

**Reconciling Private Power and Public Interest in
Resource Development Contexts: The Emergence of the
Corporate Citizen in Mayan Guatemala**

Esma Mneina

**A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
MA degree in Anthropology**

**School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies, Faculty of Social
Sciences, University of Ottawa**

© Esma Mneina, Ottawa, Canada, 2015

Table of Contents

Legend.....	iv
Abstract	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Introduction to Thesis.....	1
The Marlin Mine.....	3
Opposition to the Marlin Mine	6
Outline of Thesis	14
Chapter One: Theoretical Framework and Methodology.....	16
1.1 Theoretical Framework	16
1.2 Methodology	25
1.2.1 Literature Review	26
1.2.2 Identifying Informants in this study and Access.....	27
1.2.3 Interviews.....	30
1.2.4 Observation	34
1.2.5 Data Analysis.....	35
Chapter Two: Context and Relevant Literature	38
2.1 Guatemala	38
2.1.1 Indigenous People and the State.....	38
2.1.2 The Peace accords, Mining and Consent.....	41
2.3 Mining in Guatemala.....	45
Chapter Three: The Indigenous Citizen, the Corporate Citizen, the State and the paradoxical social responsibility contract.....	50
3.3 Citizenship and Rights: The Individual vs. The Corporation	57
3.4 Power Dynamics in this study.....	58
3.4 Gaining Power in Communities	63
3.5 How Corporations adapt and “belong”	63
3.6 Marlin Mine-employed CSR Strategies	66
Infrastructure.....	66
Education and School	67
Agriculture and Eco-Sustainability Initiatives	68
Programs and Foundations	68
Employment	69
Investments.....	69
Criticism.....	70
3.7 The current binary: Powerful Corporations and Weak Nation-States.....	71
Chapter Four: Mining Conflict in Guatemala: The Resistance to Mining and What Influences Anti-Mining Organizing.....	75
4.1 A History of violence and anti-mining resistance as continued <i>lucha</i>	75

4.2 “We are not partners [of development]”; Asymmetrical Power Relationships	78
4.2.1 Not informed or consulted.....	80
4.3 Resource Nationalism.....	87
4.4 “This is not development”; Mining as Mis-development	92
4.4.1 Environmental Damage and Unsustainability of Mining Investment.....	93
4.4.2 The Future for the Children and Defending against Mis-Development.....	95
4.4.3 The impact of conflict to community relations	96
4.5 Mining as an attack on identity: Defense of territory	99
Conclusion.....	104
Appendix:	112
Visual map of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos, Guatemala	112
Timeline of Corporate-Community Engagement.....	113
Ethics Approval.....	117
Bibliography	118

Legend

AMAC – Community Environmental Monitoring Association

AMR: Annual Monitoring Report

CADEP – Center for Analysis and Public Decisions

CALAS: Center for Legal, Environmental and Social Action of Guatemala

CAP – Center for Attention (Health clinic built and supported by the Marlin Mine in SMI).

Campesinos – Peasant

CAO: Compliance Adviser and Ombudsman’s Office of the IFC.

CEH: Historical Clarification Initiative

CIDA: Canadian International Development Association (Recognized as the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade since 2013)

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

CC: Corporate Citizenship

CDP: Carbon Disclosure Project

COPMAGUA: Coordinator of Organizations of the Maya People of Guatemala

COMG: Council of Maya Organizations of Guatemala

Compañero – Partner or friend. FREDEMI members refer to each other as such

Consulta – Consultation

CONRED: National Council for Reduction of Disasters

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

Cyanide Code: Code developed by a multi-stakeholder Steering Committee under the guidance of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) and the then-International Council on Metals and the Environment (ICME).

Department: The Republic of Guatemala is divided into units of organization called ‘departments’. Each department consists of municipalities.

DFATD: Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development

DI: Devonshire Initiative

EITI: Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

ESIA: Environmental Sustainability Impact Assessment

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

FREDEMI: Miguelense Front Against Mining in the municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán in the department of San Marcos, Guatemala

FPIC: Free, Prior and Informed Consent

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GRI: Global Reporting Initiative

Health Tribunal – 2012 grassroots health tribunal organized by various communities in the department of San Marcos

IACHR: Inter-American Commission on Human Rights

IBA – Impact Benefit Agreement

ICMM: International Council on Mining and Metals

ICME: International Council on Metals and the Environment

IFC: International Finance Corporation, Member of the World Bank Group

ILO: International Labour Organization

IWGIA: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs

Los Chocoyos – Mining extension into Sipacapa is called this
Madre Tierra – Mother Earth
MLAR: Market-led Agrarian Reform
Municipio - Municipality
NAFTA: North-American Free Trade Agreement
NCP: Canadian National Contact Point for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
NGO – Non-governmental organization
OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PBI: Peace Brigades International
PDAC: Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada
PLURIJUR - The Pluricultural Legal Association
PRI: Principles on Responsible Investing
Quechua – Indigenous language or identity to Guatemala
Quetzal – Guatemalan money
Sipacapa – One municipality within the department of San Marcos, Guatemala
Sipacapense - People from Sipacapa
SMI: San Miguel Ixtahuacán
SMF – Sierra Madre Foundation (Health foundation created and supported by the Marlin Mine in SMI)
SMO – Social Movement Organization
SRI: Socially Responsible Investing
Testimonio - Testimony
TNC – Transnational Corporation
TSX: Toronto Stock Exchange
TSVX: Toronto Stock Venture Exchange
UN: United Nations
UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UN Global Compact: Voluntary strategic policy initiative for businesses that are committed to aligning their operations and strategies with ten defined principles in the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption.
UNEP: United Nations Environmental Programme
URNG: Guatemalan National Revolutionary Front
WB: World Bank
World Gold Council: Gold mining industry publication on gold demand trends.

Abstract

Mining conflicts in Guatemala “provide sites for exploring how things that used to be fused together [including] identity, entitlement, territoriality, and nationality are being taken apart and realigned in innovative relationships and spaces” within neoliberal contexts (Ong, 2006, p. 5). The municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, in the Western Highlands of Guatemala, is currently home to a nearly decade-old mining conflict between Indigenous communities against mining development, and a Canadian-owned mining project, the Marlin mine. The primary objective of this thesis is to highlight the reasons why Indigenous people still resist mining development despite corporate efforts to engage with them through corporate social responsibility measures and corporate citizenship practices. The ethnographic fieldwork pursued in the Maya-Mam communities surrounding the Marlin mine revealed how Indigenous political actors imagine and navigate experiences with mining development. The resistance of Indigenous actors to mining in this study is strongly linked to a lack of consultation, environmental damage, and an increase in inter-community conflict. These issues have made the presence of the mining company to be seen by Indigenous actors as a barrier to the full realization of both their rights as political citizens and their own development interests. This thesis hopes to contribute to understandings of corporate power and corporate-Indigenous engagement by adding a new dimension to understandings of citizenship and political rights between corporations, communities and the state: the meaning that the emergence of the corporate citizen in Mayan Guatemala takes from the perspective of historically marginalized, yet politicized, Maya-Mam actors.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I owe great gratitude to the Maya-Mam peoples of San Miguel Ixtahuacán who informed this study for accepting me and teaching me. I would also like to acknowledge the guidance and access granted to me within the communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipakapa through the tireless work of Aniseto Lopez Diaz, Crisanta Perez and Licenciado Carlos Loarca. I would also like to thank Father Erick from San Miguel Ixtahuacán by way of Belgium, who arranged a living space for me in the municipality. Finally, to Olga Ventura for her incredible spirit, hospitality, and care during my field breaks in Antigua. Thank you for letting me into your lives, enlightening me, and sharing with me.

Outside of Guatemala, during the course of writing this thesis, I have received support and guidance from different sources. My special gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Karine Vanthuyne of the University of Ottawa for her thorough and invaluable advice – on paper and on the field. I learned so much from her knowledge and fieldwork experience on the political history and contemporary context in Guatemala. Her mentorship transcended our work together on campus, as I worked to understand the conflict from various angles in Washington, D.C., in New York City, in Guatemala City, in the field in San Miguel Ixtahuacan, and in Toronto. I would also like to thank those who I came across during these travels – those who have mentored me through work and internship experience and those who I learned from along the way.

I would like to also thank the anthropology professors whose courses I took during my first year of this Masters degree and a number of my fellow colleagues, whose passion for their respective research pursuits served as a constant reminder of the breadth of good work pursued in our discipline. I would like to especially thank Dr. Susan Spronk and Dr. Ari Gandsman whose comments following my proposal defense were of no small contribution.

I am grateful for my brilliant parents for their kind words of encouragement. For my father for telling me to enjoy the journey, and my mother for keeping me grounded. I am thankful for my friends for (trying to) remind me not to work too hard, and my siblings who inspire me over and over again. I have gratitude.

I wish to thank the institutions that supported my research: The University of Ottawa as well the research team, Indigenous Stewardship and Alternative Development at McGill University.

Introduction to Thesis

Every Sunday in the Western Highlands of Guatemala, hundreds of *Miguelenses* descend from various communities in the mountains of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, department of San Marcos, into the city-center of the municipality to go to church and then sell and trade their goods at the municipal marketplace. Plastic tarps are roped around large branches with colourful fabric, and hundreds of tables, baskets and people line the roads of this small town. Children run around freely, playing with firecrackers in the small park in front of the church while others watch, the juice from fresh fruit dripping from their hands - the only time of the week it is brought into the town. Women hover over their baskets of goods balancing one or two small children in colourful slings on their backs while simultaneously offering ‘fresh pineapple’ or ‘juicy strawberries’ to every passer-byer. The smell of freshly uprooted carrots from the mountains battle with the aroma of battered chicken being sold at other street carts along the road. Trucks and buses are always running, noisily shuttling families and their baskets up the mountains to their communities.

These Sundays are vibrant – loud, colourful, happy. And for this one day a week, the Marlin Mine doesn’t seem to be on anyone’s mind. As Miguelenses from all communities sell, trade, barter and speak with each other, a foreigner like myself might find it hard to believe that not too far from the city-center, a nearly decade-old mining conflict persists. A Guatemalan from anywhere else in the country too, would be surprised to see this happy occasion; everyone I spoke to outside of San Marcos referred

to the entire department as “the sad place with the Marlin Mine”. All of Guatemala seemed to know the municipality for its newest resident: the Canadian-owned, Vancouver-based mining company, Goldcorp Inc. (Goldcorp), its local subsidiary, Montana Exploradora, and their silver and gold mining project, the Marlin mine.

But tucked away from all the noise, the Miguelense Front Against Mining (*Frente de Defensa Miguelense Contra la Minería*, referred to in this thesis as FREDEMI), meets covertly with their leader, Aniseto López, to discuss the next *acción* (action), or simply to share grievances. The members of this anti-mining movement – who all ethnically identify as Mayan Mam - are spread too far apart in the mountains to meet regularly, and are too poor to speak over the phone. The day of the market in the city-center of San Miguel Ixtahuacán is the only opportunity they have to discuss.

Mining conflicts in Guatemala “provide sites for exploring how things that used to be fused together [including] identity, entitlement, territoriality, and nationality are being taken apart and realigned in innovative relationships and spaces” within neoliberal contexts (Ong, 2006, p. 5). In San Miguel Ixtahuacán, this ‘realignment’ takes the form of asymmetrical power relations between the overwhelming power of the corporation, Goldcorp, and those living within the communities where the Marlin mine is located. Goldcorp’s overwhelming power hits a nerve with those community members who resist mining. They feel even more violated than they did previously in their antagonistic relationship with the state. In reaction to corporate power, the leaders of the anti-mining movement in San Miguel Ixtahuacán mobilize their followers through a language of

rights which has been socialized among them through solidarity networks that include human rights, legal and educational institutions which then become circulated and appropriated at the local level.

This thesis aimed to understand (i) the community experiences of mining development that motivate resistance and cross-community organizing against mining and; (ii) how the corporate strategies to offset resistance like ‘corporate citizenship’ are intensifying or relieving tensions. The question underlying the study is: *despite corporate social responsibility practices employed by the Marlin Mine, why do people still resist mining in the Western Highlands of Guatemala?* This thesis demonstrates how the emergence of Goldcorp as a corporate citizen in San Miguel Ixtahuacán adds a new dimension to understandings of citizenship and political rights between corporations, communities and the State. It also demonstrates how issues including lack of consultation, environmental damage, and an increase in inter-community conflict have made the presence of the mining company to be seen by Indigenous actors as a barrier to the full realization of both their rights as political citizens and their own development interests.

The Marlin Mine

In 2004, a Canadian-owned mining corporation, Goldcorp, began constructing the Marlin Mine, a gold and silver mine that uses both underground and open pit mining. The Marlin Mine was Guatemala’s first major new investment in the mining sector following the post-war liberalization of foreign investment regulations and reform of the country’s mining law in 1997. From the beginning, the project was meant to be a “model of

responsible operations [that] would contribute significantly to local community development” (Slack, 2010, 5).

The initial owner of the mine was Glamis Gold Limited, after the first deposit was discovered in 1998. Glamis Gold Limited merged with Goldcorp in 2002, and was finally acquired by Goldcorp in November 2006 (Goldcorp, 2006). Goldcorp is the largest gold mining company in the world with over 70% of its reserves situated in the North American Free Trade Agreement¹ countries and is listed in both the New York and Toronto Stock exchanges (Goldcorp, 2005). Today, the Marlin Mine is owned and operated by Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S.A., as a subsidiary of Goldcorp.

The mine is located in the Western Highlands, approximately 300 km northwest of Guatemala City in the municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, in the Department of San Marcos, where the population is 98% Indigenous (Glamis Gold, n.d.). It is employed today and 80% of the mine is located within San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos with the remaining 20% in the neighboring municipality called Sipakapa. The project is located within the borders of three towns in San Miguel Ixtahuacán (San Jose Nueva Esperanza, Agel and San Jose Ixcaniche) and the town of Tzalem in Sipakapa (CAO, 2005).

According to the then-Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, now known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, referred to as DFATD in this thesis), Guatemala’s development challenges are manifested in unequal distribution of income, a ranking of 131 of 187 on the 2011 human development index

¹ A tri-lateral trade bloc including Canada, Mexico and the United States. Later referred to as NAFTA.

and the dire fact that this “is the second poorest country in Central America after Nicaragua” (CIDA, 2011). Within Guatemala, the municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán in the Western Highlands presents problems of poverty (86.39% of the population) as well as extreme poverty (32.84% of the population) which means that there are people living on less than 1 dollar a day. One of the stated development objectives of the Municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán are to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger (Municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, 2010, pg.14).

The International Finance Corporation² (later referred to as IFC) funded the project to help Glamis in “navigating the political situation in Guatemala and...developing partnerships with the local community so as to ensure that the project’s benefits outweighed the negative impacts” (IFC in Keuhl, 2007). The IFC provided a \$45 million loan for the project and helped with the implementation of the company’s “environmental and social programs by working closely with the company, NGOs, local municipalities, and the community” (International Finance Corporation, 2007). The IFC stated that: “the responsible extraction of mineral resources is one of the few ways that local Indigenous people can hope to break the cycle of poverty” (International Finance Corporation, 2006). Yet, at the same time, the Marlin Mine has garnered substantial controversy, and inter-community violence has ensued in the region both by community members who oppose the mine as well as by community elites who are pro-mine and against the mining opposition (Imai, Shin et al, 2007). Various scholars and activists have documented problems within the history of the project. This includes skin disease,

² The International Finance Corporation is a member of the World Bank group and offers investment, advisory, and asset management services to encourage private sector development in developing countries.

miscarriages, as well as a high concentration of heavy metals in the blood of local workers, violence and loss of life to local people in opposition of the Marlin Mine (Imai et al, 2007; Fuller et al., 2008; Slack, 2008; Perez, 2009; Nolin et al, 2010; Geglia et al, 2012; Nelson, 2014).

Opposition to the Marlin Mine

Collective organizing against the Marlin Mine began in 2004 when blockades were organized to stop the passage of equipment destined for the mine (Nolin et al, 2010). Protests continued into 2005, when “thousands of Mayan peasants descended on a cross-roads of a Pan-American highway”. The protest ended in the death of a protester and the accusation of 16 Indigenous people participating in the protest of terrorism (Solano, 2005; Fulmer et al, 2008, pg. 91). Production of the mine began in 2006 nonetheless (Goldcorp 2007; Holden et al, 2009, pg. 153). A poll conducted that year revealed that “95 percent of the residents of [surrounding] municipalities were against the mine” (Witte, 2005; Holden et al, 2009, pg. 155). According to Peace Brigades International (later referred to as PBI), unrest and conflict was “reawakened in the country” with the development of the Marlin Mine, polarizing opinions into conformations of “two opposing blocks: those in favor and those against” (PBI, 2006, pg. 6). In 2007, the same year that the Marlin Mine employed a total of 1,149 workers (Montana Exploradora, 2008, pg. 7), protests were organized by a number of Mam in San Miguel Ixtahuacán who claimed unfair compensation after selling their lands to the company (Dubois, 2007). Moreover, Amnesty International recorded high levels of opposition to the Marlin Mine in 2008, when over 2,500 people participated in a “No to Mining” march in the neighboring municipality of Comitancillo, in the department of San Marcos (Amnesty International Canada, 2010; Einbinder 2009; Garcia 2009). Protests

and conflict within communities only escalated from there, including the shooting of protestors and threatening of others (Amnesty International, 2010; Laplante et al, 2014). A community-lead case against Goldcorp and Montana Exploradora at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights was filed in 2010: “the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights called on the Guatemalan government to suspend the mine due to environmental and human rights concerns”(Nolin, Stephans, 2010; 38-40).

Today, anti-mining organizing and mining production continue in the Department of San Marcos, alongside that precautionary court order issued by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in 2010 to temporarily suspend mining operations that was never implemented (Mining Watch, 2011).

This brief timeline (further developed within the Appendix) provides the context for meetings of FREDEMI that I attended while I was in Guatemala from October through December 2013. The meetings were organized by the leader of the anti-mining resistance movement in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, Aniseto López, who would record stories from his followers with a paper and pen.

As I followed Indigenous leaders of the anti-mining movement from the Department of San Marcos and analyzed the speeches they and their counterparts prepared for one another, I identified many communities from various regions of the country who did not have mining in their communities, yet still demonstrated unwavering solidarity with the anti-mining movement simply because according to them, they were

afraid that mining licenses would be granted for future mining development in their territory someday (Participant observation, December 11, 2013). This means that even potentially affected community members are increasingly opposing mining before it starts, creating a phenomenon of anti-mining sentiment across the country.

Among Miguelenses in the resistance, Aniseto is exceptional. At 36 years of age, his network in San Miguel Ixtahuacán spans community after community, with each member of the resistance – young or old - quick to dish out praise and respect for him. Having gone to school and started a post-secondary degree in Engineering, he is often referred to as ‘the professional’ among them. Even when Aniseto is not around, members of the resistance would praise his efforts in their interviews with me. But Aniseto was the same as his followers in one obvious way - he and his followers alike are poor.

Among members of the resistance, some own land and subsist, but most migrate to the lowland plantations in the southern coast for work on farms, coffee plantations and sugar cane plantations to rake in about ten dollars a day in order to feed their families, not uncommonly, as large as 8 children. It is estimated that 80% of indigenous peoples in the department, including women and children, are involved in this migration (Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, 2004). Although the majority of the population is involved in subsistence farming and work in these plantations to supplement their incomes, when you drive through the region, you do see diversity in wealth. Most communities in the municipality are dotted with simple one-room houses made of concrete or adobe, with corrugated tin roofs. Few others, however, are more elaborate. “*That* one is owned by a

worker of the mine”, one resistance member would tell me, as we passed a two-story house that was brightly painted and covered in plaster. “That one is owned by drug dealers”, he said, speculating about another larger-than-typical house in another community. According to Smith (1992) this diversity is a result of different degrees of acculturation or various changing economic options and of historical experiences (35). Jobs with the mining project are one example of this. Another is through remittances sent from relatives who migrated to the U.S., a fact that was also identified by some community members as a way to supplement their income (Moran-Taylor, 2008, pg. 120).

As I learned from industry experts in the capital, public and private sectors continue to grapple with the challenges of globalization in Guatemala. Foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country is pursued through a range of extractive commodities, and has birthed conflict due to a “clash” between globalization processes and anti-mining organizers which in turn fuels social protest (Kohl, Farthing, 2012, pg. 225-226). While mining in Guatemala only makes about 2% of the national GDP in Guatemala (Way, 2011, pg. 231), the “clash” it provokes between the pursuit of extractive commodities creates increasing social protest and plays out into extreme violence and marginalization of those against mining at the local level. Given the precarious situation of communities in the Western Highlands in the first place, when mining is asserted, communities at the local level organize under Indigenous leadership to articulate their resistance to what they increasingly perceive as the extractive imperative.

To deal with the conflict, the Canadian mining industry, which is dominant in the region³, has developed various strategies, and has been “pushing strongly for a more favourable climate for investors” that arguably are the backbone of our era of globalization and those behind the foreign direct investment (FDI) that makes large scale corporate development projects possible (Gordon and Webber, 2008, pg. 68). Goldcorp, more particularly, has demonstrated extensive efforts to offset the local resistance to the Marlin mine through corporate social responsibility (CSR) measures⁴ emphasizing “partnership” with local communities to “further a culture of economic independence, ownership, entrepreneurship and enterprise management” (Goldcorp Blog, 2012). This includes the production of reports regarding Indigenous Peoples Development plans (2004) and Environmental and Sustainability Policy (2008), the creation of a Public Attention System to collect and record community problems (2006), partnership with local NGOs to provide health services to mining workers and the formation of a community relations group that works on the ground with affected communities (2003). (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 17, 2013)

The evolution of development discourses and strategies in relation to mining projects as practiced by the global and Canadian mining industry has come to include corporate citizenship; whereby transnational corporations self-regulate by being socially responsible for meeting various responsibilities (including legal, ethical and economic responsibilities) placed on them by shareholders (Hunniche, 2006, pg. 232). For instance,

³ There are over 1,000 Canadian Mining companies operating in over 100 countries with assets abroad worth over \$129B, and “almost 50 per cent of the assets are in Latin America and the Caribbean” (Natural Resources Canada 2012).

⁴ Also referred to as ‘corporate social technologies’ in some anthropological texts (Rogers 2012).

Goldcorp's commitment to compliance and standards to the International Council on Metals and Mining (ICMM)⁵, the United Nations Global Compact⁶, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative⁷ (EITI), the Cyanide Code⁸, the Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP)⁹, the World Gold Council¹⁰, the PRI¹¹ and the GRI¹² are part of its corporate social responsibility commitments. In its own words, the company is a “responsible corporate citizen with responsibilities to *our* people, *our* communities, *our* industry and the environment” (emphasis added, Goldcorp webpage, 2014¹³).

Kirsch argues that “the dialectical relationship between corporations and their critics has become a permanent structural feature of neoliberal capitalism”, that “can never be resolved” (2014, pg. 2). Thus, despite the strategies that Goldcorp utilizes to counteract the discourse and strategies of their critics, corporate practices fall short of their goals. An interview with a member of FREDEMI after a decade of mining

⁵ A membership organization bringing together 21 mining and metals companies as well as 35 national and regional mining associations and global commodity associations to maximize the contribution of mining, minerals and metals to sustainable development.

⁶ UN promoted principles for companies in the areas of human rights, labour, the environment and anti-corruption.

⁷ A global Standard to promote open and accountable management of natural resources, implemented by coalition of governments, civil society and companies.

⁸ Code developed by a multi-stakeholder Steering Committee under the guidance of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) and the then-International Council on Metals and the Environment (ICME).

⁹ Primarily research-based organization protecting from climate change and in protection of natural resources.

¹⁰ Market development organization for the gold industry.

¹¹ An international network of investors through the United Nations working together to put the six “Principles for Responsible Investment” into practice.

¹² Independent and global initiative promoting the use of sustainability reporting as a way for organizations to become more sustainable and contribute to sustainable development.

¹³ Accessed April 2014. Found on: <http://www.goldcorp.com/English/Responsible-Mining/Memberships-and-Commitments/default.aspx>

development and CSR tactics easily illustrates this. Don Ronaldo¹⁴, from one community¹⁵ around the mine, explained to me:

All my kids live here. I have always lived here and so have my ancestors. I worked to own this land and built my house and my children's houses here. The mine should leave! Yes, we want them out! (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 4th, 2013).

We see illustrated here that despite the corporate social responsibility measures that have been deployed in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, the mine remains a focal point for community protests and blatant opposition. Within the communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, corporate citizenship is only understood by informants as a tactic to “fool” Miguelenses into accepting a foreigner as a “neighbour” and “fellow citizen” who cares:

This stuff about corporate social responsibility and the corporation caring for us people, us Mam people, as a neighbour is wrong. The corporation says this, I know they do, in the communities and at the national level, and maybe internationally, but they don't care about us (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 16, 2013).

Szablowski (2007) argues that the evolution of resistance to large-scale mining in Guatemala reflects increased local-level opposition to mining in other regions of the world (pg.3), contributing to international criticism of the private sector and its inability to cope with the backlash to its development agenda. Recent research suggests that resistance to mining development in Guatemala is strongly tied to lack of consultation,

¹⁴ Name changed. All citations using first names only signify names changed to protect anonymity of informant.

¹⁵ Community name not specified to protect anonymity of informant.

environmental damage and overall dissatisfaction with development impact (Laplante, 2014; Urkidi, 2011).

Gibs (2003) attributes the opposition to resource development by Indigenous communities to an existing longstanding antagonistic relationship between Indigenous communities and the mining industry (pg. 22) and Sawyer and Gomez (2012) in their study of anti-mining as self-determination also argue that Indigenous politics has been shaped by negative interactions with the extractive industries for a long time. Others, like Martinez-Alier (2003) refer to the “environmentalism of the poor” when studying Indigenous social movements including those against mining, wherein communities that are more vulnerable to environmental degradation are simply more likely to engage in political action to protect access to their resources (Martinez- Alier, 2003 in Kirsch, 2014, pg. 13). This has proven to play an important part of understanding mobilization against mining in Guatemala today. However, as I will demonstrate in this thesis, the conflict between Indigenous communities and mining development in Guatemala is not solely an “Indian problem”, but a reflection of serious issues with corporate practices of development when they are not aligned with ‘ethical’ institutional arrangements for business¹⁶.

Carlos Loarca, the lawyer from Guatemala City who works with the communities of Sipacapa and San Miguel Ixtahuacán in opposition to the existing mining development

¹⁶ Crane et al (2004) discuss ‘ethical’ institutional arrangements as ones that take into account accountability and democracy in stakeholder relations with corporations. Institutional and organizational frameworks that are ‘ethical’ are ones that “make corporations accountable to, and controllable by, citizens in the context of particular stakeholder relations” (Crane et al, pg. 108).

in their municipalities, explained to me that “the composition [of CSR policies] is [only] created for publicity”, and called the “corporate citizenship” of Goldcorp in the Department of San Marcos “*a farse*” (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 23, 2013). In a community where an entrance to the mine’s underground tunnels exists, one leader also shared this perspective of CSR as nothing more than a publicity stunt that was far from the reality within the communities. He explained,

...The company goes at the national level and maybe at the international level, I don’t know, [to say] that all of [this community*] is developing. I mean, I am a member of the community leadership now and I can say that it’s not true. Development is that we have a good life. That our children and their grandchildren live better.

Outline of Thesis

Following this first introductory chapter, Chapter One outlines the theoretical framework and methodology at the foundation of this thesis. The concept of “political imaginaries” gives us the opportunity to focus theoretically on the connection between how mining is being resisted today and how the politics of the past legitimize the political organization of FREDEMI to its members.

Chapter Two is dedicated to context and relevant literature. It analyzes corporate-Indigenous relationships in Guatemala based on historic relationships between Indigenous peoples and the state in that country.

Chapter Three argues that private mining corporations in Guatemala are enabled by the public sector, yet effectively incapacitate the already-weak democracy of Guatemala to better vie for their own interests.

Chapter Four explains the mining conflict according to members of FREDEMI and those within the organization's networks. Readers will be invited to understand 'what is wrong with mining in Guatemala?' through the perspective of those who are a part of the anti-mining movement.

In the conclusion, I reflect on how this case study could be used to breed new practices that effectively succeed in development projects, which do not denigrate the rights of peoples nor function alongside judicial and corporate corruption nor incite vigilant resistance or its counter fold state terror.

Chapter One: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

1.1 Theoretical Framework

Influential intellectuals over the past two decades, including Fukuyama (1992), Friedman (2000), Zakaria (2008), and Rothkopf (2013), have celebrated the dominance of capitalism's corporations and how they can function as states, expressing power over consumers. Recent anthropological works on capitalism draw on various analytical traditions. Some, like Ong (2006), view it as a "governmentality that reproduces neoliberal structures and subjectivities" while others resent capitalism's dominance, like Ortner (1984), who claims that "virtually everything we study has already been touched... by the capitalist world system, and that therefore much of what we see in our fieldwork and describe in our monographs must be understood as having been shaped in response to that system" (142-143).

Correspondingly, the prevailing theoretical framework moves in this direction by combining an analysis of corporate power within the capitalist world order with a critical sensibility drawn from work on 'mutations of citizenship' by Ong. How are corporations able to transverse borders, access the ability to express power over citizens around the world, which have traditionally been characteristics of the power of the state? What does this reveal about the fundamental dynamics of corporate power as it relates to contemporary Indigenous struggle in Guatemala?

In her conclusion chapter of a book published only two years after the signing of the Peace Accords in Guatemala, Sieder (1998) reflected on how Guatemala would fulfill the promises within the Accords in the years to come:

Rethinking the nation in a globalized and post-national context is a complex challenge. Redesigning state institutions to be capable of guaranteeing the rights and obligations of citizenship within the overall regional and global trend towards ‘shrinking the state’ will be far from easy in a post-war setting (Sieder, 2007, pg. 284).

Seider’s reflection is key to this study in that it introduces citizenship as a political status that ensures a social contract between citizens and the government. Citizenship is also introduced here as a central challenge of peace-building in post-war Guatemala. The need to enforce the rights and obligations of citizens as a direct product of democratization is seen to be denigrated by globalization, a process whereby the power of the state and its ability to fulfill its social contract with its political citizens is shrinking. The “shrinking of the state” expressed here reflects the structural adjustments¹⁷ made following the Peace Accords in Guatemala to attract foreign investment and transnational corporations, a context where the state is unable to fulfill its social contract and protect the rights of its citizens while corporations are able to exert power over communities. The state is seen as ‘shrinking’ because “business firms have started to engage in activities that have traditionally been regarded as actual governmental activities” (Scherer, 2010, pg. 899).

Neoliberalism, as I refer to it in this thesis, is defined as “promot[ing] a reorganization of ‘political society’ along the lines of decentralization, trimming down of

¹⁷ The structural adjustments measures included the liberalization of foreign investment regulations and reform of Guatemala’s mining law (1997). The new mining code reduced the royalty rate from 6% to 1%; eliminated the previous prohibition on 100% foreign-owned mining operations; implemented a series of tax exemptions for mining companies and a very weak system of environmental and public health impact assessment. Consequently, extractive companies were essentially responsible for impact assessment studies with no instruction as to what should constitute such studies from the Guatemalan government and essentially grants the corporation the power to create and monitor its own abidance to the standards. Guatemalan state environmental authorities are only granted 30 days to review mining projects and once this delay is passed, projects are automatically approved and companies are granted exploitation licenses.

the state, affirming basic human rights and calling for minimally functional democracies” (Hale, 2005, pg. 12). It has taken a specific form in Guatemala since the Peace Accords including “powerful market forces, national and transnational [mining] capital, a phalanx of state, [and] private and international development programs and institutions” (Copeland, 2014, pg. 307). This specific face of neoliberalism in Guatemala has sparked local responses and created a frame for the resistance to mining in the country where Indigenous activists claim their right to participate in decision-making processes regarding development within a language of ‘citizenship’.

‘Citizenship’, as I write about it with respect to corporate strategy is greatly influenced by the work of Ong (2006). In her work on the neoliberal perspectives in globalization processes, Ong (2006) argues that a world shaped by the flows of markets, technologies and populations challenge traditional notions of ‘citizenship’, particularly in the case of transnational corporations. Transnational corporations in Guatemala, for instance, assume the existence of a special category of citizenship – they enjoy rights in both home and host countries where they operate. Ong states that where neoliberal perspectives come to life (as is the case in San Miguel through resource development via a transnational corporation), understandings of citizenship and sovereignty “*mutate* in articulation and disarticulation with neoliberalist reason and mechanisms” (emphasis added) (5). Therefore the special citizenship transnational corporations enjoy is an example of a “mutation of citizenship”, where citizenship is no longer solely a “political status” that is “based on a binary opposition between [national territory] and a stateless condition outside the nation-state”. Here, citizenship is ‘fluid’, crossing borders and

prying open “the seam between sovereignty and citizenship” (15). The freedoms of transnational corporations to enjoy these rights, through this mutation in citizenship, create a tension between Indigenous defense, the corporate citizen and the state. This tension comprises polarized perspectives of development that underlie mining conflict. Ong’s central thesis on citizenship most strongly resonates with how policies of structural adjustments have transformed the nature of citizenship everywhere where they have been applied such as in Guatemala.

Although the state wields ideological, economic and coercive power, “the state can never fully monopolize power” (Mann, 1986, pg. 12). In other words, Mann argues that there are various institutions of civil society with which the State often competes for power – including local communities. Because Guatemala’s Indigenous communities have always attempted to regulate themselves (Smith, 1984, 213) and have historically resisted state extraction of their resources, the relationship between communities and the State historically (and now, the corporation), has been largely antagonistic. Therefore, even within this framework of analysis where I place my understanding of the transnational corporation within ‘the broader dynamics of global capitalism’, I also view the state “as an autonomous actor in social relations” and assume a “special dialectic between the state and those governed by the state” as key functions of political anthropology and the anthropology of the state (Smith, 1992, pg. 12) in Guatemala.

The Indigenous resistance to the commodification of natural resources represents a new dynamic within a constant back-and-forth interplay between the local and the

global that has and will continue to exist in Guatemala. Tsing (2005) developed theory on 'frictions', giving a title to this "back-and-forth interplay". Through her work, Tsing aims to interrupt "dominant stories of globalization to offer more realistic alternatives" (pg. 271). She rejects frictionless understandings of global connections, that is understandings of the relationship between the local and the global that views them as two independent clashing abstracts that are not in constant 'back-and-forth' (pg. 271). I use this understanding of "frictions" to describe how the historic antagonistic relations between the state and Indigenous communities have come to include the 'corporate citizen'.

In this thesis I refer to the "state" or functions of "state power", and those who resist mining development. According to Gordon et al, the relationship between these three actors is "increasingly defined in terms of struggle", and therefore the power relations in this case study can certainly be mapped within an understanding of a new economic relationship between the state, the foreign corporation and the Indigenous communities where resource development takes place. Pudelko et al (2007) characterize this "struggle" between foreign corporations, the state and communities as brought on by a "perpetual conflict between global integration and local responsiveness" (pg. 2).

I understand from this that the "struggle" – the considerable levels of popular resistance which have come from Canadian mining activity in the region – are understood to comprise "livelihood needs... human rights, Indigenous recognition, sacredness or claims for economic compensation" (Guha and Martinez-Alier 1997, pg. 559). The 'struggle' which has motivated the political organization of FREDEMI, is comprised of

‘political imaginaries’ – a collective imagining of an ‘ideal’ reality of living, or development for San Miguel Ixtahuacán – the very which mobilizes FREDEMI, when the ‘corporate citizen’ or the state is seen to create barriers to this ‘ideal’. Political imaginaries are defined here as how individuals imagine themselves as collective subjects within a wider political and social reality and history. In Guatemala, Copeland (2014) has written about how counterinsurgency during the internal armed conflict as well as neoliberal democratic governance shaped political imaginaries in Guatemala (pg. 306).

The political imaginary is not just a political position of an organization, but how Indigenous political actors imagine and navigate experiences with mining development. The concept of political imaginary gives us the opportunity to focus theoretically on the connections between how mining is being understood today and the connections being made with the politics of the past. The politics of the past refers to the counterinsurgency warfare and neoliberal democracy following the signing of the peace accords (described in chapter three). The past formulates a political and social reality and history that FREDEMI members imagine themselves within. The term ‘imaginaries’, as Grant (2014) defines it,

Suggests that our shared practices – political, social, economic – are enabled by a way of collective imagining, conjuring their purpose and significance. Such imagining may even have a conjuring power, calling into being the very practices being envisioned (pg. 410).

Thus, the imaginary is not only an understanding of an entire situation. It is also ‘practiced’, inspiring action to those who share that collective understanding who feel there are barriers to their ‘practice’ of their imaginaries. The ‘social’ imaginary and the

'political' imaginary are not contradictory. Their uses in anthropological works vary depending on an anthropologists' critique of one or the other, or what they feel is more appropriate for their analysis and understanding. I chose political imaginaries rather than social imaginaries, influenced by Grant's critique (2014) on social imaginaries, where he argues that the political imaginary is "a more accurate way [to understand how individuals] characterize rights, the state and the (political!) economy" (pg. 412). Maya informants articulate a critical and emotional response to mining, rooted in their historical and contemporary experiences with what they perceive as an almost incestuous relationship between the Guatemalan state and transnational capital since Guatemala opened itself to the global political economy following the signing of the Peace Accords.

Taylor's social imaginary forms a 'background', an, "unstructured and inarticulate understanding of our whole situation, within which particular features of our world show up for us in the sense they have" (14). They provide an orientation or particular worldview, offering "a sense of how things usually go...interwoven with an idea of how they ought to go, of what missteps would invalidate the practice" (17).

However, even Taylor, who wrote the influential text on imaginaries that inspired my interest in including it within my own anthropological analysis, admits that the 'imaginary' covers "certain crucial realities", i.e. they are subjective interpretations and understandings of events and experiences. However, within ethnography, 'imaginaries' are a guiding concept whose purpose is not to uncover the 'truth' or the 'reality' of the lives of those partnered within this study but rather to uncover how *they understand* their

‘reality’. This study is not interested in ‘qualifying’ or ‘legitimizing’ political imaginaries, but does believe that understanding how those partnered within this study understand their reality enables us to better understand what mobilizes their resistance against mining – the main objective of this thesis.

Understanding the political imaginaries that exist within the resistance movement also brings light to understanding drivers of conflict and how neoliberal policies affect local communities, as described and experienced by those involved in the anti-mining movement in Guatemala, with particular focus on the Marlin mine as a case study.

I employ an understanding of “community” among the Maya in Guatemala as “a dynamic form that is constantly molded by historical processes”, and so the word “community” is used in two ways in this study (Esquit, 2010, pg. 253). First, I use the word “community” in the spatial sense of the word, when describing certain organized populations (such as villages) within a municipality. For instance, the community of Agel is located in the municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, in the department of San Marcos, Guatemala. In addition to this usage, the concept “community” is used by informants of this study to refer to a larger Mayan “community” the anti-mining movement is situated in. Here, the Maya community refers both to a collective political subject in Guatemala’s national field and a sense of solidarity with a more localized historical Indigenous group. It is indeed important to this study that discourses of pan-Mayanism or Mayan nationalism in Guatemala are not assumed to necessarily play out in the local sphere. The pieces of pan-Mayan discourse that are pointed out in chapters of this thesis as being rescued from the Peace Accords are not necessarily a function of pan-

mayanism but rather a function of local Indigenous politics. The pieces of pan-Mayan discourse pointed out in the following chapters are reflective of the context of the conflict in San Marcos and relational to those engaged with FREDEMI.

Finally, the Marlin mine represents the ‘corporate citizen’ in this thesis, a term that has been contested in literature. Matten et al (2003), for instance, argue that corporate citizenship is “just a rebranding or relaunch of extant ideas in order to appeal better to business” (p. 113). However as I argue in Chapter Four, the emergence of the ‘corporate citizen’ in Maya Guatemala raises serious questions on what type of participation corporations take on in governance to afford them the title of ‘citizen’. It also questions what social, civil and politics rights corporations as ‘citizens’ can expect to have protected¹⁸. In other words, the conflict in San Miguel Ixtahuacán alerts us to how germane questions of citizenship are because the conflict represents what becomes of the clash between the expectation that the corporate citizen has for its rights to be protected and those expectations that ‘stakeholders’ (also political citizens) have for their rights to be protected.

This clash illuminates the ‘corporate citizen’ as a new player in the dynamic ‘friction’ caused by historic antagonistic relations between the state and Indigenous communities and the polarized perspectives of development that constitute the mining conflict.

These perspectives are analyzed in the following chapters, which are grouped into four parts. Each section assembles a set of arguments around how the articulated regimes

¹⁸ Like Marsden (2000) states, the assumption here is that corporations are “legal entities with right and duties, in effect, ‘citizens’ of states within which they operate” (p. 11).

of citizenship by the corporation is understood by the members of the anti-mining movement and how it ironically motivates their organizing.

1.2 Methodology

The fieldwork for this research took place in Guatemala over October and December 2013. The data for this thesis was collected and analyzed as a part of a larger research project on Indigenous engagements with mining in Canada and Guatemala, lead by Dr. Karine Vanthuyne from the University of Ottawa and organized within the research team, Indigenous Stewardship and Alternative Development at McGill University, of which I am a part.

With the use of the Internet by anti-mining Indigenous organizers, foreign funding for Indigenous resistance, Indigenous networking and NGOs from developed countries living in rural Guatemala competing for access to these networks, I knew this would not be a *restudy* in any classical sense. In other words, because of cross-community organizing and tactics of resistance through the use of the Internet and foreign networking, corporate-Indigenous relationships have come to mean totally different things from previous anthropological studies of Maya movements in Guatemala. Self-proclaimed pan-community Maya groups were springing up throughout the country in a unified resistance against mining. On the ground, I felt that I really had no choice but to delve into the middle of all this, and retire the old rationale for my purpose as an anthropologist that I was speaking out for those who had no voice. I instead felt driven to simply make sense of it all for the purpose of conflict resolution.

This is a case study of an Indigenous anti-mining movement in the Mayan Mam communities of the municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán within the Department of San Marcos, Guatemala. It uses qualitative methods to highlight what drives resistance to resource development in the region. Qualitative methodology provided understanding of the social reality of the actors involved and the experiences and perspectives they bring (Del Siegle 2002: 183). The qualitative methods I used to inform this thesis were literature review, participant observation and in-depth interviews.

Although I spent the most time living and interviewing in San Miguel Ixtahuacán around the Marlin Mine time in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, this thesis is also a multi-sited ethnography, informed by interviews with leaders of other anti-resource development movements in the country. I also attended meetings between resistance leaders and community members in San Marcos, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, Sipakapa and Guatemala City to analyze their speeches and cross-community organizing. I additionally visited think-tanks in Guatemala city to meet with pro-mining professionals to inform that position in this thesis. This said, I spent the most time living and interviewing in San Miguel Ixtahuacán around the Marlin Mine, so corporate citizenship in this thesis refers to that of the Marlin Mine.

1.2.1 Literature Review

An extensive *timeline* of critical events as well as an analysis of pre-existing and emergent organizations formulate a dimension of a long-standing and long-winding conflict that is known not only around the country but throughout the Americas. This was the basis of the literature review.

Within the literature review, I included an in-depth analysis of Corporate Social Responsibility frameworks and theoretical analysis of the concept of ‘corporate citizenship’ to answer how the emergence of the ‘corporate citizen’ in San Miguel Ixtahuacán has challenged pre-mining community relations. Efforts of Goldcorp to integrate into San Miguel were recorded and analyzed within this thesis. Units of analysis include the publication of material on behalf of Goldcorp on the Internet as well as through advertisements (paper, billboard, etc.) within San Miguel. To protect my relationships with FREDEMI members, I did not interview anyone who worked for Goldcorp.

1.2.2 Identifying Informants in this study and Access

Resistance movements in Guatemala are by no means limited to San Miguel Ixtahuacán, and the inter-connectedness of these resistance movements made it impossible to limit exposure to only one municipality. This study includes informants involved in anti-mining resistance from the following municipalities: Escuintla, Huehuetenango, Izabal, Santa Rosa, Nueva Concepcion, San Jose del Golfo, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, El Estor, San Rafael Las Flores, and Sipacapa. This study also includes informants working as professionals with pro-mining stances in Guatemala City.

Network sampling was used in this research project and followed the following structure: “using key informants and/or documents, you locate one or two people in a population. Then you use those people to (1) list others in the population and (2) recommend someone from the list whom you might interview” (Bernard, 2011: 148). In

the communities I was working within, the members were either in contact with one another or knew of one another. In the capital city, I did not consciously use this technique, but one of my informants was referred to me by another.

My access to the participants of this study was gained mostly through my supervisor's research team based out of McGill University, called Indigenous Stewardship and Alternative Development (INSTEAD). Through the research team, I was connected to Aniseto Lopez from the municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán within the Department of San Marcos, Guatemala, who I worked with to formulate my Master's thesis fieldwork before travelling there for my study. With his guidance, I shadowed four Indigenous leaders of resistance movements in the country and travelled with them throughout Guatemala to various meetings.

An important issue with regards to receiving access and permission to interview members of FREDEMI was everyone's understanding of me as Canadian. At any introduction, it became clear that I was Canadian. “*The country that the mine comes from?*”. Yes. I soon realized, however, that although my identity as a Canadian made my job as a researcher more difficult, that the hundreds of people who had in some way contributed to my study over these two months were glad that I was from *the country the mine comes from* because my informants believed that their experiences with resource development as told by Indigenous communities in Guatemala would not be as credible as *my analysis of it*. In this sort of paradoxical way, I learned that it was precisely

because I was Canadian that I was granted access to anti-mining communities, thanks to my partnership with FREDEMI.

Aniseto's knowledge of Goldcorp's publications what the company argues it has addressed community concerns surrounding the Marlin Mine, paired with his unwavering belief in his cause, seems to have made him *want* a Canadian to engage with his followers. This was difficult to do, as most of these members of the resistance live in pro-mining communities and are secretive about their activism in fear of marginalization and repression from their local authorities and neighbours. This can be particularly daunting when we take for example, one community, where the water supply is controlled by pro-mining authorities, and others in San Miguel Ixtahuacán where neighbours often look after one another and help one another find jobs in the fields. In this way, access was gained through formal partnership with the leader of the resistance movement in a Canada-based research team as well as through relationships and trust-building with other leaders and members of the resistance movement while in the field.

Access to *leaders* of movements in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa was different than accessing individuals in the communities because leaders were more used to speaking to people about their activism and were all public in their resistance. In order to access those community members who were also against mining, and be invited to their communities, I attended every FREDEMI meeting in San Miguel Ixtahuacán over a two-month period. In those meetings, I would schedule visits with FREDEMI members for the coming week.

Access to professionals and pro-mining professions in Guatemala city was not very difficult. I simply conducted Internet searches to find institutions working in public policy, private sector engagement or research, emailed directors at the institutions and organized visits to meet with them or whoever they chose to represent them for interviews. I did not perform an exhaustive search due to the limited time I chose to spend outside of rural regions of Guatemala. These interviews also only served to put my analysis of the resistance movement into perspective, and help inform a pro-mining position according to professions in the country. They were not feeding into a central objective of my thesis.

Further to qualitative study in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and travelling to meetings within the resistance-network in Guatemala, I lived in Antigua for two weeks and travelled independently through Guatemala City to meet with directors of pro-mining think tanks in Guatemala as well as lawyers with experience in defending communities.

From these individuals and organizations, I was able to conduct qualitative interviews to gather information for this thesis.

1.2.3 Interviews

I interviewed ten FREDEMI members in the urban center of San Miguel Ixtahuacán (6) and in Sipacapa (4) and held 26 interviews with FREDEMI members while travelling community – to – community.

The interviews with community members and resistance leadership took place within seven communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán: Ajel, La Estancia, Ixcail, Ixcaniche, San Jose Nueva Esperanza, and Siete Platos. Five interviews were conducted with community members and resistance leadership within communities of Sipacapa and three took place in La Puya, in a different department around a different mining development project. Additionally, ten testimonies were recorded in both SMI and Sipacapa. I describe ‘testimonies’ shortly.

Other interviews conducted during the two-month fieldwork portion of this research included six professionals who work in think tanks and legal associations in Guatemala City. This included: the Center for Social and Environmental Legal Action, the Pluri-cultural Legal Association, the Center for Analysis and Public Decisions at Francisco Marroquin University, an environmental organization at Francisco Marroquin University and the Network of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. Outside of San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa, I held five interviews with leaders of resistance movements from different communities and mining projects. Moreover, when I returned to Canada, I held an interview with one professional of Responsible Investment in Toronto.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the use of open-ended and semi-structured interviews using a topic guide to elicit the most information possible from respondents. The semi-structured interview format “shows you are prepared and competent but that you are not trying to exercise excessive control” (Bernard, 2011: 158). Semi-structured interviews used a topic guide to facilitate a thematic framework analysis

which outlined a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered. Semi-structured interviews allowed for flexibility and for respondents to generate new ideas and thoughts in vivo (Green, J., Thorogood, N. 2009).

Although Mam is the primary local language in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, interviews were conducted in Spanish. When I first started my research, most people were speaking to me in Mam through an informant who was partnered with me by Aniseto Lopez, simply because I had not yet gained their trust. Overtime, when people felt more comfortable around me they opened up and spoke to me directly in Spanish. Those who could not speak any Spanish at all were not interviewed, unless they presented themselves and wanted to offer time for an interview or testimony, in which case I did not let the opportunity pass, and simply asked someone to translate for me if the informant hadn't come with one. I decided against using a translator to allow for more organic interviews and the ability to build a relationship with informants which would not have been possible with a translator who I could only work with in certain times and/or days.

With members of anti-mining movements, some informants preferred to relay a '*testimonio*' (testimony) rather than answer questions or converse with me, as their method of engagement with my research. In these cases, I would record them as they introduced themselves and discussed their involvement with FREDEMI. According to Garcia (2010), *testimonio* is common in Latin America as a "particular form of language, linked to the social production of truth, memory and justice" (372). Testimony in

research and literature has been used in recent decades, categorized in many disciplines as being most used throughout the 20th century, including by Wieviorka (2006) who called the twentieth century the “era of testimony” (373). In my own methodology, when a testimony was being recorded, I would not interrupt the person’s train of thought. Rather, I would take notes for points I required clarification and ask questions on those points after the person had completed his or her account. Some informants refused to provide more information than their testimony, and that would be their entire participation in the study. Others would allow me to ask them to provide their testimony about additional events that occurred.

The interviews also helped to identify the roles and responsibilities of various actors, as well as to understand the factors that helped or hindered appropriate solutions to this problem. The interviews also allowed resistance workers to inform the assessment. With key informants, I described “the analytic categories [I am] developing and ask whether the categories are correct” (Bernard, 2011: 150). In this way, key informants were able to “conceptualize cultural data in the frame of reference” that I am using because they understand the information I need, and their association with the networks I am working within, I can learn many things I would have never thought of with someone so knowledgeable and so deeply involved in this case (Bernard, 2011: 150).

I proactively sought to interview as many women as I did men, however I was not able to gather substantial interviews with as many women as I did men although many are involved in the resistance. One FREDEMI leader had arranged for a number of visits

to the houses of women, but in few cases they would be gone to work in the field or sell fruit in another marketplace. They were harder to get a hold of, and because they were balancing their work as well as duties related to their children, (apart from one female resistance leader) no one women would be consistently present at FREDEMI meetings or gatherings so that I could build enough of a relationship in order to get a meaningful interview. If I had been able to gather more substantial interviews with more women, I may have been able to explore another dimension of experience with mining development.

1.2.4 Observation

Participant observation is a data-collection method that is used in field research wherein I studied the FREDEMI movement by sharing in its activities” (i.e. meetings). Due to the political nature of FREDEMI activities, the risk associated with them and legal warnings against travellers in Guatemala, I chose not to participate in any protests, and did not lead or make any speeches, but rather observed through attendance of meetings and events (excluding protest).

It was beneficial to me to work with FREDEMI because the organization is known among other resistance movements around the country as veterans within the Mayan '*lucha*' against foreign development projects. This enabled me to travel to meet with Indigenous leaders from different municipalities¹⁹ involved in similar activism within FREDEMI networks; and I travelled between Antigua and Guatemala City to

¹⁹ Escuintla, Huehuetenango, Izabal, Santa Rosa, Nueva Concepcion, San Jose del Golfo, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, El Estor, San Rafael Las Flores, and Sipacapa.

interview pro-mining professionals on their perspectives of the conflict erupting across the country.

The “meetings” I attended include four FREDEMI meetings in San Miguel, two Sipacapa resistance meetings (1 in San Marcos and 1 in Sipacapa) and one meeting in Guatemala City with representation from over 11 communities in resistance. As a participant observer in these meetings, I recorded and later analyzed speeches and discussions among attendees. The meetings served to highlight the political imaginaries in common between different Indigenous communities involved in the resistance as well as the existing networks of resistance in the country and the various conceptions of development among them.

1.2.5 Data Analysis

For my analysis, all interviews were fully recorded and notes were taken simultaneously to highlight any particular points. Recordings were also fully transcribed and transcripts were read in-depth multiple times to gain a sense of familiarity with the data.

In-depth interviews were analyzed using a framework method and speeches were analyzed using a discourse analysis method. The framework method is used in qualitative analysis to help the researcher summarize and understand large quantities of data by grouping and categorizing information into themes (Charmaz, 2001). Discourse analysis is often defined as “analysis beyond the sentence” (Charmaz, 2001), and I used it to understand what people meant when they addressed a crowd, by outlining references to

various events including historical events, and noting their vocal or sign language and how that helped them convey a particular message to their audience.

To carry out these analyses, all data was coded to identify the key themes which were used as important points of departure for this study, as per the framework method. It is important to note that analysis in my research did not only take place after all data was transcribed outside of the field. In fact, I systematically reviewed and analyzed my data as a part of the fieldwork process, rather than after. This was beneficial to me as it both allowed me to remain close to my data and provided me with information to follow up with informants regarding this analysis while still on the ground, which was important as I had only two months to carry out the research (Charmaz 2001: 131).

The journal was therefore analyzed during fieldwork over 3-5 day research breaks that took place after the first week in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, then after two weeks, and one again one week after that. These breaks were not only opportunities to “get some distance” but also to “think about what [I had] so far, and what [I needed] to get in the time remaining” (Bernard, 2011:287). Furthermore, I understand that “anthropologists are uncomfortable intruders no matter how close their rapport”, and after a break “the anthropologist returns as an old friend” and demonstrates a genuine interest in a community. In this way, more trust is built among informants and the researcher, which was important for this study (Wagley in Bernard, 2011: 290).

Chapter Two: Context and Relevant Literature

This chapter situates the thesis within a timeframe following the internal armed conflict in Guatemala. It discusses the changing relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state following repression during the conflict and the diluted democratization process through the combined implementation of the Peace Accords and neoliberal restructuring of the regional economy. It also describes the history of consultation in the country as well as the juridical-political framework as is relative to the extractive industry in the country.

2.1 Guatemala

2.1.1 Indigenous People and the State

The genocidal policies of the Guatemalan government during the internal armed conflict have viciously exacerbated the discriminatory characteristics of the ladino-Indian relationship (Adams, 1970, 283). In the book *Harvest of Violence*, Davis (1988) explains the “culture of fear” that emerged in the “Indian”²⁰ population as a result of the government’s genocidal policies. According to Davis, fear has always been part of the Indian-ladino relationship, and the “culture of fear” can also be used to describe the fear that ladinos have of Indians, cultivated by the Army during the internal armed conflict to undermine the insurgency (28).

²⁰ The word ‘Indian’ is used by Davis, in its time of publication. The term ‘Indigenous’ is employed in my thesis, aligned with the definition provided by the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA): “Indigenous peoples are indeed “aboriginal” or “native” to the lands they live in, being descendants of those peoples that inhabited a territory prior to colonization or formation of the present state” (2014).

The internal armed conflict had a death toll of over 250,000 lives (Copeland, 2011, 485). Over 80 percent of the victims were Mayas, members of Guatemala's Indigenous majority population and "racial underclass" (Davis, 1998). According to the Historical Clarification Commission (*Comision de Esclarecimiento Historico - CEH*), 95% of crimes were carried out by the army, three out of every four victims were Indigenous peoples, and 400 Maya villages were directly devastated by the Army (CEH, 1999).

Manz and Stoll (1988) cite the year 1982 as the first appearance of the army's strategy of "destroying entire communities" (287). The "culture of fear" within the government led it to intensify its extermination of Indigenous communities as a response to what it believed to be the increasing success of the guerilla movement. Today, events of the internal armed conflict are weaved into anti-mining discourse by Indigenous peoples in Guatemala with a rigid determinism. As is described in the subsequent chapter, ecological damage during resource development processes is understood by Maya today as a direct attack on Maya culture. These experiences during armed conflict are clear in San Miguel Ixtahuacán. For example, an informant once recalled a strategy of removing trees during the war to make ambushes of the insurgency impossible. He relayed this experience insinuating a relationship between this and the environmental destruction by mining companies in the region. I later read that this strategy included the removal of trees of ten meters on each side of the main roads during the counter-insurgency. According to Davis, this strategy was continued into 1987 around new model

towns (289). Davis also sees this as an ecological attack to damage Indigenous peoples; the logic being that, “if the environment is destroyed, the species cannot survive” (289).

Although this “culture of terror” may have been cultivated by the army during the internal armed conflict, it is not being consciously pursued by mining companies. Rather, the culture of fear is felt by some of the community members because the resistance movement *believes* that mining companies – in partnership with the Guatemalan government – are pursuing an agenda of extermination. Whether this is real or not is irrelevant in a discussion of political imaginaries because the *perceived* impact is important to how individuals experience or engage with mining. Thus, the acts of genocide committed by the Army against the Maya populations during the conflict is an important part of Mayan imaginaries within resistance movements, and the failed implementation of the peace accords is identified by the anti-mining movement as one of the main causes of their ongoing suffering at the hands of external agents.

Because race was implicated in counter-insurgency during the armed conflict, impacting both the popular and pan-Mayan movement, some people I spoke to view their political history as a motivation for ongoing resistance in the present time. In fact, one interview went so far as to relate current issues with the Canadian corporation Goldcorp, to the military counter-insurgency experienced during the internal armed conflict and even to the history of colonization of their ancestors in the 17th century – all cases in which they feel there was no care for their interests (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 4, 2013). This means that history makes up a significant part of the political imaginaries of

the Maya Mam in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, shaping in important ways how they interpret the mining conflict today, and more specifically, historical experiences of confrontations with the state.

2.1.2 The Peace accords, Mining and Consent

Following the end of the internal armed conflict, members of the Pan-Maya movement, which gained prominence in the late 1980s, pursued the Peace Process because of the cultural stakes. It was a chance for them to gain recognition of cultural and collective rights and to argue for a state in which Maya communities would have “decision-making power over their own destiny” (Warren, 1998, 53). For Guatemala, the Peace Accords provided many citizens with their first and only empowering interaction with the state.

During Peace negotiations, Maya activists connected through the Coordinator of Organizations of the Maya People of Guatemala (COPMAGUA). The latter commissioned position papers from different groups and worked toward a consensus on key issues in order to influence the assembly²¹. In this way, Maya groups, among others, gained institutionalized representation and the opportunity to organize their own parallel meetings in a process that might otherwise have thoroughly marginalized civilian input. However, efforts to translate the promises contained in the Peace Accords (particularly the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples) into Indigenous rights legislation are seen by many across disciplines to have failed.

²¹ The assembly of civil society was created as a space for civil sectors to provide input for the negotiations.

Davis (1998), Ogelesby (2003) and Urkidi (2011) have referred to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Rigoberta Menchu in 1992 as one of the first steps that lead to popular protest in Guatemala to be permeated by considerations on ethnic identity. They all state that the prize sparked a pan-Maya identity discourse and reinforced trends towards greater “political pluralism and civil protagonism” in national politics, which continue to shape much of the post-war Indigenous movements in the country (Davis, 1998, pg. 16).

As a result of processes of consensus building and pressure from organized Pan-Maya and populist groups, Indigenous rights received a platform in the negotiations. Pan-Mayanists were able to pursue the added issue of cultural rights and self-determination, advocated by them through an umbrella group founded in the 1980s called, the Council of Maya Organizations of Guatemala (COMG). Pan-Mayanists drew support from discussions at the United Nations on the rights of politically marginalized Indigenous groups.

Following these efforts and enormous displays of cross-community organization, in the end, the peace process included a separate Accord on *the Identity and the Rights of Indigenous peoples*, signed on March 31, 1995, by the government, military as well as the URNG²² high command. This step truly motivated the conclusion of the peace process a year later. The identity accords called on the government to pursue the following commitments and reforms:

²² The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) started as a guerilla movement. It laid down its arms in 1996 and became a political party in 1998 after the peace process.

- Recognition of Guatemala's Indigenous people as descendants of an ancient people who speak diverse, historically related languages and share a distinctive culture and cosmology.
- Recognition of the legitimacy of using Indigenous languages in schools, social services, official communications and court proceedings.
- Recognition and protection of Maya spirituality and spiritual guides and the conservation of ceremonial centers and archaeological sites as indigenous heritage.
- Commitment to education reform and the promoting of intercultural programs for all children.
- Indigenous representation in administrative bodies on all levels and the recognition of localized customary law and community decision-making power in education, health and economic development.
- Recognition of communal lands and the reform of the legal system so Maya interests are adequately represented in the adjudication of land disputes.

When Guatemala signed and ratified the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Convention 169 on the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in 1996, it additionally granted Guatemala's Indigenous Peoples with rights to decide their own development priorities and specifically safeguarded their rights to the "use, management and conservation" of natural resources on their lands. The ILO 169 also requires that the government must consult Indigenous Peoples ahead of any mining exploration or exploitation activities. The International Finance Corporation's (IFC) own policies mandate that Indigenous Peoples be consulted in a free, prior and informed manner. This was later reinforced to create mandatory practices of "free, prior, and informed *consent*" (FPIC) of Indigenous peoples before any activities. This international legitimization of Indigenous rights and considerations on ethnic identity within the international context were paralleled with the pan-Maya identity movement in Guatemala, which "emerged as

that sum of all the Maya ethno-linguistic groups of Guatemala” (Warren 1996 in Urkidi, 2011, pg. 561-562).

The Peace Accords marked a deep democratic opening in Guatemalan history. However, it converged at a time where capitalist movements introducing neoliberal policies changed the face of Guatemala while social indicators failed to improve (Way, 2012, 9). Although mining and oil exploitation began in the twentieth century, the mid-1990s represented a historic upsurge in mining in Guatemala due to the end of the internal armed conflict as well as a transition from a military government to a civil-entrepreneurial government (*gobierno empresarial*) between the years 1996 and 1999. Foreign companies, as well as Guatemalan governments (that of Arzú 1996-2000, Portillo 2000-2004, Berger 2004-2008) argued “mining was an opportunity that Guatemala had better benefit from in order to advance” (PBI, 2006, pg. 7). According to PBI, “they added that [mining] would guarantee the well-being of the population situated in the area where mining activity takes place” (PBI, 2006, pg. 7).

Thus, the end of the Guatemalan internal armed conflict not only brought forth the UN-brokered Peace Accords wherein political spaces were occupied by participating Indigenous actors. Democratization also marked a time when the country was opened up to foreign mining capital. The heightened expectations Guatemalan citizens had of the government, specifically toward Indigenous peoples and democratic rights merged with a turn towards neoliberal policy, slowing down the previously built-up momentum (Yagenova, 2012, pg. 208). In other words, the stages of struggle of both war and its aftermath were now squarely within the dynamics of capitalism as a global system,

introduced in Guatemala at the same time of the Peace Accords, which in turn diluted the promises within the Accords. Yagenova (2012) argues that neoliberal reform and Peace Accords are mutually contradictory, reflecting an “unequal battle for power between democratizing efforts and those defending the status quo” (208).

In fact, 2003 marked the year Yagenova cites to have been known as the “end of the time of peace”. She describes this year as having been marked by an intensification of debates about megaprojects in the country, heightening agrarian conflict, protests and the occasion of the first general civil society strike since the signing of the Peace Accords; This strike was organized by unions, *campesino* organizations, NGOs, Indigenous groups and women’s based groups. These megaprojects include mining development projects, increasingly invested in at this time.

2.3 Mining in Guatemala

Canadian mining companies in particular, have a long history in Guatemala. The first mining investment in the country was in 1960 by *Canadian companies*: INCO and Hanna Mining Company. Following that, in 1998 Guatemala passed a foreign investment law to streamline and facilitate foreign investment and as a result, hundreds of Canadian and other foreign firms began to have active investments in Guatemala (International Business Publication, pg. 195). This increase is directly correlated to the massive structural adjustments that took place in countries in the region by the World Bank and the IMF in the 1990s, opening the economies of Latin American countries like Guatemala to capital from the global North.

The Mining Code written at that time, which was the driving force behind foreign investment between 1997 and 2014, was written in 1997 under the government of Arzu (1996-9)²³. It decreased previous royalties of 6 per cent to only 1 per cent (Imai et al, 2007), as a necessary condition to attract investment in the sector, within a narrative of supporting the country's economy and generating development (Yagenova, 2012, pg. 23). Although the mining sector in Guatemala represents only about 2% of the total Guatemalan gross GDP, with agriculture and manufacturing making up most of the mining industry (CIA, 2014), today, Guatemala encourages Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to its mining sectors in some of its poorest communities²⁴ (Global Investment and Business Center 2013).

Despite these efforts undertaken in the name of 'development' (Gordon et al, 2006, pg. 76), no other economic sector is as fraught with suspicion as natural resource extraction. In Guatemala, continued foreign interest in resource development has paved way for escalating concern of social conflict and opposition due to associated negative environmental impacts. Most new areas of mining investment in Latin America are on inhabited land, and "an increasing source of conflict in Latin America is between poor

²³ The 1997 Mining Code was designed to attract foreign investment by: reducing the royalty rate from 6% to 1%; eliminating the previous prohibition on 100% foreign-owned mining operations; implementing a series of tax exemptions for mining companies, as well as establishing a very weak system of environmental and public health impact assessment (Nolin and Stephens 2010). Under the 1997 Mining Code, the mining company is put in charge of leading impact assessment studies, and the Guatemalan law provides no specific instruction as to what such studies should cover. Moreover, Guatemalan environmental authorities are only granted 30 days to review a mining project; once this delay is passed, the project is automatically approved and the company is granted an exploitation license. The goal of the 1997 Mining Code was, as mentioned earlier, to attract foreign investment to promote local and national development. It did: from 1998 to 2008, metal mining and exploration licenses have increased by 1000% in Guatemala, a majority of which are currently owned by Canadian firms (Dougherty, 2011, pg. 2)

²⁴ This is due to both the recent discovery of metal deposits in Guatemala and the increase in gold prices (which increased by 50% between August 2010 and September 2011).

and Indigenous communities, on the one hand, and – typically – foreign mining corporations on the other” (Gordon and Webber, 2008 pg. 68). It can be argued that the impacts of this increased development will be felt acutely by Indigenous peoples living in communities where mining development activities take place as a result of various factors including: historical marginalization of Indigenous peoples in Guatemala, fragile governmental and judicial institutions (capacity gaps), singular bottom line economic strategy pursued by the state, dispossession of inhabited land, disparate distribution of benefits by the corporation, ineffective engagement and consultation strategies and an economic reliance on the volatile ‘boom-bust’ nature of extractive resource development (Fidler and Hitch, 2009; Irlbacher-Fox and Mills, 2008; Siebenmorgen, 2009; Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). Consequently, the existence of ‘poverty amidst resource abundance’ continues in communities across Guatemala (Tonts et al., 2012, pg. 288). The resulting context consists of communities that are unsatisfied with the development impact of mining projects, and an anti-mining movement that is reacted to through counter-resistance activities that stimulate further marginalization and inter-community violence.

Apart from an effort to highlight the tensions between the mining company and the surrounding communities, there lies another important motive behind the anti-mining movement in San Marcos. That is, the motive to liberate themselves from forms of influence and propel themselves towards the exercise of their right. The forms of influence include public and private sectors that promulgate mining in the region, and they seek to exercise their right collectively, as Indigenous Guatemalans with rights under the Peace Accords. One of these is the practice of community consultations.

Community Consultations

Community consultations on mining have been taking place in Guatemala since 2007, according to Mendez (2010). They started in the region of San Marcos and the neighbouring department of Huehuetenango (313) and represent a huge feat with respect to social participation in environmental matters. Mendez describes consultations as a continuation of Indigenous struggles in the past that form a backlash against transnational visions of development:

“They are undeniably one of the best examples of a series of processes of struggle that have taken place in Guatemala, as well as the rest of Latin America, against the impacts of neoliberal globalization” (340).

Community consultation against mining in San Marcos find their legal support in the Municipal Code²⁵ and Convention 169 of the ILO, and take place “in response to the lack of guarantees of proper consultation,” by the state (Bastos and Sieder, 2014, 154).. The practice of community consultation started in the region in opposition to open air metal mining and replicated all over the country. According to Bastos and Sieder (2014), by 2013, more than half a million people participated in consultations in over 60 municipalities (20% of the country) against mining, cement plants, hydroelectric projects in various departments (154). As related to this thesis, the practice of consultation are perhaps best defined by Mendez when he writes:

²⁵ The Municipal code establishes that the municipal governments must respect the Indigenous government of the same region. However, Guatemalan anthropologists criticize this assimilation (and segregation) of the two forms of governance as one that is rooted in total negligence of the State towards a plurality of political systems that have for so long existed within Guatemala (338).

“Consultations about mining... are much more than tedious and complicated processes... They are an exercise of a recuperated right, because of which communities have made themselves participates of a democratic political process that is rare in [Guatemala] but understood among participants as tied to the Indigenous logic: the collective subject” (345).

However, as Bastos and Sieder argue, civil participation that promulgate these consultations have no effect on the Guatemalan governments plan with respect to extractive activities (154). The Guatemalan government has refused to view community consultations as having legal validity, but consultation remains the prime example of political will and participation in communities around Guatemala, creating organizations and mobilizing actions in non-violent resistance.

Chapter Three: The Indigenous Citizen, the Corporate Citizen, the State and the paradoxical social responsibility contract.

After three days of heavy rains, the sun was shining and the hills were green all around the urban center in San Miguel Ixtahuacán. I asked a member of the resistance – a local church teacher, to walk with me through Siete Platos, an expansive community in the high altitudes of the department of San Marcos, located about a 20-minute drive from the urban center of the municipality. The magnamous landscape of the Siete Platos highland community is dotted with small houses of corrugated tin or chipped adobe. Plastic tarps hung within each property I was able to see, dividing living space from storage space where worn agricultural tools were laid out on the ground and chopped wood was stacked for fire. Stray cats ran from chasing children, giggling as they chase them around their homes.

A year earlier in July 2012, Siete Platos was also the location of a Health Tribunal, where community members denounced the Marlin Mine for “bringing disease and sickness to the territory” (MiningWatch, 2012; Caxaj, 2014). The day it took place I was in Montreal, on the one end of the media fire the tribunal had sparked. Photos and articles from the tribunal including photos of babies with skin problems and hair loss were circulated all over the internet, testament of the tribunal’s immense success and resounding popularity among the international networks of the resistance movements involved. As the space where the Health Tribunal took place, Siete Platos was among the first few towns recommended to me by informants in the urban center. Don Miguel

Bamaca was also part of the reason Siete Platos was decidedly an important place for me to visit.

On one of the occasions I visited, I sat with Don Miguel Bamaca outside the door to his house. He lifted his shirt to show me a gun wound from a clash between him and pro-mining community members and spoke to me about the effect that community divisions have had on his life and work. He is a health practitioner with formal education in chemical and traditional medicine. After 30 years in health, he is currently making his living selling medicine to others in the area out of a large window at the front of his adobe house. Posted above where he was sitting, along the front wall of his house, were anti-mining posters - all marked with 'CALAS' – the Center for Action on Social and Environmental Law²⁶. In a region where you see bright orange uniforms of mining workers hanging on the clotheslines in front of peoples' homes, these posters were among the only constant demonstrations of blatant resistance I had come across anywhere in San Miguel and also the reason for his gun wound. He was particularly confused by why I spoke Spanish if I was Canadian. Finally, he told me he would *forgive* that I was Canadian and provide his testimony because at the least – I was “charming”. He told me if I wanted to carry a message to Canadians, that I should take a photo of the sign on his wall: “*La patria no se alquila, ni se vende*” (The county is not for rent, nor is it for sale) (Siete Platos, November 29, 2013).

²⁶ CALAS: a legal group made up of three lawyers in Guatemala City who represent and stand in solidarity with anti-mining resistance movements among Maya communities in the country.

After our conversation and his testimony, he and another member of the resistance began speaking in Mam. They were not going to speak in Spanish again: my cue to exit. I sat outside on the grass in front of a tin convenience store that looked to have been dug into place within thin trenches filled with poured concrete. A Coca Cola poster hung crooked near the door. Accompanied by the smell of rust and the sound of Mam chatter from two young girls working in the store, I took a sip of unrefrigerated juice from inside the dark tin-Cola joint; it was the only non-soda drink in the store. As I took my seat, two children playing in front of their house next door immediately stopped playing together and walked towards me. For a number of minutes, they stood directly over me, silently, watching me. Part of me was thankful for the shade I was receiving from the two of them in the glaring sun, while the rest of me wondered what they were thinking about. Before I could ask, their older sister, or mother, stepped out of their house, broom in hand. With nothing more than the abrasive “*Shhhht*” sound everyone in San Miguel seems to have mastered, she sent the two kids running back into the house. The sound made me too, jump, although I heard it everywhere: it was used by men to catcall women in the streets, mothers in moments like these and by kids, too, when shoing a stray cat or dog. For a moment, even after the kids ran into the house, the woman stood there too, watching me. I looked away and back towards the street where the car I was driven in was parked. Although rusted like much of the tin structures around it, it didn’t belong in the neighbourhood. Apart from trucks shuttling material to the mine, I had not seen any other cars in Siete Platos.

I had been to Siete Platos many times before during that research trip and yet it was always the same. My guide and driver would converse with a group of men on this same corner, and despite my efforts to engage, they would continue on in Mam or tell me the conversation did not concern me. For one, the chance for people from distant communities to connect like this was rare (my guide was the only person I had met in San Miguel who owned a car, and he never used it to travel between communities when I was not paying for gas). I was also tall. I was also a woman. But most of all it seemed, I was unfamiliar because I came from Canada. It was in Siete Platos that I was first told in an interview that Goldcorp needs to leave San Marcos; that even when it settled in, no one in Siete Platos thought it would stay.

I soon learned that, like the company, I was not to be trusted. Despite the fact that I was invited to the region by leaders of the resistance and that I expressed sympathy with those who believed they were suffering as a result of development projects, I was still unwelcome in these isolated communities. Even though I constantly revisited the community, I was still not to be engaged with unless under the instruction of an elder or community leader. Nor was I to be welcomed, because in San Marcos – I came to understand – foreigners overstay their welcome.

As a Canadian researcher in a context where my Canadian identity could not escape association with the perceived negative effects of mining in the lives of my informants, I became increasingly fixated with understanding how the anti-mining movement is directed by a political imaginary rooted in a vision of rights that Indigenous

political actors claim as citizens of Guatemala. For instance, it is apparent in the study that it is along the lines of ‘democracy’, and within a democratic political framework that Indigenous political actors in San Miguel Ixtahuacán demand the respect of their right to water, to land, as well as to free, prior and informed consent (as examined in the next chapter). To explore this, I first explain the current relationship between FREDEMI and the state, and clarify the apparent contradiction between FREDEMI members’ rejection of the state-endorsed corporation’s power in their municipality, and these actors claiming to that very state. Next, I discuss how corporations work to offset this resistance and claim their own rights to exploit resources in the face of opposition. The following discussion is therefore focused on power dynamics; in other words, it looks at how a private mining corporation in Guatemala is first paradoxically enabled by the public sector but then can effectively incapacitate the already-weak democracy of Guatemala to better vie for their interests.

3.1 What Weak States mean for Indigenous-TNC relations

The political significance of corporate citizenship is increasingly tied to the weakening of the State and in the case of Guatemala, its institutional weakness related to its reality as a developing country.

In his article, Kapferer states that the oligarchic power of corporations over statehood can be seen in (1) the indebtedness of the populations, (2) the incapacity of populations to politically challenge corporations and (3) the ability of the corporations to move in and out of the state without repercussions.

The mining laws, and geopolitical structure previously explained, reveal the situation of corporate dominance over the state, or at the very least, a release from state constraint. This not only opens avenues of capital expansion but it increases the indebtedness of the state to the company. This in itself is a major form of political and social control. Moreover, at the local level – within the communities where the corporations work - corporations deploy strategies to be associated with the wider community in an effort to align public interest with private interest. These strategies include but are not limited to identifying as a ‘corporate citizen’ and deploying corporate social responsibility measures to gain or maintain²⁷ a social license to operate (SLO), which refers to the “acceptance within local communities of both mining companies and their projects” (MiningFacts, 2014, pg. 1).

3.2 The Great Contradiction: FREDEMI and The State in Guatemala

As will be revealed in the coming chapter, the strong relationship between the foreign private sector and the Guatemala government is a key-mobilizing factor in the Indigenous resistance to mining. The contradiction this seemingly presents must be explained in relation to the core concept explored in this thesis, citizenship, and the power dynamics this thesis aims to reveal. The first element of this contradiction was revealed in interviews that signalled resource nationalist imaginaries among members of

²⁷ When I state, to ‘maintain’ an SLO, I am referring to the belief that SLO is dynamic because stakeholders perceptions change over time and based on “the success of CSR programs, (dis)satisfaction with the fulfillment of promises and obligations, unforeseen environmental damages, and the release of new information” (Nelsen, 2006, pg. 162). Thus, it should never be taken for granted and is not just a one-time permission. The success of an SLO is also based on “the degree to which a corporation and its activities meet the expectations of local communities, the wider society and various constituent groups” and furthermore, is highly dependent on the relationship that companies develop with the communities they work within (Guninham et al, 2004, pg. 333).

the resistance; an informant said that he would rather have the natural resources stay in the ground unless Guatemalans are the ones benefitting from them. In that section, I highlighted how the ‘foreign-ness’ of a mining corporation can be interpreted as especially violating by Indigenous peoples. However, the section on resource nationalist imaginaries in the previous chapter also demonstrated a contradiction because within the majority of interviews, informants flatly reject mining all together.

On another level, despite the frustration and backlash, Indigenous actors seek state intervention and responsibility as well as state recognition of their rights as Indigenous peoples in Guatemala. This is a contradiction that Nelson (1999) has eloquently written about wherein she brings attention to the state as a “site of demand among Mayan and popular groups” in Guatemala following the signing of the Peace Accords. The state is “expected to fix past injustices and repair economic and political dysfunctions, and it thereby carries a certain legitimacy” (75). She writes:

“...the state is like the manifest content of a dream. It has a material presence in the palace, where people demonstrate; in the congress, where people lobby; in the press, where it acts; and in the army, which people try to avoid... Though there is constant discussion of the division between ‘state’ and ‘civil society’ and among gringo analysts about a ‘strong’ or ‘weak’ state, in practice Maya and ladino seem to find those boundaries to be porous. This porousness encourages struggles for representation with the state as a site of struggle... These struggles, paradoxically, legitimate the state as both the site of demand and the stake of the struggle.” (75-76).

Thus, although resistance members have a bitter antagonistic relationship with the Guatemalan state and its interests in resource development, they express that their right to resist is because unlike the foreign corporation, they *are* citizens of the country. In a

heated interview, one informant said to me: “I have the right to speak, because this is my country and I have paid all my taxes” (November 17, 2013).

The various titles that Indigenous peoples take up– i.e. identifying as Guatemalans but clinging to their identity as Indigenous peoples in solidarity with previous Indigenous peoples (including before the creation of the Guatemalan state), and more recently, tying their struggle to a claim for rights by working with international legislation and institutions - is part of a seemingly contradictory but wholly dignified effort to have their rights recognized within their municipality, within the Guatemalan state and internationally by transnational corporations that are based abroad. It is also a subject increasingly studied by anthropologists interested in indigeniety and identity politics in Latin America (Sieder et al). However, in this thesis, I focus more on how this fluidity of citizenship and self-identification is not without problems with transnational corporations able to garner more rights because of their own, and more powerful flexible citizenship.

3.3 Citizenship and Rights: The Individual vs. The Corporation

Corporations from democratic countries are enabled by globalization to express their overwhelming power in weaker democracies. When faced with this new reality, it becomes important to ask how we navigate democracy and democratic engagement, with particular attention to issues of citizenship and power relations because, while the corporation engages with communities as a ‘corporate citizen’, the level of power

corporations possess heightens their inability to be viewed as a “citizen” by those engaged in the anti-mining movement.

In other words, a transnational corporations’ ability to evade their responsibilities if they should choose to do so due to the government’s inability to express power over them as they historically have over the other citizens of the region, makes it important to engage with new understandings of ‘citizenship’ as a theoretical concept. In this chapter, I am looking at the transformation of power structures and the corporation as a new subversive to state power through the emergence of the corporate citizen. I am also arguing that the Guatemalan state’s ability to defend the interests of its citizens is effectively abandoned against the power of the corporation.

3.4 Power Dynamics in this study

Despite my efforts to connect and gain trust of people by constantly reappearing, when noting the pushback from people as I walked through Siete Platos, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, I understood that my foreignness alienated me from the people there. I could imagine my being there was associated with the presence of the mine – which, despite its persistence on corporate identity as a member of the community, was always only described as a ‘Canadian’ project or mine or company.

New state formations are emerging as a result of globalization (Kapferer, 2005; Trouillot, 2001; Scott, 1996; Poulantzas, 1978), but many anthropologists have overlooked the emergence of what I regard as a new subversive to state power, the corporate-citizen. The caring, corporate citizen is a strategic model similar to the

concepts of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and its minor variants wherein powerful corporations like Goldcorp can endow itself with citizenship and boast a sense of community. Kapferer (2013) writes about the “corporate oligarchy” whose interests clash with the interests of those living where it works, and which has the power to “develop its interests against citizenry”.

In 2011, Goldcorp brought together its President and that of its Guatemalan subsidiary company in Guatemala for a public event celebrating the opening of a health center in the urban center of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, the Centro de Atención. In this event, the President of Goldcorp welcomed President Molina of Guatemala (as well as the Minister of Energy and the Minister of Mines) to San Miguel Ixtahuacán. Without being prompted, a number of my informants recalled this experience as particularly violating. An elderly farmer who attended the event said “it was as if the foreigner was the President, inviting an alien to our country. What happened to our country?”. Another informant, the lawyer of the anti-mining movement, Carlos Loarca also recalled the event without any prompting from my part: “it was as if everything turned upside down. But then again, perhaps it has always been this way, and it is only becoming apparent now” (Interview, November 23, 2013).

For this particular interview, I was meeting Carlos Loarca for the third time in a *comedor* in the urban center of San Miguel Ixtahuacán. He agreed to have an ice cream, and as he carved the contents of the small tray a merchant had handed him in exchange for 4 quetzales (less than one Canadian dollar), I asked him to speak about his opinion on

corporate citizenship. “One day”, he started, “Goldcorp announced, ‘here in San Miguel, we are a citizen corporation.’ Wow! A ‘citizen corporation’? How nice!” He continued:

They see it as something normal: I am a corporate citizen that *provides for you*, that *enlightens you*, that *gives to you*, and the only thing required of me is to extract resources because it’s a free market. But human rights? That’s the responsibility of your government; go talk to them (Interview, November 23, 2013).

As we see here, when the corporate-citizen is inserted in the picture in Guatemala, it becomes problematic because it disrupts the social contract between the state and its citizens. As Loarca explained is the case in his experience, when issues arise concerning the citizens of the state within San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipakapa and the corporate/transnational citizen, the question of ‘responsibility’ becomes blurred. If, as Kapferer argues, the corporation has the power to “develop its interests against citizenry”, unless the state is equipped and interested in defending citizenry against the power of the corporation, the social contract between the state and its citizens is disrupted and effectively abandoning them to deal with corporations alone. This is a benefit for the ‘corporate citizen’, and a challenge to the political citizen who is effectively alienated by the new dynamic brought on by the presence of the corporate citizen. This can lead to effects that Kapferer terms ‘state violence’, which as he explains, is not an effect limited to the state. Kapferer (2013) indeed argues that the effects of corporate power can lead to "state violence" through "oligarchic and corporate form". He explains that the inherent characteristic of corporate oligarchy is that it is unaccountable to the social contract so the potential for the corporate oligarchy to develop its interests against the general citizenry is a real threat to human rights. Loarca agrees.

As a function of their economic power and other influence, oligarchic and corporate orders have gathered an increasing political significance. Corporations operate as independent political structures without a dependent population. Unlike states, which must enter into some kind of social contract with their populations.

Kapferer (2013) argues that this lack of social contract inherent of state polities, "results in a relative lack of concern for populations except as consumers" (16). In other words, when the corporate citizen is inserted in the middle of the social contract between the state and its citizens, it may clash, not compliment the interests of general citizen (Kapferer, 2013). Along these same lines, we can understand that the emergence of the corporate – and a transnational citizen can easily face resistance on the local front due to factors and imaginaries which will be presented in Chapter Four. While Kapferer discusses the oligarchic-corporate power as competing with citizens of a state, Trouillot (2001) agrees and says that oligarchic-corporate power has effects *on* the state as well. Following the same line of thought, Carlos Loarca depicts the state and corporation as interlinked sovereigns that have the power to mine without any concern for local communities, and then continues to say that it has so much power that the corporation has immunity:

In Guatemala, it is the corporations who dictates [this/everything]. Whether or not there will be mining projects – it's the company[’s decision]. I mean, where is the independence of the Guatemalan state, with its respective norms? It doesn't even function for its individual citizens, why should it function for mining [companies]? It *says* that it is the citizen that wants the company, but [that is not the case]. Not those who are directly affected... Whatever judge [of a case in Guatemala] is going to decide that [those accusing the corporation of human rights violations] have committed defamation. And for a judge to accuse an executive at Goldcorp for being at fault of [something like] defamation? Give me a break, that's not going to happen. It does not

have that power (emphasis added) (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, Lic. Carlos Loarca, November 23, 2013).

In this interview, this bitterly accusative view of the state and the corporation that the lawyer shares – which is echoed throughout the resistance – is important for multiple reasons. First, it demonstrates a mistrust of Guatemalan institutions believed to benefit from mining projects enough that they protect foreign mining companies' interests over the interests of Guatemalan citizens. This is aligned with Ong's view of citizenship as multi-stranded and corporations enjoying what Loarca explains as more rights than other citizens of the State. Ong explains that the multistranded nature of citizenship enables corporations to have citizenship status and hold various identities in various places, effectively de-territorializing identities and enjoying more rights than any citizens in any one State.

Second, Carlos' lethargic view of whether or not a Guatemalan judge would hold a mining company accountable for community grievances is not only underscored by his perspective of corrupt judicial institutions in the country, but that the judicial system "*does not have the power*". This is to say that his ideas of the corporation are aligned with the Kapferer's description of a corporate oligarchy where corporations can gather power and then use that power to "develop its interests against citizenry".

Take again the example of the welcoming of the Guatemalan president to San Miguel in 2009 for the opening of the medical center, the Centro de Atención (CAP) by corporate representatives. We see an almost too perfect an example of Kapferer's theory

illuminated within the current context - nation-states, as Loarca expressed, have become instruments of oligarchic corporations. In this case we see the corporate citizen taking an overt oligarchic political form that is different than the traditional idea of citizenship. However, corporations do not simply gain this power through being transnational, but rather its power is facilitated by shifts of power “away” or outside of “the containing and regulative political order” of the nation state, further explained in the following section (Kapferer, 2013, pg. 16).

3.4 Gaining Power in Communities

How do oligarchic forces gain power? According to Kapferer (2013):

One major shift is the breaking of oligarchic power away from the containing and regulative political order of the state. The development of the modern corporation has been of importance in this, further facilitated by the development of new technologies, especially relating to cyber-space, and new kinds of productive labour use (pg.16).

In this quote, Kapferer states that oligarchic power has broken away from the political order of the state, and alludes to the creative ways of corporations escape state constraints and gain power. In this way, we understand that the state is a hindrance to oligarchic/corporate expansion. In what follows I look at the institutional weakness of the neoliberal state in Guatemala, examples that demonstrate corporate power and dominance in this context, and finally, some of the creative ways corporations gain power within communities the corporations operate (through CSR measures).

3.5 How Corporations adapt and “belong”

The ways by which corporations adapt and connect to the wider community is an important part of understanding the ways by which private interests seek to be associated with public interest, in an effort to offset alienation and resistance in the communities

they work in. The corporate citizen may also be seen as a private-sector movement to offset the effects of resource nationalism within neighboring communities as well as prevent the alienation of transnational corporations. The idea is this: if the Marlin Mine is seen as an entity without allegiance, it will continue to be a target of populists and individuals in the communities who view it as a greedy “other”. The emergence of the ‘corporate citizen’, however, resolves this by transforming the ‘greedy other’ into a neighbor who *cares* – particularly attractive in community-focused Mam populations in San Marcos who characterize who and what *belongs* on their territory.

In a feature on the Marlin Mine on Business Excellence, a publication dedicated to “best practices in mining”, and accompanied by a glossy 46 page magazine produced by Goldcorp, the company is lauded for its “commitment to not only respect the cultural values of the local communities of San Miguel and Sipakapa, but also to support the sustainable development of the area” (2014). The Marlin Mine General Manager, Christian Roldan is also quoted in the article stressing the importance of building strong relationships with local communities, citing the creation of jobs as central to the country’s development:

We have known since day one...that by being situated on Indigenous land it has been fundamental to build strong relationships with local communities. By sitting down and listening to their concerns and needs we quickly found that job creation was a big issue for them. Today we are proud to say that approximately 90 percent of our workforce is Guatemalan, with 60 percent of these being people from the local area (Business Excellence, 2014, pg. 47).

The concern for social effects of business can be traced to discussions in anthropology about the social responsibility of firms in the 1940s, 50s and 60s (Carrol,

1999, 275) and have evolved what academics, policy-makers and businesses are grappling with alike - the voluntary 'responsibility' over corporate regulation. "Corporate Social Responsibility", or *CSR*, is understood as a global business trend where corporations voluntarily oblige themselves to "a wide span of outreach efforts ranging from relations with non-employees perceived to have 'rights'...to more traditional kinds of philanthropic activities" (Sharp, 2006, 214).

O'Fairhceallaigh et al (2008) discuss the adoption of corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies by transnational corporations (TNCs) in response to concern about the role of corporations with regards to both ecological and human rights abuses. Tedmanson (2009) states that although these policies are set to "share benefits with those Indigenous communities, strategically recast[ed] as 'stakeholders'", there exists a paradox wherein CSR in fact "signals the need for *more* not less rigorous critical analysis" (emphasis added, pg. 272). In fact, after Goldcorp released a shareholder-requested human rights review of the Marlin Mine in 2010²⁸ highlighting its public commitment to international corporate and social responsibility (CSR) standards and its incorporation of those standards into company policies, a Canada-based consulting group, On Common Ground Consultants Inc.²⁹ critiqued it in 2010, stating that CSR strategies of transnational corporations (TNCs) including Goldcorp can commit to policies without actually implementing them because there is no external auditing mechanism when TNCs commit to these international standards (On Common Ground Consultants Inc., 2010, p. 214; Slack, 2012).

²⁸ This is not to say that Goldcorp only started to apply CSR in 2010.

²⁹ An international consultancy that is specialized in enhancing social performance and socially sustainable outcomes for the global resource sector.

The CSR strategies employed by the mine are celebrated on corporate statements, annual CSR reports, the Goldcorp blog which blogs on important CSR developments and strategies for all Goldcorp projects in the hemisphere as well as within independent mining and business publications. These strategies vary from funding schools and hospitals to infrastructure projects and small locally-oriented agricultural enterprises. Concrete examples of CSR measures applied to the Marlin Mine are listed in the following sections: (1) infrastructure, (2) education and school, (3) agriculture and eco sustainability initiatives (4) health and (5) investments.

3.6 Marlin Mine-employed CSR Strategies

Infrastructure

In municipalities near the Marlin Mine, Goldcorp is responsible for improving water and sewage systems, agricultural extension and helping build schools, sports fields and roads (Goldcorp Blog, 2012).

Since 2010, The Sustainable Development Department of the Marlin Mine has completed more than 813 projects for the 40,000 inhabitants of SMI and 15000 people in adjacent areas including building schools, a medical center, computer labs, recreation halls, sports fields and a tree and plant nursery (Goldcorp blog, 2015).

By 2011, the Marlin Mine had created ‘vocational classrooms’ which specialize in electrical and automotive mechanic training (Above Ground, 2011, pg. 17). It also

created a Daycare for workers of the Marlin mine– 120 women work in or around the mine (Above ground, 2011, pg. 17)

Also, in 2011, Goldcorp provided US 2.8 million (Q22 million) for building materials and construction of the Centro de Atencion (CAP). It also supplied the medical equipment and supplies and on March 1st of the year, the CAP officially opened its doors to serve about 55, 000 district residents (Goldcorp blog, 2012). As mentioned above, President Molina, the Minister of Energy and Mines and The Minister of Health all attended the opening of CAP, calling it “equal or better than private hospitals found in the capital”.

Education and School

Between 2002 and 2008, school enrollment in the communities near the Marlin Mine increased by 53%. According to a 2011 post on the company’s blog, this reflects increased economic stability created by employment at the mine.

By 2011, The Marlin Mine provided training for 28 bakery, brick-making and masonry enterprises through the Sierra Madre Foundation and the Instituto Tecnico de Capacitacion y Productividad (Above Ground, 2011, pg. 17).

In 2013 alone, Goldcorp funded the construction, renovation and repairs of dozens of classrooms and the installation of five fully equipped computer centers in the department of San Marcos.

In 2014, Goldcorp funded the salaries of 34 teachers and provided 145 scholarships to help students continue their studies and a cohort of 15 teachers completed a training course supported by Goldcorp on leadership and capacity building, benefitting 1600 students in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipakapa. Finally, the Marlin Mine has employed a literacy program since 2013, in conjunction with the Guatemalan Ministry of Education.

Agriculture and Eco-Sustainability Initiatives

Annually, Goldcorp reforests 10 to 20 hectares through the Environment department of the Marlin Mine and the Sierra Madre Foundation. With respect to water usage in the mine, in 2011, Goldcorp decreased the percentage of freshwater extracted from the environment and the water used that year was 97% recycled water (Goldcorp CSR Report, 2011, pg. 6).

Starting in 2011 and continuing today, a dairy business started with 20 (now has 72) was implemented. All are managed by local employees trained by field experts. Moreover, the mine cultivates coffee, corn, tomatoes and other crops as a sustainable food source.

The mine has also run a Flora and Fauna conservation program since 2012, increasing the herd of animals endangered by hunting, including white tailed deer.

Programs and Foundations

The Marlin mine funds a number of programs and foundations. For instance, in 2003, the Marlin Mine founded the Sierra Madre Foundation. The purpose of the Foundation is to implement sustainable, community based development and capacity building programs. It

is managed and staffed by Guatemalans (Goldcorp CSR report, 2013). By 2011, the Sierra Madre foundation had provided 1145 people with medical care (Above Ground, 2011, page 17).

In 2005, the Marlin Mine created the Community Environmental Monitoring Association (AMAC) involving elected members from 10 communities dedicated to environmental monitoring, including water quality monitoring for communities surrounding the mine³⁰.

Employment

The majority (97.7%) of the Marlin Mine's direct workers (1,582) are Guatemalan residents (Goldcorp website, 2014) and in 2011, 60% of workers were local (Goldcorp, 2011, pg. 16). The number is supposed to have grown since then.

Investments

In 2009 alone, 364 million dollars were invested in local community projects and 249 million dollars were paid in royalties, taxes and voluntary payments through the various projects Goldcorp has in Latin American (31.5 million dollars paid to the Guatemalan government by Goldcorp Inc. in 2009) (Goldcorp Factsheet, 2009, pg. 4).

Furthermore, 70% of supplies required for the Marlin Mine were purchased in Guatemala in 2009 also (US\$ 86.5 million). Of this, over 6 million was spent in the department of San Marcos (Above Ground, 2011, pg. 17).

³⁰ It should be noted that the institution is 100% dependent on funding from Montana; but this funding is funneled through a 3rd party organization in an effort to maintain AMAC's independence.

Finally, the Marlin Mine also remains the first in Central America to have become fully certified under the International Cyanide Management Code, which is recognized as the international benchmark for transporting, storing and using cyanide (Business Excellence, 2014 pg.1).

Criticism

Goldcorp's CSR measures are not always well received by scholars who have studied social and environmental impacts of mining in communities around the world. For instance, O'Farichealligh et al refer to three reasons corporates pursue CSR programs like those outlined above by Goldcorp for the Marlin Mine. The first is CSR "as a veil", covering ecological and social transgressions by extractive industries, also discussed by Banerjee (2008, pg. 51-70). The second is CSR as a "rational self-interest" which enables companies to align their interests with the norms of a social license to operate. The third is what Tedmanson describes as "a 'noble' recognition of corporate ethical duty for the 'greater good' imperatives of environmental protection and Indigenous rights" (pg. 273). Anthropologist Dana Freeman (2011) asks, "why all the duress? And why now?" (1). She lends increasing interest in the business theme as being a product of what she calls "disembeddedness of contemporary exchange relations and about the injustices that such anonymous relations afford" (2). The transnational corporation is described as anonymous, by Freeman, because of the attention paid to producers and consumers in contemporary exchange relations and the little paid to corporations, governments "and other systemic factors" (3). So CSR then, is described as a noncommittal program of 'moral economy' that is emerging "as a part of, and in response to, neoliberal capitalism" (4).

As the presence of transnational corporations has increased in Guatemala, state power has been eroded. The question arises of how public interests are served with their new, inherited community member and how private companies should be effectively and correctly guided. Indigenous communities are effectively alienated by their government that either *refuses* or *is incapable of* addressing the conflict that Indigenous communities find themselves immersed within. The question of capacity and power is unpacked and explored in the following section.

3.7 The current binary: Powerful Corporations and Weak Nation-States

Power is continually emergent in social processes that can never be controlled only by state-oriented apparatuses or practices. In the time of Hobbes ([1651] 1991), the state was regarded as the condition for the existence of a harmonious society, where the state controls the conflicting elements of society that its power encompasses. Hobbes' Leviathan expresses what most modern states claim to be their central function: both ordering and protecting the social.

On the other hand, Foucault's work is dedicated to understandings of the modern state and how its institutional practices manifest in the person and in routine social practices (1991). Foucault's argument can be seen as theorizing how the interests of ruling groups are met through processes not immediately associated with state power. Of course, corporations are not states in that they do not hold sway over territorially defined populations, but they can have State-effects and corporate control is assuming a state dimension and is perceived as such in anti-mining organizations in Guatemala. The resurgence of mining activity in Indigenous territories has in fact revealed an imbalance

between the public and private sectors, or what Casetejon (2006) called the ‘Achilles heel’ of the public sector: conflict in communities where resistance movements clash with mining activities. The imbalance is reflected in San Miguel Ixtahuacán between the increasing critique and public opposition to the Marlin Mine’s operations at the local and international levels and the company’s apparent ability to continue its operations with relative normality. Castejon explains that this persistence imbalance between the public and private sectors is due to weakness in the public sector:

Weakness of the public sector opens the door to the powerful and to the attitude on the part of the powerful – private sector, unions, political parties – that they can exercise their strength without restraint (pg.6).

Weak institutional capacity in Guatemala as well as unfulfilled Peace accords lead to lack of community participation in decision-making on mining projects and mining resistance. Foreign companies start resource development projects with local subsidiaries only to find themselves surrounded by Indigenous communities that perceive themselves as victims due to the fact that they are not consulted, they benefit very little and are actually harmed by the fast moving developments.

For instance, in a speech presentation I attended in Sipacapa, a leader of a resistance movement shared his interpretation of the mine to an audience of over 200 people in order to encourage them to sign a petition against further mine expansion in Sipacapa:

[The mining corporation] is one of the largest animals with very strong tentacles. It works while we are sleeping. While we are sleeping, this savage animal, this monster is at work. It is plotting how it will enter [the community], how to buy off the leaders of the communities, of the municipalities...And at the national level, the government has sold us out.

Never has it asked us permission. Never has it asked us whether we are in favour or against. This is the saddest, most corrupt government on Earth. And it has been disastrous [to us]... This government has been a huge parasite because they have been taking advantage of us (Speech, Sipacapa, December 3, 2013).

We understand a number of things from this speech excerpt. For one, the vivid depiction of the mine as an evil “savage” “monster” undeniably demonstrates an effort to sway the audience to feel a certain type of way towards the company. Second, the imagery of this “monster” “plotting” how to enter the community is a prime example of what I had heard in other speeches and interviews: that the corporation understands that it is unwanted and as such, is consciously looking for ways to fool everyone to accept it. Finally, the quote also illustrates the belief that the Guatemalan government has “sold out” those of the Department of San Marcos, where the important issue of consultation and corruption arise.

In this environment it becomes clear that corporate-community practices including Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBAs), social licenses to mine, and public engagement via environmental assessment face hurdles before negotiations between private industries and potentially affected communities can even be pursued. Resistance movements, like FREDEMI in the Municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, in the Department of San Marcos, Guatemala, are propped up around nearly every resource development or energy project in the country. All of these movements assume political positions under the belief that communities should be able to shape the procedures, processes and agendas that shape development in the regions within which they live. The speech excerpt above, for one, catapults the reader into a context of dynamic power

relations wherein communities resist mining projects while corporations try to offset this resistance in order to maintain production.

Moreover, as we will see in the next chapter, corporate tactics to offset resistance including Corporate Citizenship become extremely problematic when applied to Indigenous communities in San Miguel and their attachment to their territory, identity, and collective historical struggle. Speeches in resistance meetings in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos, Sipacapa and Guatemala City revealed that the resistance movements across Guatemala associate development projects that include elite Guatemalan and non-Guatemalan beneficiaries with negative Indigenous and state relationships of the past. This dimension of existing conflicts surrounding resource development blurs the line between visions of development and must be unpacked in order to understand what irreconcilable differences exist in mining communities in Guatemala.

Chapter Four: Mining Conflict in Guatemala: The Resistance to Mining and What Influences Anti-Mining Organizing

This chapter will describe the current conflict in San Miguel Ixtahuacán according to those who resist against mining. The experiences of repression of Maya communities during the internal armed conflict, understandings of the rights endowed to Indigenous peoples within the Peace Accords and even the past underdevelopment and exploitation of Indigenous peoples and land are all powerful symbols of cultural experience. They play an important part in how groups mobilize against mining companies. This chapter will also describe why FREDEMI members disagree with state and corporate descriptions of development. In many ways, communities that choose to reject mining are put in direct conflict with the interests of the company, elements of the state and other community members.

4.1 A History of violence and anti-mining resistance as continued *lucha*

Those involved in anti-mining resistance do not view their activism as new political agency but rather as continuation of the agency practiced by their ancestors as they too, vied for power with other forces on the same territory in the past. Informants of this study have argued that contemporary ‘Mayan politics’ enacted through their resistance is nothing “new”, and that their ancestors had previously participated in “protecting territory” from other (and foreign) powers.

Activists imagine themselves as a collective subject through their activism, their visions of social justice and well-being and how they conceptualize their activism as an

enactment of the possibilities and limits of collective political agency. A good example of this comes from the neighbouring municipality of Sipacapa in San Marcos, whose *Los Chocoyos* area is under exploration by the Marlin Mine. In December 2013, I was invited to attend a large meeting in Sipacapa where over 200 people gathered³¹ to re-start the “Sipacapa is not for sale” resistance movement³² after the last leaders out of Sipakapa (former and current mayors) since overturned their mining stance and now support exploration activities in *Los Chocoyos*. In an interview with the new, secondary leader of the Sipakapense resistance movement, Ronaldo, I was briefed on what was motivating his vehement opposition:

Here, the things that are happening due to mining some view as development because [Goldcorp] comes providing infrastructure for the communities and they're paying 'royalties' – as they say – to the communities. But this does not reach our communities. Basically, it's an amount of money that benefits them first, it's not the amount of money we need for development. If they give us 1%, they are enjoying 99% as transnational institutions. It's for this reason that we are here defending (Interview, Sipacapa, December 2, 2013).

What Ronaldo shared here reveals a key reason why he is “defending” his territory from Canadian mining. It is not the fact that the royalties are substantially greater for the transnational corporation that drives his resistance. It is the fact that this unequal distribution of wealth does not ‘reach’ the communities that motivates him to resist. According to Ronaldo, communities do not benefit from the current arrangement.

³¹ I counted 200 people in the audience at one point, and others continuously entered the room.

³² In June 2005, a consultation was held in Sipacapa where a majority of Sipakapenses rejected the presence of Goldcorp in their municipality (Laplante, 2014, pg. 232). The movement was documented in a film released later that year called “Sipacapa is not for sale” focused on the Sipakapan battle to preserve their autonomy from foreign commercial interests.

When he states that “it is the reason that we are here defending”, he is referring to a political imaginary that is practiced and enacted to offset what he views as injustice. Arce and Norman (2000) argue that while the diffusion of modernity and spread of development schemes may bring prosperity and optimism for some, for others, it has brought poverty, a deterioration in quality of life and has given rise to violence. Pudielko and Harzing (2007) have described the tight link between globalization and TNCs as creating a “perpetual conflict between global integration and local responsiveness” (Pudielko; Harzing, 2007, p. 2). This is true for the region surrounding the Marlin Mine. However, the participation of my informants in the resistance is not only motivated by an anti-mining position, but a position that is fuelled by an association of resource development with both (i) a long history of economic and political marginalization since the Spanish conquest and (ii) the more recent history of extermination during the internal armed conflict.

Yet, as we will see in what follows, although there is a sense of disillusionment and helplessness across the board in my interviews within FREDEMI members, their participation in the resistance is fuelled by their belief in their cause. They are driven by political imaginaries inspiring them to mobilize and organize themselves within the resistance because they feel there is a barrier to the practice of their ideal. Although they are critical of their potential as Mayans to incite change (due to their political history and their views on the levels of their government’s capacity), they believe in the importance of their work: “At least my grandchildren will look back and know that their grandmother

did not agree, and she acted on it” (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 4, 2013).

4.2 “We are not partners [of development]”; Asymmetrical Power Relationships

Coumans (2011) argues that in corporate discourse, communities associated with mine sites are primarily characterized as the recipients of programming created for them as ‘development’. She states that in such “programming”, “‘development’ is described as a good that is delivered to them” (128). Corporate citizenship transforms this understanding of the private sector as service providers bringing development, to “partners” in development, calling communities wherein mining sites are located as “community partners” (Above Ground, 2013). From the perspective of those within the mining resistance movement, “partnership” does not only *not exist*, but also *cannot* exist in the current dynamic. Below, I reflect on interviews where informants recalled examples where they were not treated as “community partners”. The lack of consultation and information illustrates the asymmetrical power relationship their communities have had with Goldcorp. The Mam interpret it as an imposition of private development interests over their own ideas of development.

In October, I travelled to Chimaltenango to meet with Aniseto Lopez and a leader from San Rafael de las Flores to talk about the mining conflict erupting around the country. They were participating in a cross-community congress focused on the “advances and fulfillment of the peace accords” and to analyze “what has been done and

what has not been done” (Interview, Chimaltenango, October 28, 2013). The leaders were invited by an *ex-commandante* guerrillist named Carlos Monsanto. In my meeting with them, they discussed the potential of utilizing this knowledge in their respective legal cases. I later observed a FREDEMI meeting, wherein Aniseto explained constitutional rights to *campesinos* gathered at the Sunday marketplace in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, informed by his participation and discussion with other leaders from other regions in that congress. In an interview with him and two of his colleagues, he dubbed this new inclination to learning about the country’s history: “taking back” the Peace Accords” (Interview, Chimaltenango, October 28, 2013). Much later in the fieldwork, after nearly two months with the communities and travelling with resistance leaders to study networks of resistance, I was not surprised to hear an elder in Ixcail – one of the more remote communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán explain to me, “we are not unjustly against the company, we are reclaiming our rights” (Interview, Ixcail, December 4, 2013).

The devaluation and racism towards Indigenous peoples in Guatemala is obvious in any visit to the country, and members of the resistance view their activism as reasserting the value of their culture and ownership of their territory. In an interview with a woman in the resistance, she explained to me that among those in the resistance, the peace accords served as legal proof that no one (not a Canadian mining company, and not even the Guatemalan government) had a right over Indigenous peoples regarding what happens on their territory: “Western culture has a dignity that is equal to that of the Quechua, the Maya, or any other” (Interview, Ixcail, December 4).

The significance of the fact that this discourse was emerging from educational sessions between indigenous leaders of the insurgency during the internal armed conflict and indigenous leaders of the anti-mining movement is two-fold. In one way, it further highlights that the theme of development nuancing this thesis assumes a particular burden in San Miguel because it is a poor area that still suffers from economic and social consequences of the internal armed conflict. Second, it demonstrates that the human rights discourse surrounding indigenous communities that evolved from the Peace Accords following the armed conflict is evermore relevant for indigenous communities and the perceived battles they face today, this time with the foreign private sector and economic development agenda of the Guatemalan government.

4.2.1 Not informed or consulted

The issue of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) is central to the resistance and community members who have never left the municipality, ever entered other communities or territories and can not read or write are still well-versed in their right as Mayans to “Free, prior and informed consent”. The normalization of international law in the lives of everyday Mayans in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipakapa and the fact that nor the Marlin Mine or the Ministry of Energy obtained community consent is a driving force to legitimizing community participation in the resistance. “You have to consult me”, one community member said in an interview. “If you don’t do it, you are not even following law” (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 7, 2013). Three of my informants, when asked about FPIC, cited it as a reason to avoid negotiations with Goldcorp. Upon asking a female resistance leader why the FREDEMI resistance had not

participated in negotiations with the company, she turned my own question on me: “if they are not following international law, what makes you think they will engage with our conditions?” (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 7, 2013).

4.2.1.1 On Consultation

In Guatemala, the method by which a community voices its consent to extractive projects is through *consulta comunitaria* (community consultation). According to Laplante (2014), “the Guatemalan *consulta* movement began in 2005 in Rio Hondo, Zacapa, in resistance to a hydroelectric project” and was replicated by a community in Sipacapa on June 18, 2005, where “the overwhelming majority of Sipakapenses rejected the presence of Goldcorp in their municipality” (232). The *consulta* is a community process protected by the legally binding International Labour Organization 169 (OHCHR, 2002) which states that governments must consult and give consideration to all peoples affected by development, promote the participation of these peoples in decision-making processes, and facilitate the development of local initiatives and institutions. The Guatemalan municipal law, the Guatemalan constitution, Goldcorp and the Guatemalan ministry of Energy and Mines are all “legally bound to honour the vote against mining in their territory” (Sieder 2007). However, Nolin and Stephens (2010) state that “while government[s] and outside pressure can encourage ILO 169 compliance, there is no mechanism in place to enforce any consultation process” (pg. 49).

Near the end of December, in a closing speech after sessions of presentations by leaders of anti-mining organizations gathered in Guatemala, the then-director of CALAS, Dr. Yuri Melini, echoed these ideas. An excerpt follows:

In Guatemala, there have been over 78 *consultas* – including municipal *consultas*, *consultas* with Indigenous communities, community-level *consultas*. 2.8 million people have mobilized to say that they do not want mining. The government though, has presented a legal initiative where it continues to encourage mining. So then, what type of law do we want? What type of law do you all want? If we have sat here and applauded *compañero* from Asunción who told us the mine there had closed down, and the people from Sipacapa when they barricaded and took to the streets; and if we have applauded the people from La Puya that has been in resistance for over 2 years now; if we have applauded the people from San Juan Sacatepequez, which has stood its ground to defend Santa Rosa, what then? If the Government wants to put out a law, what is the method we are going to use to express ourselves? What kind of disposition do we even have to do this? (Guatemala City, Yuri Melini, December 10, 2013).

The above speech by Dr. Melini highlights two important points of this section. The ‘battle’ he is referring to is the work required to achieve implementation of social licenses to mine, which the various community representatives will take back to their respective communities. In addition, how he goes about rallying ideas on methods to better “express” the objectives of the collective movement is reflective of what is understood within the resistance as the Guatemalan government’s disregard for the results of consultations that do take place. In fact, less than one week before this meeting, I had met with a leader of the Sipakapense resistance, who’s first *consulta* that he led in 2005 in Sipacapa was ignored by the Guatemalan government. To better illustrate the forthcoming sentiments about consultation in Sipacapa specifically, it is important to explain that following that 2005 consultation, Goldcorp went to court and “freely admitted to a World Bank investigation that it continued to explore in Sipakapan land after the *consulta*” (Laplante, 2014, pg. 234). In 2007, the country’s constitutional court declared that the *consulta* process is legal but not binding (Holden and Jacobson, 2008, pg. 339).

The leader of the Sipacapa resistance movement explained to me that he was invited to a roundtable for negotiations (I did not note down whether it was with the company representatives or local authorities). He stated that he was skipping the negotiations, echoing Dr. Melini's frustration with the products of consultations in Guatemala:

Last year, the community mayor in my community informed me that 7 pending licenses existed in the territory of Sipacapa and San Miguel [Ixtahuacán], and one that was in process of exploitation (where the company Montana is currently located). We told the local mayors that the situation of Sipacapa is a little sad, and then I told the municipal mayor that it should inform the 'pueblo' of the pending licenses in the territory of Sipacapa. What he told me was that he could not do anything for Sipacapa, because the licenses come approved from the Ministry of Energy and Mr. President. That is why you should understand that the '*consulta*' is not binding here in Guatemala³³ (December 3, 2013).

Carlos Loarca, the lawyer of the FREDEMI resistance movement, who cannot sit in negotiations without the permission of the leaders in San Marcos, also argued that negotiations with the company are not currently being pursued. He explained that negotiations were not possible because the relationship between the communities, the state and the company was fundamentally unequal to start with. One of the most poignant points he brought up with respect to corporate power in this current relationship between the state, communities and corporation was that both the government and the communities become vulnerable to the eminent decision the corporation would one day make to "leave" and abandon the project.

³³ The debate is heated even among the activist community in Guatemala. In a conversation one year later in Guatemala City, a Director at The Unity for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Guatemala (UDEFEQUA) clearly argued that 'consultation' is in fact binding in Guatemala, and that the Guatemalan government has every responsibility to implement that.

“Goldcorp, if it finishes operations it can leave. And the state will not be able to demand that it should stay. The state cannot say, ‘no, keep going, because we need you to keep giving us these resources, and if you leave, all these people [you previously employed] will be without jobs’. No, it doesn’t work like that. Goldcorp will leave” (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 23, 2013).

In this quote, Loarca highlights the vulnerability of communities when the question of decision-making is brought up. Decision making refers to both the decision that the government makes to sign mining licenses, the lack of decision making power of communities whose decisions have previously been disregarded when they have publicly rejected mining proposals, as well as the decision the transnational corporation can make to close the mine when it wishes to do so.

Carlos comments also echo those of another interview in a highland community where an informant called the mining operation *gente fantasma*, “ghost people” when he was pointing out to me that the transnational corporation can leave whenever it wishes, and that it was not fair that it could make such a powerful decision when the communities were systematically ignored in their own decisions to reject mining in the first place (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 25, 2013). In his characterization of the transnational corporation as *gente fantasma*, he was not only highlighting the lack of decision making power within the communities as compared to the corporate citizen, but also the responsibility the company *doesn’t have* to the land, while the political citizens, unlike the transnational corporate citizens have to live with the impacts when the mine is eventually closed at the choice of the corporation.

4.2.2 Cracked houses and the lack of information shared by the mine regarding where it is located

The company has already entered here [underneath us], but without any permission from the neighbours. Without letting them know. We can understand [what is happening], they are robbing us. (Interview, Aldea Ixcail in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 4, 2013).

Asymmetrical power relations are also illustrated in the case of damages to community properties and a lack of information on the precise locations of underground mining operations, both of which are seen by FREDEMI members as examples of the mining company's overwhelming and unabated power to negatively affect the lives of those living around the mining project.

The core network of the FREDEMI resistance had got wind that seven houses were damaged in November 2013 in a town called Ixcail, one of the more remote communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán. For one week of my interviews with community members around the municipality, people were worried about what they had heard happened in Ixcail. Aniseto and a few other *companioneros* had gone to visit, taken a few photos, which had circulated around the FREDEMI networks in both San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa. Once I saw a photo of three houses in Ixcail dangling at the edge of a gaping hole in a mountain, I wanted to interview people in that town to see what they believed happened.

The hike up to Ixcail is nothing short of breathtaking. Most of San Miguel was like that, at least up in the mountains. Magnificent mountains and gigantic forests landscape the highlands of Western Guatemala. But the juxtaposition between the truly majestic

naturaleza and the poor housing of the impoverished communities was impossible to overlook. The entire community living in Ixcail was suffering from tremendous movement of the ground. So much so, that in November 2013, the ground of one mountain split along one edge, taking four houses down the mountainside into an enormous valley of rubble and what were community belongings, leaving three other houses dangling along what was left of that land. Every one of these families from all of the seven houses are now sharing space with community members a hike further up the mountain. None of these families have any resources to rebuild these houses, but all of them were offered a loan from the municipality if they should wish to do so. According to them, the only alternative they were offered was housing in an entirely different department, in an entirely different region of Guatemala. Predictably, this led to speculation and conspiracy theories related to municipal and mining company's scheming to relocate entire communities who otherwise refused to sell their land to the ever-expanding mining development of the company.

During my visit in Ixcail, the frustration of its residents was almost tangible. One man asked, "Where should we go, then? To Mexico?", as he tore something off a clothesline hanging near him, "It's obvious we are not welcome in this country". The lack of information provided to them about what exactly caused the mountain to fall, however, was more surprising than the lack of financial support to rebuild their houses. What the community members believed was happening, was that it was all the impact of the mine. The distrust of Mayans in San Miguel Ixtahuacán of the mining company was potent. Everyone seemed convinced that they were not being provided with information

about what happened on their land because it was (1) in fact due to mining operations without license and (2) that the Marlin Mine indeed wanted to buy the land. The community members believed the municipality wanted to relocate them, by telling them it was a natural disaster, and then sell the land for very little to the mine. When I asked a woman if she thought the Marlin Mine had extended this far this was her response:

Of course. Now it's a fact. For instance, I have a niece who was fine, but now she has hives everywhere. And the houses that I have over there, they are destroyed. It has been a long time since the miners entered in our municipality, well, we don't see them because they are passing underground, but what we can feel is explosions - what do they call them? - of dynamite. For instance, at 1 o'clock in the morning, explosions start. And then there's a tremendous movement [of the ground]. It was due to all of this that those houses fell. So after this happened, with Aniseto and other *companeros*, we called together all the neighbours in this village. We had to investigate for ourselves, where exactly this shaking was coming from. Some people from Guatemala City said that it was just an issue of hot water in the mountain that caused all of this. We want to know what happened, if it really is just an issue of the mountain, or if it's the miners. We asked around, and many said exactly what we all know, and what we can feel, it's the explosives that are creating this mess (December 4, 2013).

According to the informants and Carlos Loarca, the lawyer of their case at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Marlin Mine has not provided public information regarding where the tunnels of the mine are located.

4.3 Resource Nationalism

In an interview with a FREDEMI member in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, one man described the removal of resources by a foreign company as being worse than the removal of resources if they were to be extracted and kept by Guatemala:

When the mine first entered our territory, they said it would be for [our] benefit. They will provide for us. Who will? Only *Madre Tierra* provides for us. Feeds us. Provides us with what we need to create shelter. Now they brought a Canadian company – a company from Canada to take from *Madre*

Tierra and give us what our government cannot! What a thing! And what will they do with everything we have? Take it to Canada? And sit on their thrones of gold all the way there in the North? No. It may as well stay in the ground where it has always been. Or at least it should not be taken from us (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 7, 2013).

This FREDEMI member first demonstrates his understandings of local ownership of the natural resources being exploited, then brings up the question of *who* is benefitting from the extraction of the natural resources. Through characterizing the *Madre Tierra* as the provider for their communities, the informant expresses his understanding of natural resources as primarily owned by Mother Earth. Within this understanding, any exploitation of resources can be understood as being “taken from” Mother Earth – we see this when he continues to say that such resources should ‘stay’ in the ground and we must also understand his community’s connection to Mother Earth when he says the resources then, should not be ‘taken from *us*’. The association he places on Mother Earth’s possession over the natural resources and his communities using the collective ‘us’ is rooted in an understanding that Mother Earth provides for the communities. Thus, anything taken from Mother Earth is then taken from the communities. In other words, expressing his discontent that the resources are being removed from the original owner of the resources by a transnational corporation that is owned by a Canadian company, it becomes clear that ownership is not the only concern of he and his partners within FREDEMI, but that if the original owner is mother earth, his concern is also with who *benefits* from the natural resources. That he would prefer no one benefit from the resources found ‘under’ the communities wherein he lives over having them extracted by a company that is ‘Canadian’ or is outside of Guatemala is interesting because it shows how much more difficult it is for communities to accept a ‘foreign’ company that is not

Guatemalan. Both of these factors – who the natural resources *belong to* and *who is benefitting from them* enable us to understand that for this individual, motivations to participate within the anti-mining movement are two fold – first, the natural resources do not *belong to those* extracting them, and should only be benefitting those *who* depend on Mother Nature to provide for them.

Traditionally, resource nationalism is understood as a tendency for states to take direct control of economic activity in natural resource sectors. According to Clarke and Cummins (2012), “resource nationalism is an umbrella term which is frequently applied to acts by host states to expropriate or change the terms on which resources are extracted and monetized, in order to obtain greater benefits for the host state” (pg. 220). According to the International Energy Forum, resource nationalism is “nations wanting to make the most of their endowment”. I utilize the term ‘resource nationalist imaginaries’ to highlight the idea that ‘if a foreign company is going to benefit from the land, it may as well not be extracted at all’. In both San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa, the lack of benefits for communities is frustrating only because of their awareness that a foreign company is benefitting whilst – as one informant says (below) “others have nothing”.

I was exposed to another example of this while attending a meeting in Sipacapa, as one of around 200 individuals. As this meeting, one man urged the audience not to “fall for the tricks” of the mining corporation. He drew on a well-known folklore of stories about the Conquest where Mayas are described as having naively traded their trust for mirrors, supposedly granting conquistadores access to gold. In this meeting, the man

stood up before the 200 individuals, and, half-laughing, half-angry, he addressed the room:

Here! They've brought us something, just like they said they would. Our ancestors were tricked with mirrors for the gold. Look! But what kinds of gifts did they bring to do exploration in Indigenous territory? Here it says '*creciendo bien, Montana Exploradora C-A*' ('growing well, Montana Exploradora Canada') (December 2, 2013).

The lack of investment and benefits for the communities came up in every interview I pursued in San Miguel Ixtahuacán. "They don't think about us", said another in Ixcail, "More kids will be born and how far will the money [from the mine] really go if only a few are benefiting while others have nothing? How is this possible?"

Resource nationalist imaginaries are a main concern for mining corporations today. In the 1980s and 1990s, almost all governments in Latin America adopted the policies of the Washington Consensus. Yet, many scholars today argue that this macroeconomic orthodoxy is becoming less and less persuasive (Weitzman, 2013; Pilling, 2012). Today, resource nationalism influence not only producer countries but also a variety of approaches adopted by consuming countries who aim to increase their access to natural resources abroad. Although many countries – including more right leaning countries in Latin America, are displaying resource nationalist persuasions, Guatemala is certainly not of this trend (to the benefit of foreign mining companies). In an article on resource nationalism, Hal Weitzman references a report on business risks by Ernst & Young that stated that today, "the uncertainty and destruction of value caused by sudden changes in policy by the governments of resource rich nations cannot be understated" (2013, 123). My informants in these communities surrounding the Marlin Mine at their

very core want to see their government pursuing a more resource nationalist approach to resource development, and it is precisely their governments strong relations with the private sector that frustrates the communities enough to propel the backlash: an anti-mining resistance movement.

Today, one of the central criticisms levelled at the current resource nationalist imaginaries in Mayan Guatemala is that they will alienate much-needed foreign investment. This was reflected in some of my casual conversations with individuals in urban centers of Guatemala including Guatemala City and Antigua, where some people saw mining as an opportunity to make use of ‘otherwise unproductive’ territories and people. The conversations reflected Wolf’s (2006) concept of the “closed, corporate peasant community” which aims to maintain “ a measure of communal jurisdiction over land” and “prevent outsiders from becoming members”; limiting the “ability of members to communicate with the larger society” as well as who “content themselves with the rewards of shared poverty” (pg. 26).

Although Wolf, in a later note explained that the concept was not “designed to deal with capitalist enterprises as many Guatemalan Indians have been since the late nineteenth century” (Smith, 1986, pg. 19), the concept allows analysts of the conflict to clearly see a “dualization of society” into two sectors: “a dominant entrepreneurial sector and a dominated sector of native peasants”. Within development projects today, particularly lead by companies with a moral obligation to corporate social responsibility, this traditional dichotomy of the dominant and dominated is offset by techniques

including Corporate Citizenship. However still, these techniques do not resound with FREDEMI members because the ‘provisions’ within Corporate Citizenship frameworks previously discussed are laden with terminology on development that do not address the asymmetrical power relations between corporations and communities, which is seen by informants to lead to social conflict and environmental damage.

4.4 “This is not development”; Mining as Mis-development

The ICMM³⁴ and other industry associations and companies emphasize the financial contributions of mining operations to development through taxes and royalties (US State Department, 2012; Slack, 2012, p. 33; Sharp, 2006, p. 31; IFC, 2006). Yet, members of the resistance – even those with little education and who live in the most isolated communities – are well-versed in arguments that fundamentally oppose any significant contribution of mining industries:

Maybe mining provides development, if you define development as a 1 to 5 percent of royalties given to the state. Maybe they built us roads, maybe they build us schools. But we have always built our own schools for our children. Even then, our children do not become anything more than [coffee pickers]. Maybe it provides jobs, jobs that create sickness in our communities (Testimony of Dona Crisanta, the community of Agel in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 3, 2013).

When I met with leaders of anti-mining movements across the country, they discussed what they believed was the incompatibility of mining and the preservation of Maya culture. Mining production, as members of FREDEMI in San Miguel Ixtahuacán understood it, “brought sickness” into their territory (Speeches and Interviews, December

³⁴ The International Council on Metals and Mining

10, 2013). It exposed their resources to foreign companies and non-Mayan Guatemalan subsidiaries, while bringing “nothing good” to the region. The idea that communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán were “community partners” of the “corporate citizen” too, was ridiculed by most informants, if not flatly rejected. Although everyone agreed money was being introduced into SMI, many associated high levels of corruption with the heightened salaries of a small portion of the communities.

4.4.1 Environmental Damage and Unsustainability of Mining Investment

For most members of the resistance, environmental damage created by resource development projects outweighs any material or infrastructure-related contribution mining companies can offer. The Mam in San Miguel Ixtahuacán have a very pristine vision of the environment and their dependence on land for their food and natural water sources for their water makes any understandings of environmental damage – real, perceived or potential – that much more violating.

In a number of interviews, the environmental damage of mining development was understood as an attack on the livelihoods of surrounding communities because of the reliance these communities have on the environment in order to survive. One *campesino* described mining development in San Miguel Ixtahuacán as a sort of slow death by way of the environment:

They are surely killing us slowly. To me, it would be better if they killed me with one shot. That would be better for me. So that I would not suffer. But it's not right to bite away at us, bit by bit - how much more time, how many more

years must we endure this? (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 29, 2013).

In another interview, a *campesino* who had been a member of the resistance for seven years from the Aldea Subchal in San Miguel Ixtahuacán explained this further:

It's a hard subject for me to discuss. Because look, I have said this to everyone I know. We just eat basic grains, corn and all the products from mother earth. If we ruin mother earth, where are we going to get this sustenance? It's not because we are stupid that we are saying 'enough' (December 4, 2013).

"Enough already!" Said another while explaining why he thought mining development was not helping the community. "Stop contaminating with all these chemicals. Who will live the consequences? Us. We will. Where will we go? The ungrateful government won't even help us, won't find us better land. It's an injustice" (Interview, November 16, 2013).

In a testimony I recorded in Siete Platos, where Goldcorp funded the construction of a school in 2013, the informant explained to me, "A school is not the development of a community. Yes, it is a part of our development. But the only thing that is more important [than that] is life [itself]... The mine did not develop us. It has dirtied life. Our roads, dirty. The air, dirty. The water, dirty. So, what are going to live off of? [...] We are not liars like the Monster Montana lies. We are only saying what is happening in our environment" (Testimony, October 30, 2013).

The unsustainability of mining development is also a reason for mobilization against mining in San Miguel Ixtahuacán. In the same testimony, the informant told me that “whatever the mine comes offering... this will serve us for a bit of time, nothing else. A bit of time” (October 30, 2013). Another in San Jose Ixcaniche said, “[the mine] will return to its country, with all of San Miguel’s treasures, and we will be here left to die from the contamination” (November 17, 2013).

4.4.2 The Future for the Children and Defending against Mis-Development

Among interviews with resistance members in San Miguel Ixtahuacán, “my children” or “the children of the entire municipality” were often-repeated reasons for why community members participate in the anti-mining movement. A mother in Ixcail explained to me:

I have kids. I have the right to say what I’m saying because I have to think about my kids, and those of the future; those who will come. And not just mine, but those of the entire municipality (Interview, the community of Ixcail within San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 4, 2013).

In speeches as well, resistance leaders mobilized community members by encouraging them to act for the benefit of their children and future generations. Aniseto Lopez of FREDEMI was speaking to a group of Sipakapenses to help the leaders of the Sipacapa resistance encourage community members to show up to a protest. In this speech, he drew on these same points regarding the future of children:

In our hands is the following decision: are we going to leave *‘bendicion’*³⁵ for our children or *‘maldicion’*³⁶ for our children? Whoever doesn’t take care of

³⁵ Blessings

³⁶ curses

their territory is harming their children. Where will the child eat? The grandchild? The child and grandchild who will come after [that]? *Companeros*, this is the theme. We are not against development. Of course, we love development – but development is not about destroying your life (Interview, December 4, 2013).

4.4.3 The impact of conflict to community relations

We have read the flat out rejection of the notion that mining corporations are making significant contributions to the region amidst environmental degradation and the belief that this will forever damage the future livelihoods of Mam in the communities. These are examples of the firm position on one side of an increasingly polarized conflict, where pro and anti-mining sentiment within the very communities of San Miguel Ixtahuacán has lead to community division and violent conflict.

In an interview with a female resistance member of the resistance movement against Tahoe Resources' Escobal mining project, she dedicated much of our time to describing a tension within communities regarding mining development, and defined 'the problem of the mining company' as one that 'divides families':

The problem of the mining company is that it started to divide families: fathers against sons, sons against fathers. And right up until now, we continue to live like this. It's a difficult way to live (Guatemala City, December 10, 2013).

Such inter-community conflict over differing opinion on mining development is chronic and epidemic in San Miguel Ixtahuacán as well. It is chronic in the sense that it occurs regularly and epidemic in that it touches virtually everyone:

It has been years since the companies Goldcorp and Montana Exploradora came [to San Miguel Ixtahuacán]. It has been years. But it is generating large conflicts and divisions between communities... The people have been divided

into three: one part of communities is in favour [of the mine], one part is against and others are afraid to say anything (Interview, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, November 17, 2013).

The division within Indigenous communities facing mining development was viewed as a new phenomenon that only increased over time that the mine remained in process. Some informants went as far as interpreting that the mining company intentionally exacerbated divisions in order to better position itself as a powerful entity in the region. For instance, one informant explained to me “We people in the *Pueblos Indigenas*, we love God [and] we are hurt by everything this company does. Now our own people are pressuring us, and trying to eliminate us. How is it possible that this company has come here to do all this?” (San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 3, 2013).

Another informant stated:

What I see in my community is that it wasn't always like this, there were not problems [like this]: the division, the hate, the vengeance, and there have been deaths, like decapitated people, found without heads, and alcoholism. And, all of this happened when the company came. Those who receive something from the company want the company to stay and to everyone else, they make fun of us and they threaten us. To the point that there are threats of death and kidnapping (Interview, November 29, 2013).

Those organizing against mining development have received violent backlash within their own communities. An example of such violence was explained by one of my informants who is a part of the FREDEMI resistance, but lives in a community that is mostly silent about their opposition, due to a few families who have relatives working in the mine:

Man: I want the mine to leave. All of the houses you see over there [pointing to neighbouring plots of land further down the mountainside], all of those houses belong to workers of the mine. That one over there belongs to a man. I

was walking by his house, to get to work. He stopped me and he put a gun to my head. He said, I have money. I am going to kill you.

Esma: When did this happen?

Man: One month ago. “It’s a pathway”, I said to him. “I have never bothered anyone. Don’t kill me.” Then he said a lot of bad things. But then I said to him, “I have a family. If you kill me, do you think you will live? No.” He told me “I have money. I have more than 200 000 [quetzals], he told me. “I have money”, he said, “I can pay for your head”.

Esma: He did all of this, because he wants, what?

Man: He wants the mining to continue. Whether I have money, or I don’t have money, this is where I live. Here I am! The mine should leave!

(Interview, December 3, 2013).

Another leader from San Miguel Ixtahuacán also characterized community divisions as becoming “increasingly violent”, and explained that his anti-mining organizing has been met with death threats and threats of kidnapping from people who live in his community:

We have been involved in, as I would say, interviews and communication, and we have talked with different communities, the leaders, the mayors and the community representatives. I have received death threats for years, and there are a few people who work in the company who have sent me telephone messages telling me, “Victor, don’t talk about the company, or we will kill you and your children (San Marcos, December 15, 2013).

Community conflict has only increased angst towards the mining company, almost always referred to for its Canadian owner, not the Guatemalan subsidiary:

At the end of the day, it looks like the people are entering a conflict and that it is becoming greater. And all of this is generated by Goldcorp in Canada (FREDEMI Meeting, November 3, 2013).

Another explained his experience with isolation when he began his resistance against mining in the municipality:

Who was with me? Just me in my family. All the *companioneros* that I used to have from different communities Siete platos, Salitre, Agel, Tierra Blanca, San Jose Ixcaniche, San Jose Nueva, these are the communities that I had friends in. But what happened? They started to offer work to my friends.

When my friends got jobs, they stopped talking. So I was alone (November 29, 2013).

4.5 Mining as an attack on identity: Defense of territory

A central motivator of '*la resistencia*', is the "noble cause of defense of territory", as one leader from Sipacapa explained to me. The defense of the territory is also part of a historical legacy of the Maya peoples, and many leaders utilize this frame of reference as a way to garner more support, with many volunteering themselves for protest participation, simply because "this is what our ancestors have always done" (Sipacapa, December 2, 2013).

I decided to spend a day with Don Alejandro*³⁷ who had an extensive property he had invested into over the last 40 years when he had first purchased it. I walked about 45 minutes uphill with him until we reached one of three houses he had built for him and his five children (and their families). He and all of his children worked on the land to become fully self-sufficient. But recently, Don Alejandro explained, he was growing increasingly worried that he would be forced to sell his land to the mine.

His participation in FREDEMI started when his community heard about the mine 7 years ago. He and his family were very involved in the anti-mining movement, including his daughter, who died in an accident on her way to a protest. Now, he is one of the few in his family that dedicates time to help organize the resistance, including attendance at FREDEMI meetings, where I initially met him. According to Don Alejandro, when the

³⁷ Name changed to protect anonymity of informant. All quotes from interviews contain names that have been changed unless both first and last names are used.

mine entered San Miguel Ixtahuacán, everyone immediately wanted the mine to leave. He told me that he knew the mine was looking for gold, and that it was going to take the gold out of the municipality to a different country. That is what he understood when he first joined FREDEMI. He started to seek ways to get the mine to leave.

I was trying to think about how to do it. First, I spoke with Aniseto. Come with us. He told me. (November 29, 2013).

Don Alejandro's property was very obviously his greatest pride. He explained that he works through his own effort, with God's help, and praised Aniseto for his work, representing even those communities like his, which were the most isolated high up in the mountains.

He further stated that he had already been approached by local authorities warning him that the mine was expanding and that he should consider selling his land. He told them the land was not valued at much, and they were offering him more than he had paid for it.

An excerpt from our conversation follows:

Esma: Is there exploration in this *aldea*?

Man: Here? No! Thank God there isn't. Here it's all drying up. The mine is close [but] you can't see it very well from here. But it pains me. It gives me pain. Before, there wasn't any of this. One person brought all the evil to San Miguel Ixtahuacán. Yes. I fear the Canadians. Well, [how it happened was:] one day the mayor just said, "there are foreigners looking for gold over there. If you have gold on your property, sell it to them! 4000 quetzals for each square foot!". No! [I said], "My land is not worth that. It's worth pesos." Pesos, I told him! Maybe they can find other land, better land. Leave mine alone! (Interview, November 29, 2013).

Clark (2002) argues that sometimes, mining companies acquire property fraudulently, where sales are made without any information on real asset prices or the impact of mining activities on future property values. Although this did not seem to be the case for

Don Alejandro, who claimed he was being offered more than he knew his property to be worth, his participation in FREDEMI is the same reason that is his greatest fear – re-locating. He explained he would not sell his property, and that he did not care if it was better for the mine. According to Don Alejandro, the mine provides nothing to him, and benefits no one in the community. Even his neighbours who worked within the mine, he told me, weren't living substantially better. Meanwhile all of them shared the fear of the eminent threat of re-location. According to Don Alejandro, “almost all” of his community lives with this threat. “This is why we are in resistance”, he continued, “the *alcalde* continues to violate the rights of the pueblo, and we are resisting... because the *pueblo*³⁸ can no longer bear all of the abuses that they are subjecting us to” (Interview, November 29, 2013).

On another occasion, I interviewed Ronaldo, who was the leader of the movement in Sipacapa. At the time he was a full-time elementary school teacher and part-time university student. He agreed to provide a testimony, which I prompted by asking him about his involvement in the resistance. He began his testimony by explaining that respect, cooperation, defense of territory and human rights were all ‘values’ that were taught to him within the education he received from his ‘Sipakapense’ community.

Involved? I.. I’ve always been involved. I’ve always been pursuing justice. I am an elementary school teacher. When I was still studying to become a teacher, we were taught *los valores* (the values). The value of honesty, of respect, of cooperation, of defense [of territory] and of human rights. All of that education too, I learned from my family (Interview December 2, 2013).

³⁸ Community (loose translation)

Many of the informants throughout my fieldwork understood the value of “education”, and often referred to either my own formal education, that of the leaders of the resistance movement (Aniseto in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Ronaldo from Sipacapa), that of the lawyers that worked with their communities (CALAS and *Plurijur*) and surprisingly, that of the ominous owners of the mining companies to highlight the difference between those in the communities and the formally educated.

Sipacapa is original, it's special because there are only Sipakapense people here. In other place, this doesn't exist. If there are other people here, it's because they needed somewhere to live, or for economic or work reasons.

Mam territory is large and it surrounds us. They are Mams with different dialects, but they have one race. Sipacapa is unique in its language.

The municipality of Sipacapa is a Sipakapense nation. They've called us that since the Mayan civilization and we have our own property. For the most part, according to the law, we are self-determining. As Mayans, Indigenous people, Sipakapenses, we can decide whether the mine should enter or if the mine should not enter. That though, has never happened. The government, the bureaucracy, the economic powers and politicians have stomped on our values as Indigenous peoples, on our rights (Testimony, December 2, 2013).

Ronaldo's testimony demonstrates the anti-mining movement's rootedness in 'Mayan' and 'Indigenous identity, and in the case of Sipacapa against the Los Chocoyos exploration, the 'Sipakapense' identity. It also shows a definite opposition between “the government... economic powers and politicians” and the interests and rights of Indigenous peoples. The next part of his testimony demonstrates the influence of this view on the organization and mobilization of his followers in anti-mining protests and actions:

From the cultural point of view of the Indigenous person, in the past there were various nations - Kaqchiquel, Kichel, Mam. Sipacapa is a very different

culture than Mam. We are an Indigenous nation. Sipacapa has always had its history of resistance, since the entrance of the Spaniards. Sipacapa was not conquered. The Spanish were only able to enter 5% of our territory. Even if Spaniards did enter, for the most part, we are natives of our ancestors, of our grandparents who reined on this land.

Here, tall people came - people like you, with all due respect, white people, *gringa* people, because the Spaniards were not able to enter.

It is the fault of the Mine that it has come to divide because it is focused on its economic interests of one group on one hand. It is against those who don't have economic interests and have honourable cause are in the resistance.

As the testimony from Ronaldo demonstrates, the importance of defending territory in Sipacapa is not only due to the economic value of land to people, but also because of how territory is linked to culture, which cannot be truly appreciated by the 'self-serving private interests' of the mining corporation. An informant from a community in San Miguel Ixtahuacán explained this to me further: "*Seño*³⁹, here we have a culture. I have always been defending our right. What is it that we are defending? We defend our territory, our water sources, our sow, our culture".

In all my interviews with those in the resistance, activists referred to the end goal of their resistance as linked to "getting back to peace in the community" and/or the 'respect for Mother Earth' and all refer to their activism as "*defenso del territorio*" or the 'defense of territory'. When asked, leaders of the resistance movement stated that they could envision negotiations, but all said they could never move forward with negotiations without the support of their followers. Moreover, all but one single informant in my entire stay in Guatemala said that the mine could not stay.

³⁹ Abbreviated version of "Señorita" used throughout Guatemala.

Conclusion

According to Christopolos et al (2012), development is increasingly done through cooperation with the private sector. But Guatemala, being a country with 35 states of emergencies, has neither consolidated its democracy, nor has its mining sector established an appropriate configuration for state engagement to ensure private and economic growth that is congruent with the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Indigenous communities within which extraction takes place. In other words, the weak institutional capacity of the Guatemalan state only intensifies mining conflict further.

In one interview, an informant shared his perspective of the inherent asymmetrical power relationship between the corporation, the state and the Indigenous communities by comparing his experience travelling to Mexico for work as a Guatemalan, with the experience of a transnational corporation working in his territory that he “can’t succeed in getting out”:

Let’s compare. When we, as Guatemalans got to Mexico [for work], it’s not easy. No. It’s not easy for us. And it is even more difficult to go to [the USA]. It’s [even] stricter there. There, they have laws – and here in Guatemala, there are laws! But our government in Guatemala does not enforce them [on corporations].

Through the focus on the “emergence of the corporate citizen” in Guatemala, we understand that resource development in San Miguel Ixtahuacán has become entwined with inequalities of power “at local, as well as national and global scales” (Willis, 2005,

pg. 1). When companies from strong democracies (like Canada) enter weak democracies (like Guatemala) for resource development projects, power relations are emboldened. According to Harvey and Bice (2014), “there is general acceptance at a global level that appropriate resource development is possible”. However, at the local level, “governments, financial institutions and extractive sector leaders progressively recognize that relationships with these increasingly empowered communities are the central challenge to securing project consents” (pg. 327).

This “challenge” also includes Indigenous communities engaging in resistance struggles against extractive companies. This resistance is a way of creating their own bottom-up form of globalization (Sieder, 2007). Through their resistance, they claim their right to participate in decision-making processes regarding development within a framework of ‘citizenship’ (Rasch, 2014, pg. 161). But as Rasch (2014) argues in her article about local resistance against mining in the Department of Huehuetenango (also in the Western highlands of Guatemala), if local community interests are not being served through mining development and the development is designed to serve the interests of transnational corporations instead, then the question that nuances this thesis transcends mining itself: what does the current extractive imperative and increasing barriers Indigenous communities face with respect to realizing their rights (continued lack of consultation, increasing criminalization of dissent, etc.), tell us about possibilities to practice citizenship?

The concept of citizenship, as it is appropriated by FREDEMI and other organizers around the country is rooted in their claim to political rights of participation, and so the resistance movement to mining development can be viewed as a way of practicing citizenship. At the same unfortunate time however, the capacity the transnational corporation possesses to endow itself with citizenship and pursue mining development despite local protest speaks to the essential need to focus on the question of power in this thesis as it pertains to the emergence of the “corporate citizen”, whose interests compete with those of the political citizen.

As this thesis demonstrated, this overwhelming power of the corporation is well understood, not only within academic scholarship (Friedman, 2000; Ong, 2006; Kapferer, 2013; Rothkopf, 2013) but also within Indigenous communities in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipakapa. In an effort to gain social license to operate, or in this case, to offset local resistance, the Marlin mine employs corporate social responsibility measures – including its minor variant, corporate citizenship - within surrounding communities. Yet, informants of this study described that corporate citizenship only puts investor rights, international trade and financial institutions above political citizen efforts to defend social rights and environmental standards. By analyzing the implications of corporate citizenship when pursued on Indigenous territory, this thesis revealed that some practices of corporate citizenship further mobilize local actors to oppose mining projects that they consider harmful to their values and the futures they envisage. Moreover, the corporation’s ability to endow itself with citizenship only highlights the domination and

subordination of Indigenous communities within the current (and historic) power dynamic.

The power dynamic plays out most overtly in this analysis within the issue on consultation. As a result, the importance of community consent and an emphasis on gaining a social license to mine is emphasized (and stressed, and underlined) by me in this thesis because Indigenous communities are neither passive observers of resource development projects within their communities, nor are they resisting without cause. They have visions of development and act upon this through their engagement with the anti-mining movement. This engagement in the anti-mining movement becomes situated in the collective conceptualizations of their own symbolic culture. For example, farming land, water springs and trees that were cleared for the development of and/or contaminated by the Marlin mine were interpreted negatively by FREDEMI members in this research, thus situating the transnational mining company as a foreign imposition on their territory rather than a fellow (corporate) citizen extracting resources for the interests of the municipality. Therefore, the emergence of the corporate citizen in Guatemala, void of consultation, creates a clash between the Indigenous resistance movement and those who share the interests of the corporation (pro-mining community members, the state, etc.).

This clash is most evident when informants described their own motivations for participating in the resistance as related to their attachment to their territory, identity, and collective historical struggle. Moreover, speeches in resistance meetings in San Miguel

Ixtahuacán, San Marcos, Sipacapa and Guatemala City alike revealed that the resistance movements across Guatemala associate development projects that include non-Guatemalan beneficiaries with both the repression during the internal armed conflict, as well as the Spanish colonization:

The capitalist [corporation] has all the experience of genocide over the centuries. It has all the resources to administer its interests and to safeguard those. It can leave and come back. It can suspend concessions and just leave everything as they'd like to, while at the same time still maintaining their hold over territory. It can wait and wait. But the pueblos cannot wait. And so, with all this, what's going to happen? It has already happened: great levels of violence. How much longer will we allow this to continue? (Carlos Loarca, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, December 7, 2013).

These comments by the lawyer of the cases of San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights express a sense of impatience and urgency. The consequences of not solving the problem of conflict surrounding resource development projects and the confusion on corporate and government responsibility to fulfill public interest as well as economic growth in Guatemala presents potential for difficult consequences. According to some informants, the radicalization of a peaceful resistance into armed resistance is a real danger.

The current gap in understanding and engagement with public interest in the Indigenous communities in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa in Guatemala on the part of state and corporate actors, is also paving a space for attempts to silence Indigenous actors through stigmatization and criminalization. The criminalization of dissent, the increased alignment between private interests and security discourse and state rhetoric referring to resistance members as “terrorists” are human rights problems and

dissent and political activism on the part of Indigenous communities should rather be understood as a dynamic and necessary part to democratizing globalization processes (CUC, 2013, pg. 1). These aforementioned factors surrounding criminalization of dissent are deeply troubling because all three factors further alienate the disenfranchised that are, as has been discussed, increasingly unable to vie for their interests. As has been brought up during the fieldwork, the population, desperate and radical in *both* their pro-mining and anti-mining tendencies, could be taken advantage of and converted into hot-beds for narco traffic and the diversion of people, arms or drugs. Finally, state rhetoric referring to resistance members as terrorists, only further marginalizes members of the resistance, further perpetuating the misguided notion that community well being and the economic well-being of the state are mutually exclusive.

With all this said, however, through a dialogue between Indigenous communities and the state, mining development projects may have a chance at being aligned with local development interests, but only when approached first with respect to international law on free, prior and informed consent. To pursue mining development devoid of consultation is to limit the success of a project. Companies who take social consequences into account and democratically engage Indigenous communities will find more success in the communities they work with. As is clear in the case of the Marlin mine, even with possible jobs or other benefits from any IBAs, some communities (and there are many) are choosing to reject mining. Mining development in this context puts these communities in direct conflict with the interests of the company as well as elements of

the state and other community members, a deeply disadvantaged and dangerous position to be in.

At most, this thesis hopes to consolidate agreement that resistance and conflict must be resolved through a reconciliation of public and private interests. It also hopes to serve as a case study that can be used to provide support to Indigenous communities navigating modern development processes. Hopefully it will also inspire those supporting these communities as well as the private corporations utilizing misplaced corporate strategies to engage with Indigenous communities who are looking for alternative methods for successful development and private public partnerships.

By relaying the real and perceived impact of resource development in Mayan Guatemala, as told by members of various resistance movements that fuel the anti-mining stance side of the mining conflict in Guatemala, at the very least, this thesis highlights the current power dynamic between public and private interests in this country wrought by (Canadian) foreign investment in the mining sector.

I do not pretend to cover all aspects or dimensions of this study. Maya communities encountering development present researchers with an extremely fast-changing environment. Some ideas expressed in this thesis may change in the future and will surely be influenced as situations change – (for instance, the resistance in Sipacapa covered in my fieldwork, although very radical in this thesis, changed entirely in less than ten months from my time in the field – when the resistance movement crumbled). I was also not able to interview members of FREDEMI who could not speak any Spanish, nor

could I interview anyone in San Miguel Ixtahuacán who believed in mining development because of the fragility of my reputation with those in the FREDEMI network, as well as to prevent any danger among my informants.

Given the controversial issues raised in this study of resistance to resource development in Indigenous communities and the tactics used by corporations to offset this, readers may find themselves stricken by antagonistic political positions on many consequential issues, or troubled by ethnic organizing in the name of anti-mining movements. As a student of anthropology, I have found this to be a particularly difficult historical moment to write about resistance to resource development - especially using a Canadian corporation as a main subject of my study. The turbulence of ideas and events that surround the issue throughout the hemisphere is overwhelming. Yet at the same time, like all writers in politically charged circumstances, I hope for an engaged, proactive readership that will savour the story of an intricate struggle to build peace in an ethnically heterogeneous country that is intimately connected to the developed world through the private corporations that come from them.

Appendix:

The appendix is organized in the following manner:

- Map of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos within Guatemala
- Timeline of Community-Corporate Engagement
- Ethics Approval

Visual map of San Miguel Ixtahuacán, San Marcos, Guatemala

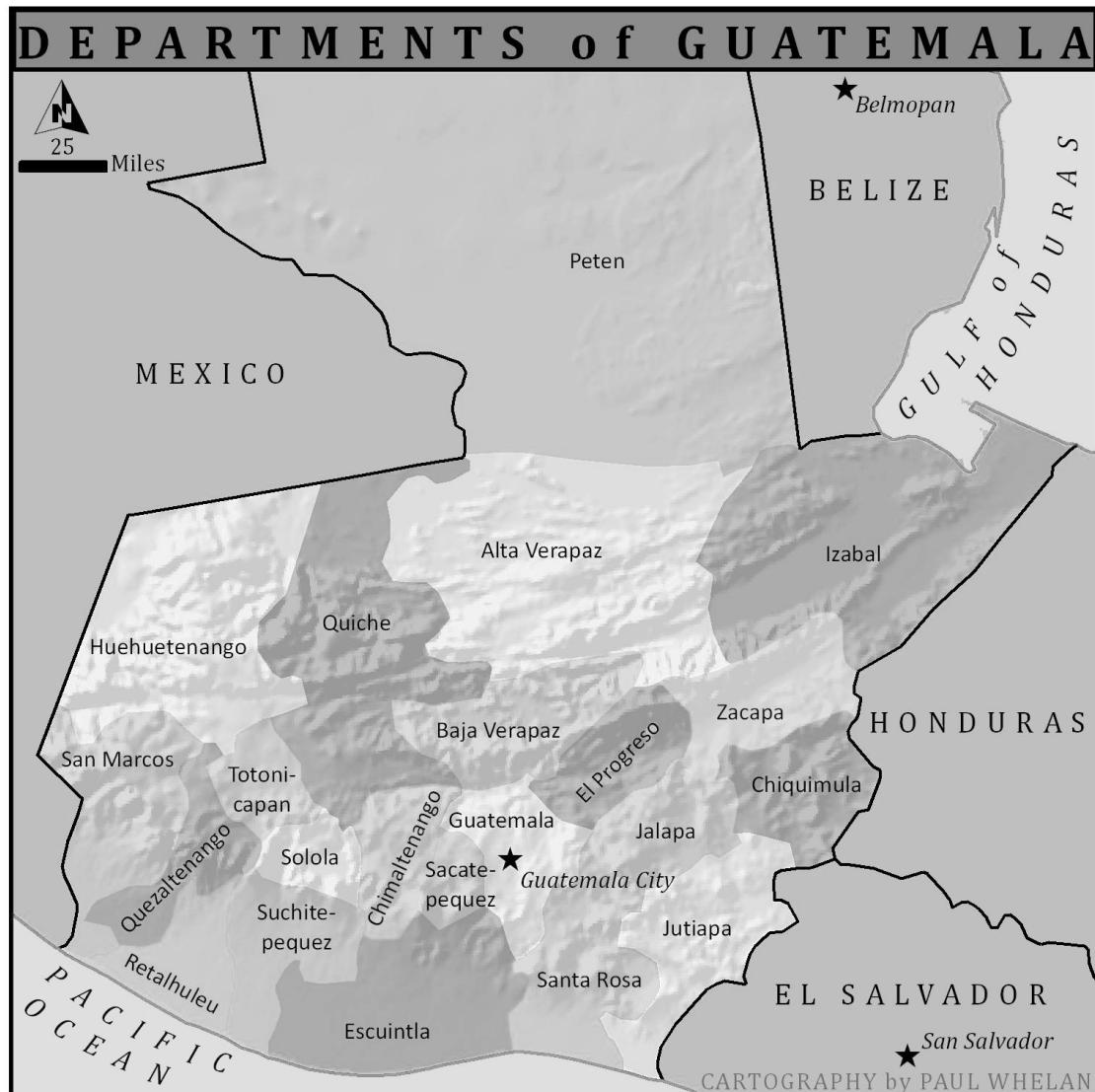
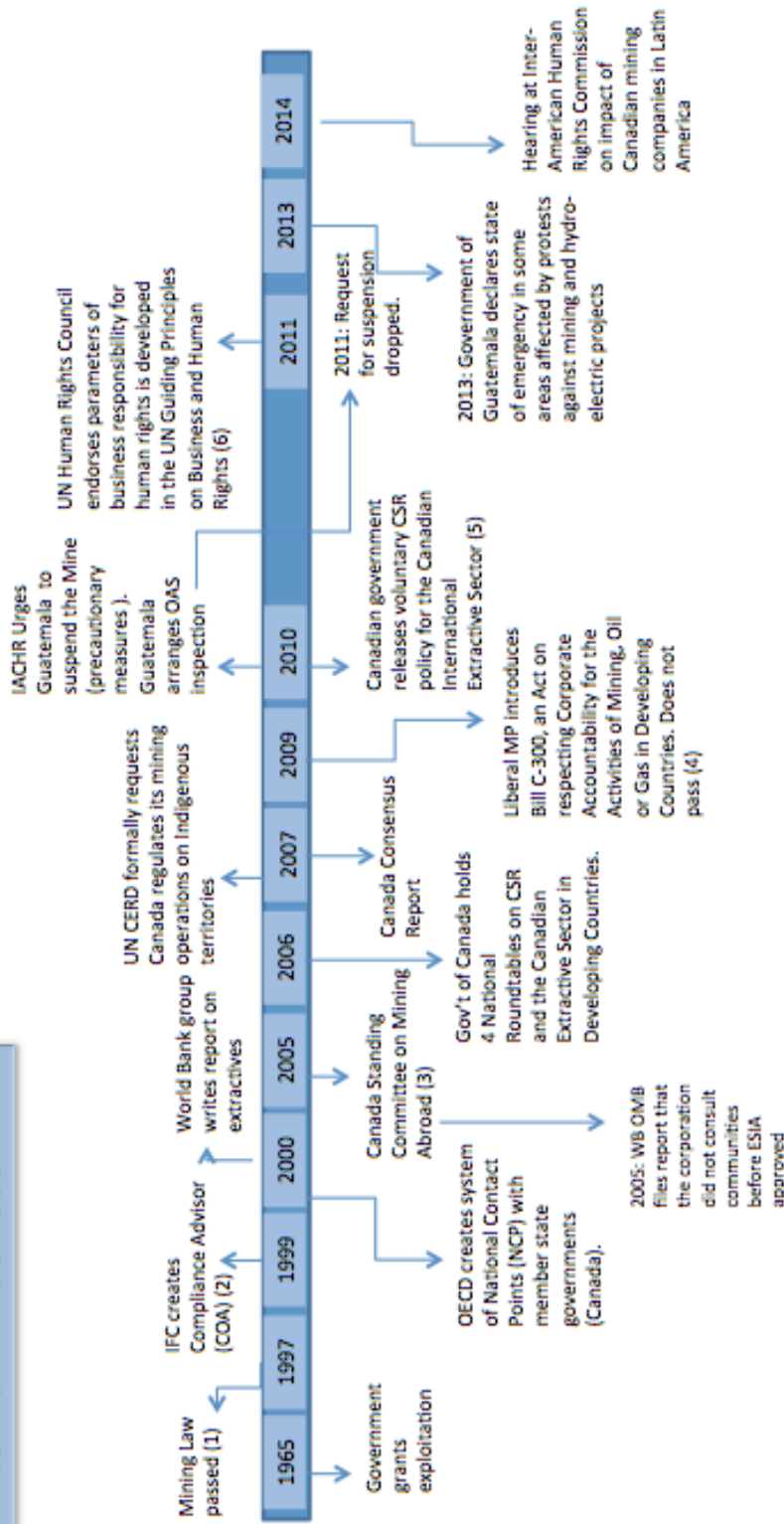
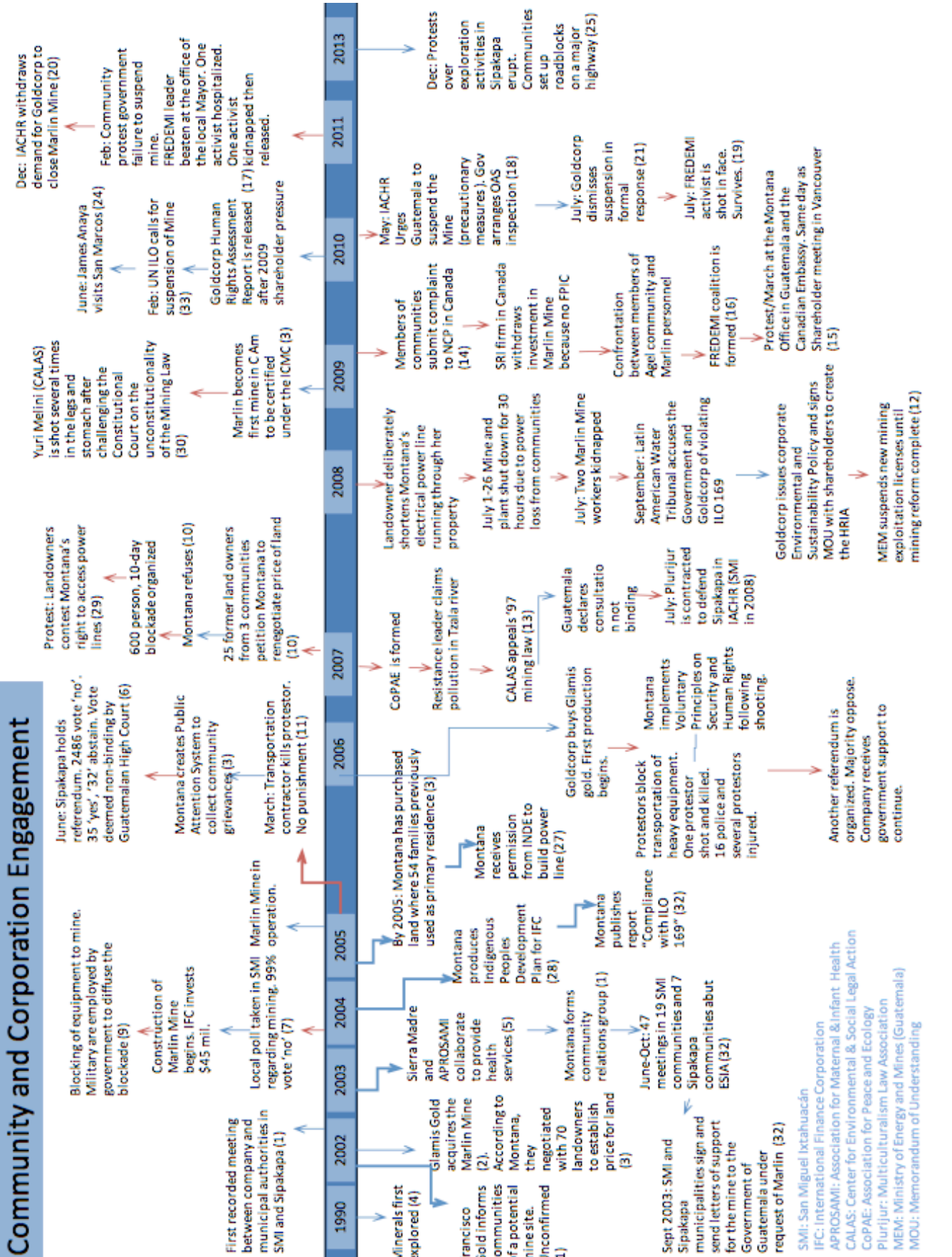


Figure 1: San Miguel Ixtahuacán is a municipality located within the department of San Marcos, Guatemala, in the Western Highlands of the country. Sipacapa is a neighboring municipality of San Miguel Ixtahuacán within the same department (Google Images).

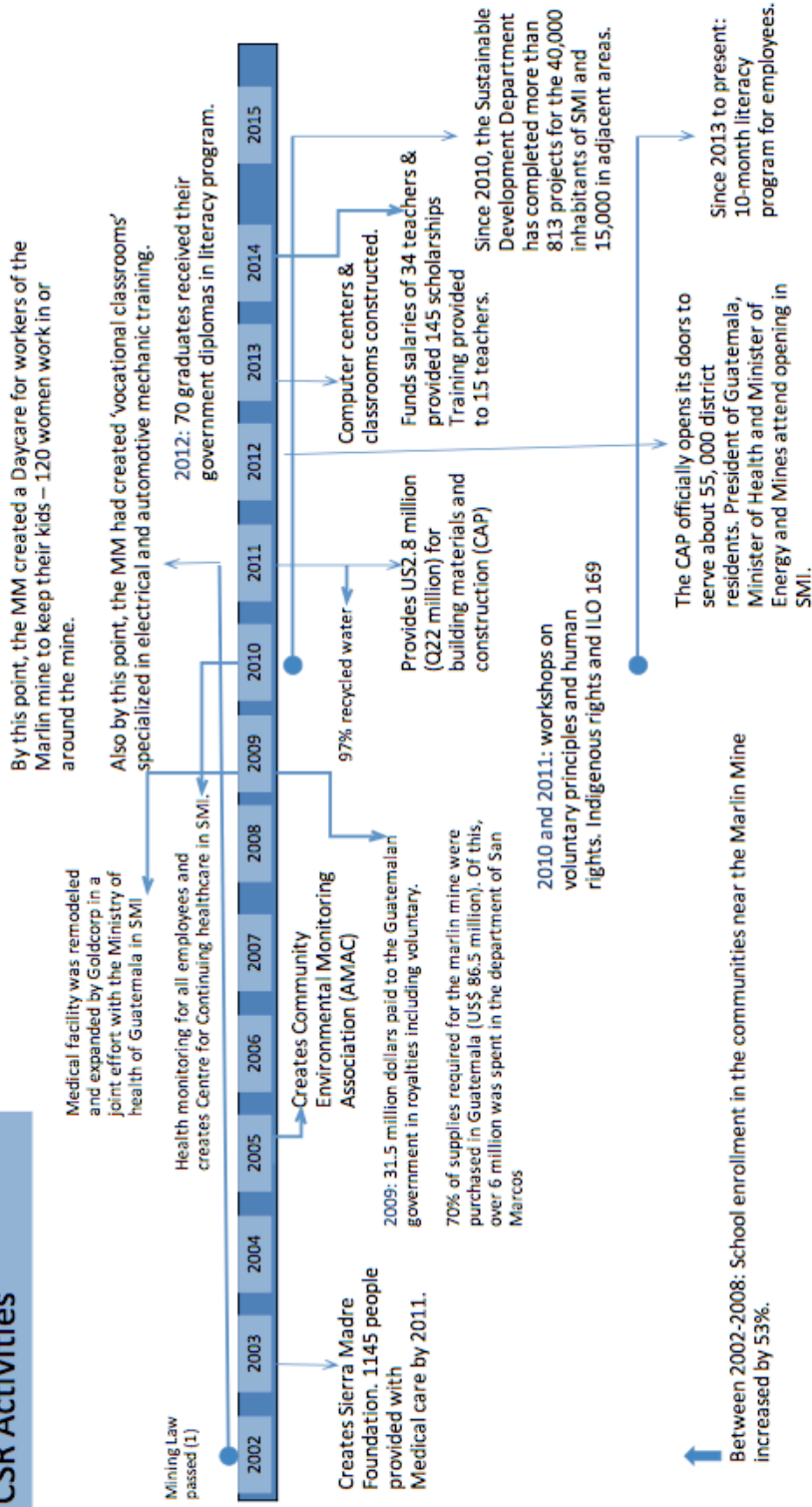
External Influences



Community and Corporation Engagement



CSR Activities



2014: 97% employees are local

Ethics Approval

File Number: 05-13-14



Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 10/15/2013

Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Karine	Vanthuyne	Social Sciences / Sociology	Supervisor
Esmā	Mneina	Social Sciences / Sociology	Student Researcher

File Number: 05-13-14

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: Clashing Ontologies: The Question of Development with Goldcorp and Antimining Activists in San Miguel, Guatemala

<u>Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)</u>	<u>Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)</u>	<u>Approval Type</u>
10/15/2013	10/14/2014	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:
N/A

Bibliography

Above ground (2013). Partnership to power brighter future for remote first nations communities. Retrieved from: <http://www.goldcorp.com/English/blog/Articles-Details/2013/Partnership-to-power-a-brighter-future-for-remote-First-Nation-communities/default.aspx>

Adams, R. H. (2004). Remittances and poverty in Guatemala. Washington, D.C.: Washington, D.C. : World Bank, 2004.

Adams, R. N. (1970). Crucifixion by power; essays on Guatemalan national social structure, 1944-1966. Austin: Austin : University of Texas Press, 1970, 1973 printing.

Agamben, G. (2005). State of Exception. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Agrawal, A., & Gibson, C. C. (1999). Enchantment and disenchantment: The role of community in natural resource conservation. *World Development*, 27(4), 629-649. doi: 10.1016/S0305-750X(98)00161-2

Alberti, Benjamin, Severin Fowles, Martin Holbraad, Yvonne Marshall, and Christopher Witmore (2011). “‘Worlds Otherwise’: Archaeology, Anthropology, and Ontological Difference.” 52, no. 6: 896–912: *Current Anthropology*.

America Latina Movement (2012). Taking the fish’s water away. Retrieved from: <http://alainet.org/active/52085>

America, O., & Power, T. M. (2009). Metals Mining and Sustainable Development in Central America: An Assessment of Benefits and Costs. Washington, DC: Oxfam America.

Amnesty International, (2011). Guatemala: Mine activists beaten, threatened. Retrieved from: <http://www.amnesty.org>,

Amnesty International (2014). Mining in Guatemala: Rights at Risk (pp. 1-39).

Amigo, S., Brett, R., El movimiento maya en la decada despues de la paz. 2010. Print. F& G Editors.

Anaya, J. (2011). Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous people, James Anaya: addendum: observations on

the situation of the rights of the Indigenous people of Guatemala with relation to the extraction projects, and other types of projects, in their traditional territories. Geneva: United Nations.

Anderson, Benedict (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Appadurai, A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A. (1991). Global Ethnoscape: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology (pp. 191-210). Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Arce, A., Long, N. (2000). *Anthropology, development and modernities exploring discourses, counter-tendencies and violence*. London; New York. Routledge, 2000.

Asturias, M. A. (1977). Sociología Guatemalteca: El problema Social del Indio. Guatemalan Sociology: The Social Problem of the Indian. In T. b. M. Ahern (Ed.). Tempe: Arizona State University.

Abländer, M., & Curbach, J. (2014). The Corporation as Citizen? Towards a New Understanding of Corporate Citizenship. (Vol. 120, pp. 541-554): *Journal of Business Ethics*.

Balandier, G. (2003). Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism (Vol. 37, pp. 700-723): *International Migrant Review*.

Bauböck, R. (2003). Towards a political theory of migrant transnationalism. 37(3): 700–23: *International Migrant Review*.

Bastos, S., Sieder, R. (2014). Pueblos indígenas en Guatemala: la rearticulación comunitaria y la disputa por las legalidades en la democracia neoliberal. *Nuevas violencias en America Latina*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. Pp. 143-183.

Benjamin, A., Fowles, S., Holbraad, M., Marshall, Y., & Witmore, C. (2011). Worlds Otherwise: Archaeology, Anthropology and Ontological Difference (Vol. 52, pp. 896-912): *Current Anthropology*.

Bernard, H. (2011). *Research Methods in Anthropology Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* 5th ed. Blaser, Mario (2006). *Political Ontology*. Vol 23 (5-6), pp 873 -896: *Cultural Studies*.

Blaser, M. (2006). *Political Ontology* (Vol. 23, pp. 873-896): *Cultural Studies*.

Blaser, Mario (2009). The Threat of the Yrmo: The political Ontology of a Sustainable Hunting Program. Vol. 111, no. 1, pp. 10-20: *The American Anthropologist*

Blaser, Mario. (2013). "Ontological Conflicts and the Stories of Peoples in Spite of Europe: Toward a Conversation on Political Ontology." 54, no. 5: 547–68: *Current Anthropology*.

Blowfield, M. (2005). Corporate Social Responsibility: reinventing the meaning of development? *81(3)*: 515–24: *International Affairs*.

Blowfield, M. and Frynas, J. (2005). Setting new agendas: critical perspectives on Corporate Social Responsibility in the developing world. *81(3)*: 499–513: *International Affairs*.

Boykoff. (2007). *Limiting Dissent: The Mechanisms of State Repression in the USA* (Vol. 6, pp. 281-310): *Topologies of Power*.

Cambranes, C. (July, 1992). 500 años de lucha por la tierra. Estudios sobre propiedad rural y reforma agraria en Guatemala. Guatemala: FLASCO 1 & 2.

CAO. (June 6, 2006). Guatemala-Marlin. Retrieved October 2014, from http://www.cao-ombudsman.org/html-english/complaint_marlin.htm

Carroll, A. (1999). Corporate Social Responsibility :Evolution of a Definitional Construct (Vol. 38, pp. 268-295): *Business and Society*.

Carroll, A. B. (1999). Corporate social responsibility: Evolution of a definitional construct. *Business and Society*, 38(3), 268-295. doi: 10.1177/000765039903800303

Castejon, G. (2006). *Guatemalan Peace Accords: Ten Years Later: Inter-American Dialogue*.

Caxaj, S. (2013a). Promises of peace and development: mining and violence in Guatemala. *36(3)*, 15: *Advances in Nursing Science*.

Caxaj, S. (2014). Gold mining on Mayan-Mam territory: Social unraveling, discord and distress in the Western highlands of Guatemala. *Social Science and Medicine*, 111, 7.

Clarke, M., Cummins, T. *Resource Nationalism: A Gathering Storm?* 220-225: *International Energy Law Review*.

Cambranes, C. (July, 1992). 500 años de lucha por la tierra. Estudios sobre propiedad rural y reforma agraria en Guatemala. Guatemala: FLASCO 1 & 2.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory : a practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage Publications.

Chang, H., Grabel, I., Ebrary, I. (2004). Reclaiming development: an alternative manual for economic policy. New York, Zed Books. pp. 14-240. Print.

Christopoulos, S., Horvath, B., Kull, M. (2012). Advancing the governance of cross-sectoral policies for sustainable development: a metagovernance perspective. *Public Administration and Development* 32, 305-323.

Christopoulos, S., Horvath, B., & Kull, M. (2012). ADVANCING THE GOVERNANCE OF CROSS- SECTORAL POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A METAGOVERNANCE PERSPECTIVE. *Public Adm. Dev.*, 32(3), 305-323. doi: 10.1002/pad.1629

CIDA, (2011). Guatemala. Retrieved on November 2012 from: <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/guatemala-e>

Clarke, M., & Cummins, T. (2012). Resource Nationalism: A Gathering Storm (pp. 220-225): *International Energy Law Review*.

Clarke, M., & Cummins, T. (2012). Resource Nationalism: A Gathering Storm? *International Energy Law and Taxation Review*(6), 220-225.

Clifford, M. (2001). *Political Genealogy after Foucault: Savage Identities*, London: Routledge.

Collier (2009). *Topologies of Power*. pp. 76-95.

Comunidades (2004). Declaración comunitaria sobre la licencia de minería de metales a cielo abierto en el departamento de San Marcos (6 de noviembre). Sipacapa, Comunidades indígenas Sipakapense (Sipacapa) y Mam (San Miguel Ixtahuacán) y ladinas asentadas en la zona de la licencia minera.

Comaroff, J., Comaroff, J., “Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming,” in *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism*, Jean and John Comaroff (eds.) pp. 1-56.

Comite de Unidad Campesina. “frente a la criminalización de la protesta social en Guatemala”. Retrieved from: http://www.cuc.org.gt/es/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=587:conclusiones-y-peticiones-de-las-comunidades-y-organizaciones-indigenas-campesinas-y-populares-a-la-cidh-frente-a-la-criminalizacion-de-la-protesta-social-en-guatemala

conclusiones-y-peticiones-de-las-comunidades-y-organizaciones-indigenas-campesinas-y-&catid=36:noticias&Itemid=57

Copeland, N. (2011). ' Guatemala Will Never Change': Radical Pessimism and the Politics of Personal Interest in the Western Highlands. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 43(3), 485-515. doi: 10.1017/S0022216X11000411

Copeland, N. (2014). Mayan imaginaries of democracy: Interactive sovereignties and political affect in postrevolutionary Guatemala. *Am. Ethnol.*, 41(2), 305-319. doi: 10.1111/amet.12077

Corporation, I. F. (2004). Summary of Discussion at the Meeting of the Board of Directors of IFC. Washington DC.

Corporation, I. F. (2005). Environmental and Social Compliance, Annual Monitoring Report (AMR) – Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S.A., Proyecto Marlin, CFI: The World Bank.

Coumans, C. (2008). Re: Fundamental concerns with the Goldcorp Human Rights Impact Assessment and erosion of trust in Canada's responsible investment community's shareholder proposal process (letter to Goldcorp's shareholders by Catherine Coumans, December 8. Ottawa: Mining Watch Canada.

Coumans, C. (2010). Alternative accountability mechanisms and mining: the problems of effective impunity, human rights and agency. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 30 (1–2): 27–48.

Coumans, C. (2011). Whose Development? Mining, Local Resistance and Development Agendas. In e. Julia Sagebien and Nicole Lindsay (Ed.), *Governance Ecosystems: CSR in the Latin American Mining Sector* (pp. 376). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cuffe, S. (2005a). A Backwards Upside-Down Kind of Development; Global Actors, Mining and Community-Based Resistance in Honduras and Guatemala (pp. 39): *Rights Action*.

Cuffe, S. (2005b). Guatemala: Mining Rejected by Indigenous Communities.: MITF on the Americas Report. Mill Valley, USA: Marin Interfaith Taskforce on the Americas.

Cuffe, S. (2011). Violent Development: Communities Defending Lands and Resources Face Ongoing Repression in Guatemala: *Upsidedown World*.

Davis, J., & Warner, E. H. (2007). Reaching beyond the state: Judicial independence, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and accountability in Guatemala. *Journal of Human Rights*, 6(2), 233-255.

Dean, Mitchell (1999). *Governmentality: Power and Rule in modern Society*. London: Sage Publications.

de la Cadena, M., Starn, O. (2007). 'Introduction'. *Indigenous Experience Today*. Berg Publishers.
pp.1-12.

del Pozo, Jose. (2009) *Historia de América Latina y del Caribe: 1825-2001*. Lom Ediciones, pp 230-241.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) (2011) CSR E-Bulletin/Bulletin électronique sur la RSE, CSRRSEBTS@international.gc.ca.

———(2005) Government Response to the Fourteenth Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade: Mining in Developing Countries

------(2005) Corporate Social Responsibility, 17 October, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada, Ottawa.

———(2010) 'Canada Promotes Socially Responsible Mining in Peru', Government of Canada web page, www.canadainternational.gc.ca/peru-perou/highlights-faits/PERCAN2009.aspx?lang=eng, date accessed 1 October 2010.

———(2009) Building the Canadian Advantage: A Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Strategy for the Canadian International Extractive Sector, March, www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/assets/pdfs/CSR-March2009.pdf, date accessed 22 May 2010.

———(2008) CSR Survey of Canadian Mining Companies in Peru, June 23, Embassy of Canada, Lima.

———(2007) National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the Canadian Extractive Industry in Developing Countries: Advisory Group Final Report, DFAIT, Ottawa, http://mining.ca/sites/default/files/documents/RecommendationsoftheNationalRoundtablesonCSR_0.pdf, date accessed 3 March 2012.

Diener, Hagen. (2009). Theorizing Borders in a 'Borderless World': Globalization, Territory and Identity. Vol.3(3), pp.1196-1216: Geography Compass.

Denscombe, M. (2007). The Good Research Guide: for small-scale social research projects. Third Edition; Maidenhead: Open University Press. pp 245-246.

Dougherty, M. L. (2011a). Peasants, firms, and activists in the struggle over gold mining in Guatemala: shifting landscapes of extraction and resistance. (PhD.), University of Wisconsin, Madison, Madison.

Dougherty, M. L. (2011b). The Global Gold Mining Industry, Junior Firms, and Civil Society Resistance in Guatemala. Bulletin of Latin American Research, 30(4).

Dove, Michael R. (2006). Indigenous People and Environmental Politics. The Annual Review of Anthropology 35:191-208.

Faircheallaigh, C. (2014). Social Equity and Large Mining Projects: Voluntary Industry Initiatives, Public Regulation and Community Development Agreements. Journal of Business Ethics. doi: 10.1007/s10551-014-2308-3

Faircheallaigh, C., & Ali, S. H. (2008). Earth matters : Indigenous peoples, the extractive industries and corporate social responsibility. Sheffield: Sheffield : Greenleaf, 2008.

Fidler, C., & Hitch, M. (2007). Impact and benefit agreements: A contentious issue for environment and aboriginal justice. Environments, 35(2), 49-69.

Fischer, A. (1988). "Whose development? The politics of development and the development of politics in South Africa". In *South African keywords: the uses and abuses of political concepts*, Edited by: Boonzaier, E. and Sharp, J. Cape Town: David Philip.

Foucault, Michel. (1991). "Governmentality." Pp. 87-104 in *The Foucault Effect Studies in Governmentality; With two lectures by and an interview with Mihel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. London: Harvester Press.

Foucault, Michel. [1997] (2003). "*Society Must be Defended*": *Lectures at the College de France, 1977-1978*. Ed. Arnold I. Davidson. Trans. Graham Burchell. Basingstoke:Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (1997). The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom. Trans. R. London School of Economics.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977 - 1978*. New York: Picador.

Fosshagen, Kjetil. (2006). The Perfect Sovereign: The Sacrilized Power of the Ottoman Sultan". Pp. 183-210 in *Heiarchy: Persistence and Transformation in Social Formations*, ed. Knut M. Rio and Olaf H. Smedal. New York: Berghahn Books.

Fulmer, A., Gody, A., Neff, P. (2008): "Indigenous Rights, Resistance and the Law: Lessons from a Guatemalan Mine". University of Miami, 92-121.

Friedman, T. L. (2000). *The Lexus and the olive tree* (1st Anchor Books ed.. ed.). New York: New York : Anchor Books, c2000.

Freeman, Dena (2011). On corporate social responsibility: hidden hands in the market. 1-5. Print.

Frynas, J. (2005). The false developmental promise of Corporate Social Responsibility: evidence from multinational oil companies. *International Affairs*, 81(3): 581–98.

Fulmer, A., Godoy, A., & Neff, P. (2008). Indigenous Rights, Resistance, and the Law: Lessons from a Guatemalan Mine. *Latin Amer. Polit. Soc.*, 50(4), 91-121. doi: 10.1111/j.1548-2456.2008.00031.x

Gandsman, A. (2013). The Axel Blumberg Crusade for the Lives of our Children - the cultural politics of fear and the moral authority of grief in Argentina.

Gale (2007). Standoff in the highlands: Guatemala's Mayan descendants battle foreign-owned mines. *National Catholic Reporter* [HTML]: 3.

Geglia, B., & Mychalejko, C. (2012). Goldcorp on Trial: People's Health Tribunal Shows Communities Throughout Mesoamerica. *Upside Down World*.

Gibbs, L. M. (2003). Decolonising, multiplicities and mining in the Eastern Goldfields, Western Australia. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 41(1), 17-28.

Gibson, C. C., Lehoucq, F. E., & Williams, J. T. (2002). Does privatization protect natural resources? Property rights and forests in Guatemala. *Social Science Quarterly*, 83(1), 206-225.

Global Response. (2005). Support Indigenous Opposition to Gold Mine/Guatemala. *Global Response: Environmental Action & Education Network*, from <http://globalresponse.org/gra.php?i=1/05>

Gilberthorpe, E (2014): "Natural Resource Extraction and Indigenous Livelihoods". Let me know if you can't find this article anywhere: <http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=637&calcTitle=1&isbn=9781409437772>

Gilberthorpe, E., Banks, G. (2011). 'Development on Whose Terms?: CSR Discourse and Social Realities in Papua New Guinea's Extractive Industries Sector'. *Resources Policy*, 37(2): 185-93.

Gledhill, John. (2000). *Power and Its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics*. 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press.

Gordon, T., & Webber, J. (2008). Imperialism and resistance: Canadian mining companies in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 63-87.

Goldcorp. (2005). Goldcorp Overview. from http://www.goldcorp.com/about_us/overview/

Goldcorp. (2006). Goldcorp Completes Acquisition of Glamis.

Goldcorp. (2008). Annual Report: Strength in Reserve.

Goldcorp. (2009). Goldcorp's Marlin Mine Receives International Cyanide Code Certification [Press release]

Goldcorp. (2010a). Annual Monitoring Report.

Goldcorp. (2010b). Guatemalan Government Responds to Marlin Mine Suspension Request.

Goldcorp. (2010c). Response to Human Rights Assessment (pp. 1-45).

Goldcorp. (2010d). Human Rights Assessment of Goldcorp's Marlin Mine (pp. 230). Vancouver.

Goldcorp. (2011a). Corporate Responsibility: Current Issues.

Goldcorp. (2011b). Corporate Responsibility: Current Issues.

Goldcorp. (2011c). Corporate Responsibility. from http://goldcorp.com/corporate_responsibility.

Goldcorp. (2011d). Goldcorp's second update to the Marlin mine human rights assessment report.

Goldcorp. (2011e). Marlin Sustainability: Community Relations and Development in Guatemala., from <http://www.goldcorp.com/operations/marlin/sustainability>

Goldcorp. (2011f). Operations. from <http://www.goldcorp.com/operations>

Goodland, R. (2008). Environmental and Social Assessment.

Gordon, T., & Webber, J. (2008). Imperialism and resistance: Canadian mining companies in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 63-87. doi: 10.1080/01436590701726509

Government of Canada, & Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. (2004). *Highlights: Central America trade mission led by Minister of State (New and Emerging Markets) Gar Knutson-Focus on Canadian companies doing business in Central America*. Ottawa, ON: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. Retrieved May 13, 2009, from <http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/what2004.aspx?lang=en>

Gramsci, Antonio. [1973] 1996. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London Lawrence & Wishart.

Grahame, R. Mining, repression and the rhetoric of democracy and the rule of law in Guatemala. Rabble. Retrieved from <http://rabble.ca/news/2012/08/mining-repression-and-rhetoric-democracy-and-rule-law-guatemala>

and Marketing Branch, Industry Industry Canada).

Grant, J. (2014). On the critique of political imaginaries. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 13(4), 408-426. doi: 10.1177/1474885113519259

Ground, A. (2013). Partnership to Power Brighter Future for First Nations Communities. Guatemala, M. E. d. (2003). Executive Summary: Social and Environmental Impact Assessment Study Marlin Mining Project.

Green, J., Thorogood, N (2009). *Qualitative Methods for Health Research*. Second edition; Sage Publishers.

Grossberg, L. (2006) Does Cultural Studies have Futures? Should it? (Or What's the Matter with New York?). Vol. 20, no. 1, pp 1-32: *Cultural Studies*.

Gudeman, Stephen. 2009. "Necessity or Contingency: Mutuality and Market." Pp. 17-37 in Hann and Hart 2009.

- Guha, R. (1997) *Dominance without Hegemony: History and power in Colonial India. Convergences*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Hale, C. (2011). 'Resistencia para que? Territory, autonomy and neoliberal entanglements in the 'empty spaces' of Central America'. *Economy and Society*, 40(2), 184-210.
- Hann, Chris M., and Keith Hart, eds. (2009). *Market and Society: The Great Transformation Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanna, P., & Vanclay, F. (2013). Human rights, Indigenous peoples and the concept of Free, Prior and Informed Consent. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 31(2), 146-157. doi: 10.1080/14615517.2013.780373
- Harvey, B., & Bice, S. (2014). Social impact assessment, social development programmes and social licence to operate: tensions and contradictions in intent and practice in the extractive sector. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 32(4), 327-335. doi: 10.1080/14615517.2014.950123
- Hawkins, J. P. e., McDonald, J. H. e., & Adams, W. R. e. (2013). *Crisis of governance in Maya Guatemala : Indigenous responses to a failing state*: Norman, O.K. : University of Oklahoma Press, 2013.
- Herbertson, K., Ballesteros, A., Goodland, R., & Munilla, I. (2009). *Breaking Ground: Engaging Communities in Extractive and Infrastructure Projects*. Washington, DC.: World Resources Institute.
- Hervik, Peter, and Hilary E. Kahn (2006). Scholarly Surrealism: The Persistence of Mayanness. 26(2): 209-232: *Critique of Anthropology*.
- Hobbes, Thomas. [1651] (1991). *Leviathan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogenboom, B., & Rasch, E. D. (2012). Transformations in Citizenship. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 28(2), 159-184. doi: 10.1177/0169796X12448756
- Holden, N., & Jacobson, D. (2009). Ecclesial opposition to nonferrous mining in Guatemala: Neoliberalism meets the church of the poor in a shattered society. *The Canadian Geographer*, 53(2), 145-164.

Holden, W., & Jacobson, R. D. (2008). Civil society opposition to nonferrous metals mining in Guatemala. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 19(4), 325-350.

Holden, W. N., & Jacobson, R. D. (2009). Ecclesial opposition to nonferrous mining in Guatemala: neoliberalism meets the church of the poor in a shattered society. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*, 53(2), 145-164. doi: 10.1111/j.1541-0064.2009.00251.x

Holder, C. L., & Corntassel, J. J. (2002). Indigenous peoples and multicultural citizenship: Bringing collective and individual rights. 24(1), 126-151: *Human Rights Quarterly*,

Holmberg, C. (2006). Review: Judith Green & Nicki Thorogood (2004). *Qualitative Methods for Health Research. Forum : Qualitative Social Research*, 7(2).
International Council on Mining and the Environment (ICME) (1998) *Sustainable Development Charter* (Ottawa).

Imai, S., Laden Mehranvar & Jennifer Sander. (2007). Breaching Indigenous Law: Canadian Mining in Guatemala. 6(1), 101-139: *Indigenous Law Journal*.

Inda, J. X. (2005). *Anthropologies of modernity : Foucault, governmentality, and life politics*. Malden, MA: Malden, MA : Blackwell Pub., 2005.

Industry Canada (2006) *Corporate Social Responsibility: An Implementation Guide for Canadian Business* (Ottawa: Multimedia and Editorial Services Section, Communications

Inter American Court of Human Rights (2010). *Communities of the Maya People (Sipakepense and Mam) of the Sipacapa and San Miguel Ixtahuaca'n Municipalities in the Department of San Marcos, Guatemala Precautionary Measures: Organization of American States*.

International Council on Mining and the Environment (ICME) (2003) 'Mining Companies' Role in Sustainable Development: The 'Why' and 'How' of Corporate Social Responsibility from a Business Perspective'. 20 (2), 237-54: *Development Southern Africa*.

International Finance Corporation. (2004). *Summary of Discussion at the Meeting of the Board of Directors of IFC*. Washington DC.

International Finance Corporation.. (2005). Environmental and Social Compliance, Annual Monitoring Report (AMR) – Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S.A., Proyecto Marlin, CFI: The World Bank.

International Labor Organization (ILO), 27 June 1989. Convention 169 on Indigenous Peoples and Tribes in Independent Countries, Switzerland, Geneva, ILO.

Jayaseelan, Rajj. (2010). “The Remnants of Colonial capital.” MPhil thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen.

Jenkins, Rhys (2005), “Globalisation, Corporate Social Responsibility and Poverty”. 81,3: 525-540: International Affairs.

Kapferer, Bruce. (1997). *The Feast of the Sorcerer: Practices of Consciousness and power*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kapferer, Bruce (2002). “Foundation and Empire: a Consideration of Hardt and Negri’s Empire”. 46, no. 1: 167-179: Social Analysis.

Kapferer, B. (2005). New formations of power, the oligarchic-corporate state, and anthropological ideological discourse. *Anthropological Theory*, 5(3), 285-299. doi: 10.1177/1463499605055961

Kapferer, Bruce (2010). “The Aporia of Power”. 54, no. 1: 125-151: Social Analysis.

Kapferer, Bruce (2004a). “Democracy, Wild Sovereignities and the New Leviathan”. 6, no. 2: 23-38. *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies*.

Kapferer, Bruce. (2004b). “Introduction: Old permutations, New Formations? War, State, and Global Transgression.” Pp. 1-15 in *State, Sovereignty, War: Civil Violence in Emerging Global Realities*. ed. B. Kapferer. New York: Berghahn Books.

Kirwin, S. (2010a). Goldcorp Defends Mining Practices. *The Northern Miner*.

Kirwin, S. (2010b). Guatemala to Suspend Goldcorp's Marlin Mine. *The Northern Miner*.

Koehl, A. (2007). Canadian mining companies: Helping themselves to others' wealth. 41(3), 28: *Canadian Dimension*,

Kohl, B., & Farthing, L. (2012). Material constraints to popular imaginaries: The extractive economy and resource nationalism in Bolivia. *Polit. Geogr.*, 31(4), 225-235. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2012.03.002

Laplante, J., Nolin, C. (2014). Consultas and Socially Responsible Investing in Guatemala: A Case Study Examining Maya Perspectives on the Indigenous Right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent. *Society and Natural Resources*.

Maheandiran, B. (2010). Goldcorp and Hudbay Minerals in Guatemala. *Comparative Research in Law & Political Economy*.

Martínez-Alier, J. (2002). *The environmentalism of the poor a study of ecological conflicts and valuation*. Northampton, MA: Northampton, MA : Edward Elgar Pub., c2002.

Matten, D., & Crane, A. (2005). Corporate citizenship: Toward an extended theoretical conceptualization. *30(1)*, 166-179: *Academy Of Management Review*.

McAllister, C., & Nelson, D. M. (2013). *War by other means aftermath in post-genocide Guatemala*: Durham : Duke University Press, 2013.

Mines, M. o. E. a. (2004). *Caracterización de la Minería en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM).

Mining Act (Decree 48-97) (1997).

Mining Watch. (2011a). Goldcorp asks shareholders to ignore international consensus to suspend operations at its Marlin mine in Guatemala.

Mining Watch. (2011b). Guatemala Defies Human Rights Body, Refuses to Suspend Marlin Mine.

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2003). *Estudio de Evaluación de Impacto Ambiental y Social*. "Proyecto Minero Marlin."

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2005). *International Finance Corporation: Environmental and Social Performance Annual Monitoring Report (AMR)*.

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2006). *International Finance Corporation: Environmental and Social Performance Annual Monitoring Report (AMR)*.

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2007). *Environmental and Social Performance Annual Monitoring Report (AMR)*.

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2008 (a)). Mina Marlin Plan de Monitoreo Ambiental.

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2008 (b)). Environmental and Social Performance Annual Monitoring Report (AMR).

Montana Exploradora de Guatemala, S. A. (2009). Environmental and Social Performance Annual Monitoring Report (AMR).

Moran, R. E. (2005). CAO Marlin Mine Assessment: Technical Responses.

Moran-Taylor, M. J., & Taylor, M. J. (2010). Land and leña: Linking transnational migration, natural resources, and the environment in Guatemala. *Population and Environment*, 32(2), 198-215. doi: 10.1007/s11111-010-0125-x

Mouffe, Chantal. (1993). *The Return of the Political*. London: Verso.

Natural Resources Canada (2010). "The Geographical Distribution of Canada's Mining Assets, Canada's International Presence in 2010", online. Retrieved from <<http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/minerals-metals/publications-reports/4425>>

Nelson, D. (1999). *The Finger in the Wound: Ethnicity, Nation and Gender in the Body Politic of Quincentennial Guatemala*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nelson, D. (2013). 'Yes to Life = No to Mining:' Counting as Biotechnology in Life(Ltd) Guatemala: The Scholar and the Feminist Online.

Nicoll, G. (2012). Corporate Social Responsibility in the Canadian Mining Sector: The Case of Guatemala's Marlin Mine. In J. Lawson, M. Clarke, & J. Rowe (Eds.): ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing.

Nolin, C., & Stephans, J. (2010). "We Have to Protect the Investors": 'Development' and Canadian Mining Companies in Guatemala (Vol. 5, pp. 37-70): *Journal of Rural and Community Development*.

Nyiri, P. (2007). Aihwa Ong. Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty.(Critical essay). 18(2), 238: *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*.

Ohmae, K. (1991). *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy*.

One Common Ground (2010): "Human Rights Assessment of the Marlin Mine". Webpage. 1-229. Retrieved from: http://www.hria-guatemala.com/en/docs/Human%20Rights/OCG_HRA_Marlin_Mine_May_17.pdf

On Common Ground Consultants Inc., (2010), May. Human Rights Assessment of Goldcorp's Marlin Mine. Retrieved from: www.hria-guatemala.com.

Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship : the cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, N.C.: Durham, N.C. : Duke University Press, 1999.

Ong, A. (2006a). Mutations in Citizenship. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 23(2-3), 499-505. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2005.071373

Ong, A. (2006b). *Neoliberalism as exception mutations in citizenship and sovereignty*. Durham [N.C.]: Durham N.C. : Duke University Press, 2006.

Paleček, Martin, and Mark Risjord (2013). "Relativism and the Ontological Turn within Anthropology." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 43(1): 3-23.

Paras, E. (2006). *Foucault 2.0: Beyond Power and Knowledge*. Other Press.

Peace Brigades International, 2006 (September). *Metal Mining and Human Rights in Guatemala: The Marlin Mine in San Marcos*. By: Vincent Castagnino. Peace Brigades International & Trocaire Ireland.

Peattie, Ken (n.d.), *History of Corporate Social Responsibility and Sustainability*. The Centre for Business Relationships, Accountability Sustainability and Society (BRASS).

Pilling, David (2012). *Capitalism in Crisis: The Perilous Path to Prosperity*. Financial Times. Accessed April 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/1d92589a-3090-11e1-9436-00144feabdc0.html#axzz34jbFvlju>

Polanyi, Karl. [1944] (2001). *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Pieterse, J.N. (2002). My Paradigm or Yours? *Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development*. *Development and Change*. Vol. 29 (2), pp. 343-379. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-7660.00081/full>

PDAC 2013. *The Mineral Exploration Tax Credit and the Future of the Canadian Mining Industry*. PDAC Webpage. Retrieved from: <http://www.pdac.ca/docs/default-source/public-affairs/finance-taxation---pdac-research-paper.pdf?sfvrsn=6>

Projects, W. (2005). Guatemala: Construction plans for proposed \$120,000,000 gold/silver mine, Glamis Gold Ltd.: WWP-Business Opportunities in Latin America & the Caribbean.

Pudelko, M., & Harzing, A. (2008). The Golden Triangle for MNCs: Standardization Towards Headquarters Practices, Standardization Towards Global Best Practices and Localization. *Organ. Dyn.*, 37(4), 394-404. doi: 10.1016/j.orgdyn.2008.07.002

Ramírez, E., Alberto, B. A. L., & Peer, C. (2004). Debate por extracción de oro: Prensa Libre.

Research, J. (2008). Jantzi Research Recommends Goldcorp as Ineligible for SRI Portfolios: Jantzi Research Inc.

Ribeiro, Gustavo, L. (2006). World Anthropologies: Cosmopolitics for a New Global Scenario in *Anthropology*. 26: 363-386: Critique of Anthropology.

Rothkopf, D. J. (2012). *Power, Inc.: the epic rivalry between big business and government--and the reckoning that lies ahead* (1st ed.. ed.). New York: New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012.

Santos, B. de S. (2002). *Toward a New Legal Common Sense: Law, Globalization and Emancipation*, 2nd ed., London, Butterworths LexisNexis.

Sawyer, S. (2008). Transnational governmentality and resource extraction : Indigenous peoples, multinational corporations, multilateral institutions and the state. Geneva: Geneva : United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2008.

Scherer, A. G., & Palazzo, G. (2007). Toward a Political Conception of Corporate Responsibility: Business and Society Seen from a Habermasian Perspective. *The Academy of Management Review*, 32(4), 1096-1120. doi: 10.2307/20159358

Scott, J.C. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.

Scott, J.C. (1998). Seeing Like a State: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed. *Yale University Press*.

Sharp, J. (2006). Corporate social responsibility and development: An anthropological perspective. *Development Southern Africa*, 23(2), 213-222. doi: 10.1080/03768350600707892

Sheppard, E. (2011). Trade, globalization and uneven development. Vol 36(1), pp. 44-71: *Progress in Human Geography*.

Sibley, David (1996). *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and difference in the West*. London: Routledge, pp 244-283.

Siebenmorgen, P. (2009). *Developing an ideal mining agenda: Impact and benefit agreements as instruments of community development in northern Ontario*: ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing.

Sieder, R. (2011). *Emancipation or regulation? Law, globalization and Indigenous peoples' rights in post-war Guatemala* (Vol. 40, pp. 239-265): *Economy and Society*.

Sipacapenses], C. (2003). *Manifiesto de las comunidades sipacapenses en contra de la concesiones mineras* (14 de octubre 2003). Sipacapa, Comunidades Sipicapenses.

Slack, K. (2012a). *Mission impossible?: Adopting a CSR- based business model for extractive industries in developing countries*. *Resource. Policy*, 37(2), 179-184. doi: 10.1016/j.resourpol.2011.02.003

Slack, K. (2012). *Mission impossible?: Adopting a CSR- based business model for extractive industries in developing countries*. *Resources Policy*, 37(2), 179-184. doi: 10.1016/j.resourpol.2011.02.003

Slack, K. (2012b). *Mission impossible?: Adopting a CSR-based business model for extractive industries in developing countries* (Vol. 37, pp. 179-184): *Resources Policy*.

Smagghe, G. (2014). 'Recovering tradition: how a Canadian mine affects the Maya-Mam in Guatemala' (Vol. 138, pp. 33): *Presbyterian Record*.

Smith, C. A. (1984). *Local History in Global Context: Social and Economic Transitions in Western Guatemala*. *Comp Stud Soc Hist*, 26(2), 193-228. doi: 10.1017/S0010417500010872

Smith, Carol (1987): "Culture and Community: The Language of Class in Guatemala". In M. Davis et al, eds. *The Year Left: An American Socialist Yearbook*. London: Verso.

Smith, Carol (1990): *Introduction: Social Relations in Guatemala over Time and Space*. In *Guatemalan Indians and the State: 1540 to 1988*, ed. Carol Smith, 1-30. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sundberg, J. (2006). *Conservation Encounters: Transculturation in the 'contact zones' of empire*. *Progress in Human Geography*. Vol 31, pp 227- 244.

Sundberg, J. (2008). *Placing Race in Environmental Justice Research in Latin America*. *Society and Natural Resources*, 21:569-582.

Snell, M. B. (2007). Standoff in the Highlands: Guatemala's Mayan Descendants Battle Foreign-Owned Mines (Vol. 43): National Catholic Reporter.

Solano, L. (2005). Guatemala petr'oleo y miner'ia en las entrañas del poder. Guatemala City: Inforpress Centroamericano.

Steenkamp, C. (2011a). In the shadows of war and peace: making sense of violence after peace accords. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 11(3), 357-383. doi: 10.1080/14678802.2011.593813

Steenkamp, C. (2011b). In the shadows of war and peace: making sense of violence after peace accords. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 11(3), 357-383. doi: 10.1080/14678802.2011.593813

Stoll, David (2006). Human Rights, Land Conflict and Memories of the Violence in the Ixil Country of Northern Quiche. *Human Rights in the Mayan Region*. Duke University Press. 2008.
<http://sites.middlebury.edu/dstoll/files/2013/10/Land-Conflict-Memories-of-Violence.pdf>

Sustainanalytics. (2010). Jantzi research recommends Goldcorp as ineligible for SRI portfolios.

Szablowski, D. (2002). Mining, displacement and the world bank: A case analysis of Compania Minera Antamina's operations in Peru. *Journal Of Business Ethics*, 39(3), 247-273.

Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham: Durham : Duke University Press, 2004.

Taylor, J. (1993). The outlaw state and the Lone Rangers. In *Perilous States: Conversations on Culture, politics, and Nation*, ed. GE Marcus, pp 283-303. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

Tedmanson, D. (2009). Book Review: Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh and Saleem Ali *Earth Matters: Indigenous Peoples, the Extractive Industries and Corporate Social Responsibility*. *Organization Studies*, 30(9), 1009-1012. doi: 10.1177/0170840609347441

Transparencia, C. E. N. p. 1. (27 octubre 2009). Informe de Investigación y Verificación del Proceso de Autorización de las licencias otorgadas a la Cementera en San Juan Sacatepequez y empresas afines, así como al Proyecto Marlin en San Miguel Ixtahuacán

San Marcos, para la identificación y habilitación de soluciones por la problemática producida por la Cementera y la Actividad Minera.

Trouillot, M. (2001). The anthropology of the state in the age of globalization - Close encounters of the deceptive kind. *Current Anthropology*, 42(1), 125-138.

Tsing, A. L. (2005). *Friction : an ethnography of global connection*. Princeton, [N.J.]: Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2005.

Urkidi, L. (2010). A glocal environmental movement against gold mining Pascua-Lama in Chile. *Ecol. Econ.*, 70(2), 219-227. doi: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2010.05.004

Urkidi, L. (2011). The defence of community in the anti-mining movement of Guatemala (Vol. 11, pp. 556-580): *Journal of Agrarian Change*.

UN (United Nations). (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (A/RES/61/295)* (Adopted by the General Assembly, 13 September). Retrieved July 1, 2008, from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

UN (United Nations) Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. (2009). *Fact Sheet: Indigenous Peoples and Industrial Corporations*. New York, NY. Retrieved May 28, 2009, from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/PFII8_FS3.pdf

United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2008). *Concept Paper: International Workshop on Natural Resource Companies, Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights: Setting a Framework for Consultation, Benefit-Sharing and Dispute Resolution (Moscow, 3-4 December)*. Geneva: Indigenous Peoples and Minorities Unit of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Retrieved February 10, 2009, from http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/docs/International_workshop_concept_paper.pdf

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). (2004). *Human Development Report 2004: Culture in Today's Diverse World* New York, NY: United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved May 15, 2009, from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2004/>

USA, I. B. P. (2009). *Guatemala Mineral & Mining Sector Investment and Business Guide (Vol. 1)*: International Business Publications USA.

U.S. State Department (2012). *Investment Climate Statement – Guatemala Report*. Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs. Web. Accessed 3 March 2014)

<http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ics/2012/191158.htm>

Vaccaro, (2005). Property Mosaic and State Making: Governmentality, Expropriation and Conservation in the Pyrenees. *Journal of Ecological Anthropology*. Vol 9, pp. 4-19.

Retrieved from <http://shell.cas.usf.edu/jea/PDFs/vaccaro.pdf>

Van der Hoeven, J. (2009). Health problems due to working and living in mining areas: Case study San Miguel Ixtahuacan: MSc. thesis, Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium.

Vandenbroucke, E. (2008). Environmental and socio-economic impacts of mining in Guatemala: the role of local communities and the ecological justice movement: Thesis, Human Ecology and Sustainable Development, Vrije Universiteit Brussels.

Vanderveest, P., Peluso, N.L. (1995). Territorialization and State Power in Thailand. Vol. 24, pp. 335-426: *Theory and Society*.

Vanthuyne, K. (2009). Becoming Maya? The Politics and Pragmatics of “Being Indigenous” in Post Genocide Guatemala. Vol 32(2), pp.195-217: *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*.

Vanthuyne, K. (2013). Book Review: “Mayas in Postwar Guatemala: Harvest of Violence Revisited”. Walter E. Little and Timothy J. Smith, eds. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. 224. 18(1), 140-142: *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*.

Vayne, Paul. (1978) Foucault Revolutionizes History. In I.A. Davidson (Ed.), *Foucault and his Interlocutors*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp 146-182.

Wallerstein, Immanuel M. (1999). ‘Ch. 11, Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The Dilemmas of Social Science,’. *The End of the World As We Know It: Social Science for the Twenty-First Century*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp.168-184.

Warren, K. B. (1998). *Indigenous movements and their critics : Pan-Maya activism in Guatemala*. Princeton, NJ Princeton, N.J.: Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, c1998.

Watts, M. (2002). Development and Governmentality, 24(1), pp. 6-34: *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*.

Watts, M. J. (2002). Preface: Green capitalism, green governmentality. 45(9), 1313-1318: *American Behavioral Scientist*.

Watts, M. J. (2004). Antinomies of community: Some thoughts on geography, resources and empire, 29(2), 195-216: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*.

Watts, M. J. (2005). Righteous oil? Human rights, the oil complex, and corporate social responsibility. *30*(1), 373-407: Annual Review of Environment and Resources.

Way, J. T. (2012). The Mayan in the mall globalization, development and the making of modern Guatemala. Durham ; London: Durham ; London : Duke University Press, 2012.

Week, B. (2010). Guatemala Says No Evidence of Pollution Found at Goldcorp Mine.

Wolf, Eric (1957). Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java. *13*(1): 1-18: Southwestern Journal of Anthropology.

Weitzman, Hal (2013). *Resource Nationalism: Beyond Ideology*. Vol. 7 (1). pp. 120-124: Americas Quarterly.

Wieviorka, M. (2013). Social conflict. *Current Sociology*, 61(5-6), 696-713. doi: 10.1177/0011392113499487

Wieviorka, M. (2014). The sociological analysis of violence: new perspectives. *Sociological Review*, 62, 50-64. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12191

Witte, B. (2005). Multinational gold rush in Guatemala (Vol. 39, pp. 8-11): NACLA Report on the Americas.

Wolf, Eric (2001). Pathways of Power. University of California Press. 100-140.

Yagenova, S. V., & Garcia, R. (2009). Indigenous people's struggles against transnational mining companies in Guatemala: The sipakapa people vs goldcorp mining company. *Socialism and Democracy*, 23(3), 157-166. doi: 10.1080/08854300903208795

Zabusky, S. 2002. "Ethnography in/of transnational processes: following gyres in the world of big science and European integration". In *Ethnography in unstable places: everyday lives in contexts of dramatic political change*, Edited by: Greenhouse, C., Metz, E. and Warren, K. 113–146. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Zarsky, L., & Stanley, L. (2011). Searching for Gold in the Highlands of Guatemala: Economic Benefits and Environmental Risks of the Marlin Mine (pp. 49): Tufts University, Medford MA., The Global Development and Environment Institute.

Zarsky, L., & Stanley, L. (2012). Can extractive industries promote sustainable development? A net benefits framework and a case study of the Marlin Mine in Guatemala. *Journal of Environment and Development*.