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“El río es vida”

Afro-Colombian resistance to externally driven mining in the river Yurumanguí

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“El río es vida”

A quote from the interview number 1 conducted in the community of the river Yurumanguí, which translates as “The river is life”.

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Abstract

Large-scale mining has been declared to be a central development strategy of Colombia which has caused the emergence of resistance movements of peasant, ethno-territorial and indigenous groups. This study analyses the concept of resistance in the framework of the Afro-Colombian community of the river Yurumanguí. This community has managed to keep its territory free from externally driven mining and represents one of the few exceptions in the region. The purpose is to investigate the collective resistance against a form of development that has not entered the territory yet. Based on a qualitative case study research design consisting of semi-structured interviews with community leaders and workshops with community members, the study demonstrates the relevance of the river and the importance of the community's collective identity. The conservation of the territory, anticipated environmental damages and an increasing presence of armed groups are further reasons to avoid externally driven mining. Furthermore, the study explores the notion of development through the examination of local alternatives. From this analysis it is concluded that the logic of a community-driven development prevails, in which the defence of the territory is of the ultimate importance.

Key words: resistance, mining, development, territory, black communities, Colombia

Word count: 19'821

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1. Introduction

"Yurumanguí es pobre en recursos, pero rico en pensamientos."[1]
(Member of the community of the river Yurumanguí)

"Hoy día estoy amenazado, pero nuestra gente, nuestros mayores, nuestras mujeres nos dicen que si tenemos que morir, moriremos en nuestro territorio."[2]
(Anonymous, in Espinosa-Bonilla 2011:213-214)

The extraction of minerals, oil and gas has had a long and ambiguous history in development processes, because they can yield wealth and bring capital industrialisation, but they have caused social conflicts, environmental damage and have led to underperforming economies (Bebbington 2012:xv; Canel, Idemudia and North 2010:6; Liebenthal, Michelitsch and Tarazona 2003:1). In response to these issues, a large number of territorially-based social and cultural movements have emerged in Latin America relating to ethno-territorial identities of affected communities. These movements mostly contest the meaning of and attitude towards development and the relationship to nature, which in turn constitutes one of the most significant causes for conflicts among communities involved in large-scale mining projects (Gordon and Webber 2998:68; Madrid Lara et al. 2012:65; Seoane 2006:68-69).

According to Seoane (2006), a primary goal of these movements is the protection of their territory. The defence of natural common goods is their common denominator. It takes on various forms, such as resistance against mining exploitation and fighting for the protection of biodiversity, the confrontation with the expansion of agro-business while proposing alternative forms of agricultural production or opposition against water privatisation in forming movements for water protection. The defence of the territory and natural resources is embedded in the "defence of life" (Seoane 2006:94) of these communities and consequently becomes a place where an alternative formulation of the relationship between humans, nature and social organisations can be reflected upon (ibid.:92-94).

[1] "Yurumanguí is poor in resources, but rich in thoughts" (translation by the author)
[2] "Today there is a threat to my life, but our people, our elders and our women tell us that if we have to die, we will die in our territory" (translation by the author)

In Colombia, mining is declared to be central to the national development strategy to turn Colombia into a global resource provider by 2019 (CENSAT Agua y Viva 2014:28). Various indigenous, black and peasant communities are opposing this development strategy and have given different meanings to civil resistance in relation to their particular context and forms of violence that affect them (Rudqvist and Anrup 2013:517). The black communities' defence of the territory is mainly a cultural struggle for autonomy and self-determination, in which they request to be in charge of their own development. These movements have emerged in response to the opening of the Colombian economy to global markets during the 1990s or substantial reforms provided in the new national Constitution of 1991, among others. The latter has granted black communities of the Pacific region collective territorial rights for their ancestral lands which they have inhabited for centuries. These movements show a way to organise life differently from a dominant Western model of culture and economy (Escobar 1999:17–20).

In view of this, this thesis analyses resistance by a black community towards large-scale mining in the river-territory "Yurumanguí" in the Colombian Pacific, which has denied access to external mining projects into their territory until today by saying "no" to mining. The question is: **"How and why is externally driven mining resisted in the community of the river Yurumanguí?"** The purpose of this case study is to understand this resistance process, in order to comprehend the community's perception of mining in particular and of development in general. Especially in light of the community's desire to acquire its own mining concession as a protection for their territory against an imposition of development from the outside, it becomes necessary to analyse the motivations for internal over external mining. In a second step, this thesis aims to explore the responses the community provides for its development.

In this study, the idea of resistance surpasses a narrow definition of resistance as active opposition within an actual conflict, such as street protests. Here, resistance refers to a long-standing pacifistic and discursive strategy against external threats to

their resistance that exists even before the outbreak a conflict between the community and mining actors. I argue that due to their differing views on territory, identity and the relation to nature, this afro-descendant community also resist an on-going presence of a neoliberal development approach. Thus it allows a shift in thinking to frame the dominant discourse differently.

This thesis first examines the connection between resistance and mining and the link to development alternatives. A historical background and a description of the community and the river as habitat are then given to understand the context in which the resistance takes place. In the subsequent sections, the theoretical framework and the concept of resistance will be explained before presenting the methodology of this study. In the last part, the data will be analysed, followed by a discussion of the findings and the conclusion.

2. Problematisation and previous research

This chapter demonstrates how resistance of local communities and extractive industries are connected to each other, while focusing on the context of Colombia. Next, it outlines previous research before linking it to the concept of development. The chapter ends with the expected contribution of the study.

The extractive economy has been a central and significant socioeconomic element in Latin America since the time of the colonies. It has increasingly been promoted as a solution for "underdevelopment" (Bebbington et al. 2008:889; Canel, Idemudia, and North 2010:5; Gordon and Webber 2008:67–69; Pedersen 2014:195; Seoane 2006:86) by national governments and international financial institutions. The promotion has taken the form of increased private sector investment, privatisation of land and mining sector reforms (Onorato, Fox, and Strongman 1998:5–6). The World Bank, for example, has supported the Colombian government by means of technical assistance loans and advice on the development of a national mining code, passed in 2001 as Law 685. According to article 5 of Law 685, minerals of any kind and location are the exclusive property of the state, without regards to ownership or possession of the land on which the minerals are found (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C. 2001). Thus, unilateral expropriation of land suspected of containing minerals is facilitated for foreign companies (Caruso et al. 2003:4–5; CENSAT Agua y Viva 2014:28-30; PBI Colombia 2011:8–9). As a result, almost 40% of the Colombian territory, 45 million hectares of a total of 114 million, is in the process of being evaluated as potential concessions to national and international companies (Arenas 2011:1; PBI Colombia 2011:4).

Several conflicts arose from the expansion of the mining sector, because mainly peasants, indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities are affected by the commodification and privatisation of land and other resources, the resulting dispossession of land and the suppression of alternative forms of production and consumption (Gordon and Webber 2008:77-81; Harvey 2003:155-169; Vélez-Torres and Varela 2014:10; Zibechi 2014:43). Resistance movements based on ethnic-

territorial identities (Gordon and Webber 2008:64–68; Muñoz Gaviria and Teixeira 2013:118–119; Urkidi 2011:556; Zibechi 2014:43) have proven to be a viable force to address negative consequences of the expansion of mining in Latin America (Petras and Veltmeyer 2011:iii).

2.1. Resistance and literature review

While the links between resistance, resource extraction and mining have been studied, no consensus has been offered on the desirability of mining as a national development strategy (Bebbington et al. 2008; Davis and Tilton 2002). Instead, different aspects, such as the relation between foreign corporate expansion and resistance (Bebbington et al. 2008; Bebbington 2012; Gordon and Webber 2008), the connection between natural resource wealth and armed conflicts (Collier and Hoeffler 2005; Gedicks 2003; Ross 1999), the link between large-scale mining and health (Caxaj et al. 2014) or the defence of the community and struggles for citizenship (Rasch 2012; Seoane 2006; Urkidi 2011) have been the focus of many studies.

In the literature reviewed, two themes appear to be relevant to explaining resistance against mining in territories of Afro-Colombian communities. The first is the environmental dimension. The extraction and processing of mineral resources has generally been regarded as adversely affecting the environment (Bebbington et al. 2008; Bebbington 2012; Canel, Idemudia, and North 2010; Caxaj et al. 2014; Madrid Lara et al. 2012; Kronenberg 2014; Pedersen 2014). Landscape transformation is one possible consequence that causes also the alteration of natural water courses (Bebbington et al. 2008:893; Colmenares 2013:1; Rasch 2012:159–160). Another consequence is water pollution through the use of chemicals. The extensive use of substances such as cyanide and mercury are analysed in relation to their harmful effect on water quality and the ecosystem in general (Güiza and Aristizabal 2013; Olivero-Verbel et al. 2014; Siegel 2013). As a result, the availability and quality of water and competition over energy resources, as well as over land, have become a main source of opposition. Indigenous and peasant groups are especially affected and

are opposing mining due to their direct dependence on the environment for their livelihoods (Bebbington et al 2008:894; Svampa 2001:207; Urkidi 559).

In addition to the environmental aspects outlined above, some authors indicate that resistance is also linked to inherent worldviews of native communities, which represents the second relevant theme for the analysis (Caxaj et al. 2014; Seoane 2006; Urkidi 2011; Zibechi 2014). As Boeder claims, Afro-Colombians and indigenous people measure progress in terms of harmony and sustainable existence (Boeder 2012:51) and land becomes synonymous to life (DDTPC 2014:15; Seoane 2006:92). Moreover, resources like water or land are primordial for the practice of their customs and traditions. It becomes apparent that territory is an important factor framing the construction of black identity (Carrasco and Fernandez 2009:80; Montes et al. 2014:50).

2.2. The Development impasse

Development as a discourse, practice and objective continues to be an important social and cultural force underlying the reality and experience of day to day life. Despite great efforts, issues such as relative poverty and inequality have not yet been resolved. In response to these failures the development discourse has been altered several times in order to focus on, for example, human development or sustainability. However, the dominant discourse remains embedded within the logic of economic growth and accumulation, modernity and the capitalist mode of production (Carrasco and Fernández 2009; Escobar 2012; Kothari and Minogue 2002).

As a response, political and social struggles of this century have formed a confrontation characterised as anti- or alternative globalisation movements. This kind of political resistance wishes to postulate an alternative model in order to transcend the capitalist and neoliberal world-order (von Werlhof 2008:114–115). Grassroots groups searching for viable alternative economic practices and lifestyles "[…] do not aim so much to destroy capitalism as to be able to "opt out" of it […]" (Della Porta and Diani 2006:78). Moving away from conventional Western modes of knowledge

is a first step towards creating a space in which other types of practices and knowledge can arise and where an arena for the pursuit of "alternative development as a political practice" (Escobar 2012:216) becomes possible.

2.3. Expected contribution

This thesis explores how the community's relationship to the territory, their world-visions and their identity explain collective resistance against externally driven mining[3]. In contrast to studies where resistance against an existing or planned mining project is analysed (Kuecker 2007, Rasch 2012; Urkidi 2011), this study emphasises how the community anticipates consequences of mining and how the shared identity also leads to resistance rather than being its mere product. In this specific case, resistance is a continuing process to defend territory to which mining is a further threat. By examining the perspectives of the Afro-Colombian community of the river Yurumanguí[4], the analysis makes it possible to reconsider resistance as a decolonising project that challenges the normative neoliberal construction of the world through accentuating local ways of knowing. These local ways of knowing also render explicit why extending gold exploitation in the river-territory is not at odds with their resistance discourse. Therefore, the community's discourse might create a way to formulate "[…] ontological counterpoints to challenge taken-for-granted truths of large-scale mining, as well as claims of the marketplace, development, and commodification of the land" (Caxaj et al. 2014:832).

[3] In this thesis, the difference of externally and internally driven mining is related to who carries out the mining activity. The community resist what they call the "contaminating, large-scale mining from the outside of the community". Externally-driven and large-scale mining are hence use interchangeably in the thesis. This type of mining is always opposed to artisanal, traditional ways of mining. Generally speaking, there exist two main scales of mining:

1) Artisanal/small-scale mining: informal mining carried-out using low technology or with minimal machinery (labour intensive, simple techniques, operating without legal mining concession, low productivity)
2) Large-scale mining: formal mining mobilising substantial capital and utilising heavy equipment (high technology, big workforce, volume of output sufficient to meet the requirements of the export market and large industries) (MiningFacts.org 2012)

[4] Hereafter called the community of Yurumanguí.

The current literature acknowledges the necessity of alternatives to mineral exploitation (Gordon and Webber 2008; Urkidi 2011; von Werlhof 2008) however, without revealing what these alternatives might look like. Identifying the community's alternatives is an essential part of the study.

3. The community of the river Yurumanguí

The following chapter outlines first the historical process of black movements and the emergence of territorial demands before explaining the case of the river Yurumangui, its functioning as collective territory and its internal organisation.

3.1. Slavery, black movements and the Ley 70

The roots of resistance of black communities in Colombia date back to the arrival of slaves in 1528. During slavery, first efforts to construct a black identity were made. Fugitive slaves would gather in *palenques* (a refuge) in order to reorganise their lives which had severely been interrupted by slavery. A second cycle of resistance took place after the abolition of slavery and mainly became a struggle for land. This cycle led as a result to the first appearance of black organisation (CEE n.d.; Oslender 2002; Walsh, Edizon, and Restrepo 2005).

The new national Constitution of 1991 marked the first time in history in which Afro-Colombian communities were recognised as an ethnic minority and also represented the start for a larger social and political process. The question of black participation was first raised at the *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente*[5]. This led to the creation of the *Coordinadora de Comunidades Negras*[6]. However, no black representative was elected to participate in the elaboration of the new Constitution due to a lack of consensus on the candidate. Only by collaborating with indigenous representatives their demands were addressed. Protest marches and the threat of not signing the new Constitution if there was no article on black communities led to the integration of the transitory article 55 that legally recognises black communities as an ethnic group. Due to pressure from the *Asamblea Nacionale de Comunidades negras*[7] and marches in Bogotá, the *Ley 70* (law 70) was sanctioned in 1993, which marks the highest point of the Afro-Colombian movement. The *Ley 70* is a mechanism for collective titling and the legal recognition of rights of black communities. It recognises black

[5] National Assembly to dialogue on the new Constitution
[6] Black Communities' Coordination
[7] National Assembly of Black Communities

communities as law subjects in two ways: as a *particular community* being granted a collective property (ancestral territories) and as *black communities* in Colombia being awarded a protection of cultural identity and ethnic rights (CEE n.d.:32–44; Fundación de Vida 1995:4–9; Walsh, Edizon, and Restrepo 2005:220–227). This changing legal context helped to affirm black identity and facilitates the emergence of current resistance movements.

3.2. Topography

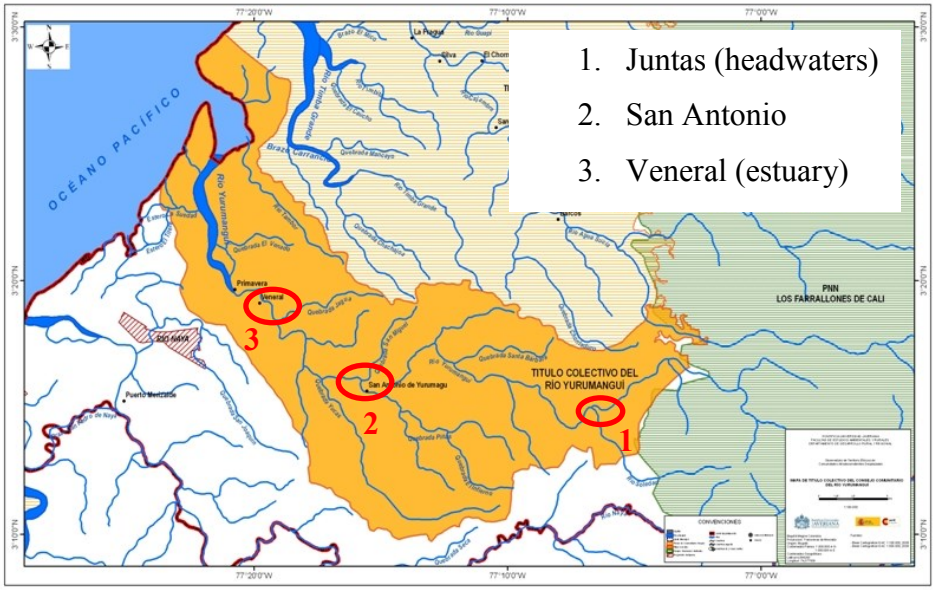


Figure 1 Collective territory of the community of the river Yurumanguí
(available from: www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/colombia_map.htm, accessed 20 march 2015)

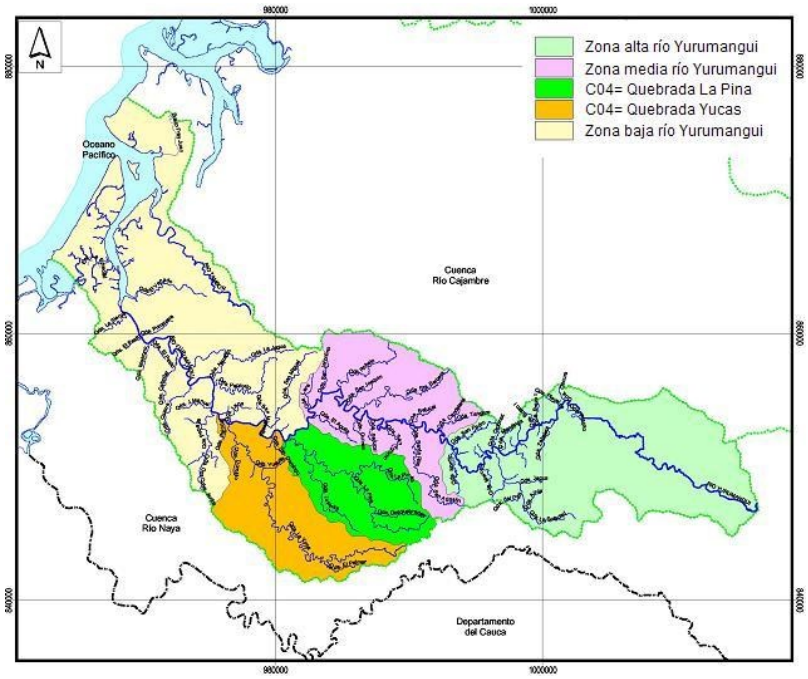
The region of the Colombian Pacific[8] covers a vast area of around 70'000 km² extending from Panamá to Ecuador and from the occidental Andean mountain range to the Pacific Ocean (Escobar 1999:17; Oslender 2002:90-92). The river Yurumanguí, one of the 240 rivers of the Pacific, is situated approximately three hours by boat south from its municipal capital Buenaventura.

The territory of Yurumanguí comprises 63'427 hectares, of which 54'776 are under collective titling (CYY n.d:7). The area of Yurumanguí is populated by 529 families

[8] Hereafter called the *Pacific*

that represent 2918 inhabitants distributed among 12 villages (Observatorio de Territorios Étnico n.d.). The biggest villages along the river are Juntas, San Antonio and Veneral.

3.3. The "aquatic space" and use of land



Upper part: Light green

Middle part: Lilac

Lower part: Light yellow

Figure 2 Map of the zones of the river Yurumanguí
(available from: http://www.cvc.gov.co/cvc/RecursoHidrico/aplicativos/Codificacion/Cuencas_Tercer_Orden.php?cod=44, accessed 26 April 2015)

Rural black individuals[9] have become closely linked through their shared experience of the aquatic space (river as habitat) and have formed a close *convivencia* (communal living), in which the river is the main space of social interaction for all black communities on the Pacific coast. It is the place where people meet, bath, do laundry and children play. It is a guiding element of their lives, because life patterns, housing and working routines are shaped by the river and tidal ranges (Oslender 2002:93-96).

The use of the land follows the "logic of the river" (Oslender 2002). In the upper, mountainous part of the river the community mainly supports itself with traditional

[9] There are also 5% of indigenous groups living in the Pacific

gold mining and some hunting. In the middle part emphasis is put on agriculture and tree felling. In the lower zone, fishing and gathering of shells are the main activities. Agriculture is, however, a means of production crossing all zones (ibid.)

3.4. Political organisation

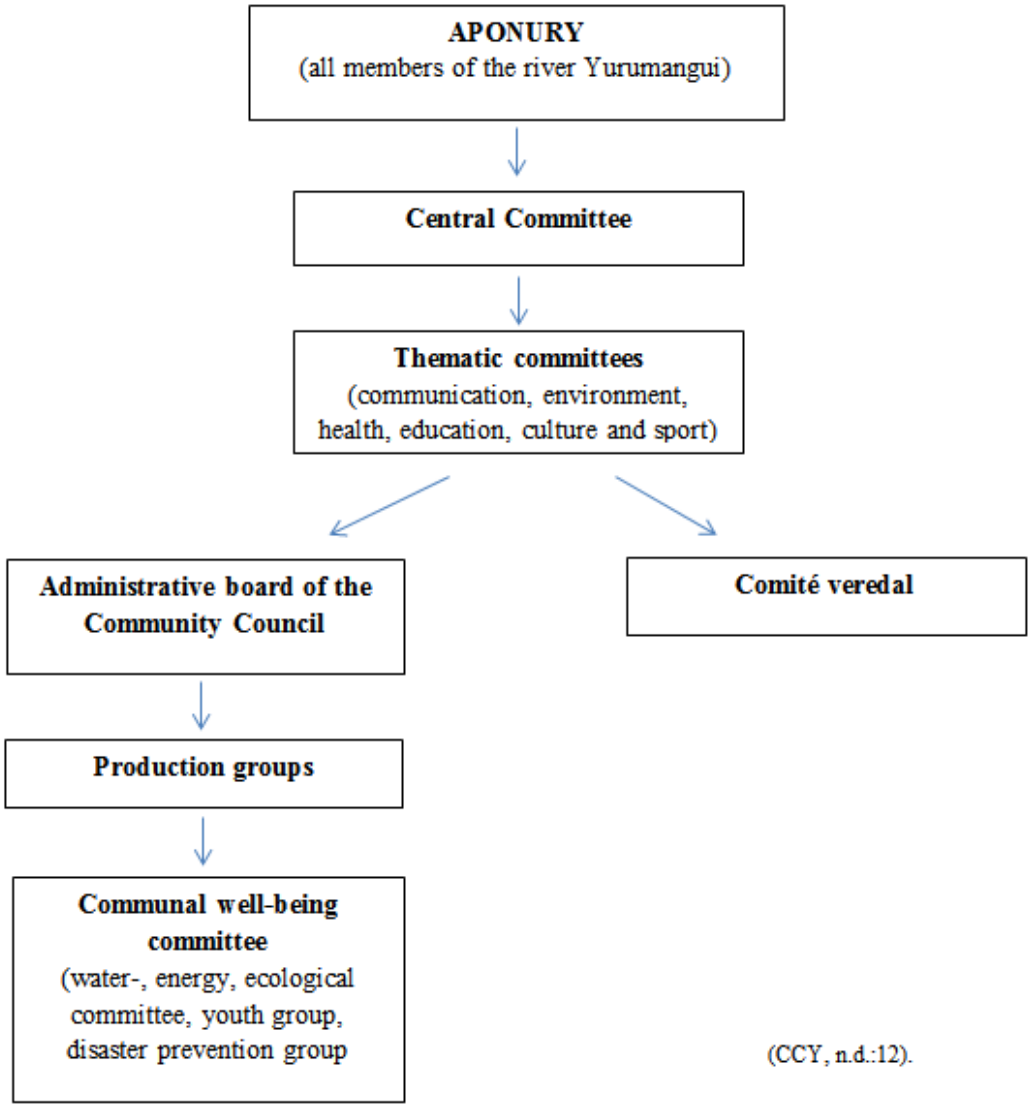
According to article 5 of *Ley 70*, each community has to form a community council in order to receive the collective title for the territory (see Figure 3). The council consists of each member of the territory, but a representative board is responsible for management, administration and coordination of the community. It is composed of a general coordinator, a secretary, a treasurer, three coordinators (one for each zone), a women's representative, a delegate operating as a mediator between the board and the communities, and the legal representative (CCY n.d.:16). The board has the following functions: assign individual territories for each family, ensure the conservation and protection of collective property, preserve cultural traditions, regulate conservation and the exploitation of natural resources, elect the legal representative and, finally, resolve internal conflicts (Fundación de Vida 1995:12–13).

Simultaneously, there is the ethnic-territorial organisation APONURY[10], the highest institution of decision-making in the river-territory orienting the actions of the community council (see Figure 3), an organisation which is particular to this community, and which was already established before the implementation of the *Ley 70*. Its administrative board is called the central committee composed of a general secretary, a general vice-secretary, an executive secretary, an executive vice-secretary, a financial committee, and the committee responsible for control and vigilance. Its main tasks are to support the community in the defence of their territory, to ensure a good use and management of natural resources and to strengthen and develop the organisational structures (CCY n.d:12-15).

[10] Asociación popular de negros unidos del río Yurumanguí = Popular association of the united black from the river Yurumanguí

Finally, each village has a local committee (comité verdal, see Figure 3). These committees are responsible for designating participants for the general assembly, evaluate the work of the representative boards, organise *mingas* (voluntary communal labour) and resolve internal conflicts. They consist of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer, a prosecutor and a "vocal" (responsible for informing village members about decisions) (CCY n.d.).

Figure 3 Organisation chart of local government structure of the black community of Yurumanguí



(CCY, n.d.:12).

4. Theoretical framework

This chapter explores first the collective action framework, in which resistance is embedded. This framework examines why individuals decide to participate in collective action while turning to understandings and interpretations of a situation and the construction of shared meanings. Moreover, it demonstrates the influence of the collective identity. In a second step, the concept of resistance is presented to analyse the different dimensions it can take on. Finally, two main strategies are elaborated.

4.1. Collective Action Theory

Resistance processes are a form of collective action, which are defined as "[...] sets of social events that comprise a number of individuals or groups exhibiting, at the same time and in the same place, behaviours with relatively similar morphological characteristics" (Melucci 1996:20). These behaviours are products of actions, choices, and decisions, as well as the result of beliefs and representations held by actors. Each actor defines himself and his relationship with the environment (other actors), available resources, opportunities and constraints given by the context (ibid:15-40). The collective resistance of the community of Yurumanguí against externally driven mining is a group of individuals living in the Pacific, deciding to openly express their opinions about mining while advocating for social change for their community. In doing so, they are articulating their worldviews and convictions and are attempting to hinder the imposition of a model of development, while simultaneously promoting alternative options to manage social life and economic activities (cf. Della Porta and Diani 2006:2-3).

4.1.1. *Incentives for participation*

The decision to participate in the resistance process of Yurumanguí is taken by every member of the community, in which choices are made and preferences are revealed. Different incentives influence the decision on the individual level, such as political discontent, moral incentives (shared feeling that there is an obligation to participate under certain conditions) and social incentives (taking part in protest can yield social

rewards) (Opp 2009:11-12). The following graph shows the interrelation between various incentives to engage in collective action.

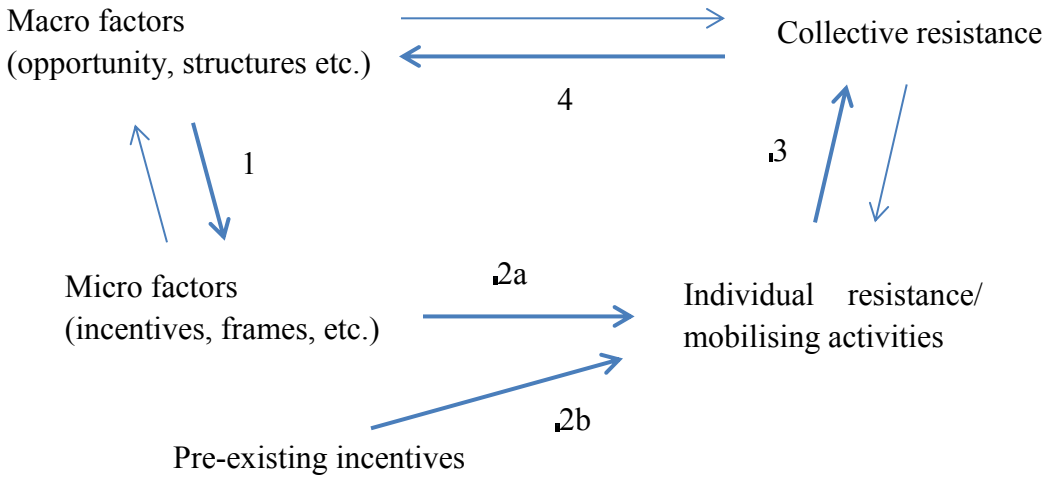


Figure 4 Basic structure of resistance (cf. Opp 2012:17)

The arrow number 1 represents the relationship between political opportunities and the change in incentives. These incentives in turn will influence individual behaviour (2a). A group perceives an opportunity to act and subsequently decides to take part in collective action. In the case of Yurumanguí, the new Constitution of 1991 represents this opportunity as it recognised black communities as an ethnic group which has rights, giving rise to black movements for territorial demands (cf. chapter 3.1).

Yet, certain incentives may affect individual behaviour without being themselves influenced by macro-factors (2b). These pre-existing incentives, for example a feeling of obligation to resist, are provoked by the changing political structure but existed already beforehand. A high level of coordination is needed to turn individual behaviour into collective resistance (3). In the case of Yurumangui, the general assembly offers a framework through which resistance can be organised.

Collective resistance will also influence the structure through effecting change in the short or long term (4). By exemplifying an alternative to mining, the community of

Yurumangui might be able to implement their development plans and motivate other river communities to join their struggle.

Finally, all above-mentioned relations are mutual. Certain changes in the structure may change already existing collective resistance, changes in micro-factors influence the structure or an outcome such as collective resistance may change individual decisions.

From a theoretical perspective, two main explanations exist why individuals engage in collective action. The foundation was laid by rational choice theory. It explains resistance at the individual level, while arguing that mobilisation is a calculated response between individual preferences, interests and external constraints or opportunities. Individuals will select behavioural alternatives which maximise their utility based on the analysis of costs and benefits (Eckstein 2001:4; Opp 2009:2–3). According to this principle, there would be no production of common goods, because every individual would always seek to free ride. In "The Logic of Collective Action" (1971), Mancur Olson argues that the gains of collective goods have to exceed the cost of production for each individual. Without selective incentives (material or symbolic goods available only to people contributing to the collective good) or coercion, the provision of collective goods would not occur (Eckstein 2001:4; Olson 1971:1-24; Opp 2009:2–23).

This theory was criticised when it comes to explain how interests are defined. Thus, successive theories have placed emphasis upon the role of structure and agency (Eckstein 2001:155; Melucci 1996:68) and towards questions, such as "[…] how people make sense of their world, how they relate to texts, practices, and artifacts rendering these cultural products meaningful to them" (Melucci 1996:68). Culture, emotions and values are declared to be important incentives to participate in collective action.

Cultural and structural forces influence to what degree a given situation is perceived as being unbearable and therefore affect what type of action results (individual or collective) (Della Porta and Diani 2006:66; Eckstein 2001:9). In the case of Yurumanguí, the shared cultural heritage (being black, the heritage of slavery) and structural circumstances (belonging to the Pacific, living in a territory affected by the armed conflict) construct a common reality. "The more local social and cultural ties are mutually reinforcing, and the greater the history of community protest on which to build, the more likely villagers are to engage in collective defiance" (Eckstein 2001:33). Culture presents a realm where subordinate groups can develop resistance against domination and express disagreement through means such as rituals, music and traditions (Eckstein 2001:35), which holds true for the period of slavery and continues until today with traditional music or stories.

Collective meanings are not only produced through culture, but also through emotions. Emotions help transform claims into action and link cultural ideas, structural inequality and individual action. These actions produce symbols and a rhetoric intended to provoke more emotions which maintain solidarity within the movement (Della Porta and Diani 2006:13–14; Tarrow 2011:152–153). In Yurumanguí, the experienced violence affects the emotional level of community members who have lost family members. This raises a sentiment of responsibility to resist not only for their own sake, but as well for the victims of the conflict.

Lastly, values are important principles with which actors identify. They influence the definition of specific goals and strategies of resistance and moreover act as a means of motivation to accept the costs of actions. The more anchored a world-vision, the more likely the person will act. The emergence of ethnic and tribal conflicts around the world suggests that collective action is deeply rooted in a set of values causing conflicts. Especially in black communities, the importance of the community over individuality is a crucial incentive to participate.

However, by themselves these elements are insufficient to explain collective behaviour. An action not only depends on internalised principles and attitudes, but

also on structural opportunities and constraints favouring or preventing it (Della Porta and Diani 2006:68–72). The national Constitution of 1991 is an opportunity for collective action of black communities, while the armed conflict is a hindrance to it. An analysis of each element guided by rational choice theory is thus still unavoidable.

4.1.2. Collective identity

Along with the debate on culture and the construction of meanings the interest in shared identity as an incentive for collective action arose (Melucci 1996:68). Through bringing together various aims of actions, individuals are forming a common "we" shared by the actors and transmitted through a shared language (Melucci 1996:71; Opp 2009:206). The borders between the "we" and the "other" are rendered explicit (Della Porta and Diani 2006:94; Tarrow 2011:143). Collective identity is "[…] the process of 'constructing' an action system. […] [It] is an interactive and shared definition produced by a number of individuals […] concerning the *orientations* of their action and the *field* of opportunities and constraints in which such action is to take place" (Melucci 1996:70). It is a process that attributes specific meanings to life occurrences and systems of social relations in which actors are embedded (Della Porta and Diani 2006:92). Yet again, a certain degree of emotional investment is needed to make actors feel themselves as part of a common unity (Melucci 1996:71).

This collective identity is not static, but is in constant flux of redefinition during collective action. As a result, identity not only acts as precondition for collective action, but is also a product of it (Della Porta and Diani 2006:92-93). Collective identity in the Pacific is particularly strong due to the *Ley 70* by which black identity came into being.

To conclude, the cultural turn has enriched the repertoire of collective action by adding how shared meanings and identity are constructed and how, combined with emotions, they explain why interests to participate in collective action arise. The interaction of these three elements is the core of movement solidarity. This solidarity is significant for resistance processes that will be carried out over a long time period.

This is the case for the community of Yurumanguí, where the resistance started long ago, but no specific end is in sight.

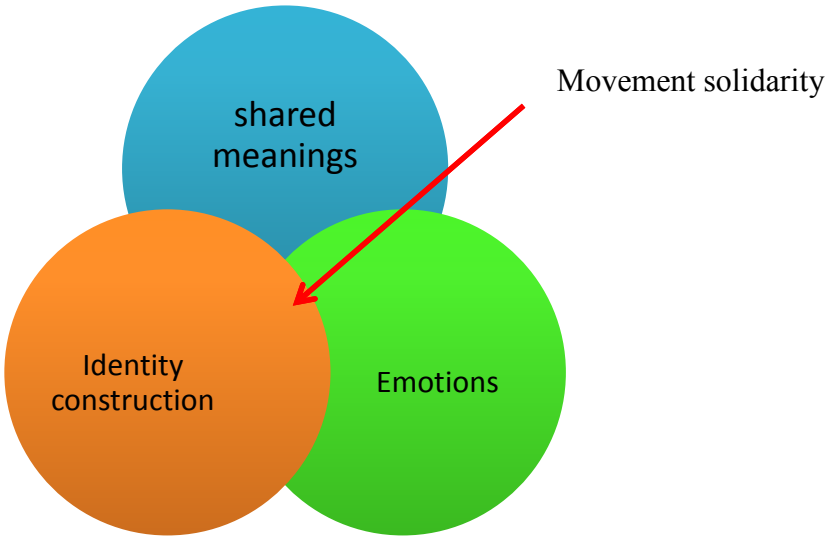


Figure 5 Components of movement solidarity (Tarrow 2011:143)

4.2. Concept of resistance

After examining why people decide to participate in collective action, the concept of resistance as one particular form of collective action will be discussed. By analysing the narratives of resistance, participants of these movements can be understood as agents producing their own truths amidst an oppressive context, represented by the threat of externally driven mining in the case here presented.

Resistance is a concept laden with various meanings, theoretical categorisations and political consequences that have varied over time (Moore 1997:87). It is a term often used as synonym for challenges, protests or evasions without having a clear universal valid format. Resistance depends on the context in which it takes place (Mittelman and Chin 2005; Seoane 2006; Núñez and Conti 2012). In Colombia, territory is central to all conflicts, because land is considered to be the basic condition enabling the development of life and culture and the construction of a common ethnic-cultural

identity (DDTPC 2014:15–17; Escobar 2008:7–8; Espinosa Bonilla 2011:230; Seoane 2006:89). Consequently, resistance towards mining becomes a resistance for land (Gedicks 2003:87; Svampa 2011:121-122).

4.2.1. From resistance to power to resistance of meanings

Resistance is not only an act of opposition *to* power held by oppressive elites, but also a struggle *for* power. The first refers to the idea of resistance as being opposed to an asymmetrical power distribution, in which dominant groups employ forceful means to secure their control. Here, resistance means fighting back in defence of freedom or democracy. Uneven patterns of development cause the emergence of resistance because people are placed in multiple unequal power relations. Resistance, arising from the demand for defence of cultural identities, seeks to occupy, deploy and create alternative spatialities with a new guiding logic, different from the one defined by oppression and exploitation (Pile 1997:1-9). In Colombia, and especially in the Pacific, armed violence[11], illegal mining and a development inducing displacement are destabilising the territorial projects of black communities. As a consequence, several communities have undertaken marches, campaigns, manifestations, or street blockades to counter these impositions of violence from powerful groups (Escobar 2008:20–21; Espinosa Bonilla 2011:213–214).

The resistance of the community of Yurumangui not only questions the asymmetrical power relations and domination over physical means of production by dominant actors, but also challenges the control of symbolic meanings and cultural imposition of externally driven mining projects. These projects undermine traditional or alternative ways of life and defame opponents as "anti-development" (Bebbington et al. 2008:825-827). Through a symbolic hegemony powerful groups control the standards by which their rule is evaluated. Thereby, resistance contests definitions and the appropriateness of them to a particular case and behaviour. It challenges the imposition of meanings, norms, or customs of behaviour by the powerful and attempt

[11] Actors of armed violence include groups, such as paramilitary, guerrilla and military, but also drug-traffickers and criminal bands in general (especially present in Buenaventura)

to protect their interests and identities (Scott 1985:27-39). Resistance is a way to generate change by attributing one's own meanings and through one's own tactics to avoid, undermine and hinder the everyday exercise of power. In this sense, resistance is less concerned with particular acts of opposition than with the desire to find a place in a power landscape where an alternative space is denied. Re-territorialisation and re-symbolisation of this space is needed to enable the territory to become a space of citizenship, democracy and freedom (Pile 1997:14–30). The collective titling of black territories and maintaining the culture are a first effort to break with the imposition of meanings from a neoliberal model of development.

4.2.2. Strategies of resistance

Resistance emerges in specific places and at particular times. These historical and spatial experiences influence the practices of resistance. Within the resistance literature, two basic types of strategic response to capitalist development and resource exploitation are described as the most common. The first strategy is to adjust, adapt or take the world-order as given while seeking to survive or to cope with the conditions it generates. The other strategic response is to induce social change by resistance through collective action (Eckstein 2011:8-9; Petras and Veltmeyer 2011:2-5).

In the first strategy, people might passively participate in protests, but without being involved in an openly declared action of resistance. This type of response is based on an individual decision-making. It refers to *everyday resistance* (Scott 1985), where individuals pursue an improved situation under available conditions without trying to change the given situation in its fundament. Everyday resistances are the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups, such as foot dragging, false compliance, feigned ignorance, slander etc. These mechanisms are characterised by a lack of coordination and the absence of direct symbolic confrontation with authority (Petras and Veltmeyer 2011:2–5; Scott 1985:29). This resistance takes place in so-called "hidden transcripts", which refers to the discourse and the actions of subordinated groups. Resisting on this level, people contest material and symbolic resources and

values in their everyday life (Mittelman and Chin 2005:22-23). An example of everyday resistance of black communities is the little importance they give to Western ideas of working hours and working rhythms in general, while living at a slower pace.

The second strategy of resistance relates to Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Hegemony is a form of power and a process in which social relations, identities and organisations are constituted by the dominant class. While being implemented, hegemony gives rise to the possibilities of being challenged and modified by civil society. Two forms of resistance emerge as counter-hegemony: wars of *movement* (frontal assaults, strikes or military actions) or wars of *position* (non-violent resistance) which is the participation in openly declared collective action against the state in order to seize control. Consequently, social change is achieved through political actions against the power of the state, but also through the means of social action advocating anti- or no-power relations based on coexistence, solidarity, and collective action (Mittelman and Chin 2005:18-20, Petras and Veltmeyer 2011:2-5). The community of Yurumangui is leading a war of position, by implementing a non-violent resistance against the Colombian government and other mining actors while living in solidarity in their river-territory. The autonomy over the territory is the main strategy to oppose the presence of outside actors and to advocate for their own development (Espinosa Bonilla 2011:213–235). The community openly declares itself to be against externally driven mining and other models of development such as the cultivation of oil palm trees (cf. Gedicks 2003:92-94).

4.2.3. Resistance as an end

Following the idea that resistance does not always imply a concrete act but can also symbolically contest the imposition of meanings, resistance becomes a proposition of an alternative world-order. The unique forms of living and alternatives proposed by native and local communities in Colombia that deny neoliberal globalisation, reject individuality, disregard the consumerist society and refuse to define nature as a commodity are in themselves a proposal of an alternative. Resistance offers a way to

disrupt processes of normalisation introduced by capitalism and colonialism and prioritise horizontal power relations and a form of society with less centralisation and hierarchies. Having to leave the territory would imply for black communities to live a life without meaning as their culture is constructed upon the territory and they would lose their close ties to nature. The resistance of the community of Yurumanguí presents an opportunity to reflect on other forms of living within a territory. Finding new social and communitarian forms of society encountering the hegemonic power becomes a main issue in resistance movements in Latin America (CENSAT Agua y Viva, 2014:42-46).

In sum, resistance creates possibilities to construct alternatives which can lead to a social re-appropriation of the public sphere. Developing their own economic activities from within the community, from the yurumanguireños for the yurumanguireños, offers the prospect of reflecting upon a post-neoliberal transformation (Seoane 2006:100). According to Hoy, it is important to resist even if one is currently unable to propose a better alternative to the current system, because resistance can open indefinite possibilities that things could be different (Hoy 2004:10)

5. Methodology

In this section, the research design, the case selection and the methods of data collection and analysis are elaborated before discussing the ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

5.1. Research design

This study is designed as an inductive, exploratory qualitative single case study. A case study allows "to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Yin 2003:1) and to understand contemporary phenomena when the behaviour of participants cannot be manipulated (ibid.:1). Recalling the research question *"How and why is externally driven mining resisted in the community of the river Yurumangui?"* the study explores meanings attributed to mining and development by the community to comprehend the resistance process. This emphasises the constructivist and interpretivist ontological and epistemological approach of the investigation and the researcher. Constructivism signifies that social phenomena and their meanings are constructed through social interaction. Reality only becomes relevant through interpretation. This interpretation is itself influenced by the experiences of the researcher. Therefore, rather than talking about one reality, different representations mutually exist (Flick, Kardorff, and Steinke 2004: 88-92). As a result, the goal of the study is to capture these different representations of reality given by the community members.

In this investigation, a survey design is inappropriate, because structured interviews limit the choice of answers and assume that meanings held by the researcher are shared by participants (Bryman 2012:210–212). A qualitative framework, in contrast, enables the researcher to realise how and in which context participants construct meanings (Creswell 2007:40). It is significant to examine the role of the river, territory and shared identity to understand the community's resistance against mining. Consequently, the study attempts "[…] to make sense of, or interpret, the phenomena in terms of meaning people bring to them acting" (Creswell 2007:36).

A case is "[…] a bounded system that exists independently from the investigation of the researcher." (Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster 2000:8) The case of the community of Yurumanguí serves as a specific illustration of a bounded geographical system to interpret how the community operates within it (Bryman 2012:50; Creswell 2007:73; Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster 2000:8). To achieve a thick description, a two-week field visit was designed to collect multiple sources of data (cf. Yin 2003:85-96).

5.2. Case selection

The river Yurumanguí has been chosen as a single case due to its uniqueness in the southern region of the Colombian Pacific. Its community has not permitted external mining projects to enter their territory and has maintained a river free of large-scale and illegal mining in the midst of a conflicted region. This case maximises the potential of what we can learn from resistance against externally driven mining (cf. Creswell 2007:74; Stake 1995:4; Yin 2003:39).

The orange circle shows the "Pacific", the red circle is the municipality of Buenaventura, in which the river Yurumangui lies.

Figure 6 Map of Colombia
(available from: http://usa.countrypictures.in/Columbia_Map/ezilon.com*maps*images*southamerica*Clombia-map.gif/, accessed: 1 April 2015)

Going from the general to the specific level of the rationale of the choice, Colombia was selected as the research area because mining is promoted as the new national development strategy and is declared to be an activity of public utility and social interest. The government developed a national mining plan with the vision that "[…] in 2019 Colombian mining activity will be one of the most important industries in the continent, and it will have enhanced in a significant manner its share in the national economy." (UPME 2006:67)

In the Pacific, traditional mining is a constitutive part of the culture and an economic activity with a high symbolic value for communities living in riverside areas (INDEPAZ 2013:5-7). The departments of the Pacific are known for its gold, silver and platinum extraction (UMPE 2006:32-33). Due to the raising gold price, illegal mining has also manifested itself within the Pacific, which is particularly observable in neighbouring rivers of Yurumanguí, such as the river Dagua, Naya or Guapi. There, negative social and environmental consequences can already be observed. The mining boom also attracts national commercials that provide the necessary equipment for the metal extraction in larger quantities. This in turn causes larger companies and multinationals to apply for mining concessions (CRPC 2011:2; INDEPAZ 2013:60–62; Rodriguez Becerra 2010:1–2). I claim that the case of the river Yurumanguí is worth documenting to understand the motivations of resistance and how they are constructed before an actual conflict breaks out.

Lastly, security and accessibility have also influenced the choice of the case. The Pacific remains a complicated region with a high presence of illegal and armed groups. The community council of Yurumangui provided a community member to accompany the researcher during the field visit for security purposes.

5.3. Data collection

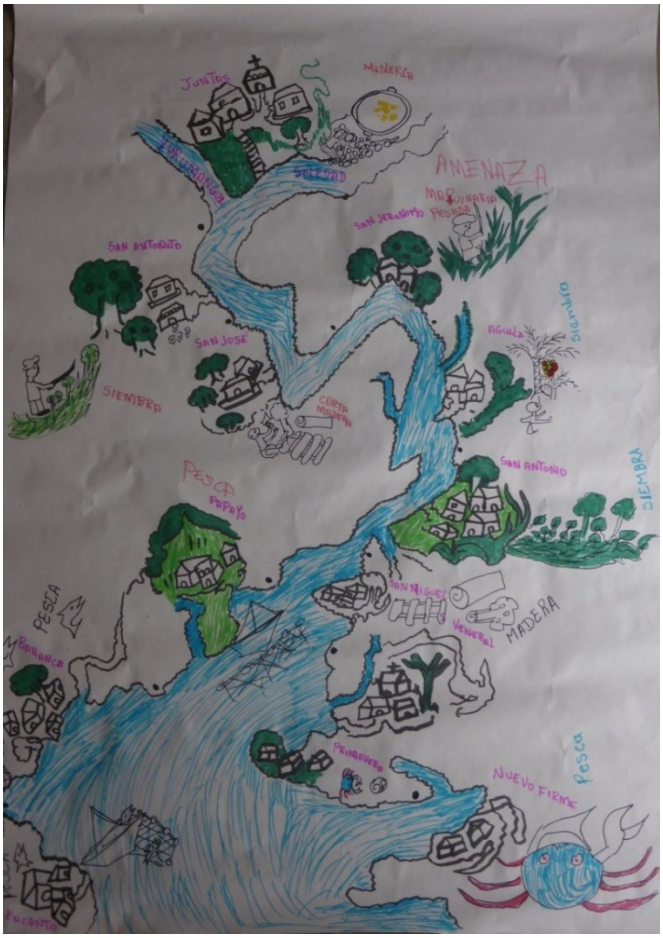


Figure 7 Map of the territory of the river Yurumanguí
(map from the workshop in Juntas, 13 January 2015)

5.3.1. Qualitative semi-structured interviews

Open-ended, semi-structured interviews with community leaders were the main data collection method. This thesis assumes that the important reality is what people perceive it to be. Therefore, it aims to unfold the meanings of participant's experience and their comprehension of their everyday world (Creswell 2007:26–27). The sample of participants was compiled using a generic purposive sampling strategy, in which community leaders are selected not only due to their political involvement and their representation of the residents' concerns, but as well due to their knowledge of the resistance process of the community of Yurumangui (cf. Bryman 2012:422).

An interview guide was developed structuring the interview into four themes: the role of the territory, the means of development, traditional mining activity and the resistance process (Appendix 3). It was tested before the fieldwork. Each interview began with an introduction of the researcher and the purpose of the study. It also served to receive the oral consent (see chapter 5.5). The flexible structure permitted adaptions during the interview, such as changing the order, omitting questions or adding new follow-up question in response to information given by interviewees.

Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted (Appendix 1). Members from ten different villages were interviewed with an age of interview partners ranging from twenty to sixty-nine. Nine interviews were held with women. All interviews were personal, one-to-one interviews and all were held in Spanish. On average, the duration ranged between thirty and sixty minutes. An interview protocol was drawn up after each interview to note impressions and information given outside the record and to reflect upon the atmosphere and the researcher's own role during the interview.

5.3.2. Workshops

Social cartography workshops[12] were used as the second data collection method (Geilfus 2008:62-–69). They aim at broadening the understanding of the river as collective territory and serve to generate detailed maps, as few are available. Of the initially planned workshops in Juntas, San José, San Antonio and Veneral, the last did not take place due to communication issues (Appendix 2). Yet, as mainly the upper zone is specialised in mining, the information potentially gained in the lower zone are less relevant to answer the research question.

The workshops started with an introduction of the researcher and the purpose of the study. In a first activity, participants presented themselves and said what the most important thing in their life is in order to learn about the values held by the

[12] Tool of a participatory approach in development processes; used to acquire a general understanding of socio-economic characteristics and the community's perception of how physical space and resources are used (Geilfuss 2008).

community. Afterwards, participants were split into two groups and developed a "time-line" of the most important events for the community. Especially in Juntas and San José the community had difficulties to fulfil the task. Hence, this part was transformed into a discussion about the process of the *Ley 70* held by a community leader. In the last part, they developed a social cartography of their territory. They drew their territory while taking into account geographical features, the use of land and possible threats to the community. The participants were split in three groups: women below 40, men below 40 and women and men above 40. The last group drew a map of the past, serving as comparison with the contemporary situation. Women and men were split to ensure that women would also participate in light of the rigid gender structures. The workshop ended with a discussion on possible threats to the territory, mining, and the proposal of alternatives. This allows verifying if the resistance is shared by the whole community.

The workshops each lasted between three and four hours; thirty to forty members participated. The gender distribution varied strongly between the villages. In Juntas and San José the workshop was dominated by men, whereas mostly women participated in San Antonio.

5.3.3. Participant and direct observation

During the field visit mainly direct observation was used (Bryman 2012:443). In each village I took walks and sat down in central spots, such as the riverside to observe. In Juntas, I moreover visited a mining site. This visit enabled me to analyse the congruence of their discourse on mining with their actions in the territory. During the fieldwork a journal was kept in form of field notes on what people said, what I observed and my thoughts in relation to it.

On a few occasions participant observation was also possible. One example was the wake held for a community member, in which I helped women to prepare it. Although no direct insights related to mining were gained, I learned about their culture and traditions and to build a relationship of trust with community members.

5.3.4. Documents

For this study, I collected the minutes of the assembly in 2011 of the river community to analyse the rhetoric of the resistance. Other minutes were not available. In addition, I received the presentation of the representative board held during the last assembly in 2014 and a booklet produced by the community itself called "Acuerdo de Convivencia: Comunidad Negra del Río Yurumanguí"[13].

5.4. Data analysis and interpretation

To analyse the data collected, an inductive thematic analysis was applied. In this process, structures and meanings that participants implicitly uttered are rendered explicit through the researcher (Braun and Clarke 2006). In order to develop the key themes, I began by transcribing the interviews. In a second step, I defined some initial codes by a thoroughly reading of the transcriptions and of my field notes. From there, general themes and subthemes were searched for and defined and categories were drawn on a thematic map. In a last step, the data was interpreted according to the themes.

5.5. Ethical considerations

Problems of moral and ethical issues are especially present in qualitative research, because human interactions will automatically affect the interviewees (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:62). Several issues have to be taken into account while designing and conducting a research.

Obtaining the subject's informed consent on their participation is primordial. The goal is to inform the participants as fully as possible about the study's purpose, what their agreement of participation entails and about their right to withdraw from the study at any given time. The dilemma of a possible bias through the share of information arises. In this study, I used an oral consent recorded on tape. The local and historical context of the Pacific, which is marked by high violence and land theft

[13] Accord concerning the communal living of the black community of the river Yurumanguí

through menace or bribery of community leaders, justifies the decision. People have often been forced to sign without being fully aware of the consequences. Asking to sign is therefore a difficult matter. For this reason, a clear explanation was given both, during the socialisation meetings with the community councils and before the interviews.

Another issue is confidentiality. By this I mean criteria such as protecting privacy in terms of identities, names and specific roles and keeping confidential the information that was shared. Before the interview, the participants were guaranteed total anonymity, the right to refuse to answer any question during the course of the interview and the right to withdraw the data at any time. It is imperative to secure the confidentiality not only during the fieldwork and the data analysis, but also with the publication of the written report in light of threats against community leaders. Thus, possible consequences caused by the research for participants and the group they belong need to be anticipated (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:63–68; Rossman and Rallis 2012:72–79).

Finally, the emotional involvement with the participant of the study also has to be reflected upon. The researcher has to display integrity and be sensitive to the local context as well as maintain objectivity and the professional distance to the study's subjects (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:74–75). Consequently, a moral dilemma between trust and betrayal emerges. While being in the field, the researcher has to gain the trust of the people in order to access information. Along with personal contact, however, comes the problem of breaking promises as the interest in the participant is often conditioned and bounded by the study (Rossman and Rallis 2012:72–79). The researcher has to be aware of her involvement and she must anticipate consequences. For this reason, an ethical guideline was designed (Appendix 4).

5.6. Limitations and biases

Although qualitative research is often said to be of limited generalizability due to a limited scope of findings and a small amount of cases, authors such as Yin (2003) argue that the goal of qualitative research is rather to generalise to a theory instead of generalising to a larger population. Hence, an analytical generalisation becomes the goal. In this study, the aim is to explore in depth the river-territory Yurumanguí, while the conclusions are oriented towards contextual uniqueness. However, a thick description enhances the transferability of findings to other settings, because it allows other researchers to identify similarities and differences between cases (Bryman 2012:392; Rossman and Rallis 2012:37–39). Consequently, a detailed description of the river-region Yurumanguí and its resistance process, at least partially, allow transferring findings to other river-territories or regions with similar ethnic groups. A multiple case study that could have enhanced the transferability was not possible due to the limited scope of time and financial constraints of the researcher.

Qualitative research is moreover criticised to prevent replication of findings. This problem occurs because the investigator is the main instrument of data collection. As a result, the researcher influences the responses of participants with her own characteristics (personality, age, gender, etc.) and by the decisions on what to focus while being in the field (Bryman 2012: 405; Yin 2003:34–39). The quality criteria "credibility" is used in this study to minder these effects. It ensures that the research is carried out according to best practice. Best practice refers to the capability to provide a coherent internal logic while developing the conclusions and to take alternative explanations into account. The study has to be conducted rigorously from the design to the interpretation of findings and has to gather sufficient material. One way to ensure the credibility is data triangulation (Guba and Lincoln 1994, in Bryman 2012:390; Rossman and Rallis 2012:36-39), which was carried out in this study.

During the interviews, the researcher has to be aware of her own position (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:74). The researcher's skin colour, national origin and social position may influence the responses. Participants might answer in a way that they think the

investigator wants them to. Moreover participants could also conceal information opposing their own discourse. Interviewing a larger number of participants and conducting the workshops with community members was a way to counteract this problem.

Finally, interviewing subjects across cultures demands knowledge about different forms of interaction and requires adaptions in behaviour and modes of questioning (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:144). Investigating in this context as a foreigner, language barriers or culturally different behaviour can influence the data collection. Having stayed in Colombia for several months before the interview were conducted had improved both, the language skills and cultural understanding of the researcher.

6. Analysis

This chapter first demonstrates the resistance process of the community of Yurumanguí in order to understand the rationale behind the decision to participate in collective resistance. It then analyses the different, often interconnected incentives causing resistance. By doing so, a common picture of what mining represents and why it has to be resisted is created. Finally, it presents the community's proposals of alternatives to large-scale mining and examines the concept of development held by the community.

6.1. The resistance process

The whole community of Yurumanguí is resisting the imposition of externally driven mining in their territory by openly declaring "no" because it puts at risk the territory and the autonomy of the community. By saying "no", they demand to be the agents of their own development (Rasch 2012:179; Svampa 2011:121) and reclaim their right to manage resources in accordance with their world-visions.

> "The answer of Yurumanguí is "no" to large scale mining; "no" to a contaminating mining." (Interview 3)[i] [14]

Although the exact beginning of the pacific resistance of the community against large-scale mining remains uncertain, the majority of the interviewees regard it as struggle to maintain continuous recognition as social and political subjects capable to define their own development. Large-scale mining represents a further step in a resistance that has already contested the imposition of monoculture of oil palms and the cultivation of illicit crops declared to destroy their territory (Interview 2, 8, 16, 18, 19 and 20). It is a resistance for "*a territory of life, happiness and freedom*"[ii] (Interview 3). It is an opposition to a form of violence turned against who they are. Finally, it is a struggle for life and above all, a defence of their territory.

[14] All forthcoming quotes are translated by the author from Spanish into English to improve the readability. The original quote can be found as end notes.

> "This is life: our territory, our river. For this reason, with the help of god, we will fight until the end." (Interview 1)[iii]

In January 1991, the first general assembly of the community of the river Yurumanguí was held by the administrative board of APONURY[15]. This marks the beginning of their organised resistance (Interview 1, 6, 16, 17, 18 and 20). The participants define their resistance as a process unifying the whole river community. Resistance means to *"endure the situation and not leaving"* (Interview 5, 15, 17 and 19), to *"not give up"* (Interview 8) and *"to organise"* (Interview 5, 8 and 17); it means to act as group, because a group is stronger than a person on its own (Interview 15). They meet and speak all *"the same language"* (Interview 1), unified in *"one voice"* (ibid.). It is a process allowing to counter imposition and visualise collective meanings and possibilities on how things could be done differently (cf. Caxaj et al. 2014:825).

> "We meet and all of us will talk unified in one and single voice. To say "no" and "no" and "no". This is how we do it here. Together we are stronger and more valuable." (Interview 11)iv

The resistance in the river-territory Yurumanguí is as an open and declared non-violent civil resistance (Interview 9 and 19). One member said: *"They [armed groups] are using weapons. We will not fight with arms. We will talk with the State"*[v] (Interview 9). Thus, it represents a *war of position* trying to oppose the state and its development strategy (cf. Mittelman and Chin 2005). Following Stephane and Chenoweth, civil resistance aims at mobilising people to oppose different policies while taking place outside of traditional political channels. The advantage of non-violent over violent resistance is that if the latter uses backfire it probably loses public support. A non-violent resistance strategy is more likely to open up negotiation and is able to denounce a state. In addition, a non-violent movement is more appealing as possible aid-recipient (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008:10–13).

[15] The structure of the community council came into being only in 2000 with the reward of the collective title

To die due to their resistance is a possible consequence for the community in view of the high presence of armed groups in the Pacific (Interview 11, 15 and 19). Resisting collectively increases the probability of survival, because armed actors would not kill all of them.

> "Because if they kill us…well let's say they would kill twenty, but they cannot kill fifty of us [from the same village]. If we are fifty, thirty will remain and well the other twenty will die, but thirty will remain. For this reason, we are confronting, but as a group." (Interview 11)[vi]

> "The state might kill one, but he will not kill all of us. From there we are going, we are going to fight, we are going to struggle."[vii] (Interview 6)

The leaders of the community perceive resistance as a process of raising people's awareness about possible consequences caused by externally driven mining (Interview 3, 5, 6 and 19). It is process emerging from the inside of the territory and the community.

> "Our activity shows the world, the country that we are resistant and it is a clear option that in one form or another this activity [traditional mining] is done without harming. This is resistance."[viii] (Interview 6).

> "For me resistance is: resist for a position in order to prevent the state from appropriating our collective rights. I mean, resisting comes from our river. It is something from the inside of the river, not from the outside." (Interview 18)[ix]

The resistance is supported by a large majority of members of the river Yurumanguí, which was confirmed during the field visit (all interviews and workshops). As discussed in chapter 3.4, the highest instance of decision-making is APONURY that consists of each member of the river-territory. During the assemblies the community takes decisions in regards to their ways of life (Interview 3). There, the decision to resist mining is re-evaluated and re-affirmed (Interview 2). Without the majority of the members, political leaders cannot make any decisions. To achieve a consensus, a main task of community leaders is psychological work. Psychological work includes the use of emotions in order to make participation in collective resistance appealing (cf. Tarrow 2011). One leader, for example, uses her personal experiences from

journeys to demonstrate the consequences arising from mining. Sentences such as *"when I was in the Chocó*[16] *I could not swim in the river because there were mountains of stones"* or *"today in the river Cajambre*[17] *you cannot swim anymore"* (Interview 16) are used to call on members, while being aware of the meaning the river has for each person. This raises the probability of participation.

As mentioned beforehand, for the community members the resistance against large-scale mining is just another stage within a general resistance process to gain control over their natural resources (Interview 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 16 and 20).

> "It is the process of saying *no,* not only against mining, but also against other engines of development. Yurumanguí has a culture of conservation; we have struggled since the time of our ancestors to maintain this river as I can see it today, like this, from generation to generation." (Interview 2)[x]

Three main threats impede on traditional practices and ways of living of the community. First, there was the proposal of a new productive system based on the monoculture of oil palms by private companies. Propositions were made to communities in the Pacific, among them also the community of Yurumanguí (Espinosa Bonilla 2011:230-231). Persuading the community to resist was simple. People were not convinced by the proposition and experiences made by communities in the south Pacific confirmed them in their refusal (Interview 2).

The second threat was the cultivation of coca, a nation-wide problem. In 2007, APONURY started a prevention campaign. Coca was defined as negatively affecting the territory and as interrupting social, political, cultural, economic and especially organisational projects of the community. The government's practice of fumigating territories suspicious of coca cultivation (causing sever health issues) and its menace to annul collective titles if illicit crops were found on it, represented another reasons to resist For this reason, a *minga* took place in 2007 in which 25 hectares of coca plantation on their territory were manually eradicated by 253 members (APONURY 2007).

[16] Chocó is a department in the north of the Pacific, also populated by a majority of black people
[17] Neighbouring river of the river Yurumanguí

Finally, the last threat is externally driven mining. There are no mining companies in the territory yet and the resistance remains a discursive contestation. Because of the danger of losing their territory, at each assembly the members all re-affirm: "no" to illicit crops, "no" to monocultures and "no" to large-scale mining (Interview 2).

In view of mining, it remains unclear how the process will develop if mining enters their territory with force. Considering that currently nine mining applications are pending it is not an implausible prospect (Interview 16 and 20). Although there is no clear overview, it seems that the pending applications are submitted by national companies, potentially in cooperation with international companies. However, it is confirmed that there exists a company called AGROMINAS DE YURUMANGUI NAYA Y CAJAMBRE SAS[18] (Interview 8, 16 and 19; Directorio de Empresas n.d.). The better prepared they are, the more likely they can reduce harmful outcomes. For this reason, they developed the slogan: *"Yurumanguí needs to know its origins and its future"* (Interview 3)[xi].

> "Mining will enter Yurumanguí with a force that we will not be able to withstand. The only weapon we have here is dialogue. For this reason, as soon as we realise that a person is interested to enter Yurumangui, we are searching a mean to localise him. It is a strategy not to wait that the person arrives, but to anticipate in localising him." (Interview 2)[xii]

In sum, their collective resistance is a non-violent resistance in form of dialogue, of words; a resistance saying "no" to developments putting at risk the territory and their cultural heritage.

[18] Naya and Cajambre are the two collective river-territories neighbouring Yurumanguí

6.2. Incentives to participate in collective resistance

6.2.1. Relation with the territory and the river

The community of the river Yurumanguí has a particular relation to its territory and the river. This particular relationship represents the main reason to resist (Interview 3, 6, 16 and 19). The stronger a particular worldview, the more likely one becomes to act collectively to defend it (Della Porta and Diani 2006:67).

> "A principle of the community is the territory as a space to be. The territory contains everything one needs: water, minerals, plants, people, and life. It is the space in which people create and recreate themselves. Because of this, the territory is important." (Interview 2)[xiii]

For the community members the territory is the space in which to live; the territory is who they are (cf. Espinosa Bonilla 2011:230; all interviews). The territory is a second mother (Interview 16); it is part of their life and simultaneously *is* their meaning of life because the territory is the source of culture and identity. As a consequence, it represents the embodiment of human life (Escobar 2008:7). Through the granting of collective titles in the Pacific the territory-regions of ethnic groups have constructed a particular model of life and society (ibid.:52–59).

Large-scale mining is an activity transforming territory and leading to its loss in the long term. This loss is connected to a disproportionate exploitation of resources, state development policies, changes in the production system, global economy demands for resources, urban migration, loss of traditional values, and the arrival of people foreign to the region embracing the ethics of extraction (Escobar 2008:60; Interview 3, 9 and 11). Successively, black mobilisation in the Pacific is a struggle over place and culture in which regaining control over territory is the ultimate aim. They decide to continue the ancestral legacy and resist an imposition of a life style given by modern society. The refusal to leave the river-territory is often also connected with individual decisions to not give up their control over their life (cf. Scott 1985). By staying in the river, they maintain control over time and work routines (how and when they work, how they manage time etc.) (field notes, 10/01/2014; 21/01/2015).

Even in light of state neglect and violence, they refuse to abandon their territory (CENSAT Agua y Viva 2014:42; Interview 6, 15 and 16).

> "We are taking care of our river. If there is an encounter with the military or the guerrilla or other criminal bands, we withstand. Caring for our river; not leaving it." (Interview 15)[xiv]

By resisting they preserve their ways of life and their "paradise" (Interview 3); a life being meaningless without their territory (Interview 6 and 8). The territory of Yurumanguí is defined as "a place of dignity in which the communitarian life can be developed" (CCY n.d.:3). In the Pacific, river and territory are often used interchangeably (Interview 1, 3, 6, 8, 18, 19 and 20).

> "The river and the territory – this is my life. For me, Yurumanguí is my life, it is everything." (Interview 18)[xv]

> "For me, the river means everything; the river Yurumanguí is everything. It is the space to be, the space where we develop our productive activities, where we see our children grow, where we are educated, where our ancestors are from, our life, everything. Yurumanguí is everything for me." (Interview 20)[xvi]

Closely linked to the idea of the territory is the preservation of their culture, because the former is a necessary condition for the deployment of the latter. Losing their territory equals losing their culture (Interview 8, 19 and 20). In order to preserve their cultural practices and to defend their ancestral territory, an important mandate of the community is to valorise traditional knowledge, oral traditions and folklore, to respect the elderly and to reaffirm the historical legacy (CYY n.d.:5). Their traditional music and stories are also means to articulate their hidden resistance by recalling the history of slavery (cf. Scott 1985). The workshops have revealed the significance of holidays for the community. The territory is the place where these festivities and rituals occur throughout the year (Interview 6, workshop 1 and 3; field notes 17/01/2015 and 19/01/2015).

> "The territory and the culture are strongly related one another, because without territory there is no culture. […] We have been trying to maintain the relation between culture and territory until today […]. [C]ulture is not only the art of music, the art of singing, but culture is the land, it is the being that is here, it is the water, it is the birds. Hence, if we have no territory, obviously we will not have a culture." (Interview 20)[xvii]

This quote indicates their relationship with nature. Nature has to be respected and each member is responsible to contribute to a peaceful coexistence and harmonious relation with the territory and nature. According to participant 2, this harmony exists through their culture of conservation. Conservation is the paramount task to maintain the equilibrium of nature (Interview 3) that must not be jeopardised through practices and machines that contaminate water, soil, air and all living being (CCY n.d.:9-10). Nevertheless, conservation does not imply to leave natural resources untouched, but rather to use them according to the community's ancestral knowledge (cf. Lauderdale 2009:372–374; Interview 2 and 8). An example is given on the work of tree felling:

> "For the tree felling activity, we have decided as communities on a size of trees that can be felled. Moreover, we have concepts managed by our elderly; that is the concept of the liana. We do not cut the entire liana, but just some slices. Thus, I believe that this harmony exists. This means, how do we use and take care at the same time. We have a concept in Yurumanguí: we preserve while using. Others have the concept that preserving means not touching it. What we have defined is that the products of nature always have to be preserved." (Interview 2)[xviii]

Traditional ways of fishing are another example of conservation. They use a cane with nylon or fishnets that do not affect the river and prevent overfishing it (Interview 2 and 6). These traditional practices demonstrate a commitment to preserving their territory (CCY n.d.:32). For this reason they declare fishing with dynamite, the use of poisonous plants or chemicals, the cultivation of illegal substances, the destruction of natural resources and the contamination of the environment through the use of agrochemicals to be serious offences (CCY n.d.:22). Externally driven mining using chemicals is as well considered to be a serious offence. Consequently, their convictions, world-views and the ways to relate to their natural habitat are a main

incentive to participate in collective resistance. These incentives are moral and "pre-existing" incentives inherent to the community (cf. Opp 2012).

6.2.2. Collective identity

Hand in hand with the idea of territory goes the question of identity. The responsibility of the community council is to guide communal life while valorising and defending their rights to identity, territory, autonomy and a collective well-being (CCY n.d.:5). The identity refers first and foremost to the affirmation of being black.

> "I understand myself in relation with my community, with my blackness because I am black." (Interview 15)[xix]

Moreover, the shared component of identity is given by the territorial boundaries. Rather than being from a specific village, they always refer to themselves as "yurumanguireños". They have created the category of "natives" in contrast to the "foreigner" that is any person coming from outside the river area (Interview 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 15, 16 and 20). According to them, a native of the river Yurumanguí is as a person of African ancestry having occupied the territory of the river basin Yurumangui since the mid-16th century (CYY n.d.:5).

> "When we talk about Yurumanguí, yurumanguireños refers to all of us, from the headwaters to the junction, we are yurumanguireños." (Interview 11)[xx]

This common "we" is indispensable for collective resistance, because the probability of resistance is higher when a particular social group shares recognisable specific categorical traits different from other social groups (cf. Della Porta and Diani 2006:94). However, black identity was only institutionalised with the emergence of the *Ley 70*. Previously, there was no common black identity (Escobar 2008:200). The confirmation of collective identity was facilitated by a raising global concern with climate, biodiversity and sustainable development (Oslender 2002:90; Martinez Basallo 2013:2-5; Walsh, Edizon and Restrepo 2005:236). The problem between globalisation and environmental issues led to the inclusion of traditional values and knowledge of local communities to save bio-ecological systems (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998:20). As a result, afro-descendant communities in the Pacific

became the "guardians of biodiversity" (Martinez Basallo 2013:4) and black identity was constructed upon the idea of conservation. However, this remains a specific characteristic of communities from the Pacific.

> "One of the characteristics for the collective title was that the community had to be conservationist. And we have shown that for more than 400 years we, the yurumanguireños, have been preserving. For this, our commitment is to be conserving." (Interview 2)[xxi]

The conservation of the territory is one of the main preoccupations of the community being the "owner" of the river (Interview 1, 3 and 8). *"If we are not taking care, what will we do?"*[xxii] (Interview 15) They are committed to continue this process of conservation started by their ancestors (Interview 6). An additional component reinforcing the objective to preserve is their concern about future generations. *"We are not envisaging today but tomorrow"*[xxiii] (Interview 16). Securing natural resources that their children can enjoy life in the territory is another reason to resist (Interview 2, 3, 11, 16, 19 and 20; Community Council 2014). Thus, conservation is the framework in which collective resistance is constructed and acts as micro-factors (cf. Melucci 1996; Opp 2012).

Another concept on which their identity is built is the community (CEE n.d:16-27; Oslender 2002; Walsh, Edizon and Restrepo 2005:215-221). The communal structure is particularly significant for their everyday life. The recognition of the extensive family structure (including grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, nieces, brothers- and sisters-in-law, godfathers and –mothers, godson and –daughters) is an essential basis of the community. For this reason, individualism, envy, machismo and the desire for fast money were identified at the General Assembly in 2014 as threat to communal life and the organisational process because individual interests are prioritised over communal well-being (Community Council 2014). *"Today, we have to think for the community before thinking about the individual"*[xxiv] (Interview 3). The recognition of friendships, solidarity, and the union with the family (Interview 1) is also indispensable for community life.

> "For example, one of the most beautiful things in our river, in our territory is that the families are helping each other. When a woman is giving birth, the people from the community are pending during these eight days in which the woman stays in her bed with the baby; they are taking turns to assist at her work." (Interview 1)[xxv]

One benefit of community life is the idea of *mingas* (voluntary communal labour) (Interview 1, 8 and 19; CCY n.d.7). Several times during the year, the community works jointly on tasks, such as cleaning the river from loose tree trunks and branches.

> "When it is sowing time, although it has gone a little bit lost, there exists still what we call the *minga,* the exchange of hands. I will to do my work and you will help me. And when the other is working, I will do the same." (Interview 1)[xxvi]

A way to enforce this collective character is the internal justice system of the community. In 2014 the members decided that each person who does not comply with the sanctions imposed by the internal authority will experience "communal exclusion" for a period between one and five years. Moreover, persons and families not participating in organisational and collective activities will be excluded from any benefits, with the exceptions of health, education and human rights. Between a range of possible sanctions that the administrative board can impose, three reveal the importance of the communitarian character: communal work, public ridicule and exclusion from community benefits (Community Council 2014). Finally, a person residing outside the river for more than twenty years loses the right to decide on matters concerning the life in the territory (Interview 1 and 15). This system creates clear boundaries on who belongs to the community and who resides outside and therefore, produces material and symbolic selective incentives to contribute to community life and to participate in collective resistance (cf. Olson 1971).

The above mentioned elements demonstrate that their resistance is embedded in the logic of the defence of their cultural identity and their territory (cf. Pile 197:1-9). The emphasis on community and their way to relate to nature and the territory demonstrates an "alternative spatiality" (Pile 1997:5) in which a model different from Western societies can be created. Furthermore, the life within the community raises

solidary incentives but also creates forms of normative pressure which maintains collective resistance (cf. Tarrow 2011:30-31).

6.2.3. Threats induced by mining

This part analyses the different consequences of externally driven mining anticipated by the inhabitants of Yurumanguí. During the interviews, experiences made by other rivers of the Pacific were repeatedly mentioned. They serve as illustration of what would happen to the river Yurumanguí and renders explicit why they have to withstand large-scale mining imposed from the outside.

6.2.3.1. Contamination of the river

The resistance of the community of Yurumanguí is deeply embedded in an "environmental narrative" (Rasch 2012:177–178) in which the inhabitants request a healthy environment (cf. Montes et al. 2014:60). As stated by one participant: *"If we put waste in our river, the river will get sick"*[xxvii] (Interview 19). Due to this, another important incentive is to avoid ecological destruction through large-scale mining that affects the river, land and consequently health of people (Interview 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20). Infections, unknown diseases, birth defects and epidemics are some possible consequences they imagine (Interview 3, 8, 15, 19 and 20; workshop 3).

> "We have some proofs of other parts where there is heavy mining that it will contaminate us. So, we are not accepting that backhoes will enter the territory, because we know it will contaminate us in two different ways: first, if we have backhoes here, we will never see the river as it has been in the past, our river with the crystal-clear water. We will not be able to swim. I mean, we trust that if we drink our water, we will not get sick. If we swim, we will not get sick. Second, if we put backhoes in the headwaters, all the contamination will flow down and settle in the soil. Agriculture will not be profitable any longer." (Interview 15)[xxviii]

As mentioned previously, the river is a central place for social interaction. Not being able to swim, which is an inherent part of their culture and way of life, appeals to their moral incentives and a sentiment of responsibility to resist (cf. Opp 2012; Interview 6, 15 and 19).

> "What this mining does is to destroy our territory. We will not be able to swim in the river, because the skin will be harmed, we will not be able to drink the water, we will not be able to cultivate because the soil is contaminated." (Interview 3)[xxix]

> "We are looking what is happening in Zaragoza[19] and in other rivers. Zaragoza is a river, better said, it was a river because today it is desolated. I see the land that is useless to sow, the river that has been altered. Things have gone bad. When you follow the road to Zaragoza one can see these walls of trunks and stones. I ask: where is the river? […] Now, if backhoes arrive, the water will be contaminated, too, because the water of all these rivers is dirty. We keep our water very clear. Hence, if we look at that we are saying *no*." (Interview 11)[xxx]

Large-scale mining requires large quantities of water and land and reduces the availability of clean water for the community. Especially the use of chemicals, such as cyanide or mercury heavily pollutes the water. Mainly illegal groups often utilise these chemicals to expedite gold extraction (Canel, Idemudia, and North 2010; Pedersen 2014; Urkidi 2011). Considering the long time the decomposition needs and being dependent on the river water for their daily life (Interview 2, 3, 6, 8, 15, 19 and 20; workshop 2 and 3) the community bears the environmental and social costs (cf. Urkidi 2011).

In contrast, traditional mining that is practiced since the time of slavery is considered to be a non-polluting activity (Interview 1, 5, 6 and 8). Whereas in the past the *batea* (tray) was the main tool for gold extraction, today tools such as water pumps, dredges (operating similar as a vacuum cleaner to pump up the sand) and gold sluices (gold separation tool functioning with water) are used. The community still refers to it as traditional mining because it is not carried-out on a large scale and does not use any

[19] Zaragoza is a small town located at the river Dagua, on the road Cali to Buenaventura

chemicals, but only water filtration to separate the gold from other material (field notes, 14/01/2015; interview 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 19 and 20).

> "They extract the gold in a way that is taking into consideration that if the river upstream is polluted, downstream it will be polluted, too." (Interview 1)[xxxi]

If water is polluted it also contaminates the land and subsequently puts at risk food security by destroying all crop growing. In light of the major role of agriculture as means for their subsistence, this is a significant loss for the community (Interview 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 19 and 20; workshop 1-3). Importing even more products would heighten the already existing poverty. Even if they would receive monetary compensation from mining companies it is of little value. In the long term they have neither money nor agriculture (Interview 11). As stated by Shiva in Boeder (2012), poverty is the consequence of a one-sided development model that destroys the ecological and social systems. The problem is not a lack of income but a lack of access to public goods and resources (Boeder 2012:44).

> "Mining with heavy machines will destroy the little we have; it destroys the territory because here, we live from agriculture. […] If we allow these machines, we start to harm the whole river side. So, where do we sow? Where do we sow the sugar cane, which gives us the *guarapito*[20]and where do we sow the *papa china*[21]and the plantain? We would have to import everything from outside as it is happening in other communities." (Interview 16)[xxxii]

For one participant mining is a new form of slavery that places people in positions of absolute dependence in regards to their resources and alimentation by destroying the fertile land. They become more dependent from a market outside to cover basic needs and in the worst case, they will be forced to leave their territory to survive.

> "I was walking with my grand-mother. We talked and she said: "Slavery will come". I asked "Granny, what is slavery?" She replied: "My child, slavery is when we will not have a livelihood anymore." (Interview 15)[xxxiii]

[20] Local beverage on the basis of the sugar cane
[21] Type of potato native to the Pacific

The perspective of a polluted river and soil necessary for agricultural needs, as much as their emotional connection with the river drive people to challenge the current development discourse relying on extractive industries that they perceive to affect their human and environmental rights (Pedersen 2014:200).

6.2.3.2. Myths of mining

Dismantling false promises of extractive industries is another constitutive element of their resistance discourse. The state and companies declare mining to generate economic growth and progress through the creation of jobs (DDTPC 2014; MacNeil 2007; Madrid Lara et al. 2012; Pedersen 2014). The members construct a common reality in relating to other rivers to deconstruct these promises (cf. Melucci 1996:68).

> "They think that if mining enters the territory, they will enrich themselves, when it is a lie." (Interview 2)[xxxiv]

> "Today there is no single collective territory of black or indigenous communities with legal or illegal mining in which they are better off than before. Today, the people live in worse conditions than before. One example is Zaragoza." (Interview 2) [xxxv]

According to one member, the gains of a mining project from an outside company would foremost be distributed to the owner of the mining tools and to the legal cooperative. The community living on the territory and bearing the largest costs in terms of destruction would receive less than 10% of the total gains (Interview 3 and 11).

> "A man from Juntas said to me: "Son, what they extract is not wealth. Those who buy and process it, they have the wealth." (Interview 2)[xxxvi]

> "So, where is the wealth of the people? Where is the better living of the people? People could use their time to cultivate. Doing differently, they render themselves dependent on money. If there is no money, one cannot eat." (Interview 2)[xxxvii]

Moreover, another participant explains that some community members believe that if large-scale mining enters the territory, the machines will bring work for everyone. He contests: *"Gentlemen, how many operators does a backhoe require? Only two! One*

handling it and one waiting until this person gets tired to take over. Only one person at the time is working with it. Consequently, for whom will there be work?"[xxxviii] (Interview 2)

Not only does mining not bring about employment opportunities for the community, it will also severely impact on the social organisation and relations within the community (cf. Pedersen 2014:195, Urkidi 2011:595). Along with externally driven mining projects come worker possessing the know-how to use the machines necessary for gold extraction. Consequently, the amount of people from the outside rises. Some will only come for work without their families. The inhabitants are aware how money has the power to make someone fall in love, which will attract their daughters. The consequence is that families will be torn apart (Interview 11). The presence of foreign involvement would destroy the social fabric (Inteview 6) of the community and places locals in an unequal power relation in regards to foreigners' access to corporate funding and tools for gold extraction. Prostitution and early drop out from school are further consequences impacting on the social structure of villages. The highly valued tranquillity and harmony between families and community members would be put at stake and transform life in the river-territory Yurumanguí permanently (Interview 2, 11 and 20).

If large-scale projects were accepted in the territory, it would cause a gold-boom that would be only temporary. Once the gold is gone, poverty will enter the river area again and force people to leave once and for all. Large-scale mining subsequently induces displacement in the long term, which has been observed in other rivers of the Pacific (Interview 1 and 16). Declaring mining as development, powerful groups fight for control over natural resources and territory and force communities to leave often with little or no compensation and without offering durable alternatives (Black 2008).

6.2.3.3. Presence of armed groups

The presence of armed groups in the Pacific and in region of the river Yurumanguí is both a present reality and an even more likely future if large-scale mining enters the territory. The municipality of Buenaventura is generally marked by a high level of violence. Displacement (high rate of expulsion from rural territories and river regions), victimisation (murder rates four times higher than the national average at 121.5 on 100'000 inhabitants) and seizure of land (Espinosa Bonilla 2011:215–217) are some examples. The high presence of armed groups complicates the lives on the riverside. *"The truth is, in the Pacific territory mainly the FARC[22] is operating; this it is not a secret"*[xxxix] (Interview 2). The community of Yurumanguí was particularly affected by armed groups on two occasions. On the one hand, in 2001 when there was the massacre of the village "El Firme", in which seven people were killed. The incident occurred because the "Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia" (AUC, paramilitaries) were stationed in the region. It was an act of deception about their exact location, which induced a large wave of displacement to other villages and Buenaventura (Interview 8; field notes 14/01/2015 and 15/01/2015; OMCT 2011). On the other hand, the population of the river Yurumanguí had to withstand bombing attacks during a military operation in 2005. The reason was the assumed presence of a FARC camp in one of the villages. Once more, displacement was the consequence (Interview 11).

> "Who is suffering from this situation? It is not them, but we as civilians on the territory." (Interview 15)[xl]

Some members of Yurumanguí claim that armed actors (AUC, FARC and the military) benefit from legal and illegal mining through collecting taxes from the community (Interview 2, 5 and 20). These groups are consequently in favour of mining projects in the river-community. The consequence would be an increase in violence and confrontation because of the simultaneous presence of several groups. The presence of armed groups would moreover restrain the mobility of the

[22] Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC, guerilla group)

community. The fear to encounter them also affects their productive activities, because for the tree felling for example, they often have to leave at dawn (Interview 2, 5 and 11).

> "From here are the problems arising for the community. Mining is a problem itself, but more problems are coming along with it. Armed groups, prostitution, illness, insecurity and also delinquency are introduced. Everything." (Interview 2)[xli]

Although the situation is currently rather quiet and there are no direct confrontations, several members are convinced that the conflict can break out at any moment (Interview 16 and 20). In this context, and due to the experience of other rivers, large-scale mining acts as a catalyst for a stronger presence of armed groups and an increase in violence. The main victim is the civil population, caught between armed actors and agents of mining projects (Interview 2, 6, 15, 16 and 20). Past experiences, dialogues with different armed groups and former displacements have increased their will to contest this development.

> "So that they kill us here, but we will not leave. Because if we leave they will come back."[xlii] (Interview 11)

6.2.4. Development alternatives

Before talking about concrete alternatives proposed by the community, the concept of development and its significance for the community will be explored. Development was first approached by examining what a good life means to the community. Throughout the interviews and workshops the following elements were named to be the most important things in life: family, to be of good health, good nutrition, a high level of education, a safe territory, territorial conservation, a communal living in solidarity, equality and harmony, to develop its own activity and finally, to enjoy tranquillity in the territory without being threatened.

> "A solid and compact territory as it is now, without the necessity of mining, without the necessity of anything driven by capitalism, but a territory that continues to struggle by its own strength […]." (Interview 3) [xliii]

The community demands a development which leads to an equal redistribution of benefits to every member and which takes care of the river (Interview 1 and 6). In addition, it should be a form of development improving quality of life and food security, but without affecting their cultural identity. Finally, it should sustain the growth of the community and reduce dependency from the outside (Interview 5, 6, 9, 18 and 20).

> "When I talk about development, I refer myself to the way we grow, I mean as person, mentally. […] We were liberated from the chains on our feet and hands, but we know that today many continue living with mental chains. So the process of development is that our people liberate themselves from those mental chains in order to live in this process of development without continuing to be a mental slave, but to think in a territorial vision, a socio-communal vision, something that will be for all of us." (Interview 3)[xliv]

The demands of native communities for autonomy, self-determination and recognition of cultural diversity stand in stark contrast to the territorial logic of elites and corporations. In the view of the latter, territories containing minerals have to be rendered accessible without sufficiently assessing negative outcomes for the community (Svampa 2011:121-122). According to *Ley 70*, the government is responsible to guarantee the communities' economic and social development respecting their autonomous culture (Art. 47) and has to secure that private sector investments in areas affecting black communities respect the environment, social interests and the patrimony of the nation (Art. 49) (Fundación de Vida 1995). A demand posed at the General Assembly in 2011 to the Constitutional Court was to annul the National Development Plan of the government because there were no prior consultations with the authorities of ethnic territories. Moreover, they claim that the designed "engines of development", such as large scale mining would violate ethnic rights of black communities (CCY 2011).

The members of the community Yurumanguí accuse the Colombian government of placing its interests ahead of those of the community, while designing policies from the capital without knowing the reality of the region. On member pointed out that for the Colombian state development implies the construction of natural parks or

buildings and when wooden houses are replaced by cement ones (Interview 19). For the community, however, development means being able to fulfil basic needs, such as health, housing, alimentation and education (Interview 16 and 19).

> "There are two different concepts. Development for the state is to implement mining, to extract gold so that people live well. However, what happens to the territories? They will be totally destroyed. We do not want this development." (Interview 16)[xlv]

The example of the community of the river Yurumangui demonstrates that the neoliberal development model of the state fails to meet the development needs of the affected communities (cf. Canel, Idemudia and North 2010:5). In view of these negative consequences, the question of whose interest development is designed to serve becomes pertinent (Rasch 2012:159-160). One member points out: *"[...] we are living in a corner of Colombia where no one takes us seriously, so we are seen as backwards and we do what we can. They tell us that the intelligent ones come from the urban zones, but what would happen if they gave the same opportunity to the people in the rivers and the rural areas as to them in the cities?"* (Interview 6) [xlvi] In light of the perceived lack of support from the state (Interview 5, 8 and 15) and the differing views on development in the community's eyes, there is one statement recurring in several interviews: if there is a development, it has to come from within the community and target the same community (Interview 1, 6, 16 and 20).

> "People think that this development that the government is implementing is not [what we want], we have our own development, a development from the community with the community." (Interview 16) [xlvii]

> "And we think development from the community, in the society." (Interview 6)[xlviii]

Relating back to the idea of alternatives, the majority of the participants believe that micro-enterprises producing and processing products from the river is the answer to neoliberal development policies (Interview 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20). Most of the proposed alternatives strengthen already existing traditional production modes.

Fishing

For the lower part of the river, the main proposition consists of expanding fishing activities at sea to increase the quantity and the quality of the fish. One way to achieve this is to build a cold storage in which they can preserve the fish and produce ice. This would allow selling it to other villages of the river-territory, in which fish has become rare during the last years. By selling the fish also to upstream villages, people would no longer have to buy tuna in cans, which in turn would reduce their dependence on food from the outside and improve their nutrition. A new fishing boat for the whole village is also an option they are considering at the moment in order to increase the available quantity of fish (Interview 2, 16 and 18).

Agriculture

The main concern in the middle zone is also to guarantee food security by raising the production level. Particularly the production of the *chontaduro* (orange fruit from a tropical palm tree) and *lulo* (a variation of orange) is envisaged due to a high demand for both products in Buenaventura. This in turn would generate a supplementary income for the community. The idea is to eliminate intermediaries in the selling process to improve the direct trade in the city to shops or at markets and to avoid the loss of money (Interview 2, 6, 16 and 19).

Another proposition is the own production of *panela* (brown sugar loaf), a product made out of the sugar cane they cultivate in large quantities. To realise this process, a village has already purchased a *trapiche* (sugar mill). By doing so, they do not any longer need to purchase it from outside and can as well sell it in Buenaventura (Interview 5, 6, 16 and 20).

Strengthening agriculture is particularly important because the production level has immensely decreased over the last years, as many participants stated (Interview 3, 8, 9, 11, 15 and 18). Agriculture is defined as the long-term alternative to all other activities and constitutes a priority for the community (Interview 19).

Tree felling

When it comes to tree felling, they want to create a proper sawmill and purchase further machines to directly transform wood in the villages. The idea is to build a business to process wood and transform it into furniture or other material needed to sell it directly to the community and to Buenaventura. The idea to skip the intermediary and sell the wood directly to other companies or shops as well prevails (Interview 2 and 16).

Particularly tree felling is a time-consuming activity. It takes several months to cut the wood and bring it to the city. Once there, they depend on the capacity of intermediaries to sell the wood before they receive their money. Improving this process is hence crucial for the community to reduce their vulnerability and dependency on outside actors (Interview 9 and 11).

By selling the products mainly inside their territory, all three above mentioned micro-enterprises would allow to generate incomes to remain within the river-territory and increase money flow within the community. This would enhance food security and create employment – two things presently lacking.

Mining

The upper part of the river is planning to strengthen its mining activity and to apply for an own mining concession. Even though this might be surprising at first sight, for the community the demand is not at odds with their discourse of resistance against externally-driven mining. The members of Yurumanguí refer to their ancestral activity exercised since slavery as traditional in contrast to the "contaminating and destructive" mining imposed from actors outside the community (Interview 1, 3, 6, 8, 16, 19 and 20). However, mining as it is today generates insufficiently incomes in relation to the amount of work it demands (Interview 5 and 6). Strengthening mining activities seem to be a logical step for them to generate further incomes.

> "We are all used to mining and it is the main source of income that we have here. We do not have anything else." (Interview 5)[xlix]

To increase income they are preparing their application for a proper mining concession. Recalling the legal situation, the river community only possess the right to manage the land they are living upon, which does not include the subsoil (Interview 19). The subsoil remains the property of the state. They perceive the mining concession as a protection against companies neglecting the needs of the community and ignoring their territorial demands while thinking in short term gains. In addition, a legal document will strengthen their efforts to evict unwelcomed groups from their territory. Being the legal owner of the land and currently being involved in a governmental project of land restitution due to the experienced violence, the community should have an advantage in the application process.

An argument for the development of mining was mentioned several times:

> "We think that if one day there is a mining company in the territory of Yurumanguí, we wish that it be from the yurumanguireños." (Interview 2)[1]

In their view, they possess the necessary ancestral knowledge about their land and territory. They claim to know exactly where mining can be undertaken and where not and when it has to be stopped because it would destroy the territory (Interview 1, 5 and 9). They believe that their ways of mining are not degrading land due to a larger respect for nature and the absence of use of chemicals (Interview 5 and 6). At present times, two main extraction methods are used. On the one hand, they use the water pumps in the river, on which three men work simultaneously. Two work on the water pump and control the process, while one is operating as the diver using dredges to extract the sand material. The community decided on the size of the allowed motors during the General Assembly. On the other hand, a larger group of up to 15 people (with a majority of women) work on a pit next to the river and bring up the soil to the sluices by using their *bateas*. According to the participants they always keep in mind the river in its entirety. They know that if they affect the river upstream, people downstream will suffer. Moreover, they need the land for agriculture. Therefore, they declare to give nature sufficient time to recover from gold extraction in small pits.

Moreover, they would not remove the soil from the river and hence, the river course is not altered (field notes, 13/01/2015 and 14/01/2015).

> "We say, if today we would build a company and we start to work on the mine and we would see that a damage is done we are in the authority to stop. We stop and stop and full stop." (Interview 2)[li]

In order to maintain a non-contaminating mining, the inhabitants of the river-territory Yurumanguí believe that a set of regulations is indispensable to organise their mining. The organisation is central to avoid conflicts arising from the gold extraction within and outside the community, because unregulated mining proved to be a source of conflict in other river regions. These regulations entail information on what types of machines and motors can be used, who does mine, and where it can be implemented. A strict organisation helps to keep armed groups outside of their territory. Developing a mining activity "from the *yurumanguireño* by the *yurumanguireño*" (Interview 1, 2, 5, 6, 17 and 19) from which the whole community benefits is declared as alternative to state development.

Other alternative means of production

During the workshops, the idea of a small handicraft manufacture run by women of the river was presented as an alternative (workshop 3). These products could be sold on markets as souvenirs from the Pacific. To implement this, a young woman has started to collect traditional fabrics and ideas for possible products (e.g.: hats, jewellery, bags etc.)

Another alternative is a communal breeding of chicken, pigs or other small animal. As the number of livestock has drastically decreased in the territory, probably due to the utilisation of chain saws for the tree felling, increasing the availability of meat and eggs would help to provide food security. In the past, an international NGO started a project where every family received a hen. However, this project failed. Therefore, a member identifies a communitarian small animal population to increase the livestock as a possible solution (Interview 8 and 11).

Finally, a small business for eco-tourism was mentioned by one member as possible source of revenues for the community (field notes, 15/01/2015). As they have maintained their river clean until today, the river Yurumanguí could be an attractive destination for short journeys for foreigners and people from Buenaventura wanting to leave the city for a few days. Because they would like to avoid a large presence of foreign people in the community, clear regulations are also necessary. So far, no concrete measures were undertaken.

Due to the financial constraints the community faces, only little steps have been possible thus far. Even though the national government is supposed to design financial mechanisms permitting black communities to create forms of associative and solidary production for a sustainable resource extraction (Art. 52 of Ley 70) (Fundación de Vida 1995), the community remains without these funds until today. The lack of funds is particularly problematic in view of the application for a mining concession that is a costly undertaking. However, in light of the pending mining applications, this step is urgently necessary to protect their territory.

The development of micro-enterprises would not only raise employment and income, but also generate funds to strengthen the educational system currently not available in the territory. A better educational system in the territory reduces the amount of people migrating to bigger cities to study (Interview 1, 3, 5, 6, 16, 17 and 19). The possibility to finish one's education in the territory would also reinforce the organisational process of the community by offering young people the possibility to remain in the territory. Education is seen as the main tool for capacitating themselves (Interview 1, 2, 6 and 16) and to maintain a clean, free and autonomous territory; free from external threats such as large-scale mining projects of multinational companies or illegal groups (Interview 1 and 9).

7. Discussion

Throughout the analysis it has become apparent that the community's close relationship to territory and its relevance for their identity and preservation of ancestral cultures are core elements of their collective resistance. For them, externally driven mining not only destroys their meaning of life by generating environmental degradation, but also raises the presence of armed groups and the potential for conflict while leading to social fragmentation. Whereas the first set of incentives is inherent to their being; the second set of incentives derives directly from the phenomenon of mining. For all these reasons, large-scale mining is contested by the communities of the river Yurumanguí.

As stated by Cox, civil society is an arena where changes towards a more equitable society can occur (Cox 2005:103). Only through the reconstruction of alternatives and the social re-appropriation of the public sphere and natural resources can a post-neoliberal transformation take place (Seoane 2006:100). The defence of place and territory is ultimately a search for a "counter-space", where meanings can be contested, alternatives can be imagined and changes can be achieved through social action (Oslender 2002:89). When analysing the discursive resistance and the position of the community towards externally driven mining in combination with their proposals for alternatives, a tension between the conservation of the territory and the desire for their own development arises. This raises concerns if a real "counter-space" is created, or if they reproduce neoliberal development strategies under the guise of traditional sustainability practices.

In view of the high level of poverty, the lack of employment and the risk of food insecurity, it comes as no surprise that the community of the river Yurumanguí attempts to extend their traditional mining activity. It seems to be an indispensable step to generate supplementary incomes for their envisioned development. So far, especially in the upper part of the river, no other long-term activity can replace mining. It is what people have been doing over centuries and what is at their disposition. Moreover, as discussed above, for them, extending gold exploration in

the river is not at odds with their conservation discourse as long as they are in charge of it and do not use any chemical substances. In order to comply with their own discourse, the community is developing an internal mining regulation that is considered compulsory to avoid negative territorial, cultural and social outcomes (Community Council 2014). As it has not yet been fully established, however, evaluation is not currently possible.

Relating back to the issue of development alternatives the question remains, what we can learn from the experience of the community of the river Yurumanguí? Looking at the desire to fulfil their basic needs, their demands are in line with what is considered "mainstream development": better education, better health and more income (Peet and Hartwick 2009:1–3). Nevertheless, I argue that two elements stand out in order to reassess an alternative to development, which is demanded by post-development thinkers in order to overcome the development impasse (Escobar 2012; Sachs 1992). One the one hand, it is the territorial vision, on the other hand, the emphasis on community.

The territorial vision of the community is connected to the environmental discourse and ecological turn that emerged in the late 1990s when the international community started to be concerned with biodiversity and climate (Escobar 1999 and 2008; Svampa 2011). This concern led to investigations on mining being placed within a sustainability framework while focusing on environmental degradation resulting from mining. The environmental discourse has strongly influenced the construction of black identity and, as a result, has led to the idea of conservation as the main purpose of their being. Their territorial vision of development and their close relationship to the river moreover demonstrates alternative economic activities and a form of conservation that does not automatically require nature to be left untouched. Their traditional ways of doing and living are based on a symbiotic relationship where nature is worked with while being respected with a focus on minimal damage. However, according to Svampa, the eco-territorial turn is a necessary but insufficient condition for an alternative model of development (Svampa 2011:221).

I argue that the emphasis on community provides a further condition in order to reflect on the matter of alternatives. The importance of the family, the close ties between members of the community and the role of the community in daily life are elements highlighted during the interviews, which stand in stark contrast to the individual character of Western societies (cf. Davalos 2009). Solidarity mechanisms and an internal justice system help to create and maintain a strong identification with the community and its values. Deriving from the importance of communal values, the community's demand for a development from within it is not unexpected (Interview 6, 15, 16 and 20).

By rendering themselves responsible for their development, the community might avoid the trap of trusteeship, in which those who see themselves as *developed* guide the ones seen as *less developed.* So far, trusteeship is an underlying guiding logic in all intentional development projects, even in those trying to avoid a top-down approach. Trusteeship prevails because a development process is always oriented towards a specific goal in which development practitioners are pioneers (Cowen and Shenton 1996). This is the case because development agents (in this case the state) frame projects around a specific problem in order to render an intervention possible (to reduce poverty through resources extraction). Hence, the apparatus of development is the core problem. No reform of the development strategies or goals will address the issue of trusteeship.

Undeniably, trusteeship also exists within the community of Yurumanguí because community leaders are in charge of implementing the community's development. However, having designed the General Assembly as highest instance of decision-making gives every member the opportunity to voice their opinions on development. Moreover, the issue of trusteeship does also not suggest that there is no alternative. It is essential to realise that development is not an unilateral relationship, but that development interventions are contested, transformed, adopted or resisted in local encounters and thus, can provide new answers to the question of alternatives (Nustad 2001:483–489).

Various alternatives have to be searched for to avoid the same pitfall as development, which is criticised of being too uniform and embracing only one conception of life. In response to such a homogenising model, resistance movements emerge to promote cultural diversity, new consumption standards and a redefinition of the production system and the use of natural resources (Kothari 1988:1-10). Ethnic demands to counter a homogenisation of culture and identity represent the grounds on which cultural, economic and political impacts are reassessed (ibid.:214). Consequently, particular non-Western cultural definitions have to be taken into consideration, containing "[…] their own systems of valuation, their own functioning institutions, and their own credible ideas of the good life" (MacNeill 2014:302). Due to this, investigating the internal structure of Yurumanguí was an important part of the analysis. This community has maintained its culture without letting it be affected by colonialism or slavery. It has remained hidden and continued to develop and has experienced resurgence with the awarding of the collective territory. However, their culture does not reject all elements of modernity. This classifies the culture of the community of Yurumanguí as transmodern. Transmodern cultures are "[…] a form of border thinking at the edge of modernity […] [drawing] on rights discourses, international social movements, discourses on environmentalism and the deep cultural and historical situation of its members" (ibid.:320). This holds true for the community of Yurumanguí, which primarily utilises environmental arguments and defends, as an inherent human right, its right to be culturally different. The goal is to create a political space - a *counter-space* - in which mutual recognition is achieved.

Even though cultural and ethnic recognition has been gained with the awarding of the collective title, their definition and vision of development also have to be acknowledged and respected. "[…] [D]evelopment must be guided by principles derived from the rights and aspirations of local communities and must propend for the affirmation of cultures and the protection of natural environments. […] Similarly, development strategies must foster the communities' ethnic identity and decision-making capacity […]." (Grueso, Rosero, and Escobar 1988:212) Development alternatives must articulate a vision based on collective aspirations (ibid. 213).

In the case of the river Yurumanguí, as demonstrated above, development is strongly linked to the idea of territory, which in turn is linked to the question of identity. "[…] [C]ultural recognition is connected with access to, and control over, material resources – particularly land." (McNeill 2014:321) The resistance of Yurumanguí *against* externally driven mining is also a struggle *for* territory and land, because the development engines defined by the governments are in need for new resources and land - a land often inhabited by ethnic minorities. As such, this particular resistance merges into existing resistance movements for land, such as in other parts of Colombia (DDTPC 2014; Montes et al. 2014; Rudqvist and Anrup 2013; Vélez-Torres and Varela 2014) or other Latin American countries, examples being Guatemala (MacNeill 2014; Rasch 2012; Pedersen 2014; Urkidi 2011) and Ecuador (Espinosa Bonilla 2011; Kuecker 2007).

At the present time, the danger remains that external mining actors will enter the territory before the community can establish its own regulations and acquire a legal mining permit. Through the results of the analysis and the context of the situation, it is highly probable that this discursive resistance will develop into a territorial conflict once large-scale mining is present in the territory. Drawing from the example of the resistance to illegal crops, there is a clear precedent of a direct community based reaction. As was demonstrated in the analysis, mining does not only affect the safety within the territory but threatens their identity as well. While the outcome of their resistance is still unknown, it would be interesting to see how current mechanism of contestation of the community could be translated into concrete actions for the defence of their territory.

8. Conclusion

In the Colombian Pacific, where large-scale mining is a reality in many collective territories of black communities, one community has maintained its clean waters: the community of the river Yurumanguí. In order to understand how and why externally driven mining is resisted, this thesis has focused on the community's resistance discourse which anticipates a possible conflict between them and actors involved in gold extraction, resulting from openly declaring "no" to externally driven mining.

To understand why members decide to take part in collective resistance the collective action framework and the concept of resistance were explored. Diverse incentives, such as inherent world-views, values and collective identity explain why individuals develop an interest in participating. Moreover, resistance was conceptualised as a means to contest the imposition of meanings, which in this case is a state-led development model declaring mineral extraction as a solution to fight poverty. By doing so, resistance is a process which generates alternatives and which redefines the relationship between human and nature. To understand the rationale of this resistance, a qualitative single case study incorporating semi-structured interviews with community leaders and three workshops with community members was conducted and complemented by direct and participant observation and the analysis of documents.

Above all, the investigation revealed that the community perceives externally driven mining as a threat challenging their defence of the territory and as a form of violence against who they are. The territory and its role in the life of the community members is at the core of the collective resistance because their shared identity is constructed upon the relationship to the territory. With the awarding of the collective title through the *Ley 70*, conservation became the main responsibility of black communities. Consequently, any form of development endangering that conservation has to be resisted. Environmental destruction, water pollution and soil degradation are possible consequences anticipated by the community. These factors increase food insecurity because the community depends heavily on agriculture for their subsistence.

Moreover, presence of foreign people and armed groups would destroy socio-cultural dynamics and communal solidarities and endanger the enjoyed tranquillity within the territory. Recalling the violent incidents of the past, keeping armed groups away becomes a priority. For all these reasons externally driven mining is resisted through a pacific discursive resistance.

The resistance is a response to the government's encouragements of foreign investment which affect the community's livelihood and is a demonstration of their exclusion from socioeconomic processes in spite of the discursive inclusion as ethnic group in the new Constitution of 1991. It contests the meaning of development by proposing alternatives that improve quality of life and food security without affecting their cultural identity and their territory. Hence, the resistance represents a proposition for a space in which alternative practices can be performed. The community's proposal would mainly expand existing activities, such as tree felling, fishing or gold mining in form of micro-enterprises in order to reduce trade intermediaries and to generate supplementary incomes urgently necessary in light of the high level of poverty in the region. The planned alternatives are proposals to combine conservation and economic production, with all propositions emphasising the community. Through the development of micro-enterprises, the community renders itself responsible for its own development; a development that will not jeopardise the river because the whole community depends on it for its livelihood and cultural practices.

The community's demand for autonomy, self-determination and recognition of cultural diversity is a response to a homogenising neoliberal development. In order to assess its value as an alternative, however, accompanying the community on their way to implement their propositions in the future would help to evaluate their consistency with their own discourse.

Finally, territory is not only at the core of conflicts caused by mining, but also constitutes the main reason for dispute in the on-going Colombian conflict which has spanned over fifty years. Land redistribution was proposed as a solution during the current peace talks in Havana (WOLA 2015). Considering that major parts of the land are already in the process of being evaluated as mining concessions, the question then remains, on what land will Colombia develop its new society? Consequently, rethinking alternatives to large-scale mining for Colombia's development becomes a paramount task.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of interviews

Interview 1 = community mother [interview] 11 January 2015

Interview 2 = vice-president of a local committee [interview] 11 January 2015

Interview 3 = coordinator of a zone [interview] 11 January 2015

Interview 4 = community mother [interview] 13 January 2015

Interview 5 = community member [interview] 13 January 2015

Interview 6 = coordinator of a zone [interview] 13 January 2015

Interview 7 = member of a community [interview] 14 January 2015

Interview 8 = secretary of a local committee [interview] 15 January 2015

Interview 9 = vice-president of a local committee [interview] 15 January 2015

Interview 10 = president of a local committee [interview] 15 January 2015

Interview 11 = community mother [interview] 16 January 2015

Interview 12 = president of a local committee [interview] 20 January 2015

Interview 13 = community mother [interview] 20 January 2015

Interview 14 = former member of a local committee [interview] 20 January 2015

Interview 15 = vice-president of a local committee [interview] 21 January 2015

Interview 16 = president of a local committee [interview] 21 January 2015

Interview 17 = member of the administrative board [interview] 22 January 2015

Interview 18 = member of the administrative board [interview] 22 January 2015

Interview 19 = member of the administrative board [interview] 23 January 2015

Interview 20 = member of the administrative board [interview] 23 January 2015

Appendix 2: List of workshops

Workshop 1 [group discussion] 13 January 2015

Workshop 2 [group discussion] 15 January 2015

Workshop 3 [group discussion] 19 January 2015

Appendix 3: Interview guide

Interview with community leaders (translation from the Spanish version)

I General Information

Name of the participant_____
Age_____
Children_____
Village_____
Date of the interview _____

II Interview Guide

1. **Territory and culture**
    a. What is the most important thing for you in life? What does having a good life imply for you?
    b. What role does the territory/river play in your life? Why is it important? What does it symbolise? What activities are performed in it?
    c. What is the relationship between the territory and culture?
    d. How can harmony be achieved within the territory? What does harmony entail?
    e. What are the problems you face in your territory? What, in your opinion, puts the territory at risk? Why?

2. **Development**
    a. What is the difference between Yurumanguí today and Yurumangui 10 years ago?
    b. How would you like Yurumanguí to be in 10 years? What are your wishes and dreams?
    c. What does development mean for you?
    d. Is there a plan of ethno-development for the Community Council? If yes, what does it entail?
    e. What is the difference between the conception of development from the State and your vision of communitarian well-being?

3. **Mining**
    a. What kind of mining exists in Yurumanguí? What minerals are extracted?
        i. Traditional mining: who is carrying it out? What tools are used? What is the process after the extraction? How does a typical day of mining look like?
        ii. Were there any mining companies in the territory in the past?
    b. Are you in favour of, or against mining? Why?

4. **Resistance**
    a. How do you define resistance?
    b. What actions of resistance are generally undertaken in Yurumanguí?
        i. How are they organised?
        ii. Who is participating?
        iii. What are the consequences of this resistance? +
    c. When did the process of resistance start? What has been done?
    d. What motivates your resistance? What does mining represent?
    e. If mining is the model of development from the state, what other activities do you propose? Why do you think they are better?

5. **Conclusion**
    a. Before ending the interview, would you like to add something? Are there any questions left unanswered?

Appendix 4: Ethical guidelines

What are the beneficial consequences of the study?

The study allows gaining insights on the resistance discourse of the community of the river Yurumanguí. It enables to understand how the question of territory, the culture, their relation with nature and the shared identity are interrelating elements in this movement. Moreover, it contributes to the discussion on alternatives to mining in exploring the solutions the community proposes for its own development.

How can the study contribute to enhancing the situation of the participating subject or of the group they represent?

It helps to acknowledge the existence of this movement, as communication between rivers and in the region in general is low. Moreover, little has been researched combining the topic of resistance and development within the English academic literature. Hence, it allows raising the level of awareness, which is beneficial for the community.

How can the informed consent of the participating subjects be obtained?

First, the legal representative will discuss the study proposal with the river council and the different committees of the river that will collectively decide on the investigation. Moreover, before each interview, the researcher will explain the purpose of the study, explain the consequences and the rights of withdrawing from the study, their right to refuse answers and the issue of confidentiality to each participant. Each interviewee has to give orally its consent.

How much information about the study needs to be given in advance?

In order not to deceive the participant, the investigator has to inform the interviewees about the purpose. Therefore, the idea of analysing resistance and the attempt to understand the life in river will be elaborated and also put in the context of local alternatives to mining.

How important is it that the subjects remain anonymous

Seeing the context and current situation in the Colombian Pacific and the fact that many leaders have already been threatened due to their stand, it is very important that the people remain anonymous.

How can the identity of the subjects be disguised?

The participants will receive numbers and no personal information will be disclosed.

Who will have access to the interviews?

Only the researcher

What are the consequences of the study for the participating subjects?

In the best case, it motivates them for continuing their defence. There is a risk for receiving negative attention of group favourable to mining. For this reason, it is important to have the consent of the whole community for conducting the study.

Will any potential harm to the subjects be outweighed by potential benefits?

Yes.

When publishing the study, what consequences may be anticipated for the subjects and for the group they represent?

It might be published on a local organisations website and consequently, available to everyone to read it, which also implies opponents of the community. This might lead to further threatening of community leaders.

How will the researcher's role affect the study?

The researcher's background and origin will influence especially the way cultural traits are interpreted and will also bias the information given during the interviews. It is possible that participant will respond what they think the investigator wants to hear and will maybe conceal critical information going against their discourse or deviant norms.

How can a researcher avoid over-identification with his or her subjects, thereby losing critical perspective on the knowledge produced?

In my view, this is the most difficult challenge to overcome. The researcher needs to collect evidence from different sources in order to evaluate the given answers. Moreover, data triangulation is necessary to cross-check the data and enhancing the validity of it. Finally, the researcher has to constantly remind herself of the goal and aims of the investigation and needs to be involved in a constant process of reflexion.

[i] "La repuesta de Yurumanguí es "no" a la minería a gran escala, "no" a la minería contaminante."

ii "Es un territorio de vida, alegría y libertad."

iii "Eso es vida: nuestro territorio, ese rio. Y por eso, con la ayuda de dios, lucharemos hasta al final."

iv "Nos reunimos y todos vamos a hablar en una sola e una voz. Para decir "no" y "no" y "no". Así lo hacemos aquí. Tenemos un poquito más fuerza, más valor."

v "Ellos [grupos armados] utilizan los armas. Nosotros no vamos a pelear con las armas. Vamos a discutir con el Estado."

vi "Porque si nos matan, pues nosotros decimos que matarán a veinte, pero a todos los 50 [del pueblo] no lo pueden matar. Si somos 50 quedan 30, y pues los otros veinte morimos, pero nos quedan 30. Por eso nosotros enfrentamos pero en grupo."

vii "El Estado mata a uno pero a todos no nos van a matar y vamos para allá, vamos de pelea, vamos a luchar."

viii "Nuestra actividad demuestra ante el mundo, ante el país que sí somos resistentes y es una opción clara que de una u otra forma que se haga la actividad (la minería tradicional) no daña, esa es la resistencia."

ix "Para mí la resistencia es: resistir por un alineamiento que está para que el Estado no venga apropiando nuestro derecho comunitario. O sea, resistir es de nuestro río. Es algo de adentro del río, no de afuera."

x "Es el proceso de decir no, no tan solo a la minería pero también a otras grandes locomotoras de desarrollo […] Yurumangui tiene una cultura de conservación, nosotros hemos luchado de los ancestros por mantener este río, tal cual como hoy lo ve, así de generación a generación."

xi "Yurumanguí debe saber de dónde viene y para dónde va."

xii "La minería hoy entrará a Yurumanguí con una fuerza que nosotros no podemos detener. La única arma que tenemos acá es el dialogo. Por eso, apenas nos damos cuenta que una persona está interesada a entrar Yurumanguí, buscamos todos los medios para localizarla. Es una estrategia que no esperamos a que la persona llega, pero que nos damos cuenta como localizarla para anticipar."

xiii "Un principio de la comunidad es el territorio como el espacio para ser. El territorio contiene todo con que uno se contenta: agua, minerales, plantas, gente, la vida. Es el espacio en que la gente crea y se recre. Por eso es importante el territorio."

xiv "Nosotros cuidamos nuestro río. Nosotros, cuando ahí hay un encuentro del ejército o de la guerrilla, o bandeos, nosotros aguantamos. Aguantamos todo eso. Cuidar el río, no salirse."

xv "El río y el territorio, es mi vida. Para mí Yurumanguí es mi vida, es todo."

xvi "Para mí el río significa todo, el río Yurumanguí es todo, es el espacio para ser, es el espacio donde desarrollamos todas nuestras actividades productivas, donde nosotros vemos crecer a nuestros niños, donde tenemos una educación, donde tenemos nuestros ancestros, nuestra vida, todo, Yurumanguí es todo para mí."

xvii "El territorio y la cultura van muy relacionados conjuntamente, porque sin un territorio no hay cultura. […] La relación entre cultura y territorio hasta hoy queremos sostenerla […] [C]ultura no solo es el arte musical, el arte del canto, sino que cultura es la tierra, es el ser que está allí, es el agua, son los pájaros. Entonces, si no tenemos territorio, obviamente que no vamos a tener cultura."

xviii "En el corte de madera, nosotros como comunidad decidimos en algunas tallas de los árboles que se cortan. Hay también unos conceptos que manejan los mayores que son los conceptos de bejucos. Todo bejuco no se cortan sino si se necesitan se sacan unos tajos. Entonces sí, creo que existe esta armonía. Es decir cómo usar, pero cuidar. Nosotros tenemos un concepto en Yurumangui: conservamos usando. Otros tienen el concepto que conservar es no tocar. Lo que hemos definido es siempre que se conservan los productos de la naturaleza."

xix "Yo me comprendo con mi comunidad, con mi negritud porque soy negra."

xx "Cuando nosotros hablamos de Yurumanguí, los yurumanguireños somos nosotros todos, de la cabecera hasta la cruce, somos yurumanguireños"

xxi "Una de las características para la titulación era que la comunidad tiene que ser conservacionista. Y nosotros hemos mostrado que por más de 400 años los yurumanguireños han conservado. Por eso, el compromiso es que tenemos que ser conservando"

xxii "Si no cuidamos, ¿qué vamos a hacer?"

xxiii "Es que nosotros no visionamos hoy sino mañana."

xxiv "Hoy es pensar en lo comunitario, antes que en lo individual."

xxv "Por ejemplo, una de las cosas más bonitas en nuestro río, en nuestro territorio es que la familias nos ayudamos unas a otras. Cuando hay una mujer dando a luz teniendo bebe, entonces, la gente de la comunidad está pendiente, todos esos ocho días de que la señora está en cama con su bebé, se van turnando las personas asistiéndole en los oficios."

xxvi "Cuando hay una siembra, aunque que se ha perdido un poco, pero todavía queda eso de la minga, la mano cambiada. Yo me voy a hacer mi trabajo y usted me va a ayudarme. Y cuando el otro está trabajando, voy a hacer la misma cosa."

xxvii "[…] no se puede botar la basura al río porque el río se enferma […]."

xxviii "Tenemos algunas pruebas de otras partes manteniendo la minería pesada, que nos va a contaminar. Entonces, nosotros no dejamos que entran las retroexcavadoras, porque sabemos que nos va a contaminar en dos maneras: Primero, acá si se mete la retro, el río nunca lo vamos a ver a como era en el tiempo antes que nos lo hemos visto, su rio claro, su agua cristal. Entonces, nosotros no nos vamos a bañar. O sea, tenemos la grande confianza, que si

tomamos nuestra agua, no nos enfermamos. Nos bañamos, no nos enfermamos.[...] Segundo, si metemos la retroexcavadora en la cabecera, todo va bajando. Toda esta contaminación está bajando y se queda asentada en el terreno. Ya no le pega más la agricultura."

xxix "Lo que esta minería hace es destruir nuestro territorio. Ya no podemos más bañarnos en el rio porque se empieza agotar la piel; ya no podemos tomar esta agua; ya no podemos sembrar porque toda la tierra que hay debajo, muy profunda, está contaminada."

xxx "Estamos mirando lo que ha pasado en Zaragoza o en otros ríos. Zaragoza es un río, mejor dicho era un río, porque hoy en el día está desolado. Veo los terrenos que no sirven para sembrar, el río lo deja alterada, se puso malo. Cuando sigue la carretera hasta Zaragoza uno ves esas muros de troncos, grupos enormes de piedra, y ¿dónde está el río? […] Ahora, si viene la retroexcavadora, el agua también se contamine, porque el agua en todos estos ríos está sucio. Nosotros tenemos su agua muy clarita. Entonces, nosotros mirando eso, decimos no."

xxxi "[El oro] lo sacan de una forma y manera en pensando que si se ensucia el río arriba, se ensucia también abajo."

xxxii "La minería con maquinaria pesada sería la destrucción de lo poco que hay, del territorio porque nosotros acá vivimos de la agricultura […] si nosotros metemos maquinaria pesada, empezamos a dañar todas las laderas de los ríos. Entonces, ¿nosotros dónde sembramos? Donde sembraremos la caña que procesada es la que nos da el guarapito y dónde sembraríamos la papa china y el plátano, tendríamos que traer todo de afuera como le está pasando a otras comunidades." (Interview16)

xxxiii "Yo venía con mi abuelita ahí, hablemos y ella decía: "Va a venir la esclavitud". Y yo decía "abuela, ¿esclavitud que es?" Ella me contestó: "Mi hija, esclavitud es cuando no vamos a tener como tener el sustento."

xxxiv "Piensan que entrando la minería van a enriquecerse, cuando es una mentira."

xxxv "Hoy no hay ningún territorio comunitario negro o indígena donde se trabaja la minería legal e ilegal, sacando oro, en que la gente iba mejor que antes. La gente hoy vive en peores condiciones que antes. Un caso es Zaragoza."

xxxvi "Un hombre de Juntas me dijo "Hijo, lo que sacan no es riqueza. La riqueza tiene lo que lo compro y lo procesa."

xxxvii "Entonces, ¿dónde está la riqueza de la gente? ¿Dónde está el mejor vivir de la gente? La gente podría utilizar el tiempo para sembrar. La gente se vuelve dependiente del dinero."

xxxviii "Otras personas piensan que si entra la minería, las maquinas van a dar trabajo para todo el mundo. Pero yo le digo: señores, ¿una retroexcavadora cuantos operadores tiene? ¡Dos operadores! Uno que está montado la retroexcavadora, y el otro que está esperando que ese se canse para montar la retroexcavadora. Una sola persona la opera. Entonces, ¿trabajo para quien va a haber?"

xxxix "¿La verdad? Hoy en todo el territorio del pacífico opera por la mayoría la FARC. El grupo armado que se mueve acá, es la FARC."

xl "¿Quiénes son los que sufren de eso? No son ellos, sino nosotros como civiles dentro del territorio."

xli "De ahí vienen los problemas de la comunidad. La minería es un problema, pero más las problemas que vienen con ella. Vienen los grupos armados, viene la prostitución, vienen las enfermedades, viene la inseguridad, viene la delincuencia. Todo."

xlii "Que nos maten aquí, pero no vamos a ir", porque si nos vamos, vuelven a venir."

xliii "Un territorio sólido y compacto como está, sin necesidad de minería, sin necesidad de nada que tiene ver y que sea impulsado por el capitalismo, sino un territorio que sigue luchando con su propio esfuerzo […]."

xliv "Cuando hablo de desarrollo, me estoy refiriendo a como crecemos nosotros, como personas, mentalmente. […] Hemos sido liberados de la cadena atada a los pies y las manos, pero si hoy sabemos que mucha gente sigue moviendo con las cadenas atadas mentalmente. Entonces este proceso de desarrollo es que nuestra gente se libera de estas cadenas mentales, vivir en estos procesos de desarrollo que ya nos sigamos esclavos mentalmente, sino que pensemos en una visión territorial, una visión comunitaria social, algo que sea para todos."

xlv "[…] son dos conceptos diferentes. El desarrollo para uno [el Estado] es implementar la minería, para sacar el oro para que la gente viva mejor. Pero ¿Qué está pasando con los territorios? Se quedan totalmente destruidos. Ese desarrollo no lo queremos".

xlvi "[…] porque estamos acá desde un rincón de Colombia donde no nos hacen caso, entonces estamos retrasados, hacemos hasta donde podemos. Entonces dicen no es que los inteligentes son los de las zonas urbanas, pero será que se la da la misma oportunidad al de la ciudad que al que está en los ríos, en el campo."

xlvii "La gente piensa que ese desarrollo que está implementando desde del gobierno no es, nosotros tenemos un desarrollo propio, desarrollo desde las comunidades con las comunidades."

xlviii "Y nosotros el desarrollo lo pensamos comunitariamente, en sociedad."

xlix "Nosotros estamos acostumbrados a la mina y esa es la fuente de ingreso que tenemos acá, no tenemos más."

l "Nosotros pensamos que si algún día hay una empresa minera en el territorio de Yurumanguí, que sea de los yurumanguireños."

li "Nosotros decimos: si hoy montamos la empresa y empezamos a trabajar y vemos que se está haciendo un daño estamos en todo la facultad de parar. Paramos y paramos y punto."