
REVIEW ESSAYS

SOCIAL IMPACTS OF RESOURCE EXTRACTION

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Resource Extraction and Protest in Peru. By Moisés Arce. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014. Pp. xxviii + 171. \$25.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822963097.

A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico. Edited by Christopher R. Boyer. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. Pp. viii + 307. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780816502493.

A History of Mining in Latin America: From the Colonial Era to the Present. By Kendall W. Brown. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012. Pp. xix + 257. \$34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780826351067.

From Enron to Evo: Pipeline Politics, Global Environmentalism, and Indigenous Rights in Bolivia. By Derrick Hindery. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013. Pp. xxiii + 303. \$26.95 paper. ISBN: 9780816531400.

La Frontera: Forests and Ecological Conflict in Chile's Frontier Territory. By Thomas Miller Klubock. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. Pp. vii + 385. \$27.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822356035.

The five books under review here examine social and environmental aspects of resource extraction in Latin America's past and present. Three focus on mining and energy, the classic extractive industries, offering perspectives of a historian, a geographer, and a political scientist. These three concentrate on the Andes, a key site for mineral extraction from the colonial era to the present. Historian Kendall Brown gives a sweeping comparative overview of Latin American mining, con-

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trasting the fantastical hopes inspired by the industry with its harsh realities over five hundred years. Geographer Derrick Hindery zooms in on a single oil pipeline in the Bolivian Amazon, looking at how neoliberal and post-neoliberal politics structured the project, and how indigenous and environmental activism grew and intersected in response. Political scientist Moisés Arce compares factors leading to political protest against extractivism in different regions in late twentieth-century Peru. The other two volumes are histories that explore different aspects of resource extraction. *La Frontera*, by Thomas Klubock, looks at competing claims of subsistence and extractive use in Chile's southern forests, while many of the essays in Christopher Boyer's edited collection *A Land between Waters* examine different forms of resource extraction in the context of Mexico's environmental history.

Each of the books, in different ways, highlights the conflict between Latin America's indigenous peoples and the colonizers who have sought to extract the land's resources. Although they explicitly transcend oversimplified or romanticized indigenist, anti-imperialist narratives or one-way tales of environmental decline, all acknowledge a centuries-long struggle between Latin America's indigenous population and its colonizers and elites over resources and worldviews. From the early Spanish conquerors, who perplexed the natives of Hispaniola with their lust for gold, to contemporary struggles in Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile framed as indigenous defense of rural lifeways and Mother Earth against rapacious foreigners, questions of imperialism and nationalism, of extractivism versus subsistence, and of expansion and growth versus redistribution have informed struggles over Latin America's resources. Whether framed explicitly in terms of environmentalism and indigenous rights, as they are today, or in terms of social revolution or anti-imperialism, struggles over resource extraction have been a central theme in Latin America's past and present. None of the authors resorts to an essentialist or romanticized view of the indigenous as living in an Edenic, harmonious relationship with nature. Yet all make clear the devastating impact that Western or imperial accumulation, production, and consumption, with their attendant cultures, politics, and ideologies, have had on Latin America's people, especially its indigenous peoples, and its natural environment.

A Land between Waters offers an impressive spectrum of work by US and Mexican historians. As Boyer explains in his introduction, the Valley of Mexico is "between waters" in several respects: the nation-state of Mexico is bounded by seas and rivers, its urban areas and farmlands are interspersed with a myriad of lakes and man-made channels, and its climate alternates between annual seasons of rain and drought. Human interaction with these waters forms a theme in many of the essays.

Although the volume encompasses Mexican environmental history more broadly, most of the essays deal with some form of resource extraction. Boyer's introduction sets the stage by suggesting that rather than adopting a declensionist narrative of "relentlessly increasing exploitation of natural resources and a secular trend of environmental decline," we consider the history of Mexico's political ecology as one of cycles of centralization and decentralization (Boyer, 3).

During periods of political centralization (the period of the Bourbon reforms, 1765–1810; the Porfiriato, 1876–1910; and the Mexican miracle, 1940s–1982), pro-

duction intensified, with its attendant environmental costs, but the strong state could enforce some degree of environmental control to counter the costs. During periods of decentralization (post-independence, 1810–1876; Revolution and reconstruction, 1910–1940), production collapsed, easing some environmental strains, although the struggle to survive and the lack of state controls and services brought other types of environmental problems. The neoliberal era beginning in 1982 brought a new phase to the cycle, which Boyer calls “savage decentralization,” in which state retreat is accompanied by intensified production under the control of drug traffickers and corporations (12). Boyer notes that Mexico’s environmental historiography has focused primarily on the periods of intensification, and suggests that further study of periods of economic decline “may complicate our understanding of environmental change” (15).

Angus Wright’s introductory chapter on the history of agriculture in Mexico does little to contradict a declensionist narrative. Wright states flatly that “damage to Mexican soils after the Conquest . . . was generalized, pervasive, and persistent through centuries.” In fact, “centuries of European domination” not only “destroyed the land” but also “formed attitudes that interpreted the devastated land as a natural heritage rather than a human creation” (Boyer, 29). These attitudes toward the land went along with disdain for indigenous and small farmers and avidity for expansion and the technological solutions eagerly promoted by the United States and international organizations. The Green Revolution solidified this trend, and “the farmworkers who labored in northern Mexico in the latter part of the twentieth century were fleeing one environmental disaster [erosion and state abandonment of traditional agriculture in the south] to find work amidst another ongoing environmental calamity [the “lavish use of pesticides” and energy-heavy Green Revolution agriculture in the north]” (Boyer, 43). Mexico’s contemporary agricultural policies simultaneously incorporate the ills of both centralization and decentralization, albeit in different regions.

Several contributions in Boyer’s volume focus explicitly on water and the social and environmental aspects of its extraction. Alejandro Tortolero Villaseñor’s pathbreaking chapter rewrites the history of the original Zapatista movement in Morelos, placing struggles over water, rather than land, at the center. He shows convincingly that Morelos’s haciendas in 1910 had more land than they could effectively cultivate, and that contemporary Mexican analysts saw clearly that access to water was the key issue over which they clashed with local peasants. Martín Sánchez Rodríguez looks at basin irrigation in the *bajío*, a colonial system that continued into the twentieth century, effectively fertilizing soils and maintaining their productivity but also contributing to peasant dispossession and deforestation. Luis Aboites Aguilar describes the political and technical arcs of urban water provision. Mexico’s revolutionary government, especially under Lázaro Cárdenas, embarked on a project of urban water provision based primarily on tapping underground water through “monumental works projects” (Boyer, 230). Access to clean water contributed to Mexico’s midcentury population explosion, requiring ever more water and depleting aquifers. In the 1970s, the national government turned a system in crisis over to states and municipalities, and in the 1990s, to the private sector.

Other contributions look at Mexico's export industries, including pearl fishing in the Gulf of California, henequen in the Yucatán, and oil in the Huasteca. All involved dispossession and exploitation of both resources and workers. But they could also bring unexpected social and environmental developments. Mario Monteforte and Micheline Cariño detail how a nineteenth-century experiment in pearl farming helped to reduce depletion of wild stocks. For Mexico's oil workers, writes Myrna Santiago, "health and safety issues . . . became a hidden environmental battleground." As migrants to the rain forest drawn by jobs, oil workers experienced nature as a hostile force of "microorganisms, chemical compounds, fire, heat, weather" that characterized their work and living space. This class experience of nature led them to "radicalism and nationalism . . . tinged with environmental concerns" (Boyer, 187).

Emily Wakild details two "crests in conservation" in twentieth-century Mexico responding to different political and cultural contexts: the creation of national parks in the 1930s and of biosphere reserves in the 1980s (Boyer, 204). In the 1930s, under the Cárdenas government, conservation formed a component of "social development for rural people," created "around communal lands and historic landscapes ringing the capital" (Boyer, 200, 201). In the 1980s under neoliberalism, Mexico created "biosphere reserves in a gesture toward the global scientific community rather than a token of national identity" in "frontiers with comparatively smaller human populations" (Boyer, 201).

Although both Boyer's introduction and Cynthia Radding's conclusion correctly emphasize that the contributions tell a tale far more complex than a unidirectional narrative of environmental destruction and human abuse of nature, the damage to Mexico's forests and water table and the toxic nature of its extractive and agricultural industries form an indisputable theme. Technological advances, integration in world markets, and population growth have pushed Mexico's natural environment into crisis. Even environmental measures—like the provision of clean water—further tax the resource base. As in political and other narratives of Mexican history, the Cárdenas era stands out in this volume as the essays look at land reform, public sanitation, the nationalization of oil, or Mexico's national park system from an environmental perspective.

The destruction of Mexico's forests in the interests of increased production—frequently for the benefit of foreign investors and markets and Mexican elites and to the detriment of small farmers, foragers, and mixed-use agriculture, which rely on forest resources and biodiversity—features prominently in many of the essays. Whether cleared for wheat, henequen, livestock, or oil production or mined for industrial forest products, forests (and the people who live in them) have been the victims of economic development.

Klubbock explores similar processes in southern Chile, following in the tradition of classic forest histories that have made humans' interactions with (and destruction of) the forest a central theme in understanding national and social histories over a long sweep of time.¹ *La Frontera* begins and ends with today's Ma-

1. Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), and Reinaldo Funes Monzote, *From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba*:

puche struggles for land and resources against extractive megaprojects that are part of the same global wave of indigenous antiextractivist movements discussed by Hindery and Arce. Klubock locates the historical roots of today's conflict in Chile's "forestry miracle" of the early twentieth century: projects framed as conservationist, aimed at extending state control into Chile's relatively autonomous southern frontier. Nineteenth-century military incursions "reduced" the indigenous Mapuche population and opened the way for a private land grab, partly under the guise of government immigration and colonization projects. Burning the forest to enable agriculture was part of the plan, but cleared land rapidly became exhausted through erosion and drought. Land tenure remained highly contested and legally murky, with large landowners progressively swallowing up southern Chile's productive territory at the expense of Mapuche communities and peasants.

In the twentieth century, the Chilean state attempted to reclaim the territory and stem the ongoing ecological disaster there. To counter the wanton felling and burning of forests, the state proposed a two-pronged approach. One side was conservationist, aiming at responsible use. Land would be reforested with exotic species like Monterey pine and (Australian) eucalyptus and managed scientifically for logging purposes (Klubock, 83). Following European and American forestry trends, Chile's new Forest Department saw "regulated logging as a key conservationist strategy and understood forestry's major role as promoting the renewable resource of tree plantations" (Klubock, 81). The project allowed greater cooperation between the state and large landholders, and further marginalized the peasant population.

So did the second prong, preservationism, which entailed creating national parks that would protect certain supposedly untouched areas of native forest from human use. As elsewhere in the world, this romanticized vision of the wilderness excluded and expelled the humans who lived in or used the land (Klubock, 88, 101). These two state projects progressively dispossessed Mapuche and mestizo smallholders, forcing many of them into *inquilino* contracts that subjected them to large estates. Increasing poverty and landlessness also forced campesinos into more environmentally destructive practices, including logging, clearing new lands, and charcoal production, "to supplement the meager production of their small, overworked, and overgrazed plots of land" (Klubock, 178).

Klubock shows clearly the shared interests of the state, US and international agencies, and the landed elites. By the mid-twentieth century, "for many southern landowners, plantations and commercial forestry served as a means to establish political legitimacy in relationship to the state at a time that they faced both the ecological threat of soil depletion and the political threat of rural unionization. . . . For the state, the homogenization of the natural landscape and the rationalization of forest exploitation were linked to efforts to order rural social relations by transforming often rebellious campesinos into settled citizens and proletarianized workers" (146–147). Pine plantations, however, could not absorb anything

An Environmental History since 1492, trans. Alex Martin (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

near the number of campesinos they displaced. Mapuche peasants, in earlier eras denounced for being unproductive, were now similarly decried as environmentally destructive for their use of remaining stands of native forest, while timber interests “had the capital to work an ecological miracle on the land, converting eroded desert into verdant tree plantations” (171). In the 1960s the government of Eduardo Frei also “saw in forestation and the development of modern forest industries the solution to the south’s entwined ecological and social crises” (189). But advocates of these “verdant” plantations ignored their long-term environmental impact: loss of topsoil, overuse of pesticides and fungicides, and depletion and contamination of water sources (257).

Governments of very different political stripes shared a common belief that promotion of forest plantations could resolve the region’s environmental and social problems. Reforestation could restore the land with a supposedly renewable resource, employ the landless, and foment a paper and pulp industry. Where they differed was in who was to reap the benefits of this type of economic development: the landed elite, or the rural poor? The Frei and Allende governments of the 1960s and early 1970s implemented legal and social protections for the poor, which were ruthlessly dismantled by the Pinochet dictatorship after 1973, paving the way for something comparable to Mexico’s “savage decentralization.” Klubock argues that Chile’s transition to democracy after the late 1980s and even the later election of socialist candidates “only intensified dispossession [of campesinos], as forestry development accelerated with Chile’s increasing integration into the global economy” (297).

La Frontera ends with the crumbling of Chile’s forest workers’ movement in the 1990s as a result of the relentless repression of the Pinochet era, mechanization, the rise of subcontracting and temporary work, and also, perhaps surprisingly, proletarianization. For generations forest workers had combined wage labor with peasant life, and their union struggles had focused on access to land. By the 1990s, only southern Chile’s Mapuche communities retained their peasant lifestyle, and they became the protagonists of a radical, organized struggle for land and rights. Forest workers’ unions, in the 1980s, and the Mapuche movement of the 1990s and beyond came to articulate their goals in the language of modern environmentalism: “Biodiversity rooted in the conservation of native forests was central to Mapuche communities’ moral and political critiques of forestry companies, as well as to their ethnic identity and cultural practices” (295). In this stance they joined antiextractivist indigenous protests throughout the continent.

The three books on mining and energy parallel *La Frontera* and many of the essays in *A Land between Waters* in emphasizing how remote regions of Latin America have intertwined with global capitalism. Over centuries, Latin America’s mining regions have confronted the conflict between the lures of precious metals and the horrific social and environmental costs of mining them.

Brown takes us back to the industry’s colonial roots. In the context of “a remarkable conjuncture of Christian mythology and world monetary flows” that shaped the Spanish conquest, Europeans “established a culture that saw mining as a panacea for poverty and as a vehicle for economic prosperity” (Brown, 2). Despite centuries of experience with the social, labor, and environmental disasters

that mining creates, this optimism persists. Or perhaps what persists is a remarkable pessimism about any alternative to extractivism.

Brown chooses the silver mines of Potosí as his central focus, contextualizing and comparing them with other Latin American mining regions, especially in Mexico and Brazil. His sweep is broad, covering the earliest days of the conquest to the present. The book does an outstanding job of delving into details and particularities, then swooping out to show how they fit together into a bigger picture.

In contrast to forestry, mining has historically required an enormous work force. Brown details the differing degrees of freedom and the variety of labor relationships in colonial mines, emphasizing the horrors and suffering of mine labor and the coercive systems like slavery and the *mita* that entrapped workers, but also noting the complexities in each system. Even the most oppressed mine workers found ways to pursue individual and collective interests. Andean, African, and Mexican cultures and social structures contributed to workers' beliefs and actions in the context of the mines. Brown traces a long-term process of proletarianization, as villagers are severed from subsistence agriculture and come to depend on wage income from the mine. Although not always a rapid or one-way process, proletarianization entailed significant changes in the ways workers conceived of their goals by the early twentieth century, leading to unionization and nationalist/revolutionary politics. In this respect they had much in common with Mexico's oil workers but differed from Chile's forestry workers, for whom proletarianization later in the century accompanied political fragmentation.

Latin American critiques of mining have frequently vilified the colonial powers and foreign enterprises that have sucked the resources out of what Eduardo Galeano called the "open veins of Latin America."² Economists and political scientists have pointed to the "Dutch Disease," by which the profitability of resource extraction stymies other economic sectors (Brown, 44), and the "resource curse," as the fantastic and quick wealth spawns political corruption and violence. The resource curse spread back to the imperial powers, Brown explains, with the fabulous revenues enabling absolutist monarchs to dispense with power sharing at home (29). Aspects of the resource curse continued to infect nationalist revolutionary movements like Bolivia's 1952 revolution. The mining unions fought for just rewards for mine workers, while the revolutionary government struggled with its dependence on global markets and the need to maintain profitability and productivity (Brown, 162). To the extent that import substitution industrialization after World War II relied on resources and revenues from mining, that sector's labor and environmental exploitation continued. Heavily capitalized open-pit mines may have created good jobs for some, but their environmental impact is devastating, and they continued to coexist with poverty, unemployment, and dangerous informal and small-scale mining endeavors.

Brown shows how individual and national dependence on mining leads to Faustian bargains. The hope to strike it rich, or poverty and lack of alternatives, accompanied direct coercion in bringing workers to the mines. Similar pressures led the independent nations of Latin America in the nineteenth century, and revo-

2. Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de América Latina* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1971).

lutionary governments in the twentieth, into the same dilemmas. Brown quotes a Bolivian miner in the 1960s: "My father was killed in a cave-in in 1933 and I took his place, when I was old enough, 17 years ago. My son takes my place when I die. I have decided that it is better to die young with silicosis than to die hungry" (155). As in Chile, Bolivian governments with very different politics have been forced into the same choice.

Although Brown's last chapter is titled "Mining, Harmony, and the Environment," he does not address contemporary indigenous antimining movements that parallel those of the Mapuche in Chile. Hindery's *From Enron to Evo* takes readers right into the middle of these conflicts, offering an intricate and nuanced analysis of extractivism and resistance in Bolivia from the neoliberal period (1985–2005) through the subsequent election and government of indigenous leader Evo Morales. Hindery shows how even today's radically environmentalist governments and indigenous movements are making compromises with mining operations.

As in Chile and Mexico, economic "development" in its neoliberal form in Bolivia relied on the dismantling of mid-twentieth-century state social welfare and industrial projects and a renewed opening to foreign investment. A scramble for resources sent multinationals into ever more remote regions and into conflict with the indigenous peoples who lived there.

Hindery's detailed and damning analysis of the role of the United States government, especially through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), and international financial institutions like the World Bank in promoting extractivist development projects in Bolivia makes it crystal clear that these institutions continually prioritized corporate interests and in particular fossil fuel extraction, in blatant contradiction to their claims to support sustainable development. However, the involvement of these institutions also created opportunities for international public pressure. The neoliberal era may have enforced draconian, corporate-friendly economic policies in Latin America, but it also coincided with and contributed to growing environmental and indigenous rights movements; increasing importance of international NGOs, institutions, and laws; and mounting recognition of the threat of climate change.

From Enron to Evo shows how indigenous mobilization against an Enron/Shell oil pipeline, and against neoliberalism more generally, contributed to the movement that swept Morales to power, and how Bolivia's indigenous movements, like Chile's, came to articulate a politics of anticapitalist environmentalism. Indigenous organizers used some of the rights and concepts they had gained under neoliberal multiculturalism to demand a new form of "insurgent 'post-multicultural citizenship'" (Hindery, 59) that frames territorial rights in terms of indigenous ethnicity and a cosmology that privileges living in harmony with nature rather than exploiting it. This new configuration of indigenous and environmental ideology uses the concept of *vivir bien*—living well—to challenge capitalism on ecological as well as social grounds.

Bolivia under Evo Morales is in many ways the heartland of the new politics, offering the strongest and most institutionalized version of "vivir bien" as an alternative to the capitalist goal of economic growth and ever-increasing production that has brought the planet to its current environmental crisis. The new

politics critiques both capitalism and socialism for privileging production over sustainability. It draws on real and romanticized indigenous ideals and histories of living in harmony with the natural world. Bolivia incorporated the rights of nature into the country's 2009 constitution and subsequent legislation.

Yet like its counterparts in Ecuador and elsewhere in Latin America, Bolivia's leftist government has a contradictory relationship with this ideal. Morales has overseen the passage of Latin America's most radically pro-indigenous and pro-environment constitution and legislation while at the same time continuing to rely on and even expand an economic model based on resource extraction. Like Cárdenas in Mexico or Allende in Chile, Morales has been much more radical in distributing the fruits of an extractivist economy than in questioning its fundamental nature.

Bolivia's vice president calls the new system "Andean-Amazonian capitalism" (Hindery 3–4, 158–159). It has greatly increased the state role, capturing a greater portion of the profits of extractivism to fund social services. The continued emphasis on extractivism has led to conflicts with some of the same indigenous peoples that propelled Morales into office, who continue to face territorial destruction at the hands of extractive industries, even if these are now partly in the hands of the state.

International NGOs get a mixed review in Hindery's discussion. Several national and international environmental organizations agreed to collaborate with the oil companies in "fortress conservationism" that gave them control over a well-funded park while the indigenous population was excluded (Hindery, 84–86). Other organizations, including Amazon Watch, for which the author worked, ended their work in the region for internal reasons—including lack of funding—leaving the indigenous organizations abandoned. In general, northern organizations tended to approach environmental and social impacts of oil extraction as separate issues, while for affected indigenous groups these were one and the same. Loss or destruction of their lands had social, cultural, and economic implications that could not be separated from environmental consequences. Yet despite their limitations, NGOs' capacity to reach international audiences and create legal and public pressure on companies and financial institutions made their support important.

Hindery uses the phrase "dynamic pragmatism" to describe the variety of tactics employed over time in the indigenous struggle to maintain their territory, culture, and well-being (236). This pragmatism leads them to emphasize indigenous identities when this will give them access to national and international legal rights, to collaborate with nongovernmental organizations of different sorts even when their goals may be quite different, and to seek compensation from the very companies that are destroying their lands.

Once they have framed their goals in terms of compensation, however, indigenous organizations find themselves caught in the same paradox as Bolivia's government: dependent for their welfare on the very companies and extractive activities that they oppose. Like Brown, Hindery suggests that the roots of this contradictory dependency go back deep into Latin American history, but his emphasis is on how the branches grew in the late twentieth century.

Arce's *Resource Extraction and Popular Protest in Peru* also studies popular resistance to the new flood of resource extraction projects in turn-of-the-century neoliberal Latin America. Like Hindery, he focuses on the Andes—in Arce's case, Peru. Events in the two countries had many parallels: two decades of neoliberal reforms starting in the 1980s brought in a rush of mining megaprojects, which spurred significant local resistance, and antimining activism intertwined with indigenous rights movements to support the election of a leftist government, in Peru's case, that of Ollanta Humala in 2011. But the authors' approaches couldn't be more different. While Hindery emphasizes historical and ethnographic depth in a single case study, Arce takes a bird's-eye view and attempts to draw large theoretical conclusions.

Arce focuses on three different protests against austerity measures and neoliberal policies and in particular, against twenty-first-century extractivism, in different parts of Peru. He follows Sidney Tarrow in relying on "political process theory" to explain social protest. Tarrow uses the concepts of political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing processes as three factors explaining the rise and trajectory of social movements (Arce, xvi, 7). Arce applies this analysis to Peru, using what he calls a "subnational comparative analysis" (xix) by looking, in the second half of the book, at three case studies: protests against the Tambogrande gold mine in Piura from 1999 to 2003, against the Yanacocha gold mine in Cajamarca in 2000–2004, and against the expansion of the extractive frontier in the Peruvian Amazon in 2008–2009.

Arce begins by reviewing the literature on economic liberalization and political protest, examining the "depoliticization" theory that argues that liberalization will create apathy and discourage protest, and the "repoliticization" perspective that argues that a new wave of protest will follow economic liberalization (3–5). In fact, in Peru the latter occurred, and, Arce argues, the three components of political process theory can explain why. "When political conditions are favorable, as in the context of democracy (political opportunities), actors can build a master frame linking economic liberalization and injustices (framing processes), which, in turn, allows for the building of broad coalitions of civil society actors (resources mobilization)" (Arce, 10). Applying these concepts to the subnational level, he shows that most protests occurred in regions heavily affected by mining and where fragmented political parties stymied institutional routes to change. Furthermore, through their framing processes and resource mobilization, regional protesters were able to have a national impact (Arce, 65).

In the Tambogrande case, Arce argues that agrarian elites led the antimining campaign from 2001 to 2003. The campaign began with direct actions that led to violent repression, but shifted to a call for a local referendum, attracted the support of national and international NGOs, and succeeded in winning control of local government. In terms of "framing process," the movement was successful in attracting national support by portraying Tambogrande as embodying Peruvian national identity through its production of limes. The strong and well-organized movement succeeded in pressuring the national government to rescind its approval of the mining project (Arce, 74).

In Cajamarca, Arce describes how years of smaller, localized protests against

the Yanacocha mine's land takeovers and contamination coalesced after the company's bungled response to a 2000 mercury spill that affected hundreds of local villagers. Later that year, as the company began plans to expand into Mount Quilish, the local municipality declared the area a nature reserve, prohibiting mining there. When the national government refused to support the reserve and the mining project continued, locals moved to direct action, escalating into a department-wide general strike in late 2004. In mid-September, the national Mining and Energy Ministry repealed the company's license and the Mount Quilish operation was halted (Arce, 98). Elsewhere in Cajamarca, antimining protests were less dramatic and more dispersed but still influenced national policies, leading to a new requirement that mining companies create social responsibility plans and to greater regional devolution of mining royalties (Arce, 101).

In Peru's Amazon, indigenous protesters likewise engaged in massive direct action against oil extraction in Bagua in 2009. Hundreds of heavily armed police descended on the region to violently crush the protest. National and international criticism led Peru's Congress to pass legislation implementing the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 on Prior Consultation, though the bill was not signed into law until Humala took office in 2011 (Arce, 116–117). As in Bolivia, indigenous and antiextractivist movements contributed to the election of a leftist, indigenous-oriented president (Arce, 131). And like Morales in Bolivia, Humala in Peru came to argue that “we are not anti-mining, but we have to make mining serve the whole population and not just a minority” (Arce, 132).

Although the works under review here cover a large spectrum of time, space, and disciplinary approaches, some common themes emerge. One issue that runs through all of the works is that of economic development and the state. While critics frequently blame foreign control of Latin America's resources for the ills associated with their extraction, the works reviewed here make it clear that Latin American states have also failed to manage these resources in a socially and environmentally sustainable manner. Klubock shows that developmentalist and socialist state policies turned Chile's southern frontier forests into plantations. Wright and Brown both look at how midcentury nationalist developmentalist states promoted large-scale, environmentally destructive extractive projects in Mexico and Bolivia, while Hindery and Arce show how even the most environmentally oriented twenty-first-century socialists continue to rely on large-scale extractive industries and clash with indigenous and environmental groups. From the perspective of nature, the differences between socialism and capitalism, or between private and state-centered development projects, are less glaring.

The works also challenge a wilderness or preservationist narrative that sees humans and human presence as contradictory to nature. Natural environments are living environments, and human life has been part of them. In some cases, the ability of indigenous peoples to defend their territories against colonizers has been precisely what has preserved “nature” from the depredations of colonial and industrial society. Conservationists have been as susceptible to the beliefs of “high modernism” as developmentalists: for example, the belief that technocrats are better suited to managing resources than are local people.

Most of the sources engage with science. Scientists of different disciplines and

trainings—from botanists to foresters, geologists, and hydrologists—worked with states and investors to develop plans for managing nature. They helped to plan and provide the infrastructure for agricultural, forestry, and mining enterprises. Sometimes they aimed at profit, sometimes at social management. They generally shared a set of beliefs about the benefits of productivity and the superiority of their forms of knowledge and ways of living. Whether designing Green Revolution seeds and pesticides in Mexico (Wright), promoting pine plantations while ignoring the potential for sustainable use of native forests (Klubock), or claiming national control over resources through botanical gardens (Rick A. López in Boyer's collection), scientists frequently "used science to enshrine hierarchies of knowledge, of social rank, and of equal access to the products of nature . . . rendering these resources 'alien' to the very people who were most intimately familiar with them" (Boyer, 95).

Another common theme is that of the complexity of indigenous identities. Klubock argues for the ethnic diversity of Chile's southern frontier, where "common experiences of dispossession often laid the foundation for collective movements that included both Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesinos" (16). Hindery and Arce each show how late twentieth-century indigenous antiextractivist mobilizations articulated notions of indigenous environmentalism that had deep roots but also responded to ongoing global and national political currents. Brown suggests that Andean cultural notions of harmony with nature could be mobilized to help workers accommodate to mining regimes, as well as to resist them.

Overall, the books reviewed here reveal the centrality of resource extraction in Latin America's past and present. Resource extraction continues to be one of the most significant and contentious issues facing Latin America—and the planet—today. These books offer a rich array of approaches to understanding many of its social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental aspects.