, Cortolima confronted what the autonomous corporation characterized as AGA's lack of compliance with environmental law. First, Cortolima declined the water allocation to mining activities from the 'Canon del Combeima' water source that, according to Cortolima, would be put in a critical situation if forced to supply the industry (Equipo Ecos del Combeima, 2011). Then Cortolima suspended the exploration activities due to presumed risk of contamination in some sections of the exploration area (Equipo Ecos del Combeima, 2013a). However, while Cortolima has temporarily stopped or suspended parts of the project that are not complying with regulations, it cannot suspend the entire exploration. Bonilla's issued suspensions were standing when, in December 2011, she was removed from office. The new director has not spoken publicly on the suspensions imposed by the previous director, and exploration is proceeding.

In a recent radio interview, Bonilla reminded the public that under the 2009 approval of the subtraction of the reserved area, AGA acquired the responsibility of creating a baseline for the area's hydrological and biodiversity status. Bonilla acknowledged that she did not agree with the Ministry of Environment's decision to give the mining corporation responsibility for carrying out this research. This disagreement came from her understanding that as a public entity Cortolima has the mandate, resources and experience to undertake this task without any conflict of interest and in a timely manner. Nonetheless, she said, she believes that the result of this research will be an important public document. AGA's final report on this research was due in May 2012. Bonilla says there is no information regarding whether or not this task was fulfilled, nor are the conclusions of the research, if they exist, publicly available (Equipo Ecos del Combeima, 2013b).

In 2010, 'El Tiempo', a national circulation newspaper, published an opinion piece about Bonilla in the movement that opposes AGA's plans for

the region. The reporter described Bonilla as a “coherent bureaucrat that understands her functions and that does not get intimidated by the figure of the president or the private industry” (Arciniegas Lagos, 2010 para. 6). In the same year, Bonilla was quoted in ‘Revista Semana’, a national circulation magazine. She explained her concerns about water allocation if the open-pit gold mining goes ahead. According to her, there is not even one good example in the world where agriculture and mining can co-exist in the same region (Revista Semana, 2010). In 2011, Senator Robledo described Bonilla as a person who works by the law and who has withstood the pressure that both the previous and current presidents of Colombia have exerted to move the ‘La Colosa’ project forward according to the company’s plan (Senador Robledo, 2011). Due to her actions in Cortolima, Bonilla was named one of the three most influential and appreciated Leaders of the region (El Nuevo Día, 2011b). The legal actions and regulatory procedures made by the autonomous corporation established her as a representation of legality and integrity both in and outside of the region. Also, because the region does not share the plans that the national government has for it, her decision put her in a situation in which she was involved in a power struggle between the national and regional governments. The new director of Cortolima has suspended exploratory activities of AGA in Piedras, Tolima due to the fact that AngloGold Ashanti was exploring without the required license: “According to the environmental authority AGA has put under imminent risk and affectation the soil and water” (Vanguardia.com, 2013 para. 5).

Cortolima and its regulatory decisions requiring AngloGold Ashanti to comply with the environmental laws are only administrative decisions, but, so much pressure is put on the region that any decision becomes political as interpreted by the mental frameworks involved. However, Cortolima is not the only level of regional power that opposes the project and that has used its understanding of justice as a basis for legal action.

4.4.2) Small towns say 'no' to mining

Mayors from Piedras, Anaime, Espinal, Natagaima, San Antonio, Cunday and Venadilo, all towns with populations of fewer than 55,000 people (Alcaldia Municipal Despacho Espinal, 2012), have publicly declared against 'La Colosa' and any other mining project that places the agricultural economy of their towns at risk. The Governor of the Department has said the same. In July 28, 2013, the Town of Piedras hosted a plebiscite asking its inhabitants if they agree with any kind of mega-gold mining activity taking place in their territory (transportation, construction of processing plants, exploration, exploitation, etc) (Noticias Uno, 2013b; EL Espectador, 2013; Semana, 2013). The results of the plebiscite showed a clear rejection of any kind of large-scale mining activities carried out by either AngloGold Ashanti or any other multinational mining corporation. Five thousand people were eligible to vote in this plebiscite. Three thousand and seven ballots were cast, 2971 of which were 'NO' votes. Only 24 were 'YES' votes, and 12 were null votes (Revista Semana, 2013). According to "Law 134", the results of a plebiscite are mandatory. Therefore, now any activity related to large-scale mining is prohibited in this municipality. Other communities could follow this path, I would argue, which could exacerbate the conflict, mainly between the local and the national governments. Plebiscites are legislative tools by which the community decides on a mandate on an issue. In this case the community, by an overwhelming majority, decided that it does not want gold mining. However, the national government, through the head of the Ministry of Mining and the Ministry of Interior Matters, argued that as the local governments and local communities do not own subsoil resources, they cannot legislate on them (La W Radio, 2013).

According to the report of the referendum issued by the Environmental and Peasant Committees, the people from Piedras celebrated the results, viewing them as evidence that the peoples' fight for justice was a success (Comunicado Comités Ambientales y Campesinos del Tolima, 2013).

4.5) Solutions

There is little material evidence regarding viable solutions to the conflict from the local communities' perspective. The only letter coming from the local peasant community that addressed a possible solution stated the position of the peasants from Cajamarca, namely that agreement to share the land is not an option and AGA must leave. On May 13, 2013, an *Open letter addressed to AngloGold Ashanti stakeholders* and signed by 40 mainly regional organizations appeared on all the organizations' webpages. The letter, public statement is emphatic in arguing that due to extensively detailed ethical, social, environmental, and political reasons and to the lack of trust that people have in AGA, the committee was making a formal request that AngloGold Ashanti leave the country for good (Comunicado Comités Ambientales y Campesinos del Tolima, 2013). All the community organizations mentioned in this thesis are signatories on the open letter. I decided to run the letter through a word cloud to visually see the words that the community uses most often in its arguments. The result is shown in illustration 4.11. In the center of the cloud the words 'Our' (nuestro) and 'Territory' (territorio) denote a clear message: This is our land. Also, the words "water" (agua), "environmental" (ambiental), "rights" (derechos), "development" (desarrollo), "protection" (protección), "mining" (minería), "mining corporations" (mineras) and "business,"(negocio) that are the most common according to the cloud, correspond to the discussion presented here.

Illustration 4.10: Community Open Letter to AGA. Word Cloud [66]

5) AngloGold Ashanti's Mental Frame

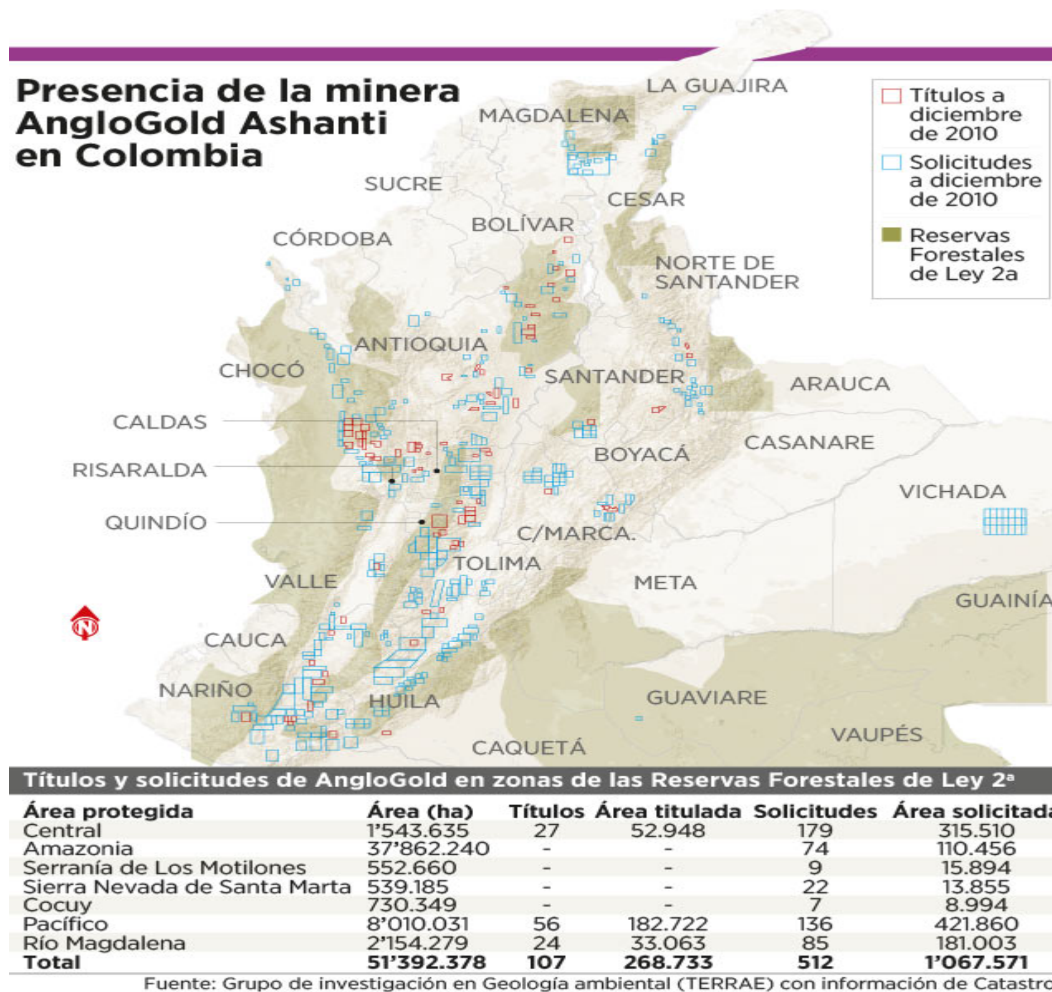
Today, AngloGold Ashanti is the mining company with the most titles approved in Colombia, with 781,573 hectares titled in its name. Illustration 4.10 shows in red AGA's approved titles by 2010, in blue the titles waiting to be approved by the same year and in solid green the forest reserves or protected areas in Colombia. Titles approved for AGA have been highly questioned for many reasons, one in particular being that between 2005 and 2008 AGA applied to get 19 licenses to explore in páramo areas, which under the 2001 Mining Code was possible. With the backlog in title authorizations, by 2010 none had been approved. Yet, in a 'lucky' move all 19 titles were approved the week before the 2010 Mining Code became law (Pulido & Osorio-Avendano, 2011). Under the new law, it was illegal to grant titles in Páramo areas. This shows an interesting efficiency of Ingeominas, the institution in charge of issuing permits until 2010.

The fact that AGA is leading the first two mega-mining open pit projects in the country (one in Tolima and one in Antioquia), is the multinational mining corporation with most land assigned to it and has hired an important number of ex-bureaucrats, gives the corporation a central role in the national

[66] I run the community's open letter in Tagxedo.com

debate. AGA incarnates the development plan that the government is pursuing. Thus, the examples and main debates are synthesized by people both, in favour of and against the 'mining locomotive' based on the AGA's case.

Illustration 4.11: Presence of AngloGold Ashanti Mining in Colombia [67]



Títulos y solicitudes de AngloGold en zonas de las Reservas Forestales de Ley 2ª

Área protegida	Área (ha)	Títulos	Área titulada	Solicitudes	Área solicitada
Central	1'543.635	27	52.948	179	315.510
Amazonia	37'862.240	-	-	74	110.456
Serranía de Los Motilones	552.660	-	-	9	15.894
Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta	539.185	-	-	22	13.855
Cocuy	730.349	-	-	7	8.994
Pacífico	8'010.031	56	182.722	136	421.860
Río Magdalena	2'154.279	24	33.063	85	181.003
Total	**51'392.378**	**107**	**268.733**	**512**	**1'067.571**

Fuente: Grupo de investigación en Geología ambiental (TERRAE) con información de Catastro

But if AGA has become a central player in the Mining Locomotive model, Colombia has acquired similar prominence attention in AGA's plans. In 2007, it was not envisioned that mining exploration projects would assume such importance in this country. Yet by 2013 the relevance of the South American

[67] From *El Espectador. com "Asi esta el mapa minero del pais"* [map] Presencia de la Minera AngloGold Ashanti en Colombia. Retrieved from http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/infografia/articulo-414719-asi-esta-el-mapa-minero-del-pais. Copy Right D.R.A. Reprinted with permission. (El espectador, 2012)

country in the AGA business plan was reflected in significant changes in the corporation's governance structure. AngloGold Ashanti's annual reports deliver results by region (Americas, South Africa, Continental Africa and Australia) (AngloGold Ashanti, 2011). For that reason, and due to the difficulties of finding in public documents the full structure of the company, I will assume this geographical model of reporting responds to the company's governance structure. Therefore, the fact that at the "Executive Team" level, Colombia is the only country other than South Africa that has its own 'Executive Vice-President' should be considered evidence of the relevance and expectations placed on projects there (AngloGold Ashanti Colombia, 2012b). This important fact sets Colombia and the two main projects happening there aside from operations in Argentina, Brazil and the United States, all managed by the Executive Vice-President of the Americas.

The relevance of the projects carried out in Colombia is confirmed once more in an article titled "AngloGold Ashanti sees Colombia as the hottest new bullion district"[68], in which Mark Cutifan, AGA's current CEO, confirms that the new member of the 'Executive Team' was needed. The article argue that this new position is created "to ensure appropriate strategy, alignment, resourcing and scheduling, as he [Mark Cutifan] wants those projects to move forward 'as fast as possible" (Jamasmie, 2012).

Along with confirming AGA's fundamental interest in Colombia, Cutifan's assertion also reveals the presence of problems in the field that have delayed the corporation's plans in South America. Since 2007, when AGA publicly acknowledged the beginning of explorations in Colombia, most of its reports and documents were translated into 'Colombian Spanish' as it is called on the corporation's web site. Today, AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia lists on its website three books, five videos, several publications, and news and reports based on how much money AGA is investing; how responsible it is with the

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[68] This news article displays a picture of an obviously Colombian woman that is supposed to represent the 'hottest' of the bullion district. As a Colombian woman myself, I cannot do anything but reject the over-sexualization of Colombian women.

environment and the people; happy stories of Cajamarca's inhabitants who work doing exploration; and how much research the corporation has done that is available to the public[69]. The existence of this website can be interpreted as an effort by the company to report and inform 'stakeholders' about the state of projects. The analysis of the mental framework of AGA is developed from information gathered from this web site and the news reports previously discussed.

5.1) Identity

Illustration 4.12: The Identity of AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia[70]

The Corporate symbol of AngloGold Ashanti is the Golden Lion. As explained by Bobby Godsell, Anglogold's CEO (Chief Executive Officer) in 1999[71], "[t]he lion is a symbol of AngloGold, the world's largest gold producer, and it is a symbol of Africa"(AngloGold, 1999a, para. 2). The former CEO added in a later news release[72] that "gold has been for many centuries a symbol of faith, of love, of power and of wealth" (AngloGold, 1999b). The representations of a place of origin, an economic activity and the values of faith, love, power, and wealth are all contained in that symbol. In both press releases the first time the company's name is mention, it is quickly followed

[69] See webpage: http://www.anglogoldashanti.com.co/saladeprensa/Paginas/Inicio.aspx
[70] (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2010, p. 1)
[71] In 1999 AngloGold had not yet merged with Ashanti. For that reason its name was only AngloGold.
[72] This is a different press release, but both are dated August 24, 1999 and cover the same public event in which the CEO participated.

by the statement that AGA was, at that time, the world's largest gold producer. The same style is used today in La Colosa's documents. "La Colosa is an AngloGold Ashanti's project. AGA is the third largest corporation in the production of gold. AGA produced 3.94 millions of ounces of gold in 2012" (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2010). In most of its public documents, AGA frequently affirms its top rank compared with the rest of the industry. This seems designed to reinforce the values of power and wealth, while ignoring love and faith. David McKay undertakes a similar analysis regarding Sirinivasan Venkatakrishnan's comments on how he understood his tasks as new CEO of the company in 2013. Venkatakrishnan stated "[t]he job of management is to pull the lion out". According to McKay, the new CEO "was referring to the firm's logo that for all its overtones of jungle dominance has failed to dominate its own patch let alone the broader investment market" (McKay, 2013).

La Colosa, a Gold Opportunity for Tolima, is the name of the brochure used by AGA to present the project to the public. AGA begins its marketing presentation by stating that the estimated amount of the resources in the area would make La Colosa the biggest gold mine in Colombia and would create an enormous opportunity for development and wellbeing[73] for Tolima (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2010). The brochure ends by asserting AGA's values: "Security is our main value." "We treat each other with dignity and respect." "We value biodiversity." "We are responsible for our actions and assume de total fulfilling of our compromises." "We respect the environment and the communities and societies where we operate will be better as a result of our presence." These values are also a frequent topic in the documents reviewed. However, these will be studied in conjunction with other elements of AGA's mental framework.

I also want to draw attention to the fact that that all the pictures used in AGA's reports and brochures depict happy people, most of them wearing

[73] My underlined

helmets that identify them as workers for the corporation. They are surrounded by green spaces and with phenotypic characteristics that imply they are Colombians. Those, the documents suggest, are images that reflect the wellbeing of communities that have taken advantage of the opportunity granted by AGA. However, clear statements of the nature or concepts of development, wellbeing and opportunity are absent from the documentation uploaded on the company's website. Finally, the use of the Colombian traditional music has become a common element in AGA's videos. Such is the case in the video "Política de Encadenamientos Productivos," that starts and ends with a tropical rock song that talks about Colombia and how beautiful it is (AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia, 2013). The Colombian faces and music undeniably suggest a 'Colombianization' of AGA's message. From documents and reports in foreign languages, AGA is moving to documents in Spanish, with pictures and stories recorded in Colombia, by Colombians and for Colombians. The brand AngloGold Ashanti—Colombia is starting to present itself as an internal, national social actor.

5.2) AGA's perceptions of the community of Cajamarca

AngloGold Ashanti attempts to relay to the local community of Cajamarca the idea of a community that will benefit from the presence of the corporation in the area. The benefits are varied and, according to the company, include employment, poverty reduction, betterment of local public utilities and infrastructure, an increase in fiscal resources, and the improvement of agricultural production through programs that help introduce modern techniques of animal husbandry and crops growing in the area. Felipe Marquez, the General Representative- Vice-President for Internal Matters in Colombia speaks in a short but informative video about how AGA is working to leave communities better than how they were before the company came into the region. Allow me, however, to point out that this value of AGA's has the connotation of 'always being able to make a situation better'. Thus, if the principle is that communities have to be better after the

presence of AGA in a region, it is because the gold mining corporation is capable of bringing good to any community whenever and wherever the community is located.

Marquez, an employee of AngloGold Ashanti, is also a Colombian. In his presentation, he appears to have split personality. In some parts of the video he talks as an AGA's employee who is bringing benefit to the region, but in others he speaks as a Colombian who is receiving the benefits. For example, by the end of the video he affirms that "for the year 2030/32 we (AGA) could be generating more 1.5 millions of dollars for this country" (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2013) and, immediately after, adds "let us (Colombians) do not waste this opportunity, let us (Colombians) all accompany this kind of industry so the country can develop and stop being a poor country". Obviously, yes, he is both a Colombian and an employee of the company, but the message is made confusing, because it does not enable understanding of what AGA is offering, what Colombia is accepting and what are Colombia's needs. However, it is also powerful, because Marquez is able to describe Colombians using adjectives that could be considered discriminatory if used by a foreign person, but coming from someone who shares the characteristics with the rest of Colombians, his descriptions appear less harmful. For example, he talks about Colombians as having a 'mentality of poverty' and not 'wanting to develop'. Both descriptions are discriminatory in the sense that they imply that the 'right' mentality is the one of the corporation. However, since Marquez is not speaking as an employee, but as a Colombian, he includes himself in the 'mentality of poverty'.

When Marque identifies the regions of Colombia in which AGA has explorations as isolated, impoverished and in need of help, he enforces the idea that we, Colombians, view AGA as providing opportunities for nation building, developing a solid economy, and developing strong institutions. However, while the raw data that supports AGA's presentation represents the corporation's investment and capacities to develop social/economic

programs, there are no concepts or data on poverty or development measures. There is a total lack of discussion and identification of the roots of the 'problem' that AGA identifies and how the initiative it proposes would be effective[74].

I close this section by referring to a couple of facts that have exacerbated the conflict between the local community and AGA. On February 22, 2013, at the Environmental Table organized by Cortolima, Ivan Malaver, AGA's employee in charge of communications, and Rafael Hertz, the former Vice-President of the corporation, were exchanging text messages during the meeting. The regional newspaper, El Nuevo Día, captured one of the texts from Malaver's cell phone to Hertz's. The message reads, "Several guerrilla members, from the town of Anaime have been identified among the public who is opposing". The link between people who oppose the project and guerrilla members was concerning for the few people from the town of Anaime who attended the meeting. Groups and people who are part of the opposition movement condemned this attitude and way of thinking about the community (El Espectador.com, 2013; El Nuevo Día, 2013c). In a country with a long history of civil war and not the best record regarding the protection of human rights, this kind of perception "put at risk the life and physical integrity of the people from the town of Anaime" (El Espectador.com, 2013). In response to this event, the peasants from the community designed 'symbolic weapons' with the produce that they grow on their land and went to the judicial building in Ibague to start a lawsuit against Malaver. Admittedly, this is only one example of this kind of accusation.

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[74] From *El Espectador.com*. "Nunca hemos senalado a nadie de guerrillero": Anglogold. [foto]taken by El Nuevo Día. Reproduced by El Espectador. Retrieved from http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/nacional/articulo-407330-nunca-hemos-senalado-nadie-de-guerrillero-anglogold Copy right D.R.A . Reprinted with permission.

Nonetheless, due to the severity of the accusation and the profound implications that it could have for people of Anaime, it is worth mentioning and analyzing.

Illustration 5.13: People From Piedras, Tolima at the Public Prosecutor's Office with Symbolic Weapons[75]

After the plebiscite carried out by the community of Piedras, several radio stations interviewed Sandra Ocampo, AGA-Colombia's Communication Manager. Her message was clear: First, she is convinced of the benefits that AGA can bring to Tolima. Second, AGA respects people and their decisions, yet the question asked in the plebiscite was not about AGA; it was about mining activities that harm the land and contaminate the soil, not about responsible mining. Third, people only have traditional and illegal mining as a reference to think about mining, thus AGA has to educate them on how responsible mining looks and works. Fourth, AGA will insist in socializing their project so people from the community will know about and evaluate AGA's mining activities properly. Finally, AGA has started a campaign to go door to door in Piedras and talk to people about the benefits of the project (Blue Radio, 2013; La W Radio, 2013). In summary, Ocampo suggested,

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[75] From *El Nuevo Día.* " Con 'armas' simbolicas campesinos instauraron denuncia contra funcionario de Anglogold Ashanti" [picture] by Jorge Cuellar—El Nuevo Día. Retrieved from http://www.elnuevodia.com.co/nuevodia/tolima/regional/173472-con-armas-simbolicas-campesinos-instauraron-denuncia-contra-funcionario-de-an. Copy right: Editorial Aguasclaras. 2011. Reprinted with permission.

people from Piedras made this decision in the plebiscite because they were misinformed and do not know better. AGA has the responsibility not to consult them, but to socialize the project, so people understand.

5.3) AGA's perception of land

According to Rafael Herz, former president of AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia, AGA's commitment is to respect:

> the quality of water and the needs of all those who use this resource. [...] Water is a resource that belongs to all. In AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia, its protection is part of our daily commitment, and due to this conviction, we have a high management level of this resource and the decision to continue improving. Its care requires co-responsibility and a long-term perspective [...] building a public policy that ensures its equitable and efficient use. (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2011p. 15)

As demonstrated in the local community mental framework section, one of the communities' main concerns is that gold mining could affect and contaminate communities' sources of water. The book *In the Water. A journey by AngloGold Ashanti*, contains the corporation's policy regarding water use and protection. For AngloGold Ashanti – Colombia, water is an essential and special resource that belongs to all, including AngloGold, and they are committed to co-managing it properly to make careful and efficient use, avoiding or compensating for negative impact. In this order of ideas, water is essential to life in general, and to AGA-Colombia's production in particular. Water should be managed to use it efficiently and AGA is always ready to compensate people if their water is affected despite the company's efforts to avoid this situation.

AGA's Vice- President of Environmental Sustainability and Industrial Safety, Abraham Korman, contends in *In the Water* book that there are plenty of myths regarding AGA's use of water and the truth is that the project will use the same amount of water that a farm of 235ha. would use, that it is and

will keep recycling 100% of the water used and that it is making and will continue to make good use of rain water. Water is enough in the area for mining and agriculture to share, he argues. “The water should transform in wealth for people from the region”, according to Korman (AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia, 2011, p. 17).

Ramiro Santa, the Corporate Affairs Vice-President, describes water as a vital resource for development, an asset, a “resource that means life, prosperity and transformation” (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2011, p.19). For AGA and its senior staff, water is a resource and consequently it has value when it is used and managed by people. This management, as explained in the book, should be efficient and allow everyone to have access to water. In this book AGA

> tried to reconstruct the water that creates landscapes; the water that brings back memories and makes up stories; the water that creates life [...] [t]he water that irrigates crops; the water in which our fishermen earn their living; the water which moves industries, transforms raw materials and accompanies us on all the activities of scientific studies such as mineral exploration. (AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia, 2011, p. 17)

AGA is putting in place a reforestation program for 29 hectares of land. This plan began in 2008 to reforest water streams and avoid their disappearance. “Some people end up with all the trees that are near the stream until they end up drying them up” ('Don Chepe' as cited by AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2011). AGA is helping the inhabitants of Cajamarca to protect their water streams. In this book, AGA discusses the importance of water sources for the people of the region and the imposing landscapes that those water bodies have created, and how much people are attached to them by their culture and daily lives. The pictures of Cajamarca’s landscape are certainly impressive and majestic. Furthermore, all the human activities portrayed in the book depend on and function in harmony with the

landscape. Even AGA's mining camp and its water treatment are presented as essential and harmonic parts of the territory.

5.4) Perceptions on what is just/ legal for the corporation

One of AGA's promulgated values that we have mentioned before says We are responsible for our actions and assume de total responsibility (Cutifani, 2012). During the aftermath of Piedras plebiscite, Sandra Ocampo, AGA—Colombia's Communications Manager, was interviewed by several newscasters who wanted to know what AGA understands about the legal consequences of the vote and about the fact that Cortolima has suspended the activities of the mining corporation in that municipality (Blue Radio, 2013; Noticias Uno, 2013b; Revista Semana, 2013; Vanguardia.com, 2013). Regarding the suspension of explorations, Ocampo argued that Cortolima knew about the activities and that the permit was not required according to law. According to her, Cortolima's action is excessive and illegal. As a response to this action, the director of Cortolima faces a lawsuit from AGA (Blue Radio, 2013; La W Radio, 2013). Ocampo made it clear that AGA has not had any legal or environmental irregularity, and for that reason the Ministry of Mining had just extended the area of exploration. Also, Ocampo expressed that the corporation is ready to prevent, mitigate, and compensate any eventual accident. Finally, she closed the interview with Blue Radio by affirming that what would be just for all is a positive net impact for all. In other words, AGA is proposing that a mathematical equation will measure if the mine is impacted positively or negatively the population. The concept of the 'positive net impact' as an indicator to measure the consequences of mining in a territory is, unfortunately, not well explained in AGA's literature, but is becoming more common as a measure of fair and just mining activities. However, it is important to bring back the discussion in Chapter Two, in which the definitions of 'benefits' differ from actor to actor.

Some people have questioned the legality of AGA's exploration licenses in such sensitive environments, but the transitions between the

2001 and the 2010 mining codes have made the definition of legal and illegal actions more confusing. As Sandra Ocampo reminds the think-tank 'La Silla Vacia', AGA has a legal permit to explore in that area, a permit granted by the higher environmental authority in 2009 (Open letter from AGA to La silla Vacia, in Xentg, 2012).

5.5) Solutions

In the case of AGA, the literature of solution has overlapped with and appeared in previous sections. AGA's proposal is to integrate the economic activities of the area and share the land with traditional activities while using its capital to help diversify the economy in Tolima. Ocampo, Marquez and Hertz,-all senior employees of the mining company-have indicated and emphasized different parts of the corporation's solutions. Ocampo has frequently pointed at education, Marquez referred to a change of mentality, and Hertz talks about concentrating the debate on the technical aspects of the project while living behind the political and 'passionate' connotations of the debate (El Nuevo Día, 2011a). Unfortunately the corporation does not discuss the ethical issues raised by peasants in terms of this being their territory[76].

Finally, AGA reminds in many of its documents that the corporation is open to discussing its projects and invites people to visit its locations. Among education activities, AGA is inviting schools to visit the site of La Colosa, and is also sending its personnel to visit schools.

> When AngloGold Ashanti explores or develops mining in a country where it has never operated before, we [AGA] see it as a responsibility to learn about the new environment, the cultures and the values that prevail in this society. We invite legitimate activists and diverse groups to visit our projects so they can create their own

[76] Picture reproduced from (AngloGold Ashanti- Colombia, 2010)

> ideas about what we do and the things we can make better. It is through this kind of interventions that we can have better interactions with communities where we work. (Fine, 2007, p. 2)

6) Concluding Comments

This chapter had as its objective the in-depth exploration of the mental frameworks that shape the relations between the South African multinational mining corporation AngloGold Ashanti and the local community of Cajamarca. This relationship takes place in the rural municipality of Cajamarca, Tolima, within which the dimensions of the current mining exploration project have exacerbated conflict between these two social actors. The mental schemata that informs the political actions of these actors was explored through analyzing each actor's identity, perceptions of just/legal, perceptions of land, perceptions of the other and potential solutions.

The data collected indicated that it was not possible to isolate the identity of the people from the Cajamarca region only. Local communities across the whole of the Tolima region understand that AGA's exploration activities and the possible exploitation site will affect the entire region as a whole. Environmental and peasant organizations have developed throughout the Tolima region and are working together in a coordinated manner to oppose current and proposed mining activities. While I made an effort to focus on the Cajamarca region, the unity of the mental frameworks and political reactions to AGA's activities became very apparent. For that reason there is reference in this chapter to towns and communities that are adjacent to the locality of the case study.

The Cajamarca community's identity is deeply rooted in a subsistence peasant life style. On an average property size of 13ha, families dedicate their lives to agriculture and animal husbandry. Their traditional music and stories reflect a profound appreciation for the landscape and the local peasant-like

economic possibilities offered by it. The value of land and water is frequently compared with the lack of value of gold bars for the community. The municipal inhabitants see AGA as a greedy entity that will bring to the community death, horror and misery that will ruin the land and water and displace the community simply for the sake of extracting gold. The local community of Cajamarca describes soil, páramos, mountains, fauna and flora as their real wealth. Justice, in their eyes, is protection of the trees, rivers and mountains that represent the collective good for the people of the area and rejection of the private interests of AGA.

The structure and jurisdictional division of responsibilities of the government has allowed the presence of AGA in an area where there is a strong opposition to their mining activities. This regional/national division of power has further exacerbated the feeling of injustice in a region that rejects the decisions of the national level of government. In the eyes and minds of the local community the only possible resolution to the ongoing conflictive relationship is that AngloGold Ashanti leaves the country permanently.

On the other hand, as I have shown, AngloGold Ashanti self-identifies as a worldwide top-ranking mining corporation that brings considerable and measurable benefits to the communities that inhabit the lands and territories in which its projects take place. According to this order of ideas, La Colosa represents an opportunity for development and well-being for the community. In the most recent public documents and public talks, AGA has made a conscious effort to portray itself as a national actor. It has become commonplace to see the name “AngloGold Ashanti-Colombia” appearing in every document, attached to traditional music and traditional stories, and to see Colombian staff explaining the benefits and opportunities that the community can obtain by accepting the project. In other words, there is a ”colombianization” of the AGA message. AGA portrays the local community as in need of their help; however, to accept AGA’s help, the community must overcome a “poverty mentality”, “misinformation” and “wrong representations of mining”. As part of their sustainability policy, AGA-

Colombia offers help in educating and informing people so they can overcome those obstacles, which will in turn see the establishment of good relations with the corporation.

It appears that AGA has concerns regarding the opposition movement and the possibility that guerrilla groups influence the people participating. AngloGold Ashanti views the legal actions taken against their project as political reprimands by people who oppose the mining activities and affirms that the mining corporation has followed the legal requirements. In the view of the corporation, then, solutions to the conflict lie in educating people about the ways that mining and rural activities can share the land, concentrating the debate on technical aspects while leaving political and passionate topics aside.

Between these two very different identifications and perceptions lies a gulf which appears from these accounts to be unbridgeable. The question perhaps that should be asked then is, what now? This question is taken up in the following final chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

In this final chapter, the original goals and objectives of the research are revisited through the theoretical lenses adopted for this project. Questions of the strengths and weaknesses of this approach are addressed and the findings of the research are discussed. At the end of the day, perhaps, the question that is most important for this thesis is about the effectiveness of the research process, including its questions, methodologies and theoretical framework. From the perspective of one of the actors in this case study, however, there is a critical question to be asked, and that is about the survival of their lands and their survival as a distinct and unique people with their identity intact. In the context of the impacts of large-scale mining, similar questions are asked by local communities the world over.

1) Myself in My Research

The frequency of conflictive relations between the multinational mining corporations and local communities that inhabit the areas where the new mining exploration/exploitation projects are taking place and the recurrent imposition of the mining projects in spite of the opposition of the communities has interested me since early 2007. Despite being born and raised in Colombia, I only became aware of the impact of multinational mining corporations on local communities after I immigrated to Canada. Living in Canada brought awareness of the dimensions of the destruction created by open-pit mining that deeply touched my heart, and at the same time I became aware of the enormous power of multinational mining corporations around the world.

Tolima, the Department of Colombia, where I lived between January 2000 and January 2002, right before immigrating to Canada, is very dear to my heart. In spite of the short time I lived there, the kindness of its people that made my transition to the adulthood easier than I anticipated is still part of my most treasured memories. The research in which I was taking part as a

research assistant during this time focused on the capital city of Ibague, which unfortunately did not enable me to gain a wider knowledge and understanding of the Tolima's rural areas. The difficulties faced by the peasants that inhabit the area were not evident, not even inferred at that time. Thus discovering the conflict created by the licensing of gold mining in their reserve forest caused me great concern. I am incapable of imagining the vast landscape of Tolima with a big hole in the middle. I have climbed those mountains, walked those paths and talked to the peasants of the region.

The case of Tolima was then not only of personal interest but an interesting case since Colombia has no tradition of mega-mining projects. As demonstrated by Veiga *et al.* (2001), this is a common characteristic of places where the conflict between local communities and mining corporations becomes more intense. The fact that the conflict has become obvious only since 2009 provided an ideal situation in which to study a case where the opposition of mental frameworks is evident and easier to explore.

Consequently, writing a thesis became the perfect opportunity to explore the topic of interest to me through the lens proposed by Sawyer (2004) in a place where I have personal interest. Sawyer's proposition of the hegemonic discourses that attempt to impose new identities, new territories and new relations onto people linked my desire to explore the conflict between multinational mining corporations and local communities with a theoretical proposal. In this way the theory of mental frameworks became my theoretical lens, and the conflict between multinational mining corporations and local communities became the problem I wanted to study. While my original intention was to undertake a comparative study that involved the expressions of this conflict in both Colombia and Canada, following the advice of my committee a single case study approach was selected. This would allow consolidation of the research process and the possibility of undertaking the second case at a later date.

2) The Case Study Itself: Goals and Objectives

According to Susan Sawyer, hegemonic discourses compel the production of 'new identities, new territories and new relations' among people. Both inspired and puzzled by the strength of her affirmation, I undertook the task of unraveling the concrete characteristics that the process of the imposition of hegemonic mental frameworks on the local population is producing in Cajamarca, Tolima.

The conflict between AGA and the local peasant community of Cajamarca is not unique in the sense that the conflictual relations between multinational mining corporations and local peasant and indigenous communities are frequent around the world, as demonstrated in the introductory chapter. Consequently, I undertook this case study with the intention of developing an in-depth analysis that might serve as a model or example for future analysis. The objective of this thesis was, then, defined as answering the following question: What are the fundamental elements that define the relation between AngloGold Ashanti and the local community of Cajamarca, Tolima?

The strategy of inquiry followed the recommendations of Creswell (2007) and Denzin and Linconln (2003). They suggest starting the case study by defining the problem, following with a clear description of the boundaries within which the problem is analyzed. Clear definitions of boundaries help in determining the data collection tools and the forms to analyze the material collected. The theoretical consideration of this thesis, then, suggested the mental frameworks of the mining corporation and the community could be explored through the themes of identity, perceptions of what is just/legal, perceptions of land, perceptions of each other and the solutions that each actor proposes to end the conflict.

Drawing on the work of Johnston (2002) Delgado (2007) Snow (200 & 2003,), and Mitchell (1998), who elaborated on the theory of framing and enframing, the theoretical framework allowed me to study the reasons for political action in the relationship between the mining corporation and the

local community. I was able to address topics such as the political implication of ethical, aesthetical, imagery and epistemological discourses (Coronil, 2011). I was able to understand the ways power is inflicted through discourses without loosing the context of the economic, political and military powers that support the power of ideas.

The political and economic decisions of the national government of Colombia has opened the geographical spaces of the mountains of Tolima as well as administrative and legislative spaces for mining to take place. In this way the national government has supported and validated the enframing actions imposed by AngloGold Ashanti upon the local community of Cajamarca.

Trying to capture the fullness of the mental frameworks was challenging as some aspects do not appear explicitly in the documents produced by the actors. Consequently, I had to take particular care not to over analyze the documents in trying to find all the components.

The theoretical framework allowed me to understand firstly, that the two actors have discourses that are as complex and complete, and secondly, that as a researcher I am immersed in a political system of domination that discriminates one against the other. In that sense then, following Foucault, I too am immersed and complicit in a network of power (I will find the reference to finish this thought)

3) Findings

In 2001, Veiga *et al*. developed what they called a new proposal for how to understand and apply CSR. I identify it as innovative in one way because it argues that there are environmental, cultural and historical characteristics that explain communities' negative collective behaviours towards the resource extraction industry. This theory takes for granted that the mining corporation has to introduce a change in the mental realm of the members of the community to ease "the poor relations." The description "poor relations" does not originate from the change compelled by the corporation but from the fact that the community is not ready to change.

Through this process, CSR discourse accepts that a conflict could be generated in the depths of the mental schemata of the community, so the solution is to compel a change within this realm as well. According to Veiga *et al.(*2001) a community's shared observation that a mining operation is intruding into a community's environment, culture and history and the fact that such a community may not be 'prepared' to change and 'accept' new models of development even if their 'material standards' are improved should be addressed by a sustainable development model comprising three main strategies: education, benefit sharing, and diversification of the economy.

In my view, Veiga *et al*.'s proposal is troubling because, after considering the source of a community's potential collective opposition towards resource development, they justify and promote the use of homogenization tendencies. Thus, instead of validating the existence of the community's ethical, aesthetical, imageries and epistemological discourses, Veiga *et al*., much as most of the current applications of CSR, justify and recommend that to 'solve the problem' of having difficult relations with the community, the corporation must look for strategies to influence those discourses that support the communities' opposition. In other words, the multinational mining corporations should look for ways of compelling their own mental frameworks onto communities. In this way, communities will look at their reality and not see mountains and water and land to cultivate but minerals to dig out and jobs for them. Such change is presented as natural, needed, and beneficial for people.

Such is the case in Cajamarca. According to the data analyzed regarding the community's mental framework, it is not possible to reconcile their peasant subsistence economy with the open-pit mining exploitation proposed by AngloGold Ashanti. Thus, instead of considering Cajamarca as a place where people do not want mining and respect people's decision, AGA insists that the community has to be educated so the people understand what is good for them. The moral authority that this way of thinking carries allows

me to relate AGA's mental framework and the application of their CSR policies to the Western mentality. The mentality of the imperialist system ascribes to itself the "sounding moral mission to free the people" from their own ignorance and poverty. In this way, the imposition of neoliberalism is justified as an act of moral responsibility. The existence of spurious measures of 'net benefit' are based on the idea that AGA has the same right that members of the community to use the land, but would behave morally responsibly by sharing the benefit it is obtaining from this exploitation and compensating the community for any harm done.

4) Further Questions That Arise From the Research…

A relevant question that perhaps remains unanswered is how much of this model of analysis could be generalized and applied in the study of the conflict between mining corporations and local communities in other countries, such as Canada.

A second question might be what alternative systems of development could be used in peasant subsistence economies that do not justify the existence of difficult economic and material conditions, nor compel new mental frameworks. Both questions would be worth exploring in future studies.

Over and above my academic concerns for studying the subject with academic rigor, however, I am worried about the exacerbation of the conflict. Up until now, the enframing strategies used by AGA have not been effective due to a strong social movement that reaffirms the mental framework of the community. However, rumors of the militarization of the area may indicate how far the national government and the multinational mining corporation are willing to go to achieve their ends. As stated above the survival of the land and the people is a stake and that is a profound preoccupation that transcend these pages.

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