

# The Effects of Natural Resource Extraction on Indigenous People

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## **Abstract:**

Natural resources are highly sought out for their value. Mining is an industry whose value has increased dramatically due to its high demand within the global and black market due to the hard labor, difficulty to reproduce, and most of all, there is a finite amount of the resource available. As the market demands for these resources increase, I will look at how the indigenous populations in Latin America affected by natural resource extractions. I argue that increasing natural resource extraction causes environmental degradation to indigenous lands leading to lower incomes, lower educational attainment, poor health and displacement for indigenous peoples.

For my case studies, Chile and Bolivia, I looked into demographics, historical neoliberal periods of before, during, and after by comparing indigenous people to other ethnic populations residing in the country. I also looked into mining corporations and how they have negatively affected the environment in which indigenous people reside. My findings were concluded that indigenous people do not benefit as equally as non-indigenous people and are generally ostracized by their own government.

Natural resources are items that have been created naturally within the environment without human interaction. Water, air, gold, gas, oil are examples of natural resources. While some resources we need for means or survival, others are used for our personal comfort. The

“world’s population currently consumes the equivalent of 1.6 planets a year, according to analysis by the Global Footprint Network” (Howard, 2015). Mining is one means of obtaining natural resources. It is an industry whose value has increased dramatically due to its high demand within the global and black market because it’s hard labor as well as difficult to reproduce.

“Some commodities grew even more expensive: in 1997 an ounce of gold cost about \$300, but by 2010 it was going for well over \$1,000” (Berman, Couttenier, Rohner, & Thoenig, 2015).

With prices soaring, there is bound to be winners and losers. In some cases, illegal mining has surpassed the value that of narcotics. For example, in Colombia, “a kilogram of cocaine can sell for about \$2,570”.

On the other hand, the same weight amount of gold is so valuable that it can be priced up to 19 times the price of a kilogram of cocaine. This influx in price has summoned rebel groups to participate in the illegal mining trade” (Jamasmie, 2013). These natural resources are being depleted because there is a finite amount. According to the editors of 24/7 Wall St.; two of the top ten world’s most resource-rich countries are located in South America. The first is Venezuela with a total resource value of \$14.3 trillion and the second is Brazil with a total resource value of \$21.3 trillion not including Brazil’s current discovery of oil off its coast (24/7 Wall St., 2012). Additionally, the top two countries with worst income inequality are located in Latin America; Chile takes the number one spot while Mexico is second (Duvall, 2014). This leads me to propose this question, how are indigenous populations in Latin America affected by natural resource extractions? I argue that increasing natural resource extraction causes environmental degradation to indigenous lands leading to lower incomes, lower educational attainment, poor health and displacement for indigenous peoples.

Even well-intentioned governments may fail to grasp the true needs, desire and wants of the

Indigenous populations by being educationally and economically disadvantaged through political misrepresentation in which they bear the negative effects that mining corporations create. Out of the top ten countries highly sought out for mining investment four were located in Latin America: 1<sup>st</sup> place was Chile and in 10<sup>th</sup> Mexico (Bebbington, Bury, Bebbington, Langan, , Muñoz, & Scurrah, 2008).

In the 1970s Latin America borrowed money from the United States' banks, resulting in a \$29 billion debt. By 1978 the total debt was \$159 billion eventually surpassing \$320 billion (Romero, J and Sims, J., 2013). The deal cut between the Latin American countries, commercial and central banks, along with the IMF (International Monetary Fund) were developed as an "international lender of last resort". The plan incorporated a loan to pay their debt, with a quid pro quo attached, the participating countries negotiated to implement reforms in order to "increase exports and generate the trade surpluses and dollars necessary to pay down their external debt" (Romero and Sims, 2003). The argument can be said that in the short term it was a success, but according to Carrasco (1999) as cited by Jocelyn Sims who works in the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and Jessie Romero who works for the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond (Sims, and Romero, 2013); it only worsened the problem down the road by dismantling "subsidies to state owned enterprises" because what these countries did was immobilized from money going back to the local community resulting in mass unemployment rates which decimated the per capita income (Carrasco, 1999). This is why it is forever remembered as the "lost decade" with most of the citizens in Latin America living close to or extreme poverty.

As Neoliberalism was introduced "indigenous poverty gap in selected countries in Latin America grew to be wider than in previous periods" (Rural Poverty Portal, n.d.). I will discuss

how through neoliberal economic practices indigenous people's living standards have been lessened by privatization and land grabs. Also, by having a "political race" system it brings to light that minorities are voiceless. Post-development theorists and other anthropologists help explain why neoliberalism is harmful and should not be an answer to solve the indigenous people's problems. It is actually because of this system that they have been neglected to a large extent.

For my case studies I will use Chile and Bolivia to discuss how neoliberal policies have harmed indigenous people by having governments and private corporations intervene on their lands. These two countries are similar yet different as Chile having the highest economic success but lowest indigenous population and Bolivia having little economic success and a significantly high indigenous population. But although each country is different economically and demographically they all share a common theme; extraction of natural resources and indigenous people misrepresentation.

## **Literature Review**

### **Neoliberalism**

To start my literature review, I will briefly explain and critique how neo-liberals perceive the environment by specifically focusing on neoliberalization of nature. Because neoliberalism can be defined in various ways I will be using Anup Shah, editor of Global Issues definition, "Neoliberalism, in theory, is essentially about making trade between nations easier. It is about freer movement of goods, resources and enterprises in a bid to always find cheaper resources, to maximize profits and efficiency" (Shah, 2010).

It is also important to have a philosophical understanding that laissez-faire is strongly advocated in order to reassure that local state does not interfere in the promotion of capitalism by spreading free trade and global market; in other words industries and investments are watched and controlled by private investors in hopes of resulting as a well-integrated global competitor (Davis-Hamel, 2012). Francis Fukumaya predicted that the end of history had occurred once the Berlin Wall was dismantled in 1989, communism was “defeated”. But, Latin America, through popular elected leaders like Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and President of Bolivia, Evo Morales, have ignored the Washington Consensus (Kaltwasser, 2011) to which offers one size fits all policy toward countries in economic crisis which Washington considers a panacea. Within the umbrella of neoliberalism there is neoliberalization of nature and capitalism. Because there is very little research about this ideology, neoliberalization of nature, we can most likely analyze how the environment and neoliberalism has had an effect on developing countries (Mccarthy, & Prudham, 2004).

Neoliberalization of nature is something that has seldom been studied but is essential. If we put these terms together, neoliberalism and nature we can uncover the surface of an overshadowed topic; the harmful effects it has on the circle of life or the way we interact with others and the environment. It specifically destructs or complicates an interaction with the environment leading to issues such as property rights. If Locke’s work is to be analyzed on his view of property, it can be argued how nature/territory should be governed by a state. The state’s main purpose is to use the land’s natural resources and that can be correlated to neoliberalism (McAfee, 1999). It can be argued that neoliberalism has a negative effect on the destruction of the land or on the individuals of the hosting country specifically on poor individuals.

Neoliberalization of nature is how neoliberalism uses nature for capital gain and how it affects the environment. We as humans are now interconnected with one another through media, transportation, and migration; this is something that cannot be reversed. As international practices are implemented elsewhere there are pros and cons. We must ask ourselves what we can do to be proactive and the consequences of our actions. In the case of these countries they are displacing their indigenous population in order to extract natural resources and harming their land which results in them staying and working in unhealthy conditions or displacing them.

Neoliberalism had an effect in Latin America specifically in constraining its capital growth for its citizens. By decreasing tax rates for corporations which would allow competition with others for foreign investment therefore it should prevent the loss of foreign investment to other countries. There are a few explanations as to why neoliberalism became a popular economical trend. According to Hojman's article, "The Political Economy of Recent Conversions to Market Economics in Latin America" (1994) one of the factors that contributed to neoliberalism in Latin America was due to the aftermath of 1990s debt collapse with the exception of Chile. Countries were imposed to borrow money in order to grow their economy with conditions such as structural adjustment policies that were influenced by neoliberalism in order to secure that the borrowing countries were going to pay up. The consequences were and still are going to have a negative effect on citizens as the income gap has increased since the implementation of neoliberalism for Latin American citizens.

One of the hardest economic crises was known as the "Lost Decade" which affected almost all of Latin America. As a result, because these countries had to pay their foreign debt their only option was to incorporate themselves in the global market. And while Latin America was doing better in the 90s than the 70s and 80s there was little positive significance. Since the

incorporation of Latin America into the world economy it still has not been nearly close or better since before the crisis (Campos, 2000). Statistically speaking, this means neoliberalism has had an insignificant effect within this region.

In *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*, Eduardo Silva (2009: 1–3) announces, “inconvenient fact of anti-neoliberal mass mobilization,” as Latin American social movements have a tendency to be led by indigenous peoples, creating the outcome that defied Francis Fukuyama’s (1992) thesis of an “end of history” as described by liberal democracies and “free markets”. Hoping to address the differences of political movements in Latin America have and have not brought down neoliberal governments; showing examples in countries like Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela in one category, and Chile and Peru in the latter – Silva (2009: 2–3, 13) settles on the imposition of a “market society” as the primary factor motivating the unrest. Drawing from Karl Polanyi, Silva argues that the “market society” is “a specific type of capitalism” that submits “all social relations to market principles,” therefore resulting in repercussions from indigenous groups (2009: 17; emphasis in original).

Neoliberalization is more complicated than just having a world interconnect through an economical system with the help of globalization, the influence that neoliberalism has within nature and its negative effects has been studied to a minimal extent. Also, because we live in a globalized society, it makes it even more challenging to critique something the global north thrives on which includes a neoliberal viewpoint and capitalism. But who other than anthropologists and post-development theorists who have studied and seen first-hand what the negative effects are on the global south. By focusing on capitalism, we see what progress has affected this society. I will explore what happens when certain groups are excluded and other groups are incorporated and

compare the benefits.

### **A Post-Development View**

Here I will demonstrate how other people within the anthropological field and post-development theorist view neoliberalization and its negative effects it has on indigenous people. Critics of neoliberalism within Latin America have argued that while neoliberalism was implemented to relieve economical constrains of developing countries it has had a toll on the marginalized indigenous populations. Neoliberalism neglects welfare, redistribution, and equity (Brown 2003; Lazar 2004).

Mignolo has studied how modernity was born from colonialism and he argues that the way western scholars think about what colonized countries want is wrong or misunderstood. These countries such as in the case of Latin America, specifically mentions Evo Morales, do not whatsoever want to revert back to before *La Conquista*(The conquest) in which he points the Spaniards “brought with them the seeds of modernity that two centuries later England and France, and later on the United States, harvested” (Mignolo,2009). These Eurocentric nations did bring new ideas to the indigenous people but also with it came the enslavement of them as well. Another interesting observation by Mignolo (2009), is that he believes that an “anthropologist of Anglo descent has no place to guide the locals in what is good or bad for the indigenous population. That is precisely the problem that appears in the report of the Harvard International Review, where a group of US experts believe they can really decide what is good and what is bad for developing countries” (Mignolo, 2009).

Neoliberalism has left Latin American in a maze where there seems no way out of poverty, social inequality, and political violence. To make matters worse, it has trickled down to

environmental exploitation, exacerbating the issue to indigenous communities' because they are forcefully being approached with unrecognized entities. "These changes have led to increased social violence, political corruption, and police brutality, which have created an immense population of exiles throughout Latin America..." (Bobic, 2007:177).

What our government cannot do for its citizens is passed on to a private sector because the government could have never done what it had promised at all to begin with (Lehmann, 1997). Hart (2002) challenges the neoliberal perspective by questioning why some countries have reaped the economic benefits while other countries have worsened. In search for why has 'good (neoliberal) policies' have sluggishly progressed in certain countries (developing countries) there have been a couple proposals (Sachs,1997: 22). As Sachs (1997) proposes it is because of geographical barriers that certain countries lack to prosper whereas according to Hart's (2002) analysis of Harrison and Huntington (2000) reinforce that it is "bad attitude rather than bad latitude" is the culprit as to why these countries do not prosper. Also, Hart (2002) analyses that nature and culture are excuses as to why the system has failed.

For Deborah J. Yashar (2005: 8, 71), indigenous mobilization in the region is the result of a change in "citizenship regimes" that has "politicized indigenous identities" by challenging the autonomy of indigenous groups; this shift, accompanied by 1) an open "political associational space" in which to organize and 2) "trans community networks," which provide "organizational capacity," is responsible for the (re-)emergence of indigenous movements in South America. Most important is the regional move away from a "corporatist" citizenship regime, which, whatever its flaws, granted the indigenous some measure of freedom by classifying them as "peasants" and incorporating them into a larger structure of social- and class-based resource distribution (Yashar 2005: 55–65).

As Guinier and Torres (2002) acknowledge race cannot be ignored when talking about politics hence “political race”. When ignoring race you also ignore issues affecting others. It is a way to make everyone feel empowered and incorporated within society. This exposes that there is a hierarchical structure of race within politics and therefore minorities can be misrepresented and left out voiceless. Inequalities that may be affected are in education, health, and wealth. Arturo Escobar and Gustavo Esteva are two intellectual advocates for post-development. They bring to light what development has created. The creation of powers results in a hierarchy between what can be said as the global North vs. the global South, developed vs. underdeveloped nations; why does the North reap the benefits of what the South produces?

Escobar is prominently known for his field work with indigenous populations who have been negatively affected through a system that does not benefit them in Latin America. “One of his main observations focuses on the interaction of indigenous people and the effect these individuals have in regards to dealing with state and non-state actors affecting their political struggles and protecting their culture by protecting their environmental resources” (Escobar, 2013). Esteva goes into depth about how the term development comes into play. As he points out, for something to be considered developed there must be a developer.

The breaking points comes when does the developed emancipate itself from the developer? He calls this “*colonizing anti-colonialism*” (Carnibella, 2011). Their idea is to dismantle development. What Esteva also argues is that foreign investment’s key point is economic growth. Esteva considers himself a de-professionalized intellectual meaning he has renounced his valued position in a capitalist society. In a conference he analyzed how, specifically, after the establishment of NAFTA has left Mexico in shambles. In an interview taken place in 2003 regarding his (Esteva’s) support for the Zapatistas of Chiapas he was stated as saying:

“Freedom of expression is in contention. Journalists in New York say there is repression of journalists in Mexico because there are arrests every year and an imposition of silence. They are also killed, injured, threatened. The economy is a disaster, one of the worst in Latin America. The crisis is in every part of the economic sector. More than 60 million Mexicans live in poverty. 12 million cannot buy basic food and 25 million suffer hunger. The middle class is in a process of degradation. Mexico has produced the richest man and the poorest people in the world. All legal doors for the young are closed - they cannot study or find employment. Graduates cannot find employment. Emigration is closed. Their families cannot maintain them, so they succumb to illegal actions - theft and crime and a resultant deterioration in community life” (Davies, & Jaccard 2013).

While this statement can be true in other places nonetheless has been partially a result of neoliberalism. As the introduction of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) has left the economy in a crutch where Mexico must depend of stronger economical allies. “A brief reflection: a third of Mexicans, 37 million people, live outside Mexico; 20 million Mexicans have left since NAFTA. The vast majority go to the US and Canada, but some go as far as Japan. It is one of the biggest ever human migrations” (Davies, & Jaccard 2013). Migration has always been seen as an attribute to society as well as a burned. It all depends on the situation at the time. But when people flee from their home country because they cannot find the means to support their family economically, which is when we have to question why can't they no longer support their family in their home country?

To clarify post-development theorists do acknowledge that there must be change and agree that there must be emancipation from western powers. They do not say that capitalism is bad but rather question why is it that the global North implies what is considered to be the wellbeing for the global South and how does the latter emancipate itself from the developer?

# Indigenous People and their Land: Displacement and Discrimination

There is no universal term to define indigenous people but for the purpose of this paper I will use the definition as how the United Nations and the International Labor Organization have categorized it as having certain characteristics. “Having a set of specific rights based on their historical ties to a particular territory, and their cultural or historical distinctiveness from other populations that are often politically dominant. The concept of indigenous people defines these groups as particularly vulnerable to exploitation, marginalization and oppression by nation states that may still be formed from the colonizing populations, or by politically dominant ethnic groups” (indigenouspeople.net, n.d). “Indigenous Peoples constitute about five percent of the world’s population, yet account for about 15 percent of the world’s poor” (Cultural Survival, 2012).

In 1990 Peru succumbed to neoliberalism, privatizing public sector resources such as mines that the indigenous Allpachiqueño worked in. This resulted in poor pay and worse conditions to operate in therefore many have migrated away from their lands. Mine-owning families have drastically declined (Vincent, 2012). American anthropologist Ferguson argues that while yes mining and oil extraction has prospered, there is little to no economic benefits for many especially for those who live within the hosting country in this case the developing states (Ferguson, 2005). Indigenous people strongly rely on the land to literally live off. The land not only provides them with natural resources but sustains them from starving or migrating far away. Indigenous people are specifically affected by the rapid changes made on the environment where their settlements are and have been for centuries.

International Relations Professor O’Faircheallaigh, who’s “research focuses on the interactions of large resource corporations with governments and communities particularly indigenous communities”. He states that because these inhabited lands are prone to environment damages due to their rich abundance of natural resource extractions it creates forced immigration (O’Faircheallaigh, 2013). The “market society,” based on neoliberalism, was a necessary condition for the rise of social movements in the aforementioned four countries; however, it was not a sufficient condition, as it does not address the “capacity” of mobilized sectors to actually resist neoliberal policies (Silva 2009: 29).

If these corporations or mining industries are not welcomed why can’t people just simple not accept them in their land? We know that mining is harmful to the environment and usually the people who work these mines in developing countries are being taken advantage of. The answer is because the economic benefits that the country receives are held at a higher standard than that of the people who live in these affected remote areas or at least it seem that way. We must remember that many developing countries have to pay foreign debt and one way is to extract natural resources which are in high demand and these countries have an abundance of.

Indigenous people have been not only been marginalized by global society but have been ostracized by their own governments. In Latin America indigenous people face racial discrimination because of the color of their skin or culture. Many indigenous people speak Spanish as their second language or do not speak Spanish at all. Since colonialism they have been oppressed and seen as primitive because of their cultural identity. As Latin America attempts to westernize itself or embrace a Eurocentric culture such as in Argentina; we forget of those who were here long before us. To assure that indigenous peoples rights are protected, The

International Labor Organization (ILO) was established (Olivares Alanis, 2003). The importance it had was that it recognized indigenous rights through a set of conventions.

Articles 13 to 19 of ILO Convention No. 169 address indigenous peoples' rights over their lands, territories, and natural resources. The Convention first states that “governments shall respect the special importance for the cultures and spiritual values of the peoples concerned of their relationship with the lands or territories, or both as applicable, which they occupy or otherwise use, and in particular the collective aspects of this relationship”.<sup>9</sup> Article 15 addresses natural resources specifically, and provides that the “rights of the peoples concerned to the natural resources pertaining to their lands shall be specially safeguarded. These rights include the right of these peoples to participate in the use, management and conservation of these resources.”... The Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples has described it as a “momentous step in the consolidation of the contemporary international regime of indigenous peoples”, noting that it “provides significant recognition of indigenous peoples' collective rights in key areas, including cultural integrity; consultation and participation; self-government and autonomy; land, territory and resource rights; and nondiscrimination in the social and economic spheres”.<sup>12</sup> As of July 2013, 22 countries have ratified ILO Convention No. 169. Fifteen of these are in the Americas: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. (Olivares Alanis, 2003).

There have been laws and regulations in order to protect indigenous people from falling victims to discrimination especially within their country. Sadly they are rarely implemented and usually ignored by the same government who has sworn to protect them or even created these laws.

### **Methodology**

I will look at how neoliberalism has played a role in each of my case studies. I have chosen two Latin American countries: Chile and Bolivia. By focusing and analyzing the scholarly work of Arturo Escobar who as mentioned asks critical questions and analyses the negative effects that development brings to local communities. Alongside Escobar, there are

other fieldworkers, Esteva, Migolo, Ferguson, and others who have studied the deleterious effects that natural resources extractions have on indigenous lands and the consequences it has on indigenous people.

As there is limited scholarly work done on the correlation between neoliberalism and indigenous people, I have based my research on government reports, some scholarly journals, presidential interviews and speeches, and media outlets, economic news articles, demographic and economic statistics of the country, presidential and governmental trends for the purpose to see how neoliberalism has affected the indigenous community during and after its era, and governmental websites in order to verify and compare whether what mining corporations say is true or false.

By understanding the other side of the spectrum of neoliberal effects, we can now critique how neoliberalism has negatively affected people in developing countries, specifically on indigenous people, who reside in Latin America by using the work of anthropologists who would detail indigenous people's lives and the environment in which neoliberalism has impacted.

Out of the Latin American countries, I chose Chile to begin with because it was the first country to host the neoliberal effects through brutal implementations by a military dictator with the help of the USA. This eventually made it (Chile) possible to the spread throughout Latin America. Chile has a contradiction on embracing neoliberalism yet it rejected the economic improvement of its indigenous population.

In addition to Chile, Bolivia has an abundance of natural resources. Bolivia has demonstrated resistance to neoliberal views. Unlike Chile, there has been a battle with the greater population that is of indigenous blood. By comparing Chile and Bolivia, we get an analysis of

the impact on two different countries demographically, governmentally, and economically speaking. In both case studies I will focus specifically on the following, historical economic effect neoliberalism had on the country by comparing how the country functioned before, during, and after/current. Then analyze how neoliberalization has had an effect of indigenous people during these periods.

I will state demographics to give the audience a sense of each country on population statistics. In which eventually compare the indigenous vs. non-indigenous population. I will look for a specific corporation or tribe that has/is being negatively impacted by a foreign corporation within their territory and what is being done to fight off these corporations if anything.

## **Case Study #1: Chile**

### **Chile's Current Economy**

Chile is bordered by three countries; Peru to the north, Bolivia to the north east, Argentina to the east, and to the west is the Pacific Ocean. Its current population is 11.8 million people and has a GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of \$409.3 billion (Economic Freedom, 2016). Chile's FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) incremented \$23.3 billion, increasing by a 15 percent when compared to 2013 (Country risk of Chile, 2016).

Chile's Gini, is a measurement of wealth distribution within a certain country ranging from 0 to 1, of .501. (Duvall, 2014). It is ranked as the number one country with wealth distribution inequality in the world. The issues that attribute to this are numerous but oligopolies are a huge issue. Unlike monopolies, oligopolies are run by more than one firm in which they

have control of vast majority of the market (Investopedia, 2003). To get a perspective of how Chile has grown economically I have chosen to analyze the following categories of the following years: 2013 and 2005. From summarizing the two compared years we can conclude that yes, by just comparing GDP per capita and GDP it is obvious the growth and how strong Chile's economy has become.

Economic indicators		
GDP: Gross domestic product (million current US\$)	2013	277043
GDP: Gross domestic product (million current US\$)	2005	123056
GDP: Growth rate at constant 2005 prices (annual %)	2013	4.1
GDP: Growth rate at constant 2005 prices (annual %)	2005	6.2
GDP per capita (current US\$)	2013	15723.5
GDP per capita (current US\$)	2005	7532.0
GNI: Gross national income per capita (current US\$)	2013	15092.6
GNI: Gross national income per capita (current US\$)	2005	6902.4
Exports (million US\$)	2013	76684.1
Imports (million US\$)	2013	79172.8
Balance (million US\$)	2013	-2488.7

(UN Data, 2016) <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Chile>

Three main natural resources Chile produces are, copper which they have plenty of and is their main export, and it owns the world's largest amount of nitrate; this is the

second largest export for them, and lumber (Drake, 2010). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the Araucanians were influenced by the vast mining of nitrate and copper (Chile country profile - BBC News, 2016) as this is the beginning of vast occupational investment under this (mining) corporation.

While it is understandable that Chile is an economical power in Latin America there is another untold side which neoliberalism does not include in its success. In this case I will look at how neoliberalism has impacted the indigenous population by, first giving a brief historical content of neoliberalism and its influence it has had in the country, then explain how the extraction of natural resources have a negative impact on the land and in return harm the indigenous population.

## **Pre-Neoliberal Era**

Within capitalism there is no room for socialism idealist especially if they are running a country. In November 1970 Salvador Allende became Chile's first socialist president (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016). During his short-lived term he went against many norms. Allende had a task; "to improve the lives of Chile's most impoverished while increasing the country's economic strength without the help of outside forces" (Flynn, 2014).

Not only in Chile was Allende's disposition heard but as well in the United States. Allende nationalized Chile's copper mines which was a stab to the United States as Chile ostracized themselves from a global market in order gain more power of their local economy. Allende not only had made enemies with the USA but also amongst the

elites who ruled over the government. This only made it more difficult to build the Chilean economy. On September 1973 Allende was killed in a coup d'état.

## **Birth of neoliberalism: The Pinochet regime**

Chile is a unique case study as it was the birthplace of neoliberalism within Latin America. It was introduced in the 1970s by Chilean economist who became known as the “Chicago Boys”. They studied in the University of Chicago; through the influence and ideas of Milton Friedman and Frederick Von Hayek, they were recruited by Chile’s dictator Pinochet in 1975 due to a failed economy. In what was meant to be an economic success resulted in a repressive political system. The repercussions were the brutal military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) which consequently carried out human rights violations and political silencing of the common man. Pinochet had two goals: one was to make the political institutions disappear; and two, to change the economy’s structure (Borzutsky, 2005).

To gain perspective of these human rights violations “by mid-1979, those within the regime who opposed neoliberal ideas lost their power and influence...” (Borzutzky, 2002). In other words, anyone specifically leftwing idealist who rejected publically against Pinochet’s viewpoint was imprisoned and/or tortured sometimes resulting in death., Current Chilean President, Michelle Bachelet (2006-10; 2014- current), along with her family were victims under the Pinochet regime due to their leftwing political views. Her family’s story isn’t unique as many people disappeared.

As the sociologist William Robinson comments: Chile is the first country to have started neoliberal restructuring and globalization, and it is probably the “purest” neoliberal republic in the hemisphere in terms of its level of integration into global markets, deregulation, privatization,

domination by private capital, the atomization of the working class, and the hegemony of neoliberal ideology and global capitalist culture. Chile's neoliberal transformation began earlier and is more "complete" than anywhere else in the hemisphere, perhaps the world (Robinson 2008: 77).

The neoliberal effect has various flaws in regards to how it was forced upon the people. Chile was a laboratory experiment where eventually all of Latin America would experience. By 1987 the results of this experiment had 45 percent of the Chilean population living under the poverty line (Varga, 2012). Pinochet had a flimsy economical setup for two years after the coup was successful to which he consolidated with the Chicago Boys to strengthen the economy. In 1975 Chile's goal was to attract foreign investment by integrating into the global market; they had to eliminate price control, therefore government lost its grip on the hold of interest rates, tariffs had to be reduced, the currency had to be devaluated, privatization, and drastic setbacks of government spending money on institutions that the public benefitted from for example healthcare, education, and welfare (Davis-Hamel, 2012). In a system that was supposed to work for the common person was shattered under Pinochet.

It was expected that through global exports, economic growth, would eventually elevate or fix Chile's ruined economy (Schurman, 1996). In what is known as the "economic miracle" due to the economic growth of 8 percent annually from 1977-1981, can essentially be explained that the highest contributors being influx of credit made by private global banks (Davis-Hamel 2012). Meaning that neoliberalism had not precisely fixed the problem in the long run but also created a gap inequality and privatization. In the time frame from 1978-1983, after the coup, there were 20 *tomas* (land invasion) within Santiago, Chile (Bruey, 2012). In September 1983 the largest *toma* within Chile

was established by peasants; the community came together in order to keep their lands. There was much bloodshed as well as evictions yet eventually Pinochet had to come in an agreement with the community to provide low-income housing. This is an example of neoliberalism as it's a contradiction (Bruey, 2012).

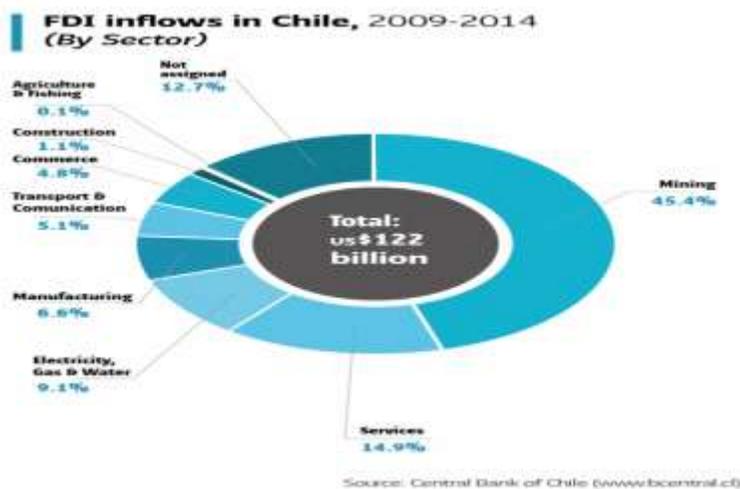
Indigenous people work together as a society and do not consolidate individually, contraire to a neoliberal citizenship regime that has replaced this corporatist citizenship regime has recast the indigenous as “individuals” rather than members of a larger class or social group, leading to both reduced spending on social programs that have benefited the indigenous and the elimination of channels through which they could claim their “social rights” (Yashar 2005: 57, 66–69). It is in this sense that the neoliberal Pinochet regime declared that “today there are no indigenous people” in Chile. As Yashar (2005: 67) writes, under the neoliberal citizenship regime “indigenous communities definitively lost their interlocutors with the state, land security, and social resources.” In response, by seeking recognition less as individuals than as a community, these movements are launching a “postliberal challenge” to the prevailing neoliberal order (Yashar 2006: 208).

## **Chile: A Haven for Foreign Companies**

Companies are attracted to Chile because it promotes itself as a “market player” or “competitive state” by making it smoother for the foreign company to invest. This may sound easy and simple but it's more complicated as Chile caters to the foreign companies by creating new rules, laws, and regulations that are beneficial to the latter. It has a good record with the FDI as they have few restrictions. Foreign investors take advantage of reasonable income tax on companies resulting in sending back their wealth without consequences of being taxed. Leading to a program called “*Chile Plataforma*”, Chile

Platform, which under this program helped create the encouragement of investment by not requiring to have a local business partnership (Country risk of Chile, 2016). Also, like other countries, there is much corruption from the wealthiest and minimal restrictions regarding credit cards (Duvall, 2014). These factors contribute to the economic growth of the foreign investors and of Chile.

Chile is the second highly approached country, after Brazil, in South America when regarding relations under the FDI. But foreign investment can be weak due to the fact that investment deals with mining projects which are not long-term. But Chile has an abundance of natural resources; it is what also contributes to lure investors. (Chile: Foreign investment, 2016). In this graph it shows FDI inflow by sector. The mining sector accounts for more than 45 percent of FDI inflow in Chile. The graph shows the years 2009-2014 (Agencia de Promoción de la Inversión Extranjera, n.d.).



Overall Chile is the most appraised country not only in Latin America but internationally in regards when it comes to their economy. In 2015 UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) profiled Chile 11<sup>th</sup> to be a major beneficiary of FDI and ranked overall 2<sup>nd</sup> in Latin America under the same category. Its open economy, trade agreements it (Chile) has

with over 60 countries, sustaining 85.7 percent of international GDP and well over 60 percent of the global population (Agencia de Promoción de la Inversión Extranjera. n.d.). But what does it mean for not only its vast citizens but specifically their indigenous population which is small yet fully ignored?

Chile being seen as an economic success and its contributions are due to its imports and exports which include an abundance of minerals, but not only were non-indigenous people negatively affected, indigenous people were suppressed in order to achieve this success. There is far less research on how neoliberalism has affected the original people of Latin America. As it is no secret that indigenous people are racially discriminated for who they are.

In the following paragraphs I will look into the Canadian mining company, Barrick Corporation, operating in Chile and how it has affected the Diaguita who are the closest indigenous population near the mining site. Then show how the wealth has not trickled down to ethnic groups by first looking into comparative statistics of the indigenous and non-indigenous population in regards to education and income wages. The last piece I will look into is the Mapuche tribes who is the highest indigenous minority population within Chile and observe their struggles to resist neoliberalism and how it has affected their environment.

## **Barrick Corporation in Chile**

Barrick is a Canadian mining company that has been working within indigenous territory. “Barrick's share of proven and probable copper reserves as of December 31, 2015, was 2.8 billion pounds. In 2016, Barrick's share of copper production is expected to be 100-120 million pounds at all-in sustaining costs of \$2.20-\$2.40 per pound” (Barrick, 2016). They are very proud

of their success. Their website consists of pictures of how they are working with water experts to show they are more ecofriendly when using mining practices.

Barrick currently is mining in Pascua-Lama and their nearest neighbors are the Diaguita people. According to the Diaguita they have been mistreated by the Canadian company. According to the Diaguita, Barrick does not promote clean water. Also a statement from a Diaguita community member, Angelina Espinoza, said “Barrick has put up barriers which prevent us from moving freely and also prevent our animals from grazing” (Malinowski, 2008). This creates a disadvantage for them to raise their animals properly as well as puts restrictions of them growing as a community. They also have reported being mistreated by Barrick employees if they go near the barriers. Espinoza continues to argue that her people “are the legitimate owners of these lands; we have papers from 1903 which corroborate this. But, here in Chile, we neither receive the help nor the (government) response that we need” (Malinowski, 2008). The government promotes this type of action to happen because even though there is tangible proof that these people are the rightful owners of the land they are not recognized as an ethnic group and there is still business happening in 2016. Indigenous rights activist, Nancy Yáñez, validated by saying that even if the community comes together and protest inequalities such as this; foreign companies are protected by Chilean regulations, therefore, “the leaders of the affected (indigenous) communities end up being persecuted and for making legitimate demands” (Malinowski, 2008).

Through false promises President Bachelet has failed to address the needs of students, environmentalist, the labor sector and the indigenous people; they can all be categorized as the poor class. Indeed, even during the presidency of Michelle Bachelet (2006–10), ostensibly the most skeptical of the post-Pinochet heads of state towards neoliberalism, the better part of a

million students went on strike and launched a several-month-long protest movement precisely to oppose neoliberal policies and call for a greater state role in providing a quality education for all. Bachelet made no substantive concessions, leaving the private sector in control of many of the country's schools and universities. In the 2011 "Chilean Winter," students returned in masse to the streets under Piñera, protesting against Chile's archetypical "market society" national educational policies; student protests again erupted in March 2012 with the start of the new academic year.

Meanwhile, a mass movement has coalesced in recent years to oppose the planned construction of a series of hydroelectric dams in the country's south; with protestors claiming that the government is prioritizing capitalist interests over environmental and indigenous concerns. Early 2012 the project called Hidro Aysén, referring to the Aysén region, where the dams would be built. Bachelet's promotions were dubbed as "the worst humiliation of the poor in a long time" (Teichman, 2009).

## **Exclusion to an "Andean country" and Identity of its People**

Chile is a very wealthy country when in comparison to its Andean neighbors. Funk (2012) recaps Jeremy Adelman's (2006) notion that Chile cannot be considered part of the Andean country economically speaking do to its success going as far as saying that in order to be considered an Andean state there must be "work in progress". But then culturally speaking this would be unfair for indigenous people within the country. This is why as Funk (2012) inputs Donna Lee Van Cott's (2006) thoughts on how in this (Andean) region it stands out by "the intensity and depth of ethnic and racial cleavages," for which ethnic groups are ostracized from political representation.

Chile is one of the six Latin American countries who do not recognize indigenous people who live within their country (Tomaselli, 2012). Retracing back to my literature review of Torres and Guinier's (2002) "political race" concept; minorities or people of color are not represented politically. Chile does not qualify as a full-fledged "market society," as it "has been reforming market society" to a "mild (but sufficient)" extent in the post-Pinochet era through increased social spending and protection, and also because of its sustained macroeconomic growth (Silva 2009: 54, 267; emphasis in Yashar's (2005: 21) rather dated list, which extends only to 1991, Chile would appear by current numbers to rank between sixth and eighth in Latin America in terms of percentage of indigenous population (after Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador and Mexico, and virtually tied with Belize and Panama), and sixth in the overall number of indigenous peoples (behind the aforementioned five).

## **Indigenous vs. Non-Indigenous People: Inequalities**

Chile's demographics show as the following; "white and non-indigenous 88.9%, Mapuche 9.1%, Aymara 0.7%, other indigenous groups 1% (includes Rapa Nui, Likan Antai, Quechua, Colla, Diaguita, Kawesqar, Yagan), unspecified 0.3%" (Chile Ethnic groups, 2012). Chile also has the least indigenous population when compared to the other Latin American countries. Often, indigenous people are neglected as if nonexistent in what seems as a "quasi-European, white-mestizo Chilean nation" (Funk, 2012). The indigenous groups have been shunned from neoliberal literature as they are not taken into account when it is explained how neoliberalism has had negative effects on them through the deterioration of the land and the little or no political vote or representation when it comes to issues affecting them.

The indigenous and non-indigenous people are disproportionate. A great amount of Mapuche people live in urban areas and are classified as “urban Mapuche”; their issues are very different from the Mapuche in rural areas. But all the indigenous people in Chile face some common issues; poverty, low education, low socioeconomic, and discrimination (Indigenous News, 2011). In the Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (CASEN) survey of 1996 it showed the comparison and inequalities indigenous people face.

“Indigenous peoples are among the poorest and more vulnerable groups in Chile. The CASEN 1996 survey indicates that incidence of poverty is significantly higher among indigenous (35.6%) than non-indigenous population (22.7%). In average, indigenous families receive almost half the income of non-indigenous families, and 65% of the families are within the lowest two quintiles compared to 44% for non-indigenous. Most economically active indigenous people are in unskilled jobs (31%) and agriculture and fisheries (25%). Schooling among indigenous peoples is about 2.2 years below the average years of schooling for the non-indigenous population (9.5). In the case of rural Mapuche population, 80% of household heads have less than 4 years of schooling, and only 3% of the rural Mapuche population above 15 years has some type of education beyond high school. Overall educational attainment and performance among indigenous population is very low. Furthermore, according to the ranking of the national system for measuring the quality of education (SIMCE), from the 44 municipalities with the lowest scores, 26 of them are municipalities with high concentration of indigenous peoples. 7.9 Schooling among indigenous peoples is about 2.2 years below the average years of schooling for the non-indigenous population (9.5). In the case of rural Mapuche population, 80% of household heads have less than 4 years of schooling, and only 3% of the rural Mapuche population above 15 years has some type of education beyond high school.” (Estanislao Gacitúa, 2000:173).

Overall indigenous people especially focusing on the Mapuche, who are the largest Chilean indigenous group, people are less likely to perform better than non-indigenous people. In some areas like schooling, indigenous people are behind by more than four times. And over 50 percent of the indigenous population participates in unskilled jobs. Analyzing discrimination to pre neoliberalism under Allende we find that

he wanted to return the indigenous peoples land back under land reforms. But under neoliberalism, Pinochet reversed the reforms and not only did he do that but he also privatized their land. He even punished anyone who helped fight or support the indigenous cause. It was not until 1993, three years after the fall of the Pinochet Regime that the Indigenous Peoples Act (No. 19,253), was enacted and the Chilean Government granted rights and thought about incorporating indigenous people in Chilean nationalism (Indigenous News, 2011).

In an argument the “market society” is a necessary condition for major social unrest, Silva (2009: 264–265) writes that increasing social agitation by the Mapuche, as well as labor unions and student groups, may “spark a resurrection of contentious politics” in Chile – as occurred even prior to Sebastián Piñera’s assumption of the presidency in 2010.

The contention here is that Silva misclassifies Chile as a “reforming” market society. While various Chilean administrations have indeed contravened neoliberal logic by contributing to the building of the social safety net in the two decades since Pinochet’s exit, Silva overestimates the extent to which this marks a fundamental rupture with the “market society” that was undoubtedly established during military rule. Instead, as has been the case in many of its neighboring states, it is the “market society” based on neoliberalism that is driving massive social unrest in Chile.

## **Mapuche: Resisting Neoliberal Constrains**

In 2010 33 Chilean miners were trapped inside a mine. Going deeper into the subject these people take extreme risks in order to extract natural resources and mining creates damages

to the environment and the people who inhabit near or on these areas. The Mapuche who reside in Araucania which is located in the central of Chile is where the 2010 mining disaster took place. They have been at constant battle with local government and private corporations. The conflict can be traced back to Pinoche's ruling. Regardless of police brutality the Mapuche are the most successful group within the country to battle neoliberal effects as it helps that there is more support abroad for the Mapuche people than within Chile (Tomaselli, 2012). In this sense, Chile does not seem fundamentally different from how Yashar describes Bolivia. Thus, Yashar makes a compelling case for the salience of the shift to neoliberal citizenship regimes; now it needs to be applied to the Chilean case.

In their native language Mapuche means 'people of the land' (Mapuche Nation, n.d.). The Mapuche have constantly struggled with recovering from manmade environmental damages. Not only have they dealt with flooding due to the construction of dams but also land dispute regarding mining projects. ODPI (Observatory on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) have said that the laws within Chile do not fairly represent their indigenous population specifically when it involves issues regarding them, "government policy should recognize and accept that these diverse populations have the right to define their own plans for community development, and that these plans should not be superimposed by other entities" (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, 2013).

In 1979 during the implementation of neoliberalism the Mapuche's lands was reduced even more from 10 million hectares to 350,000 hectares. This was due to the "Indigenous Peoples Law" implemented by Pinochet and his government. The reason for this law was to sabotage and extinguish their culture. Pinochet wanted disappear the indigenous population usually by taking

their lands and making it difficult for indigenous people to survive outside their lands.

Discrimination against indigenous people was encouraged.

Mushrooming of broader-based protest movements in the southern region of Aysén and, more recently, in the northern mining city of Calama, over issues including high fuel costs, the over-centralization of decision-making in Santiago, and a lack of investment in health care and education. For their part, Mapuche actions have continued unabated. In short, there may be little appetite for forcing neoliberal presidents out of office in Chile, as has previously occurred in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Yet social agitation in the country against neoliberal policies and the “market society” is nevertheless alive and well in Chile among the Mapuche and other social sectors. That they clearly see themselves as struggling against a “market society” suggests that episodes of contentious politics in Chile need to be considered right alongside those in Bolivia, Ecuador, and elsewhere. The next section will further delineate why current Mapuche mobilizations should to a significant degree be classified, with these other cases, as movements struggling against neoliberalism.

After Pinochet had left office the Mapuche were still fighting off entities. In 1997 the Mapuche along with activist were fighting a \$600 million project which was approved by their own government’s environmental sector. Resulting in much chaos between the community and the government (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, 2013). While Yashar is explicit in choosing cases by percentage of indigenous population, insofar as Chile is ostensibly a wholehearted proponent of the “neoliberal citizenship regime” this analysis should apply to the mobilization of the Mapuche as well. Indeed, though the Chilean government created the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI – Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena) after Pinochet’s departure, Mapuche groups allege that little has changed,

and they continue to frame their struggle – along the lines that Yashar suggests for other countries – in terms of a “postliberal” conception of communal rights (Haughney 2006).

Several laws and programs introduced on behalf of indigenous people have been created. On May 21, 2010 then president Pinera talked about a new land policy that would benefit indigenous people CONADI. It’s aim was to promote the incorporation of indigenous people within categories like economic empowerment and to be more involved in Chilean nationalism. Two profoundly passionate advocates of indigenous rights, Jose Aylwin and Nancy Yáñez, agreed that the surplus of extracting natural resources on indigenous land has increased; saying that mining was in the top three reasons as to why indigenous land is taken without consent of the community (Malinowski, 2008). Without representation there is no meaning to having laws implemented and without acknowledging these laws there is no point to creating them.

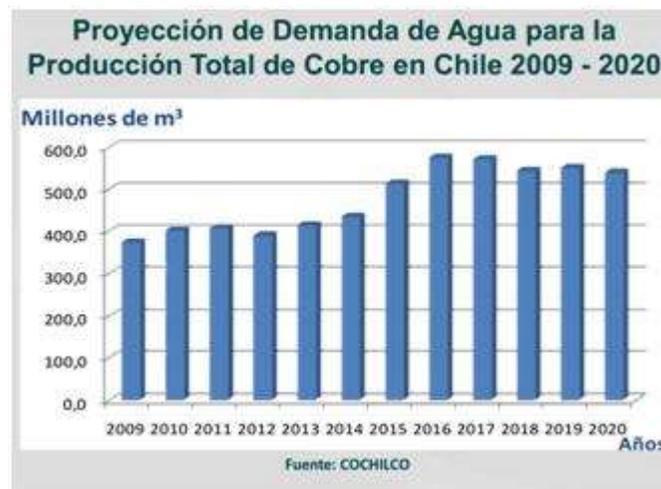
In 2013 there was a downfall set by the Chilean Supreme Court, the plaintiffs who consisted of indigenous people and activists voiced out that it was considered exploitation of water when mining companies extracted water from indigenous land, but it was overruled because it was considered “exploring” for potential minerals that may or may not be there. The consequences can be that companies will not conserve water (Jarroud, 2013). Chile is being left without water in the valleys where majority of the residents are indigenous.

## **Environmental Damages**

Since natural extraction happens by disruption of the land I will examine how it affects its surroundings. In the following chart we see the damaging effects that foreign corporations have in Chile. “Several conflicts have occurred among different users of water resources, particularly among consumptive and non-consumptive ones. Indigenous groups have been

particularly affected by these conflicts over water rights particularly with power companies, as well as with water and sewerage companies, the mining industry, and the forest industry. In a lesser degree there have been also some conflicts with other private users” (Estanislao Gacitúa, 2000:191). Companies like Barrick claim to help or attempt to improve the lifestyle of the affected but as its recorded in the World Bank that is incorrect.

Extreme mining creates several environmental issues, the creation of huge holes which generate toxins to go into the air. And the use of coupious amount of water has exarcerbated the issue as not only the consumption of water is being used but water is contaminated. Even worse in the *campamentos* (camps near or within mine sites) are not protected under Chile’s air pollution regulation levels in which foreign companies take advantage of. The following graph demonstrates less than 1.5 percent of water consumption a copper mining company uses in one year and every year the consupntion increases. (Cliquet, 2013)



“Projections of water demand for total production of copper in Chile 2009-2020”

COCHILCO

A protest that took place in Chile of 2013, environmentalist Villablanca said: "The binational mining treaty hands more than 4,000km of [Andes] mountains to transnational corporations, allows the extraction of natural resources and the use of water to be granted practically free of charge to companies", Furthermore, "In Latin America, the biggest concentrations of freshwater are in the Andes mountains," which is inhabited by 80 percent of Chile's indigenous communities, who depend on these sources of water for survival" (Jarroud, 2013). This means that the damages are transferred to the indigenous people in which they leave their old mining profession and attempt to look for other jobs as they are not usually hired but even worse their natural resources such as water is being depleted and have to migrate elsewhere usually big cities.

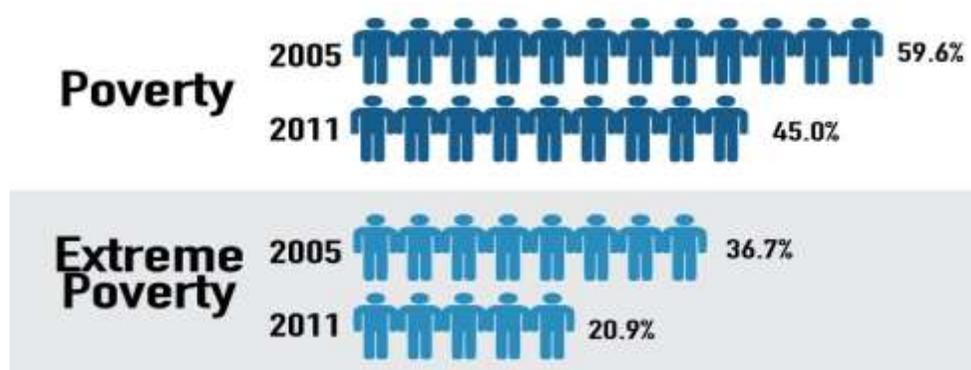
## **Case Study #2: Bolivia**

### **Bolivia's Current Economy**

Bolivia is a landlocked country surrounded by Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil. Its current population is 10.56 million people and a GDP of \$33.00 billion (World Bank, 2016). Some of its natural resources are gold, tin, silver, zinc, copper, bismuth, lead, and ore. Bolivia has the largest iron ore mine in the world. Even with an abundance of these precious resources, it is still one of the poorest countries in Latin America (UNICEF, 2013).

Despite lack of privatization, in 2013, Bolivia had the highest FDI percentage wise out of all South American countries. Also their economy is growing faster than any other country in the region by five percent annually and has positive macrofundamentals. In recent years its debt has

been diminishing along with a 307 percent increment of income which equates to a decrease of poverty rate of 25 percent since 2001 (Wilson, 2015,). Gas exports have contributed significantly to its economic growth and its private investment is one of the lowest within Latin America due to Morales' "communitarian socialism" (The Heritage Foundation, 2016). In the 1990s the mining industry was privatized. Throughout most of Bolivia the key way of living is to work in the mining industry. This graph compares how poverty rate has reduced since 2005 through 2011.



<http://cepr.net/blogs/the-americas-blog/bolivias-economy-under-evo-in-10-graphs>

## Bolivia: Brief history of Neoliberalism

Bolivia was introduced to neoliberalization in the mid-1980s by the IMF (International Monetary Fund) in order to alleviate the foreign economic burden. Some conditions that had to be implemented were to privatize, have an open market, and reduce government expenditure. The results were chaotic and harmful to the population. In a 2002 statistic it showed that 90 percent of the population lived under the poverty line. Like Chile, Bolivia is no stranger to coups. But unlike Chile, Bolivia has had a coup on average once a year since 1982 which leads to governmental instability even with the good institutions it has built. Neoliberalism is seen as an economical option to stabilize a country's economy (Langman, 2009). That is not the case for

Bolivia. An example to support this is, before laborers had to negotiate with various companies as oppose to with the government in order to come to work terms (**Kohl, 2002**).

Bringing it back to how the Washington Consensus and how it had created a panacea for crumbling economies as previously mentioned at the beginning of the paper. In 1985 Bolivia felt the influence of neoliberalism through the demands of the WB (World Bank) and IMF in order to fix its economy. This implication of guidelines is known as the Washington Consensus. Through this it “went beyond macroeconomic stabilization to include fiscal reform, trade liberalization, internal price decontrol, and the decentralization or privatization of public enterprises” (Sachs, 1987, p. 281). It was a way to reaffirm that foreign investment would thrive.

By implementing subsidies it only caters to political power by addressing specific interest as oppose to having the best interest of society. For example, in 1996, through the Transparency International Bolivia it was reported as one of the most corrupt nations in the world; this was during the neoliberal phase, although it (neoliberalism) is not fully to be blamed for corruption. To sum what the Washington Consensus does is stabilizes economic policies at the expense social equality which impact heavily the most poorest of the country, in this case and any case within Latin America most of the population who is being affected are of indigenous decent (Kohl, 2002). Privatization interfered on indigenous local business economy through both legal and illegal expropriation and at any cost. In the 1990s, there was a law stating, “Anything below this level (like mineral or oil deposits) or in some instances above it (like water) comes under the jurisdiction of other legislation, such as the Mining Code or the Hydrocarbons Law, and the state can sell or lease exploitation rights over these resources to private companies” (Arze, & Kruse, n.d.)

In Bolivia capitalization does not guarantee job security or even creation of jobs especially in a country that solely depends on the extraction of natural resources. Capitalization during the neoliberalism era incremented the gap between the rich and poor. As a result critics of this economic model wanted an end to globalization due to correlating between economical struggles and neoliberal policies (Kohl, 2002). Also a fall in commodities led to the foreclosure of nationalized mines which affected 25,000 miners and in the 1990s the mining companies where privatized as recommended by the neoliberal reform which broke up Latin Americas' most successful miners' union (Jamasmie, 2014).

In the paragraphs that follow I will discuss how Evo Morales has advocated for indigenous rights by reviewing his accomplishments during his presidency. After I will discuss how racism affects the indigenous population by looking at statistic and discuss how inequality leads to poverty and less access to resources. As my last factor I will look into how the environmental damages caused by mines have affected the indigenous people.

## **Evo Morales Tackling Neoliberal Constrains**

Bolivian President Evo Morales (2006-current) plays an important role in being a liaison for indigenous people and global politics as he is Bolivia's first indigenous president and being born in a mining village (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016) he understands and can relate to what the majority of the population needs. In 2008, he gave a speech in which over 3,000 political figures attended. His message was on why we should "eradicate capitalism" and embrace "communitarian socialism" because according to him this is a solution to protecting the natural environment; blaming a capitalist system as the culprit for environmental damages. His speech was finalized by contributing his Ten Commandments that were focused by his indigenous

upbringing. In it he addressed war, colonialism, protection of the Earth, and education as a right (Postero, 2010).

Morales is a strong advocate for indigenous people. His accomplishments have been nationalizing the country's energy corporation in which it is predicted to double its annual revenue. His other accomplishment was rewriting Bolivia's constitution to include the recognition of the indigenous population. In the constitution it gave indigenous people more rights, recognizing their identity, and autonomy. It was approved by 164 out of 255 members of congress. It was a difficult process but eventually passed (Info Please, 2015). The question here is why would anyone oppose the basic rights of anyone? In this case the European descendants of Bolivia were oppose to the implementation of the new constitution because their argument was that focusing on indigenous communities ignored capitalism growth and would have a negative on the non-indigenous population (Taylor, 2009).

## **Racism within Bolivia: Inequality Leads to Poverty**

Racism has and still holds a significant part within Latin America. The highest percentages of indigenous peoples in the Americas: Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador (with some additional discussion of Mexico and Guatemala) (Yashar, 2005: 21). Indigenous and African descendants are extremely discriminated. In a research conducted by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), concluded to "poverty, stigmatization and exclusion have become structural" this holds true specifically for people who are indigenous. It was demonstrated through gathered information that most of these people are living in poverty and find it difficult to reach higher education due to language barriers, culture, and

discrimination. The main culprit was contributed to removal of their land, natural resources and eventually migrate elsewhere making very little money in unskilled jobs (ECLAC, 2013).

Discrimination can trickle down to lack of education, health care, displacement, political misrepresentation and all can be pinned to “deterioration in natural resources, and ancestral lands that have been lost or reduced. In several countries, major development projects often have negative consequences for native populations. Clear cutting of native forests, oil extraction, or dam building have had a devastating impact on Indigenous peoples and their environment” (ECLAC, 2013).

“Between 1997 and 2002, poverty rates decreased slightly for indigenous and non-indigenous people from 75% to 74% and from 57% to 53%, respectively. As of 2002, rural and urban poverty rates were much higher among the indigenous than the non-indigenous population (86% versus 74% in rural areas, and 59% versus 47% in urban areas). Extreme poverty rates also decreased between 1997 and 2002 for non-indigenous people from 31% to 27%, but remained constant for indigenous people at about 52%. In rural areas, extreme poverty actually increased for indigenous people (from 65% to 72%), but decreased slightly for non-indigenous people (from 53% to 52%). In urban areas, poverty fell slightly for both groups” (World Bank, 2004).

81 percent of the indigenous population works compared to 64 percent of the non-indigenous population. And 1/3 of the indigenous working force does not receive income which affects more women than men. Also, indigenous people earn less than half of what non-indigenous people make. Bolivia’s increasingly indigenous populations are most affected by poverty (World Bank, 2004). To support this claim we can compare monthly salary in Bolivia, Indigenous workers make \$359 bolivianos while non-indigenous workers \$591 bolivianos a month (Hall, & Patrinos, 2005).

Bolivians of European descendants are the most dominant in the involvement of politics equating to the deprivation of the ethnic groups to thrive (Abay, 2014). It is a great

accomplishment that Bolivia has an indigenous president but he needs support from his government if things are to alleviate the inequality for the majority of the indigenous population.

While many have raised the question if attending school for indigenous people would decrease their economic struggle and increase their income to living standards, study shows that that is not the case. It is true that indigenous people have less schooling of an average of 3.7 less years a total of only 5.9 years. And if they did return to school they would be making a 58 percent income increase but non-indigenous people see an 85 percent income increase if they return to school (World Bank, 2004). Many factors come into play as to why indigenous people drop out; culture and language barriers have an effect as well. Many of them do not speak Spanish and if they do it's their second language. Aymara and Quechua languages are very predominant in Bolivia.

## **Investing in Bolivia: Mining Sector**

Even though Bolivia is seen as a socialist country it has caught the attention of foreign investors. For one it has plenty of natural resources. Also its GDP is one of the most prominent in Latin America. It has also been named “the world's most entrepreneurial country by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM, Based in London)” (LATIA, 2015).

Bolivian Constitution mandates that local investment precedes foreign investment (Dietrich Brauch, 2014). In 2014 Bolivia implemented a law in which bans cooperatives the right to build a partnership with private companies regardless they be local or foreign. Morales' mission was to raise taxes on the mining companies. “ Under the revised regulations, which create a new government division to oversee the mining sector ” (Jamasmie, 2014) in order to increase revenue, Bolivia's government makes miners located inside the country to “pay

royalties of between five to seven percent, a 13 percent of gross value tax, and up to 37 percent on profits” (Schipani & Thomas, 2012).

A geopolitical analyst, Karen Hooper, stated that Bolivia sees that natural resources are to be used as a profit for the locals and not to be monopolized through foreign corporations and it is a very bold move from a country with little resources. Hooper said, “Personally I wouldn’t wish being president of Bolivia on anyone,” she adds. “It’s hard to be a government with so few resources in such a large space” (Canadian Mining, 2012).

## **Environmental Detriment**

Like any other country in Latin America, Bolivia is brought with a challenge of building its economic growth and attempting to protect its environmental habitat. Bolivia makes much of its revenue from the foreign mining industry. The U.S. and Bolivia have for the most part disagreed on many issues. In the case regarding to mining, environmental issues are a huge topic. Most Bolivians have mixed feeling about foreign mining as it has provided jobs yet people living near the sites have been the most affected negatively in regards to their lives (Trade and Environment Database, 1997).

The mining industry has lacked the resources it needs in order to reach its full potential. Much of the mining is done with little precaution. Using mostly shovels and picks the miners risk their lives encountering landslides and underground collapses. In 1992 there were strict laws proposed for Bolivian mining projects in which would have had a detrimental effect on its mining industry. Eventually less restrictive laws were implemented regarding mining and the environment. And foreign companies were not blamed for their environmental negligence as Bolivian came to terms with the World Bank to make sure that companies are not prosecuted for

previous pollution, then blaming "wild-cat prospectors" (USA International Business Publications, 2012). "Wildcat drilling amounts to a small proportion of the drilling activity of large energy companies. For small energy companies, wildcat drilling can be a make-or-break proposition. Investors in such companies can reap significant rewards if such drilling results in locating large energy reservoirs. Conversely, wildcat drilling that repeatedly results in dry holes can lead to adverse performance for a small-cap energy stock" (Investopedia, 2003).

Many developed countries are seeking to prosper from Bolivia's less strict environmental constraints. Bolivia's mining has been harmful causing soil erosion, toxins going up into the atmosphere, and pollution of freshwater. The water is not suitable for using and the soil cannot be reused. Laws implemented to combat this type of negligence are rarely enforced. For example until the late 1980s the soil erosion issue was blamed on the "backwardness" of the indigenous peoples' culture. In return the peasants said they will "no longer tolerate the exploitation of their natural resources by "oligarchy and imperialism." (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), 2010).

## **Oruro's Harmful Effects Due to Mining**

Bolivia's town of Oruro is known for its mining practices. Its population of 220,000 is also exposed to the harmful effects of mining. More than two million tons of contamination has been exposed in a period of five centuries. The reproduction of this catastrophic outcome has been known for quite some time as far as a few centuries (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), 2010).

Lake Uru-Uru and Lake Poopo have shown signs of contamination. Traces of harmful metals (lead, mercury, nickel, cobalt, arsenic (extreme standards), and chromium) have been found in the lakes. This not only harms the water but food as well. The mining done in the town of Oruro has been linked to the damages. Fishing is a main source of attaining food and income and that has been affected by the pollution and contamination of the mines. Traces of soil erosion can be traced for miles as it's transported through wind and vehicles making this a bigger issue that spreads to other towns as the particles that are being transported seem to be more toxic (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), 2010).

Children are the most affected by the outcomes. They are more likely to inhale and ingest the particles. Their immature bodies are not fully adapted to fight off these impurities. In a clinical evaluation conducted by geochemists it was discovered that boys tend to be most affected due to they are more likely to hang outdoors than girls because of cultural practices. But nevertheless the results showed that children in Oruro had a higher risk of pollution effects (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), 2010).

## **Bolivians Demands from the Mining Industry**

Morales made waves when he defined the nation's mineral deposits as "blessings" in a 2012 law aimed to protect the right of nature "to not be affected by mega-infrastructure and development projects that affect the balance of ecosystems and the local inhabitant communities" (Jamasmie, 2014).

Oruro, like Altiplano and Cordillera, is a representation of mining towns that are neglected from being recognized as a hazard for people to live in. The problems are overshadowed due to the fact that the issue is not visible right away. Implementing laws and regulations are difficult because many people live in or near the mine sites. Because mining is embedded in Bolivia's culture since before the *Conquista* and because mining is a highly profitable business makes it reasonable as to why the issues go unrecognized or little is being done to be addressed (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), 2010).

Bolivia has been trying to clean up the mess that foreign companies have left due to mining practices. The country is not expected to feel sudden effects any time soon as mining exports have been surpassing each year since President Morales has been active in office (2006). In 2012 mining exports increased to 50 percent equaling to \$3.7 billion. As a former foreign company indigenous employee puts it: "We do want investors to help us extract our minerals. But only if they respect us, they respect our rules, and they don't take all of the profits away with them" (Schipani & Thomas, 2012).

Cerro Rico is another mine site since pre-Columbian time. It is still mined to this day. Despite its riches its inhabitants are some of the poorest Bolivians due to little employment within the mining sector, little education, not enough land. But those who do get employed make more than the double minimum wage; \$360 in a month (Shahriari, 2014). If companies want to invest in Bolivia's mining sector they must learn to respect what the Bolivian people want especially the indigenous population within these sites. If non-indigenous groups benefit from capitalism so should the indigenous people. Also powerful foreign entities such as the USA should stop implementing its values onto Bolivia. As critiques within the literature review all had

valuable points to make. It can be summed up to let the people decide what is best for them and have equal political representation.

## **Analysis**

Using an economic model such as neoliberalism is not a negative thing. As we have seen, neoliberalism's intentions are to prescribe a remedy for economic growth. Neoliberalism has created economic growth for the hosting country by providing jobs, increasing education, and developing a global network. Developing countries attempt to learn how to do international business while providing jobs for their population. However as I had analyzed, certain people were being excluded from benefitting from the economically. In the case of the entire Latin American region, majority of the indigenous people are discriminated from political representation.

In the case of Chile, their economic power is recognized globally and is used as an economic model for other Latin American countries to mimic. This can be seen when neoliberalism was introduced in Chile and how it spread throughout other surrounding countries. Chile has had success in the international business sector. Although it can be argued that neoliberalism was not successful in closing the gap between the rich and the poor, on the contrary, it had created a bigger gap between the two groups and also hurting the small percentage of indigenous population to a greater extent.

Politically indigenous people are not recognized within Chilean society. They have little to no autonomy. Yes, there has been slight changes in order to recognize them only until recently but they are still misrepresented and even though there are new laws that protect them they are neglected or ignored as we saw in the case that involved the Canadian company, Barrick, by

taking advantage of knowing this with the help of the Chilean government who neglected the fact that there is a 1903 land treaty that was granted to the indigenous people of that area. But since they are not recognized as a legitimate ethnic group treaties such as the latter are not actually implemented.

In the case of Bolivia, because they are a landlocked country it is assumed that they will play by the rules of the surrounding countries and international countries but current president Evo Morales has shown that rejecting a neoliberal idea and implementing a socialist way to run a country has not only benefitted the few non-indigenous population but also its vast majority indigenous population. Even with a limited support from his government Evo Morales has implemented many laws to protect indigenous people and their lands. Although many of Bolivia's issues are not fixed he has much approval of the population due to increasing income, creating schools, and providing more healthcare for the population.

As a result I have come to the conclusion that the indigenous people of Chile and Bolivia suffered negatively at the root of neoliberalism which has shunned indigenous people from being equally represented in government, education, having access to healthcare, and also being displaced as their lands are seen as an economic relief for the countries. But the results after neoliberalism show that Chile has not supported its indigenous population as much as Bolivia has.

## **Conclusion**

To understand how neoliberalism has negatively affected the indigenous population of Latin America we have to understand their struggles in a popular phrase *QUINIENTOS AÑOS DE RESISTENCIA INDÍGENA*. This translates to “500 years of Native resistance”. In the past five centuries the original inhabitants of the Americas have been at war to preserve their cultural

identity that was lost since Europeans came and immigrated to the Americas. With that being said, indigenous people are constantly trying to preserve their land and their way of life. They challenge their local governments to preserve the environment and say no to the destruction of the land. Rephrasing what Mignolo said, these people are not trying to go back to pre-Hispanic times but want to find alternatives to the issues arising from globalization that specifically affect not only them and their surrounding environment but everyone.

Since the arrival of pioneers on indigenous land, indigenous populations who remain have been decimated. The indigenous populations who remain have felt the impact of the new settlers and swift change affecting future generations to this day. In Latin America many of these people have fought the resistance of European and westernization ideas for centuries. They have seen many changes and their culture and identity has been questioned and threatened. In many cases, they have been imposed a new way of life against their own will. Analyzing today's situation indigenous people have been fighting off Eurocentric ideas, neoliberalism, and globalization.

There is a foreign debt that most Latin American countries have to pay. Since there is a depletion of natural resources as time goes by new harmful practices are created. The global demand for natural resources and the high rise in their value have made many regions where vast majorities of indigenous populations reside; making them vulnerable to mining corporations. They face the consequences of being displaced, neglected by their government, and their culture threatened. If the corporations strike big they give a cut to the hosting country but indigenous people may not receive any benefits at all.

Mining threatens indigenous people's culture by displacing them and destroying their way of life sometimes destroying things that they value; it can be their homes, historical artifacts,

sacred places and so on. Mining does not always provide work for the local indigenous people. Sometimes they are not skilled to use new technology or if they do work it does not mean that they are being paid well or paid at all. This causes indigenous people to migrate to bigger cities as they have lost their own land. Migration creates new problems for the indigenous people as they are not welcomed and face discrimination.

Environmental damages occur whether it be from small or large scale mining. Pollution of the air and water are major causes to the negative effect on health of people who live near the mining areas. The ones who are most affected are poor indigenous people. Lack of information of the negative effects that mining has on people's health whether it be work related injuries or through pregnancies that affect the growth of children are not often addressed to the community. If the mining sectors chooses to do business with companies in Latin America there should be a reward for indigenous people who bear the most burden. They should be informed of what are the benefits and detriments of having mining companies involved in their territory. Their voices should be heard.

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