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Defending Home: How Resistance Movements are Framed Against Mineral Extraction in Cajamarca and Tambogrande, Peru

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**Defending Home: How Resistance Movements are Framed Against Mineral
Extraction in Cajamarca and Tambogrande, Peru**

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May 2017

MA PAPER

Submitted to the faculty of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the department of International Development, Community, and Environment

And accepted on the recommendation of

Denise Humphreys Bebbington, Chief Instructor

ABSTRACT

Defending Home: How Resistance Movements are Framed Against Mineral Extraction in Cajamarca and Tambogrande, Peru

Anne Read

This paper examines community resistance in the Peruvian communities of Tambogrande and Cajamarca to mineral extraction by the corporations Minera Yanacocha (MYSA) and Manhattan Minerals. It considers the fluid nature of the frames, strategies, and tactics that allow social movements to shape and reflect each other. This paper documents how ideas and symbols travel through space and time, in the form of community referenda, collective acts of resistance, and symbols of cultural patrimony, to resist mining projects in two emblematic conflicts. Social movement theory informs this study, in particular it explores the ways in which movements frame mining conflicts, build visibility and seek allies and resources across scales in support of their cause.

Keywords: mining, Peru, extraction, social movements, framework, narrative, symbol, referendum, collective action

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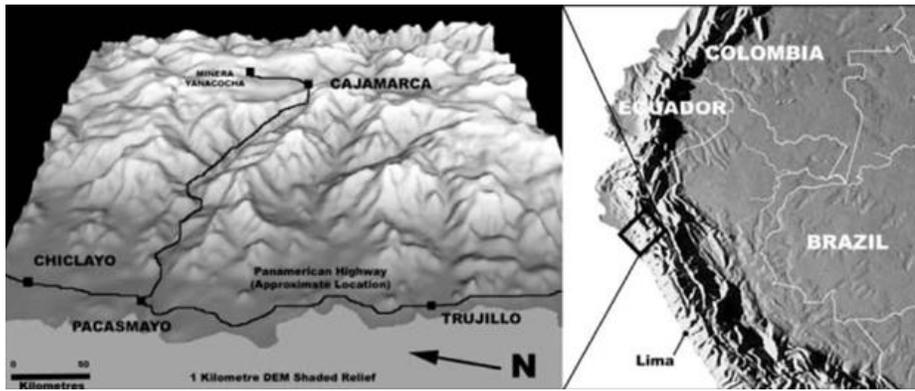


Figure 1: Cajamarca and Minera Yanacocha (MYSA) (Bebington et al. 2008).



Figure 2: Site of Manhattan Minerals' Tambogrande Mine

Introduction

The continued implementation of transnational mining projects is increasingly considered to be a threat to the traditional livelihoods of rural families and communities in close proximity to mining areas. Among the populations most impacted are peasant communities, whose reliance on natural resources make them vulnerable to manipulation, forced relocation, and loss of access to natural resources (O’Faircheallaigh 2013). There is still a considerable lack of recognition of peasant populations as being a legitimate part of the conversation surrounding development efforts in the Global South. Latin America has been at the heart of social movements mobilizing against mining, with many of these movements directing their efforts to improving or changing policies that are oppressive in nature to the livelihoods of community members.

With the recent surge of investment in extractive industries in the Global South, Peru has emerged as a leading country of private investment in mining in the last decade (Bebbington et al. 2013). As extractive industries bring promises of “development” to mining communities, a paradox emerges as local communities continuously face violations surrounding their environmental, economic, and social rights. This paper will explore both the historic and current social contexts that have led to the formation of resistance movements, and how their individual frameworks combatted transnational mining in Peru. Cajamarca and Tambogrande, home to two important and very contentious extraction projects, quickly became historically significant as the aftermath of the mines’ proposals sparked emblematic resistance. This research examines the foundation for this emblematic

characterization using the guiding questions of: *How are the resistance movements in Cajamarca and Tambogrande framed?* and *How do these movements gain traction around certain ideas and arguments?*

Social movements in both Cajamarca and Tambogrande were similarly fluid, and resistance was not linear, as tensions among collective action within the community were common (Bebbington et al. 2007). However, the eventual mobilization around each social movement allowed their resistance to be visible on a national scale, and worked to frame their arguments against environmental injustices, land grabbing, and the exploitation of natural resources. Social movement theory shows that the use of ideas, language, concepts, and symbols (Lakoff et al. 1980) are ways to establish a framework in which to inspire community action. This research incorporates social movement theory based on comparative studies (McAdams et al. 1996), democratic media activism (Carroll et al. 2006), and corporate social responsibility (Himley 2012), to name a few. Along with related literature citing relevant case studies, theory helps to place the resistance in Cajamarca and Tambogrande within the greater global context of social movements.

The literature helps this research examine how ideas and tactics travel through Cajamarca and Tambogrande, continuing to reach social movements throughout Latin America (Cabellos, Boyd 2006). Both Minera Yanacocha and the Manhattan Minerals' mine are located in the Northern region of Peru, but surrounded by differing social and economic dynamics that shaped the trajectory of each movement. This research argues that the two movements were framed in similar ways: through their use of collective action, the use of symbols of natural resources, and the personification of resistance through martyrs.

A community-based referendum (*consulta popular*) proved to be one of the most effective forms of collective action in both movements (McGee 2009), Tambogrande being the first of the two to implement this democratic process. The contamination of the watershed from Cerro Quilish as well as the Choropampa mercury spill proved to symbolize a shift in resistance over natural resources in Cajamarca. Similarly, the community of Tambogrande protested against Manhattan Minerals using limes and mangoes, symbols of their cultural patrimony and communal respect of their land and natural resources. Finally, both movements used martyrs to frame their resistance, personifying the struggle through Máxima Acuña de Chaupe's fight against Minera Yanacocha, and using the death of Godofredo Garcia Baca as a unifying symbol against Manhattan Minerals.

This paper begins with a historical look at extraction in Peru, highlighting the political and social contexts that framed these conflicts. Subsequently, the research provides a social, economic, and geographic overview of both Cajamarca and Tambogrande, identifying the specific components that made them particularly vulnerable to the effects of mineral extraction. The study goes on to explore the related literature, highlighting similar research that focuses on mining, struggles over resource extraction, and territorial transformation. Comprising the methodology of this research is the literature highlighting theoretical framework, relying on a range of sources from scholars focusing on the importance of social movement theory. This study concludes by addressing how these social movements established clear frameworks, and how they evolved through the use of symbols and arguments.

A History of Modern Mining in Peru

Peru's history is riddled with local conflicts surrounding the exploitation of land and natural resources for mining purposes. Social and political contexts leading up to mineral extraction have made the communities of Cajamarca and Tambogrande particularly susceptible to the negative impacts brought by large-scale mining projects. Peru's mining history goes back to the colonial period, as the Spanish crown took on an extractive relationship with the colony, defined by the search for gold (Arellano-Yanguas 2008). After Peru gained its independence in 1821, natural resources began to take on a new level of commodification through the means of proposed extraction. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, British institutions, and later American firms, initiated the exploitation of Peru's mineral wealth, shaping the policies of the Peruvian state (Dore 1988). Javier Arellano-Yanguas argues that this extractive nature, originating from colonial rule "neither facilitated modern institution-building nor improved the living conditions of the majority of the population", stating that "In fact, Peru developed a weak state historically alienated from its people" (Arellano-Yanguas 2008 p. 35).

Peru rapidly became one of the most inequitable countries in Latin America, largely due to the discrimination of the indigenous and mestizo populations, the neglect of underdeveloped regions, and the inadequate democratic processes in place (Arellano-Yanguas 2008). This inequity became correlated with advancements in mining practices,

as sophisticated technologies (i.e. the transition from underground to *open-cast mining*¹) quickly allowed Peru to become one of the global leaders in the mining industry. This evolution, starting in the 20th century, established the groundwork for the eventual privatization of mining in the 1990s. Prices for minerals, particularly gold, have remained consistently high since this period in time (Bebbington et al. 2008).

The beginning of 1990 introduced an aggressive privatization program that incentivized foreign investment with legal and financial protection, as well as expanded tax exemptions. Inspired by neo-liberal reforms that were being used throughout the region, the Fujimori administration opened up the Peruvian economy to foreign direct investment (FDI) through “removing restrictions on remittances of profits, dividends, royalties, access to domestic credit, and acquisition of supplies and technology abroad” (Bebbington et al. 2013). In reaction to the increasing resistance to these reforms, Fujimori shut down the parliament in an *auto-golpe* (self-coup), in order to reconstruct the Peruvian constitution to prioritize foreign investment and incorporate private and individual landownership (Bury 2005). After Fujimori’s fall from power in 2000, it was clear that this regime lacked transparency as “Fujimori signed the fiscal stability agreement illegitimately and that once international mineral prices began to increase markedly, flat-rate profit taxes on mining gave the government an inadequate share of the revenue” (Arellano-Yanguas 2011).

Following the trade liberalization came a significant boom in the price of mineral exports

¹ Open-cast mines, also known as “open-pit” mines, refer to mining operations whose extraction is performed above-ground, using advanced mining techniques. This is defined in contrast to underground mining, involving tunneling into the earth to extract minerals. Open-cast mines are used when minerals are covered in a thin layer of surface material, or when tunneling is deemed unfeasible due to structurally unsound rock (Ricketts 2016).

between the years of 2004-2009, sparking more investment in mining as well as generating substantial economic growth.

This period of reform still makes waves in Peru's economy, as trade liberalization and the establishment of free trade agreements (FTAs) from 2000-2011 allowed Peru to emerge as the "third most open economy to trade in 2011" (IMF 2013). In 2008, almost ten years after this restructuring, investment from mining extraction industries had exceeded more than \$30 billion (Bebbington et al. 2013). This transition in such a short period of time was unprecedented and affected world trade almost as much as it impacted peasant and rural livelihoods surrounding the areas of these new mines. As investment levels in Peruvian mineral extraction skyrocketed, and new open cast mines began operations, tensions began to rise in Cajamarca and Piura.

In response to the increasing number of mining cases regarding heavy pollution, land speculation, environmental injustices, and human intoxication, the Peruvian rights organization: the National Coordinating Committee of Communities Affected by Mining (CONOCAMI), has sought to protect indigenous and peasant communities that are in close proximity to large scale mining operations. Some of these locations include: La Oroya, Cerro de Pasco, Ilo, Huarney, and the Tintaya mine in the Cusco region. CONOCAMI has also played a part in the Tambogrande conflict, which has a historically vulnerable population to the impacts of large scale mining projects. The livelihoods of those living in rural communities adjacent to the Cajamarca and Tambogrande mines continue to be the most negatively impacted.

Cajamarca has a population of more than 150,000 inhabitants, more than nine times the size of Tambogrande. Overtime, the percentage of inhabitants living in rural areas of Cajamarca stayed roughly the same, as from 1876 to 1940, while the population nearly doubled, the rural population stayed at about 88% (Deere 1990). By 1993, 96% of the 1.3 million citizens in the Department of Cajamarca (the larger political division of the country in which the city of Cajamarca and MYSA are located) lived in a rural setting. (Bury 2004). Most of the inhabitants define themselves as *mestizos*, included in the Spanish-speaking, peasant population of Peru. According to Jeffrey Bury, the extreme rural poverty of *mestizo* livelihoods in Cajamarca is “inextricably linked to a succession of historical transformations in the region- Cajamarca was one of the central focal points of the Spanish conquest as Francisco Pizarro captured and killed the Incan ruler, Atahualpa, in Cajamarca (Bury 2004).

In addition to the case of Cajamarca, is the case study of Tambogrande. Located in the northern Peruvian region of Piura, this small town is centered in the “El Niño” zone², sitting directly atop a zinc, copper, and gold deposit. Manhattan Minerals, a small Canadian company, jumped to acquire extraction claims after gaining knowledge of this unusually high concentration of precious natural resources (Moran 2001). Tambogrande is made up of mostly rural farmers, representing over 65% of the population, who received access to land through the land reform process of the 1970s. As the potential negative

² “El Niño” refers to Southern Oscillation weather events that lead to the devastation of coastal zones of Ecuador and Peru. Indicated by high rainfall, increase in sea temperature, and unusually weak Tradewinds, El Niño can also contribute to severe weather changes in North America (Philander 1983).

effects of the proposed mine became clear, farmers began to mobilize over issues of water, livelihoods, and general health.

The transformation of social and political contexts from the colonial period to the present has given rise to mining as one of the primary forces defining Peru's economic and political position in the world, as well as leading to the an increase in social movements organized by the Peruvian people. Literature surrounding mining and social movements has grown over the past decade, as proposed extraction projects continue to impose on native and peasant land and livelihoods, creating points of contention.

Mining and Social Movements: Literature Review

These sections will draw from two different bodies of literature to analyze social movement dynamics surrounding mineral extraction in Peru. The first collection of literature assembles works by political ecologists: both geographers and anthropologists whose work examines community dynamics around contemporary mining. These influential perspectives contribute to the general scope of literature surrounding rural livelihoods and the impacts of changes to native landscapes. The second body of literature explores social movement theory, specifically how social movements are framed, how arguments are created and the technologies associated with the mobilization of community-based resistance. Neither the case of Cajamarca or Tambogrande are stagnant movements, rather both use ideas, symbols, and arguments that travel between sites of

resistance, ever-changing in response to their particular environments. This literature helps to analyze these cases, in providing theory and related case-studies to place them within the greater context of social movement dynamics.

Political Ecology

As the geographies of mining extraction have continued to expand around the world, new discourses emerge that expose the complicated realities of institution-community relationships. These narratives focus on concerns including identity, livelihood, territory, natural resources, environmental degradation, and human rights. Literature surrounding development and social movement theory is useful to frame the various findings stemming from case-study research, in Cajamarca and Tambogrande as well as social movements in Pierina, Peru and El Pangui, Ecuador. The initial theoretical frameworks lend a critical lens when comparing these distinct cases, and help to place them in a larger context of mining resistance in Latin America.

In a collective piece entitled *Contention and Ambiguity: Mining and the Possibilities of Development*, Anthony Bebbington et al (2008) explore the distinction between resistance to mining from a workplace narrative and resistance to mining with a focus on the defense of livelihoods, arguing “these struggles are frequently over the meaning of development rather than simply over the distribution of rent, and the actors involved assume more hostile positions *vis-a-vis* mining, arguing that extraction should simply not occur in a particular place, or even not at all” (p. 16). Bebbington et al. make

reference to the development phenomena discussion, posing the question of whether protests can truly change the relationship between mining and development or if they are “mere bit parts in plays scripted by mining companies and Ministries of Finance and of Energy and Mines” (p. 18).

Doug Mcadam explores how the element of resistance falls within the larger forces at play surrounding social movements. His collective piece *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (1996) analyzes the facilitative conditions that allow collective action to take place. This considers political institutions, cultural factors, and available resources that facilitate mobilization. He argues that it is essential to “recognize that a number of factors and processes facilitate mobilization and [we need to] resolve to try to define and operationalize them so as to maintain their analytic distinctiveness” (Mcadam et al. 1996 p. 29). In comparing case studies of resistance movements, Mcadam’s point rings clear. When we aim to *define* the processes that facilitate mobilization, they take on an analytic distinctiveness and are better conceptualized in order to assess their strategic role in resistance movements. Similar to points made in the collective Bebbington piece, Mcadam is critical of the capacity of protests to change the larger institutional forces at play, but argues that the key to effective revolutionary action is “significant divisions among previously stable political elites” (Mcadam et al. 1996 p. 30)

Matthew Himley considers this argument in his research, using the case study of the Pierina mine. In *Regularizing Extraction in Andean Peru: Mining and Social Mobilization in an Age of Corporate Social Responsibility* (2012), Himley analyzes the process of

community mobilization, and the ways in which the politics of resource governance affects the sociopolitical struggle. However, this study explores how resource governance environments are both the products of sociopolitical struggle, as well as instruments of power that affect the trajectory of the struggle (Himley 2012, p. 396). Himley argues that the transformation of mining economies is dependent on a shift in mining frameworks, as well as a confrontation of capitalist extraction methods that are contradictory in nature. While the community surrounding Pierina was able to “operate with little articulation”, which starkly contrasts to the community dynamics of both Cajamarca and Tambogrande, this study strives to deconstruct the socio-ecological contradictions that allowed mines to operate in such a way without stirring up social conflict.

Ximena Warnaars’ *Territorial Transformation in El Pangui, Ecuador* provides a conceptual shift from the focus of Peru to Ecuador, while providing similar notions of territorial dynamics that shape the community-extraction company relationship in Latin America. Warnaars focuses on how mining projects affect territorial dynamics, and shape the ways in which resistance forms against these projects. Regarding resistance strategy, she argues that the relationship with a physical environment can define a community’s response to mining, as “people’s own logic regarding the relationship between the environment and human beings may provide further insight as to why and how people in different locations respond to mining conflicts” (Warnaars 2010 p. 28). In both Cajamarca and Tambogrande, much of the resistance surrounding the mine implementation was initially sparked due to shifts in land ownership and access to resources, gradually

transforming the livelihoods of individuals surrounding both the Yanacocha and Tambogrande mines.

Jeffrey Bury argues a similar point, focusing on the transformation of livelihoods in mining territories, specifically the Cajamarca region. His research entitled *Livelihoods in Transition: Transnational Gold Mining Operations and Local Change in Cajamarca* (2003) explores how rural communities' access to produced and human capital resources has increased while access to natural and social capital resources has declined (Bury 2003). He focuses on a case study that evaluates the impacts of Newmont Mining Corporation's Minera Yanacocha (MYSA) on three communities and their access to resources. As Peru's transnationally based mining economy grows, Bury shows how important it is to consider the element of accessibility of livelihoods in understanding geographies of local change. The three communities in focus (Ladera, Jalca, and Control) have endured negative impacts on their educational standards, water quality, and access to agricultural products, and this research identifies how MYSA has contributed to a decreasing standard of living. These impacts slowly lead to community mobilization and Bury's research articulates how these shifts have actually "strengthened the political relationships between households and supra-communal organizations that are focusing on resisting these changes" (Bury 2003 p. 88).

The literature surrounding social movements in opposition to mining continues to analyze different facets of oppression that leads communities to openly resist extraction. Ronald Muradian (et al.) uses the lens of "perception of environmental risk, trust in experts and government institutions, and fairness in the distribution of burdens and benefits'

(Muradian et al. 2003) to explore the rise in local opposition against Manhattan Minerals in Tambogrande. Using surveys, interviews and other data, Muradian's *International Capital Versus Local Population: The Environmental Conflict of the Tambogrande Mining Project, Peru* looks at how local resistance to Manhattan Minerals progressed over time. His data focuses on the local population's opinion of the Tambogrande Mining Project, as well as determining the perception of risk that the inhabitants had about the project, mostly focusing on environmental hazards and the role that oppositional NGO's played in educating the community about these risks. Overall, Muradian (et al.) concludes that direct democracy is the only way to legitimize a final decision regarding the continuation of the Tambogrande mine, as "conflicts occur when stakeholders cannot agree on a common way for legitimizing decisions" (Muradian et al. 2003).

Social Movements and Framing

Social movement framing in both the Cajamarca and Tambogrande conflicts was constantly re-shaped, based on how they were received in their particular environments. However varied, the symbols, strategies, and arguments that they both used were quite powerful in the end. In considering their piece *Metaphors We Live By*, it seems that George Lakoff and Mark Johnson would argue that there are reasons why their frameworks were able to inspire action and comprise a unified front, and it all has to do with language. Whether it be chants of "*agro si, mina no!*" (Agriculture yes! Mining no!) in Tambogrande (Cabellos, Boyd 2006), or "Our struggle is just and nothing will frighten us!" (Sullivan,

2015) in Cajamarca, language is heavily incorporated in the framework of these movements. Lakoff and Johnson explain that our arguments shape our actions, and the ways in which we comprise our arguments determines the range of our actions. They phrase this idea in stating, “The language of argument is not poetic, fanciful or rhetorical; it is literal. We talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way and we act according to the way we conceive of things” (Lakoff, Johnson 1980. p. 5).

The work of Doug McAdam (et al.) entitled *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements* also comments on the importance of an articulated argument in social movements through their comparison of scholarly findings based on varying theories of revolution. However, they focus more on the existing conditions that allow social movements to gain traction, arguing that “revolutions owe less to the efforts of the insurgents than to the work of systemic crises which render the existing regime weak and vulnerable to challenge from virtually any quarter”(McAdam et al. p. 24). This comparative study addresses the broader social and political contexts that many scholars argue have the potential to define the framework of a social movement’s narrative.

Robert Benford and David Snow contribute a more specific overview of how social movement frameworks can be conceptualized within collective action. Through first addressing the evolving scholarship on collective action framework theory within the last decade, they use that context to outline several different types of framing that can outline an activist-based narrative. The injustice frame, adversarial frame, prognostic frame, and motivational frame, are all suggested as common routes in which social movements propose their narratives (Benford et al. 2000). Pamela Oliver suggests similar ways to

analyze direct action processes in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, through her discussion of “action technologies” (Morris et al. 1992). In an analysis of collective action mobilization, Oliver (et al.) consider the different methods that activists used to mobilize large groups of people, defining these action technologies as “mobilization technologies” and “production technologies” (Morris et al. 1992). They argue that “specific goals, production technologies, and mobilization technologies are chosen together, as packages”, and this ability for social movements to choose the ways in which they mobilize is essential as, “constraints on our choices about mobilizing translate directly into constraints on goals and tactics” (Morris et al. 1992 p. 256).

William Carroll and Robert Hackett compliment these social movement analyses through their work entitled *Democratic Media Activism through the Lens of Social Movement Theory*. They unpack the political significance and impact of contemporary media as a form of modern social activism, and search to understand how this framework translates into direct action. Carroll (et al.) note that while media activism can offer valuable insights, it “lacks a distinct collective identity or niche within movement ecology” (Carroll et al. 2006). While the use of media as a platform for social movement discourse is highly effective, this research argues that the ideological and strategic framework that social movements are able to spread as a whole is not conducive to solely media activism.

Both bodies of literature, surrounding modern mining dynamics, and exploring social movement theory, are helpful to place the cases of social mobilization in Cajamarca and Tambogrande within a larger context. These two case studies are emblematic in the fluidity of their strategic frameworks, and speak to the weaknesses of larger institutional

forces that are at play surrounding mining and the Peruvian government. An analysis of the evolution of these cases contributes to a better understanding of social movement strategy and exemplifies how resistance efforts can inform each other throughout space and time.

Case Studies

Minera Yanacocha: Cajamarca

Context for Resistance:

In 1992 Newmont Mining Corporation their Peruvian partner, Compañía de Minas Buenaventura and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), joined together to create the Minera Yanacocha S.A. (MYSA), the largest open pit gold mining operation in the world (Bury 2004). Bringing plans for health care, construction, agricultural development, and implementation of potable water systems, Newmont Mining Company talked of a “new more environmentally and socially responsible mining” while providing incentives for community members to embrace the idea of large-scale mining in the region. In 2001, MYSA’s mineral rights in Cajamarca covered a staggering 138,564 hectares (Bury 2004). At this point, MYSA was operating six open pits as well as four cyanide heap-leaching pads, and Minera Yanacocha quickly became a symbol of national pride and modernity, being the first open cast mine in the country (Bury 2005). Due to the vast nature of this operation, the open-pit mines transformed the land and water resources of the region. While many were eager at the economic and social benefits that MYSA promised to bring to the rural regions of Cajamarca, complaints started to form especially surrounding land

and water use. There were several allegations accusing MYSA of polluting watersheds near Ladera, a source of water supplied to nearby households and livestock (Bury 2004).

Despite proposing an environmentally-responsible frame, it was not long before the realities of the Newmont project began to emerge and enthusiasm turned to skepticism and later, open hostility. Perhaps the roots of peasant resistance can be traced to the early 1990's when MYSA agents began offering villagers small amounts of money for their land, without explanation that its future use was to benefit the mining operation (Bury 2004). As more households lost their assets, people started to take action, as "Complaints began to emerge about prices paid, undue pressure exercised on families to sell their land, people selling land to the mine that belonged to absent owners rather than them, and inflationary pressures in the local land market" (Bebbington et al. 2008 p. 19).

The local Church played a large role in responding to peasant complaints, as they were the first to raise concerns with human rights organizations in Peru, including the Diocesan Office of Human Rights (Bebbington et. al. 2008). Another point of contention arose when the contamination of one of the largest rivers feeding Cajamarca (Sullivan 2014), the Rio Grande, impacted the daily lives of the inhabitants surrounding the extraction operation. By the late 1990s, increasing reports of animal deaths, skin diseases and birth deformities among the populations in and around Cajamarca alarmed peasant leaders. One Cajamarcan citizen interviewed in Gianni Converso's *Open Pit* documentary explains that, "Because of this mine we live with ailments, our children are born sick- there are no cures for the sicknesses that we have" (Converso 2011). The implementation of an artificial reservoir set up by Yanacocha mine to address water quantity and quality issues,

proves to serve no one as the reservoirs have dried up and the limited amount of water that is left is seriously contaminated (Sullivan 2014).

The documentary assesses the mine's impacts in the areas of Combayo, Huambocancha, Gallito Ciego, and San Cirilo, communities all affected by water contamination from the Yanacocha mine. Polluted water not only deteriorates the physical health of these citizens but it restricts the economic opportunity that they can utilize by selling what has interacted with the water supply such as beef, livestock, and any type of produce coming from that area. In December of 1999, social protests in Cajamarca began to mobilize. Approximately "6,000 people assembled at the entrance of the mining site denouncing any further mining exploitation in the region. The *campesinos* or peasants, charged that the mine has caused massive social and environmental problems" (Bury 2002).

Social Movement Dynamics: The Struggle to Build a United Resistance

In witnessing their land change, and feeling the negative effects of the mine, the peasant population felt a strong push for justice. But these sentiments were not shared with the urban residents of Cajamarca until well after tensions had risen in rural communities. This eventual shift of urban support of the fight against resource extraction occurred "not so much because of any sympathy with the plight of the rural communities, but rather because of the accumulating evidence that the mine was beginning to have adverse effects on the urban water supply" (Bebbington et al. 2008 p. 21). The impacts of the Choropampa

mercury spill and the proposed contamination of the Cerro Quilish watershed allowed the arguments of rural communities to resonate with urban residents on a personal level.

Six months after initial protests, in June of 2000, a vehicle contracted by Minera Yanacocha spilled 335 pounds of mercury affecting the towns of Choropampa, Magdalena, and San Juan a series of towns located on the road to Trujillo (International 2006). The mercury that was spilled, a by-product of the mine, spread over a 43-kilometer stretch of road with significant impacts to local water sources, and triggering complaints of health problems shortly after. While MYSA made efforts to undertake a cleanup and improve infrastructure, they were “meager and slipshod” (Eakin 2004). Ernesto Cabellos and Stephanie Boyd, the filmmakers of *Choropampa: The Price of Gold* captures the post-spill dynamic between community members and Mine representatives. Some 1,000 people were affected by the mercury spill, based on research and interviews while making the film (Eakin 2004). This, combined with shared grievances surrounding the mine’s proposed expansion into a watershed area into Cerro Quilish, sparked the consolidation of local resistance in and around Cajamarca.

The lingering effects of the water contamination in and around Cajamarca as well as the mercury spill in Choropampa were more than enough to catalyze resistance movements. However, it was MYSA’s plans to expand their operations into *Cerro Quilish*, and later Minas Conga, that galvanized opposition from both rural communities and urban residents of Cajamarca. *Cerro Quilish*, an important watershed that supplies water to the city of Cajamarca, opened a new front of conflict around alleged land grabbing and potential watershed contamination. By 2004 tensions had escalated to the point where

more than 10,000 people living in and around Cajamarca joined to protest the MYSA's plans to expand (Arellano-Yanguas 2011).

Similar to the alliances made with community efforts in Tambogrande, support from local and transnational networks were hard to secure in an environment of distrust and exploit. The anti-mining movement began in Cajamarca through the activity of local movements, specifically through *rondas campesinas*, local peasant-indigenous organizations that are unique to Northern Peru. These peasant groups were initially created in 1976 to respond to cattle rustling in Chota, Cajamarca (Sullivan 2014). Later they served as patrols to limit the presence of Sendero Luminoso in the region. Typically composed of local farmers and community members, they assemble democratically to address the social concerns of the community. Over time, the federation of *rondas campesinas* have come to play an important role in protesting the MYSA and Minas Conga operations.

This *rondas* federation (FEROCAFENOP) developed overtime and established relationships with international environmental groups, furthering their advocacy expansion around the world (Bebbington et. al 2008). These alliances were helpful to establish an international platform for resistance, however as the federation continued its advocacy, certain alliances proved to weaken this social mobilization. The National Coordinator of Mine Affected Communities (CONOCAMI) sought to establish the Federation of *rondas campesinas* as a branch of their organization, but was hindered by “a series of conflicts between different interest groups, party political currents and leaders” (Bebbington et al. 2008 p. 21). MYSA then succeeded in financing FEROCAFENOP, delegitimizing the

progress that they had made as an organized front against Minera Yanacocha. The journey to build a unified resistance in Cajamarca continued to pose challenges, as the movement had to adapt to constantly shifting dynamics, both externally and within the movement itself.

Alliances, however, remained a crucial aspect to the movement's creation of a framework. Project Underground and Oxfam America became reliable allies, helpful in educating the public about the unpleasant realities of resource extraction, as there was still significant support for mining in Cajamarca and around Peru (Bury 2004). Grufides, Friends of the Earth International, and other international environmental groups (especially around the Bay Area of the US) (Bebbington et al. 2008) supported the movement in providing formal environmentally-conscious argument against MYSA's projected mine. Dr. Robert Moran became a key alliance to the resistance movement as he articulated the pressing concerns surrounding environmental impacts of one of the MYSA's proposed extensions, the Minas Conga mine. Moran concluded that replacing natural lakes with man-made reservoirs could lead to the loss of wetlands and aquatic life as well as causing nearby streams used by residents to dry up (Moran 2015). Like Tambogrande, an impactful argument that empowered the opposition movements against the Yanacocha mine was centered on the defense of natural resources. Social activists in Cajamarca used water scarcity and contamination as a basis to legitimize their opposition and worked with NGOs to further formalize their claims to prevent contamination, and unsafe environmental standards.

Movement Frames, Strategies, and Tactics

Active resistance towards the Yanacocha project was not always collectively shared among Cajamarca residents. When Grufides became known in the region there was still significant support for the proposed mine, as many were not aware of how this project could negatively affect their lives. Grufides, an environmentally-based development NGO established in 2001, was created by graduates of the Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca (National University of Cajamarca) (Li 2013). These graduates, along with the University Chaplain, Father Marco Arana, began to inform the people of Cajamarca of the legitimate concerns surrounding Yanacocha's mining operations. Father Arana, from a rural community himself, was able to establish an effective narrative that emulated the *campesino* identity of Cajamarca, and through "numerous newspaper editorials, email missives and published reports, [he] imbued the technical arguments against mining with what he saw as a cultural and moral dimension to the struggle against the mine" (Li 2013 p. 402). Through Grufides, Father Arana exposed Yanacocha's plans to expand as not solely being an alteration of landscape, but an attack on the identity of rural Cajamarca. The tactics of Grufides played a primary role in motivating the people of Cajamarca to march, protest, and campaign on behalf of their shared experiences.

Through the help of NGOs and local leaders such as Father Arana, stories of activism spread throughout Peru. The use of a *referendum* became a common strategy to community organization and campaigning against extraction companies. While the case of resistance in Cajamarca preceded Tambogrande by about a decade, the resistance

movement against Manhattan Minerals produced important lessons that made their way back to Cajamarca. After the citizens of Tambogrande conducted an effective referendum, many others followed suite in their own ways, even in areas where there was no threat of a mining project (McGee 2009). This became known as the “Tambogrande Effect” and it reached Cajamarcan activists quickly, as “citizens in Cajamarca, after learning of the referendum, called on the government to hold a referendum on the Yanacocha project owned primarily by Colorado’s Newmont Mining” (McGee 2009). This lesson worked to symbolize the social movement narrative that, with the help of a network of actors, including transnational NGOs, allowed opportunities for movement leaders to collaborate and strategize together.

The media played an important role in broadcasting the events surrounding the mines development and shed light on the human and environmental injustices that accompany resource extraction. Peruvian television networks including *La Hora* and *Hasta Aqui Nomas* as well as televised press conferences, reported on the Choropampa mercury spill, including interviews with victims and affected community members (Cabellos, Boyd 2003). Documentaries were also crucial to spreading this narrative, including *Choropampa: The Price of Gold* a film by Ernesto Cabellos and Stephanie Boyd, and Gianni Converso’s *Open Pit*. They shed light on the unjust actions of the mining industry, particularly surrounding the mercury spill and the Yanacocha mine. These approaches were able to develop the framework of the resistance, by targeting a large audience and expanding the platform of the anti-mining narrative.

One of the most recent developments in resistance to the Yanacocha mine is the emergence of a protagonist to represent the long battle against this oppressive presence. Máxima Acuña de Chaupe has recently emerged as a symbol of hope for the resistance against the land exploitation and manipulation of the Newmont Mining Corporation. Newmont sought access to her land to expand into the Conga open pit mine, stating that they had purchased her property in 1997 (Gil 2009). After many legal disputes and violent protests, Acuña de Chaupe and her family hold strong to their original statements, sparking international awareness around the history of the local struggle against the Newmont Mining Corporation. Máxima Acuña de Chaupe has since received the 2016 Goldman Prize for her stance to peacefully live off of her own property, allowing awareness to grow around the realities of land battles in Latin America.

Strategies including the referendum and the use of *mesas*, allowed community members with the help of NGOs to send a clear message to Minera Yanacocha concerning the community's stance on the extraction project. Tactics involving media and documentary narratives, enabled this message to reach international audiences as well. Along with the incorporation of symbols of resistance such as Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, and the *campesino* identity, the framework of resistance against Minera Yanacocha quickly gained traction and strength. Five years of negotiations eventually led Yanacocha to “renounce its legal right to Cerro Quilish in November of 2004” (Arellano-Yanguas 2011). The collective community battle continued in 2010 when the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was approved for Minas Conga, an extension of MYSA. In July of 2012

3,000 people marched in protest in Celendin, creating a “state of emergency” declaration (Armstrong et al. 2014).

Formalized action in Cajamarca gained momentum a decade before resistance began in Tambogrande, but there was still a sense of mutual learning between the two sites of resistance. The referendum in Tambogrande inspired action in Cajamarca, and the movement leaders in Tambogrande were able to utilize strategies that had been used against Newmont’s Yanacocha mine. These northern Peruvian communities had motivational and contextual differences but were able to learn from each other, and inspire others in their shared overarching goal.

Tambogrande: Manhattan Minerals

Context for Resistance

Before Tambogrande gained notoriety for its successful community-based action against Manhattan Minerals, the region was well known for producing the majority of mangoes and limes consumed by Peruvians. Limes and mangoes are staples of both Peruvian cuisine and the local economy (Cabellos, Boyd 2006). This largely arid coastal area received significant investment in large-scale irrigation infrastructure by the World Bank in the 1970s turning Tambogrande into one of Peru’s leading agricultural centers (Moran 2001). Even before the introduction of mining, rural farmers in Tambogrande were experienced with land speculation and land grabs related to proposed irrigation projects. This prior experience in mobilizing to defend their livelihoods and strong local organization were important factors in mobilizing a cohesive resistance to proposed mining..

In 1993, with full support from the Peruvian government, Manhattan Minerals began a nearly \$60 million open-pit gold mining project (Arellano-Yanguas 2011). The company began preparing for extraction during the height of the mining boom, just as Peru was opening up its market to transnational investments. From their initial presence in Tambogrande, Manhattan Minerals was faced with opposition. The projected impacts of this project included the relocation of 8,000 citizens as well as a diversion of the local river, a source of drinking water and a source of irrigation for local agriculture (Moran 2001). This led to local populations participating in organized action surrounding the threats to their agricultural-based economy and environmental impacts. On February 27, 2001, 10,000 people participated in blocking a road leading to the extraction site (Moran 2001). Opposition formed around the contradictory nature of Manhattan Mineral's venture. A local farmer, Segundo Palacios, lends a sense of clarity to the community struggle as he says "With this mining project, how will (farming) be possible? This plantation, for example, with the dust and air that is going to come out, it's a fiasco, these plants will die automatically. And when the plants die, what gives life to us is dead" (Boyd, Damian 2004).

Manhattan Minerals brought promises of more than three hundred jobs, improved infrastructure, and new houses for the thousands of relocated citizens (Gil 2009). However, the looming adverse effects of the mining project quickly started to show, as the plan, like mentioned before, was to change the course of a main river after relocating thousands of Tambogrande citizens, one-third of the population (Arellano-Yanguas 2011). Resistance began to coalesce as residents of Tambogrande joined together with farming groups around

the region, creating the Tambogrande Defense Front (Boyd, Cabellos 2004). A farmer and school director from the town, Godofredo Garcia Baca, was elected president of the Tambogrande Defense Front, and from this formalization began a campaign to not only encourage the whole town to join the resistance but spread awareness throughout Piura and Northern Peru.

Even in the initial stages of the Tambogrande mine development, members of the oppositional community were taking action as “the consultation process for people relocation stopped when a group of politically motivated people attacked and damaged the Manhattan office facilities in Tambogrande” (Muradian et al. 2003). Following this attack, there were several boycotts to public hearings, violent confrontations with police, and roadblocks. (Arellano-Yanguas 2011).

Social Dynamics: From Violence to Nonviolence

In March of 2001, just a month following the burning of Manhattan offices, Godofredo Garcia Baca was shot dead (Muradian et al. 2003). He was not only the leader of the Tambogrande Defense Front but a local farmer, agronomist, and school director. In the wake of his death as well as the violent actions that took place at the Manhattan offices a forum to develop dialogue was created between the Ministry of Energy and Mines and the Archbishop of the Diocese of Piura representing the Tambogrande Defense Front (Muradian et al. 2003). Lawyers from the Catholic Church defended Defense Front Leaders and asked Manhattan Minerals to “cease operations and respect the community’s

wishes” (Boyd et al. 2004). While this event was indeed violent, the aftermath was strategic in order to create a unified movement, based on peaceful protest.

After the burning of the compound in 2001 and the death of Godofredo, it was clear that the movement’s tactics were getting out of hand, and Manhattan Minerals took advantage of this. One member of the Tambogrande Defense Front explained that “the pro-mining media carried out a smear campaign against the protesters saying we were violent and terrorists”, continuing on to explain this narrative shift as “Our personal inner conflicts, and the conflicts between those who wanted violence and those who wanted peace were finally channeled into a method. Our actions gave the message that the way forward was peaceful” (Cabellos, Boyd 2006). After this point, each protest turned into a cultural celebration, incorporating music, art, and dance into the resistance, and carrying mangoes and limes to symbolize their allegiance to the land.

Through establishing a peaceful framework based on symbols of unity and strength, the movement was able to create useful alliances with transnational NGOs, much due to the influence of NGO incorporation in the resistance against Minera Yanacocha. Organizations like the Front of Defense, The Red Muqui, Oxfam GB, and rural grassroots organizations based around Tambogrande are just a few key actors that were essential to the advancement of this movement (Muradian et. al. 2003). As the potential environmental impacts of the proposed Tambogrande mine became clear, an argument began to take shape based on the impacts this mine was seen to have on the community’s water, land and livelihoods (Moran 2001).

Alliances with environmental-based organizations began to form with the incorporation the Friends of the Earth from Costa Rica and Ecuador (Muradian et al. 2003). Mineral Policy Center (now called EARTHWORKS) and the Environmental Mining Council of British Columbia (Moran 2001) were also key allies in supporting Robert Moran's impact assessment. This put the Tambogrande effort in a good position to gain an international platform, especially amongst northern environmentalist movements. Community demands gained a sense of legitimacy, as "various aspects of recent Peruvian political history made environmentalism an accepted framework within which to pose popular demands where other political expressions were repressed or delegitimized" (Arellano-Yanguas 2011).

The work group Piura Life and Agriculture established counter-arguments to MM's claims of limiting environmental impacts, providing the movement with technicalities needed to understand the inherent risks of the project. These include: deforestation, water pollution, and the risks associated with the canalization of the Piura River (Muradian et. al. 2003). In order to provide the community with accurate levels of environmental impacts, International NGOs such as Oxfam America, Mineral Policy Center, and the Environmental Mining Council of British Columbia financed a hydrologist, Dr. Robert Moran, to provide a water assessment to show the importance of agriculture production to the Tambogrande economy (Moran 2001). Moran concluded that water pollution was highly likely, a significant potential for crop contamination, and clear long term-impacts on the livelihoods of the local Tambogrande communities (Moran 2001). Moran's

conclusions served as an effective oppositional narrative as both Manhattan Minerals and the Peruvian government argued that mining would be safe.

Movement Frames, Strategies, and Tactics

Following the movement's switch to a peaceful approach to resistance, which helped them to form strategic alliances, came the implementation of a community referendum. In 2002, oppositional groups organized a referendum (*consulta popular*) as a way for eligible voters in the Piura district to express their opinions about the mine (Muradian et al. 2003). This was considered a new innovation in mining struggles in Latin America, as it provided a way for popular sentiment to be expressed along with a more conclusive outcome than previous negotiations between mining companies and oppositional groups. While this referendum was supported by the local government, the Peruvian government initially refused to accept the referendum as a legitimate process. Part of the Manhattan Minerals' strategy was to paint the townspeople as "ignorant farmers", as officials publicly stated that the residents of Tambogrande were "so easily manipulated" compared to developed nations, predicting that the whole nation would be paralyzed if the referendum continued (Cabellos, Boyd 2006).

Eventually the Government of Peru, along with Manhattan Minerals, recognized the referendum as democratic practice. MM stated that it could support a referendum on a department level but this was seen as being a way to dismantle the rejection of the mine as, "it is more likely to obtain *in-favor* votes among people not (negatively) affected by the

project but interested in its economic benefits” (Muradian et al. 2003 p. 789). A day after the vote, Manhattan Minerals’ shares dropped 28% on the Toronto stock exchange, and the media was quick to note the impact that a small democratic act had on this large Canadian corporation (Cabellos, Boyd 2006). This referendum continues to serve as a precedent for collective action against extractive processes, mirrored in the case of Cajamarca as well as in mining resistance in Argentina and Guatemala (Cabellos, Boyd 2006).

While there was a lack of initial acknowledgement of the legitimacy of this process, the referendum proved to be an effective way for community members to articulate their grievances. Starting with the farmers and growing to encompass the whole community, the referendum produced convincing results, as it concluded that “98 percent of the eligible voters rejected the mine” (Kirsch 2014). The environmental impact alone was enough to push people into defensive action. A survey conducted by Muradian et al. (2003) concluded that “85 percent were against the project, 46 percent did not trust the government to enforce environmental laws, and 47 percent believed that pollution levels would be very high” (Smith et al. 2010). Local action moved to extended protests following the conclusive results of this referendum in June 2002 when “more than one thousand villagers mobilized in Lima against the Tambogrande project (Smith et al. 2010). Work with NGOs continued along with mobilization and smaller protests, leading to one of the larger movements, a three-day protest in Tambogrande in November 2003.

Along with collective action, this movement used symbols to frame their resistance that epitomized the cultural identity of a typical Peruvian. A popular campaign slogan that gained popularity was “¿Se imagina el ceviche sin limones?” (“Can you imagine *ceviche*

without limes?”), making a relatable comparison to their land struggle with a traditional Peruvian fish dish, best served with limes (Kirsch 2014). This anecdote became the national symbol for their movement, as flyers, marches and costumes soon became adorned with limes representing the campaign (Gil 2009). Incorporation of this narrative was essential to their framework as it not only mobilizes Peruvian identity, but brought farmers to the forefront of the argument, whose hard work and identity were truly at risk with the prospect of mining.

As in the case of the Cajamarca mine, the struggle of rural communities in Tambogrande was heard around the world, and attracted growing attention from the press, through the creation of a documentary. *Tambogrande: Mangos, Murder, Mining*. The film, by Ernesto Cabellos and Stephanie Boyd, has been featured in film festivals around the world as well as winning five international awards, and been broadcasted Sundance Channel (USA), CBC Country (Canada), and national television in Peru (*Journal Peru*). Cabellos and Boyd were able to capture the spirit of the people of Tambogrande with comprehensive coverage of the many protests coupled with interviews with citizens as well as a look into the tactics of representatives from Manhattan Minerals. The creation of this film was a tactic that provided the struggle in Tambogrande with an audience to witness this powerful example of collective action, contributing to the framework of the movement as well as exposing the true nature of the Manhattan Minerals Corporation.

This film was able to shed light on the substantial impact that Godofredo Garcia Baca's death had on the movement. He became a martyr for the resistance, symbolizing the power of unity in strength, as his arguments and passion manifested in the movement. Godofredo

had the ability to clearly explain how the mine would affect their land and community, and led the Tambogrande Defense Front until his death in March of 2001. One of the members of the Defense Front reflected on Godofredo's strong influence in an interview for Cabellos and Boyd saying "We owe him our entire argument" (Cabellos, Boyd 2006). Godofredo's life and ultimate death was able to frame the resistance, and effectively mobilize the Tambogrande community with the symbol of his memory.

The incorporation of these frames, strategies and tactics were essential to the continuation of the struggle against Manhattan Minerals. The stakeholders involved, including documentary-makers, NGOs, and local alliances did their part as well to strategically inform a greater audience of the conflict in Tambogrande. Though not always easily attained, alliances have the power to articulate a narrative. Anthony Bebbington (et al.) explains that narratives have been shifting towards opposition of natural resource extraction, rather than workplace-based resistance, and much of this involvement is dependent on transnational/local alliances with NGOs" (Bebbington et al. 2008). The movement pushed forward, gaining strength in numbers, alliances, and exposure. Peaceful protests were persistent until the mine finally shut down in 2005, citing a lack of funding due to the ongoing protests (Smith et al. 2010). After two failed attempts at a hearing, and thousands showing up to protest, Manhattan Minerals withdrew communication and changed their name, leaving Tambogrande in disgrace (Cabellos, Boyd 2006).

Conclusion

The social movements in Cajamarca and Tambogrande were not linear in their separate processes to achieve justice, and “progress” proved to be a struggle to maintain. Both cases experienced significant shifts in their collective narrative before being able to move forward in a unified manner. In Cajamarca, Minera Yanacocha was presented as “groundbreaking” and modern to not just the residents but to the nation. It changed the way mining had been done, creating excitement and support for the new development- so much so that it took the contamination of a communal water source to get urban inhabitants to finally empathize with the rural argument (Bebbington, et al. 2008). A similar shift is seen in Tambogrande after the involvement of the Defense Front in the burning of Manhattan Mineral buildings in 2001. As the movement switched to using only peaceful methods, it gained a cohesive narrative and proved to be more uniting as protests transformed into cultural celebrations. One community member noted that this change “Taught us that anger, violence and sorry can be transformed into peaceful resistance” (Cabellos, Boyd 2006).

While resistance in Cajamarca and Tambogrande was defined by differing historical contexts, they were able to inform each other’s frames, strategies, and tactics. The use of a referendum proved to be a collective strategy that enabled members of both movements to formally voice their opinions surrounding the proposed mines. Originating in Tambogrande (Muradian et al. 2003), this process continues to inspire similar democratic action opposing mining around the world (Cabellos, Boyd 2006). Other types of collective

action is seen in Cajamarca and Tambogrande through the use of marches, roadblocks, police confrontation, and strikes to spread their narratives. In Tambogrande the chant of “sin limon, no hay ceviche” (Kirsch 2014), resonated with many, and motivated people all around the country to show support. This led to the 2002 march in Lima, where thousands came out to spread awareness (Smith et al. 2010).

Symbols of resistance worked to frame both of the arguments as well. The limes and mangoes that rural residents used in protest were recognized throughout the country as being associated with an anti-mining stance (Cabellos, Boyd 2006), and through the incorporation of art, music, and dance, every protest became a cultural celebration. Within Cajamarca, the *campesino* identity allowed the movement to take shape with the help of NGO Grufides in particular, and the work of Father Arana in bringing people together under a common goal. Also, the use of *rondas campesinas*, peasant rounds made up of local farmers and community members, provided a way for the “common citizen” of Cajamarca to feel inspired to push towards the common goal of the movement.

Documentaries made by Stephanie Boyd and Ernesto Cabellos contributed an important narrative to both movements in Cajamarca and Tambogrande. They helped to frame both resistance movements, shedding light on the realities of each extraction corporation and incorporating the local perspective into the overarching narrative. *Tambogrande: Mangos, Murder, Mining 2006*) and *Choropampa: The Price of Gold (2003)* were able to spread awareness about these conflicts surrounding extraction, capturing the harsh realities that these communities faced. Cabellos and Boyd were able to touch upon the death of Godofredo Garcia Baca, and highlight how he continues to personify the movement,

becoming a martyr that will continue to represent the struggle against Manhattan Minerals. The efforts of Máxima Acuña de Chaupe serve to symbolize the movement against Minera Yanacocha as well. Both Baca and Acuña became social justice martyrs, symbols of historical repression and violence but also figures of resistance and heroism.

Social movements face enormous challenges in their efforts to combat mining companies. Extraction corporations tend to be well-financed, have some sort of control over the media, and are supported by the state government. But despite all these advantages, resistance movements are still able to stop mining. Social movement theory points to the importance of language (Lakoff 1980), action technologies (Morris 1992), and socio-political contexts (McAdams 1996), to name a few, in contributing to social mobilization within a resistance framework. Despite the many challenges that they faced, social movements in Cajamarca and Tambogrande were able to learn from each other and establish frameworks that led to social mobilization, through frames, strategies and tactics.

There is a constant need for the continuation of efforts against mining in Peru, even still in Cajamarca. While active operations have halted by Manhattan Minerals in Tambogrande, Cajamarcan citizens and allies had only limited success in their movement to end all MYSAs projects. Communities continue to fight against Newmont Mining Corporation, and represent a larger ongoing struggle against extraction institutions around the world. The efforts of the communities of Cajamarca and Tambogrande remind us that “though they are few in number, such cases have assumed great political and symbolic value in the world of activism, because they offer evidence that mining *can* be stopped” (Bebbington 2008).

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