

**The *Vernacularisation* of Indigenous Peoples' Participatory
Rights in the Bolivian Extractive Sector:
Including Subgroups in Collective Decision-Making Processes**

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Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS	I
TABLE OF FIGURES	IV
TABLE OF TABLES	VII
DEDICATION	IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	XI
ABBREVIATIONS	XIII
GLOSSARY	XV
SUMMARY	XIX
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.2 PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCH DESIDERATUM	2
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION	5
1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	6
1.4.1 <i>Considerations of Indigeneity – “Indigenous Peoples” as Analytical Lenses</i>	7
1.4.2 <i>Consultation and Participation in Development Debates</i>	17
1.4.3 <i>Prior Consultation in the Context of Global Legal Norms and Localisation</i>	21
1.5 SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIETAL RELEVANCE OF THE PROJECT	28
1.6 OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE.....	29
CHAPTER 2 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	33
2.1 METHOD OF INQUIRY: THE USE OF QUALITATIVE METHODS	33
2.2 EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	34
2.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND OTHER DESIGN ISSUES.....	35
2.4 DESIGNING SAMPLES AND FIELDWORK	39
2.5 PREPARATION FOR FIELD WORK: RECRUITMENT ISSUES AND GATEKEEPERS	48
2.5.1 <i>Impressions Case Study I</i>	51
2.5.2 <i>Impressions Case Study II</i>	59
2.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONSENT FORMS	63
2.7 TOPIC AND OBSERVATION GUIDE	65
2.8 ON THE PERSPECTIVE OF A NON-INDIGENOUS SCHOLAR.....	71
2.9 DATA ANALYSIS	73
CHAPTER 3 INDIGENOUS PEOPLES’ GENUINE PARTICIPATION IN GLOBAL FRAMEWORKS..	79
3.1 PARTICIPATORY RIGHTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK.....	79
3.1.1 <i>The “Participation Model” of the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples</i>	86
3.1.2 <i>Indigenous Peoples’ Participatory Rights Regime as Shaped by the Special Rapporteur</i>	94
3.1.3 <i>The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and its Influence on Indigenous Rights Jurisprudence</i>	103
3.2 INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS SYSTEM.....	110
3.2.1 <i>The IACtHR and its Evolutionary Interpretation of Indigenous Participatory Rights</i>	110
3.2.2 <i>The IACHR and its View on Participation</i>	119
3.3 CONFLICTING INTERSECTIONALITIES? INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS’ PARTICIPATORY RIGHTS IN DECISION-MAKING	124

CHAPTER 4 BACKGROUND: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA – LEGAL-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EXTRACTIVE SECTOR	131
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	131
4.2 INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS IN LAWS AND POLICIES IN MORALES' FIRST TERM.....	134
4.3 INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS IN LAWS AND POLICIES IN MORALES' SECOND AND THIRD TERM	137
4.4 THE RIGHT TO PRIOR CONSULTATION IN THE HYDROCARBON AND MINING SECTORS.....	142
4.5 SOCIO-POLITICAL, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT IN THE GUARANÍ COMMUNITIES IN ALTO PARAPETÍ	147
4.6 SOCIO-POLITICAL, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT IN THE CHIQUITANO COMMUNITIES IN LOMERÍO	153
CHAPTER 5 CASE STUDY I: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHT TO PRIOR CONSULTATION IN HYDROCARBON ACTIVITIES – DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICE REGARDING PARTICIPATION IN GUARANÍ COMMUNITIES IN THE BOLIVIAN CHACO	161
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	161
5.2 GUARANÍ PEOPLES AND PRIOR CONSULTATION: FIRST COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE	163
5.3 MISUNDERSTANDING GENDER ISSUES IN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION	172
5.3.1 <i>Socio-Economic Changes in Guaraní Communities: the "Participation Turn"?</i>	173
5.3.2 <i>Disempowering Consultation Processes? Insights into Female Participation</i>	177
5.4 AGE-RELATED DIFFERENCES AND THEIR IMPACT ON PARTICIPATION.....	181
5.4.1 <i>Obstacles and Challenges to Participation for the Elderly</i>	181
5.4.2 <i>Indigenous Youth Participation: Absence and Disempowerment</i>	185
5.5 THE IMPOSITION OF LANGUAGE AS AN OBSTACLE TO PARTICIPATION	188
5.5.1 <i>Indigenous Language Practice at Community Level</i>	189
5.5.2 <i>Language(s) in the Consultation Process: Instruments of the Powerful</i>	191
5.6 LOCAL AND ZONAL LEADERS: ON REPRESENTATIVENESS AND LEGITIMACY	193
5.6.1 <i>Local Communities and Zonal Élites: Who Gets a Piece of the Cake?</i>	194
5.6.2 <i>Competing Captaincies: Inter-Community Disputes as "Consultation Hurdles"</i> ...	198
5.7 CONCLUSIONS	199
CHAPTER 6 CASE STUDY II: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' PARTICIPATION IN SELF-ADMINISTERED MINING ACTIVITIES – EXTERNAL PRESSURES AND EXCLUSION IN CHIQUITANO COMMUNITIES	205
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	205
6.2 CHIQUITANO COMMUNITIES IN LOMERÍO: FIRST IMPRESSIONS.....	208
6.3 ENGAGEMENT IN MINING AND DECISION-MAKING: AMBIGUOUS GENDER REALITIES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES	214
6.3.1 <i>Involvement in Mining Activities as a Precondition for Participation</i>	215
6.3.2 <i>Challenges and Opportunities for Female Participants in Meetings with External Players</i>	218
6.4 AGE-RELATED DIFFERENCES AND THEIR IMPACT ON PARTICIPATION.....	223
6.4.1 <i>Vulnerabilities and Obstacles to Participation for the Elderly</i>	225
6.4.2 <i>"Brain Drain" and its Impact on Young Community Members</i>	229
6.5 EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE: ON SELF-PERPETUATING KNOWLEDGE ASYMMETRIES.....	232
6.6 LOCAL AND ZONAL LEADERS, COOPERATIVES AND COMPANIES: WHO GETS A PIECE OF THE CAKE?	235
6.6.1 <i>Mining Cooperatives and their Impact on Local Decision-Making Structures</i>	237
6.6.2 <i>Local and Regional Dynamics: Entanglements of Resource-Related Power Politics</i>	239
6.6.3 <i>Pressures from Outside: How Companies Impact on Community Participation</i> ...	240
6.7 CONCLUSIONS	242
CHAPTER 7 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: "SUBGROUP" OR "GROUP SPECIFIC" RIGHTS IN COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES – THEORY AND PRACTICE	245
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	245
7.2 WHY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' INDIVIDUAL / "SUBGROUP" RIGHTS MATTER IN COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES.....	246

7.2.1 <i>The Individual versus Collective Rights Divide and its Theoretical Implications</i> ...	248
7.2.2 <i>Individual and Collective Rights on the Ground</i>	252
7.3 INDIGENOUS COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES: ON LEGITIMACY AND REPRESENTATIVITY	256
7.3.1 <i>On Indigenous Organisations: Genuine Collective Representations?</i>	257
7.3.2 <i>On Indigenous Leaders: Vulnerabilities in a Complex Web of Players</i>	263
7.4 GLOBAL NORMS IN LOCAL SETTINGS: RESPONSES TO AND CONTESTATIONS OF EXISTING COLLECTIVE FRAMEWORKS.....	266
7.4.1 <i>Law and its Potential to Create Inter-Group Inequalities in Local Contexts</i>	267
7.4.2 <i>Intra-Group Inequalities in the Context of Collective Rights Implementation</i>	273
7.5 CONCLUSIONS	279
CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A NEW RIGHTS RESPECTING-ENGAGEMENT WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE NATURAL RESOURCE SECTOR – A GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL OR SUBGROUP RIGHTS	281
8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	281
8.2 WOMEN’S PARTICIPATORY RIGHTS.....	282
8.3 AGE-RELATED DIFFERENCES IN EXISTING STANDARDS	285
8.4 EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE-RELATED RIGHTS IN PARTICIPATORY FRAMEWORKS	290
8.5 INCORPORATING LOCAL AND REGIONAL DECISION-MAKING DIMENSIONS	295
8.6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.....	300
BIBLIOGRAPHY	307
CASES.....	307
UN AND INTER-AMERICAN TREATIES, DECLARATIONS, REPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS	308
NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND ONLINE SOURCES	315
NATIONAL LEGISLATION, REPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.....	317
LITERATURE	319
APPENDICES	337
ANNEX 1: CODIFICATION SYSTEM BY INTERVIEWER AND LANGUAGE CASE STUDY I	337
ANNEX 2: CODIFICATION SYSTEM BY INTERVIEWER CASE STUDY II	338
ANNEX 3: TOPIC GUIDE FOR CASE STUDY I.....	340
ANNEX 4: TOPIC GUIDE FOR CASE STUDY II.....	342
ANNEX 5: OBSERVATION GUIDE FOR CASE STUDIES I & II	346
ANNEX 6: ANALYTICAL MATRIX FOR CASE STUDY I	348
ANNEX 7: ANALYTICAL MATRIX FOR CASE STUDY II	349
ANNEX 8: INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM	351
ANNEX 9: ANALYTICAL MATRICES FOR CASE STUDY I	353
ANNEX 10: ANALYTICAL MATRICES FOR CASE STUDY II	465
ANNEX 11: AGREEMENTS SIGNED AS PART OF THE PRIOR CONSULTATION PROCESS 2D SARAREDA	704
ANNEX 12: COMIBOL DOCUMENT ON INITIATION OF EXPLORATIVE ACTIVITIES WITHOUT CONSULTING OR REACHING AGREEMENT WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES	720

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Empirical cycle for social research in my PhD	32
Figure 2: Spectrum of research functions	33
Figure 3 Individual versus collective rights I.....	125
Figure 4: Individual versus collective rights II.....	125
Figure 5: Individual versus collective rights III.....	130
Figure 6: Individual versus collective rights IV	130
Figure 7: Visualisation of Bolivia's exports in the year 2014, The Observatory of Economic Complexity	132
Figure 8: Field trips in relation to prior consultation laws and decrees.....	143
Figure 9 Map of visited communities in Alto Parapetí and Ñembuite	152
Figure 10: Organisational structure CICOL – mandates	157
Figure 11 Map of visited region Chiquitania and Lomerío in particular	159
Figure 12: Stages of the prior consultation process.....	163
Figure 13: Proposal for revision of women's rights in collective frameworks	285
Figure 14: Proposal for revision of age-related rights in collective frameworks	290
Figure 15: Proposal for revision of education/language rights in collective frameworks	294
Figure 16: Proposal for revision of local leaders' rights in collective frameworks...	299

Table of Tables

Table 1: Types of criteria	41
Table 2: Sample matrix case study I.....	43
Table 3: Sample matrix case study II.....	44
Table 4: Sample matrix for group discussions case study I.....	45-46
Table 5: Sample matrix for group discussions case study II.....	46
Table 6: Codification system exemplified by case study I.....	47

Dedication

*A Adrián Alarcón Sosa y su tierra,
que ahora igual es la mía,
como la mía se ha vuelto la suya.*

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Abbreviations

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACHR	American Convention on Human Rights
APG	Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní (see Glossary)
APCOB	Apoyo para el Campesino-Indígena del Oriente Boliviano
CAP	Capitanía Alto Parapetí
CCPR	(UN) Human Rights Committee
CEDAW	(UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN) Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe
CERD	(UN) Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CEJIS	Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social (see Glossary)
CESCR	(UN) Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CICOL	Central Indígena de Comunidades de Lomerío (see Glossary)
CIDOB	Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (see Glossary)
CIPCA	Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado
COMIBOL	Corporación Minera de Bolivia (see Glossary)
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DED	Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (see Glossary)
DPLF	Due Process of Law Foundation
EMRIP	(UN) Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
Faboce	Fábrica Boliviana de Cerámica (see Glossary)
Fedecomín	Federación Departamental de Cooperativas Mineras (see Glossary)
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
HRC	(UN) Human Rights Council
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IACtHR	Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ILC	International Law Commission
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia (see Glossary)

IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MHE	Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía de Bolivia (see Glossary)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAS	Organization of American States
OTB	Organización Territorial de Base (see Glossary)
PFII	(UN) Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers, not-for-profit international development organisation, founded in the Netherlands
SR	(UN) Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, or formerly used term 'Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples'
TCO	Tierra Comunitaria de Origen (see Glossary)
UNDRIPS	(UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNGA	(UN) General Assembly
UNHCR	(UN) High Commissioner for Refugees
WGIP	(UN) Working Group on Indigenous Populations
YPFB Andina	Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos (see Glossary)

Glossary

Amicus Curiae	“Friend of the Court”, brief by a person or group of people not party to a legal case
Apoyo para el Campesino-Indígena del Oriente Boliviano	Support for Indigenous Peasant People from the Bolivian Lowlands
Artecampo	Local artisanal organisation
Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní	Guaraní People’s Assembly
Asamblea Constituyente de Bolivia	Bolivian Constituent Assembly
Asamblea Legislativa del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia	Bolivian Legislative Assembly
Bésiro	Indigenous language spoken by the Bolivian Chiquitano people (see Chiquitania)
Cacique	Indigenous leaders (term used in Chiquitano context, for instance)
Capitanía Alto Parapetí	Captaincy Alto Parapetí
Capitanía	Captaincy
Capitán	Indigenous leader
Central Indígena de Comunidades de Lomerío	Indigenous Association of Originary Communities of Lomerío
Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social	Centre for Judicial Studies and Social Research
Centro de Investigación y Promoción del	Centre for Research and

Campeinado	Support for Peasants
Chaco	land under cultivation and crops
Chiquitania	Region in the Bolivian Lowlands
Circunscripciones Especiales Indígena Originario Campesino	Indigenous Peasant Special Constituencies
Club de Madres	Local artisanal organisation
Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
Comunario/a	Community Member
Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia	Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia
Congreso Nacional de la República de Bolivia	Bolivian National Congress
Corporación Minera de Bolivia	Bolivian State Mining Corporation
Defensoría del Pueblo	Ombudsman's Office
Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst	German Development Service
Fábrica Boliviana de Cerámica	Bolivian Ceramic Factory
Federación Departamental de Cooperativas Mineras	Regional Headquarters for Mining Cooperatives
Gran Chaco	Bolivian Chaco (Lowland natural region)
Guaraní	Language and people living in the Gran Chaco region

Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia	Bolivian National Statistical Institute
Karay	Person of non-indigenous, white ethnic origin
Mburuvicha (Singular)	Indigenous leader, mandate holder
Mburuvichereta (Plural)	Indigenous leaders, mandate holders
Minga	Traditional ceremony held after undertaking collective agricultural work
Ministerio de Cultura de la República del Perú	Peruvian Ministry of Culture
Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía Hydrocarbons de Bolivia	Bolivian Ministry of and Energy
Ministerio de Minería y Metalurgia de Bolivia	Bolivian Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy
Oxfam	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
Organización Territorial de Base	Indigenous organisation established on territorial basis
Plurinational	Recognition and coexistence of several national groups in one single country (e.g. Bolivia or Ecuador)
Presidente Constitucional del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia	Bolivian President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia
Reducciones (pl.)	Settlements of Christianised Indigenous People

Saneamiento	Territorial consolidation
Seismic line	Geophysical term referring to seismic data along a line which are generated by means of creating a shock wave (part of mineral exploration activity)
Tierra Comunitaria de Origen	Native Community Lands
Tribunal Constitucional de Bolivia	Bolivian Constitutional Court
Vernacularisation	Localisation
Vocal	Messenger (in communities to e.g. notify comunarios)
Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos	Bolivian State-Owned and Run Petrol Company
Zonal	Zonal, regional level, administrative zone or area

Summary

One of the most comprehensive collective rights regimes has been developed in the area of indigenous peoples and respective land and resource rights in particular. International legal instruments (ILO C169 and UNDRIPS) and Inter-American jurisprudence (e.g. the *Saramaka* and *Sarayaku* cases) significantly safeguard such rights. The latter materialise in the form of prior consultation mechanisms regarding natural resource extraction and ultimately exemplify indigenous peoples' self-determination. However, practice shows that such collective mechanisms are established without truly taking indigenous peoples' representative institutions according to their customs and traditions into account. This can be attributed to the fact that the interplay and local dynamics between indigenous communities, leaders and representative organisations are too complex to be reduced to collective wholes. In order to disentangle such dynamics, power relations between the players, issues of legitimacy, representativity and accountability of participatory mechanisms, and the inclusion of subgroups and individuals in collective decision-making are examined. By combining international legal standards and ethnographic research, a legal anthropological perspective informs this piece of research.

Firstly, insights are gained by understanding individual or '*subgroup*' rights in relation to collective claims in international and regional legal standards. Secondly, this relationship is observed by means of two case studies in the Bolivian Lowlands that shall shed light upon the implementation of such standards in the extractive sector. Thereby, specific subgroups are chosen to illustrate participatory exclusion and inequalities, including women (I), different age groups (II), monolingual people and persons with lower education levels (III) and local leaders (IV). Empirical insights draw on a prior consultation process with Guaraní people in the hydrocarbon sector and collective decision-making mechanisms in the case of Chiquitano people in the mining sector. Based on such empirical observations, a catalogue of guiding principles will be proposed in order to refine the existing UNDRIPS framework.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Contemporary manifestations of neo-colonialism in the form of liberal market fundamentalism have facilitated the expansion of multinational corporations and foreign investment. As a consequence of powerful farming and forestry industries as well as extractive operations, indigenous peoples around the world have been dispossessed of their land, territories and natural resources. After prolonged negotiations the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPS, or *the Declaration*)¹ was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007. Apart from the affirmation of existing human rights the Declaration establishes a novel human rights regime that incorporates specific participatory rights in the form of prior consultation and *free, prior and informed consent* (FPIC). A number of Latin-American States have increasingly adopted corresponding national legislation in order to adhere to these standards. The Plurinational State of Bolivia, in particular, has shown considerable efforts in adopting a new constitution and respective laws and regulations to implement UNDRIPS. However, recent studies reveal significant implementation gaps and ostensibly genuine forms of participation in consultation processes.

This study will focus on one of the most fundamental weaknesses emerging in this new and contentious field of human rights, namely the inclusive character of prior consultation processes and other collective participatory mechanisms. The selection of indigenous negotiators by companies and States as well as bribing practices violate indigenous consensual decision-making in according with their customs and

¹ Please see Chapter 1.4.1 on further elaborations on the term peoples (UNDRIPS).

traditions. States also disregard non-discrimination provisions in consultation processes. Therefore, the position and degree of participation of excluded groups within indigenous communities will be explored in the context of decision-making in consultations. Women, youth and elders will exemplify the main rights-holder groups. Similarly, other vulnerable groups and intersectionalities will be considered in the study such as monolingual groups, persons with lower education levels and local leaders. Based on a legal analysis of relevant international and regional indigenous peoples' rights standards, the study will be complemented by a comparative empirical analysis of two relevant case studies in the Bolivian Lowlands.

1.2 Present State of Research and Research Desideratum

Indigenous peoples' right to prior consultation acquired a legally binding character for the first time in ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO, 1989). However, the right to prior consultation was further developed and eventually appeared as a reinforced variant of the right in the complementary form of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Assembly, 2007) (UNDRIPS). UNDRIPS is primarily characterised by a high level of active participation on the part of indigenous peoples in the drafting process of the non-binding document. Furthermore, national and regional courts as well as relevant UN organs have referred to the Declaration since its adoption by the UN General Assembly². Since then States are called upon to

² See in particular the reports and decisions issued by the following institutions: the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII), the UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights of Indigenous People (SR), the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP), the UN Human Rights Committee (CCPR), the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR).

implement the UN Declaration and to adopt respective laws and regulations. Hence, the Declaration will be used as the normative framework for this study and legal source of indigenous peoples' right to prior consultation in order to observe, understand and analyse its implementation in practice.

Some research projects engage with questions related to the "implementation gap" of the UN Declaration (Charters and Stavenhagen, 2009, Joffe et al., 2010, Allen and Xanthaki, 2011), which is only gradually finding its way into practice due to its legally non-binding character and sovereignty issues. With respect to consultations initial studies report on practical experience and "Lessons Learned" (Bascopé Sanjinés et al., 2010, Jahncke and Meza, 2010) which result from first "implementation attempts" principally in Latin American States, particularly Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru (DPLF and Oxfam, 2015; Fontana and Grugel, 2016; Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Schilling-Vacaflor and Flemmer, 2015; Rodríguez-Garavito, 2011). Recent publications focus primarily on the following aspects: the consequences of consultations on conflict potential and conflict prevention (Mildner, 2011; Feld and Ströbele-Gregor, 2011; Bebbington, 2012, 2012b), the significance and consideration on the right to free, prior and informed consent (Barelli, 2012; Szablowski, 2010), comparative studies on the Andean countries, for instance (DPLF and Oxfam, 2011; Schilling-Vacaflor and Flemmer, 2013), the importance of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in consultation processes (PFII, 2009; Ruggie, 2011; EMRIP, 2012b; EMRIP, 2012a; Anaya, 2011), the illustration of power asymmetries between participating actors and reactions to failed consultations (Humphreys Bebbington, 2012), such as self-organised control mechanisms. Present studies thus place particular emphasis on collective rights in consultation which are particularly referred

to by the mentioned instruments. They are also frequently mentioned in national and regional judgements as well as in interpretations of UN mechanisms. However, first experience also demonstrates features of exclusive negotiations with individual indigenous representatives which have been specifically selected by States and companies without considering indigenous decision-making bodies and thus demonstrating a lack of respect for indigenous traditions and customs such as in the case *Kichwa Indigenous People of Sarayaku v. Ecuador* (2012a). Issues of representation and legitimacy thus increasingly play a larger role and require more studies to engage in micro level analysis of prior consultation processes that could reveal internal power dynamics, state interference and the significance of particular individuals and groups in prior consultations. In the Bolivian case, the State has been accused of interfering in such processes, for example by selecting leaders according to its preferences (Bascopé Sanjinés et al., 2010, Pellegrini and Ribera Arismendi, 2012). Thereby, local leaders, but also particular groups, as will be argued, do not genuinely participate in such processes.

The proposed research project shall empirically explore the inclusive character, hence the participation of vulnerable groups within communities in consultation processes. It is hypothesised that particular groups participate to a lesser extent. International indigenous peoples' rights standards refer to groups with special needs including indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities (UNDRIPS, Arts. 21(2), 22(1), 22(2)). Therefore, in this project, emphasis will be placed on the role of women (I) and different age groups (II). At the same time, new insights based on field experience will require consideration of other *subgroups* (groups within communities such as women or elders) based on their exclusion from

consultation processes. They will form part of the analysis and I will demonstrate how the existing rights regime requires modification in order to accommodate and make explicit mention of them in legal documents. Such community groups that have not been considered in international jurisprudence include individuals with low levels of education and monolinguals (III) and local leaders (IV). Apart from an introductory legal analysis,³ comprehensive ethnographic data shall shed light on the inclusive character in consultation mechanisms in practice. Bolivia plays a leading role due to the adoption of the UN Declaration and its incorporation into domestic law, its human rights-oriented constitution (2008) and extensive consultation experience.

1.3 Research Question

For the above reasons, the following research question has been chosen: To what extent do vulnerable (sub-)groups in indigenous communities participate in prior consultation processes or other collective participatory mechanisms in the context of resource extraction? Thereby, pre-established legal categories such as women and

³ A first analysis of international and Inter-American jurisprudence regarding indigenous peoples' inclusive participation has revealed diverging positions among relevant institutions: while IACtHR and EMRIP adopted a reserved position regarding the explicit integration of vulnerable groups in consultations, IACHR and PFII called for the strengthening of individual rights in consultation processes.

See in particular: EMRIP 2012b. Follow-up Report on Indigenous Peoples and the Right to Participate in Decision-Making with a Focus on Extractive Industries. Geneva: Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Anaya, J. 2009. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People. United Nations General Assembly. PFII 2009. Report of the International Expert Group Meeting on Extractive Industries, Indigenous Peoples' Rights and Corporate Social Responsibility. *E/C.19/2009/CRP.8*. Geneva: Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. PFII 2012. Combating Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls: Article 22 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Geneva: Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, PFII 2013. Indigenous youth: Identity, challenges and hope: Articles 14, 17, 21 and 25 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. IACtHR 2008. *Saramaka People v. Suriname*, Interpretation of the Judgement on Preliminary Objections, Merits, Reparations, and Costs. Inter-American Court of Human Rights. IACHR 2009b. Indigenous and Tribal Peoples' Rights over their Ancestral Lands and Natural Resources. Norms and Jurisprudence of the Inter-American Human Rights System. Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

the elderly will be considered as well as groups that can be identified as excluded based on the ethnographic part of this research piece. This allows also locating the question in broader debates on the legitimacy, representativity and accountability of existing decision-making structures, the role of leaders and internal dynamics and importantly, the role of the State and companies in impacting on inclusive participation in such collective decision-making processes. In legal terms, the question discusses the compatibility of individual or subgroup rights with indigenous peoples' collective claims or decision-making processes. The extent to which individual rights can be reinforced or weakened in collective decision-making processes will also be analysed. It could be argued that the right to prior consultation allows State and corporate interference at local level, manipulating organisational structures and distorting social cohesion. Consensual, inclusive and open assembly structures, as opposed to liberal ideas of decision-making including delegated powers, are the most important characteristics in indigenous decision-making (Van Cott, 2007; Mansbridge, 1983; Polletta, 2005). In that sense, it is important to identify which groups or individuals are particularly affected by such assumed strategies or tactics; or alternatively, shortcomings or unintended "side-effects" of consultation processes and other participatory frameworks.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

This piece of research is written from an interdisciplinary perspective drawing on my background in social sciences (governance and international relations) and law (international human rights law), yet applying extensive ethnographic methods in order to assess the local impact of global norms in practice. I therefore build on a triangular theoretical background in the following chapters. Firstly, anthropological

and legal debates on indigeneity and indigenous peoples as “analytical lenses” are discussed, referring both to the challenges and problems inherent in such categorisation, yet also emphasising its use in establishing rights regimes and legal protection. The concept of vulnerability will be used at length in order to unveil the legal arguments underlying indigenous peoples’ rights claims in land and resource issues. Secondly, indigenous peoples’ right to prior consultation will be situated in development debates around the significance, shortcomings and promises of community participation. Particular attention will be paid to participatory approaches and insights in the context of natural resources and the environment. Such debates are then, in turn, also related to the specific case of prior consultation. Thirdly, and finally, legal and anthropological approaches are combined in assessing global norms on prior consultation in local contexts, so-called *vernacularisation* or localisation of such norms. It will be argued such an approach is particularly suitable for understanding prior consultation seen from a micro angle. Further, I situate this piece of research within debates current in legal anthropology. Finally, it will be made clear why Bolivia in particular lends itself to observing the implementation of global indigenous peoples’ rights norms in local contexts.

1.4.1 Considerations of Indigeneity – “Indigenous Peoples” as Analytical Lenses

Considerations of indigeneity *per se* will find very limited expression in the context of this thesis. Rather than discussing legitimacy issues of the human rights category “indigenous peoples” and their claims compared to other potentially vulnerable groups such as peasant or *campesino* people, “indigenous peoples” will be used as analytical lenses and a starting point to observing rights implementation in practice.

This is also based on the way indigenous peoples' rights were introduced into international legal instruments, and UNDRIPS in particular as mentioned above, namely by indigenous peoples movements and representatives' active engagement in the drafting process (Willemsen Diaz, 2009).⁴

At the same time, complexities remain as to who belongs to such a “category” and can make respective rights claims. In the field of legal studies, “indigenous peoples” are not considered a complex term (Robyn et al., 2005). While the UN have not hitherto adopted a commonly agreed definition (PFII, 2004), the Martínez Cobo report (Martínez Cobo, 1981–1983) continues being influential in establishing some core characteristics including historical continuity, indigenous self-perception as distinct from other sectors of society (subjective element), their existence as non-dominant sectors of society and their bond with future generations. UNDRIPS provides some form of guidance by providing indications on definitional issues: it includes the element of self-identification by indigenous peoples as being different to others (UNDRIPS, Second preambular paragraph); the references to hierarchies among peoples in the form of doctrines, policies and practices from which indigenous peoples have suffered; (UNDRIPS, Fourth preambular paragraph) the existence of historical injustices and prevention of their own form of development (UNDRIPS, Sixth preambular paragraph); and self-identification to determine identity or membership (UNDRIPS, Art.33). Yet, the absence of a definition on indigenous peoples in UNDRIPS alludes to difficulties in reaching a consensual decision at the UN level and in

⁴ The open nature of the WGIP in particular facilitated the active participation of indigenous peoples reaching a thousand participants per session a decade after its establishment.

international law.⁵ Indeed, in practice, some challenges arise. For instance, it could be justifiably asked why, for example, forced relocation is considered a legal act for peasant people or the poor, but not for indigenous peoples (Goodland, 2004). Further, such practices might be understood as applying double standards relying on “static cultural identities” and creating “straightforward division between the powerful and the dispossessed along these static ethnic lines” (Fontana and Grugel, 2016: 257). However, such ethnic identities are far from static, as others argue, and reflect fluidity and social constructs (Li, 2000, Lucero, 2006).

Such debates gain particular importance in the Bolivian context due to the recent and all-encompassing rights regime for indigenous peoples (see Background Chapter 4): such status provides a fundamental basis for legal claims in the context of natural resource distribution and autonomy. Constitutional provisions creating the category *originary indigenous campesino people* mixing “indigenous” and “peasants”, and create equal rights status for Afro-Bolivian populations further complicate matters. Yet, intra-indigenous differences also play an essential role in Bolivia: inequalities persist among the actors and the extent to which marginal indigenous groups are excluded in the light of a national indigenous culture (Canessa, 2014). The inherent complexities in indigeneity in the Bolivian context being “fluid, contextual, inclusive, and relative” (Canessa, 2007: 230) thus give rise to confusion in legal standards. Particularly in the context of past and current negotiations around the Draft Law on Prior Consultation, questions as to the subjects of the law remain:

⁵ Preambular paragraph 23 of the UNDRIPS – which reflects the spirit of the Declaration – indicates the opposite: “... the situation of indigenous peoples varies from region to region and from country to country and that the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical and cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration.”

indigenous leaders, for instance, defend their unique status on the basis of pre-colonial existence and the lack of historical continuity in the case of peasant populations (Fontana and Grugel, 2016). Similarly, indigenous peoples' collective rights claims could be questioned on the basis that they do not truly reflect *the collective, communal interests* or the *common good* in all cases (Shah, 2007; Kuper, 2003). Individual interests and personal enrichment in such processes further weaken such claims beyond the expectations that indigenous peoples' rights regimes create (Masaki, 2010).

At the same time, collective claims create important safeguards, particularly the plural “s” in *peoples* giving rise to specific legal benefits: international human rights law provides for the right to self-determination of “all peoples” which includes the free determination of political status and free pursuance of economic, social and cultural development.⁶ This debate is also reflected in a historical change in legal status: while the predecessor C107 of ILO C169 referred to *populations* (ILO, 1959), current international norms all refer to *peoples*. The use of the term *populations* also had other contextual implications reflecting the spirit of the era of the 1950s, seeing indigenous peoples as temporary and soon to disappear, calling for integration instead of respecting cultural diversity. Similar to human rights law, international humanitarian law stipulates the right to self-determination in view of the protection of victims in international armed conflicts in the former colonial domination context and racist regimes in respective treaties (ICRC, 1977, Art.1(4)). Thus, the term *peoples*

⁶ See Common Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). References to self-determination as a principle for all peoples in international law can be found in: Charter of the United Nations, Art.1(4) and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

implies the collective character of indigenous peoples and an important rights claim enshrined in international human rights law which States attempt to avoid.⁷ The *indigeneity* (see following subchapters for further elaborations on the term) element inherent in indigenous peoples' rights claims further strengthens the function it can fulfil apart from legally protecting rights-holders: it has the purpose of political resistance to hegemonic threats (Butler and Scott, 2013), contributes to diminishing discrimination (Hughes, 2011), and collective articulations of identity creating cellular democratisation (Hoffmann and Peeren, 2010).

The particular vulnerability of indigenous peoples in consultation processes and extractivism more generally in a way legally justifies the recognition of such a special category in comparison to, *inter alia*, peasant, poor or other marginalised people. It is based on the following reasoning as mirrored in international and Inter-American interpreting/supervisory mechanisms. The loss of their lands and resources strongly relates to “situations of marginalisation, discrimination and underdevelopment of communities” according to indigenous peoples (PFII, 2007a: para.5). They are disproportionately affected by land issues and natural resource extraction in particular, at the same time as they largely lack access to these resources. This particular form of disadvantage compared to society at large can be understood as vulnerability in various contexts.

Firstly, vulnerability becomes apparent in not being consulted when mainly indigenous inhabited lands are grabbed (Anaya, 2013). Several studies around the world confirm the over-representation of indigenous peoples on resource-rich land:

⁷ Accordingly, ILO Convention N°169 includes limitations to the principle of self-determination: Art.1(4): “The use of the term **peoples** in this Convention shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law.”

ranging from often inhabiting such lands (Joona, 2013), most resources to be found on their territories resulting in forced evictions (Blanco and Razzaque, 2011) or many natural forests to be inhabited by them (Downes, 1999). This suggests that studies on inequalities regarding access to land require particular attention to indigenous peoples in the first place. It also establishes an important basis for adapting rights guarantees to the specific needs of indigenous peoples.

Secondly, vulnerability is implied in a weak bargaining position in land-related disputes based on poverty and related factors (Chennells, 2015). Respective inequalities highly influence indigenous peoples' role in negotiations processes with external actors. Lower education levels, monolingual language practice and lacking technical expertise jeopardise any true involvement in the process. Case studies reveal difficulties in navigating complex information in the negotiation process; lacking technical expertise demonstrably impacts on their equal position in such negotiations (Anaya, 2011). This, in turn, creates dependencies on e.g. impact assessments by outside players such as companies whose assessment is guided by private interests and hence often lacks full accuracy (Anaya, 2011). This position finds even more asymmetry in relation to other actors in the extractive sector: here, indigenous peoples are forced to engage in a "double battle" against both state actors and the corporate sector (Blanco and Razzaque, 2011: 246).

Additional pressures are exerted from outside, where the state is represented at several levels engaged in the process, such as representatives of both ministries and municipalities. Similar asymmetries in negotiating positions are created when extractive companies are state-owned, and, the State in turn no longer plays a monitoring role. In the worst case, decisions are not the result of negotiated decisions,

but are product of top-down impositions by the state or in conjunction with companies (Anaya, 2011). A case study on Canadian indigenous peoples confirms how consent is eventually elicited in land claims agreements: people are shielded from the substantive parts of agreements and hence “circumvent cognitive dissonance” (Samson, 2014: 253). This implies yet another level in negotiation positions, going beyond difficulties based on inequalities in the process, and rather suggests deliberate forms of manipulating vulnerabilities and unequal starting positions throughout the negotiation. Therefore, state and corporate practice potentially enhances and further exacerbates asymmetries in land disputes and natural resource conflicts.

Thirdly, vulnerability comes into existence due to indigenous peoples’ special relationship with their lands. This can be attributed to their spiritual connection with ancestral lands and source of distinctive cultural identity and integrity as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (the Court, IACtHR) states in the case *Sarayaku v. Ecuador* (2012a). The impact on indigenous peoples’ cultural identity in relation to land rights has been extensively developed in Inter-American jurisprudence (IACtHR, *Yakye Axa vs Paraguay*, *Saramaka vs Suriname*, *Sarayaku vs Ecuador*, 2005, 2008, 2012a): the special relationship needs to be respected in order to more generally guarantee indigenous peoples’ social, cultural and economic survival as the case *Saramaka v. Suriname* shows (IACtHR, 2008). Such a relationship to land is also explicitly recognised embracing their “traditions, customs, languages, arts and rituals, their knowledge and practices” as demonstrated in the case *Yakye Axa v. Paraguay* (IACtHR, 2005, para.154). In legally recognising such connection, the Court in said case explicitly refers to the importance of inter-generationally transmitting non-material cultural heritage and the steady recreation of the latter. Hence, the Court considers

the right to cultural identity in discussing land-related issues as a fundamental right at the same time as a collective right of indigenous communities (IACtHR, *Sarayaku vs Ecuador*, 2012a). Just as other sources confirm, indigenous peoples' intimate relationship has facilitated the establishment of important stores of knowledge, to sustain and expand complex uses and practices in support of sustainability (Downes, 1999).

Apart from concerns on traditional knowledge, indigenous peoples show vulnerability in relation to land issues, as future generations highly depend on it: current community members try to rebuild their economies and improve the socio-economic conditions of their fellows (Anderson et al., 2008). Vulnerabilities in land issues thus demonstrate a temporal dimension – repairing past long term damage and infringements in the name of conquest and *terra nullius* and adopting measures of non-repetition and further damage for future generations.⁸ Finally, indigenous peoples are forced to adapt to Occidental concepts of property which are alien to their integral view of humans and the environment. Field research in Guatemala shows how infrastructure, financial and improvement measures of a mining project led to less access to land and natural resources crucial for indigenous peoples' subsistence (Holt-Giménez, 2007). Indigenous peoples' particular cultural rights are related to their very survival as a people.

Fourthly, land has more than economic and financial value: a peculiar vulnerability arises as indigenous peoples strongly rely on land and the environment

⁸ The concept *terra nullius* (Latin for “nobody’s land” or “empty land”) refers to a common practice that was used by e.g. European settlers in the Americas to claim land inhabited by its originary inhabitants. These land claims are intrinsically related to territorial sovereignty issues as the land had not been previously attributed to any state territory. US Legal. (2015). *Terra Nullius Law & Legal Definition*. <http://definitions.uslegal.com/t/terra-nullius/>

for their very survival (IACHR, 2009b: 20). Crops and animals feed their communities, forests and land sustain livelihoods and specific plants serve as source of natural medicine and spirituality. Specifically, extractive activities negatively impact on the said reliance and dependence. Namely, environmental degradation and widespread pollution exerts exceptionally harmful influence on indigenous peoples on grounds of said special relationship with their environment (Blanco and Razzaque, 2011). Hence, Inter-American jurisprudence clearly rules out any projects that could threaten the physical or cultural survival of the people; it is understood as a special requirement for development or investment plans as well as granting extractive concessions (IACHR, 2009b: 82).

Further, it is established that restrictions on property rights are only permissible as long as they do not deny traditions and customs which in turn “endanger the very survival of the group and its members” (IACtHR, *Saramaka vs Suriname*, 2008, para.128). Hence, cultural survival is crucial in understanding vulnerability in the context of land issues. At UN level, this strong emphasis on cultural survival in limiting or denying land use by external actors is shared (CCPR, 1994): states are allowed to undertake development activities if these do not “fully extinguish the indigenous peoples’ way of life” (IACtHR, 2008, para.128) Therefore, it is crucial to include both physical existence by means of guaranteeing the right to life of the victims and to cultural survival as a people: this latter aspect includes their “traditional way of life, distinct cultural identity, social structure, economic system, customs, beliefs and traditions” (IACHR, 2009b: 91). This explains why land can be regarded as inseparable from the people and points to a particular vulnerable position where land is expropriated (Anderson et al., 2008).

Fifthly, vulnerability becomes apparent in relation to indigenous peoples' material welfare and enjoyment of the full panoply of basic rights (Blanco and Razzaque, 2011). Land issues and resource disputes concern far more than indigenous peoples' right to their ancestral lands and territories, rather affected rights need to be discussed beyond territoriality. Indigenous peoples' vulnerability is linked with their status as victims of multiple rights violations in relation to land issues. The right to land can thus be understood as a kind of umbrella right encompassing the full panoply of human rights including *inter alia* cultural rights such as identity-related claims and political rights such as participation in resource management. The collective nature of indigenous peoples' land rights, for instance, as interpreted by the Court, has a direct impact on other rights providing them with a collective nature, such as the right to juridical personality or effective judicial protection (IACtHR, 2008). Substantive rights such as the right to health and food are seriously affected in land disputes and extractive activities in particular: a case study on Venezuela shows how indigenous Warao people died due to nutritional deterioration and lack of access to drinking water as a result of their land rights being disregarded (IACHR, 2009a).

On the other hand, other rights also serve to further protect land rights due to their important status, the Court explicitly mentions the following "right to life, honour, and dignity, freedom of conscience and religion, freedom of association, rights of the family, and freedom of movement and residence" (IACtHR, 2001, para.140(f)). Respecting the right to natural resources, in particular, as a corollary of the right to land, is regarded as "fundamental to the effective realisation of the human rights of indigenous peoples more generally and therefore warrants special measures of protection" (IACHR, 2002, para.128). Similarly, at the UN level, natural resource

extraction is considered the “most pervasive source of the challenges to the full exercise of their rights” (Anaya, 2011: 57, Barelli, 2016). Specifically, it is reported that natural resource extraction and development projects have strong negative effects on economic, social and cultural rights more generally (Anaya, 2011). However, civil and political rights are equally affected in land disputes and extractive activities: their collective right to take part in decision-making processes and to genuinely influence the result through free, prior and informed consent is a fundamental right in relation to land, territories and resources.

Indigenous peoples’ vulnerability thus materialises due to their historically marginalised and discriminated position in society and social inequality, but even more so in the case of land, resources-related impacts and extractive industries. Particularly serious forms of vulnerability emerge in the latter context: extreme vulnerability arises by aggression against indigenous peoples in exploiting natural resources including threats and encroachments on their territories (EMRIP, 2009a), direct impacts on rights to food, safe drinking water and health (IACHR, 2009b, paras.1076-1080), subsistence resources generally and forced displacement with destructive consequences. Therefore, indigenous peoples find themselves in a truly sensitive situation in relation to natural resource extraction which in turn conditions their inevitable position in the commonly referred to resource curse. It could be countered that, at least in some regard, indigenous peoples do not *uniquely* share such characteristics, however, for the purpose of this thesis; it will suffice to limit the analysis to indigenous peoples.

1.4.2 Consultation and Participation in Development Debates

Ever since the release of the often-quoted article on citizen participation by Sherry Arnstein in 1969, community participation has been intrinsically tied to the concept of power and control (Arnstein, 1969). Accordingly, citizen participation is understood as a form of redistribution of power that enables excluded citizens to be included in future decision-making processes. Arnstein reveals different forms of representation without power and difficulties associated with some rungs of the ladder of citizen participation. For instance, women's presence in committee meetings is not tantamount to exerting influence on decision-making: in some cases, empirical evidence shows that other forms of affiliation or lines of connectedness such as family interests and impediments by male leaders inhibits meaningful participation (Cornwall, 2003).

Later, in the 1980s, *participatory development* became a newly fashionable term rejecting top-down development: participation was soon to be included in agenda and programmes of international organisations, NGOs and other actors (Cleaver, 1999). Others have argued for more society involvement in major governmental services such as education and infrastructure under the name of "participatory government" (Fung and Wright, 2001: 5). It implies a changing role of civil society by allowing societal actors to participate in the core functions of government (Ackerman, 2004). This way of ensuring participation suggests a more active role of citizens: citizens are understood as "makers and shapers" rather than "users and choosers" of services, participation fundamentally attributes agency to individual citizens and communities (Gaventa, 2002; Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001: 1). Proponents of the participatory paradigm and its emphasis on political recognition usually refer to a broader objective, namely transformation (Leal, 2011). Other

scholars have even termed such developments “participation turn” (Wald, 2015: 623) seeking a new balance between reshaped subjects and political strategies (Córdoba et al., 2014). However, such approaches have been criticised on grounds of selectivity, and the forms of participation (Agarwal, 2001).

In the context of natural resources and conservation, community participation is considered an essential contribution to a win-win scenario for development (Benjaminsen et al., 2013; Akbulut, 2012; Agrawal and Gupta, 2005; Nelson and Agrawal, 2008). Indeed, involvement of local communities in decision-making processes in such projects is considered efficient and preferable to institutional state involvement (Mato, 2000). However, others highlight its lacking potential in bridging intra-local differences (Richardson, 2015) and its top-down style which is often denominated “participatory exclusion” (Akbulut, 2012: 1626; Agarwal, 2001). Decentralisation processes constitute one illustration of implementing participation: they promise transition from top-down to participatory self-government systems (Faguet, 2014). However, empirical evidence reveals various shortcomings. Decentralisation strategies, in practice, seem to homogenise communities, depoliticise negotiation processes (Hall et al., 2014), impede actual power transfer (Bottazzi et al., 2014b) and eventually absolve community participation of its legitimate and inclusive functions (Dill, 2009). Instead, it is argued, community participation is perceived as a disempowering tool vis-à-vis local citizens narrowing their opportunities and maintaining unequal power relations (Sugden and Punch, 2014). Namely, such disempowerment can be perceived in terms of inequality and exploitation based on axes of ethnicity, wealth, gender or social status (Hillenkamp, 2015, Boelens and Zwarteveen, 2005). Further, specific groups are disproportionately

concerned including *inter alia* the poor (Vira, 2015), rural communities (Sugden and Punch, 2014) and indigenous peoples (Bottazzi et al., 2014a, Pieck, 2013).

For the purpose of this thesis, the latter group will constitute the main unit of analysis in the framework of prior consultation processes in extractive industries. Global norms gain particular significance, as do economic pressures in the case of prior consultation processes: neo-liberal market influence and the forces behind capital accumulation come with localised impact (Pred and Watts, 1992). Such neo-liberal tendencies, increasing demands for natural resources and respective high prices, explain exceptionally elevated levels of resource extraction in indigenous territories (Hinojosa et al., 2015, O'Rourke and Connolly, 2003). While consultation processes could allow more democratic forms of development (Schilling-Vacaflor, 2013), it could be argued that the former weaken, rather than strengthen, genuine public participation (Perreault, 2015). In the Bolivian case prior consultation processes gain a depoliticising function as a “mundane, everyday statecraft” (Perreault, 2015: 435) and “mundane performances of bureaucratic action” (Perreault, 2015: 447). A detailed micro-analysis could contribute to unveil the cultural differences and racialized patterns of oppression that underlie extraction (Fabricant and Postero, 2015: 453).

I attempt to go beyond understanding consultation and consent as “discussions of legal procedure” (Rodríguez-Garavito, 2011: 266), yet, take such legal norms as a starting-position and foundation of analysis. While general concerns regarding consultation processes address their quality and effectiveness (Fontana and Grugel, 2016; Agrawal, 2003; Agrawal and Gibson, 1999), as well as genuine representativity (Thede, 2011; Shah, 2007; Kuper, 2003) of local indigenous

institutions, this piece of research focuses on micro level structures and dynamics that reveal individual or subgroup rights infringements in the context of collective claims, namely prior consultation processes. Therefore, a legal-anthropological approach will be predominantly adopted rather than viewing consultation processes through lenses of development and participation debates, as individual members' rights cannot be fully understood unless there is a focus on the dynamics and macro politics of the process.

1.4.3 Prior Consultation in the Context of Global Legal Norms and Localisation

This research is embedded in a legal-anthropological theoretical framework. As a starting point, international human rights law, as well as Inter-American and domestic jurisprudence are used as a theoretical foundation. Such norms are empirically tested by means of social anthropological methods and, in turn, respective findings are used to critically approach existing norms and propose revisions and refinement. That way the promises of law are observed focussing on connections, commonalities, differences, inconsistencies and contradictions (Pirie, 2013). At the same time and in the best case, such observations can catalyse normative change. Indeed, existing human rights literature suggests that research by anthropologists committed to ethnography has the potential not only to document and analyse practice, but to *“transform the framework through which the idea of human rights itself is understood”* (Goodale, 2007: 4). In sum, human rights are framed in abstract rules and categories representing the character of law (Pirie, 2013), in order to simultaneously provide a starting-point and finish line for assessing the implementation of such rights in practice.

Particularly in the context of enormous economic pressure by companies and the state towards indigenous peoples, social tensions and divisions in addition to corruptive practices in extractive projects, ethnographic methods involving long-term field-site visits allow the revealing of the over-looked, the un-said, and to identify the unrepresented (Dresch and James, 2000). This becomes especially relevant in the case of marginalised sub-groups within indigenous communities in prior consultation processes as these are usually disregarded due to the macro focus taken. Further, this anthropological approach attempts to make sense of human rights in a specific cultural context, understanding differences in terms of geographical and social divides and shedding light upon the particular historical context in which they are articulated (Pirie, 2013). Accordingly, the PhD project examines how global norms on prior consultation and non-discrimination are articulated in practice, how they are translated into specific local spheres, appropriated by indigenous peoples or *vernacularized* (Merry, 2006c) in particular contexts. Importantly, the use of ethnographic methods in this case can serve to explain the impacts of international law (Merry, 2006a).

The *vernacularisation* of human rights will receive particular attention in this project. The term was used by legal anthropologist Sally Engle Merry and stands for “adapted to local institutions and meanings” (Merry, 2006b: 32). The concept implies that (globally established and recognised) human rights are “translated or transformed into local terms and ideas” (Pirie, 2013: 213); it is also suggested that such rights should be reflected culturally and politically and gain significance in social practice (Goodale, 2007). Thereby, different legalities could merge or hybridise, such as global standards on the one hand and indigenous peoples’ rules, customs and

traditions on the other hand, so-called *interlegality* in a context of legal pluralism (de Sousa Santos, 1995). For instance, María Teresa Sierra analysed how indigenous customary forms of justice have interacted with human rights law (1995). In a similar vein, the term *indigenisation* is used in this context to refer to ways in which new ideas are developed in the light of cultural practices and norms; it represents a “symbolic dimension of *vernacularisation*” (Merry, 2006b: 39). Indigenisation becomes particularly apparent when something is framed through local language and symbols: the concept of *frames* becomes important to understand how rights are assigned meaning and interpreted in a specific context (Snow, 2004).

When discussing processes of *vernacularisation*, Merry also underlines the importance of distinguishing between different degrees. Namely, she describes a continuum which reaches from “replication” implying largely unchanged global institutions or norms in local contexts and “hybridisation” referring to merging of global and local elements (Merry, 2006b: 44). The penultimate chapter will assess to what degree *vernacularisation* can be observed on the basis of two case studies in the Bolivian Lowlands. A positive side-effect for governmental policies or development programmes is the fact that such rights are more effectively applied and enjoy more legitimacy where local appropriation takes place (An-Na'im and Naim, 1995, Coomaraswamy, 1994). Generally, several anthropological studies have dealt with the application of human rights and how they impact on people and are, in turn, used and appropriated by them adopting an approach which assesses human rights locally (Cowan et al., 2001; Wilson, 1997; Wilson and Mitchell, 2003). Similarly, anthropological considerations shed light upon the creators of such rights, who take part in the implementation process and reveals rights-holder perspectives and

reflections (Merry, 2006a). Local meaningfulness of human rights is another focal point in assessing the practice of human rights (Wilson, 1997; Cowan et al., 2001).

Traditionally, legal theorists have mostly overseen the significance of empirical studies focussing on rules and normativism instead (Hart, 1961). Social scientists in the field of law and society, instead, have largely concentrated on the functions of laws rather than law itself including institutions and processes (Silbey, 2005). Legal anthropologists at first addressed the role of judges and tools of mediation and conflict resolution (Moore, 2001), as well as specific experience of populations in the court systems such as indigenous peoples (Napier and Freeman, 2009; Cassell, 2009) or in Islamic contexts (Bowen, 2003, Hirsch, 1998). Yet, again, the focus seems to remain on procedures and processes and undermines the significance of law, concepts and rules as well as their impact on people and their use (Snyder, 1981). Additionally, emphasis was placed on social regulation and the maintenance of order within the field of legal anthropology (Moore, 2005). Other contributions in the field focussed on the meaning of law in history and power relations (Nader, 1997), such debates gained particular relevance in colonial and post-colonial contexts (Darian-Smith, 2007). Generally, the field of legal anthropology shows great potential in linking international standards with local practice: it provides a deeper understanding of the functioning of international norms, more analytical opportunities to concentrate on actions, situations and underlying inequalities as well as variations of this in different locations (Merry, 2006a). At the same time, localisation is an important way of disseminating human rights (Merry, 2006a).

In this project, human rights norms will be placed beyond understandings of law as legitimating the taker (Nader, 2005), or alternatively, as producing or enforcing

authority (von Benda-Beckmann et al., 2012), thus providing a different approach to power relations. Instead, the role of rights holders is emphasised, focussing on indigenous peoples' collective and individual rights in view of an indigenous peoples' rights regime in the UNDRIPS which was fundamentally shaped by indigenous peoples themselves. Law, in the form of prior consultation processes and participation in resource extraction, will be understood as a way to resist such power, engage in participation, albeit not in an uncritical manner. Rather, the focus on subgroups or the micro-level in such processes reveals how complex power relations within indigenous communities blur the lines between the indigenous versus non-indigenous divide. Thereby, the discussion evolves beyond considering human rights a strategic weapon by powerful groups, as masking power or elitist activities (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2008) and rather assesses to what extent they can be regarded as or transformed into an "emancipatory tool for vulnerable people" (Merry, 2006a: 49). Indeed, law can be used as a "weapon of the weak, turning authority back on itself" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2008: 33, see also Scott, 1987: 29) to make claims to resources and voice such as the present case studies illustrate.

Even though the project generally follows the middle position outlined by Martii Koskenniemi and Michael Barkun who describe international law as a tool which both creates and demarcates power (Koskenniemi, 2001), the study challenges the view according to which existing values and practices are solely created by people in dominant positions. Rather, as the long-lasting and highly participatory negotiations of UNDRIPS show, for the first time in UN history human rights holders were truly engaged in the drafting process. Namely, the former Working Group on Indigenous Populations, a subsidiary UN body, was predominantly involved in

developing UNDRIPS (Charters and Stavenhagen, 2009); the open nature of the body promoted the participation of thousand indigenous peoples per session a decade after the establishment of the Group (Willemsen Diaz, 2009).

At the same time, the project provides an alternative to the existing global/local dichotomy in two ways. Firstly, the currently existing focus on new world order and transnational processes “fail to capture the social and conceptual complexities documented by the recent study of human rights practices” (Goodale, 2007: 5) – the micro approach of this project would provide an alternative in focus. Secondly, the present project challenges the vertical and hierarchical relationship between global and local which is outlined by some studies which overprivilege the global (Goodale, 2007). Rather, emphasis shall be placed on excluded voices such as indigenous peoples and their role in shaping global norms and calls for a revision in accordance with observed practice, such as suggested by Rajagopal who is concerned with excluded people in the existing powerful international legal context (Rajagopal, 2003).

The Plurinational State of Bolivia lends itself perfectly to a study on the impact of indigenous peoples’ rights standards and an assessment of marginalised voices both as indigenous peoples and subgroups within communities for several reasons. Firstly, indigenous peoples’ rights have been on the political agenda and part of legal developments since the 1990s, and particularly since Evo Morales as the world’s first self-identifying indigenous president came to power (see Chapter 4 for more details on indigenous peoples’ rights under the Morales administration). This could be illustrated by the Law of Popular Participation (Congreso Nacional de la República de Bolivia, 1994) which established a high degree of decentralisation of power and

recognised indigenous peoples' organisations (Goodale 2007), also taking ILO C169 into account and requiring indigenous peoples' rights to be considered in national policies (Van Cott, 2010). Later developments, as outlined in Chapter 4, significantly strengthened indigenous peoples' rights in Bolivia.

Secondly, the binary division between theorists who advocate legislated, legally binding and enforceable human rights norms such as international conventions on the one hand (Brysk, 2002), and those who question the value of codification and focus on analytical normativity including declarations on the other hand (Donnelly, 2013), becomes irrelevant in the case of Bolivia. Namely, the State incorporated UNDRIPS in the national legal order and adopted respective laws and regulations on, for example, prior consultation in the hydrocarbon sector. Furthermore, the comprehensive Inter-American case-law, which is binding for most Latin American States, is directly applicable in Bolivia and provides important guidance as to interpretation of rights related to prior consultation mechanisms (see Chapter 3 for more details).

Thirdly, complexities as to debates on *indigeneity* and respective rights entitlements come to the fore in the present case study due to the focus on Bolivian Lowland communities. State representatives and companies stem from the Western part of the country and the country's capital La Paz, while the Eastern part including the Lowlands is undermined both culturally and politically. Evo Morales and his administration arguably only represent Aymara and Quechua Highland peoples, thereby excluding 34 other indigenous peoples which live in the country's Lowlands. Inter-indigenous differences reveal how inequalities persist among the actors and the extent to which marginal indigenous groups are excluded in the light of a national

indigenous culture (Canessa, 2014). Therefore, the case studies show how a general understanding of indigenous peoples' collective rights does not sufficiently take inter-indigenous, e.g. between Quechua and Aymara people, and intra-indigenous differences, e.g. within communities, into account. Emphasis will be placed on the latter distinction in order to further enlighten internal dynamics in prior consultation processes and exclusion or discrimination in participatory processes regarding resource extraction.

1.5 Scientific and Societal Relevance of the Project

The indigenous peoples' right to prior consultation regarding projects that affect indigenous peoples is a novel and highly contentious topic which includes wider implications for political, human rights, ecological and economic issues. The extraction of natural resources and large infrastructure projects facilitate world trade and focus on economic interests. The aim of this research project is to show how human beings have to cope with consequences that are essential for their survival and respond to, contest or use participatory fora in order to respond to extractivism. In particular, I would like to demonstrate to what extent affected peoples are excluded from decision-making processes, both at collective and individual levels. The encroachment into indigenous peoples' ways of lives and living space in such projects affects a complex panoply of political, social, economic and cultural rights which should not be continued to be ignored by society. Further, consultation processes including particular state and corporate practice potentially violate internal decision-making processes including indigenous peoples' traditional consensual assemblies, thus subverting social cohesion. In a similar vein, such intervention negatively affects issues of representation and legitimacy as indigenous leaders are influenced by

encounters with State and companies. The thesis thus promises to disentangle the complex interplay between different players in extractive processes, assesses the impact of global economic pressures and global norms on local populations and identifies the significance and challenges for individual community members in collective decision-making processes. The following debates are therefore of interest to legal scholars (global norms and their local implementation), anthropologists (micro-level observations in particular community contexts) and political scientists and international relations researchers (power relationships and dynamics between the players). The resulting recommendations and guidelines are supposed to establish a solid basis for future policy-making and best practice guides.

1.6 Overview and Structure

This piece comprises both legal and anthropological elements and debates that culminate in specific legal recommendations or guidelines based on ethnographic insights and data (see graphical overview on the page after next). A methodological chapter introduces the latter focussing on the use of qualitative methods in this study combining observational methods, semi-structured and in-depth interviews and focus groups (Chapter 2). The substantive part of this thesis is introduced by a debate on indigenous peoples' right to prior consultation in the international legal framework with a particular focus on the UN Declaration on Indigenous Peoples' Rights, its interpretative mechanisms (such as PFII, EMRIP, SR) and the Inter-American framework which is applicable in the Bolivian case. It concludes with a debate on the approach taken by such instances regarding the compatibility of individual and collective rights (Chapter 3). Subsequently, indigenous peoples' rights are placed in the Bolivian context: therefore, Chapter 4 traces the recognition of such rights in

President Morales' first, second and current term of office, specifying the legal regime governing consultation proceedings in the hydrocarbon and mining sectors. The focus of the legal and political developments is placed on the time period in which research was carried out and data were gathered in Bolivia, i.e. from April 2014 to April 2015 (see Figure 8: Field trips in relation to prior consultation laws and decrees, on p.143, for further elaborations). This allows contextualising the findings. Further, background information is provided on the socio-political, historical and cultural contexts of the two case studies which constitute the ethnographic foundation of this piece including Guaraní communities in Alto Parapetí territories and Chiquitano communities in Lomerío territories, both located in the Bolivian Lowlands. Chapters 5 and 6 draw on the empirical experience of the author narrating the significance of individual groups in collective claims in two different contexts of natural resource extraction. This includes pre-set categories as found in international legal provisions such as gender (I) and age groups (II), but it also considers groups and problems that were uncovered in the course of the data collection process, namely educational background (III) and marginalised local leaders and inter-community dynamics (IV). Based on such data, Chapter 7 provides a discussion on the empirical findings placing them in the theoretical framework and context presented in Chapters 1, 3 and 4. Thereby, I focus on the four analytical categories or subgroups within communities and attempts to establish commonalities while highlighting contextual differences. Based on such findings, concrete recommendations or guidelines (Chapter 8) are established, both in the field of international human rights standards and social corporate responsibility, which could help to improve consultation processes in the long run and, also strengthen standards in other world regions facing similar

dilemmas. Rather than proposing modifications of existing standards, such guidelines shall be used to add to the existing framework by concretising state and corporate obligations similar to the purpose of legal regulations.

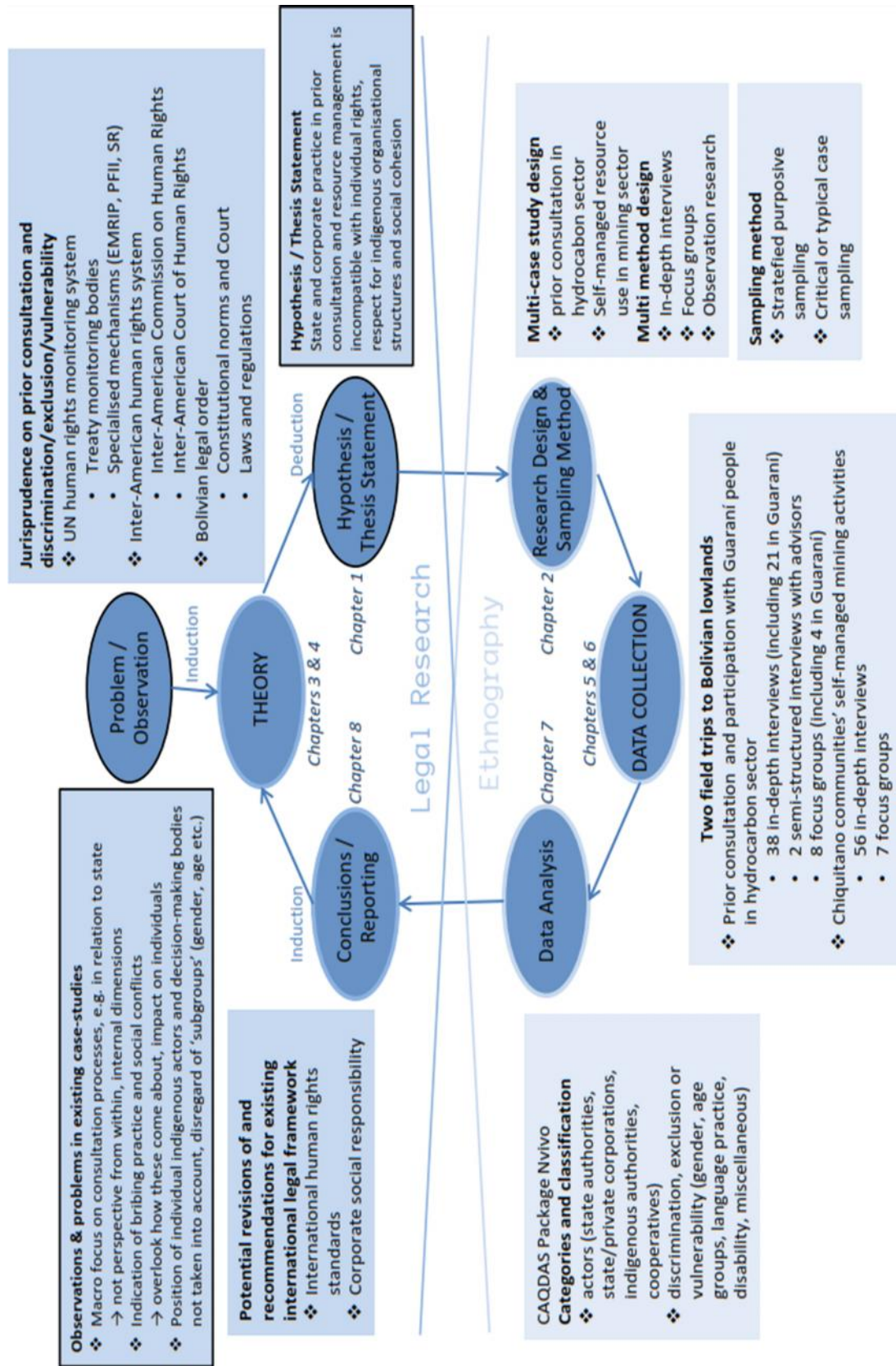


Figure 1: Empirical cycle for social research in my PhD

Chapter 2 Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

2.1 Method of Inquiry: the Use of Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research was selected as the main research approach as it provides numerous opportunities to explore indigenous peoples' rights and perspectives "of people who are insiders or members of particular situations and settings" (Flick, 2009: 226). At the same time, it has the advantage of "making the world visible" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009: 419), particularly indigenous peoples' worlds.

Qualitative research could generally be classified into four main functions: contextual, explanatory, evaluative and generative research (Lewis et al, 2014). This piece of research is located in the "evaluative research" part within the spectrum and includes "explanatory" and "generative" elements (Figure 2: Spectrum of research functions, p. 33): its main objective consists in evaluating the implementation of global human rights norms concerning indigenous peoples' participation in decisions that affect them and in scrutinising the assumptions underlying international, regional and national human rights norms and might reveal room for improvement.

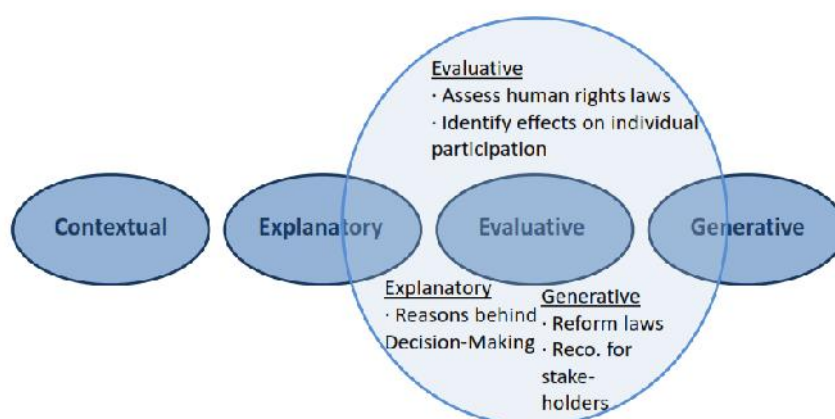


Figure 2: Spectrum of research functions

2.2 Epistemological Approach

Epistemological discussions concern the “way in which knowledge is acquired” (Lewis et al, 2014: 6). The epistemological approach of this research work includes a methodological bricolage of deductive and inductive methods. Bottom-up processes by means of anthropological research methodology allow me to collect evidence in the course of the field trip. Specifically, interviews and focus groups majorly contribute to the forming of patterns and general conclusions. At the same time, the project bases itself on global norms and their application in the Bolivian legal order, hence applying a legal approach, which are subsequently evaluated and form the basis for applied research. This suggests that the field work results support, reject or qualify hypotheses which are generated by predetermined norms. Some authors argue that deductive and inductive processes rarely exist independently from each other: rather, inductive work is influenced by assumptions derived from previous experience; deductive research refers to theories which have been established by prior observation (Blaikie, 2007). Regarding the relationship between researcher and target-group, I adopt a “middle position” between objective observation and value-mediated observation. Therefore, the project is informed by a so-called “empathic neutrality position” which understands research as non-value-free, but encourages researchers to make their values and assumptions transparent and take neutrality as a research objective (Lewis et al, 2014: 8). This is fundamental to human rights research based on its value-loaded nature. Therefore, activist approaches to human rights (Coomans et al, 2009) are avoided and such standards are referred to by means of legal analysis and anthropological observation in practice.

The research work derives its theoretical foundation from global human rights norms according to the legal framework set out in UNDRIPS. At the same time, it develops a critical view towards said norms in the context of applied research: practice shows to what extent norms can be regarded as suitable or unsuitable for indigenous peoples' contexts. International human rights norms are used as a theoretical starting-point due to the high levels of involvement by indigenous peoples attributing legitimacy to the framework (further discussion in Chapter 1). In summary, it can be said that this piece of research combines theoretical legal insights and social investigation: the collection of evidence in indigenous communities is understood in the light of global human rights standards.

2.3 Data Collection Methods and other Design Issues

First of all, secondary data analysis of existing studies is used as a method to provide findings and refine the author's own field research approach (see Chapters 1 and 7 for discussions of existing case studies). Secondary data analysis is considered a useful method due to its potential to bring a novel perspective to archived data, elaborate on elements not previously discussed, and to provide possibilities of comparison with new data (Coomans et al, 2009). This particular research piece uses previously conducted studies on indigenous peoples' right to prior consultation in order to identify new elements, namely the consideration of marginalised or vulnerable groups in consultations. Secondly, interview and focus group analyses are used as a data collection method. This method is used in order to allow individuals to express their own views on their right to participation in consultation mechanisms. In-depth interviews, in particular, reveal human rights violations and discriminatory practices which are not clearly visible from the outside and general records, such as

government reports. Individual interviews entail the advantage of providing each participant's individual perspective. This becomes specifically useful for delicate and complex issues such as decision-making processes in the context of large-scale development or investment projects which exert considerable pressure on the respective communities.

Focus groups demonstrate patterns of exclusion and common positions on this, e.g. regarding the often ambiguous position of women as leaders, and as marginalised community members at the same time. It further identifies particularly vulnerable groups within indigenous communities, such as monolingual community members and local leaders in this case. Individuals affiliated with these groups also feel encouraged to express their opinions more openly in such group settings. It also helps them to understand their own perspective and to explain their position against this background (Lewis et al, 2014). This setting also allows differences to be explored and discussed by the participants (Lewis et al, 2014). Apart from benefits for the research project itself, these focus group settings could have empowering effects on the participating individuals who might have a unique opportunity to identify common positions, strengthen their agenda and exchange views in a private setting. In the case of the elderly this was the case in one community: in the absence of a council of elders, the elderly used the opportunity to discuss follow-up meetings and coordination. For the above reasons, groups are composed according to commonality between participants with reference to the research objectives. Differences in status or power are tried to be avoided due to their potential impediment to participants' contributions. In case particular focus groups provide a too broad context, smaller groups, pairs or triads are selected to enable more contribution and more private

settings. Importantly, participants have an influence on the method to be selected in case of prior-identifiable human rights violations: they might feel more comfortable to be interviewed individually or as a group depending on their views. In addition to interviews and focus groups, the research project is enriched by observation methods. Further elaborations on the use of observation research and an observation guide are provided in the penultimate part of the chapter.

The time frame for the respective data collection methods is rather flexible, but it is conditioned by the overall field trip duration of twelve months (April 2014 – April 2015). Additionally, the current social climate in Bolivia, the presence of riots in the selected regions and the currency of consultation processes influenced the selection of the specific time frame for each case study. Due to the limited time frame of the PhD, the study involves one single research episode of twelve months. Retrospective accounts play a role as well – this concerns the second case study in particular which involves the period after the consultation process (Lewis et al, 2014). In relation to this, retrospective questioning allows earlier stages of the process to be included. The research piece also includes so-called cross-sectional studies by means of two case studies which allow various samples to be interviewed. This facilitates the observation of macro-level change through comparative analysis which explores the broader context and system of the samples (Lewis et al, 2014; information on the macro level of consultation and embedment in the Bolivian legal order is mainly provided in Chapter 4). The focus on macro-level change is pertinent in this case in order to provide examples including best and worst practices: thereby, commonalities in terms of excluded groups in two case studies become apparent. For this reason, a comparative element is indispensable for this research piece. Due to the high diversity

of indigenous population in Bolivia, namely 36 groups, and preferential treatment of some communities by the current government, different consultation processes need to be compared. In order to facilitate general conclusions and recommendations, the specific ways in which the experiences differ in the two regions, both Guaraní and Chiquitano territories, need to be identified.

At the same time, each sample needs to be large enough not only to deal with comparisons between samples, but within the same sample. Therefore, a multiple-case study design is selected. Case study research could be characterised by its prioritisation of one individual unit (Flyvbjerg, 2011), the detailed character of the study (Bryman, 2012), its contextual nature (Creswell, 2013), and the use of more than one data collection method (Berg and Lune, 2012). All these aspects are fundamental to the present research project, namely a detailed and contextual account of the consultation process with indigenous communities and its constituent members in particular. Multiple methods are used as stated previously including interview and observational research. Similarly, the focus of case studies is placed on the examination of multiple perspectives based on their respective specific contexts in the communities and regions (Lewis et al, 2014). This offers the possibility to acquire in-depth understanding of the issue and provides a holistic, comprehensive and contextualised perspective (Lewis et al, 2014). The identification of multiple perspectives is fundamental to this project as consultation processes might be carried out in very different ways. Thereby, a comparative element might strengthen the potential for generalisability. Furthermore, case studies shed light on processes and services, organisational contexts such as the evaluation of participatory processes, and geographical areas, rather than simply providing individual accounts (Lewis et al,

2014). While individual accounts play an important role in this study, the evaluations of consultation processes held by the State constitute the overall research objective.

2.4 Designing Samples and Fieldwork

As quantitative methods are not used in this research project, non-probability sampling proves to be the most appropriate approach. In contrast to probability sampling, this sampling approach does not need to be statistically representative, but rather reflects specifically selected groups with particular characteristics within the sample (Lewis et al, 2014): in this case this includes, for example, women and youth. Furthermore, the project opts for a purposive or criterion-based sampling approach instead of convenience sampling: the particular characteristics of subgroups within the sample are critical to the evaluation of non-discriminatory practices in consultation processes. One specific kind of purposive sampling is selected for the purposes of the research project, namely stratified “purposive sampling” (Bryman, 2012: 418). The latter sampling method has the purpose of assigning groups that show variation regarding a particular aspect, but which are homogeneous as a group (Creswell, 2013). For instance, women affiliated with a particular community share similar experience as a group which are not necessarily shared with women in other communities. The latter type of sampling focuses on cases which reflect a particular position and enlightens specific aspects of a process (Creswell, 2013). This enables indigenous subgroups to be compared, investigates interdependencies and introduces a micro-level to the project.

The sample size varies in each case due to the heterogeneity of the population and hence the number of members affiliated to subgroups and the differing characteristics that constitute a subgroup in each community (in case study I: 37 in-

depth interviews, 2 semi-structured interviews, 8 focus groups; in case study II: 56 in-depth interviews and 7 focus groups). Some subgroups are present in one case, but absent in another. Furthermore, the use of different data collection methods establishes variations in sample size in each case study. For instance, focus groups were more essential in Chiquitano communities compared to Guaranís due to high levels of variation in different interest groups at community level, such as mining cooperatives. Interdependencies between marginalised groups, such as being female and monolingual, contributed to the establishment of supplementary samples.

The sample frame of the research project consists of both existing information, such as case studies in other Latin American countries, and specifically generated information. However, specifically generated information forms the main part of the sample frame. The generative part of the sampling frame is mainly based on gatekeepers. CEJIS staff members (see elaborations below in sub-chapter 2.5) essentially contributed to the identification of relevant consultation cases in the region. In addition to working with gatekeepers, *snowballing* serves as a method in this project: snowballing entails asking interviewees to identify other people who match the characteristics that are relevant for the study (Lewis et al, 2014). In the context of identifying particularly vulnerable indigenous subgroups, advice on the part of the study population is crucial to extend and modify the sample. This became essential in the case of persons with disabilities as they were less “visible” in the public life of the community: other members referred us to them. In a way, *flow populations* play a significant role as well: flow populations involve approaching people in a specific contexts or location (Lewis et al, 2014). Monitoring the consultation process

significantly helped in finding prospective interviewees and contacts in the communities.

As stated earlier, the study population includes indigenous communities. Marginalised subgroups within these communities are chosen as main selection criterion. The initial selection criteria thus encompass groups with low participation levels in a community's decision-making and the consultation process respectively. In order to develop a sample, the relative importance of said criteria to the study sample needs to be determined (Lewis et al, 2014). In this research project, the degree of participation and affiliation with particular vulnerable groups are considered primary criteria as these criteria are essential for the study objectives. This is attempted to provide insights on individual rights and exclusion in collective decision-making processes. This reflects "categories" established in the international indigenous peoples' rights regime. Specific groups such as gender and age categories are chosen as secondary criteria. Language capacities and position in the community are assigned as tertiary criteria as they are assumed without any experience-based or legal foundation.

Primary criteria	Secondary criteria	Tertiary criteria
Degree of participation	Age categories	Language capacities
Affiliation with discr. groups	Gender	Position in community
	Other Discrimination	Local leadership in consultation process

Table 1: Types of criteria

The latter two types of criteria (see Table 1: Types of criteria, on p.41), namely primary criteria and secondary criteria, are included in a sample matrix (see Table 2: Sample matrix case study I, on p.43 and Table 3: Sample matrix case study II, on p.44). A number of sample units are assigned to the said criteria. Quotas are used to

concretise the exact number of data units used in the sample matrix. The sample includes approximately 90 in-depth studies (48 in case study I and 56 in case study II), among which about 20–25 participants represent each gender group in each case study respectively. Primary sampling criteria, specifically the degree of participation and affiliations with discriminated groups, are nested. Gender is taken as the main criterion representing discriminatory grounds as existing case studies on prior consultation processes suggest (Castillo Guzmán and Soria Torres, 2011). Other grounds of discrimination, such as age groups, and other reasons for discrimination, are analysed in relation to each of the dimensions and serve as control variables. Namely, such other forms are usually not considered in global norms and hence require further observation. This allows comparisons between gender-related discrimination in consultation processes and other discriminatory forms. The sample matrix also shows how many participants of each gender group and marginalised category are selected. The number of children or youth (18 to 24 years according to UN youth definition) to be recruited is much lower compared to other age groups based on research ethics allowing only interviewees of legal age. Representation of the elderly is almost as high as average age groups, because the elderly exert greater influence than other age groups in local decision-making through e.g. councils of the elderly. Minimum and maximum ages are not determined, as the sample matrix is used for all observed communities in which age is unequally distributed. Quotas are not specified as exact numbers but ranges in order to provide flexibility. Numbers of representations of both gender and age groups varies in each case study and the respective sample sizes.

Sample Matrix	Affiliation: discriminated group (Gender)	Male	Female
Case study I			
	<i>Degree</i>		
Participation	As individual in decision-making at local level		
	As local leader in decision-making at local level		
	As individual in prior consultation process		
	As local leader in prior consultation process		
	As <i>zonal</i> leader in prior consultation process		
	<i>Grounds of discrimination</i>		
	18-24 years	4	1
	25-55 years	9	11
	55-... years	6	6
Age categories			
Monolingual (Guaraní speaking)		6	11
Local and/or <i>zonal</i> leaders		3	5
Total		19	18

Table 2: Sample matrix case study I

Sample matrix I and II differ in various aspects which are related to the particular local contexts. For instance, matrix I includes participation in prior consultation processes while matrix II refers to “external participatory mechanisms” as prior consultation is less relevant: rather communities participate in mining related decision-making through cooperatives or other decision-making processes, e.g. meetings with local authorities or the State-owned mining corporation COMIBOL. Age categories in matrix II do not include youth as young people had either migrated to

the city or were engaged in mining activities at the time of the interview, however we did manage to include them in very limited amounts of focus groups (see below). Ultimately, grounds of discrimination or exclusion included monolingual groups in the first case study while this was not the case in case study II: rather, being member or non-member of cooperatives seems to be decisive in determining participation in such decision-making processes.

Sample Matrix Case study II	Affiliation: discriminated group (Gender)	Male	Female
Participation	<i>Degree</i>		
	As individual in decision-making at local level		
	As local leader in decision-making at local level		
	As individual in external participatory mechanism		
	As local leader in external participatory mechanism		
Age categories	<i>Grounds of discrimination</i>		
	25–55 years	23	22
	55–... years	6	5
(Non-)Member of Cooperative		3	6
Local and/or <i>zonal</i> leaders		16	1
Total		29	27

Table 3: Sample matrix case study II

The sample design for the mentioned focus groups discussions takes a similar form (see Table 4: Sample matrix for group discussions case study I, on p.46; and Table 5: Sample matrix for group discussions case study II, on p.46). One major difference lies in the sample size. Furthermore, the respective group compositions are specified (Lewis et al, 2014). The homogenous or heterogeneous character of all groups was decided in the first few days of the field trip. In that regard, the existence of particularly vulnerable groups as well as intersectionalities influences group composition. For instance, members of mining cooperatives deserved particular attention where they formed a minority in the respective community. Other particularities such as monolingualism could intersect with gender issues regarding for example women's access to education. On a different note, gender groups were not solely strictly separated, but found their place in mixed groups in order to allow for observations of participants' reactions and interactions such as men's role in largely female dominated leadership and decision-making.

<p>Group 1 (female, mixed age) max 8</p> <p>Min–20 years, female 20–30 years, 2 female 30–50 years, 2 female 50–max years, female</p>	<p>Group 2 (male, mixed age) max 8</p> <p>Min–20 years, male 20–30 years, 2 male 30–50 years, 2 male 50–max years, male</p>	<p>Group 3 (female, middle aged, largely monolingual) max 8</p> <p>Min–20 years, female or male 20–30 years, 1 fem. & 1 male 30–50 years, 1 fem. & 1 male 50–max years, female or male</p>	<p>Group 4 (mixed sex, middle aged) max 8</p> <p>Min–20 years, female & male 20–30 years, 2 fem. & 2 male</p>
<p>Group 5 (male, youth) max 8</p> <p>Min–20 years, female & male</p>	<p>Group 6 (mixed sex, youth) max 8</p> <p>30–50 years, 2 fem. & 2 male</p>	<p>Group 7 (female, elderly, monolingual) max 8</p> <p>30–50 years, 2 fem. & 2 male</p>	<p>Group 8 (mixed sex, elderly, largely monolingual) max 8</p> <p>30–50 years, 2 female and male</p>

20–30 years, 2 fem. & 2 male	50–max years, female & male	50–max years, female & male	Discr Ground 1, 3 male
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Table 4: Sample matrix for group discussions case study I

As both sample matrices for group discussions show, both main secondary sample criteria, namely gender and age groups are taken into account in setting up all focus groups. At the same time, tertiary criteria are taken, for example monolingualism in case study I and cooperative membership in case study II. In the latter case, one focus group was set up including only cooperative members as they formed a minority in one community.

Group 1 (mixed sex, mixed age) max 8 Min–20 years, female 20–30 years, 2 female 30–50 years, 2 female 50–max years, female	Group 2 (male, mixed age) max 8 Min–20 years, male 20–30 years, 2 male 30–50 years, 2 male 50–max years, male	Group 3 (female, mixed aged) max 8 Min–20 years, female or male 20–30 years, 1 fem. & 1 male 30–50 years, 1 fem. & 1 male 50–max years, female or male	Group 4 (mixed sex, middle aged, cooperative members) max 8 Min–20 years, female & male 20–30 years, 2 fem. & 2 male
Group 5 (mixed sex, youth) max 8 Min–20 years, female & male 20–30 years, 2 fem. & 2 male	Group 6 (female, elderly) max 8 30–50 years, 2 fem. & 2 male 50–max years, female & male	Group 7 (male, elderly) max 8 30–50 years, 2 fem. & 2 male 50–max years, female & male	-

Table 5: Sample matrix for group discussions case study II

All interviews and focus groups were coded for reasons of anonymity and data protection. As micro–level data regarding extractive industries could easily be used against individuals including leaders, this was deemed fundamental. In the following, detailed information on the codification system chosen for both case studies will be provided (see Table 6: Codification system exemplified by case study I, on p.47). The

first letter (I or II) indicates the recording device which was used for the respective interview; a number is added in order to refer to the number of the interview or focus group respectively. This is followed by an acronym that refers to the name of the community (in case study I: M=Mandiyuti, A=El Arenal, T=Timbuienda, K=Kapirenda; in case study II: C=Coloradillo, P=El Pukio, S=Surusubí, L=San Lorenzo) and leadership status subsequently (D=dirigente (leader) or N=no dirigente (non-leader)). The two last acronyms refer to sex (M=male, F=female or Mi=mixed sex in the case of focus groups) and age categories (j=joven (youth), m=mediana edad (middle aged), t=tercera edad (elderly) and mi=edades mixtas (mixed age) in the case of focus groups). Additionally, “disc” (persona discapacitada (person with disability)) or, as for case study II, “corp” (cooperativa (cooperative)) is added where appropriate).

I_19T	N	M	j	disc	(I_19TNMj_disc)
I_19Timbuienda	No dirigente	Masculino	joven	persona discapacitada	I_19TNMj_disc
M = Mandiyuti A = El Arenal T = Timbuienda K = Kapirenda	D = Dirigente (leader) N = No Dirigente (non-leader)	F = femenino (female) M = masculino (male) Mi = mixto (mixed sex)	j = joven (youth) m = mediana edad (middle aged) t = tercera edad (elderly) mi = edades mixtas (mixed age)	disc = Personas con discapacidad (person with disability) Corp = cooperativa (cooperative)	I = recording device 19 = chronological order T = Timbuienda N = No dirigente M = Masculino J = joven Disc = persona discapacitada

Table 6: Codification system exemplified by case study I

In the following the codification system is visualised by means of two tables (for case study I see Annex 1: Codification system by interviewer and language case study I, p.337; and for case study II see Annex 2: Codification system by interviewer case study II, p.339) that provide an overview of the interviews and focus groups conducted and also indicate who conducted the interview or focus group and in which language. In

the second table (Annex 2, p.339) language criteria are not considered as the entire field trip was conducted in Spanish: the local language Bésiro is hardly spoken in the area (for further details see Chapter 4).

2.5 Preparation for Field Work: Recruitment Issues and Gatekeepers

Right from the beginning of my stay in Bolivia (from April 2014 onwards), I cooperated with the Bolivian NGO *Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social* (CEJIS, Centre for Judicial Studies and Social Research). This means that I was given an office and could participate in all activities and projects, attended and co-organised workshops in the communities relevant to my research, monitored a consultation process for CEJIS and, in return, I would assist in funding proposals, strengthen cooperation with foreign aid and provide advice in different projects. CEJIS is Bolivia's most known NGO in the field of indigenous peoples' rights and prior consultation experience in particular. In 2012 I attended an international conference in Lima, Peru on prior consultation experiences from different countries around the world – CEJIS presented the Bolivian case. Established in 1978, its main thematic fields are socio-environmental conflicts and human rights in relation to territory and resources of the Bolivian Lowlands. From the 1990s onwards – in the context of the agrarian reform – CEJIS has focused on indigenous peoples' rights. Its main contribution lies in land rights regimes: CEJIS provided legal assistance regarding territorial consolidation, so-called *saneamiento*, and land entitling. It also actively engages with indigenous leaders by providing training and capacity building, lobbying for the improvement of laws, regulations and policies. Furthermore, the mixed team of lawyers and sociologists matched very well with my research focus encompassing legal studies and social scientific methodology.

As I was able to co-organise workshops and visit the communities on a frequent basis: this significantly contributed to the trust-enabling potential. CEJIS is well known in the communities and appreciated by leaders and community members – this would attribute legitimacy to my presence and research conducted. My contribution to workshops was crucial for case study II, while my direct involvement in the consultation process was essential in case study I. This gave me an excellent starting-position for my field trip that I would only initiate after a long period of presence and communication with the communities (case study I: October 2014, case study II: March 2015). The most important component, however, was a small team that I had recruited for conducting the case studies. At CEJIS I offered an eight-week methodology course entitled Qualitative Research Practice for three interns that were interested in assisting me in my field work; I also provided training and practical session for conducting in-depth interviews. I had put up an “internship advertisement” at the Department of Sociology at the *Universidad Autónoma Gabriel René Moreno de Santa Cruz* (public university of Santa Cruz) recruiting interns that were native speakers in Guaraní, female (gender perspective), interested in indigenous peoples’ rights and research, and in the final part of their studies. Three sociology students applied, and while I only wanted to take one with me due to limited funding opportunities, two of them were cousins and insisted on working with me as a team of three. Martha and Daniela had grown up in Guaraní Ioseño communities close to Paraguay and moved with their families to Santa Cruz in their late teens. Spanish was a second language for them, as it was for me.

Thanks to their support we could conduct about half of all interviews and groups in Guaraní, they would do so independently by means of a topic guide in

Guaraní (see sub-chapter 2.7 for more details). They later translated all interviews into Spanish for me, I would in return translate it into English. Conducting interviews in Guaraní was important for several reasons. It allowed me to reach all community members, particularly elderly women. At the same time, it was important to generate trust as Martha and Daniela instantly started chatting with people in Guaraní whom we had never met before. At the macro-level, I played a more important role as all leaders knew me from the meetings and activities that formed part of the consultation process. This meant that we did not encounter any hesitation and resistance to my research project and everything, apart from high temperatures reaching 40 degrees and water scarcity, would run smoothly.

For my second field trip to the Chiquitania area, a CEJIS intern expressed interest in the project, his name was Efren. Efren was very familiar with Chiquitano communities, had many contacts, particularly local and *zonal* (referring to a regional level, the political administrative zone) leaders. As he was involved in many local projects, he was far more familiar than me with the micro context and dynamics in the communities. When we started working together, I remember how we would have an informal meeting in which he summarised all internal conflicts and interplay of community members, local and *zonal* leaders, cooperatives at local and regional level, local state authorities, state and corporate companies for me. This provided me with basic background knowledge in preparation for our trip. Rather than translating interviews which was not necessary in this case, he conducted about 27 of 63 interviews himself. In return for Martha's, Daniela's and Efren's contributions to my project, I would hand out certificates signed by my supervisor and Essex on the methodology course and participation in my research project. I would also cover all

costs for accommodation, travel, food in relation to the trips and become one of their supervisors as they decided to write on prior consultation mechanisms as part of their final dissertation.

2.5.1 Impressions Case Study I



Photo 1 Beginning of case study I in Camiri



Photo 2 Preparation for the first interview with indigenous advisor



Photo 3 Interview with *Mburuvicha*



Photo 4 Interview with *comunario* in remote area



Photo 5 Interviews in the communities



Photo 6 Interviews in the communities II



Photo 7 Simultaneous interviews in Guaraní with wife and husband I



Photo 8 Simultaneous interviews in Guaraní with wife and husband II



Photo 9 Interview in Guaraní I



Photo 10 Interview in Guaraní II



Photo 11 Interview with gender representative



Photo 12 Interview in Guaraní III



Photo 13 Interview in Guaraní IV



Photo 14 Interview in Guaraní V



Photo 15 Interview in Guaraní in remote area "on the hill"



Photo 16 Interview in Guaraní with disabled person



Photo 17 Focus group with indigenous elders in Guaraní



Photo 18 Focus group with indigenous elders in Guaraní II



Photo 19 Focus group with indigenous youth in Guaraní



Photo 20 Female mixed age group in Guaraní

2.5.2 Impressions Case Study II



Photo 21 Beginning of case study II



Photo 22 Only bus reaching the communities



Photo 23 First interviews in communities



Photo 24 First interviews in communities II



Photo 25 Interview with *Cacique*



Photo 26 Interview with *Cacique's* wife



Photo 27 Interview with wife



Photo 28 Interview with husband



Photo 29 Focus group with youth



Photo 30 Focus group with cooperative members



Photo 31 Focus group with elderly women



Photo 32 Focus group with elderly men



Photo 33 Female mixed age group

2.6 Ethical Considerations and Consent Forms

In general terms, ethical research ought to be based on participants' informed consent; their participation shall be voluntary and free from coercion or other forms of pressure; adverse impact needs to be avoided, similar as risk or harm; unreasonable demands have to be prevented and confidentiality and anonymity are to be maintained (Bryman, 2012). At the same time, a contextual and situational approach is necessary in order to allow flexibility and enable the researcher to negotiate ethical dilemmas (Kvale, 1996). Indeed, the cultural context exerts a significant influence on the data collection process and hence, the data are not produced *by* the interviewer, but *with* the interviewee instead. In the present case, the cultural context of the indigenous communities was critical to developing ethical guidelines and a consent form (Ryen, 2011). Based on the oral traditions of indigenous communities and their habits and customs, for instance, only the contact information of the research team was provided in hard copy form. All other information and consent were presented orally.

The codification system above illustrates, confidentiality and anonymity are to be respected in the data storage process. The latter serves primarily the purpose of treating data anonymously, however, interviewees also needed to be made aware of their rights and receive sufficient information regarding the use of data. This included primarily the following elements. First of all, the purpose and aim of the research project needed to be clarified including details on the consultation process and the specific issues that the interview was intended to address in that regard such as State measures that were put into place to facilitate communities' participation. Secondly, based on the particular institutional setting of the project including NGO involvement, the researchers', interns' and CEJIS' roles needed to be explained. In this context, the choice of language between Spanish and Guaraní was reemphasised. Furthermore, we would address the added value of the project as it would benefit future NGO projects based on the data obtained; this, in turn, could imply future projects for the communities including capacity building workshops and advisory support in future consultation processes.

During the whole information part prior to the interview, we would emphasise the right to object to responding to questions. Further, we stressed the benefits that might be generated by way of policy recommendations and revisions of norms in order to ensure inclusiveness in consultation processes. We would also estimate the time of the interview and talked about the opportunity to adjust it to the interviewees' needs and the possibility to opt out at any point. Towards the ending of the information session, we addressed confidentiality issues, namely we elaborated on data collection methods, the codification system, anonymity and the way data would be stored. We also encouraged further questions and visits to the CEJIS office

in Santa Cruz in order to learn more about the project or to raise any concerns or questions. Finally, we reemphasised the option to withdraw from the interview and the voluntary nature in all stages of the process. At the same time, we pointed to the minimum age to take part, namely 18 years: in that context, we also seized this opportunity to inquire about the age of the participants in order to identify their age group in terms of secondary sampling criteria. More information on the ethical standards applied to this project is provided in Annex 8: Information and Consent Form, on p.351.

2.7 Topic and Observation Guide

As outlined earlier, this research piece consists of an evaluative study of participatory processes. Evaluative studies are based on a more structured approach in which concrete changes are observed; conversely, exploratory studies involve a more open approach (Lewis, 2014). The structural approach taken in this project also benefits the comparative nature of the field study: indicators and variables chosen in one case study need to be born in mind for the identifying variables in the second case for comparative purposes. The design of a topic guide (see Annex 3 Topic Guide for Case Study I, p.341 and Annex 4 Topic Guide for Case Study, p.344) thus becomes indispensable for the fieldwork. The topic guide is used for both individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. However, it is slightly adapted to the particular cases respectively.

The first part (“Introduction”) is merely introductory and contains mainly organisational issues such as the overall content of the research piece. It also serves to provide information on length, confidentiality, anonymity, consent issues and the possibility to ask questions beforehand. The second part (Case study I: “Background”;

Case study II: “Socio-Cultural Background and Impact”) should serve several purposes. On the one hand, it facilitates the entry into the discussion and shall enable the participant to talk about general or everyday issues due to its descriptive nature. On the other hand, it helps the researcher to understand the individual context and the individual’s role in the continuing part of the interview. The third part (“Decision-Making in Indigenous Community”) includes the first involvement in the research topic. In order to allow for diverse interpretation of community participation, definitions and meanings of the term are asked for. It also provides an understanding of the community’s internal decision-making processes irrespective of consultations held by the State, or alternatively, external decision-making processes in case study II. Furthermore, it mirrors the particular situation of the interviewee and clearly alludes to other community members’ participation as well. Finally, it explores the position of participating and non-participating members and attempts to identify the reasons for non-participation and the context in which this happens including externally induced factors. This could facilitate the first recognition of exclusion of particular groups or individuals.

In the fourth part (Case study I “Consultation with Indigenous Community in Project X”; Case study II “Participation in Mining Activities and respective Decision-Making”) the basic international norms on prior consultations with indigenous peoples are evaluated in practice. This section attempts to explore the way the consultation process or external decision-making processes are conducted. For instance, it is explored to what extent indigenous peoples’ have a final say in the form of consent; it further looks at time constraints and the overall structure of such collective decision-making processes. In the last subsection participating and non-

participating actors are identified. Similarly, reasons for non-participation and possible discrimination are further explored. This last issue introduces the next section of the topic guide. In the fifth section (Case study I “Participant’s Involvement in Consultation Process”; Case study II “Participant’s Involvement in Decision-Making on Mining Project”), the main substantive question is introduced. General aspects of the external decision-making procedures are avoided; rather the individual’s particular situation is at the focus of this section of the interview. The interviewee’s particular role in the consultation process or mining-related decision-making respectively is discussed. Given that he/she was selected based on his/her potential marginalised role in the process, discrimination issues necessarily come to the fore. Therefore, the individual is asked to elaborate on the reasons for participating or not participating, his/her feeling about his/her role and his/her integration or non-integration into the decision-making process. In this section, sufficient time shall be reserved for the individual’s concerns and elaborations as it fundamentally facilitates the assessment of the inclusive character of the consultation or mining-related decision-making with external players respectively. The community member is thus also asked whether he/she can think of any way his/her position could be improved. At the ending, a specific sampling method, namely snowballing is used to identify other potential marginalised community members.

Similarly, the sixth section (Case study I “Other Community Members’ Participation in Consultation”; Case study II “Other Community Members’ Participation in such Decision-Making”) serves the aim of providing main answers to the research question(s). The interviewee is now asked to provide information on the micro-level of the collective participatory mechanism. Namely, he/she is required to

provide information and thoughts on community members' participation. The interviewee is asked to divide the community into participating and non-participating members and to identify individuals or groups who explicitly participate or are excluded from decision-making. This also serves the purpose of understanding whether discriminated groups as such exist within the community or whether discrimination occurs at a more individual level. In order to stimulate the discussion and to reach greater depth of the issue, the interviewee is required to reflect on the reasons for participation or exclusion. The issue of "discrimination" is explicitly mentioned and can provide some further insights, also on what is understood by discrimination.

The seventh part ("Future") serves a different purpose. Specifically, it attempts to finish on a positive and constructive note. In this part of the interview, the individual has the opportunity to come forward with an explicit proposal on the improvement of future consultation processes or mining-related decision-making with external players and introduce his/her personal recommendations. Apart from suggestions on the improvement of his/her individual situation, the interview is taken to a macro level as the overall implementation of the process is evaluated. The situation of other community members is also taken up: the interviewee can equally make suggestions for the improvement of their roles. This part of the interview also helps participants to take the discussion away from possible negative experience, uncomfortable issues and provides the possibility to end on a positive note. It can also provide the opportunity to summarise the person's experience and to enable the researcher to learn about the importance that is attached to particular issues. It also gives the researcher the possibility to come back to issues that have been responded

to differently in the course of the interview. It also establishes a forum to develop non-discussed issues. Finally, the eighth part (“In conclusion”) takes the interview to an even more general and organisation level. Confidentiality and recording issues are discussed. Permission is asked for the archiving of the interview transcript and use of data. The interviewee is given contact details and is encouraged to contact the researcher or research team regarding any further questions or concerns.

The main differences between Topic Guides I and II lie in parts 2, 4 and 5 which elaborate on collective decision-making processes which differ: while case study I concerns a prior consultation process in the hydrocarbon sector, case study II includes several meetings and encounters with external players in the form of collective decision-making in mining-related activities. Hence, individuals’ (part 4) and other community members’ (part 5) participation are understood in such different collective decision-making processes and as such considered in the topic guides.

Apart from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, the study is enriched by observation research. A multi-method design was thus chosen for the project. Observation is used as a method as it provides the means to explore social norms or pressure to conform to socially expected attitudes (Lewis et al, 2014). For instance, expressing oneself freely about the shortcomings of such process would have proved impossible during the meetings due to the presence of state and corporate actors. Observing the consultation process in case study I and other participation forums with external players in case study II thus essentially supported the interview screening process. This brings up questions regarding my role and engagement in observing the communities. In a spectrum along which the researcher’s active presence is located, my role would be best described as gaining

the status of “observer as participant”. Variations of the researcher’s active presence range from “complete participant”, “participant as observer”, “observer as participant” to “complete observer” (Gold, 1958: 217). In this study, my role of “observer as participant” entails pure observation to the largest degree, but includes engagement only in limited periods of time (May, 2011). While I was actively involved in workshops in the communities prior to the interview process in case study II, I tried to limit my engagement in the actual field trip. In case study I I represented an NGO in the consultation process implying advisory functions as well; however, I tried to limit this during the subsequently conducted field trip.

Observation might take the form of descriptive observation, focused observation and selective observation (Spradley, 1980). This project mainly uses descriptive observation in order to allow an all-encompassing impression of consultation processes and support the participant selection process. Observation in this phase also served the purpose of prompting discussion or developing hypotheses for differences in interviewees’ accounts (Lewis et al, 2014). It allowed for the collection of examples of observed activities or interactions that could complement the interviews and discussions (Lewis et al, 2014). Additionally, selective observation was employed to allow for additional observation after the conduction of interviews and focus groups. This allowed the researcher to further observe aspects that had been brought up in the interviews. In that sense, it could provide further evidence and indicators for previous statements on e.g. the exclusion of particular groups. It also allowed the establishment of an insider perspective on the human rights situation of individual members of the respective indigenous communities. As described, observation methods are not used as a single method for the project, but take place

within a multi-method design. It is both used as a method at the preliminary stage of the project for the above reasons and alongside and after interview and groups methods to research specific aspects and test findings raised in the interviews.

Different settings in the respective indigenous communities are observed. It is distinguished between different “settings”, including human, interactional and programme dimensions to describe the different settings within a situation that can be observed (Cohen et al, 2011). This project focuses on some aspects of human settings, as discriminatory practices by some persons towards others are observed and analysed. Additionally, programme settings are considered relevant as a specific process, namely a consultation mechanism, is observed and allows insights into how a consultation is held and affects indigenous communities. In that context, guides are essential for the observation as they capture the “unsaid” of interviews. Language-barriers and cultural distinctiveness may play a role in this. In order to organise observation research, an observation guide (see Annex 5: Observation guide for case studies I & II, p.347) can provide a structure which facilitates field notes taking, photo taking, recording and commenting. The observation guide for this project includes several sections that guided the observation.

2.8 On the Perspective of a Non-Indigenous Scholar

The fact that I would visit the communities as a non-indigenous scholar had several implications. This did not only complicate my access to the communities and created language-related difficulties, my visit also had – without any doubt – an impact on the communities. The human rights perspective of my research project particularly reflects standards made by international experts and stakeholders: local community members hardly shape the UN human rights regime, also due to lacking access and

limited opportunities to travel. This motivated me to explicitly include indigenous peoples' voices and participatory action research elements in order to make them an active part of my research and account on the indigenous world.

It is important to bear in mind that many Western scholars tend to make assumptions about the indigenous world by means of short meetings with indigenous representatives: imperialism has made a lasting impression on how knowledge was collected, classified and represented (Smith, 2012). Basically, the research process constitutes a Western discourse about "the Other" which is facilitated by specific vocabulary, doctrines and institutions (Said, 1978). Indigenous societies are classified, represented, compared and evaluated against other societies by Western systems of knowledge (Hall, 1992). Indigenous peoples thus rightly complain that descriptions of them are validated and they (Western scholars)

“...have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our realities.” (Pihama, 1994)

Thereby, power and domination play a considerable role where traditions are (partly) (mis)represented and classified by e.g. reformulating them in discourses. In fact, research is far from neutral in objectifying “the Other”; rather such processes of objectification could be described as “processes of dehumanization” (Smith, 2012: 39) or “epistemological tyranny” of academic institutions (Aveling, 2013: 211).

It is thus fundamental to make research findings and analyses available to indigenous communities: “reporting back” and “sharing knowledge” are essential ways of guaranteeing reciprocity and feedback (Smith, 2012: 15). Furthermore, the colonial past including patronising ways of doing research need to be born in mind while paying due regard to current needs and ultimately conducting research in an inclusive and culturally appropriate way (Aveling, 2013). Being willing to listen,

wanting to increase knowledge and to be cautious are also fundamental elements in that regard (Smith, 2000). It also means to create adequate conditions to enable indigenous communities to be self-sufficient (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 2008), or to exercise self-determination, also in the research process (Morton Ninomiya and Pollock, 2017). Some scholars argue doing research in indigenous communities entails even further reaching responsibilities on the part of researchers, namely to make explicit use of their access and power to produce changes in the systems of oppression that characterise indigenous peoples vis-à-vis non-indigenous society (Kendall, 2006; Aveling, 2013). Another way of empowering indigenous communities consists in acknowledging historical trauma and life-course perspectives which ultimately allow to do research *with* instead of *on* indigenous peoples (Braun, Browne, Ka'opua, Kim and Mokunau, 2014).

Throughout the whole research process I deemed it important to communicate with and learn as much as possible from my two research assistants who had grown up in Guaraní communities. This gave me opportunities to respect the particular socio-cultural context and be aware of particular colonial history of the communities visited. By including my findings in project proposals with the NGO CEJIS and making explicit use of indigenous voices, I was hoping to make at least some contribution to strengthening the communities' political roles in the future.

2.9 Data Analysis

Rather than engaging in discourse analysis and attempting to understand how accounts are constructed (Silverman, 2000), this piece follows a range of substantive approaches. Chapters 5 and 6 provide the basic framework of the findings based on the data obtained encompassing Case Studies I and II. Ethnographic accounts are used

to outline the general framework of the participatory process, but also put emphasis on specific subgroups fulfilling the purpose of detailing individuals', groups' and organisations' ways of life (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In addition, thematic analysis based on interviews and focus groups assists in identifying patterns and clusters in the data that help to find answers to the overall research question (Joffe, 2012). Different subgroups within indigenous communities were used as labels including women, different age groups, but also monolingualism and leadership positions. Other labels such as social conflicts were used in order to reach further reaching conclusions on e.g. internal dynamics that could lead to the exclusion of groups. Labels are analysed by means of cross-sectional methods constituting an appropriate approach for case studies (Mason, 2002): namely labels are used across the data set in order to associate them with similar information. This is deemed particularly relevant as some forms of exclusion in participatory frameworks materialise in rather subtle ways which do not match with single labels.

In addition to self-designed matrices for both case studies (see Annex 6: Analytical matrix for case study I, p.348, Annex 7: Analytical matrix for case study II, p.350), a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software package, namely NVivo 10 was used not only in order to code parts of data, but to develop an analytical structure which would be able to accommodate newly emerging "categories", i.e. local leadership structures that are undermined by *zonal* umbrella organisations (for a full version of the completed matrices, see Annex 9: Analytical matrices for case-study I, p.353, and Annex 10: Analytical matrices for case-study II, p.465).

Analytical matrices I and II do not differ to a significant extent. Main differences lie in the previously outlined socio-cultural impact assessment that was

carried out in case study II in support of CEJIS. Another crucial distinguishing characteristic is a component included in case study II which does not exist in the first case study, namely the existence of mining cooperatives that are established in the communities. Consequently, membership and affiliation with local cooperatives is further looked at by means of the analytical matrix. This also qualifies social conflicts in that dynamics are more complex involving a larger amount of players compared to case study I as reflected in various parts of Annex 7: Analytical matrix for case study II, on p.350.

However, communalities prevail in terms of key characteristics of Guaraní and Chiquitano communities (for a more detailed overview of socio-cultural, legal and historical aspects see Chapter 4) which in turn allow for a comparative analysis and more general conclusions to be drawn. In the Guaraní communities of Alto Parapetí, the population fluctuated in the last decade ranging from 2800 to 2300 inhabitants including approximately 500 families (Bolivian National Statistical Institute, 2011). Such demographic changes may be due to migration and the situation of young community members in particular who do not find sufficient working and educational opportunities in the communities or do not have adequate access to lands (Miller Castro, 2013). In fact, young people constitute the largest part of the population: the average is no more than 24 years; 50% of the population comprises people below 29 years and 42% includes people below 15 years respectively (Miller Castro, 2013). 35% of all migrants left their communities definitively. While men generally carry out jobs in the agricultural sector or the building industry, women tend to accompany their husbands or families and do household activities in the vast majority of the cases. Other factors which explain people's motivation to migrate as well as negative

impacts on life expectancy in the area include extreme levels of poverty ranging from 70 to 89%, extreme levels of medium health risks (97% of people affected), malnutrition affecting more than 50% of all children below 5 years, an infant mortality rate exceeding the departmental average of 54%, 64% of the population being without water supply infrastructure and 35% of all families sharing one single bedroom (Gómez-García Vargas, 2011; Miller Castro, 2013).

In the Chiquitano communities in Lomerío similar demographic changes have occurred. It was estimated that the administrative district San Antonio de Lomerío was home to approximately 6500 people at the time of our visit (Bolivian National Statistical Institute, 2014). Young people represent the majority of the population amount to 57% of young people below 19 years; more than a third of the population (34.2%) is younger than 10 years (CEJIS, 2013). Similar to the Guaraní case, migration explains demographic changes in the area: in Lomerío the emigration rate was 14.87% while 13.59% migrated to Lomerío (CIDOB-CICOL, 2004). This last rate points to mining-related labour and the arrival of new community members from the country's Highlands. Considering the growth rate of 3.46% in 2001, the population was supposed to exceed 9000 people according to a population projection. However, this was not the case as the mentioned migration rates show: people leave their communities in search for work, primarily to sell local products, or alternatively, for educational purposes: in most cases people leave indefinitely (CEJIS, 2013). With 90.9% of poverty and 49.7% of medium poverty levels, Lomerío is one of the poorest regions in the country (Bolivian National Statistical Institute, 2012); only 46% of the population is able to meet basic needs. Various factors point to this. According to the penultimate population census in 2001, infant malnutrition for below 5 years olds

reached 40.4% representing the highest levels in the Department of Santa Cruz (CEJIS, 2013). In comparison to other areas of the territory, a considerable number of people share one bedroom, namely 4.58. Finally, natural resource extraction has had a negative impact on maintaining cultural traditions, farming and agricultural work and the social cohesion of the communities in both indigenous contexts.

The recent initiation of participatory and consultative activities in the light of extractive operations in both Alto Parapetí (Guaraní territory) and Lomerío (Chiquitano territory) facilitated my choice as to where to conduct my fieldwork. Given that both regions are considerably poor including low health levels and difficulties to meet basic needs, the arrival of extractive companies have caused considerable social tensions and struggles around the distribution and allocation of resources with a strong socio-economic impact. In these contexts, participatory mechanisms become an important apparatus of collective self-determination and voice. It is such tense situation including a variety of players which turns both community contexts into important sights of indigenous participation and internal dynamics. Similarly, comparable demographic changes have occurred in both regions in the light of lacking work and educational opportunities: this enabled me to focus on particular age groups which have been affected by migration and other factors influencing their participatory potential in the communities and in the specific context of mechanisms between the State, companies and indigenous peoples.

On the one hand, my focus on gender and age-groups as pre-determined thematic categories of research was influenced by international human rights norms which put emphasis on specific groups such as indigenous women, elders, youth and persons with disabilities in indigenous peoples' rights regimes. On the other hand,

demographic changes such as migration and labour patterns had caused youth and elders, but also women, to re-define their roles and assume different positions in participatory mechanisms. That way the pre-determined categories age and gender gained a new light against this background. Women, for instance, gained new roles in their communities as their husbands had left the communities in search for work: more female mandate holder emerged as a consequence and gender discourses were actively taken up. Both local contexts could also be characterised based on the different indigenous cultures which demonstrably have an influence on inclusion in participatory processes, such as speaking one's native language in meetings. Finally, internal decision-making processes and interactions with external players played a major role in both contexts revealing similar dynamics which eventually influenced the way collective decisions in the natural resource sector were taken.

Chapter 3 Indigenous Peoples' Genuine Participation in Global Frameworks

3.1 Participatory Rights in the International Legal Framework

International human rights law provides several protection regimes for participatory rights in general and indigenous peoples in particular. Indigenous peoples benefit from previously established human rights treaties which stipulate participatory rights applicable to all⁹ and specific rights to be granted to particular groups.¹⁰ Notably, some indigenous peoples have successfully claimed minority rights in relation to the development of cultural identity and the right to participate in decision-making requiring the free, prior and informed consent of community members (CCPR, 2009). The Human Rights Committee has also clearly linked the right to self-determination and the corresponding free disposal of natural wealth and resources to indigenous peoples (CCPR, 1999).

Similarly, indigenous peoples enjoy participatory rights under general non-discrimination treaties: they have the right to effective political participation including informed consent whenever decisions directly affect their rights and interests and are entitled to “control and use communal lands, territories and resources” (CERD, 1997, paras.4(d)&5). Further, indigenous peoples are given the right to participate in the

⁹ ICCPR includes the right to self-determination of all peoples (Art.1(1)) and the right of every citizen to take part in public affairs, to vote and be elected and to have access to public services (Art.25). The Human Rights Committee also stresses the opportunity to participate directly in settings that have the “the power to make decisions about local issues or about the affairs of a particular community and in bodies established to represent citizens” (General Comment No. 25: The right to participate in public affairs, voting rights and the right of equal access to public service. para.6).

¹⁰ Art. 27 of ICCPR, for instance, establishes minorities' rights with particular regard to their culture, religion and language. Respective cultural rights include a particular way of life “associated with the use of land resources, especially in the case of indigenous peoples” (General Comment No. 23: The rights of minorities. para.7)

management and conservation of natural resources according to international legal provisions on non-discrimination (CERD, 2004). At the same time, CERD recommends States seek free and informed consent prior to granting licenses to private companies for economic activities on indigenous territories (CERD, 2008). Merely consulting indigenous peoples would not meet the requirements of CERD's general comment no.23; consent is thus recommended prior to exploiting the resources (CERD, 2003).

Finally, indigenous peoples' rights have received increasing attention in the context of housing, food, education, health, water and intellectual property. Indigenous peoples are not only granted the right to maintain, protect and control their cultural heritage and traditional knowledge, the principle of consent should be respected in "all matters covered by their specific rights" (CESCR, 2009: para.37). In accordance with the latter State obligation, the CESCR has repeatedly referred to the necessity to undertake consultations

"as a basis for obtaining the prior, freely given and informed consent of indigenous people and nationalities for natural resource development projects that affect them." (CESCR, 2012, para.9(1))

In this context the Committee demands the respect for community consultation procedures and resulting decisions (CESCR, 2012).

In addition to indigenous peoples' collective rights regimes, 'subgroup' legal frameworks add to and strengthen indigenous peoples' rights including women's rights, the rights of the child and elderly people's rights, for instance. As a matter of example, I will focus on indigenous women's rights as one of the strongest intersecting frameworks with indigenous peoples' collective rights. Indigenous women's rights are secured under CEDAW and the Convention of Belem do Pará (respective instrument at Inter-American level); they are further protected under non-discrimination

provisions of indigenous peoples' conventions and specific provisions (UNDRIPS, 2007: Arts. 21(2), 22(1) & 22(2)). Indigenous women generally suffer male patriarchal domination which becomes apparent in various contexts, specifically limited access to land ownership, dispossession of property, domestic violence or forced marriages (Stavenhagen, 2007). In relation to indigenous women's involvement in decision-making processes, relevant UN mechanisms and studies tend to broach the issue of violence in particular (PFII, 2012; D'Costa, 2014, Hernández Castillo, 2001, Luithui and Tugendhat, 2013). This means that other issues such as participatory rights or political participation are usually addressed in the framework of non-violence (see e.g. Sieder and Sierra 2010; Kuokkanen, 2012). Similarly, women's role in maintaining and managing the natural environment is particularly emphasised in relation to violence (Friedmann, 1995). At the same time, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has emphasised health needs and the rights of women who belong to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, such as indigenous women (CEDAW, 1999).

The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues thus relates women's rights to issues affecting indigenous peoples more generally: the exclusion of women from negotiations regarding natural resource extraction, peace agreements or land rights jeopardise the overall self-determination of indigenous peoples (PFII, 2012). Furthermore, the very context of land and resource issues affects indigenous women in particularly serious ways: forced relocation, harassment and threats in land concession projects have been complemented by practices such as rape and sexual abuse towards women (Maranan, 2015). This seriously jeopardises their traditional roles in relation to land issues: indigenous women were historically in charge of

allocating resources and land holdings as well as controlling access to the latter across various indigenous cultures (Hanson, 2009). Forceful displacement would put their particular connection to lands at risk as well as future generations in maintaining such relationship (Jacobs, 2013).

A way of mediating this and securing indigenous women's participatory rights consists of mechanisms for rural women's rights. In a recent interpretation of article 14 protecting rural women's rights, CEDAW does not only identify intersecting discrimination in the case of inter alia rural, indigenous, Afro-descendent, ethnic and religious minorities, but also establishes specific rights applicable specifically to indigenous women (CEDAW, 2016). Such rights reveal a particular focus on lands including to have "access to ownership and possession of and control over land" and to recognise their "laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems" (CEDAW, 2016: 17, 21). Through provisions applicable to rural women, indigenous women are also granted participatory rights at all levels of decision-making including establishing quotas and targets for enhancing their representation. The rural women's legal regime thus opens a new venue for protecting indigenous women's participatory rights in the lands and natural resource sector which have not received sufficient attention in existing instruments and interpretations.

Apart from jurisprudence of CCPR, CERD, CESCER and 'subgroup' or individual rights provisions on indigenous peoples' participatory rights,¹¹ specific human rights instruments contribute to the codification of these rights. The first international legal instrument dedicated to the protection of indigenous peoples' rights is the ILO

¹¹ The approval and active involvement of indigenous peoples has also been considered in other treaties and instruments, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992).

Convention No.107 concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries (ILO C107) which was adopted in 1957. However, the follow-up instrument ILO Convention No.169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (C169, adopted in 1989) entails further reaching changes in the field of indigenous peoples' rights. C169 contains a number of provisions on participatory rights, namely to participate in and to be consulted on various issues that affect indigenous peoples.

Accordingly, indigenous peoples have to be consulted when legislative or administrative measures are adopted that directly affect them (C169, Art.6(1)(a)). They also have the right to freely participate in decision-making in elective institutions as well as institutions in charge of policies and programmes that concern them (C169, Art.6(1)(b)). The Convention further stipulates that consultations have to be carried out in good faith, appropriate to the circumstances and comprehend the objective of reaching agreement or consent regarding the respective measure (C169, Art.6(2)). Additionally, the element of representativity plays a crucial role in ensuring that consultation is carried out with true representatives of the communities affected (ILO, 2003). Further, C169 establishes that indigenous peoples are entitled to participate in formulation, implementation and evaluation related to development plans and programmes that affect them (C169, Art.7(1)). Finally, indigenous peoples are enabled to participate in the use, management and conservation of natural resources that pertain to their lands (C169, Art.15(1)). Despite significant advances in the universal protection of indigenous peoples' participatory rights, C169 limits the element of agreement or consent in Art.6(2) to a mere objective of consultation. The instrument

does not establish the principle of consent *per se* (ILO, 2003).¹² Art.16(2) gives another indication on the nature of consent, namely it stipulates that relocation can only take place with the free and informed consent of peoples, but qualifies this in the following. Specifically, it provides that relocation can take place “where their consent cannot be obtained” (C169, Art.16(2)).

Participatory rights and the right to consent in particular are further enhanced in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPS). Free, prior and informed consent is stipulated in mandatory terms in two contexts, namely in relation to forced removal or relocation (UNDRIPS, Art.10) and concerning the storage or disposal of hazardous materials on indigenous peoples’ lands (UNDRIPS, Art.29(2)). Further, various provisions include redress for property, land, territories and resources that have been taken or used without free, prior and informed consent (UNDRIP, Arts.11(2) and 28(1)). Finally, consent is required as an objective for consultation before implementing legislative or administrative measures are adopted that affect indigenous peoples (UNDRIPS, Art.19) and before projects are approved that affect their lands, territories and resources (UNDRIPS, Art.32(2)).¹³ States are thus not legally bound to respect the right to consent to projects or measures that affect indigenous peoples. Conversely, general participation-consultation rights and participation in decision-making are significantly developed by UNDRIPS (Arts. 18, 19 and 32 in particular).¹⁴ However, the implementation of the

¹² The ILO Manual on the Convention unambiguously states that indigenous peoples are not given a right to veto, yet it affirms that nothing should be done against their wishes: it specifies “but this does not mean that if they do not agree nothing will be done.” (p.16).

¹³ The article also emphasizes the particular case of “development, utilisation or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.”

¹⁴ See also industry standards such as standards adopted by the International Finance Corporation, 2012 (Guidance Note 7, Performance Standard 7); the OECD (2011, Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises); the World Bank (2013, OP 4.10 Indigenous Peoples); or the International

latter is jeopardised by the legal nature of the document. As a declaration UNDRIPS is not legally binding and does not establish any concrete legal obligations for States. The consultation and consent model as established by UNDRIPS has been further enhanced in subsequently adopted resolutions and declarations applying it to other contexts such as disaster risk reduction processes (EMRIP, 2014b). Similar efforts have been made in the field of restorative justice approaches where prior consultation and consent as well as considerable negotiation roles have contributed to the embedment of indigenous peoples' participatory rights in indigenous juridical systems and restorative justice mechanisms (EMRIP, 2014a). The same applies to participatory rights in the "process of preservation (...) and development of cultural heritage" as well as on the status of cultural heritage sites (EMRIP, 2015, para.46; 47).

Yet, progressive provisions allow for alternative monitoring systems (UNDRIPS, Arts.41 and 42). They also authorise specialised UN agencies, intergovernmental organisations, States and UN bodies including the PFII to contribute to the realisation of and promote respect for the application of the provisions (UNDRIPS, Arts. 41 and 42). As opposed to UN human rights treaties and clearly defined human rights treaty bodies, UNDRIPS provisions are promoted and realised in a multi-actor setting. Indigenous peoples' participatory rights are thus interpreted and promoted in different fora. In the UN system, there are three organs with a mandate specific to indigenous peoples' rights and matters, namely, the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP) succeeding the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP), the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

Council on Mining and Metals, 2013 (Indigenous Peoples and Mining). For a detailed overview see Burger, 2015.

(PFII) and the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples (SR). Finally, it is important to note that international legal instruments and monitoring mechanisms provide a general framework and minimum requirements for indigenous peoples' participatory rights; however, detailed legal provisions develop in a flexible manner in each specific country context and culture.

3.1.1 The “Participation Model” of the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

As a subsidiary body to the UN Human Rights Council (HRC), the EMRIP submits thematic studies to the latter (HRC, 2007); it has defined different forms of participation in decision-making. Prior to its recommendations with regard to indigenous peoples' participatory rights its predecessor, the WGIP, provides first insights into consultation and consent in the context of private sector natural resource, energy and mining companies and human rights (WGIP, 2002). Accordingly, free, prior and informed consent is understood as “a right to say ‘no’ to the extractive industries...” – this right would make “negotiations real” (WGIP, 2002: 14). Indigenous representatives emphasise the good faith element of consultations which “makes up free, prior and informed consent including the right to say ‘no’ or the right of veto” (WGIP, 2002: 16). However, the WGIP workshop also reveals that a common term of reference for free, prior and informed consent is needed at universal level. Finally, it recommends the endorsement of the principle of free, prior and informed consent as guiding consultation between indigenous peoples and the private sector (WGIP, 2002: 29).

In a more recent report, EMRIP differentiates between indigenous peoples' internal decision-making processes and institutions on the one hand, and participation in decision-making mechanisms in relation to State and non-State institutions and processes affecting them on the other (EMRIP, 2011). The former includes indigenous institutions with their own decision-making processes (EMRIP, 2011: para.16); distinct decision-making processes are particularly protected by UNDRIPS (Arts.5, 20 and 34). Indigenous parliaments and organisations, such as *Sámediggi* parliaments in Scandinavia, exemplify internal decision-making mechanisms. Indigenous legal systems also enhance indigenous structures and improve their influence externally.¹⁵ The latter category includes participation in electoral processes including indigenous electoral participation programs and participation in parliamentary processes to strengthen their representation in State parliaments (EMRIP, 2011). Indigenous peoples also gained voice at UN level and participate as observers similar to NGOs with consultative status (EMRIP, 2014c).

Additionally, EMRIP considers direct participation in governance a fundamental form of participation in State institutions (EMRIP, 2011). This comprehends participation in hybrid systems of governance, such as agreements with governments on specific issues such as management of natural resources (EMRIP, 2011) and free, prior and informed consent to protect the right to participation (EMRIP, 2011). Previously, EMRIP defined the principle of free, prior and informed consent as establishing

“the framework for all consultations relating to accepting projects that affect them, and any related negotiations pertaining to benefit-sharing and mitigation measures.” (EMRIP, 2010: para.34)

¹⁵ Indigenous legal systems are recognised in Arts. 5, 27, 34 & 40 (UNDRIPS).

The principle deserves particular attention in the context of projects which have a substantial impact (EMRIP, 2010).¹⁶ In its final report, the Mechanism prescribes free, prior and informed consent in “matters of fundamental importance for their rights, survival, dignity and well-being” (EMRIP, 2011: para.23). It also provides specific factors in order to assess matters as to their importance for indigenous peoples (EMRIP, 2011).¹⁷ Finally, taking part in decision-making linked to State and non-state institutions includes participation in regional and international fora and processes; human rights-based approaches facilitate the inclusion and integration of indigenous peoples’ issues in the UN system (EMRIP, 2011).

Apart from definitions and elaborations on indigenous peoples’ right to participate in decision-making, EMRIP provides specific thematic advice on decision-making in the context of extractive industries. The Mechanism’s recent interpretations of this issue seem particularly relevant in the light of aforementioned Art.32 (UNDRIPS) on consultation and consent regarding projects which concern lands and resources and its role as a promoter of the full application of UNDRIPS provisions (UNDRIPS, Arts.41 and 42). EMRIP states that Art. 32 requiring consent prior to approval of private industries projects provides “protection analogous to that provided under common article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3” (EMRIP, 2012a: para.11) of ICCPR and ICESCR on the right to self-determination. This includes the free pursuance of their economic development and free disposal of their natural wealth and

¹⁶ Examples of projects with substantial impact are the following, namely “large-scale natural resource extraction on their territories or the creation of natural parks, reserved forests, game reserves on indigenous peoples’ lands and territories.” para.34.

¹⁷ “... relevant factors include the perspective and priorities of the indigenous peoples concerned, the nature of the matter or proposed activity and its potential impact on the indigenous peoples concerned, taking into account, *inter alia*, the cumulative effects of previous encroachments or activities and historical inequities faced by indigenous peoples concerned.” para.23.

resources and the prohibition to deprive them of their own means of subsistence (ICCPR, 1966; ICESCR, 1966: Arts.1(1) and 1(2)). In the same context, indigenous peoples' cultural development needs to be guaranteed to assess the cultural impact of development activities on indigenous peoples including carrying out studies to "assess the cultural impact of development activities on indigenous peoples" (EMRIP, 2015, para.12). Relying on Common Art.1 of ICCPR and ICESCR, the Mechanism understands permanent sovereignty as an integral part of self-determination; it declares the "right of indigenous peoples to permanent sovereignty over natural resources" (EMRIP, 2012a: para.13) in accordance with international law.

While sovereignty-related issues are of fundamental importance to indigenous peoples, they are also a problematic matter for States; self-determination and sovereignty issues are largely rejected and limited in various international treaty provisions.¹⁸ The underlying rationale for adopting this self-determination and sovereignty-focussed approach in the report can be found in human rights law, but also in historical accounts. EMRIP elaborates on the indigenous oppression and colonisation history including forced assimilation, theft of territories and resources, far-reaching discrimination and illegitimate and violent control over indigenous peoples (2012a: para.29). Historical injustices could be revived and exacerbated in the light of a growing extractive sector, increase human rights risks and increase continuing marginalisation (EMRIP, 2012a: para.29). These developments are accompanied by uncertainties as to matters of ownership over natural resources

¹⁸ UNDRIPS Art.46(1) limits self-determination and sovereignty issues of indigenous peoples: "Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act (...) construed as authorising or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States."

which are claimed to belong exclusively to the State (EMRIP, 2012a: para.32). This, in turn, entails and supposedly justifies dispossession of indigenous peoples' lands, territories and resources (EMRIP, 2012a: para.32).

Another focal point of the EMRIP's report on participation in decision-making in relation to extractive industries is the recently endorsed Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (HRC, 2011). The Guiding Principles implement the UN Protect, Respect and Remedy Framework and apply to human rights generally and extend to indigenous peoples by means of their non-discriminatory implementation. EMRIP relates the Guiding Principles to indigenous peoples and extends State and third party obligations respectively. Regarding the State duty to protect against human rights abuse by third parties, the Mechanism emphasises the conformity of measures with international law relating to indigenous peoples and the participation of the latter when granting development licences and permits in relation to their lands (EMRIP, 2012a: paras.26(a) and (b)). Importantly, States are not only obliged to ensure that business enterprises on their territory respect human rights, but require respective companies in their jurisdiction to do so (EMRIP, 2012b: 4). This entails more extensive human rights obligations for companies and respective State monitoring: companies which operate in countries that have not ratified C169 are still bound to indigenous peoples' rights standards if the company's state of origin has adopted respective standards (EMRIP, 2012b: 4).

This is particularly relevant for multinational companies operating in the extractive sectors which need to respect multiple legal frameworks due to different state of origin, country of operation, international staff, location of headquarters etc. EMRIP also reminds States to enable business to respect human rights and stresses

the need to establish legal and policy frameworks that monitor and enforce standards including free, prior and informed consent (EMRIP, 2012a: paras. 26(c) and (d)). This monitoring and enforcement obligation is even more amplified where the State-business nexus is particularly present. Namely, States that own, control or substantially support business enterprises need to take additional steps to protect human rights and ensure a non-discriminatory way of operation (EMRIP, 2012b: 5). Non-discriminatory measures become particularly relevant with respect to indigenous peoples' rights. EMRIP also takes especially urgent situations into account which entail high human rights risks, such as social conflicts. In extreme situations, private security companies and armies support States and contribute to violations of standards and laws (EMRIP, 2012b: 7). Indigenous peoples are exceptionally vulnerable to such violations; for example, indigenous women and girls can become victims of sexual assault and rape (EMRIP, 2012b: 7). Other violations in conflict contexts include land grabbing which severely complicates indigenous land-based subsistence living (EMRIP, 2012b: 7). In relation to the legal relationship between States and companies, States must incorporate UNDRIPS into bilateral and multilateral agreements, investment treaties and contracts (EMRIP, 2012b: 9).

With respect to the corporate responsibility to respect human rights, EMRIP recognises the responsibility on the part of business enterprises which requires not to cause or contribute to adverse impacts of their activities and to prevent these impacts regardless of the size, sectors operational context, ownership and structure of the respective enterprise (EMRIP, 2012a: paras. 27(a) and (b)). It is further noted that responsibility entails appropriate and effective policies, policy commitment and due diligence processes that take particular risks for indigenous peoples into account and

enable engagement with them when their rights are affected (EMRIP, 2012a: para. 27(d)). Business enterprises are also admonished to communicate their respective endeavours externally, report formally how they address human rights impacts and provide for remediation for adverse impacts through legitimate processes in accordance with international standards (EMRIP, 2012a: paras. 27(e) and (f)). Finally, EMRIP establishes criteria for ensuring appropriate access to remedy with particular regard to indigenous peoples.

The Guiding Principles distinguish between non-judicial and judicial remedies as well as State based and non-State based grievance mechanisms. Generally, States are required to take steps to ensure that indigenous peoples have access to remedy with explicit attention to respective UNDRIPS provisions and the rights and needs of indigenous peoples in each phase of the process (EMRIP, 2012a, paras. 28(a), (b) and (c)). It further requests States to consider cultural appropriateness including traditional indigenous mechanisms and to overcome barriers to such access including language, literacy, costs, physical location and fears of reprisal (EMRIP, 2012a: paras. 28(d) and (e)). With respect to State-based judicial mechanisms, States need to meet challenges such as securing indigenous peoples' legal representation and to prevent active discrimination or systematic barriers (EMRIP, 2012b: 16). Regarding non-State based grievance mechanisms, EMRIP reminds States to address imbalances between the parties and to consider traditional mechanisms including "justice circles and restorative justice models" which involve indigenous elders and traditional knowledge keepers (EMRIP, 2012b: 17). Non-judicial grievance mechanisms should follow certain principles; accordingly they should be legitimate, accessible, predictable, equitable, transparent, rights-compatible, a source of continuous learning and based on

engagement and dialogue (EMRIP, 2012b: 18). EMRIP highlights three principles that deserve particular attention for indigenous peoples, namely access; equitability regarding e.g. expert resources, information and financial resources; and rights-compatibility with international human rights standards including UNDRIPS (EMRIP, 2012b: 18-19).

In its concluding advice no. 4 (2012), EMRIP reminds States of their obligation to provide indigenous peoples and business enterprises with clarity on how participatory rights in decision-making can be implemented (EMRIP, 2012c: para.5). States cannot delegate their responsibility in ensuring adequate consultation; third parties such as business enterprises can merely assist them in these matters (EMRIP, 2012c: para.8). The Mechanism further stresses that rights enjoyment is not confined to contexts of official State-recognised lands, territories and resources; similarly, it includes nomadic indigenous peoples and their participatory right in decision-making regarding projects on or near

“territories which are of importance to them, including where they do not permanently possess (...) those lands, territories and resources” (EMRIP, 2012c: para. 7).

In determining who participates in respective decision-making processes, indigenous peoples’ own decision-making institutions and representation should be respected; where conflicting views complicate decisions, indigenous peoples act according to their own appropriate procedures to establish appropriate representation (EMRIP, 2012c: para. 16). In collaborating with and consulting indigenous peoples, States are admonished to provide clear and understandable information which is accepted by indigenous peoples and includes details about possible risks (EMRIP, 2012c: paras. 31–32). Furthermore, ongoing communication between the concerned parties, cultural appropriateness and good faith are

considered indispensable elements of consultation, collaboration and building partnerships (EMRIP, 2012c: paras. 33–35). Ultimately, EMRIP identifies three factors that are relevant to the assessment of the duty to obtain consent regarding proposed and ongoing extractive projects. Firstly, it includes issues that are of fundamental importance to indigenous peoples’ right, survival, dignity and well-being from their perspective and cumulative effects of previous activities as well as historical inequities (EMRIP, 2012c: para. 27(a)). Secondly, the impact on their lives or territories is understood as a relevant factor; consent is needed where the impact is “major, significant or direct” (EMRIP, 2012c: 27(b)). Finally, the nature of the measure is decisive in determining the duty to obtain consent in relevant projects (EMRIP, 2012c: 27(c)).

3.1.2 Indigenous Peoples’ Participatory Rights Regime as Shaped by the Special Rapporteur

EMRIP’s recent thematic advice partly bases itself on a report on extractive industries operating within or near indigenous territories submitted by the Special Rapporteur (SR) (Anaya, 2011). The SR regards the continuously expanding activities of extractive industries as a “pressing issue for indigenous peoples on a global scale” (Anaya, 2011: para.26). Generally, the SR focuses on particular issues relevant to indigenous peoples’ participatory rights. Specifically, he has provided thematic advice regarding the human rights effects of large-scale or major development projects (Stavenhagen, 2003)¹⁹ with a particular focus on large multi-purpose dams (Stavenhagen, 2003),

¹⁹ Former SR Rodolfo Stavenhagen defined “major development project” as follows: “a process of investment of public and/or private, national or international capital for the purpose of building or improving the physical infrastructure of a specified region, the transformation over the long run of productive activities involving changes in the use of and property rights to land, the large-scale exploitation of natural resources including subsoil resources, the building of urban centres,

extractive industries (Anaya, 2011), corporate responsibility (Anaya, 2010) and the duty to consult (Anaya, 2009). In assessing the impact of major development projects on the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous communities, former SR Rodolfo Stavenhagen stresses the main issues of concern (2003). In the latter context, he identifies violations, such as forced evictions, involuntary displacements and migration; environmental pollution causing health-related effects; disregard of proprietary ancestral rights; depletion of resources indispensable for physical and cultural survival; disorganisation of community; long-term nutritional impacts; and violence and harassment (Stavenhagen, 2003: pp. 2, 5, 10, 11). Importantly, the SR mentions indigenous peoples' right to participate in decision-making processes which concern the implementation of such projects: he expresses his concern about non-compliance of major decisions on large-scale projects with the right to free, informed and prior consent (Stavenhagen, 2003: 7). The SR thus identifies the free, prior and informed consent as a right and calls upon the international community to consider the latter right and the right to self-determination as a "necessary precondition for such strategies and projects" (Stavenhagen, 2003: 25). This form of standard-setting would eventually be modified in future reports to the Human Rights Council by the current office holder.

In fact, the former SR James Anaya devotes significant parts of his advisory reports to the contentious issue of the duty to consult and the understanding of consent. Regarding the duty to consult, he focuses on two contexts, namely, constitutional and legislative reforms on indigenous peoples' issues and development

manufacturing and/or mining, power, extraction and refining plants, tourist development, port facilities, military bases and similar undertakings." See: Stavenhagen, R. (2003): 5.

or resource extraction projects including relocation (Anaya, 2009: 12). SR James Anaya does not follow the interpretative framework on the principle of consent stemming from his predecessor in office. Specifically, he clarifies that consent is not understood as “according indigenous peoples a general ‘veto power’ over decisions that may affect them”; rather he considers consent to be a mere objective of consultations (Anaya, 2009: 16). However, he differentiates between various degrees of strength and importance of the so-called objective of achieving consent: accordingly, a direct, significant impact on their lives or territories

“establishes a strong presumption that the proposed measure should not go forward without indigenous peoples’ consent”. (Anaya, 2009: 16)

Without indigenous peoples’ consent, this presumption can turn into a prohibition of a project; in line with UNDRIPS, this is the case for forced relocations and the storage or disposal of toxic waste (Anaya, 2009: 16-17). In a different context, the SR reemphasises the illegitimacy of indigenous peoples’ consent in consultation procedures: he considers this focus of debate not to be in conformity with the principles as established in international human rights law and UNDRIPS (Anaya, 2009: 17). He further notes that consent and consultation

“do not bestow on indigenous peoples a right to unilaterally impose their will on States when the latter act legitimately and faithfully in the public interest”. (Anaya, 2009: 17)

The current SR Victoria Tauli Corpuz largely refrains from addressing these issues: she notes that different interpretations exist in relation to the State obligation to consult and seeking consent (Tauli Corpuz, 2014).

The changing understanding of consent in “SR jurisprudence” is exemplified by a “conceptual regression” which originated in understanding consent as a right and necessary precondition for projects, and concludes in its limitation to a mere principle. A changing perception of the terms “consent” and “consultation” is also reflected in

their identification as “not end in themselves”, “stand-alone rights” or embodiments of self-determination, but function collectively as a

“special standard that safeguards and functions as a means for the exercise of indigenous peoples’ substantive rights”. (Anaya, 2012: 13)

This interpretation follows the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) according to which consultation and consent do not represent substantive rights (Anaya, 2012: 13),²⁰ but serve as standards which supplement and contribute to the realisation of substantive rights (Anaya, 2012: 13). Anaya further explains that these standards are “a function of the rights implicated and the potential impacts upon them” (Anaya, 2012: 16). He also stresses that consultation and consent cannot be regarded as the only safeguards against measures that violate indigenous peoples’ rights; similarly, prior impact assessment, mitigation measures, benefit-sharing and compensation for impacts contribute to the effective realisation of their rights and are “specific expressions of a precautionary approach” (Anaya, 2012: 14). In a different context, SR Anaya recalls principles which are generally applicable even in the case where consent does not constitute a legal obligation: any impact must conform to standards of necessity and proportionality regarding a valid public purpose (Anaya, 2012: 16). However, there are areas which do not seem to be sufficiently regulated. The current SR Tauli Corpuz notes, for example, that the drafting process of investment and free trade agreements does not involve indigenous peoples’ representatives (Tauli Corpuz, 2015).

²⁰ According to SR Anaya primary substantive rights of indigenous peoples include: “rights to property, culture, religion, and non-discrimination in relation to lands, territories and natural resources, including sacred places and objects; rights to health and physical well-being in relation to a clean and healthy environment; and rights to set and pursue their own priorities for development, including development of natural resources, as part of their fundamental right to self-determination.”

However, Anaya importantly modifies the circumstances under which consent is legally required: indigenous consent goes beyond a mere objective where the “the rights implicated are essential to the survival of indigenous groups” (Anaya, 2012: 20). The SR also elaborates on the conditions which are understood as necessary to their survival, namely their “rights over lands and resources in accordance with customary tenure” (Anaya, 2012: 20). Fundamentally, the SR corrects his position on the previously modestly formulated approach towards the principle of consent:

“Accordingly, indigenous consent is presumptively a requirement for those aspects of any extractive project taking place within the officially recognised or customary land use areas of indigenous peoples, or that otherwise affect resources that are important to their survival.” (Anaya, 2012: 20)

The legal effect thus remains the same; indigenous consent is required for almost every development project affecting indigenous peoples.

However, former SR Rodolfo Stavenhagen identifies consent as a right and precondition based on indigenous peoples’ right to self-determination, whereas SR James Anaya links consent to indigenous peoples’ survival which necessarily establishes a legal obligation. In addition to elaborations on the right to consultation and consent, the SR analyses other aspects that are fundamental to consultation procedures. The empowering character of consultation procedures, the equal role of concerned parties and the context of genuine dialogue are increasingly fostered in advisory reports of the former SR. In contrast to the indigenous peoples’ rights regime framed by C169, UNDRIPS incorporates the “good faith” element in the context of consultation and cooperation between States and indigenous peoples (Arts. 19 and 32(2)). The SR regards a climate of confidence between all involved actors as particularly important for indigenous peoples and an essential element of good faith effort (Anaya, 2009: 17). Accordingly, an essential precondition for reaching

confidence is the establishment of the consultation procedure by consensus and inclusion of indigenous peoples (Anaya, 2009: 18). Additionally, confidence requires consultation procedures to include indigenous peoples' own decision-making, representation and institutions. This also requires such institutions to work without outside interference, or as SR James Anaya puts it:

“Indigenous peoples should be free from pressure from State or extractive company agents to compel them to accept extractive projects. To this end, basic services for which the State is responsible including for education, health and infrastructure, should not be conditioned upon acceptance of extractive projects” (Anaya, 2013, para.24)

Outside interference thus includes direct threats and pressures, but also involves other fundamental rights and services which can be used to manipulate leaders or significantly qualify prior consultation processes.

With the increasing global awareness of third party responsibilities, the corporate sector has found itself in the eyes of the international community. Despite lacking international legal provisions that would legally bind companies, there is normative consensus on some core issues related to corporate responsibilities concerning human rights. Additionally, numerous societal actors and States evaluate companies for their human rights compliance and express expectations for companies to follow human rights norms (Anaya, 2009: 19). In the light of practical considerations, companies would risk various issues, such as jeopardising economic resources, time and their image of social responsibility (Anaya, 2009: 20). Additionally, various case studies reveal the significance of the involvement of indigenous peoples and the building of trust for the overall success of the companies' extractive operations (EMRIP, 2009b). Involvement of Canadian indigenous peoples in environmental assessments regarding potential mining impacts had an important impact on the success of the project (EMRIP, 2009b: 6). Impact agreements which

identified specific issues of indigenous peoples' concern regarding culture and traditions strengthened trust relations with the respective company (EMRIP, 2009b: 6). Company representatives emphasised in that regard that social and environmental issues regarding indigenous peoples were as important as financial matters (EMRIP, 2009b: 7).

In the absence of respective international laws on these issues, SR Anaya has significantly contributed to standard-setting for corporate human rights compliance complementing the aforementioned Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights regarding indigenous peoples' issues. In his first advisory report on the latter issue, the SR outlines several factors inherent to the duty of due diligence that companies have to observe. Notably, companies have to apply standards applicable to indigenous peoples even if necessary formal recognition proves to be non-existent in the specific country context (Anaya, 2010: 12). The SR also notes that companies may negotiate directly with the people concerned based on indigenous peoples' right to self-determination which includes choosing specific negotiators in the process (Anaya, 2013). He describes this as possibly being the "most efficient and desirable way of arriving at agreed-upon arrangements for extraction of natural resources" (Anaya, 2013: 61). Similarly, the SR argues that temporal constraints which could exert pressure on indigenous peoples shall not be imposed (Anaya, 2013). Further, due diligence duties require companies to identify indigenous forms of ownership and their use of resources and land; these rights are independent of and prior to State recognition, such as official property titles (Anaya, 2010: 12-13). Additionally, due diligence includes certain obligations with regard to indigenous peoples' right to be consulted on projects affecting them irrespective of main State obligations in this

regard. Namely, States' failed responsibilities and possible omissions regarding prior and adequate consultation do not absolve companies of their duty to not contribute to these violations (Anaya, 2010: 15).

In addition to this negative obligation, companies are also responsible for respecting participatory rights regarding such measures; this extends to the duty to keep indigenous peoples informed (Anaya, 2010: 15). In accordance with the due diligence duty to conduct impact studies, companies have to identify respective international standards which prevent negative impacts on the environment and the cultural, spiritual, economic and social life of indigenous peoples (Anaya, 2010: 16). Similarly, compensation measures need to address adverse impacts of any project on their lives (Anaya, 2010: 16). Finally, due diligence includes fair and equitable benefit-sharing, based on indigenous communal ownership. In a more recent report, the SR clarifies the responsibility of the corporate sector: he explicitly identifies an "independent responsibility" of the business enterprise to ensure e.g. adequate consultation procedures and to respect indigenous peoples' rights as set forth in UNDRIPS (Anaya, 2012: 15, 17). The recognition of an independent responsibility of the corporate sector regarding human rights generally and indigenous peoples in particular can be considered remarkable for several reasons.

Complementing his advice on corporate due diligence obligations with regard to indigenous peoples, former SR Anaya has significantly provided guidance on indigenous peoples' rights in relation to extractive industries. In the aforementioned report on extractive industries, James Anaya bases his evaluation on the fact that extractive activities infringe upon indigenous peoples' rights which is exacerbated by involved actors such as public agencies and private business enterprises (2011: 8).

While previous advice concerns large-scale or major development projects generally, including infrastructure projects, or general corporate responsibility, this report focuses on human rights violations which are exacerbated by the rising need for energy and resources (Anaya, 2011: 9). In reviewing responses to a questionnaire relating extractive industries operating on or near indigenous territories, the SR focuses on environmental impact, social and cultural effects, lack of consultation and participation, lack of clear regulatory frameworks and other institutional weakness and tangible benefits (Anaya, 2011: 9-13).

In relation to participatory rights in this context, the SR takes a pragmatic approach: apart from the embedment of the right to consultation in international law, it also serves as a

“preventative measure to avoid project opposition and social conflicts that could result in the disruption of project operations” (Anaya, 2011: 11).

The SR establishes a correlation between social conflicts and lack of consultation; he also refers to specific cases in which solutions to conflicts have presupposed dialogue with indigenous peoples and agreements on reparations and benefit-sharing (Anaya, 2011: 11). In the implementation phase of consultation processes, all actors involved encounter a high level of uncertainty regarding the scope and implications of consultation as well as the circumstances of initiation (Anaya, 2011: 12). Furthermore, indigenous peoples report a number of challenges encountered in the context of consultation, such as consultations that are carried out merely formally; good faith consultations without indigenous consent or accommodations of their considerations; and lack of technical expertise to understand provided information to thus “engage as equals in consultation and negotiations” (Anaya, 2011: 12). The SR concludes that divergent perspectives on, among others, participatory rights impede

a successful implementation of standards. Namely, indigenous peoples perceive extractive operations as a “top-down imposition of decisions taken in a collusion of State and corporate interests” rather than result of dialogue and negotiated decisions (Anaya, 2011: 15). Ultimately, the SR identifies the lack of common ground and understanding as a key factor which jeopardises the effective realisation of indigenous peoples’ rights, facilitated by significant conceptual grey areas and legal uncertainties (Anaya, 2011: 15).

3.1.3 The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and its Influence on Indigenous Rights Jurisprudence

In accordance with its specific mandate to promote the application of the provisions of the Declaration (UNDRIPS, 2007)²¹ and its role as an advisory body to ECOSOC, the PFII also provides definitions of consultation and consent. The Forum regards participation as a “chief strategy through which to progress towards equity for indigenous peoples” (PFII, 2005: 15). In a more recent study, the Forum understands participation in more general terms including electoral participation which it declares as a matter of concern in rural areas where illiteracy and problems related to identification and voter lists impede indigenous peoples’ genuine participation (PFII, 2014). In some country contexts, decentralising the electoral system can contribute to more indigenous participation in that it encourages participation in remote areas and establishes “new electoral constituencies in rural areas” as the Guatemalan case shows (PFII, 2014: para.37). There is also a need to extend participatory opportunities that go beyond electoral changes, but include inclusion in the “various public

²¹ UNDRIPS. (2007). Art. 42: “The United Nations, its bodies, including the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues...shall promote respect for and full application of the provisions of this Declaration and follow up the effectiveness of this Declaration.”

institutions implementing electoral processes” (PFII, 2014, para.76(a)). In general terms and with a view towards the future, the PFII urges States to establish prior consultation and consent mechanisms that allow them to participate in the development process including the post-2015 development agenda and biodiversity in view of the Sustainable Development Goals (PFII, 2015). The PFII also refers to recent developments such as the protection and monitoring of “genetic resources and traditional knowledge associated with genetic resources” (PFII, 2015: para.22) in terms of indigenous peoples’ participation. Another fundamental role regarding participatory rights is attributed to language revitalisation regarding indigenous womens’ position in decision-making processes (PFII, 2015).

Just as the EMRIP and the SR, the Forum discusses the relationship between indigenous peoples and industrial companies (PFII, 2007b). Comparable to the former two organs it stresses States’ prime responsibility and refers to the “over reliance” by some States on business enterprises in providing key services and indigenous peoples’ entitlements (PFII, 2007b: 8). In that regard, PFII reaffirms that companies “must obtain the free, prior and informed consent from the indigenous peoples concerned” prior to exploitations of lands and resources that affect respective living conditions (PFII, 2007b: 8). Consent is further described as a precondition to access of industrial companies to indigenous peoples’ land and a principle they need to “respect and strictly adhere to” (PFII, 2007b: 10) Similarly, companies need to show efforts regarding the promotion of indigenous peoples’ right to participate in corporate management (PFII, 2007b: 9).

On the occasion of a discussion on extractive industries, indigenous peoples’ rights and corporate social responsibility, PFII determines free prior and informed

consent as a right (PFII, 2009: 5). In consultation processes with extractive industries, the Forum identifies major problems, namely, the limited selection of specific indigenous individuals or communities by companies and governments in negotiations which did not represent their communities (PFII, 2009: 5). Similar to respective interpretations issued by EMRIP, PFII also establishes home-state responsibilities in the context of extractive industries: it even stipulates the unambiguous State duty to “exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction over corporate activities” (PFII, 2009: 10). In its specific recommendations to States, the Forum pictures the negative impact of projects that have not included the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples. Namely, such projects involve legal expenses, jeopardise access to other sectors and negatively affect future negotiations and relationships with indigenous peoples (PFII, 2009: 16).

Apart from corporate responsibility and the context of extractive industries, PFII also stresses the significance of participatory rights in relation to development with culture and identity (PFII, 2010). Accordingly, indigenous peoples’ common understanding of well-being includes integrity of indigenous governance and self-determination (PFII, 2010: 9). Similarly, human rights in the context of extractive industries are considered important issues as part of culture and identity processes (PFII, 2010: 11). In the latter context, PFII reminds States of showing consistency with UNDRIPS in the revision of respective laws, policies and structures (PFII, 2010: 12). States are also bound to include provisions on consent in legislation on concessions to the extractive sector (PFII, 2010: 12). Furthermore, PFII issues recommendations, reflections and conclusions on participatory rights in connection to forest-related indigenous claims (PFII, 2011). The particular role of indigenous women and their role

in maintaining and managing forests is emphasised (PFII, 2011: 6). Based on their protection of forests against deforestation, the passing on of cosmogonic and indigenous knowledge and their rational use of the forest's resources in their community, indigenous women's "inclusion in the design and implementation of forestry development policies" is regarded as utmostly important (PFII, 2011: 6-7). Similar to the former SR's conceptual priorities, the Forum identifies the right to consultation and participation as "process rights" and prioritises discussions on material rights to forests (PFII, 2011: 9). Based on experience of forced discussions with indigenous peoples and their exclusion from genuine decision-making, the Forum expresses an urgent need to

"shift the focus in the indigenous rights discourse from a right to process to the underlying material rights to forests." (PFII, 2011: 9)

In the final recommendation to States in the framework for indigenous peoples' rights to forests, PFII calls for the right to make decisions, to be fully involved therein and to also shape decision-making processes (PFII, 2011: 15). Finally, it reminds international organisations of establishing an understanding of material rights and to give "material rights priority over process rights" (PFII, 2009: 15).

In recent thematic sessions and workshops, PFII has devoted its discussions to particular indigenous groups, namely indigenous women and girls on the one hand and indigenous youth on the other hand. The Forum elaborates on indigenous women's participatory rights in the broad context of non-discrimination and violence against women (PFII, 2012). Indigenous girls, for instance, face multiple levels of human rights abuses as "children in an adult world and girls in a patriarchal world" (PFII, 2012: 5). The PFII regards violence against women as a broader implication of the absence of women's participation in decision-making (PFII, 2012: 8). Further, the

Forum refers to the significance of free, prior and informed consent in that regard and states that the exclusion of women from negotiations regarding resource extraction, peace agreements or land rights jeopardises the overall self-determination of indigenous peoples. According to PFII, the exclusion of women from such projects implies that “the self-determination of indigenous peoples can never be truly achieved” (PFII, 2012: 8). In its final recommendations, the Forum reemphasises its inclusive understanding of indigenous peoples’ self-determination, it stipulates the conditions of indigenous self-determination in the following:

“...because implementing indigenous self-determination requires the recognition and dismantling of existing patriarchal social relations, eliminating discriminatory policies and continuous commitment to indigenous women’s rights in all indigenous institutions and at all levels” (PFII, 2012: 12)

Furthermore, PFII elaborates on the decision-making areas in which indigenous women should participate, namely conflict prevention, management and resolution, post-conflict resolution, post-natural disaster reconstruction and peace building processes (PFII, 2012: 12). In addition the Forum identifies the State obligation to inform indigenous women regarding possible political participation at local, national and international levels as well as the strengthening of women’s political capacity (PFII, 2012: 15). Finally, the SR and EMRIP are requested to incorporate the particular dimension of indigenous women in their studies on indigenous peoples in extractive industries and corresponding decision-making and the framework of free prior and informed consent (PFII, 2012: 17).

Indigenous youth rights have equally gained importance in discussions and recommendations issued by PFII. Specifically, they are discussed in a recent PFII expert meeting on indigenous youth identity, challenges and hope (PFII, 2013a). Previous PFII recommendations reveal different thematic areas, such as incarcerated indigenous

youth, inclusion of youth representatives, prevalence and causes of suicide among them, overrepresentation of indigenous youth in detention, indigenous youth and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), mental health services for young people, capacity-building and advocacy skills of indigenous youth and their underrepresentation in legislative and executive bodies (PFII, 2013a). Indigenous youth participation also plays a role in forums and discussions. Namely, their right to participate in decision-making is established where decisions affect their well-being (PFII, 2013a: 7). In that regard, the PFII stresses the diversity in indigenous youth worldwide and their different expectations which impede the establishment of one single participation model for all (PFII, 2013a: 7). The Forum also calls for conceptual differentiation between participation in indigenous and non-indigenous institutions internationally, and indigenous peoples who live in indigenous and non-indigenous communities or populations (PFII, 2013a: 7). Similarly, persons with disabilities enjoy particular attention despite lacking empirical data and the recency of the human rights regime: in the latter regard advocacy organisations are fundamental to guarantee participatory rights and facilitate consultation, also in including persons living in remote places (PFII, 2013b).

As for the conditions of consultation participation, PFII presupposes an atmosphere of dialogue, mutual respect, good faith and equitable participation that enables the parties to reach appropriate solutions (PFII, 2005: 12). These elements suggest an inclusive approach that takes indigenous peoples' interests truly into account in their endeavours to exercise influence on the outcome of the process. The PFII also requires consultation mechanisms to include effective communication systems among the concerned parties and sufficient time (PFII, 2005: 12). Similarly,

indigenous institutions and freely chosen representatives need to be considered in consultation processes (PFII, 2005: 12). Furthermore, the PFII includes a gender perspective and regards the participation of indigenous women as essential; the views of children and youth have to be considered as well (PFII, 2005: 12-13). Information provided in the context of the consultation process need to be accurate, accessible and understandable; the distribution of information has to reflect oral traditions and languages of respective indigenous peoples (PFII, 2005: 13). Finally, PFII provides that a free, prior and informed consent process needs to allow for equal opportunity in the form of

“equal access to financial, human and material resources in order for communities to fully and meaningfully debate”. (PFII, 2005: 13)

The crucial participatory element of consultation “consent” is identified as an “evolving principle” and a “process that could possibly lead towards equitable solutions and evolutionary development” (PFII, 2005: 11). Regarding free, prior and informed consent, the PFII regards it as principle “based on the human rights approach to development” (PFII, 2005: 4). It also defines the specific elements, conditions and qualifications of consent: “free” is understood as the negation of coercion or intimidation, “prior” refers to the time in which consent is obtained, namely in advance of the respective activity, and “informed” (PFII, 2005: 12)²² requires to provide all necessary information that is relevant for the activity in an objective, accurate and understandable way (PFII, 2005: 12).

²² The PFII further states that informed “should imply that information is provided that covers (at least) the following aspects: a) The nature, size, pace, reversibility and scope of any proposed project or activity; b) The reason(s) for or purpose(s) of the project and/or activity; c) The duration of the above; d) the locality of areas that will be affected; e) The preliminary assessment of the likely economic, social, cultural and environmental impact, including potential risks and fair and equitable benefit-sharing in a context that respects the precautionary principle; f) Personnel likely to be involved in the execution of the proposed project (including indigenous peoples, private sector staff, research institutions, government employees and others); g) Procedures that the project may entail”.

3.2 Indigenous Participation in the Inter-American Human Rights System

Indigenous peoples' rights are not included as such in Inter-American human rights instruments. However, their rights can be derived from general human rights applicable to indigenous peoples. Accordingly, indigenous peoples enjoy civil and political rights as stipulated in the American Convention of Human Rights (1969) and social, economic and cultural rights as specified in the Protocol of San Salvador, namely the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1988). Additionally, indigenous peoples enjoy rights as defined in respective instruments on refugees, the prevention and punishment of torture, the abolishment of the death penalty, the forced disappearance of persons, women's rights, non-discrimination against persons with disabilities.²³ Additionally, the Organization of American States (OAS) has shown considerable efforts in establishing more comprehensive mechanisms to protect indigenous peoples' rights. Specifically, the Proposed American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) in 1997. Since then, discussion and negotiation sessions have been held under the umbrella of a working group that was established by the OAS Permanent Council's Committee on Juridical and Political Affairs (OAS, 2013).

3.2.1 The IACtHR and its Evolutionary Interpretation of Indigenous Participatory Rights

²³ Cartagena Declaration on Refugees (1984), Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture (1985), Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights to Abolish the Death Penalty (1990), Inter-American Convention on the Forced Disappearance of Persons (1994), Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women (1994), Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities (1999).

Indigenous peoples' rights have found their way into the Inter-American system and jurisprudence by means of an alternative route. A form of Inter-American indigenous system was established by the Treaty of Pátzcuaro in 1940 which created the Inter-American Institute, a specialist organism similar to the IACHR (Rodríguez-Piñero Royo, 2006). This initial institutional advancement of indigenous peoples' agenda led to the establishment of an Inter-American Congress that issued agreements and other instruments on indigenous peoples' issues, such as the distribution of lands, education policy, social services, etc. (Rodríguez-Piñero Royo, 2006).

These developments also indirectly triggered the incorporation of indigenous peoples' rights in the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR): the landmark decision *Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua* (IACtHR, 2001) illustrated the explicit integration of indigenous peoples' rights in Inter-American jurisprudence. The decision contributed to a significant extent to the development of jurisprudence regarding indigenous peoples' collective rights and the right to lands, territories and natural resources. In the following years, IACHR received extensive numbers of individual petitions regarding indigenous peoples' rights (Rodríguez-Piñero Royo, 2006). Accordingly, IACtHR delivered judgements of great significance in the field of indigenous peoples' rights, such as *Yakye Axa Community v. Paraguay* (IACtHR, 2005a), *Yatama v. Nicaragua* (IACtHR, 2005b), *Moiwana Community v. Suriname* (IACtHR, 2006a), *Sawhoyamaxa Indigenous Community v. Paraguay* (IACtHR, 2006b), *Saramaka People v. Suriname* (IACtHR, 2007) or *Xákmok Kásek Indigenous Community v. Paraguay* (IACtHR, 2010). The case of the *Yakye Axa Community v. Paraguay* particularly shows how indigenous peoples' rights are introduced into the Inter-American human rights system: by invoking Art.24

on equal protection and Art.1(1) on the obligation to respect rights of the American Convention on Human Rights, States are obliged to grant rights to people not subjected to their jurisdiction and must consider the

“particular characteristics that distinguish the members of the indigenous peoples from the general population and that constitute their cultural identity”. (IACtHR, 2005a: 59-60)

The establishment and expansion of indigenous peoples’ rights in Inter-American jurisprudence also includes indigenous participatory rights. Despite any explicit reference to indigenous peoples’ rights or rights to consultation and consent, Inter-American human rights organs have found a way to introduce the aforementioned rights into jurisprudence. An evolutionary interpretation of various political rights provisions allowed the Court to establish compulsory consultation procedures for indigenous peoples. The American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR) grants everybody the right to participate in governance (1969, Art.23) and the right to property including the prohibition to use or exploit other people’s property (1969, Art.21). Specifically, the IACtHR has evolutionarily interpreted said provisions in its elaborations of principles that would eventually shape the duty to consult, namely it has interpreted these rights in conjunction with other relevant rights pertinent to indigenous peoples. Similar to the Court, the Commission understands consultation as an element of other material rights codified in Inter-American legal instruments, exemplified by the right to property (IACHR, 2004: para. 142).²⁴ The mentioned *Yatama v. Nicaragua* Court judgement, for instance, reflects the significance of participatory rights. The Court found that the respective national law restricted indigenous peoples’ right to participation by limiting electoral participation

²⁴ According to the Commission, “one of the central elements to the protection of indigenous property rights is the requirement that states undertake effective and fully informed consultations with indigenous communities regarding acts or decisions that may affect their traditional territories”.

to ordinary political parties and excluded other forms of electoral participation existent in indigenous communities or associations (IACtHR, 2006b: paras. 181-229).²⁵ It was further established that the found form of limitation to political participation violated equality and non-discrimination provisions and impeded the effective participation of citizens in public affairs (IACtHR, 2006b).²⁶ Furthermore, the IACtHR established the State obligation to ensure participation according to indigenous customs and by means of indigenous institutions (IACtHR, 2006b).²⁷

Apart from general participatory rights, the IACtHR has also interpreted the right to prior consultation and consent. The landmark decision on the right to consultation at the Inter-American level, *Saramaka People v. Suriname* (IACtHR, 2007), refers in detail to the right to consultation and specifies contexts in which free, prior and informed consent is mandatory. Accordingly, there are several conditions that ensure effective participation of indigenous communities in development and investment plans on their territory: consultations need to be held in accordance with the community's customs and traditions, the State needs to accept and disseminate information and be in permanent communication with the concerned parties (IACtHR, 2008: para.133). Access to information is regarded as a precondition for participation and essentially enables indigenous peoples to "monitor and respond to public and

²⁵ The Court unequivocally states that "it is recognised that there are other ways in which candidates can be proposed for elected office in order to achieve the same goal, when this is pertinent and even necessary to encourage or ensure the political participation of specific groups of society, taking into account their special traditions and administrative systems, whose legitimacy has been recognised and is even subject to the explicit protection of the State". para.215.

²⁶ The Court stresses that they (the respective indigenous community) "were affected by legal and real discrimination, which prevented them from participating, in equal conditions, in the municipal elections of November 2000" p.224.

²⁷ Accordingly, members of indigenous or ethnic communities should be able to participate "within their own institutions and according to their values, practices, customs and forms of organisation, provided these are compatible with the human rights embodied in the Convention". para.225.

private sector action” (IACHR, 2007). Furthermore, consultations must be in good faith, apply culturally appropriate procedures, include the aim of reaching agreement, occur at the early stages of the activity and require indigenous peoples’ awareness of possible risks as well and their knowingly and voluntary acceptance (IACtHR, 2008: para.133). In addition to these consultation conditions, the IACtHR requires the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples wherever large-scale development or investment projects “would have a major impact” within the concerned territory; in this regard the State needs to respect indigenous peoples’ customs and traditions (IACtHR, 2008: para.134).²⁸ In an interpretation of the judgement regarding the meaning and scope of various matters, the Court clarifies that large-scale investment or development projects which “could affect the integrity of the Saramaka people’s lands and natural resources” cannot be undertaken without indigenous peoples’ free, prior and informed consent in conformity with their traditions and customs (IACtHR, 2008: para. 17).

In the recently pronounced judgment *Kichwa Indigenous People of Sarayaku v. Ecuador* (IACtHR, 2012), the Court discusses the consequences of granting a permit on the part of the Ecuadorean State to a private company regarding oil exploration and exploitation projects in the indigenous people’s territory (IACtHR, 2012: para.2). Similar to previous judgements on indigenous peoples, the Court adopts an evolutionary interpretation of indigenous peoples’ right to be consulted. The IACtHR rules in favour of the indigenous community of Sarayaku and holds the State

²⁸ The Court further clarifies: “...the safeguard of effective participation that is necessary when dealing with major development or investment plans that may have a profound impact on the property rights of the members of the Saramaka people to a large part of their territory must be understood to additionally require the free, prior and informed consent of the Saramakas, in accordance with their traditions and customs”. para.137.

internationally responsible²⁹ for the violations committed, in particular with regard to the right to consultation, to indigenous property and to cultural identity within the meaning of Art.21 of the ACHR, the right to life and personal integrity in Art.4(1) and 5(1) and the right to judicial guarantees and protection in Art.8(1) and 25 of the respective instrument (IACtHR, 2012: para.341(1)-(4)). The Court establishes an intrinsic link between the right to communal property, the right to consultation and the right to cultural identity. The Court emphasises the close relationship between indigenous peoples and their territory and its fundamental element, namely their cultural identity which requires special attention in a democratic society (IACtHR, 2012: para.159). At the same time, it bases the respect for the right to consultation on the recognition of cultural identity. The right to cultural identity is elaborately developed in the judgment and regarded as fundamental for the enjoyment of other indigenous rights (IACtHR, 2012: para.213).³⁰

In this regard, the Court follows recent developments at international level which develop the right to consultation in conjunction with cultural identity and survival.³¹ Further, the IACtHR establishes the State's obligation to consult indigenous peoples on matters which affect their cultural or social life (IACtHR, 2012: para. 217). This is based on the facts of the given case which indicate that the failure to consult

²⁹ International responsibility is invoked if an international wrongful act of a State constitutes a breach of an international obligation of that State and can be attributed to the latter under international law. See International Law Commission (ILC), 2001.

³⁰ The Court understands the right to cultural identity as an "ingredient and a crosscutting means of interpretation to understand, respect and guarantee the enjoyment and exercise of the human rights of indigenous peoples and communities".

³¹ The Human Rights Committee states that "certain aspects of the rights of individuals protected under that article – for example to enjoy a particular culture – may consist in a way of life which is closely associated with territory and use of its resources" (para.7.2.). The Committee continues "the admissibility of measures which substantially compromise or interfere with the culturally significant economic activities of a minority or indigenous community depends on whether the members of the community in question have had the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process in relation to these measures..." (para.7.6.). CCPR, 2009.

impacted upon their cultural identity by destroying their cultural heritage, disrespecting their way of life, customs and worldviews and creating considerable concern, sadness and suffering (IACtHR, 2012: para.220). Interestingly, the Court thus derives the uncodified indigenous right to consultation from the right to property stipulated in Art.21 of the ACHR and non-discrimination provisions including the right to cultural identity included in Art.1(1) respectively.

The Court bases its evolutionary interpretations on international law provisions: in line with the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties and Art. 29 of the American Convention, the Court's interpretations are not limited to instruments that are related to the Court, but also its entire system (IACtHR, 2012: para. 161). International instruments such as C169 and domestic law of its Member States can thus influence these interpretations. Respectively, the Court identifies relevant international legal provisions and significantly elaborates on domestic legal provisions and respective higher court decisions that establish the right to consultation. Importantly, the IACtHR derives from these domestic legal developments a further reaching obligation, namely it considers the obligation to consult a general principle of international law (IACtHR, 2012).³² In accordance with Art.38(1)(c) of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) Statute (1945),³³ general principles of law constitute an international source of law in addition to conventions, customs and other subsidiary sources. The duty to consult is thus recognised as an international obligation in addition to codified international law and customs.³⁴ Consequently, it

³² para.164. "In other words, the obligation to consult, in addition to being a treaty-based provision, is also a general principle of international law".

³³ Statute of the International Court of Justice, 1945: Art.38(1)(a)-(c).

³⁴ In the same context, the Court reemphasises the "special and differentiated" nature of consultation processes and provides that these processes need to respect the "particular consultation

constitutes an obligation for all States independent of their individual ratifications of international instruments that stipulate the duty to consult. Therefore, the case is of particular relevance for international law and the Inter-American system in particular, as its elaborations on the obligation to consult indigenous peoples form a mandatory precedent for all Member States and contribute to the development of international standards with regard to consultation.

Furthermore, the Court identifies the essential elements of the right to consultation in order to determine the “manner and sense” of the State’s obligation to guarantee the indigenous people’s right to consultation in this case (IACtHR, 2012: para. 178). Specifically, the IACtHR requires consultation processes with indigenous peoples to be prior, to be conducted with good faith and with the aim of reaching agreement, to be appropriate and accessible, to include an environmental impact assessment and to be informed (IACtHR, 2012: para. 178). Accordingly, the Courts reiterates the time of consultations: in accordance with other international instruments and its own case law,³⁵ it requires consultations to be prior in order for the respective community to have time for internal discussions and “not only when it is necessary to obtain the community’s approval” (IACtHR, 2012: para. 180). Regarding the element of good faith, the Court recalls the genuine nature of consultation processes. In line with international standards, consultations cannot be considered a mere formality and should follow the objective of establishing dialogue based on trust, mutual respect and reaching consensus between all involved actors

system of each people or community” in order to be an “appropriate and effective interaction” with the different actors involved. para.165.

³⁵ See interpretations by the SR, PFII and EMRIP respectively as well as *Saramaka People v. Suriname*.

(IACtHR: 2012: para. 186). Importantly, the Court identifies criteria that are incompatible with good faith, such as practices that subvert the social cohesion of concerned communities including

“bribing community leaders or by establishing parallel leaders, or by negotiating with individual members of the community”. (IACtHR, 2012: para. 186)

The latter requirement not only accentuates the need for respecting the community’s own decision-making processes and institutions, it also reveals the inclusive and holistic approach of the Court which seems to object to excluding community members from participating.

Another essential element of consultation, adequate and accessible consultation, needs to be understood in the light of national and contextual differences. In line with ILO Committees and the SR, “appropriateness” implies the consideration of national and indigenous peoples’ circumstances, the nature of the respective measures, diverse forms of indigenous organisation and a temporal dimension (IACtHR, 2012: para.202). Concerning the State duty to conduct environmental impact assessment, the Court largely reemphasises its position established in the *Saramaka People v. Suriname* judgement. Accordingly, State concessions cannot be granted prior to respective assessments by independent and technically competent bodies and without ensuring that indigenous community members are informed about environmental and health-related risks; all this includes assessing cumulative impacts of projects (IACtHR, 2012: para.205-206). Finally, informed consultation requires awareness of related risks on the part of indigenous peoples, providing of information by the State and “constant communication between the parties” in line with the Court’s case law (IACtHR, 2012: para.208). Remarkably, the Court does not refer to the principle of free, prior and informed

consent which was considered in *Saramaka People v. Suriname*. This omission could be attributed to the fact that the respective State did not comply with the obligation to consult and it was thus regarded unnecessary to discuss the principle of consent (Brunner and Quintana, 2012).³⁶

Recent cases decided before the IACtHR demonstrate the importance and current significance of prior consultation processes in Latin America. In the case *Norín Catrimán and others v. Chile*, for instance, the right to prior consultation is reiterated despite its insignificance for the decision itself: the far reaching scope of the right to prior consultation and communal property is emphasised in judgement and the previously mentioned decisions and the judicial criteria it establishes by invoking the right to prior consultation (IACtHR, 2014b). Similarly, the Court mentions said landmark decisions and the relation of prior consultation processes to forced displacement of the respective populations while underlining the importance of considering indigenous peoples' own consultation procedures, values and traditions and customary laws (IACtHR, 2014a).

3.2.2 The IACHR and its View on Participation

In addition to the case-law of the IACtHR; the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) provides explicit interpretations of the right to consultation and consent in the context of indigenous ancestral lands and natural resources (IACHR, 2010). In accordance with UNDRIPS (Art.19), the Commission does not restrict consultation and consent to issues that affect indigenous peoples, but also extends

³⁶ The authors presume: "The Court may have considered that where there is no prior and informed consultation with all the requirements established under international law, it is unnecessary to delve into the concept and application of consent" (para.14)

consultation obligations to administrative and legislative measures (IACHR, 2010: para. 273). Following the Court's decision in *Saramaka People v. Suriname* the Commission states six issues that require prior consultation. Namely, consultation concerns restricting or granting of collective titles over indigenous territories; granting legal recognition to indigenous peoples' collective legal capacity; the adoption of legislative, administrative and related matters to indigenous territorial rights; related measures that are needed to realise their right to consultation; prior social impact and environmental assessment; and possible limitations of indigenous peoples' property rights (IACHR, 2010: para. 279). The Commission further establishes that any measures that concern "access to and effective enjoyment of ancestral territory" require effective consultation (IACHR, 2010: para.280). The IACHR also identifies different material rights contexts in which consultation is essential: the aforementioned right to property and political participation entail consultation elements; additionally, the right to cultural identity and the impact of decisions on culture include consultation requirements (IACHR, 2010: para. 276).³⁷ Regarding the nature of consultations, the IACHR identifies consultation processes as processes instead of single acts. It further describes them as dialogues and negotiations including good faith elements and the objective of reaching agreement among all involved actors (IACHR, 2010: para. 285).

In the light of current infrastructure and hydroelectric projects, the prior consultation requirement has become a pressing need. The Commission's support is frequently requested by means of precautionary measures as a matter of urgency. By way of example, the Commission currently looks into the case *Otomí-Mexica*

³⁷ See also: IACHR, 2009a.

Indigenous Community v. Mexico in which it requested precautionary measures as the construction of a highway was authorised without prior consultation of the indigenous communities concerned and included a violent police intervention as a response to local opposition (IACHR, 2016). In the recent past, the case *Belo Monte* in the Brazilian Amazon received considerable international attention, especially in the light of past and current international sports events: a hydroelectric plant was constructed without prior consultation and had a severe impact on the physical integrity of indigenous peoples, some of which lived in voluntary isolation (IACHR, 2011). The Belo Monte project as one of the largest projects in the Amazon continues to threaten local populations, causes forced displacement, water and food insecurity, reduces biodiversity and, in terms of indirect impacts, has led to the collapse of basic services encompassing the health and sanitation sectors (Amazon Watch, 2016)

Importantly, the Commission also stresses the inclusive character of participation in decision-making. Apart from indigenous peoples' collective rights and the consideration of "peoples as a whole", individual members' rights in decision-making are identified (IACHR, 2010: para. 286). Accordingly, the IACHR asserts that the collective interest of the respective communities cannot prevail to the detriment or the "exclusion of individual members" in such processes (IACHR, 2010: para. 286). Consultation must include information and consent of the entire indigenous community. Respective case law affirms the State obligation to inform all members of the respective community and to provide an "effective opportunity to participate individually or as collectives" (IACHR, 2004: para. 142). According to the Commission, the conditions of indigenous peoples' full participation regarding property rights are not met in the following situations: in cases where not all members enjoy the right to

participate in the selection, authorisation or mandate of their representatives; at times when only a part or segment of the community promotes claims without corresponding mandates; or whenever members of the community as a whole are not consulted when substantial decisions are made (IACHR, 2002).

However, the Commission also establishes that representation of concerned communities must be established by themselves and be in line with their traditions and customs as stipulated by the IACtHR in *Saramaka People v. Suriname* (IACHR, 2010: para.287). The Commission extensively elaborates on the importance and conditions of cultural adequacy of consultation processes. Accordingly, relevant international instruments prescribe indigenous peoples' own traditional decision-making (C160, Art.6(1); UNDRIPS, Art. 32) and refrain from imposing a single model of representation allowing for diversity (IACHR, 2010: para. 307). In addition to these "inclusive participation" requirements, the Commission stresses the active involvement of indigenous peoples in all phases of projects, namely, participation in the respective design, implementation and evaluation phases (IACHR, 2010: para. 289). Another element that aims at ensuring a genuine consultation process is the aforementioned good faith condition. The IACHR considers good faith a "safeguard against merely formal consultation procedures" which also requires "the absence of any type of coercion by the State" (IACHR, 2010: paras. 317–318). Good faith also demands mutual confidence between the actors involved and reciprocal respect (IACHR, 2010, para. 320). Related to the element of good faith, the Commission specifies on cases of accommodation: it regards failures to respect the consultation's results on the part of States as violating the principle of good faith (IACHR, 2010, para. 325). It also limits failures to reach accommodation to motives that are "objective,

reasonable and proportional to a legitimate interest in a democratic society”; otherwise reasoned motives must be provided (IACHR, 2010, para. 327).

Similar to aforementioned UN organs with mandates to deal with indigenous peoples’ rights, the IACHR emphasises the exclusive responsibility of the State to carry out consultations and denies delegated responsibilities to private companies (IACHR, 2010: para. 291). Furthermore, in line with the SR’s elaborations, the Commission does not limit consultation procedures to legal ownership and formal titles of property, but extends the latter to communities which do not dispose of such titles (IACHR, 2010: para.293). Finally, the IACHR has pronounced itself on the nature of the principle of free, prior and informed consent. In addition to the “major impact requirement” established by the Court in *Saramaka People v. Suriname*, the Commission understands consent as a “heightened safeguard for the rights of indigenous peoples” (IACHR, 2010: para. 333). This is based on the relation between consent and specific rights, such as the right to cultural identity, the right to life, other related rights and the impact of development plans or investment projects on such rights (IACHR, 2010: para.333).

Finally, the Commission identifies three main circumstances in which obtaining consent constitutes a compulsory condition; it derives these standards from international instruments and the Inter-American level (IACHR, 2010: para. 334). Firstly, consent is required where plans or projects cause the displacement or relocation of indigenous peoples as established in Art.10 UNDRIPS and as determined by the SR (IACHR, 2010: para. 334(1)). Secondly, consent is needed where plans or concessions for exploitation absolve indigenous peoples from the possibility to use and enjoy their lands, territories or resources which are elementary for their living

and survival (IACHR, 2010: para. 334(2)). Thirdly, consent is mandatory when hazardous materials are stored or disposed of in their lands or territories in accordance with Art.29 UNDRIPS (IACHR, 2010: para. 334(3)).

3.3 Conflicting Intersectionalities? Individual Members' Participatory Rights in Decision-Making

Granting individual rights becomes a specifically challenging issue in the context of indigenous rights claims. In comparison to other disadvantaged communities or groups, indigenous peoples are supported by a gradually evolving international legal framework. The indigenous rights movement in the second half of the 20th century and developments in recently-established UN forums have increased global awareness of indigenous peoples' living conditions and strengthened their collective rights at UN and regional levels. However, a strong collective rights agenda could raise concerns over the consideration of individual indigenous rights, such as female community members, the consideration of indigenous youth, persons with disabilities or other potentially marginalised subgroups. While some refer to the incompatibility of collective and individual rights (Gross, 2010: 3) (see Figure 3 Individual versus collective rights I, p. **Error! Marcador no definido.**), others take a more moderate approach which allows both sets of rights to coexist and to mutually reinforce each other (Sieder and Sierra, 2010: 38; see Figure 4: Individual versus collective rights II, on p.125).

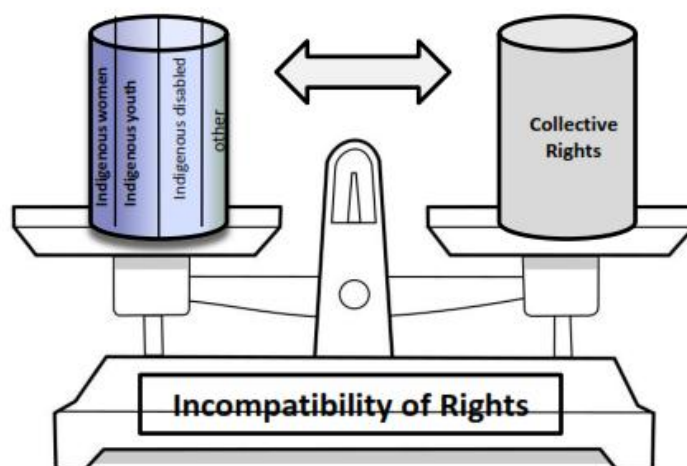


Figure 3 Individual versus collective rights I

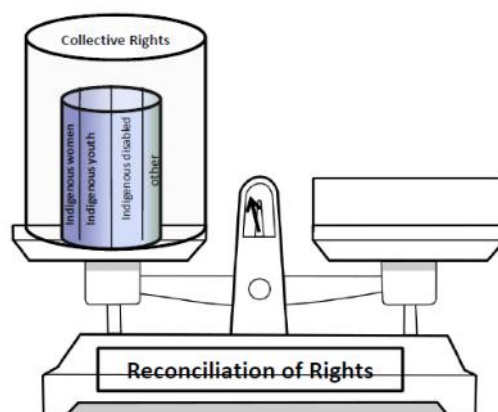


Figure 4: Individual versus collective rights II

According to proponents of the first approach, increased autonomy for indigenous communities shields them from protecting individual rights and prevents States from interfering with indigenous *usos y costumbres*, their customs and traditions. On the other hand, collective rights constitute an essential framework within which disadvantaged subgroups can conceptualise their rights: women’s rights, for instance, are associated with “broader struggles against inequality, poverty, racism and discrimination” in the context of collective rights (Sieder and Sierra, 2010: 21; 38). In the UN and Inter-American human rights systems two rather diverging positions crystallise regarding conciliating indigenous peoples’ individual and

collective rights. While EMRIP and IACtHR adopt a rather cautious approach and largely refrain from pronouncing themselves on individual rights, PFII, SR and IACHR are more proactive in that regard and provide an integrated approach.

EMRIP emphasises the vulnerable situation of indigenous women and girls in social conflict contexts (EMRIP, 2012b: 7), however their participation in decision-making is not discussed. Rather, the Mechanism clarifies that indigenous communities shall establish their own procedures to determine with whom governments and companies should consult. This priority demonstrates the importance of indigenous peoples' collective rights and collective, internal self-determination; at the same time it ignores internal power imbalances in indigenous communities and the rights of subgroups. Conversely, the Special Rapporteur reads UNDRIPS in a somewhat different way. Former SR Anaya stresses the equal role of concerned parties and genuine dialogue. At the same time he stresses the importance of establishing institutions of representation (Anaya, 2009: 18). In the latter context, indigenous institutions need to function in conformity with international human rights law and respect the needs of individuals such as women or the elderly (Anaya, 2009: 18). Despite the absence of further elaborations on the implications of the provision, his comments reveal a clear orientation towards the consideration of individual rights.

The Permanent Forum goes one step further: it provides alternative interpretations of the Declarations and strongly emphasizes individual rights. It points out major problems in consultation processes with extractive industries such as the limited selection of specific individuals or communities by companies and governments in negotiations which did not represent their communities (PFII, 2009: 5). This shows that power imbalances and inappropriate, non-representative forms of

decision-making are not disregarded by the Forum. As shown previously, PFII has devoted its discussions to particular indigenous groups, namely indigenous women and girls on the one hand and indigenous youth on the other hand. The PFII regards violence against women as a broader implication of the absence of women's participation in decision-making (PFII, 2009: 8). Further, the Forum also specifies that the exclusion of women from negotiations regarding resource extraction: it regards the elimination of patriarchal social relations and discriminatory policies as a precondition for indigenous self-determination (PFII, 2009: 8). Hence, the Forum allows for the conceptualisation of individual rights in the framework of collective claims.

In the Inter-American system of human rights two diverging positions become apparent. While the Court condemns bribing practices or negotiations with individual community members as this would subvert the social cohesion of such communities (IACtHR, 2012: para. 186), it avoids proposing alternatives or specifying individual rights. Only after a State request for further interpretations in the *Sarayaku case*, the Court clarifies some representative issues in consultation processes. Accordingly, the Court deliberately refrained from specifying the actors in consultations. It concludes that representation issues should be decided by the respective indigenous community, and not by the State, in accordance with their customs and traditions (IACtHR, 2007: 18). The Court thus avoids issues related to international human rights standards and participation of individual members. While it does not explicitly exclude individual rights, it refrains from providing a forum for individual complaints related to participation in case they would conflict with indigenous peoples' customs and traditions.

In contrast to the Court, IACHR takes a less moderate approach. Importantly, the Commission stresses the inclusive character of participation in decision-making: collective interest only dominates as long as it does not imply excluding individual members. The Commission specifies that indigenous peoples need to be able to participate both as individuals and collectives. However, the Commission also establishes that representation of concerned communities must be established by themselves and be in line with their traditions and customs (IACHR, 2010: para. 287). In a similar way, the Commission rejects a single model of representation allowing for diversity (IACHR, 2010: para. 307). The Commission thus demonstrates a fundamentally different approach towards considering individual indigenous members' rights to participate in consultation processes. However, it does not allow for individual participation without considering cultural settings and traditional decision-making specific to the respective communities. The Commission thus establishes an individual rights approach in a collective framework with a culturally-sensitive perspective. At the same time, it demonstrates that collective consultation processes need to assert individual rights in order to be truly inclusive.

The preceding discussion demonstrates that individual participatory rights have not been clearly introduced into the indigenous rights regime. Complexities and dilemmas do not solely arise in practice, but are part of theoretical debates in the respective (quasi) judicial mechanisms and thereby reflected in jurisprudence. On the one hand, indigenous customs, traditions, practices, juridical systems and the collective will of the respective indigenous community needs to be respected and encouraged. On the other hand, decisions should not be taken by commercially-interested, non-representative élites who are not accountable to their communities.

The importance of State mechanisms as well as corporate initiatives and their negative influence on indigenous decision-making such as selections of “project-prone” representatives should not be disregarded in this context. While individual rights do not necessarily contradict collective rights and could be conceptualized in the latter framework, not mentioning them would allow for an exclusive form of decision-making.

Highly relevant mechanisms for the implementation of indigenous rights, such as EMRIP and IACtHR, avoid individual rights in the context of collective participation in consultations (see Figure 5: Individual versus collective rights III, on p.130). However, almost all relevant human rights bodies agree on the following aspect: negotiations with individual community members and bribing are generally not accepted. Appropriate forms of representation thus clearly play a role in all human rights forums. On the other side of the spectrum, the PFII and IACHR reveal how collective self-determination can be strengthened and even conditioned by individual rights and positively affect individual and collective well-being (see Figure 6: Individual versus collective rights IV, on p.130). Courts could not complain about missing legal bases – non-discrimination provisions have found their way into all indigenous peoples’ rights instruments and are available for further interpretation.

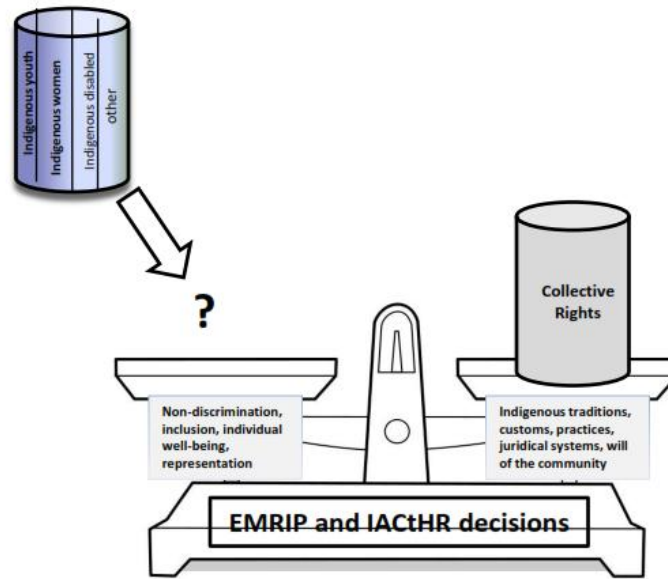


Figure 5: Individual versus collective rights III

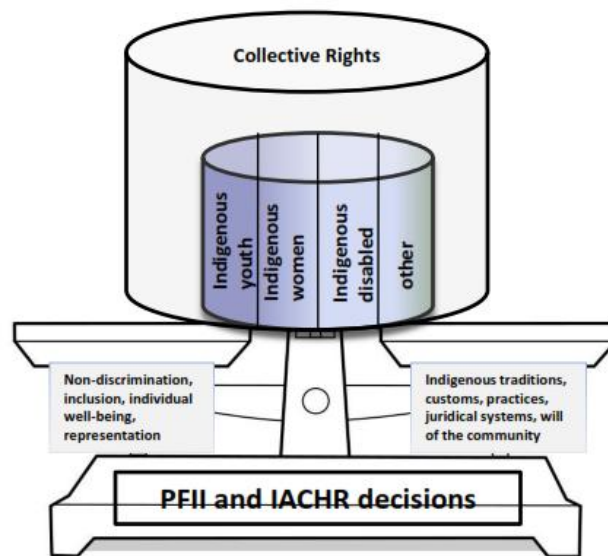


Figure 6: Individual versus collective rights IV

Chapter 4 Background: Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Bolivia –

Legal-Political Developments in the Extractive Sector

4.1 Introduction

The Plurinational State of Bolivia is home to what could be called the largest recognised population of indigenous peoples in South America. Bolivia is a multi-ethnic, multinational state including different indigenous groups. In fact, 36 groups and official languages constitute such groups; the largest being the Highlands populations comprising Quechua and Aymara people. The remaining thirty-four indigenous groups reside in the Lowlands region and include *inter alia* Guaraní, Chiquitano, Araona, Ayoreo, Baure, Canichana, Cavineño, Cayubaba, Chacobo, Chipaya, Esse Ejja, Guarasugwe, Guarayo, Itonama, Joaquiniano, Kallawaya, Leco, Machinerí, Maropa, Mojeño, Moré, Masetén, Movima, Murato, Pacahuara, Sirionó, Tacana, Tapiete, Tsimane (Chimán), Weenayek, Yaminahua, Yuki, Yuracaré, Yuracaré-Mojeño people (La Razón, 2013: para.7). Guaraní and Chiquitano constitute the largest group of indigenous peoples in the country's Lowlands region. As in other country contexts, indigenous peoples show more presence in resource-rich territories than the *mestizo* population: while mining extraction historically played a role in the Bolivian Highlands, recent developments include revenues from petroleum, generated by so-called hydrocarbon activities, but also lithium extraction in the Salar de Uyuni and Salar de Coipasa region and recent mining extraction in the Bolivian Lowlands.

The nationalised hydrocarbon sector and the mining industry have received particular attention in that regard. Bolivia has become the “continent's largest

exporter of natural gas” (Kaup, 2010b: 22) and shows similar levels in mining outputs, its largest exports being petroleum gas (\$6.03B), gold (\$1.37B), zinc ore (\$993M) and crude petroleum (\$755M) according to the Economic Complexity Index (The Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2014, see Figure 7: Visualisation of Bolivia's exports in the year 2014, The Observatory of Economic Complexity, on p.132).

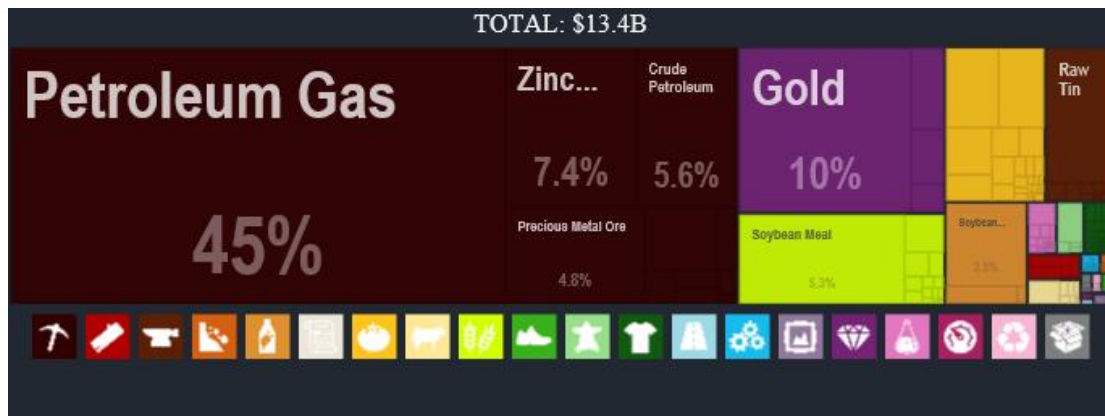


Figure 7: Visualisation of Bolivia's exports in the year 2014, The Observatory of Economic Complexity

At the same time, neo-extractivist policies have facilitated a form of clientelism and rentierism; it has made poor populations dependent on state transfer payments decreasing their autonomy and ultimately democratic capacities (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung e.V., 2015). Instabilities related to raw material prices for the described natural resources lead to fluctuations in terms of tax revenues, especially as natural resource exploitation account for approximately 30% of all revenues: poor populations in particular are affected by such fluctuation in terms of public expenditure and investment (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung e.V., 2015). Finally, new responses to extractivism on the part of the local population imply realising local visions of development and a form of self-determination. Accordingly, corresponding human rights safeguards in the extractive sector become not only essential, but an indispensable component of indigenous peoples' lives and decision-making powers.

In fact, at the international level, the Morales administration has developed strong commitments to ratifying treaties, supporting declarations and incorporating them into national laws. In Morales' first term, for instance, UNDRIPS was turned into a national law (no. 3760) in 2007 following its adoption by the UN General Assembly. This complemented the ratification of ILO C169 (Bolivian National Congress, 1991). Similarly, a national law on hydrocarbons was adopted; it also regulates prior consultation processes in the sector (see the following subsections for more details on such regulation). Conversely, Morales' second and third term reveal different priorities: government policies strengthen national and transnational companies in the extractive sector to the detriment of indigenous peoples' participation. Recent legal developments consolidate an extractivist model which favours the corporate sector. In particular, a new mining code violates existing national and international human rights law by e.g. permitting exploration without prior consultation. This implies different legal regimes for prior consultation processes depending on the sector. Accordingly, indigenous peoples are affected differently and have developed distinct responses to extractive activities in their lands and territories. In the latter context, socio-political, historical and cultural particularities play an essential role in explaining impact, response and opportunities to participate in decision-making processes in relation to resource exploration and exploitation.

This chapter provides an overview of recent legal developments and policies with particular emphasis on the extractive sector that allow gaining insights into the Bolivian indigenous peoples' rights regime and showing how prior consultation processes are regulated. At the same time, the colonial past and cultural particularities in both Guaraní and Chiquitano territories cannot be overlooked and in

turn explain dynamics and an active interplay with existing legal mechanisms. Bolivian's Lowland populations deserve special attention as indigenous peoples such as Guaraní and Chiquitanos are not only exposed to discriminatory practice by local or departmental authorities, but are also confronted with adverse state governmental practice reflecting a regional political agenda (see more details in Chapter 1 on indigeneity). The case studies on Alto Parapetí and Lomerío contextualise prior consultation and participatory rights with reference to the regions in which they take place.

4.2 Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Laws and Policies in Morales' First Term

Probably the most far-reaching progressive legal development in terms of indigenous peoples' rights is Bolivia's constitution, enacted in 2009. Alongside Ecuador, the Bolivian constitution is considered a role model in terms of indigenous peoples' rights and constitutionally recognised plurinationality in Latin America. It represents a new form of constitutionalism, a "transformative constitutionalism" (Wolkmer and Wolkmer, 2015; Ávila Santamaria, 2011; Clavero, 2010) in the sense that it re-founds the State, re-invents institutions, recognises indigenous peoples' rights and promises the end of colonialism (Baldi, 2012). Accordingly, Evo Morales declared "Here begins the new Bolivia" (Taylor, 2009: para. 5). In fact, the mentioned changes were launched and facilitated by President Evo Morales whose first term in office demonstrated high political commitment as exemplified by the drafting process of the constitution and a wide range of laws and regulations.

The new Bolivian constitution, for instance, was fundamental to these changes: it was considerably influenced by the adoption of UNDRIPS in terms of indigenous peoples' self-determination and sovereignty issues on the one hand and

equal recognition of indigenous justice systems (Sieder and Sierra, 2010). Plurinational constitutionalism represents the latest form of what Raquel Irigoyen termed “*three phases of constitutional recognition of legal pluralism*” encompassing “*multicultural constitutionalism*” including cultural diversity and specific rights (1980s), “*pluricultural constitutionalism*” (1980s–1990s) including progressive developments such as indigenous and Afro rights and regression in the sense of fewer rights based on a strong market ideology, and the aforementioned “*plurinational constitutionalism*” (2000s; Yrigoyen Fajardo, 2011).

Significantly, Bolivia is acknowledged as a “Plurinational” state; this has far-reaching implications: it is reflected in political, social, economic, judicial, cultural and linguistic pluralism, it means building a State based on differences instead of a homogenising process (Böhrt Irahola, 2010). This is reflected in including references to indigenous community justice in constitutional provisions. At the same time, the State is viewed as *plurinational and communitarian*, i.e. while “Plurinational” corresponds to the multicultural character of Bolivian society, “communitarian” refers to indigenous peoples’ collective logic; in this sense the State enables state organisation to adopt more indigenous representation in its different organs of public power (Romero, 2009). Similarly, in terms of indigenous peoples’ participatory rights, the constitution incorporates provisions on “decentralisation and autonomy” enabling indigenous peoples to directly elect their authorities, administer their resources, granting legislative powers and applying executive, regulatory and scrutiny powers in practice (Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art.272); autonomies are further regulated in the Framework Law on Autonomies and Decentralisation (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2010a). Conversely, the Constitution has also been

criticised, particularly in the country's Lowlands, for its particular agenda of indigenous rights not reflecting the broader diversity of indigenous voices (Romero and Schipani, 2009), its Aymara-centric character (Albro, 2010), and its consequential embodiment of not only multiplicity, but a paradox of new exclusions (Toranzo Roca, 2008).

In the context of land and territorial rights, the Constitution explicitly grants indigenous peoples the right to prior consultation; the opportunity to apply their own norms that are administered by their representative structures; and exclusive use of renewable natural resources (Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art. 403). Generally, indigenous peoples are granted the right to elect their own political representatives according to their own forms of election (Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art. 211). A particular novelty is represented by a comprehensive human rights catalogue for indigenous peoples (Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art. 30) with equal application to Afro-Bolivian people (Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art. 32). Apart from specific political, civil, cultural, economic and social rights, the right to prior consultation is further specified in this context. While consultation needs to be carried out through indigenous institutions whenever legislative or administrative measures could affect them, the right to prior consultation is to be respected and guaranteed in good faith and in a concerted fashion in the case of non-renewable natural resource exploitation in their territories (Bolivian, 2009: Art. 30(II)(15)). On the other hand, it could be argued that indigenous peoples' rights to lands and resources are balanced with demands from the landowning class, e.g. with regard to legalising "enterprising" lands (Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art. 315; Regalsky and Ortega Breña, 2010). Land and resource rights are conditioned by

third parties who legally acquired claims to such resources (Tamburini, 2008; Bolivian Constituent Assembly, 2009: Art. 394).

Apart from this constitutional paradigm shift in terms of indigenous peoples' rights, other policies and laws were of relevance to indigenous peoples in the course of Morales' first term: natural resources and land issues as well as nationalising oil and gas were important elements of Morales' *October 2003 agenda* at the beginning of his term (Tamburini, 2007; Kohl and Farthing, 2014). Partly as a negative response to the neoliberal model of development, Bolivia's hydrocarbon sector was nationalised (Kaup, 2010a; Bolivian National Congress, 2005). That way the State assumed control over the commercialisation of its gas, which, in turn, enabled it to renegotiate contracts with multinationals (Kaup, 2010a). The state-owned company YPF (Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos) was re-established. Indigenous peoples also successfully demanded the inclusion of a procedure for consultation and participation in the said law. However, the new government also confronted new challenges as to institutional capacity which characterised Morales' first term: Morales' rural social movement representatives and indigenous peoples had had limited educational opportunities, which, in turn, influenced political representatives' preparations for the new appointments (Kohl, 2010; Tapia, 2007): inexperience also contributed to this; in the first term more than half of mandate-holders were replaced (Kohl, 2010). At the same time, Morales' policies are characterised by an often contradictory blend of indigenist and leftist lobbies which advocate rural development and hydrocarbon exploitation respectively (Postero, 2010).

4.3 Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Laws and Policies in Morales' Second and Third Term

Especially the beginning of Morales' second term was shaped by indigenous peoples' active engagement and consideration in law-making processes; two laws stand out as particularly important to indigenous peoples' participatory rights: the aforementioned Framework Law on Autonomies and Decentralisation (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2010a) and the Law on the Electoral System (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2010b). The former in particular largely met the expectations of the actively involved indigenous organisation Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (CIDOB) (Tamburini, 2011). The latter grants indigenous peoples' right to elect representatives to the Legislative Assembly in line with their particular procedures and rules and establishes so-called Indigenous Peasant Special Constituencies (*Circunscripciones Especiales Indígena Originario Campesino*) in the national territory, albeit limiting the latter to rural areas (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2010b).

Furthermore, a Law on Racism (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2010c) was adopted incorporating the UN International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination into domestic law: the adoption of said law had a high symbolical value in putting to end long-established practices of racism and different forms of discrimination in the Bolivian legal order. Another important progressive development in terms of indigenous peoples' rights is the Law on Jurisdictional Demarcation (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2010d), which attempted to coordinate between standard and indigenous jurisdictions: however, it limited indigenous justice to rural areas; sharp tongues would argue this law reproduces a form of judicial colonialism (Quispe Colque, 2011) as it limits indigenous justice mechanisms and thereby attributes a somewhat "inferior" status to the latter. Finally, Morales' second term was marked by the adoption of the internationally known Law on Mother Earth

(Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2012) which includes provisions on *inter alia* a plural economic model and consultation of indigenous peoples (CEJIS, 2011; Bascopé Sanjinés, 2012).

However, Morales' last years and the final part of his second term reveal rather different priorities compared to the constitutional changes and the first laws adopted under the new constitution. The second term reveals significant changes of policy and an ideological turn towards neoliberalism which reduced or even reversed the indigenous peoples' rights regime that was established earlier. Government policies strengthen national and transnational companies in the extractive sector to the detriment of indigenous peoples and their territories. For instance, at least 10 of the national protected areas are reserved for exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons; the largest part of such areas is situated in indigenous peoples' territories (López Camacho, 2015). Particularly, towards the end of the second term, the Morales administration promoted a legal framework that would consolidate this extractivist model which favours the corporate sector.

This can be illustrated by the following laws to a particular significant degree in terms of impact on indigenous peoples. Namely, the Investment Law was adopted which establishes a framework that is devoted to promoting economic development, allegedly with the purpose of respecting the principle of *Vivir Bien*,³⁸ and enabling productive activities and maintaining processes of nationalising natural resources without making mention of indigenous peoples' ancestral rights to territories and resources (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014b: Arts.1, 16, 19). Another far-reaching

³⁸ The principle "*Vivir Bien*" was defined by David Choquehuanca (Minister of Foreign Affairs) as living in harmony with nature and takes up the regional cultures' ancestral principles (Portal de Economía Solidaria, 2010)

law is the Mining and Metallurgy Law that subordinates all other rights affected by mining concessions to mining rights, allows exploration without consultation and inhibits social protest (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a: Arts.92-113). Further, the Law on the Restitution of Forests legalised illegal deforestation by agro-industrial companies focussing on national interests and public utility by incentivising forest restitution while small communal property remains in the hands of indigenous peasant peoples (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2013b: Art.1, 3(II)). Even the use of indigenous or Afro Bolivian peoples' forests and lands and intercultural communities that are managed under collective property is governed by a special regime (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2013b: Art. Segunda (I)). Yet, protected areas and forest reserves are not subject to such new regulative regime (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2013b: Art.5(I)). Finally, the Law on the Subjugation and Trafficking of Land protects agro-industrial property and penalises with utmost rigour land use and access to land which does not fulfil an economic function (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2013a).

At the beginning of Morales' third term in office, the Bolivian government issued four presidential decrees which aimed towards limiting the right to prior consultation and compensation payments regarding negative impacts of hydrocarbon projects, thereby modifying previously adopted laws and regulations on prior consultation. One of them changed the maximum duration from 60 to 45 days (more elaborations on changing time frame, see Pereyra, 2015):

“The methodology considers activities and or proceedings that implement the consultation and shall in no case exceed 45 calendar days” (Bolivian President, 2015a: Art.2(II)) On the other hand the previously adopted regulation on prior consultation establishes: *“Once the period (as established in the agreement) has lapsed, an additional period of three months is provided in order to comply with the consultation proceeding.”* (Presidente Constitucional, 2007: Art.12(II))

A second one declares hydrocarbon projects as national interest irrespective of different interests on the ground and thus overriding consultations; it also establishes high maximum levels in terms of permissible of water discharge and hydrocarbon-related contamination and thus legitimises projects with adverse environmental impact (President, 2015c; see also Arce Zaconeta, 2015)

A third decree permits hydrocarbon projects in natural reserves (Bolivian President, 2015b) with the reasoning

“Natural resources are under the exclusive authority of the state (...) of strategic character and public interest for the development of the country (...) allowing explorative hydrocarbon activities in different zones and categories of protected areas” (President, 2015b: Preamble, Art.1, 2)

Finally, the fourth one regulates compensation payments for the local population in terms of socio-environmental impact including direct, accumulated and long term damage and limits it to 1.5% of the total amount of investment depending on the project scale as stipulated in the Environmental Impact Assessment form (Bolivian President, 2014b: Art.2).

Such legislative changes have caused serious responses by affected people, particularly among Guaraní Lowland communities in Eastern Bolivia which accommodates 83% of the national natural gas reserves (Perreault, 2008). Namely, the national Guaraní People’s Assembly (APG) convened an emergency meeting and vetoed the attempted access to their territories by companies and initiatives to implement prior consultation according to this new style (Erbol Comunicaciones, 2015a). In another peaceful way of challenging the governmental measures, the Assembly drafted a counterproposal to the decree that allowed extractive projects in natural reserves (Erbol Comunicaciones, 2015b).

At the same time, the current Government threatens civil society actors which work in defence of human rights that are violated in the context of e.g. extractive projects: whenever NGOs work against “Bolivia’s economic development” or do not comply with the government’s politics or norms, they lose their legal personality and thereby cease to exist (Layme, 2015: para.4). This was heavily criticised by the international community: the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression filed an *amicus curiae* brief to the Bolivian Constitutional Court challenging the current NGO regulation (Kiai, 2015; Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2013c; Bolivian President, 2014a). A few weeks after that, Morales adopted an even sharper tone against civil society representatives: any NGO that impaired the exploration of hydrocarbons would be expelled from the country (Erbol Comunicaciones, 2015c). In short, in Morales’ first nine years of administration, the government has developed an extractivist model which does not comply with its initial promises toward Mother Earth, indigenous peoples’ collective rights and a plural economy (Wanderley, 2015).

4.4 The Right to Prior Consultation in the Hydrocarbon and Mining Sectors

The changing political landscape and legal developments in the course of Morales’ three terms have demonstrably impacted on indigenous peoples’ collective rights, in particular regarding extractive issues. As the law on hydrocarbons was adopted at the promising beginnings of Morales’ first term, and the mining law is a product of highly influential corporate pressures at the ending of his second term, different consultation standards apply to the hydrocarbon and mining sectors respectively. The observations made during both fieldtrips have to be analysed against this background, also considering that the restrictive presidential decrees on hydrocarbons were only adopted after the prior consultation process was observed (see Figure 8: Field trips in

relation to prior consultation laws and decrees, on p.143). The hydrocarbon sector followed by the mining industry represents the strongest extractive sectors of Bolivia. This also results in a high number of consultation proceedings: after the adoption of the supreme decree on consultation in 2007 until the end of 2014, approximately 40 prior consultation processes were carried out, and 30 of those concerned Guaraní peoples' territories (Schilling-Vacaflor, 2014).

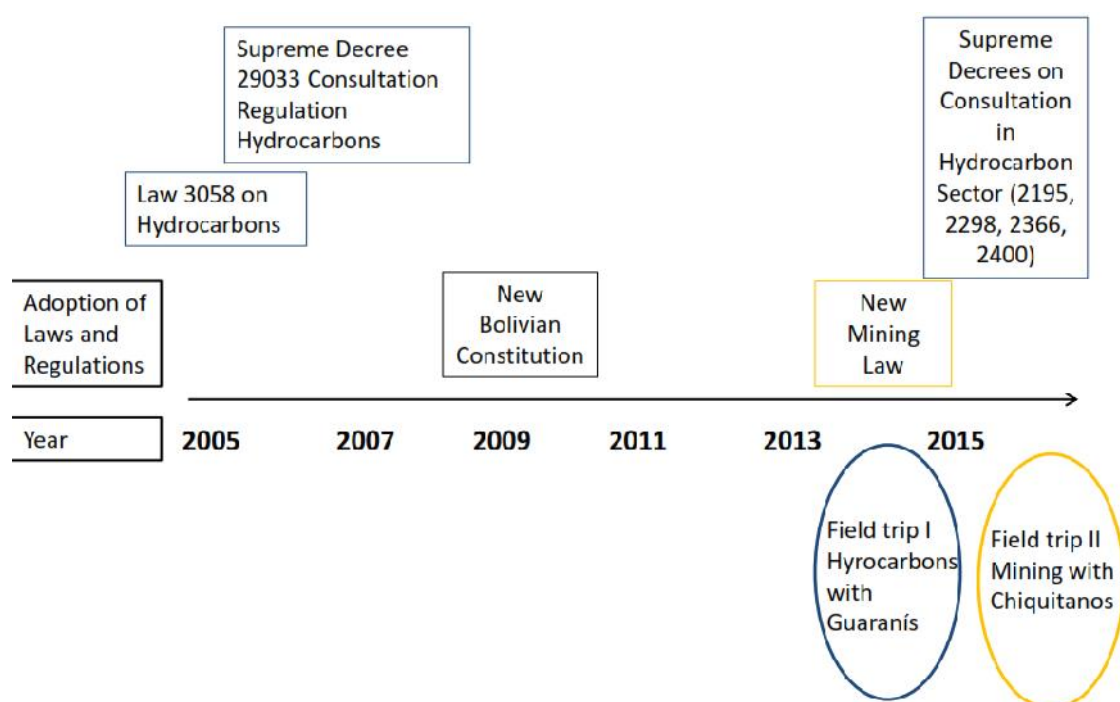


Figure 8: Field trips in relation to prior consultation laws and decrees

The Law on Hydrocarbons (Bolivian National Congress, 2005) includes some general references to prior consultation processes which are further specified in a regulation (Bolivian President, 2007). The law and regulation make explicit and elaborate references to existing international standards and establish a consultation process that shall be organised in a timely manner, it is legally binding, appropriate, informed, participatory, transparent, comprehensive and complying with the principles of truthfulness and good faith (Bolivian National Congress, 2007: Art.115;

Bolivian President, 2007: Art. 4). Further, it should be carried out prior to authorising or implementing any hydrocarbon-related measures, works or projects and prior to the approval of any environmental impact assessment study (Bolivian National Congress, 2007: Art.115(a) and (b); Bolivian President, 2007: Arts. 14-15). It is also specified that consultations should be conducted with the objective of reaching indigenous peoples' agreement or consent (Bolivian National Congress, 2007: Art.115; Bolivian President, 2007: "Consideraciones"). Simultaneously, the latter aspect is considerably limited by the law: while the validity of resolutions and consensus is emphasised, it also determines the implications of a negative result of the process, namely a conciliation process in the best national interest (Bolivian National Congress, 2007: Art.116; Bolivian Constitutional Court, 2006). This demonstrates the high levels of complexities and contradictory rights as expressed by the law and suggests the involvement of different parties and interests in the drafting of the law (Muguerza, 2011).

Throughout the regulation, the representative character of the process is highlighted: the regulation does not only refer to the importance of respecting indigenous peoples' representative decision-making structures, forms of organisation, customs and traditions (Bolivian President, 2007: Art. 4), but it essentially specifies rules to guarantee their independence. Particularly, any form of interference, intrusion or influence on the indigenous organisations' internal affairs or representative body is ruled out (Bolivian President, 2007: Art. 4). The regulation also designates indigenous peoples' competent bodies that shall be recognised in the process, including organisational bodies at national, departmental, regional and local levels respecting their territoriality, customs and traditions (Bolivian President, 2007:

Art. 6). Similarly, albeit to a lesser extent, the representative character in consultation processes is stressed by the Bolivian Constitutional Court. While its first rulings on international standards focussed on their embeddedness in the Bolivian judicial legal order of the constitutional system (Bolivian Constitutional Court, 2003), and the *constitutional block* (the fundament of the constitution) and human rights catalogue (Bolivian Constitutional Court, 2004), a more recent ruling engages actively with the significance of indigenous organisational structures in decision-making regarding extractive operations (Lenzerini, 2014). Namely, indigenous authorities are attributed powers to fulfil both administrative functions and to apply their own norms where conflicts arise, while at the same time orienting themselves towards applying their customs and proceedings (Bolivian Constitutional Court, 2006).

By contrast, the Bolivian legal regime governing the mining sector can be considered minimalistic, at best, or rights violating, at worst. The aforementioned Mining Law (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a) and the recently adopted Granting and Extinction of Mining Rights Regulation (Bolivian Mining Ministry, 2015) set the framework for extractive mining activities and consultation procedures. Regarding the new law, general concerns include the prevalence of mining-related rights over other rights (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a: Arts. 92–113), inhibiting social protest and criminalising any acts to restrain mining rights (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a: Arts. 99–100), granting of mining licences in protected areas and forest zones (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a: Arts. 220–222 and the strong preference of state mining corporations compared to e.g. cooperatives (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a: Arts. 24–25). The latter provision caused serious protest by the cooperatives in the form of national blockades, resulting in two deaths and 50 injured

(Francescone, 2014). Apart from cooperatives in the Bolivian Highlands, indigenous peoples were protesting against the law proposal, they were also excluded from negotiating the new law: this culminated in two national social summits (Andreucci and Radhuber, 2014). Pre-defined power relations also materialise in the context of environmental monitoring: the Mining Ministry is the competent authority, becoming a main judge in environmental issues (Crespo, 2014) and leaving no decision-making powers to other bodies or indigenous peoples (Energía Bolivia, 2015).

In relation to prior consultation processes, prospection or exploration activities do not require consultation; the latter is limited to the exploitation phase (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 207(II)). Two further exceptions to prior consultation are stated in the recently adopted regulation: mining contracts that were entered into before the adoption of the Mining Law and isolated activities undertaken under special licenses (Barrenechea and Moreno, 2015). While agreements between state authorities, mining actors and indigenous peoples are legally binding, informed consent is not mentioned in that regard (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 208(II)): rather it is explicitly stated that indigenous peoples do not exert any veto power over mining activities referring to natural resources as a declared strategy and public interest for the country's development (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 208(III)).

The consultation proceedings themselves reveal high levels of formality instead of establishing a genuine participatory, intercultural dialogue. For instance, time frames are very narrow, limiting the process to merely three meetings (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 211(II)). The last two meetings only serve the purpose of reaching agreement in case the first meeting fails, whereas the first

meeting merely fulfils the purpose of giving explanations on mining activities, identifying impacts on collective rights and mechanisms of redress and presenting a draft agreement (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 213). If such agreement is not reached, a mediation and rapprochement procedure is initiated, which, in turn, in case of a negative result will end in a final decision (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Arts. 214-215) which is taken by the Mining and Metallurgic Productive Development Vice Ministry (Bolivian Mining Ministry, 2015: Art. 1). Throughout the entire process, indigenous peoples are merely attributed the task of formulating observations and draft proposals for a potential agreement; this is limited to identifying impacts and mechanisms of redress which are eventually scrutinised based on appropriateness, duly justifications and support by oral, written or other means (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 213(IV)). Finally, issues of representation are not specified in detail, the law merely identifies indigenous peoples' respective authorities as representatives in accordance with applicable norms or their customs and traditions (Bolivian Legislative Assembly, 2014a, Art. 212(I)).

4.5 Socio-Political, Historical and Cultural Context in the Guaraní Communities in Alto Parapetí

As mentioned previously, Guaraní people are the most affected section of the Bolivian population when it comes to hydrocarbon extraction. At the same time they represent merely about 1 percent of the total population; they live in three different departments: Chuquisaca, Santa Cruz and Tarija (Schilling-Vacaflor, 2014). Politically, Bolivian Guaraní people are represented at different levels including their national organisation, the Assembly of the Guaraní People (APG) founded in 1987, who speak for Guaranís of all three departments in different forums and departmental

assemblies (Albó, 1990). The APG basically represents the Guaraní peoples' interests of more than 360 communities in the Bolivian Chaco region (Anzaldo García and Gutiérrez Galean, 2014).

In their indigenous communal lands (TCOs, see Abbreviations and Glossary), Guaranís are represented by so-called *Capitanías*, i.e. umbrella organisations that administer each TCO. At community level, local leaders and mandate-holders of e.g. natural resources, lands and territory, health, education or gender issues represent the communities' interests (Miller Castro, 2013). Mandate-holders at all levels are referred to as *Mburuvichereta* (chiefs), or *Mburuvicha* in the singular form, or *Capitanes*. The latter term was first expressed by the Governor of Santa Cruz Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa who named one of the indigenous leaders *Capitán* in 1594 reflecting military rank; the term is still commonly used (Finot, 1939; Diez Astete, 2011). While *Mburuvichereta* act as community leaders and do not exert coercive authority, their decision-making powers entirely depend on consensus achieved in community assemblies, leaders merely execute the decisions that are taken both at community level and in relation to external institutions such as NGOs or religious entities (Hirsch, 1999).

Similarly, Guaraní authority and leadership structures originate from leadership and spokesmen positions that were imposed by Spanish colonial authorities (Postero, 2007; Melià, 1989). Others would argue *Capitanías* resulted from the interplay between Guaraní people, colonial powers and society, and transformations within indigenous society: importantly, the Guaraní developed this institution in the light of threats to lose territories, political pressures, the entry of white land owners, and later in relation to government authorities and external

players such as anthropologists (Hirsch, 1999). At the same time, other actors such as NGOs inspired the establishment of Guaraní organisations and kept them alive by providing funding to implement their own projects (Hirsch, 2003). Indeed, in the absence of the State on the ground regarding development projects such as agricultural and artisanal production, education and health, NGOs have filled this gap (Bebbington and Thiele, 1993). Bolivian NGOs still work in close cooperation with Guaraní organisations providing support or advice on issues such as land use or management, education programmes, or simply to rent pickup trucks to them. At the same time, this support becomes indispensable as indigenous leaders are not paid for representing their communities and as they work as representatives, they cannot meet other obligations such as working in the agricultural sector or family responsibilities. Thereby, dependencies are created and funding reaches indigenous institutions which were not made for the administration of resources etc.

In fact, the Guaraní primarily rely on subsistence activities, mainly in the agricultural sectors including small-scale cattle-breeding, growing crop food and in the case of a bad season, they also take on additional work in the city as migrant workers or in the adjacent agribusiness sector (Albó, 2012). However, aforementioned NGO projects play a crucial role in generating “income” in addition to numerous compensation and social investment awards which stem from hydrocarbon projects (Postero, 2007). Difficult subsistence conditions are based on the Bolivian Guaraní people’s sedentary nature and the water scarcity of the Great Chaco³⁹ region: Spanish

³⁹ *Chaco* is a Quechua word to refer to “hunting” and thus describes the Chaco region as a hunting area including forests, plains, marshes which borders the Andes in the western Chaco and the river Paraguay in the east, its most southern point is Santa Fe in Argentina and in the north it extends to beyond the Bolivian-Paraguay border. Adopted from Saeger, 2000.

expeditions, for instance, encountered serious difficulties in surviving in the Chaco (Saeger, 2000).

Bolivian Guaraní people look back at a migration history that started in the precolonial era (Saignes, 2007). Since the beginning of colonial times, the presence of so-called *karay*⁴⁰ has caused division in terms of negotiations and collaborations with *karays*, resistance and the struggle against colonialism (Penner, 1998). In fact, until today Great Chaco peoples are considered heterogeneous groups which only achieve unity in terms of their asymmetrical relationship with society (Braunstein and Miller, 1999). At the same time, only indigenous Ayoreo groups of all Chaco peoples succeeded in avoiding submission to society (Braunstein and Miller, 1999): Guaraní people were largely integrated into society. From the 18th century onwards, they were confronted by missions of evangelisation by Jesuits and Franciscans, however, in contrast to Paraguayan Guaraní, the Guaraní in Bolivia were resistant to such missions based on their supposed link with the colonial regime: they feared becoming colonial slaves once they converted to Christianity (Saignes, 1990).

Generally, the Guaraní are considered one of the few indigenous groups that have systematically opposed any forms of domination since colonial times until today (Hirsch, 1996). However, as the particular case study of Guaraní people in the Alto Parapetí (see Figure 9 Map of visited communities in Alto Parapetí and Ñembuite, p.152) region shows, domination was maintained during several centuries until the last decade in the form of forced labour and bondage systems. Namely, communities

⁴⁰ Originally the term *karay* referred to people with magic-spiritual powers, however, during colonial times, the term gained a political meaning. The first Spaniards were named *karay* based on their surprising and mystic appearance and how they were perceived by the Guaraní. Nowadays, the term is used for all “non-Guaraní”, especially white people.

in Alto Parapetí were only recently liberated from contemporary forms of slavery which included debt bondage, forced labour and discriminatory treatment. Until recently, such situation highly influenced, and keeps influencing Guaraní people's position in relation to the remaining parts of society. In the debt-bondage system, the Guaraní could not access their own territory and hence depended on illegitimate administrators who exercised control over the communities and demonstrably eliminated their cultural self-esteem (Guerrera Peñaranda, 2005). Official figures indicate the continuation of forced labour and conditions of captivity in 600 Guaraní families in the Bolivian Chaco (Ombudsman's Office Bolivia, 2006). Some estates build on conditions of servitude; others combine these with seasonal labour (DED, 2008).

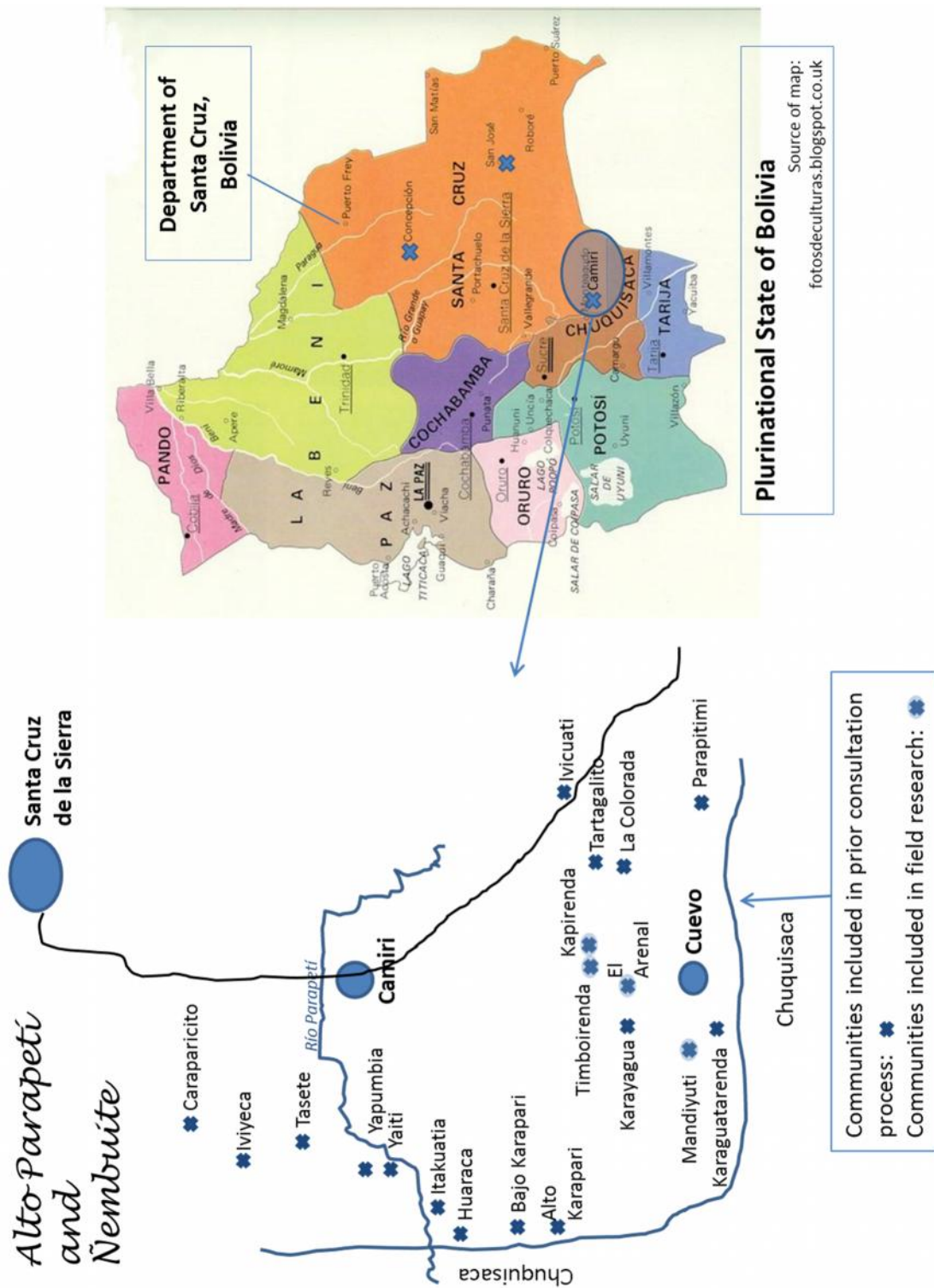


Figure 9 Map of visited communities in Alto Parapetí and Ñembuite

Apart from the communities' history and experience with debt-bondage and forced labour, a few things can be said about the particularities of the region and indigenous organisations. After a long period of struggle and existence as captive

communities, communities belonging to the communal lands Alto Parapetí affiliated themselves with different umbrella organisations, the so-called “*Capitanías*”. The *Capitanía Alto Parapetí* was established in 1996 between 9 communities, namely Iviyeca, Tasete, Yaiti, Itacuatí, Huaraca, Alto Karapari, Bajo Karapari, Yapumbia y El Recreo (Miller Castro, 2013). Several communities from the municipality of Cuevo were affiliated with the *Capitanía Santa Rosa* and split due to corruptive practice and mismanagement of State allowances and NGO support. Another reason for this was the so-called “ladder principle” according to which said communities were only used on paper for funding applications and allowances which would only benefit certain communities: said communities would only serve as “stepping stones” to facilitate economic progress of a few communities. Therefore, in 2000, such communities incorporated themselves into the *Capitanía Alto Parapetí*, including El Arenal, Karayagua, Timboirenda, La Colorada, Tartagalito, Mandiyuti y Parapetimi, more communities joined the following year: Kapirenda, Karaguatarenda, Ñembuite and Caraparicito. The 11 last mentioned ones, except Caraparicito, formed the new *Capitanía Ñembuite*. Similar to developments in the *Capitanía Santa Rosa*, *Ñembuite* was established on the basis of internal tensions and conflicts. Apart from misappropriated NGOs funds, compensation payments and other financial resources generated through hydrocarbon projects also contributed to such conflicts and the resulting splitting of administered territories.

4.6 Socio-Political, Historical and Cultural Context in the Chiquitano Communities in Lomerío

Similar to Guaraní people in the Bolivian Chaco, the majority of Lowlands Chiquitano communities are sedentary people and “agricultural experts” of the tropical forest

(Krekeler, 1993). In fact, the Chiquitania connects the tropical rain forest and the Great Chaco region. While different sources suggest the importance of hunting, fishing and gathering, agriculture remains to be the predominant form of subsistence (D'Orbigny, 1990). In contrast to the Guaraní agricultural sector, Chiquitano lands are green, naturally irrigated and well-drained, and thus provide sufficient sources of food for its populations. Originally, this preference for agricultural work was boosted by the Jesuit missionaries who promoted specific days that were to be devoted to work on "God's lands" (Balza Alarcón, 2001). This form of subsistence came increasingly under threat as private and collective mining generate income and thereby substitute agricultural work in their *chacos*⁴¹.

Just as in the case of Guaraní people, social and decision-making structures were highly influenced by outside players, in this case by Jesuit missionaries: indigenous leaders were denominated *Caciques*, a position that would include both leadership in wars and hunting expeditions just as a privileged status based on magic-religious functions (Hoffmann, 1979). However, leadership structures had already emerged in the pre-Columbian era, albeit in simpler forms: decision-making was based on consensus; leaders would merely intervene in times of crisis and serve in the role of spokespersons (Birk, 2000). It is also reported that some form of leadership *cacicazgo* (or "*Cacique* leadership", Suárez de Figueroa, 1965) and counsel of the elderly (Riester, 1970) existed in such times. While Guaraní people's original leadership structures were based on blood relationship and inheritance, Chiquitano

⁴¹ Almost every Chiquitano family administers and cultivates their *chacos*, i.e. land under cultivation and crops.

Caciques assumed such charges on grounds of merit and courage in wars and take their enemies as prisoners (Fernández, 1896).

In prehistoric times, however, there were no clearly pronounced social hierarchies (Balza Alarcón, 2011). Yet, to some extent leadership structures did exist, these were eventually transformed into roles of directors and coordinators of specific tasks that were presented in the context the Jesuit missions (D'Orbigny, 1990). In fact, in colonial times, Spanish and Portuguese warriors facilitated the presence of priests affiliated to the Jesuit Order which involved several impacts on local indigenous Chiquitano people. Namely, Jesuit missionaries successfully made local populations dependent on both material goods such as highly-priced iron tools and through ideological conditions that were established by attracting them to their missions and the consolidation of the *reducciones* (Hoffmann, 1979). Nowadays, indigenous *Caciques* assume more diverse responsibilities: convening meetings, organisation of infrastructure and community work, and most importantly representative functions before regional assemblies, state authorities or receiving delegates (Birk, 2000).

Just as Guaraní communities, the Chiquitano people have established vertical organisational structures: this includes local assemblies and departmental organisations such as the Indigenous Association of Orinary Communities of Lomerío (CICOL, *Central Indígena de Comunidades de Lomerío*) in view of the present case study. CICOL plays a decisive role as it is the first intercommunity organisation in Bolivia and was also regarded a novelty at local levels as there was no organised intercommunity connection until the 1980s (Birk, 2000). Similar to the organisational structures of Guaraní people, CICOL (see Figure 10: Organisational structure CICOL – mandates, on p.157) includes specific thematic mandates, comprising gender, health,

education, land and territory, and environment. CICOL has also been involved in natural resource issues including both forest and to a lesser extent, mining resources due to the dominance of cooperatives in this sector. In 1984, for instance, CICOL requested a forestry concession at the state entity Centre for Forest Development with the objective of consolidating the territorial claims of its communities and avoiding any interference by third parties or illegal deforestation (Sandoval, 2005). However, such concession was only granted in 1998 after the new Forestry Law had been passed (Raessens, 2004). Apart from general representative mechanisms, there are also two women's organisations, the mothers' club and *Artecampo*, an artisanal organisation which contributes to more influential gender representation in community assemblies through such "sub-committees". There are also so-called "productive organisations" including timber product or beekeeper associations and "funcional organisations" such as water committees, family father associations or the above-mentioned mother's club (Vadillo, 2010). Finally, an important decision-making instance is the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia representing indigenous peoples of the Bolivian Lowlands (CIDOB, *Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia*). The latter also represents indigenous Guaraní people.

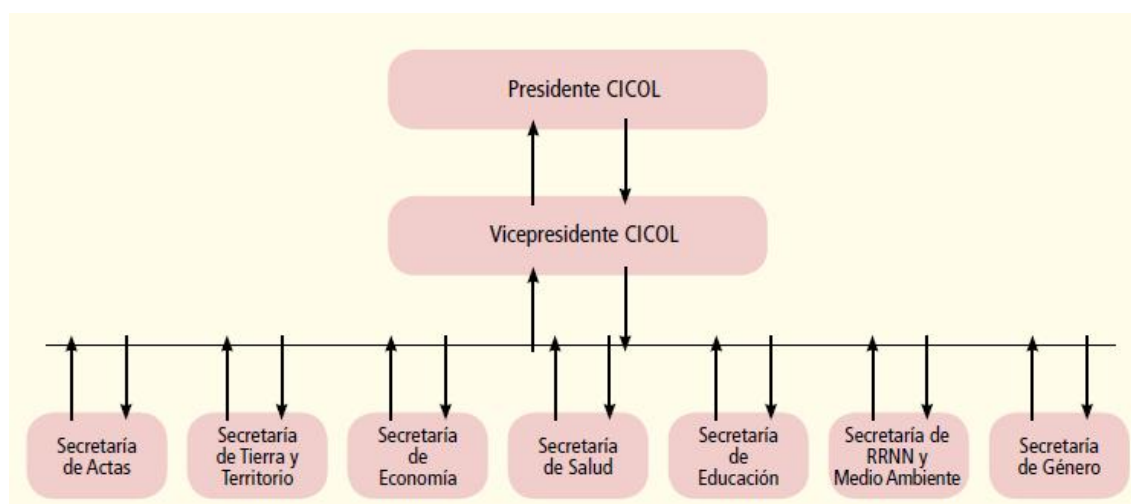


Figure 10: Organisational structure CICOL – mandates
source: Miller Castro, 2013

In the particular case of Lomerío (see Figure 11 Map of visited region Chiquitania and Lomerío in particular, p.159), which is the area where the present field work was conducted, a few distinguishing points can be made. Lomerío counts with the highest percentage of Bésiro⁴² speakers of the Chiquitaia, which is the indigenous language spoken by the Chiquitano people. Approximately 66% of the population is bilingual while only 31% only speak Spanish and 1% are monolingual in Bésiro: the majority of the population is bilingual and young; namely between 2 and 34 years old and represent 49% of the total population (Vadillo, 2010). It is located about 400km north east to the city of Santa Cruz in the province of Ñuflo de Chávez (Birk, 2000). The geographical area of Lomerío also coincides with the administrative district, the indigenous communal lands TCO Lomerío (*tierra comunitaria de origen*) which includes 7000 Chiquitano people living in 28 communities. Each of the 28 communities obtained legal personality in the course of the Popular Participation process (Bolivian National Congress, 1994). The region is also characterised by

⁴² *Bésiro* is the indigenous Chiquitano language, the term means “correct, direct or directly”: Galeote, 1996.

people's young age: namely, about 50% of the population is less than 15 years old (Birk, 2000). This has important implications for the acceptance of mining projects in the region which are largely rejected by the elderly: accordingly, meetings are dominated by young community members. Lomerío can also be regarded as special compared to the Chiquitania at large due to its particularly strong resistance towards "external invasions": it was the first indigenous communal land to successfully be defended by means of its own forestry concession as a strategy to defend territory and natural resources against the exploitation by timber firms (Sandoval, 2005).

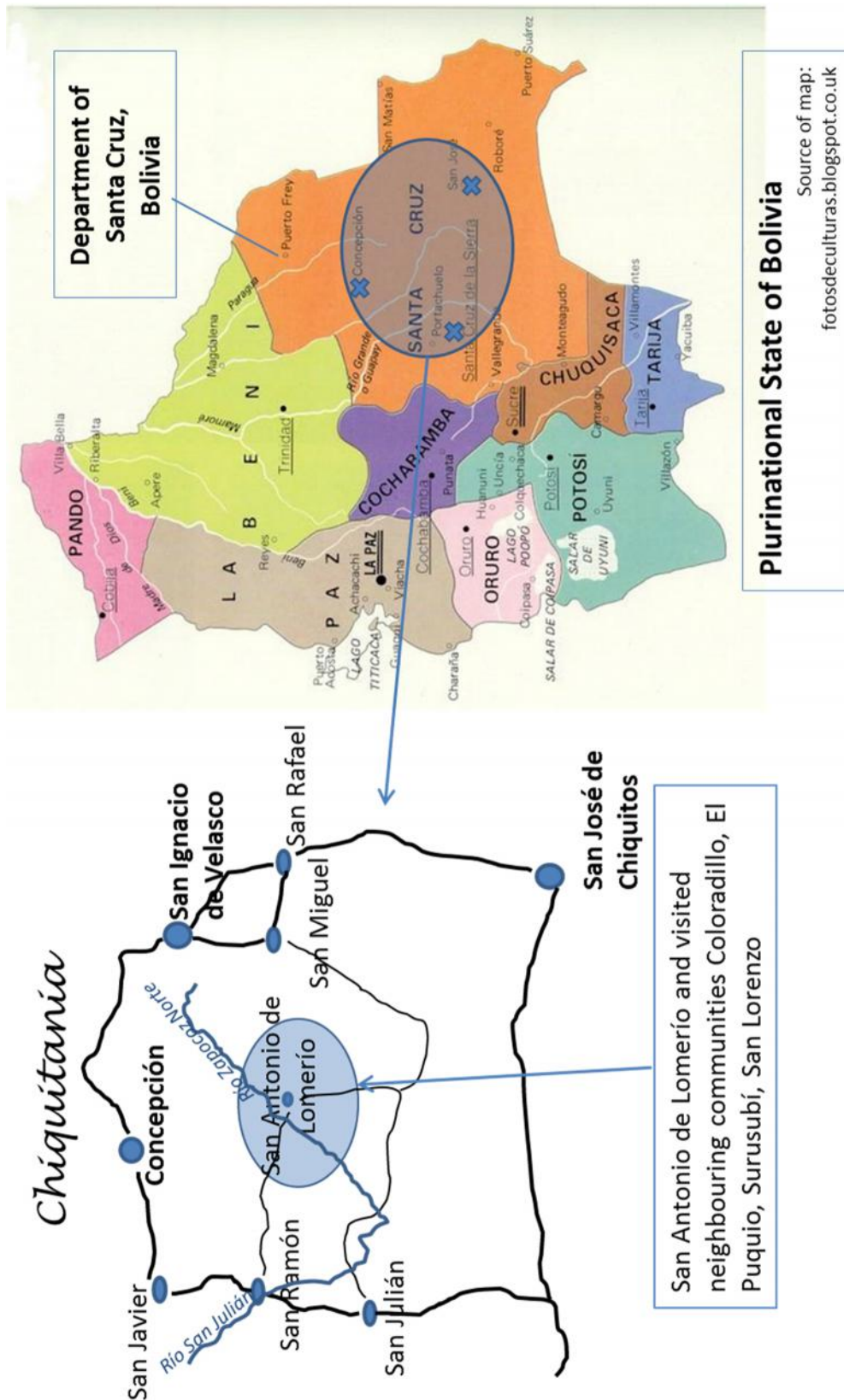


Figure 11 Map of visited region Chiquitania and Lomerío in particular

Chapter 5 Case Study I: Indigenous Peoples' Right to Prior Consultation in Hydrocarbon Activities – Discriminatory Practice Regarding Participation in Guaraní Communities in the Bolivian Chaco

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide empirical insights from a prior consultation process *exploration 2D Sararenda* (May – August 2014) that was conducted on Guaraní people's lands and territories in the hydrocarbon sector. This includes observational research during the consultation process as well as extensive interviews and focus groups (see Chapter 2 for more insights) that I conducted after the process (October 2014).⁴³ Based on the richness and considerable amount of empirical data, particularly interviews and focus groups, I attempt to actively engage with indigenous peoples' voices throughout the chapter: this includes indigenous peoples' opinions in Spanish and Guaraní which were translated into English.

The case concerns a seismic gas exploration activity involving the MHE (Ministry of Hydrocarbons and Energy), the state-owned oil and gas company "YPFB Andina" and affected indigenous Guaraní peoples in the Bolivian Lowlands region "Gran Chaco". The process initiated in May 2014 (see Annex 11 Agreements signed as part of the prior consultation process 2D Sararenda, including all official documents and agreements of the process, on p.704), finalised in August of the same year and took place in two indigenous territories "TCO Kaami" and "TCO Alto Parapetí" (indigenous community territories, see Figure 9 Map of visited communities in Alto

⁴³ For a detailed summary and analysis of the case, please check my publication list (article for GIGA project website).

Parapetí and Ñembuite regarding the geographical position, on p.152). Indigenous peoples were represented by their *zonal*, representative organisation “*Capitanía Alto Parapetí*” (CAP) and their umbrella organisation “APG” (Guaraní Peoples’ Assembly); this included approximately 60 community members who represented 500 families (2500 community members) in each indigenous territory. The prior consultation comprised five activities which were undertaken in the municipal capitals respectively lasting one to two days and included a five-day field inspection in some affected communities.

The present chapter explores ways in which individual community members and groups of people were excluded or suffered some form of discrimination in the consultation process with governmental authorities. Thereby, it is examined how community members participate in decision-making mechanisms at local levels and how this is, in turn, was reflected in the consultation process. Women’s participation and the involvement of different age groups such as the elderly and youth are focused upon. However, as indicated earlier, other aspects stand out as important regarding the micro-level of consultation mechanisms. This includes monolingual community members and persons with lower education levels. It also embraces local leaders who do not have a say due to the presence of powerful regional or so-called *zonal* élites. In this context, it is important to distinguish between local community leaders and *zonal* leaders who represent the indigenous umbrella organisation CAP and the territorial unit that embraces territories of the zone or region Alto Parapetí. Therefore, the chapter develops four main themes (women, age groups, monolingualism and local leadership) which elaborate on the ethnographic experience and interviews that were conducted.



Figure 12: Stages of the prior consultation process

5.2 Guaraní Peoples and Prior Consultation: First Community Experience

It was my second week as a visiting researcher at CEJIS when three *Mburuvichereta* (Guaraní leaders) from Alto Parapetí convened a meeting with the CEJIS director and head of the departmental programme in Santa Cruz. I was kindly invited to attend. Meetings between indigenous leaders and CEJIS were commonplace: supporting programmes, advisory legal support in the field of land, territory and natural resources as well as vehicle use were constantly renegotiated and adapted to the needs of the communities, or, more precisely, to the needs as expressed by higher level representatives. This time, however, the concern was more pressing: a prior

consultation process was about to start in Alto Parapetí; MHE and YPFB representatives had announced a planning and methodology meeting that would take place only a few days later in Camiri. CEJIS usually provided advice and support in such situations, however, funding was very limited and all programmes severely understaffed: the current government not only threatened indigenous rights advocates, it used a sophisticated strategy of not formally recognising NGOs by not issuing official registration documents on which they existentially depended. All donors, particularly foreign aid and development agencies required NGOs to be officially registered. As I was not involved in all programmes, I was able to observe the process.

It only took a few more days until the process was initiated in Camiri, a city that was remote from most communities. If this was to be understood as a deliberate State strategy, allowing a limited number of participants to the process by funding fewer spaces would fit well into the picture. This meant that I only received a limited picture of the situation: a negotiation in a small-scale setting in an urban environment. I truly experienced the consultation process for the first time during the field inspection to observe and assess the socio-environmental impact the exploration process would cause. The activity included lengthy walks in the course of five days in which we would explore parts of the seismic line which would potentially cause adverse effects. Even though participation was limited to 25 people, the affected communities had the opportunity to receive more information.

It was during this walk that I experienced tensions among the communities which culminated in a political autonomy process that created a split between two groups of communities and resulted in one group of communities being partly

recognised as a new captaincy (see further information on the local versus regional authorities context in the last part of this chapter). These events and long walks with *comunarios* inspired my choice for interviewing *comunarios* and leaders living in communities that were located in this emerging captaincy such as Mandiyuti, Coloradillo, Timbuirenda and Kapirenda. Even though some common assumptions can be made on the participation of the subgroups (see the following subchapters for more information), each community offered a very unique perspective on indigenous peoples' participation.

The first community we visited was Mandiyuti. It was explained to us that the term meant "white cotton" as plenty of white cotton trees covered the community a few centuries ago which was no longer the case. Some *comunarios* explained this by referring to climate-related change that had impacted on the communities' agricultural development and sources of subsistence. We immediately noticed the high level of drought in Mandiyuti, the nearby river could only provide water for limited purposes and forced community members to set limits on agricultural work. Yet, in comparison to other communities, fruit and vegetables were easier to access as soil and water were more available compared to other communities; some *comunarios* would also keep livestock (Photo 35 and Photo 36 on p.166). That way it was possible to provide some basis of food and income to the 32 families in Mandiyuti. The houses were located on hills around the river and a main road connected the dwellings (see Photo 34, p.166). Walking in such rough climate was tiresome; most community members depended on motorcycles, the only means of transport that was available, to make their way through to the entrance of the village. This was essential as the school building which also served as a general meeting point and hosted

assemblies was located in the entrance area. We experienced this in a negative way when community members legitimately hesitated to attend the focus groups, especially the elderly.



Photo 34 Long Road connecting all Houses in Mandiyuti



Photo 35 Community Land with Cattle



Photo 36 *Mburuvicha* and cattle in interview



Photo 37 Typical "Mate" tea served in the evenings and during interviews

Comunarios told us that previous exploitation projects had severely impacted on the water quantity in Mandiyuti (see concluding subchapter for a more extensive debate on the water issue in the consultation process). The community had recently elected a young leader in his mid-twenties, to become *Mburuvicha* of the community, and he was supported by an experienced vice leader Doña Celsa who was involved in the agricultural and farming sectors. Both were active members of the communities and their strong engagement had attracted small agriculture projects which would provide the *comunarios* with basic means to maintain food production serving the

needs of the community. At the same time, the new leadership structures were inspired by development projects which had advertised equal gender relations as well as respective laws that promoted equal gender representation in the authority structures of the community, the *Mburuvichereta* system. Interestingly, the community also included two non-indigenous peasants who were fully integrated into community and working life: both had moved to the community in recent years as they preferred leading a peasant life rather than working in urban spaces. Social divides among *comunarios* only existed, if at all, between different age groups based on different language practice (see following subchapters).

Comprising 75 families, El Arenal is the largest community in the captaincy Alto Parepetí and the new centre of the emerging captaincy Ñembuite. Interestingly, Guaraní is spoken by all generations and the young leadership maintains this in local meetings. The community was led by a young *Mburuvicha* (25 years) and a young female leader with a strong orientation towards gender policies in the community (29 years) who were elected after the consultation process took place. As the largest community, El Arenal hosts a school with senior classes attracting pupils from all neighbouring communities and a small hospital ward. All important meetings take place in said facilities and benefit those living in its closer surroundings even though houses are not as spread out as in other communities. While the largest part of the community is spread out in a wide plain area (Photo 38, p.169), a few houses are located on a hill (Photo 39, p.169): the latter are not as informed about meetings due to the distance the so-called *vocal* (messenger) needs to overcome. In that sense, participatory deficits emerge due to the geographical particularities of the community. Due to its population size and facilities, El Arenal has become a centre of

not only local, but regional political change encouraging the secession process from Alto Parapetí: *comunarios* in El Arenal referred to social conflicts and tensions with the captaincy more than any other issue and had pushed the issue forward in regional meetings.



Photo 38 View on dispersed houses in community



Photo 39 Remote houses with difficult access to the community

Timbuienda, by contrast, presented a completely different picture. It was a rather small community including between 15 and 20 families which, at the same time, were most affected by the extractive project in terms of water resources (Photo 41, p.171). Surprisingly, *comunarios* were the least informed ones compared to the

other communities we visited. This was due to local tensions around leadership and power struggles that prevented *comunarios* to be appropriately informed, especially as to information that would come from higher levels or external institutions. Providing sufficient information was also inhibited by the geographical situation of the community: very basic houses are built on top of hills (Photo 42, p.172) in inaccessible and remote areas constituting obstacles in terms of information flow and local messengers who do not reach each point of the community. Ironically, such isolated and protected places, distant from cities or external influence are most vulnerable and exposed to environmental damage and limited water access in particular. It also seemed that the community was more affected by labour related migration than any other area which made it difficult to maintain an active community and engaged leadership. Another particularity of the village was the presence of various persons with disabilities who had difficulties in reaching higher level decision-making mechanisms. A young *comunario* in a wheelchair was able to volunteer to be in charge of water systems, yet he had hardly any chance to attend *zonal* meetings due to mobility-related difficulties. Again, as in other communities, the village school building was the main contact point which would serve as a meeting place for occasional assemblies.



Photo 40 Area affected by extreme drought



Photo 41 Houses in inaccessible, hidden area of community

Finally, Kapirenda was the last community we visited. Many houses were hidden and located in the forest, hardly noticeable from the main road that transversed the village (Photo 42, p.172). Apparently, the village had been built as a refuge for Guaraní that fled from haciendas where they worked as slaves (see Chapter 4 for more details); the hidden houses served as shelter. Even the school was located at a somewhat distanced location at the end of the road. Other than the previous communities, there were no agricultural fields in the immediate surrounding area, meaning people travelled or had cattle living close to their houses. A very active

couple was in charge of both local decision-making and various mandates in the captaincies which made *comunarios* more aware of extractive projects and their impact on the communities. As many men had left the communities in search for jobs, women took over and were left with double responsibilities (see following subchapter). Several young women had left for university studies and returned to the community. Despite the remoteness of the houses and difficulties in accessing food and water, the socio-cultural framework of the community as well as strong leadership kept the community together.



Photo 42 View from Houses on the Valley and Main Street

5.3 Misunderstanding Gender Issues in Indigenous Community Participation

Even before I was asked to monitor the consultation process for CEJIS, I had heard from my colleagues how little women were taken into consideration in the communities. Martha and Daniela who were both *Guaraní Isoleñas* confirmed this, even though they had moved to Santa Cruz ten years ago and things could have changed in the meantime. It did not surprise me given that international standards highlight indigenous women's vulnerable situation and the need for special consideration. Initially, during the official activities of the consultation process, such

a conception was confirmed. Few women were present during the activities and they would hardly ever voice their opinions in such public meetings. Moreover it became clear that mandate-holders at *zonal* level were usually male. However, during our field trip after the process, I gradually learnt how differently women engaged in participatory processes at community level.

5.3.1 Socio-Economic Changes in Guaraní Communities: the “Participation Turn”?

When we started our field trip in October we quickly learnt how little I had taken seasonal particularities into consideration: it was unusually hot (about 35-40 degrees) and dry, and we had difficulties in finding water in the communities. Understandably, the *comunarios* (community members) were concerned about their cattle and crops. And this had yet another logical consequence: mainly male agricultural workers had left the communities in search for work elsewhere based on the low agricultural output. It basically took the reins away from the traditional male *Mburuvichereta* and gave women new positions in the communities. In a focus group with elderly *comunarios*, this changing socio-economic landscape was directly associated with women’s participation:

“Our community is having a difficult time due to the dry season, that’s why there is no participation. People have to travel far in order to find work. This is why primarily women participate, because men leave the community to work.” Focus Group “Grupo_I_24_grupo_Kmit” (1:45-3:00)

While in some cases labour-related migration was limited to day-trips, a younger *comunario* described how longer trips attributed a different role to his wife in the community’s public life:

“I sometimes stay 2 or 3 months outside my community, so my wife participates in the meetings for that reason; when I come back during my vacation, she tells me all about it.” Interview “I_1MDFm” (15:05-15:40min)

In the second community we visited – El Arenal – we became instantly

acquainted with the second highest authority of the region's most populated and powerful community: a woman in her twenties. We were particularly astonished when she told us about the significance of women's rights and how they needed to be respected by all *comunarios*: women's rights had clearly entered public discourse and demonstrably legitimised new positions in the communities. In fact, she told us how women gained a stronger position than men in the meetings nowadays:

"We, as women, participate more than men (...) women form the majority in the meetings, also at work" Interview "I_2MDMj" (11:40–13:01min)

Her very position as a leader in her community reveals a shift in participatory powers at community level – and this was not an isolated incident. Indeed, a young, male *Mburuvicha* from the first community we visited explicitly encourages mixed gender mandate sharing in his community:

"This can be seen in our community: I am the head and chief, the second chief is female, the treasurer is a man and the administrator is a woman." Interview "I_2MDMj" (10:30–11:21min)

Throughout the communities we got the impression that female dominated participation is perceived in rather positive ways. A focus group with middle-aged men shed more light on such perception; men collectively reiterated their acceptance of female dominated decision-making:

"Men accept decisions that are taken by women in the meetings." Interview "I_9ANMm_1" (22:15–23:40min)

Another participant added:

"Sometimes my spouse has to take decisions on my part and that's not a problem." Interview "I_3MNMt" (4:20–4:35min)

In the same focus group, participants even explicitly legitimised such changing pattern of decision-making telling us how the changing roles have become a part of everyday life or – at best – institutionalised:

"When meetings take place, they (female members) take decisions for their husbands and when they come back from work, they are informed (...) women usually take better decisions, we as men are a little foolish at times." Focus Group "Grupo_II_18_grupo_TMMi" (11:45–

12:05min & 12:35–14:25min)

Women's participatory roles in their communities seem to have normalised, become part of everyday life, and are justified and legitimised by both men and women in the communities. As men are largely absent, women have gained significant control over decision-making and resulting ways of handling information: men can be considered recipients of information rather than "shapers" of decision-making processes. This can be mainly attributed to labour-related factors, but as *comunarios* narrate, they do not seem to be the only cause for the changing scenario. In a focus group discussion with male participants, men justified women's active participatory role in meetings on grounds of their more suitable traits regarding decision-making capacities:

"Women usually take one decision, while men turn things over in their minds; women are more determinative, direct (...) women are more violent in a sense, men are jaunty, they take their coca, chat before they express themselves." Focus Group "Grupo_1_29_grupo_Kmim" (9:40-10:05)

However, variation in this can be identified as soon as both female and male members are present in some communities. While women seem to be dominant in local decision-making mechanisms where most male *comunarios* migrated, other communities show divergence from this rule. Namely, participation depends on when meetings are convened. Male agricultural work obligations and female domestic tasks influence their degree of participation: men can only attend meetings in the afternoon or at the weekend:

"If meetings are held in the afternoon, both women and men participate, but if meetings are held in the morning, more women are seen. That's why important meetings are held at the weekend." Interview "I_6ANFm" (8:32–9:29min)

In fact, a decisive criterion for understanding women's less active role in the latter context is the public versus private divide. Women's role in the domestic space demonstrably determines their levels of participation in public:

"Sometimes we all go, sometimes only the (male) heads of the houses. If they are busy, their wives go." Interview "I_9_ANMm" (4:05–4:45min)

In some communities, such prioritisation or “second rank participation” significantly impedes women from becoming more engaged. However, this is not limited to mere attendance of meetings. Rather, it is intrinsically linked with their lacking long term involvement in the public life of the communities which weakens their negotiating skills. While female leadership positions were established in recent years and women have gained political weight and recognition in assemblies, their actual negotiating skills and active involvement seem to indicate low levels of sustainability. Indeed, gaining access to assemblies does not *per se* attribute a transformative role to female participation. In El Arenal, a female *comunaria* reported that participation is limited to attendance:

“In the meetings they don’t talk; women do attend meetings, but they don’t participate, they don’t express themselves” Interview “I_14ANFm” (13:20–14:02min)

Another woman confirmed this:

“I don’t like participating and expressing myself: I am not used to talk about my opinion in public. It’s not that I don’t know about the topic, but I cannot express myself.” Interview “I_26TNFt” (6:30–8:40min)

Even women in leadership positions are confronted with difficulties, especially in mixed-gender meetings. However, such difficulties cannot be reduced to shyness, self-consciousness in expressing opinions and respective internalisation of their traditionally less active roles. Instead, other participants such as male community fellows in local meetings do not always welcome their active engagement in the public life of their communities and their new roles as leaders in some cases. A politically active female community member described the shortcomings of becoming more involved in assemblies:

“...they basically say: ‘she talks a lot, she makes herself the possessor of the meeting’, they cut me off and didn’t give me space.” Interview “I_22TNFt_no_indig” (10:02–12:04min)

While male-dominated tendencies undoubtedly persist in the communities, the general impression I gained reflected strong female roles in decision-making, particularly in leadership roles which were accepted and, in most cases, supported by their male counterparts. Especially young community members reiterated that male leadership was “a thing of the past” and reflected realities of older generations. In several communities young leaders had taken over following allegations of corruption against old male élites. In that sense, stronger female participation is also related to generational shifts of power.

5.3.2 Disempowering Consultation Processes? Insights into Female Participation

My described impressions and transcribed voices of community members differ compared to what I experienced in a male-dominated consultation process. There was only one occasion in which a woman would stand up in the official meetings. In one of the critical moments of the process before signing the final agreement, Ministry representatives threatened not to pay one of the advisors of the process based on alleged non-compliance with his contractual obligations. For a few moments, I left my “observer” role and asked for the floor. After my short intervention and discourse against the Ministry’s bad practice, an elderly female community leader voiced her opinion as well. This was a unique situation in the consultation process as the few female participants would usually sit in the back rows. Female participation in the process was considerably lower compared to male leaders’ involvement. Various factors contribute to this.

Firstly, this can be partly attributed to the public versus private divide which materialises in an exacerbated form in the consultation process. In fact, domestic

responsibilities can barely be assumed when meetings take place in distant cities. In a focus group with elderly community members, participants described such shortcomings of the institutional framework in consultation processes:

“Sometimes these meetings last 2 or 3 days and that’s why women don’t participate a lot, because they have children and they are worried. Also, they don’t have enough resources to pay for their transport.” (Focus Group “Grupo_I_24_grupo_Kmit” (20:31–33:35min)

The latter statement shows how important institutional measures such as budget issues can influence participation levels in the consultation process. If spaces are limited to a few male leaders, ordinary *comunarias* can hardly expect to gain access to collective decision-making mechanisms (to be discussed more elaborately in the following paragraph). Women assume more domestic tasks compared to their husbands who are clearly advantaged regarding participatory opportunities in consultation processes, which, in turn, severely limits female participation in such meetings:

“My husband always participates in everything, he participated in various consultation processes, and he does go. I would like to go, but I can’t because of my children, it’s not possible, he goes and I stay here with my children.” Interview “I_18TNFm” (14:06–14:45min)

Female *comunarias*’ less active roles are also externally produced as official meetings are communicated through male leadership. A middle-aged female mandate holder complains about such conduct:

“I almost never participate in meetings in Camiri, because I have a young daughter. Maybe that’s why the Mburuvicha never notifies me of the meetings...” Interview “I_28KDFm” (9:51–10:48min)

We also talked to one of the main advisers of the consultation process who has advised several processes in the area and extensively observed participatory dynamics in that regard. She confirmed my observation regarding female involvement in decision-making, leadership roles and, at times, their husbands’ impeding role in this:

“There are few women who want to become leaders, for women it is usually a bit complicated to leave their house, their children; their husbands are also a bit critical regarding this aspect.”
Interview “II_1ASEM” (20:31–22:24min)

Secondly, female participation is restrained by other institutional factors inherent in the consultation process. Strict limitations of spaces financed by the state allowed mainly *zonal* leaders to take part – such posts are generally male dominated.

In some cases female participation in such situation is explicitly discouraged:

“In Cuevo there was a consultation meeting, but it was limited to two participants, when we decided to go, there was no longer space. The Mburuvicha did not allow female participants.”
Interview “I_22TNft_no_indig” (35:15–36:20min)

Another related practice that I observed during the process consisted in allocating the limited allowances for accommodation, food and transport to *zonal* leaders’ family members – this would further limit female leaders’ access to the process. Particularly mandate holders who were responsible for gender issues could not become involved as the existing “participation spaces” were allocated to *zonal* leaders or the highest community chiefs rather than other mandate holders.

Thirdly, women face similar challenges in consultation meetings compared to mixed-sex groups at community level, yet, in a more exacerbated form. While they feel able to give their opinions among fellow community members, particularly among women, they are more sub-conscious in unknown environments, such as consultation meetings with their male fellows, the MHE and YPFB Andina:

“Women in this community are able to express themselves in community meetings, but when they go outside, they feel less capable and thus prefer their husbands to participate. They are too embarrassed to talk.” Interview “I_23TNMt_no_indig” (46:20–47:15min)

This confirms what I experienced myself in many interviews with women: women show high levels of self-consciousness and insecurity towards people from outside. This resulted, for instance, in indecisive answers to my questions which were followed up by questions such as “Was this the correct answer?” In such situations, we tried to re-emphasise that *we* were there to learn from *them*, rather than *them* from *us*.

Finally, knowledge asymmetries seem to affect women more than men. One reason for this was the fact that especially the older generation did not enjoy the opportunity to attend school. The particular cultural-historical context of Guaraní communities in the Bolivian Chaco contributed to that (as elaborated in the following subchapter). A middle-aged woman, for instance, told us that she could not understand the arguments raised or was not given the opportunity to participate in the particular context of meetings outside the communities:

“When meetings take place outside our community, I don’t give my opinion, because if one participates there, they don’t take you into account. Also, I don’t understand a lot about the topic at times. That’s why my husband informs me and explains the topic to me in advance, so I can participate.” Interview “I_27KNFm” (30:45–31:50min)

Again, dependence on husbands seems to be commonplace, particularly regarding highly technical issues. When I spoke to the female advisor of the consultation process about such dilemmas, she identified different levels of participation between community participation and taking part in the consultation process in the case of women:

“After the meetings (of the consultation process) they do talk and if they ask them, they tell me they felt embarrassed and were afraid to be mistaken. While they are in smaller groups and they know each, they are not that embarrassed about sharing their views. However, in the presence of the ministry and company, it is much worse, and that’s why they prefer talking in Guaraní; but they are aware that those people in the front won’t be able to understand them in Guaraní. That’s it; it is embarrassment, anxiety and the language.” Interview “I_30ASEF” (17:25–19:04min)

Therefore, the particular setting of the consultation in large assemblies in the presence of official State and corporate representatives significantly induced passive engagement in the debates. The advisor’s words suggest that self-consciousness plays a bigger role than knowledge asymmetries *per se*, even though the latter informs the former. A very strong influence is exerted by language-related factors. This significantly informed my analysis and encouraged me to look into the issue in detail below.

5.4 Age-Related Differences and their Impact on Participation

From the outset of the consultation process I noticed how little diversity assemblies in Camiri showed. Assemblies mainly included middle-aged, male leaders who usually represented the *zonal* umbrella organisation CAP. Young people and the elderly formed a small minority in such meetings. One of the most distinguishing characteristics of both groups is probably the level of monolingualism which has a considerable influence on inter-generational understanding and communalities. Young people, for example, are usually more fluent in Spanish compared to Guaraní:

“We mostly speak Guaraní, only our youth speak Spanish, but meetings are still held in Guaraní.” Interview “II_9ANMm” (3:42–3:55min)

At local level, as this last quote seems to confirm, meetings are largely held in Guaraní.

The elderly, on the other hand, largely communicate in Guaraní:

“In the meetings, the elderly speak Guaraní, they talk together in Guaraní” Interview “II_7MNm_no_indig” (10:40–12:40min)

Where monolingualism dominates in both age groups, intergenerational dialogue is severely complicated and exchange of information and ideas is jeopardised. In the following both age groups are observed more closely in order to identify their particular position in relation to the consultation process.

5.4.1 Obstacles and Challenges to Participation for the Elderly

The elderly are recognised by many community members as the least participating group. Members assert:

“The oldest ones don’t go to meetings” Interview “I_8ANMj” (7:03–7:21min) or

“... the elderly almost never participate, they rarely come to the meetings.” Interview “I_15ANFm” (11:02–11:53min)

A middle-aged *comunario* attributed this to the elderly’s lacking understanding in meetings:

“The elderly are the group that participates least (...) they say they wouldn’t understand.” Interview “II_9ANMm” (14:03–14:32min)

It is indeed elder *comunarios*' low levels of understanding which explains both their lacking motivation to attend meetings and to become actively involved. This also became apparent in the many interviews we conducted and people we approached. We usually had to work hard to convince elders of their value to my research even when Daniela and Martha spoke to them in Guaraní. It also concerned the subject matter: participating in public opinion and sharing information in meetings with external players considerably intimidated people. When they would talk about their daily work or other everyday life experience, we perceived these issues as rather welcome, *comunarios* were happy to talk about them. Lacking engagement in debates and public life could thus be attributed to subject-matter expertise.

Furthermore, language practice plays an important role in explaining little active participation. In most communities the elderly prefer to speak Guaraní or do not speak any Spanish at all. We clearly noticed that in the first community we visited, Mandiyuti. To conduct a focus group with elderly women in Spanish proved impossible. This also reflected a broader tendency across the communities where Guaraní was the only or most spoken language among the elderly. Both general comprehension problems and language-related understanding in the case of the elderly can be explained by the history of the region (for further details see Background Chapter 4): in conditions of slavery, debt bondage and forced labour, access to education was limited at best and completely absent at worst. In a similar vein, it is important to note that such conditions affected mainly the old generation while current middle-aged *comunarios* and youth enjoy access to basic education and bilingual opportunities.

Now, the context of the consultation process proved even more limiting for the elderly. The few participants of older age that I spotted in the meetings would usually not sit in the front rows. Contributions to the assembly were limited to debates in Guaraní whenever this was possible. Furthermore, both general comprehension problems and Spanish language deficiencies are further amplified in official meetings with the state and company. Especially in the context of presentations by state representatives, technical language further intimidated the elderly:

“In these meetings where they describe a project, use such and such article... this is where they (the elderly) get shy, because they don't understand” Focus Group “Grupo_I_29_grupo_KMim” (13:13–14:22min).

Another community member reiterated this last aspect:

“Sometimes they feel a bit smaller when everybody speaks Spanish and sometimes when purely technical words are used, they won't understand” Interview “I_2MDMj” (19:02–19:37min).

Language practice in this case is clearly used, either deliberately or as a convenient side-effect, to establish patterns of domination.

Apart from language-related issues, mobility played a decisive role in determining elderly people's participation. In most communities older people suffered from serious walking impairments which were not adequately treated. Not all communities have direct access to health facilities including emergency centres – minor health issues such as walking impairments were thus not considered at all. When addressing this in the interviews, the elderly would usually not understand their situation as serious, or at least, do not consider any ways their situation and suffering could be remedied. Most of such mobility impeding conditions consisted of long-term impediments rather than temporary damage that could easily be cured. This induced

other *comunarios* to consider such situation and resulting absence in meetings something given, as a middle aged woman narrates:

“Elderly people no longer participate because they are usually ill.” Interview “II_14ANFm” (15:17–15:22min)

Elderly people themselves perceive walking impairments as decisive for attending community meetings:

“I do no longer participate much, I am already old, I can no longer go, only sometimes. In the past, when I was healthy, I always participated in the meetings. My knee is hurting a lot.” Interview “II_10ANFt” (0:25–1:07min)

In the consultation process, mobility-related factors find even greater expression. The location of the consultation process in the distant city Camiri impacted on people’s opportunities to participate: that way, less mobile people, such as the elderly or persons with disabilities are excluded from the outset. Especially the consultation context, which implies several days at a distant place, inhibited elderly people’s participation in representative positions:

“Last year there were more elderly people, who held mandates, but they easily get tired, especially with all these travels, and two or three days to a different place...” Interview “II_3MNMt” (22:15–23:40min)

Means of transport certainly did not meet what was to be expected for the elderly. Mini-buses were small with hardly any space to stretch one’s legs; some communities were located in very remote areas taking up to 12 hours to be reached. I experienced this myself during the field inspection in which we went from Camiri to the communities: persons with physical health problems could not possibly have attended the consultation meetings in such conditions.

However, as in the case of female participation, older *comunarios* faced further obstacles in the meetings themselves: mere attendance did not imply effective opportunities to participate. Indeed, the elderly report how little they were taken into consideration in meetings:

"I don't participate, because they don't take us into account, we only listen, because there is nothing we could comment on." Interview "I_3MNMt" (3:45–4:21min)

While being unable to voice opinions in meetings discourages the elderly from attending, lacking external recognition further perpetuates such a position:

"elderly people do no longer participate, they are not taken into account and as they are very experienced, they feel humiliated" Focus Group "I_17_grupo_AMj" (57:45–58:40min).

The elderly's voices gain particular significance in the consultation process, as the most experienced group regarding negotiations with external players and knowledge on flora and fauna which qualifies the socio-environmental impact assessment. At the same time, such knowledge is perceived as a danger to *zonal* élites in the sense that it sheds a critical light upon existing opinions shared among élites. It introduces an unwelcome form of checks and balances in assemblies. This led some leaders to even restrict elderly people's participation in meetings:

"They are no longer allowed to take part in the meetings, the very same Mburuvicha gave that order: we always experience disagreement on something and that's how discussions start, and that's what he tries to prevent." Interview "II_11ANFm" (2:45–3:47min)

5.4.2 Indigenous Youth Participation: Absence and Disempowerment

From the beginning of our field trip on, we had difficulties in finding young *comunarios* we could interview – let alone in the consultation meetings in which fewer than five youths participated. While we would see a lot of schoolchildren and adolescents in the communities, young adults in their early twenties were difficult to encounter. Our observations were confirmed by several middle-aged interviewees who indicated how low participation levels were in the case of youth in the communities:

"...because they (youth) still do not participate a lot in the meetings, there are solely older people (middle-aged)." Interview "I_14ANFm" (7:35–9:03min).

Low participation levels among youths were also perceived in comparison to the community in general:

"In this community almost everybody participates, but in the case of young people.... very little." Interview "I_18TNFm" (15:41–18:20min)

In essence, low participation levels in the case of indigenous youth are strongly associated with the region's particularities as outlined above: the low agricultural outputs force significant parts of the working population to migrate to the city – young *comunarios* are thus especially concerned by this. There are various factors that influence their decision to leave their communities. The youngest ones depend on secondary education which is not available in their communities. However, in most cases, reasons for leaving are work-related:

“Youths go to other places, they look for sources of employment, here in the communities, there is no work, and they go elsewhere to live better.” Interview “I_23TNMt_no_indig” (18:41–21:02min)

While unemployment and the particularities of the area affect the entire community, young people show a different level of mobility including better access to vehicles to move back and forth between communities and cities. This fundamentally distinguishes youths' opportunities to leave from the remaining part of the community, especially older people. It also qualifies young people's motivation to participate in their communities which turn into second homes for most:

“...and otherwise they say: ‘why should I participate if I don't stay here.’” Interview “I_6MNMt” (17:21–18:23min)

This last aspect was broadly debated in two focus groups with young community members. There was only one community, El Arenal, which was sufficiently populated to eventually include young community members. And even in this community it was a very difficult undertaking; we literally had to chase and constantly encourage the few young *comunarios* to participate in the focus group. It turned out that almost all participants present stayed in the communities on a temporary basis and had just returned for a few days. Their interest in the communities' future was immense, as well as their fear of potential environmental

impacts of the extractive project. At the same time, they fundamentally lacked access to information, had not even been informed by their leaders about the consultation process. All participants criticised their leaders' conduct towards the communities, especially regarding withholding information and personal enrichment in relation to state allowances. The following extract from said focus group reveals the difficulties that arise in the light of faulty and manipulated chains of information:

"Who participates depends on the invitation that is sent, and that's why many youths don't participate (in the consultation process) (...) information from the Mburuvicha is lacking, some go to the meeting, the others don't know about it. They (leaders) make agreements with them (companies), money arrives and they don't talk about it and don't make people aware of it." Focus Group "I_11_grupo_AMij" (23:10–24:10min) & (37:25–38:02min)

The way information is handled by leaders and accessed by young *comunarios* thus significantly qualifies their opportunities to attend meetings, but also to be informed about current developments in their communities. By being deliberately excluded from such chains of information, youth's alienation from community life is considerably enhanced.

Similar conduct on the part of leaders could be observed in assemblies themselves that somehow limited youth involvement:

"When young people want to participate, we don't make their voices heard, whatever they might want to comment on, it is not accepted what they say (...) Only our old leaders are there and they don't give them (youth) space so they can speak as well." Interview "I_14ANFm" (7:35–9:03min)

In an even more direct way, an elderly community member had observed this practice closer during several decades of living in the communities and having experienced many changes in the decision-making structures of the communities:

"I think they regard those (youths) with envy because of their mandates, because our previous Mburuvicha didn't free his space for the youth." Interview "II_10ANFt" (4:25–5:46min)

Whenever young leaders do assume leadership positions in the communities, they are confronted with powerful old leaders, but also sceptical views from their older fellows, as an elderly *comunario* indicates:

“The Mburuvicha in our community is very young; it seems as if he had no idea. He has no idea about our needs, I think he doesn’t understand his mandate...” Interview “II_10ANFt” (2:02–2:25min)

The debates we had also revealed how little Western concepts of “youth” mattered in the communities. Examples of this include legal age as determinative for political participation or the UN determined age category for youth which ranges from 18 to 24. In the communities, marital status matters in determining compulsory participation and having “voice and vote” in the communities’ decision-making processes. The right to participation further implies being in a permanent relationship and having at least one child as this entails responsibilities at home and in the community. In turn, young un-married *comunarios* in their twenties could be deterred from participating given that they had not started a family and were still subject to their parents’ rules:

“the majority does not participate, because they are still in the power of their parents, so their mum or dad participates.” Interview “I_20TNMm” (9:40–11:03min)

In another community, the local leader observed similar behaviour among *comunarios* as to young people’s participation in meetings:

“Youths have this concept of being able to participate once they are married and have a family.” Focus Group “Grupo_I_24_grupo_KMit” (4:21–5:12min)

5.5 The Imposition of Language as an Obstacle to Participation

The use of indigenous languages, in this case Guaraní, was a methodological concern to me from the outset: I was worried not to be able to include non-Spanish speakers in my research which motivated my choice in taking two native speaker research students to the communities (see Chapter 2 for details). This proved very necessary indeed: Martha and Daniela conducted half of the interviews in Guaraní. While I did not perceive monolingualism as an issue in communicating with *zonal* leaders, it did play a role even in conversations with some local leaders who preferred speaking

Guaraní to us, not to mention non-mandate holders.

5.5.1 Indigenous Language Practice at Community Level

Initially, when we entered the communities, language did not seem to matter, which reflects a common perception that is shared by external players such as NGOs, state and company representatives operating in the area. Once we reached Cuevo, the closest municipality to the communities, we were received by one of the youngest *Mburuvichereta* who had participated in the consultation process. I had made his acquaintance in the consultation process and he had shown interest in my research and willingness to support me in my endeavours. His closest environment in the community including other mandate holders was Spanish-speaking. However, my perception changed as soon as we stayed the night in one of the community houses: the couple's parents, two elderly *comunarios*, did not speak the Spanish language. Age-related differences were decisive across the community and all neighbouring communities we visited. Some non-indigenous members describe the dominance of Guaraní in their communities:

"In the meetings people speak more Guaraní than Spanish. I only speak Spanish; there are only two Spanish speakers in the community. I sometimes ask the others for clarification..."
Interview "II_4MNmt_no_indig" (8:55–9:40min)

A non-indigenous member identifies Guaraní even as the only spoken language in meetings in another community:

"In Arenal they speak Guaraní, they also speak Spanish. I went to work there, and they speak their language, it is not possible to understand anything in their meetings if you don't speak Guaraní." Interview "II_7MNMm_no_indig" (10:42–12:45min)

This suggests that outsiders would not be able to follow debates in community meetings. Especially in El Arenal, one of the largest communities, Guaraní was very widely spoken. While young people in Mandiyuti did not speak Guaraní at all, youth in El Arenal preferred Guaraní to Spanish, to my surprise. When I convened two focus

groups with young *comunarios*, the debate would not run smoothly until Marta and Daniela started participating in the debate in Guaraní. Yet, many participants hesitated at the beginning, as they were afraid I would not be able to understand them. Marta and Daniela reassured them that they would translate everything for me once we were back in Santa Cruz. From that moment on, everybody got actively involved, to my astonishment. Language dominance played a significant role in that regard: my mere presence as a *karay* (white person) in the focus group made *comunarios* speak in a different language disregarding their personal preference. This was commonplace in the communities. A young community member reaffirmed this and identified the use of the Spanish language as a necessity whenever *karays* were present:

“In meetings people speak more Spanish than Guaraní, our language is disappearing, our own leaders should speak it, but since there are also white people (karay), they wouldn’t understand us.” Interview “I_19TNMj_disc” (20:05–22:07min)

In communities where Guaraní is still used as the most spoken language, dependencies emerge between bilingual *comunarios* and non-Spanish speakers, which, in turn, establish certain power relations in the communities, as a local community leader suggests:

“People were not able to participate as they didn’t speak Spanish and thus depended on those who did know.” Interview “I_1MDFm” (9:52–10:31min)

This is particularly true for leadership positions in which various forms of power such as political power based on their mandates and language skills are combined (see following subchapter for further elaborations). Hence, language hierarchies are created that add to existing unequal power relationships where leaders misuse their mandates for personal gains. Such disempowerment of non-Spanish speakers takes similar forms as described in the context of women and the elderly, namely language-

related embarrassment and shyness are decisive in determining participation in meetings. This influences community members' motivation to attend meetings, as a young, female community leader narrates:

"At times they don't come because they don't understand Spanish, and that's also why they are embarrassed to talk." Interview "I_2MDMj" (18:21–19:03min)

Unequal power relations could also be understood by how *comunarios* perceive their own language. Rather than seeing the use of Spanish as an imposition from above, Guaraní is identified as a limiting factor in meetings with external players. As an elderly man states:

"In speaking one single language Guaraní limits us a lot in taking decisions; express ourselves in meetings in and outside my community." Interview "I_3MNMt" (5:35–6:27min)

The fact that such opinion was expressed by an elderly person alludes to the region's history which was shaped by socio-cultural oppression and language subordination ever since colonial times (further elaborated on in Chapter 4).

5.5.2 Language(s) in the Consultation Process: Instruments of the Powerful

In the consultation process, language was further instrumentalised. Personally, I was lucky enough to be able to follow the entire process as Spanish was the only language spoken in the activities, with one notable exception. The field inspection including several hours of walking through forests and crossing rivers (14 times on the first day) was the only activity which was conducted entirely in Guaraní. In the absence of some *zonal* Spanish-speaking leaders, and only partial presence of state representatives, *comunarios* felt encouraged to speak Guaraní when identifying the potential socio-environmental impact on their territories. Back in the assemblies, *zonal* leaders and state officials took over and continued the debates in Spanish. Again, this shows how Guaraní as an indigenous language was adapted and subordinated to externals and affected their own leadership. Concurrently, indigenous leaders were inhibited by

knowledge asymmetries and yet another form of language barrier, namely the use of technical language in meetings:

“Only our Mburuvicha went to this meeting and he sometimes does not inform us well, because the experts from companies use highly technical words and if our Mburuvicha did not graduate from school, he is unable to capture it.” Focus Group “Grupo_I_29_grupo_KMim” (23:05–24:02min)

The use of technical terms throughout the meetings further jeopardised leaders’ access to information and effective opportunities to participate: it was as if the YPFB Andina engineers talked to an empty room – based on the technical detail, *comunarios* kept quiet and were unable to comment on the materials presented. The whole process resembled collective monologues.

Negotiations were usually initiated by said technical presentations that were not translated into layman’s terms. A participant to the process complained:

“Almost nobody can read, almost the majority is illiterate, this really worries me, and that’s why they don’t capture well, especially when experts use sophisticated language.” Interview “I_25KNMm” (4:50–7:42min)

However, the level of “technical load” of the language used had yet another implication: it explicitly discouraged *local* leaders from participating in the consultation process, as an elderly *comunario* suggested:

“When the consultation takes place, state representatives use words which are not easy to grasp, this is why community members are not interested in going to Camiri.” Interview “I_10ANMt” (9:35–12:05min)

Throughout the meetings indigenous assemblies would engage in endless debates in Guaraní, especially on environmental impact and the importance of water.

The word “*t*” (“water” in Guaraní) comes to my mind when I think about the debates which could, at times, last five or six hours: the hydrocarbons project’s impact on water resources was a serious concern to all communities. Ministry representatives were at times present, but on several occasions they left the assembly and came back once the debates came to an end or had progressed to a significant

extent. Yet, subsequent agreements did not make mention of any issue elaborated in the debates and did not reflect the main issues of concern to indigenous people which were expressed by the traditional Guaraní assemblies in the drafting process. Seemingly, State representatives merely tolerated the debates, without making any attempts of translating them into Spanish, let alone legally binding documents. When the debates came to some form of closure, state representatives would – through *zonal* leaders' voices – press for agreements. Such agreements had not been presented prior to the final signing and stamping process: they were pre-written by the Ministry and read out at an inadequate speed, too fast for comprehension. Language had yet assumed a third function of disempowerment: the traditional, colonial use of written documents, a powerful tool of dispossession.

5.6 Local and *Zonal* Leaders: on Representativeness and Legitimacy

Indigenous assemblies in consultation processes are usually convened by *zonal* leaders and the respective mandate holder of natural resources of APG. *Zonal* leaders are representatives of respective captaincies which administer territorial units, the “indigenous communal lands” or TCOs (for further information see Chapter 4). However, in this case as in other contexts to a similar extent, 19 communities are affiliated with such captaincies. Based on the limited amount of spaces (MHE funded 60 spaces representing 2500 *comunarios*) including allowances for food, transport and accommodation, participation was limited due to such institutional arrangement. This meant that local leaders and mandate holders such as representatives of natural resources or gender issues from some communities were either not present or not adequately represented in the assembly which would determine their fate. As the consultation took place in Camiri, a distant city for many *comunarios*, participation

was further limited and had further reaching implications, as one of the advisors to the process narrates:

“The meetings are always convened here in Camiri, while the projects are carried out there (in or close to the communities). In the last consultation that took place, we took them (Ministry representatives) to the community, also in order for them to appreciate the distance; we made a common pot, so everybody could at least hear what is being said in the event, all comunarios participate. By contrast, here (in Camiri), this is impossible. At least the community is better informed (when it takes place in the communities), it is important to happen in the place.” Interview “I_30ASEF” (25:00–27:00min)

It could be suggested that such rather institutional issues that are related to budget-cuts in the Ministry and YPFB Andina do have important implications for internal decision-making processes: checks and balances in local open community assemblies are not “transferred” to the consultation process, as discussed in the following sections. The advisor also suggests that more participation and access to the consultation process is explicitly desired by the communities:

“This is why it is so nice to go from community to community and inform about the project, at least the most affected ones, for the project to get ‘socialised’ – this is what the very comunarios have demanded... Some comunarios only found out about the project when they saw workers entering the communities and wondered what they were doing there... The consultation process had already finished at that point. Information was not provided to all community members in the same way: only members of the directorate know, the rest does not.” Interview “I_30ASEF” (5:30–7:15min)

As this experience illustrates, transparency is increased whenever information is directly provided to the communities. Not only that, the advisor suggests that information is unequally distributed and benefits especially members of the board of directors of the captaincy. That way, *zonal* leaders are equipped with important sources of information and ultimately power which could be used to the detriment of local leaders, as the following debates will show.

5.6.1 Local Communities and *Zonal* Élites: Who Gets a Piece of the Cake?

Whenever the process takes place in distant cities, some of the most affected communities may not have received information, let alone have been consulted prior

to the project. This is something I experienced during my field trip to the communities after the process. In one of the most affected communities, Timbuirenda, important water sources were to be impacted by the project. However, as we experienced when talking to the *comunarios*, essential information had not reached the community. We were asked to provide extensive information on the project and consultation process during the interview process as participants were uninformed. Interestingly, Timbuirenda was hardly represented in the captaincy and their leaders were less active at regional levels. A community member told us how much the community had been affected by the loss of crops in light of an unusually hot and dry season: many *comunarios* had left in search for jobs elsewhere. This resulted in very few meetings even at local level. A politically active local plumber told us more about participation levels in this community:

“There are some who do not attend (...) a lot of people migrate, because there is no work, there are no resources, we leave. I have certain responsibilities here regarding water systems as a plumber; this is why at least I comply...” Interview “I_21TNMm” (5:20–7:30min)

Here, the *comunario* alludes to the compulsory attendance requirements in local meetings and shows how many community members are not able to meet them based on their working obligations elsewhere and ultimately their absence in community meetings.

Even though socio-geographical factors and resulting changing working patterns have demonstrably impacted on participation levels, this is further exacerbated by profit-seeking behaviour on the part of individuals. In all our interviews and focus groups *comunarios* viewed particular leaders, especially higher level representatives, with suspicion. The long history of NGO funding and involvement in more than a dozen consultation processes in the area had impacted

on the role of indigenous leaders (see Chapter 4 for further elaborations). While *Mburuvichereta* originally merely served as spokespersons of their communities, they have increasingly become involved in administering high amounts of compensation payments. However, the traditional relationship between leaders and *comunarios* was maintained and prevents communities from reviewing their leaders' decisions and accountability in such new settings:

"If everything is in conformity with the leader and decided by him/her, community members won't say a word. We don't know why our leaders let companies enter our communities. At times the Mburuvicha doesn't make things known and takes decisions without consulting the community." Interview "I_26KNFt" (9:03–12:21min)

Indeed, as sole "knowledge keepers" regarding funds, projects and payments and lacking transparency, the new positions lend themselves perfectly to bribing and corrupt practices, as a middle-aged *comunario* narrates:

"At no point did people know which amount of money had been paid when everything had already been signed, only the leaders knew. Community members want to find peace of mind: an indigenous leader should not make a living with those resources, people do find out: leaders have misappropriated quite a lot..." Interview "I_9ANMm_1" (12:21–13:52min)

Yet, such practice is more attributable to *zonal* élites than *local* leaders.

Namely, information that is supposed to circulate from external players to *zonal* leaders, and from *zonal* leaders to local leaders in order to eventually reach community members, is kept at *zonal* levels within captaincies:

"The problem was that he has never announced meetings, he was a zonal leader by the way. As soon as the community leader found out, we, the people, also learned about it." Interview "I_9ANMm_1" (11:10–11:31min)

On other occasions, *comunarios* complain about negligent behaviour in terms of withholding important information. Indeed, a recently elected female *Mburuvicha* regretted her absence in the consultation on these grounds:

"I couldn't participate because they informed us at very short notice at zonal level." Interview "I_7ADFm" (22:03–22:43min)

Our numerous informal conversations with community members showed how alienated *zonal* leaders have become from the communities they supposedly

represent. Concerns as to their legitimate representation of communities were commonly expressed by our interviewees. This also included doubts as to their Guaraní language capacities, as they would conduct the entire consultation process in Spanish. Leaders increasingly move to urban spaces and lose contact with their communities. Thereby, they have come to overlook communities' needs:

“Only zonal leaders decide on these kinds of issues, because they sometimes decide on these things and we view it differently in our communities. At zonal level they are mainly interested in economic aspects, not so much the needs of the communities (...) I would like to see the community participating, especially those who are truly interested in their communities, they should go there and speak in the name of the communities.” Interview with “I_23TNMt_no_indig” (35:03–37:41min)

In an even more exacerbated form, mandate holders of natural resources within the organisational structure of captaincies (see Chapter 4) make effective use of their power and decision-making capacities in consultation processes. In the consultation process I observed, the mandate holder was exchanged several times based on allegations of corruption and unlawful appropriation of funds including compensation payments. As a consequence, the *Mburuvicha* was expelled from the captaincy's directorate and community members took legal action against him. This was based on his debts to the communities and his personal use of resources provided by the company Total E&P Bolívia in the context of compensation payments of a previous consultation case. A community member shows that they have no choice but to use judicial means where traditional sanctions or penal mechanisms fail:

“...this makes community members take the decision to go to civil authorities, like the police.” Interview “I_9ANMm_1” (5:54–6:08min)

Judicial procedures against said mandate holders have almost become commonplace and negatively influence *comunarios'* willingness to participate in the communities:

“Some time ago they initiated judicial proceedings against a leader because he had received money from companies. It was the community's money, but he spent 3000 Bs. This is why some people no longer participate in the community meetings”. Interview “I_10ANMt” (2:05–2:50min)

5.6.2 Competing Captaincies: Inter-Community Disputes as “Consultation Hurdles”

In the course of the consultation process I increasingly realised how divided the communities were in terms of political representation and external recognition. This did not find major expression in the assemblies where unity was almost imposed by the *zonal* board of directors and in the light of the need to collectively defend rights against the company. Yet, in informal conversations and especially during the field inspection activity, I was – by pure chance – allocated to a walking group that consisted of members from distantly located communities which had formed a new captaincy “Ñembuite” which did not enjoy external recognition.

Based on that experience, I went to mainly Ñembuite communities during the field trip that I conducted after the process. Ñembuite is home to more than a half of all communities that are located in the TCO Alto Parapetí which is administered by the captaincy Alto Parapetí. The large number of *comunarios* living in the area lent itself perfectly for large projects that would supposedly benefit its people. However, *comunarios* felt they were used as “stepping stones” for the captaincy to achieve higher influence and legitimacy, but, above all, larger amounts of resources that would be unequally distributed:

“Those from Alto Parapetí came to us to take people to support their land-titling process, but once everything was succeeded, they used us as a stepping-stone: back then we didn’t know about any project while they already had pickup trucks and houses” Interview “I_7ADFm” (33:20–35:02min)

A female focus group member explained that such treatment triggered a form of secession process and final separation from the captaincy:

“...only as a stepping-stone, only to increase the number, this was thus the objective for leaving that organisation (CAP), they didn’t take us into consideration.” Focus Group “Grupo_I_4_grupo_AFMi” (6:15–8:35min)

However, and despite lacking recognition by official bodies such as MHE, the Guaraní People's Assembly, the new captaincy is increasingly being recognised by external players such as companies and to some extent NGOs:

“Those from Alto Parapetí ignored us, they produced silence in all our communities (from Ñembuite), that's why we didn't possess any knowledge. Only now as we have established a new political organisation, the company starts talking to us...” Interview “I_7ADFm” (31:31–33:02min)

As this statement shows, information is used as a powerful tool to decide on access to participatory mechanisms such as consultation processes. Just as *zonal* leaders withhold information on the process as a means of control and power, particular communities (affiliated to Alto Parapetí) use knowledge on the process to undermine the newly established captaincy Ñembuite. It could be further argued that the very link and friendly relations between Alto Parapetí and the Guaraní People's Assembly (APG) discouraged external recognition of Ñembuite by the latter, and, in turn, the provision of legal recognition. The consultation process thus provided an important forum to either recognise both captaincies and thereby attributing legitimacy to both representative institutions, or, alternatively, to maintain the status-quo by considering only Alto Parapetí. The former suggests an interference with sovereignty-related issues and indigenous peoples' right to determine representatives according to customs and traditions. However, the latter raises questions of legitimacy and turning a blind eye to corrupt practices in indigenous organisations at best, and implicitly supporting such framework at worst.

5.7 Conclusions

The very nature of consultation processes and the structure of captaincies demonstrably impacts on indigenous peoples' effective opportunities to participate in such mechanisms. This can be observed in the case of specific groups that receive

particular attention in international legal standards such as women, the elderly and youth. In a similar way such impact is identified in the case of less “visible” groups in global norms, such as monolingual *comunarios* and local leaders. The institutional constraints that are produced by such processes are manifold.

While the prior consultation was generally considered a “role model” by Ministry representatives throughout the process, its shortcomings and lacking due considerations of human rights guarantees materialise in the form of insufficient positive measures rather than negative human rights obligations (see Chapter 8 regarding the nature of such obligations): specific groups or individuals were not discriminated against, but were not offered adequate opportunities to participate in the process ranging from factors related to limiting access to the meetings to aspects that characterise the meetings themselves such as the use of language, speaker order, agenda etc. From the first meeting onwards, space was significantly limited and clearly determined by the budget. This meant that local leaders rather than *zonal* élites, men instead of women and the middle-aged rather than youth or elders would take part in the process. Shifting gender roles at community level and empowered female leaders are not considered in the macro setting of consultation proceedings. Newly emerged emancipatory forms of participation remain at community level and do not find similar expression in meetings with the State and companies. This is reflected in the spatial arrangement of the process: women and elders sit in the back rows of the assembly and feel less encouraged to contribute to the debates. Namely, the seating arrangement did not take due account of local customs and produced hierarchies in the assemblies and speaking orders and preferences.

Another crucial factor in determining the communities’ possibilities to take

part in decision-making through prior consultation is the specific role that is assumed by key persons in the process, particularly indigenous representatives. Indigenous intermediaries or advisors to the process increasingly play a more crucial role as translators or intermediaries, as lawyers or engineers to support indigenous peoples in the process. At the same time, the process Sararenda 2D showed that such empowering position can be used by the State to influence the process, by e.g. halting payments for advisors, separating them from the assemblies, making them speak their language, the language of the State. In the case I observed, appropriate and timely payment of the advisors to the process was repeatedly a problem. It culminated in a temporal disruption of the process when the final agreement was supposed to be signed: the assembly spoke in favour of the advisors and halted the process until they were paid a few weeks later. The most active advisor had declared their need to step out of the process, which eventually convinced the assembly to act and use any available peaceful means to convince the Ministry of the necessity to act. While a final agreement was reached after a few weeks time, the communities did not receive agreed-upon funds to return to their communities on the day of the temporal disruption of the process.

Similarly, the public versus private debate gains more weight in consultation processes where such debate is intertwined with mobility-related factors that disproportionately affect women and elders for the above reasons. Knowledge asymmetries further widen the participatory deficit in that regard. Thereby, new dependencies emerge between monolingual and bilingual community members, leading élites in particular, and create horizontal hierarchies. In a similar vein, intergenerational understanding is jeopardised by such asymmetries that arise in

consultation meetings where participants are drawn from a wide range of communities, do not reflect local assembly structures, do not offer participatory opportunities and ultimately decrease inclusiveness. Further obstacles include location and time-dependent factors as well as budget-related issues which either catalyse or exacerbate inequalities in consultation processes. While advisors to the process and left-out community members showed interest in changing the location from Camiri to the communities or proximity of the communities, this was not accepted or taken into consideration by the Ministry. Official meetings in the communities attract more participants and can thereby fulfil important monitoring functions and checks and balances.

In a similar vein, an overall limited budget would leave out community members and local leaders prioritising governing élites with close ties to public authorities. Another factor which contributed to a form of exclusivity of the process was the limited budget that allowed only certain leaders and families to take part in all meetings and the field inspection which established the basis for the socio-environmental monitoring part of the process. A final institutional constraint that favoured exclusivity in the process was the processing and providing of information to a limited circle of people that created further asymmetries and was used as a tool to regulate access to participation.

Finally, the communities considered the issue “water” in the negotiations and demanded a water assessment study prior to the exploration. During the field inspection activity, we mainly walked to water points which would be potentially affected by the project and be in close proximity to the seismic line of the project, apart from other impacts on flora and fauna. In fact, water related concerns turned

out to be the most pressing issue for the communities throughout the consultation process. I still remember one of the few words in Guaraní I had learnt, namely “t̃” which meant “water” and was very frequently used in the lengthy debates in Guaraní; yet this was not included in the final agreements. Assembly delegates described water as a “milk cow” highlighting its high value for the communities. Various representatives also recalled the negative impact hydrocarbon projects had had in the past drying out essential water points. It was also noted that the flow of water as impacted by the project would not only affect the twenty communities, but the Great Chaco area and the accessibility of water. The final agreement eventually included a water assessment study prior to the commencement of the project. However, this request was annexed to the document and did not constitute a legally binding condition; it was proposed in the form of suggestions instead. Similarly, a study on the environmental impact of the project was agreed upon, which was also annexed to the document, as well as a management plan. Previously, the communities had demanded a technical and scientific explanation on the magnetotelluric method to be used and a study on water resources.

For each of the “predetermined” (women and age groups) or “newly explored” (monolingual persons and local leaders) groups, said constraints play a different role. Levels of participation of each group also vary at community level: while indigenous women do assume leadership positions in their communities, the elderly face difficulties even at community level. At the same time, differences between such groups are qualified by intersectionalities. Namely, education-related disadvantages can be considered a cross-cutting issue. It is reflected in mastering the Spanish language, but also in the technical language that is used in the consultation process.

Broken chains of information further enhance such knowledge asymmetries, both between external players and communities and between *zonal* élites and *comunarios*. Similarly, the historical background of the region has had a disempowering impact on several generations and across gender dimensions: the special status of *karays* and attribution of specific qualities such as knowledge superiority finds its place not only in consultation processes, but also in meetings with NGOs or indeed my own visit to the communities. Participation of specific groups thus gains in importance in collective settings such as consultation processes; it further sheds light on the meaning and significance of legitimacy and representativity in indigenous peoples' institutions and decision-making bodies, particularly at *zonal* level.

Chapter 6 Case Study II: Indigenous Peoples' Participation in Self-Administered Mining Activities – External Pressures and Exclusion in Chiquitano Communities

6.1 Introduction

Recent legal developments in the mining sector (see Chapter 4 for more details) have triggered social protest across various sectors including civil society organisations and affected populations. As the new Mining Law (2014) permits resource exploration without prior consultation and criminalises social protests, indigenous communities have developed their own response to the new rights-infringing framework, namely mining cooperatives at community level. While mining cooperatives are common in the Bolivian Highlands and mining exports generally represent more than 25% of the country's total exports (and thus attribute economic importance to the sector by enhancing the inflow of foreign exchange), they are a recent phenomenon in the Lowlands (Michard, 2008). Most mining cooperatives had recently been established or were about to be established when I visited the TCO Lomerío. However, the idea of cooperatives is often externally influenced, namely by a regional cooperative based in Santa Cruz or individual miners from the country's Highlands. It is through these collective frameworks regarding resource extraction that participation takes place. While the preceding chapter focuses on a concrete case of prior consultation, in the present case I look at collective participatory mechanisms more generally that encompass encounters with external players.

Different external players complicate the picture in the current case study: two state representations at different levels, the local municipality of *San Antonio de*

Lomerío and the Bolivian state mining corporation COMIBOL (*Corporación Minera de Bolivia*), two private extractive companies, FABOCE (*Fábrica boliviana de cerámica*, Bolivian ceramic factory) and Minera AMA SULLA S.a. (Mining corporation “Ama Sulla”), the regional headquarters for mining cooperatives FEDECOMIN (*Federación departamental de cooperativas mineras*) and the regional indigenous umbrella organisation CICOL (*Central Indígena de Comunidades Originarias de Lomerío*, Indigenous Association of Originary Communities of Lomerío). An empirical analysis of such administrative mechanisms will provide insights into a context of strong economic and political tensions which individual *comunarios* are confronted with.

The findings are based on primary research data (March 2015), namely observation, in-depth interviews and focus groups in four out of five communities that are affected by mining exploitation in the TCO Lomerío indigenous community territory (see Figure 11 Map of visited region Chiquitania and Lomerío in particular, on p.159): including the communities Coloradillo, el Pukio, Surusubí and San Lorenzo.

These communities gained extensive experience in combating illegal deforestation and are now confronted with similar challenges in the mining sectors, including minerals such as tin, feldspar, tungsten, quartz, mica, gold and kaolin. The case concerns a mining exploration project by FABOCE which was supported by the local state authorities (*Municipio de San Antonio de Lomerío*, Municipality of San Antonio of Lomerío). A form of consultation initiated in May 2014, and was finalised in August of the same year. Indigenous peoples were represented by their local, representative organisations recognised by the state as “OTB” (*Organización Territorial de Base*, organisation established on territorial basis) in Coloradillo and their umbrella organisation CICOL. At the same time, various arrangements coexist in

the context of mining exploitation in the communities El Pukio, Surusubí and San Lorenzo. While mining activities were conducted illegally, so-called “mining piracy”, all communities have established mining cooperatives that administer and manage mining exploitation by community members. However, in two cases approval for legal personality is still pending and thus renders current activities illegal. In Pukio legal personality was recognised by the State in July 2015, its cooperative was officially established in February of the same year and first steps were taken in 2014. Surusubí is home to the department’s first legally recognised mining cooperative, while respective cooperatives in Coloradillo and San Lorenzo are both in the process of obtaining legal personality.

The present chapter explores ways in which community members as individuals or groups within communities were excluded from collective participatory frameworks with governmental authorities or other external actors. As with the previous case study, the current one will embrace both pre-determined (gender and age dimensions) groups and explore new categories that are common to both case studies I and II including education-related issues and organisational structures such as local and *zonal* decision-making mechanisms. Monolingualism plays an insignificant role as very few community members only speak Bésiro and will thus not be taken into consideration in the current analysis: more emphasis is placed on education levels and language in the sense that it refers to expert knowledge and technical language. Understanding the significance of local decision-making bodies reaches more complexities compared to case study I based on the diversity of external players involved in extractive operations. This is also due to the nature of the gas and mining industries respectively: mining in this context involves self-managed activities and

exploitation without machinery and thus engages corporate entities and individuals. The direct involvement of community members and indigenous organisations also influences the degree of participation which is different from intense gas extraction in Guaraní territories. Yet, commonalities in terms of collective decision-making mechanisms and the inclusion or exclusion of individual members allows me to engage in a comparative analysis (see following chapter).

6.2 Chiquitano Communities in Lomerío: First Impressions

When we travelled to the communities, we were confronted with very different realities in terms of resource exploitation and the acceptance or non-acceptance of mining cooperatives. This also meant that local leaders and CICOL representatives showed different positions towards cooperatives and mining generally reflecting diverging views in their communities. Where opinions were divided among *comunarios*, leaders had difficulties in reacting to social tensions and were, at times, subject to economic pressures including serious threats to be arrested. In some cases, the long history of deforestation in the region and socio-environmental damage played a role in explaining leaders' cautious, if not outright rejecting approaches towards cooperating with external players in the extractive industry such as State and private companies. The collective memory of the communities shows indeed that caution is needed in dealing with the remaining part of the population: until 1952 the so-called *karay* mistreated the Chiquitanos who lived in slavery; *comunarios* reported that babies did not receive sufficient milk as their mothers were obliged to work including specific targets to be reached: the community members had to finish working on a field 15 times 150 metres squared per day and were beaten if they did not succeed.

We started our trip in Coloradillo where most tensions existed among *comunarios* resulting in strong divisions between cooperative members and the remaining community, support for COMIBOL and private companies, maintaining agriculture-related sharing traditions and individual economy driven interests. Interestingly, such divisions disappeared during the weekly communal work activity which included grass cutting (Photo 43, on p.210), cleaning the village or any other activity that served the community and its environment. Female and male *comunarios* undertake different activities involving different degrees of physical labour: men, for instance, would cut shrubbery with machetes while women would clean the church. Similarly, mining activities are usually divided depending on the specific task to be fulfilled such as working in the mine or washing material outside (see the following chapter for more details). Further divisions are added by different religions that are practiced in the community which add to political tensions: while the community's *Cacique* is Catholic, the cooperative's vice president is the Protestant pastor of Coloradillo. Strong leadership in the case of both sides have jeopardised representative issues and decision-making as well as negotiating with outside actors and institutions. Such difficulties are further enhanced by new settlers from the Andes who introduced the concept of cooperatives and thereby divided the community, also spurring resentment towards people from the country's Highlands. As several Highlanders migrated to the communities with the specific aim to set up mining cooperatives where the existence of mining resources was unknown, this changed the communities and their approach towards the environment, but also the communitarian spirit (for further debates on the social impact and divisions in the communities, please see the penultimate part of this chapter 6.7). While social

tensions influence the community's well-being to a negative extent, water resources do not play a big role compared to case study I (Photo 44, p.210) generating more agricultural output and green areas (Photo 45, p.211).



Photo 43 Community work on early Saturday mornings with the help of a mowing machine while other less devastating means are not considered



Photo 44 Nearby river in immediate reach of community



Photo 45 Green areas in Coloradillo

In El Pukio, by contrast, we were welcomed by young community authorities and cooperative leaders who together maintain harmonic and mutually supporting relationships. Cooperatives enjoy wide-reaching support in the community where almost every *comunario* either actively participates or supports mining by membership. At the time of the visit, the community had 150 members and 75 members actively working in the mine. Other than Coloradillo and other communities we visited, houses were not widely dispersed, meaning communication was enormously facilitated and meetings took place on a more frequent basis. This is important given the sheer size of the community which comprises about 80 families and four churches, a women's artisanal organisation (Photo 46, p.212), medical facilities, little shops, and it is home to the CICOL headquarters. It also adds political significance and attention to Coloradillo and has contributed to its reputation as a peaceful, strong and participatory community. The community also maintains a strict cleaning and hygiene policy in the public spaces (Photo 47, p.213). The deforestation history of the community as well as companies' bad practice in that regard is actively remembered by *comunarios* and leaders and invoked even more unity and resistance

towards outside actors and caution in negotiations. Especially indigenous elders play a big role in the resistance fight against illegal deforestation and expropriation by companies (see 6.5.1 for further details). In the current debates around mining, they have become the “environmental guardians” of their people, but also the backbones of the community in terms of social cohesion. According to the oral history of the region, community justice in the form of beating was applied to whomever illegitimately invaded the communities in colonial times. Similar conduct was reported in the case of illegal deforestation activities by companies which attempted to dispossess the communities in terms of land and resources.



Photo 46 Women's artisanal organisation in Lomerío



Photo 47 Street sign that reads “Clean Village, Healthy People”

The third mining-affected community was Surusubí. Similar to Coloradillo, migrants from the Bolivian Highlands have introduced the idea of mining and thereby created tensions in the community. At the same time, such miners are affiliated and entangled with private companies and sell corporate strategies to the communities: this has improved their personal economic situation. Remarkably, the small community encompassing 25 families had three shops, based on mining-generated income. This has further triggered tensions as members of the cooperative’s board of directors are accused of wrongly administering resources provided by the company and misusing resources generated by selling mining material. The geographical position of the community, namely its location in a gorge isolating the community from its surroundings, was the reason for a very limited phone network connection. The community’s isolation meant that the first established and legally-recognised mining cooperative of the region in Surusubí received less attention than elsewhere; less communication and interaction existed with other communities. Similar to other communities, so-called mining pirates are in conflict with the cooperatives’ miners as their activities are neither informed nor authorised. Interestingly, women play a more

active role and form independent groups (see following chapter for more information) rather than being limited in tasks as other communities show.

Finally, San Lorenzo offered an interesting perspective into mining cooperatives as the community seemed geographically divided into miners and non-miners. However, in contrast to the other communities, miners formed a minority: San Lorenzo thus hosts the smallest mining cooperative in Lomerío with 10 active miners and 26 members. This means miners do not enjoy the same organisational structure: there is more sacrifice and less in the way of benefits; miners have to stay several days in the mine which impacts on their general wellbeing and health. However, the community generally relies on a well-functioning socio-political system. With 62 families amounting to approximately 350 people and a considerable amount having migrated to San Lorenzo, it represents a powerful centre in Lomerío following El Pukio. While mining is not at the centre of attention and only beginning to be explored, different sectors such as agriculture constitute the main source for covering basic needs. The community also has several shops including groceries, a car repair workshop and shop selling handmade artisanal items. As the following subchapter will show, artisanal activities have assumed a particular function for women, as they have empowered participants and also created leadership that benefits women's roles in other forums such as assembly meetings.

6.3 Engagement in Mining and Decision-Making: Ambiguous Gender Realities in Local Communities

When we first entered the communities and made contact with members of local mining cooperatives, I was struck by the way women were actively involved in mining activities themselves, even though their task was generally limited to washing the

material outside the mine. However, it gave them important participation and voting powers in the cooperative assemblies. In fact, some women also assumed leading positions in the cooperative structures such as treasurers or deputy heads. I remember meeting with one such female mandate-holder in El Pukio, a very strong woman; aptly her name was Doña León (Ms Lion) and she actively used the gender discourse in order to legitimise women's newly assumed political position in the communities:

“Nowadays, women have found their place (in the community, in society). Machismo was a big thing here in Lomerío, but now women's rights are being recognised, there is more respect now, more support from our husbands (...) I always liked fighting for women's rights, my compañeras (female fellows), so that they would also participate and get involved in society, participate in meetings, decide...” Interview “I_25PNFM_corp” (23:40–26:55min)

In fact, in that sense cooperatives provided a new forum of participation and empowerment for women that had not hitherto existed. Yet, care must be taken in not generalising such a situation and extending it across communities. In a different community, Surusubí, an equally strong woman regretted the limited opportunities that existed in her community for women to participate in mining activities. Namely, women had to form separate working units independently of male mining groups and could only work at the weekends, as the mine was reserved for men during the week. Another reason for this time arrangement is men's claim of said time slots on the grounds of women's domestic obligations during the week: such decisions had been taken by male community members (Interview “I_29SNFM_no_indig” (1:13:30–1:14:05min)). Similarly, female participation in cooperative meetings was limited and the organisational structure did not include female mandate holders.

6.3.1 Involvement in Mining Activities as a Precondition for Participation

As alluded to earlier, female participation in mining-related decision-making both

within cooperative structure and companies depends on women's labour involvement in mining exploitation. This, in turn, shows considerable variation in each mining affected community: it can range from no female participation at all (Interview "I_36LNFM" (3:35–6:58min)) to equal share and integration into mixed groups (Focus Group "I_20_grupo_PNFT" (25:35–27:25min)). In the former case weaving offers alternative sources of income:

"We only participate in weaving activities, which is our mine!" Interview "I_37LNFM" (9:45–9:55min)

The engagement in labour-related activities, both in terms of mining and weaving, qualifies participation levels. Particularly in communities where women are less involved in mining, women's participation in meetings both at community level and in meetings with external players is respectively low.

In most cases mining implies division of labour (Interview "I_32LDMM" (37:20–38:15min)); while men drill and use dynamite for explosions (Interview "I_23PNFM_corp" (24:30–28:10min)), women are primarily responsible for receiving and cleaning the minerals (Interview "I_17PNFM" (14:40–17:00min) and stay outside (Interview "I_18PNFM_corp" (13:35–13:50min)) avoiding heavy physical labour (Interview "I_38LNFM" (9:55–11:35min)). At the beginning, female labour in the mines was not welcomed on grounds of danger and safety, however, this position gradually faded away. Namely, the cooperative head's wife was actively involved in mining activities and an active member of the cooperative. She explained to us how this has developed over time:

"There is a difference...in the past, when the cooperative was established, they did not want us women to work, only men. But we can do it as well. (...) They were afraid something could happen to us (in the mine). But we stood up, because we also have rights, we necessarily have to learn too how you work in the mining sector." Interview "I_23PNFM_corp" (31:05–32:45min)

References to the women's rights discourse are demonstrably made in order to

enhance legitimacy of women's new roles in the communities in a myriad of ways. In the same context, subject-specific knowledge on mining has an empowering function, not only regarding female involvement in mining activities as such, but also in enabling their active participation in meetings. Indeed, our many formal interviews and informal conversations showed how important technical knowledge was, both regarding their access to participatory mechanisms and as to gradually decreasing self-conscious attitude in meetings that were traditionally in the hands of men, that fell into male-associated labour, such as mining, forest exploitation or agriculture.

In one community, such shift in gender-related labour and respective participation has taken a particularly positive dimension. Namely, women are independently organised: they consider mining an important source of income to feed their families, cover basic needs and enable their children to attend school. Participants of a female, mixed-aged focus group proudly told us about such changing realities in their community regarding female engagement and its impact:

"We as women now have our own group, it is a strong group. By means of such work we obtain resources to survive with our families, and above all covering our basic needs. So that our husbands do not have to leave and search for work, obtain resources in other places, far away from home, here is where we work. Now we cover our children's needs as well such as to attend school, there is this ease now." Focus Group "I_27_grupo_SNFMi" (11:40–13:05min)

In a way, mining engagement has replaced weaving activities that previously enabled women to feed their families, or at least access an alternative source of income. It has also, to some extent, changed power relations in families as female focus group participants suggest that there is no need for their husbands to search for work.

6.3.2 Challenges and Opportunities for Female Participants in Meetings with External Players

Apart from labour- and sector-specific participation in meetings, women face considerable challenges in meetings with companies in particular:

“Men ask and share their opinions more in meetings with companies, more than women. It is worse there (in meetings), there are only two or three women who speak up.” Interview “I_2CNFM” (22:55–23:25min)

However, our numerous interviews with community members showed that any outsider has a similar impact on women’s participation levels. This concerns meetings with companies and state representatives alike. Even NGOs which established close relationships with *comunarios* and leaders for several decades face difficulties in engaging indigenous women in workshops and other activities. In one of the workshops which I coordinated in the communities, we addressed the topic “prior consultation mechanisms” with a gender perspective. Only towards the end of the day, women started contributing to the debates and engaged more actively. Our very presence as outsiders significantly discouraged them from participating. One female community member illustrates this by pointing to the rural versus urban divide which exacerbates unequal involvement in meetings:

“I am embarrassed because of those who come from the city; here in the communities I do share my views. Sometimes I don’t understand them (urban citizens), I feel inferior, and you don’t understand them because you haven’t studied like them, and that is why you shut up and only talk about it once you leave the meeting.” Interview “I_17PNFM” (17:00–20:55min)

Thus knowledge asymmetries impact on the *comunarios*’ feeling of self-worth, which in turn influences their involvement in meetings. Demonstrably, these asymmetries explain the different degrees of participation at community level and in meetings with external players in particular. Such feelings are enhanced by the perception of not being taken seriously and not being valued as two female *comunarias* narrate:

“There are still women who do not share their views. Sometimes they don’t understand what is said in the assemblies, at times they are not taken seriously.” Interview “I_18PNFM_corp” (22:45–25:10min)

“There is not a lot of participation on the part of women in the sense of expressing one’s views, they participate, but don’t express their views. Maybe some more than others... (...) Sometimes I have an idea I wish to express, but surrounded by men it seems as if women’s opinions would not count, that is why we are afraid to talk.” Interview “I_19PNFM_corp” (22:35–24:55min)

The described self-conscious feelings which impede female participation seemingly emerge in relation to their male fellows, but also in relation to society at large which demonstrably has an obstructive function in that regard. Despite equality of opportunity in terms of access to education in the current community life, the general social environment is still perceived as impeding. Our numerous conversations showed how mothers expressed their hopes for their daughters to excel and assume more active roles in community life; however, the missing social experience seems to persist:

“We are not able to express ourselves. (...) Lacking social experience, living in a society that impedes girls... There are several who completed secondary education, but for expressing their views... maybe they are still learning...” Interview “I_19PNFM_corp” (24:55–26:50min).

Another gender-related dimension is added to these impressions. Namely, female community members suggest that influence is exerted in rather subtle ways in the light of lacking direct influence. Namely, women support their husbands so they can make claims or suggestions on their behalf:

“We have meetings with the company when it is not complying and we support our husbands in order for them to make claims, so that the companies keep to their promises. We support with suggestions.” Interview “I_8CNFM_corp” (40:30–50:20min)

This shows how much female community members depend on their husbands’ participation which also alludes to labour-related participation which is stronger in the case of men when it comes to decision-making on mining issues. This form of indirect influence resembles women’s role in Guaraní communities which could be classified as “second rank participation” where women get involved whenever their husbands are not present. Similarly, in this case, albeit in a different way, such gender-based dependencies can be illustrated. A female *comunaria* told us that they would only attend meetings whenever their husbands attend as well:

“Women attend, if their husbands are there, they do attend. Both go.” Interview “I_3CNFT” (11:00–11:35min)

On the other hand, women have been significantly empowered in the community which has a positive impact on participation levels and the assumption of offices. As in the case of the Guaraní, human rights discourse plays a big role in Chiquitano communities attributing legitimacy to women's new roles such as mandate holders. The following compilation of human rights discourse as expressed by both female and male *comunarios* shows how women have increasingly gained recognition, respect, equality in discourse which, in turn, affects the way women's rights are understood in public spaces and could potentially have an empowering, transforming and long-term impact on their participatory role:

"Both men and women participate, gender equality, we never discriminate women, there are also female authorities." Interview "I_22PNMM_corp" (25:30–26:02min)

"Women's rights are being recognised now, there is more respect." Interview "I_25PNFM_corp" (23:40–26:55min)

"Everybody participates, not only men, also women (...) so we don't discriminate, but everybody is there and involved." Focus Group "I_26_grupo_PNMJ" (24:55–36:05min)

"Women also have rights now, to voice opinions. They always have to express their opinions in meetings, not only men like in the past (...) women also have that right and they should go home to tell their husbands!" Interview "I_37LNFM" (26:45–30:40min)

"There has to be gender equality, I am wondering why they cannot get women out of their homes and bring them to meetings." Interview "I_9CNFM" (29:45–31:15min)

"They also voice opinions in meetings, now there is gender equality, now we share the same (...) participation is the same as for men, but we don't know what is happening inside (what they truly think about it), if they are in favour or against it." Interview "I_7CNFM" (33:35–36:40min)

Some statements reveal the normative character of women's rights and imply that implementation has yet to occur. However, theory and practice seemingly diverge: men's negative attitude in particular seems outstanding and suggests that transformation needs to be initiated in the domestic sphere first in order to allow participation at larger scale.

Yet, in a more institutional way, female participation has increased through labour-related mechanisms. Prior to mining exploitation, women worked and

organised themselves in artisanal organisations which are present in all communities, i.e. “Artecampo” in el Pukio, “Club de Madres” in San Lorenzo and “El Dorado” in Surusubí. Even though such organisations were established with the purpose of coordinating weaving activities and of collectively selling the products, they have also become important forums of participation for women:

“We are organised here, we are all women from the community, we form part of an organisation which is called Artecampo, women who weave. And we also have meetings and there is the opportunity to tell women to speak up, to express their views. In that context, I can see that they are more likely to express their views, but when we gather, women and men, in a big hall, women cannot voice opinions.” Interview “I_18PNFM_corp” (32:10–35:10min)

Again, this provides evidence for the fact that the particular forum of community meetings, and in an exacerbated form, in relation to external players, female participation is discouraged. On the other hand, it shows that women’s participation can be enhanced in specific settings, namely among women of their communities. Similarly, such form of organisation has demonstrably influenced the emergence of female leadership in the communities. A focus group with elderly female *comunarias* revealed such development:

“In the past they would not let us participate, only men, and afterwards they would tell us about the meeting at home. But now our sons and daughters have become leaders, and they said ‘why shouldn’t women participate?’ (...) Now there are female leaders, they talk and ask for the floor.” Focus Group “I_20_grupo_PNFT” (29:45–35:40min)

I remember how proudly the participants talked about the empowering impact of *Artecampo* which they had established even before the emergence of the indigenous peoples’ umbrella organisation CICOL at a time of machismo and gender-related discrimination. It was through the collective activities of weaving that women’s participation started to become part of community life, everyday practice, but also institutionalised. Weaving at community level has spurred the female struggle for economic, social and political autonomy, at the same time as it has enhanced women’s participation in decision-making mechanisms.

In some cases, participation in the artisanal organisation is reproduced in community meetings, particularly where specific female representatives take issues to such encounters:

“Those who express their views in the (community) meetings say what has been said by women (in meetings of the artisanal organisation), and this time in meetings alongside men and some men support this.” Interview “I_37LNFM” (33:15–42:10min)

Others argue quite the opposite, namely that only few women express their views in such community meetings compared to assemblies at “Club de Madres”:

“When we have meetings with only women, they (women) do express their views. But when we organise a big meeting at community level, only a few would talk.” Interview “I_38LNFM” (29:30–33:20min)

However, weaving is generally considered an activity that brought considerable change, namely, women would start being involved in meetings, express views and lose fear:

“In those times (when women were involved in weaving activities) there has been a shift which opened the minds, nowadays women become involved in meetings, they express themselves, and no longer fear...” Interview “I_29SNFM_no_indig” (26:15–27:55min)

Similarly, such organisations transformed power-relations between women and men, generating an independent source of income for women:

“When we started this and did our work, after two or three weeks, we received money and could buy bread for our family. You knew that you could get something for your family. So our husbands said: ‘Go there and do that job’, however, if we wanted to attend any workshop, he would say ‘Will this provide us with any food?’ (...) Artecampo has truly strengthened us.” Focus Group “I_20_grupo_PNFT” (35:50–38:45min)

On the other hand, mining activities and the involvement of female community members have diminished involvement in collective weaving due to resulting independent, individual sources of income (Focus Group “I_20_grupo_PNFT” (5:50–22:55min). As mixed-gender mining activities do not have the same impact in terms of uniting women and strengthening intra-group dynamics, respective transformative effects for women’s participation are expected to be undermined by sector-specific interests. Women’s involvement in mining activities is therefore critical to their

participation at community level generally, but also regarding decision-making processes in special forums such as mining cooperatives.

6.4 Age-Related Differences and their Impact on Participation

The elderly and youth are the age groups which show the lowest level of participation in decision-making processes on natural resources both at community level and in relation to external players. Just as in the case of the Guaraní communities, it was hard to find young people in the communities who had either moved to the cities or were currently doing shift work in the mines. The case of the elderly was quite unique in that they happily agreed to participate in our focus group and shared their extensive experience with companies engaged in deforestation activities. Efren and I convened two focus groups at night: while I guided the discussion in the group with elderly female *comunarias*, Efren took the lead in a focus group with elderly men. Both groups, but male *comunarios* in particular, regretted that such debates among elderly *comunarios* were not taken up to community meetings which they would hardly attend. Reasons for this included health-related issues, but also the perception of not being welcome in the meetings.

The elderly look back on a conflictual relationship and tensions with forestry companies that had tried to circumvent local authorities for several decades. It involved a territorial battle in terms of territorial defence and significantly influenced the older generation's stance towards external players in the last thirty years as a male *comunario* narrated:

“The owner of Quebrada Sur would bring between 60 and 70 soldiers: they reached the communities, caught 3 or 4 community members and took them away. It was a real battle which stayed in our history. People went to defend themselves. Those are the things that have been done all those years and this why people have developed the character to defend whatever is theirs. And with the arrival of companies that wanted concessions this has become

a constant fight. We always had to force them to leave with clubs and pick up vans.” Interview “I_24PDMM_corp” (22:55–26:10min)

This had caused them to be suspicious of any external interference, but it had also inspired more cooperation between communities and the establishment of the indigenous umbrella organisation CICOL (for more details see Chapter 4). However, in relation to the newly established mining cooperatives and their close cooperation with private companies (Ama Sulla), indigenous elders could be considered a threat to such endeavours. The establishment of a council of elders or the like would create mechanisms of checks and balances that could endanger the cooperatives’ plans.

The differing opinions as to extractive plans can also be explained in terms of inter-generational challenges and differences, as some interviewees narrate:

“Nowadays, youngsters often stand out, but without any fundamental knowledge about our organisation, the progress we have achieved, they only talk instead like anybody else” Interview “II_25LDMM” (35:58–37:50min)

“Those youngster who signed the contracts (with extraction companies) don’t even know what we went through to fight for our territories, and now a few adolescents want to make a good bargain with companies” Focus Group “I_21_grupo_PNMT” (45:52–49:55min)

During our focus group debate, the elderly re-emphasised the importance of such getting together and actively used this forum to draft future plans of cooperation among elders.

6.4.1 Vulnerabilities and Obstacles to Participation for the Elderly

The elderly’s absence in mining-related meetings can also be explained by their lacking involvement in resource exploitation generally. Our numerous interviews showed that the negative experience with forestry companies impacted on their engagement with external players generally, but it is also qualified by their lacking mining experience. Namely, minerals are exploited by young community members from 23 years onwards till a maximum age of 50 (Interview “I_15PNFM” (33:30–

34:05min). A focus group with elderly *comunarias* confirmed such finding; the participants point to age-related differences in that regard.

“There is a mine here, but we did not know it in the past, now even children know it, and know how to exploit it, by contrast, we (the elderly) don’t know the mine at all.” Focus Group “I_20_grupo_PNFT” (5:50-22:55min)

When addressing mining issues in interviews and informal conversations, I perceived this as a rather abstract and alien issue when talking to elderly people. While younger or middle-aged *comunarios* would even say: “The mine is my field (*chaco*)” pointing to the replacement of agricultural work and source of subsistence by mining activities, the elderly would stay with their traditional work in the fields. In the past, work and basic human needs were covered by means of self-sufficient systems of agriculture instead of individual or collective mining to generate monetary resources:

“My grandma says that she was not raised to wash soil, instead she worked in her fields, they sold and bought according to their needs, she does not know anything about mining.” Interview “I_23PNFM_corp” (23:40–38:50min)

Importantly, this also shows that agricultural output served long-term, needs-based objectives, while mining generated income which would soon be spent and created dependencies on the outside world which had not hitherto existed. Such developments did not only trigger economic changes, but also social transformation: mining activities have severely impacted on the social cohesion of the communities as older *comunarios* form a small minority in living from agricultural outputs; ceremonies related to traditional forms of collective work, so-called *mingas* (a traditional ceremony held after undertaking collective agricultural work) are no longer held and sharing food, time and work has become rare. This has led to socio-cultural transformation in the communities and contributes to tensions where different mining extractive models and organisational forms coexist and opinions differ, mostly

in terms of inter-generational dimensions, as to whether to make use of mining resources or not.

Apart from voluntary absence from any mining activities, several elderly interviewees reveal that their involvement in mining cooperatives is generally ruled out by the latter:

“I am also of advanced age, and the cooperative’s norms for elderly say that we can no longer enter as members from a certain age onwards. Sometimes they say that we are no longer entitled to enter there, they are mainly youngsters, I think this is based on lacking knowledge (...) mining should not belong to a few people, even if it is highly organised in the cooperative, it belongs to the community. The fight (for territories and resources) has not started recently and nobody should deprive anybody else...” Focus Group “I_21_grupo_PNMT” (56:45–1:00:00min)

“We, the elderly, can no longer be cooperative members, because we are seniors” Interview “II_2CNMT” (20:35–21:55min)

The first interview reveals the importance of elderly people in the fight for territories and resources that established the basis for territorial autonomy and administration of indigenous communal lands. However, all interviews suggest that participation by the elderly is institutionally limited, and in some cases, their involvement is actively discouraged. Whenever elderly *comunarios* express critical opinions based on said negative experiences, this is perceived as a threat to the newly-established mining cooperatives, but also to those local leaders who favour such plans.

Elders’ low levels of participation can be explained by a number of factors. For instance, some elderly members actively opposed plans to cooperate with private companies such as Ama Sulla, however, their voices were not heard, as some middle-aged *comunarios* told us:

“We recognised their (the mining company’s) positive attitude; they talked to us and offered their support. (...) Some people said they did not want them to, these were elderly people, about 3 or 4 of them.” Interview “II_13PNMM” (31:55–34:50min)

This has also significantly reduced their opportunity to be considered members in the cooperatives. However, it is important to mention that elderly *comunarios’* advice is

indeed appreciated regarding other issues, namely in advising authorities in how to manage resources, i.e. in wisely spending the community's money:

“There are things which young people exaggerate; sometimes without consulting us they waste money related to mining revenues (...) they should ask comunarios because this money is for everyone: this is where the elderly advises the authorities.” Interview “I1_15PDFM” (12:00–12:43min)

This could potentially offer new opportunities to get – yet in an albeit indirect way – engaged in mining-related issues: administering contributions from the mining quota might become more essential in the near future as the mining sector starts booming.

Alongside external recognition, education-specific factors qualify elders' involvement in mining-related decision-making. In fact, the elderly feel that they lack understanding in order to ask informed questions (Interview “I_12CNFT_disc” (21:50-29:15min). Low levels of education lead back to the region's history of oppression, forced labour and subordinating master–peon relations:

“That generation, they didn't have resources to attend school, there were only private schools (...) in the past there were those masters, many people, those who are old now, had to dedicate themselves to work instead of study because of the masters, they would never give them freedom, they had to work seven days a week.” Interview “I_22PNMM_corp” (29:30–34:55min)

Indeed, access to basic education was impeded for a number of reasons and informs elders' current position in the public life of their communities. This, in turn, explains difficulties in understanding highly complex issues, such as politics, but also resource administration, as one of the local leaders told us:

“They are not up to date regarding the topics addressed in meetings; they do not understand issues related to politics. If we talk about the State, the nation, the government and resources, they would not understand.” Interview “I_24PDMM_corp” (42:20–43:30min)

The local leader's words reveal that knowledge asymmetries are not only self-perceived and internalised by indigenous elders, they are also reinforced by their immediate environment, community authorities, and also external players. By

labelling elders' knowledge as inferior, or of less worth, the overall value of their contributions in meetings is seriously undermined.

Apart from its self-perpetuating effect, knowledge asymmetries provide grounds for legitimising elders' exclusion from meetings and taking them actively into consideration:

"The elderly have not undergone any preparation, they are silent." Interview "I_24PDMM_corp" (41:35–41:50min)

"I cannot force them to talk, because this is related to their level of education to talk in meetings (...) they feel insecure based on their inferior status of knowledge, there are people who are illiterate, they won't be able to speak in the meetings (...) we as authorities are simply satisfied if they attend" Interview "II_19PNMM" (25:43–27:32min)

Hence, participation is limited to a small number of individuals, namely high ranking former leaders of the indigenous organisation CICOL who are the only elderly *comunarios* who attend meetings and express their views in meetings (Interview "II_17PDMM" (25:10–25:39min)).

Finally, the elderly's physical condition negatively impacts on their participation levels. Indeed, their voice and voting powers in assemblies are linked to fulfilling physical community work (Interview "II_6CDMM" (18:56–19:19)). Some community members indicate a direct relation between meetings and engaging in public or community work:

"She is already old. (...) Till the age of 50 or 60, at that age they retire and no longer do public (community) work, the meeting is related to public work, every Saturday in the morning." Focus Group "I_6_grupo_CNFJ" (41:10–43:55min).

Physical conditions are essential in determining opportunities to walk to gatherings (Focus Group "I_20_grupo_PNFT" (27:20–29:45min)); but the elderly are also limited by long duration and late-hour meetings (Focus Group "I_20_grupo_PNFT" (47:05–48:45min)). Several *comunarios* told us how difficult they found attending meetings late in the day as they would still work in the fields until an advanced age. In the evening they would usually be too tired to attend any meetings. This does not only

concern attendance. Rather, elderly people's participation is often confined to listening (Focus Group "I_20_grupo_PNFT" (39:35–44:10min)), rather than effectively sharing views. Just as female *comunarias*, the elderly developed the habit of debating among themselves outside assemblies or just after meetings (Interview "II_24LDMM" (40:20–42:16min)).

6.4.2 "Brain Drain" and its Impact on Young Community Members

Just as the elderly, young community members are largely absent in meetings both at community level and in encounters with external players. We had a difficult time finding young *comunarios* in the communities as they had either migrated to the city or were involved in mining-related activities. On one occasion, we managed to gather a focus group of young cooperative members who seemed fascinated about and proud of the new cooperative they had recently managed to establish. In fact, all young community members we heard of were in one way or another involved in mining activities, either as active miners, as members of the board of the cooperative or doing related work such as a driver that would bring workers to the mine. This means that the cooperative and mining-related decision-making is dominated by young people even though the vast majority of young *comunarios* has migrated to the cities. In some cases, the mine attracts young people who have migrated to the city and return due to the recent mining boom.

The current head of the organisation coordinating the four community mining cooperatives exemplifies this group of people. At a young age he moved to Santa Cruz and temporarily returned in order to take over organisational work and the highest mandate in the cooperative structure. We desperately tried to find him in the communities in order to interview him, however, we were told he still lived in Santa

Cruz and only returned for important meetings with e.g. the mining company Ama Sulla. Indeed, when we attended a meeting between FEDECOMIN, Ama Sulla and a local community, we finally met and interviewed him. His familiarity with the life of the city, urban accent and working experience with several companies in Santa Cruz provides him with a unique status and legitimacy in the communities: *comunarios* consider him a suitable candidate to negotiate at a level playing field.

However, this is not a unique case. Particularly high school graduates migrate to the cities in search for jobs or to study, also due to lacking work opportunities in their communities (Interview “I_13CNFM” (40:30–41:25min)). Interestingly, mostly male community members would return to their communities after studying or living in cities, in contrast to women who would get married outside and do not generally return: this has important implications for differences in education depending on gender and hence further enhances asymmetries of knowledge in the communities.

“When they leave to study, they return. For example teachers, they leave to study and return here. Others study something else and don’t find work here, so they stay in the city. Some girls get married there. It is rather men who leave and return.” Interview “I_17PNFM” (34:05–35:55min)

Similarly, gender-related differences in young people can be identified concerning attendance requirements in meetings: while the internal community regulation requires compulsory attendance from the age of 18, informal rules disclose marriage as a decisive criterion for men to become official members of assemblies (Interview “I_22PNMM_corp” (27:05–29:30min)). Women’s participation in that context is not touched upon and depends on men’s attendance. I remember conducting a focus group with young women. We were waiting for one participant to come and we would see her from a distance, but she would eventually return home again until another participant convinced her to come to our meeting. It turned out that her husband had

tried to keep her away from our focus group as he did not appreciate her participation in public events: this also impeded her involvement in meetings at community level.

Yet, youth participation is not necessarily gender-related as different interviewees reveal. In fact, on different occasions both young and older members address the missing active engagement of youth in assemblies or meetings:

“Young people don’t express themselves, they should do so, because they have studied more than us, I don’t think they don’t understand.” Interview “I_13CNFM” (35:40–37:50min),

“Mainly young people don’t share opinions in meetings, they stay quiet, don’t participate, they are shy.” Interview “I_1CDMM” (39:10–39:55min),

“Participation is presence-based, but they don’t share their views. They are silent; I have never seen any young person commenting in public. Nobody knows why.” Interview “I_33LDMM” (51:15–54:20min)

It is important to emphasise that such lacking engagement is mainly reflected in ordinary community meetings while meetings in the cooperative are even dominated by young *comunarios* as outlined above. Low participation levels can be explained by a number of factors. For instance, a focus group with indigenous youth indicates that not asking for the floor or express opinions in meetings is based on the fear to make mistakes and resulting shyness:

“We (young people) don’t ask for the floor, only the old ones. We (several participants) don’t participate. This is because of embarrassment, maybe it is wrong what one is saying (...) I don’t feel encouraged to share my views, I am embarrassed, to be mistaken, it scares me, that’s why I don’t express myself, otherwise they laugh...” Focus Group “I_6_grupo_CNFJ” (21:30–34:30min, 25:15–26:05min)

Older interviewees describe the tendency for youth not to hold official mandates and not to take them into consideration out of fear to lose them when they migrate to cities: particularly individual *comunarios* come under this scheme as they are more likely to leave (Interview “I_8CNFM_corp” (31:20–33:55min)). Leaders also regret that previous administrations did not take youth into consideration which, in turn, impedes them from making suggestions generally (Interview “II_17PDMM” (25:10–

25:39min)). Such traditional hierarchies are slowly disappearing though as new participatory structures are emerging, such as cooperatives.

Another factor that explains low youth participation is affiliation with families and marriage, which seems to play a decisive role. Community members indicate that sharing views increases when people start a family:

“Those who share their views more than others are those who are already married and have a family, not young people.” (Interview “I_13CNFM” (38:20–38:40min))

This is also based on growing responsibilities (Interview “I_14PNFM_corp” (25:40–27:40min)). Yet another indicator for such restrained behaviour in public spaces is lacking experience in both education and holding political mandates (Interview “I_24PDMM_corp” (41:10–41:35min)), and conscience about society more generally, to understand their position and escape from their traditional roles:

“What shall we do with youth? This is sort of complicated. Some have some conscience to participate, but others are apathetic about it, they lack conscience to participate in society, to see what is the role of youth (...) There are few who come with innovative ideas from Santa Cruz, they stay in the city and don’t participate in the community.” Interview “I_25PNFM_corp” (26:55–28:50min)

However, in one instance, youth participate more than in meetings: as in the case of the elderly, young *comunarios* prefer exchanging views in small forums or groups (Interview “II_17PDMM” (24:10–25:00min)).

6.5 Education and Language: on Self-Perpetuating Knowledge Asymmetries

When we arrived at the communities, I was astonished at the level of self-consciousness among *comunarios* when we approached them to conduct interviews: community members felt they could not tell us much about the impact of mining activities and their participation therein. Later, in the course of the interviews, it turned out they were well informed: our presence and appearance as townspeople had considerably intimidated them and prevented them from engaging with us before

we would reassure them about their value for my research. I could observe such self-consciousness across different generations. The elderly – and middle-aged *comunarios* to some extent – had had limited opportunities to attend school, while younger community members showed little knowledge on such issues as they had migrated to the cities or been absent for work-related reasons. Especially in the case of the elderly, gender-related differences played a big role in terms of educational background:

“Women, for the most part, only study until second or third year of junior high, not exceeding 4 years, while men would have more... their parents would want them to study more” Interview “I_10CNMM_corp” (19:55–21:30min)

In some cases, women did not attend school at all: this was also related to early marriages and unsupportive parents as two middle-aged and one elderly *comunarias* demonstrate:

“I don’t understand enough, so I could ask. I never went to school, that’s why I am like that (suggesting some form of inferiority, lower level of knowledge). There was simply no college where I grew up. At the age of 17 I left that community, my husband was 30 years old; I got married at the age of 14. He did go to school to study, he does know.” Interview “I_12CNFT_disc” (21:50–29:15min),

“I want to share my views, but I have this fear of not being heard. I did not graduate, only went to college for three years, mi father couldn’t cover our materials. At the age of 16 I got married, some of my girlfriends got married at the age of 12 or 13, our male fellows went to college for 10 years instead.” Interview “I_36LNFm” (29:40–32:30),

“I got married at a very young age, I didn’t study, I don’t know enough to educate my children, I can only teach what I know (...) our parents also allowed us to attend school until second year of high school, so that women would know how to read. I got married at the age of 14, I didn’t want to, I rather wanted to continue studying, but I didn’t have such opportunity, that’s also why I get very shy in front of a group of people. It is hard when you lack the knowledge and don’t know the words they use.” Interview “I_8CNFM_corp” (37:25–39:15min)

Resembling the position of indigenous elders, such gender-related knowledge asymmetries demonstrably influence *comunarias’* opportunities of effective participation. However, as these statements illustrate, it is above all the self-perceived differences which cause self-conscious behaviour that, in turn, impedes further engagement in assemblies and as a result of that, potential possibilities to shape the

results of negotiations. Similarly, a male leader observed such self-perceived hierarchies and resulting restraints in community assemblies:

“In the past they (women) only attended, they didn’t suggest anything, they didn’t have anything to say... this is our parents’ culture, also based on lack of education, they considered themselves as lower” Interview “II_24LDMM” (37:18–38:28min)

Perceptions of hierarchies are thus directly related to lower levels of education and legitimise their lacking integration into participatory processes. A middle-aged male leader further elaborated on such a dilemma: accordingly, asymmetries and resulting underestimation become apparent in comparison with educated elites who seemingly defend their positions in a self-confident way in meetings while the “uneducated” majority feels inferior and underestimated compared to professionals:

“On many occasions, they feel undervalued, because there are very educated people. It is based on this underestimation or this complex they have, and they don’t have the guts to say ‘I don’t agree with that’, because there are people in the meetings which are always able to defend their opinion (...) and ‘common’ people are usually quiet and are not able to say anything, we are very slow when it comes to reacting to opinions. (...) However, after the meeting, these people usually express their disagreement towards others. (...) And all this is based on two reasons: underestimation compared to professional people and the complex of feeling inferior” Interview “I_24PDMM_corp” (39:05–40:35)

In meetings with external players such as state or company representatives, such feelings of inferiority and education-related complex are expressed in an exacerbated form. This can be explained by many factors that play into this complex divide between peasants and townspeople, agricultural workers and engineers or lawyers, uneducated and educated people. Especially the urban–rural divide is frequently used to explain said feelings of inferiority:

“You don’t know it, you don’t go to the city, you grow up where you were born, and that’s it. While those who study and know the city... their minds wake up.” Interview “I_9CVFM” (29:45–31:35min)

I could observe such differentiation between urban and rural spaces and attribution of competence (or lack of) on many occasions. In many encounters and interviews, people would not only show respect, but subordination towards their interviewers,

e.g. by not believing their views would count or striving to be corrected by us, the “urban experts”. The latter aspect fundamentally influences indigenous peoples’ conduct in meetings with State or corporate representatives; essentially, it influences their starting position, but also their perceived power to control the outcome of negotiations.

6.6 Local and *Zonal* Leaders, Cooperatives and Companies: Who Gets a Piece of the Cake?

It was the first day of our field trip; we were dropped off at a large field close to the community of Coloradillo by the only public bus that would reach some of the communities in Lomerío. We were supposed to meet with the local leader in Coloradillo who was also the community’s school teacher. I had met him previously in some of the workshops I had co-organised with CEJIS, Efren also knew him quite well. We spotted a few isolated houses close to where we got dropped off and talked to a middle aged lady who hesitated to indicate the way to the local leader’s house. Later on, in an interview, it turned out to be the leader’s sister who was seriously afraid of any strangers; her reaction was also informed by a recent experience. Apparently, the local mining cooperative had ordered the police to detain the local leader on grounds of corruption. However, as most *comunarios* told us their discontent was based on his and the community’s opposition to collaborating with COMIBOL, the Bolivian state mining corporation. The night prior to our arrival, COMIBOL had entered Lomerío territories late at night; it was a form of pre-visit to start exploratory operations in the area. Local authorities were merely informed, not consulted, about the initiation of such operations (Annex 12 COMIBOL document on initiation of explorative activities without consulting or reaching agreement with local authorities, p.720). The local

leader was quick to inform mining cooperatives in other communities to come to support Coloradillo in a collective fight for their territories and resources. This fast mobilisation helped to successfully keep COMIBOL from entering further and unequivocally communicated the communities' disapproval of such endeavours to the state authorities.

This recent event showed how difficult it was for local and *zonal* leadership and indigenous organisations to react to these types of unexpected invasions. Mining cooperatives converted into some form of collective territorial defence mechanism in the light of external pressures, failing consultations and the fact that the indigenous umbrella organisation CICOL was not institutionally prepared for such events. At the same time, mining cooperatives demonstrably followed different agendas and revealed different relationships with local authority structures. While mining cooperatives in El Pukio, Surusubí and San Lorenzo responded to the leaders' call for help, the local mining cooperative in Coloradillo wanted to spur extractive plans with COMIBOL. Some indigenous leaders reveal how boundaries between cooperative and indigenous leadership structures have become blurred in the light of the collective territorial struggle:

"We won't allow them to rule us. That's why we will take decisions as a cooperative and community for the sake of the community; it's their attitude which makes us struggle that hard. (...) We, as the Confederation of Lomerío, are united as never before." Interview "II_16PDMM" (14:49–18:30min)

Indeed, all this was not a matter of opposing mining operations in the area; it was a fight for a piece of the cake in a tense resource struggle:

"That's why we didn't let them (COMIBOL) in, because we want to be the ones who can exploit the mine" Interview "II_15PDFM" (21:34–23:55min)

"Even if we did not exploit the mine, somebody would exploit it, the bad thing would be that other people would exploit it, because there are many companies from outside which want to enter, and if we don't let them work, and we don't work either, there will be obviously people which will say that these regions need to be exploited for the benefit of the country, that is why

we said: 'let's try everything, let us fight for the legal personality'." Interview "II_17PDMM" (9:28–10:58min)

Local authorities were torn between defending territories and legitimising resource claims.

6.6.1 Mining Cooperatives and their Impact on Local Decision-Making Structures

Before I started my field trip I had a long meeting with Efren at the CEJIS office; he had established close relationships with local leaders in the context of several NGO projects in the area. In the preparatory meeting, he explained all relationships and entanglements between the different players to me, including local and regional mining cooperatives, state and private companies and indigenous representative organisations at different levels. In fact, local mining cooperatives have established a range of relationships with local decision-making structures. While cooperatives in El Pukio and San Lorenzo largely cooperate with local leadership mechanisms, respective cooperatives in Surusubí and especially Coloradillo not only boycott local leadership, they create uncertainties as to accountable representation of the communities' interests, question the role and legitimacy of local authorities and trigger respective tensions.

Clear dependencies have developed between indigenous and cooperative leaders. One example is the "mining contribution": 5% of all mining revenues are devoted to the communities. However, in some instances, such revenues are used to fund the cooperatives' application for legal personality, thus returning the revenues to the cooperative – yet this happens under local leaders' control. This clearly shows the entanglement, but also the mutual political and economic support between both structures. Furthermore, mining cooperatives describe themselves as operatives or

productive partnerships. This implies a direct relationship between cooperatives and indigenous representative organisations. Finally, local leaders are directly involved in the cooperatives' decision-making structures; cooperatives are monitored and scrutinised by local leaders, as the head of the cooperative umbrella entity explains:

"We are only operatives, productive associations. Within our communities, there is a general assembly which is the highest authority which has a representative, the high Cacique; he is the one who scrutinises all productive (including mining) activities. (...) Within the cooperative structures, the high Caciques get along fairly well and they are superior to the cooperatives." Interview "I_31LDMM" (9:10–12:05min)

Based on negative experience in Coloradillo in terms of challenges to local authority structures, preventive coordinating mechanisms were established in El Pukio as well as clear lines of responsibilities:

"At the beginning we were facing difficulties: as leaders and authorities we considered the establishment of a cooperative a hit in the face, that's why we convened meetings with both cooperative and Confederation in order to come to the agreement not to challenge CICOL or the municipality, but to denominate them operational arms of the community authority structures. However, I (indigenous leader) will maintain responsibility and they are only operational. (...) They cannot decide what they want to do in the community without consulting me, they cannot go beyond authorities, they have to coordinate instead." Interview "I_17PDMM" (12:47–14:50min)

It remains to be seen whether such mechanisms will be able to be maintained in the light of growing economic tensions, external players and the mining boom.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind to what extent good interpersonal relations between local leaders and cooperatives play a role in such dynamics. In El Pukio, we instantly noticed the proximity and friendship between the community's leader and the cooperative's president – this had a significant impact on the collaborative success of mining-related decision-making in the community:

"It will never work separately, at no point this will happen. If you think that way, it will become a huge problem. It is a strong sector. For example, when they started mining, there was no route. So they came to talk to me, and said 'Señor Cacique, we need your support to improve the route to the mine', so we went there with the entire community, not only miners." Interview "I_33LDMM" (38:00–41:30min)

However, in Coloradillo the local leader and a *comunario* complained about negative and disrespectful behaviour on the part of cooperative members towards local authorities:

“They (cooperative members) don’t want to pay attention to me here, they are doing whatever they want, and above all they want authority and rule. I informed our organisation CICOL and they have offered me any possible help” Interview “I_CDMM” (15:25–15:55min)

“... for them there are no Caciques (local authorities) (...) they treat him (leader) as if he was incapable or incompetent, stupid, donkey” Interview “II_2CNMT” (31:30–33:50min)

As cooperative members and local leaders have developed a distanced relationship, this has changed the dynamics and contributed to a better understanding between local and regional authorities.

6.6.2 Local and Regional Dynamics: Entanglements of Resource-Related Power Politics

When interviewing community leaders at local and regional levels, we noticed how differently mining issues were treated. Local leaders are very much involved and in constant contact with mining cooperatives and issues, whereas the regional umbrella organisation CICOL had assumed a more critical stance and acted as the genuine representative of the region’s territorial struggle and defender of indigenous peoples’ land and resource rights. This can also be shown by means of the relationship between CICOL and FEDECOMIN, the umbrella organisation of cooperatives in Santa Cruz: both organisations hardly cooperate and understand themselves as defending opposing interests. As a CICOL leader narrates, cooperatives are perceived as a threat to the territorial integrity and cohesion of indigenous decision-making structures:

“I will generalise this even more: as an indigenous leader from CICOL, I don’t agree with mining cooperatives, but I am not against mining exploitation as such, rather I am in favour. But I am wondering why we need to create a cooperative – we already have an organisation with the name CICOL. Why? Because ‘divisionism’ is being created, cooperative miners will no longer follow us. They have their own structure, their own leaders who reinterpret laws...” Interview “I_32LDMM” (14:10–17:10min)

Furthermore, FEDECOMIN benefits from highly qualified personnel, urban élites that temporarily moved back to the communities. Such élites were largely trained by or previously held mandates at CICOL:

“They (members of the cooperative executive board) were trained at CICOL. This woman underwent many training programmes, that man was also CICOL leader at some point, he was in charge of lands and territories, however, now he uses this against them.” Interview “I_1CDMM” (44:41–45:35min)

Such newly assumed mandates are viewed with suspicion by CICOL as previous leaders use knowledge and skills in order to enhance their own agenda and, in some cases, against the very organisation that trained them.

6.6.3 Pressures from Outside: How Companies Impact on Community Participation

It is reported that private corporations repeatedly tried to come to individual agreements with community members and by doing so provoked personal enrichment and distribution of such payments among a limited number of families:

“A company comes in and asks for the mine in turn for money – I have never done this. And another person is interested as well. You have a contract with that person; you sell it, keep the money and don’t say anything about it, and keep it for personal needs.” Interview “I_34LNFT” (4:10–10:25min)

Companies not only negotiated with individual leaders, rather we observed how they reached agreements with locally powerful individuals who had special positions in relation to mining resources such as members of the cooperative directories. Other parties to agreements included illegal concession holders and their family members. In yet other contexts, little is known about local contacts that are used by the companies, adding uncertainties to the scenario:

“They (COMIBOL representatives) have already come for the third time: they have some contacts here, they probably pay them, it seems that they inform them about the situation here” Interview “I_17PNFM” (40:03–46:15min)

Apart from direct influence on indigenous leaders and community members, companies use sophisticated means. While co-optation of leaders and inference with

decision-making structures has become a common strategy in resource-related issues, companies also use rather indirect or subtle ways to push through their agenda. This includes a form of institutionalised strategy to enforce cooperation and thereby interfere with local decision-making structures:

“They told us that our application documents for reaching legal recognition would not move ahead, we should rather join COMIBOL; the State would provide us with work, resources, back-up and social security” Focus Group “I_11_grupo_CNMiM” (31:20–36:20min)

By contrast, *comunarios* perceive such endeavours as threats and any engagement with COMIBOL is perceived as a loss of autonomy in many ways:

“If COMIBOL enters, we will be like slaves, just like in the past; if we hand over our lands to the State (...) this is what we are afraid of.” Focus Group “I_11_grupo_CNMiM” (57:15–59:55min)

At the same time, such fears are grounded on disrespectful conduct regarding local authorities by companies. COMIBOL, for instance, explicitly took position on the value of local authorities:

“COMIBOL said that there are no authorities in their eyes, there is no CICOL for them, there is nothing, that’s why we didn’t let them in.” Interview “II_15PDFM” (21:34–23:55min)

In practice, this also results in not previously consulted “invasions” of indigenous territories, as several *comunarios* narrate:

“This is making people angry: every lawyer who comes here tells people that our community cannot stop companies or individuals who want to work here (in the mines), people get angry because they want to be consulted. They (COMIBOL representatives) enter directly; don’t even search for local authorities. Once I stopped them, because they have to ask for permission to enter...” Interview “II_10CDMM” (24:40–27:30min)

“We told them not to enter and this should be sufficient. (...) They (COMIBOL representatives) have insisted, I remember that they insisted last Monday and we rejected it, so on Tuesday they left and came back on Wednesday. We said ‘get out; we’ve had enough of your documents’” Interview “I_32LDMM” (39:25–42:50min)

Similarly, in the case of private companies such as Ama Sulla, “no” is not taken for an answer. In fact, local negotiators adopt the company’s agenda and objectives and do not tolerate objections to their endeavours:

“There is no conflict, they are in conformity and calm, so we can take the next step, new projects. In a few minutes we will have a meeting, an assessment to see what people think, if they agree, we will launch the project, if they don’t, we will simply wait until they succeed in understanding.” Interview “I_30SNMM” (11:15–14:35min)

6.7 Conclusions

While I demonstrated the need for more inclusive consultation processes and improvement of procedures in case study I, case study II shows how indigenous peoples elaborated their own response to growing pressure, failed consultations and a rights infringing mining law. Based on a long history of deforestation, and resulting bad experience with extractive companies, Chiquitano people look back at a collective fight for lands, resources and the country's first autonomous territory. Mining exploitation was first introduced by individual miners from other regions and companies, which has turned mining operations into a known, and in some cases welcome activity and source of income. This is why it is not rejected by all community members; rather, it is debated who exploits and how. Inter-generational tensions arise in that regard as opposition mainly exists among indigenous elders. In that context, different players come in, such as state or private companies, indigenous cooperatives and their relation to indigenous authorities. While each affected community shows a different reality as to its own mining exploitation model, some general conclusions can be drawn.

Conflicts and tensions among the actors involved in exploitation lead to the exclusion of members or groups. While cooperatives are considered operational parts, also defence units, of local community structures, they can also be used to turn against local leaders. This concerns local and regional indigenous organisations alike which have developed different kinds of relationships with mining cooperatives. Among *comunarios* participation in such issues is very diverse: different levels of involvement can be explored in the case of women and across different age groups. Women have become active participants in artisanal organisations and thereby

developed leadership positions that find some expression in local community meetings. Such labour-related engagement and respective participation is further strengthened by an actively used gender discourse. However, the private versus public divide continues to play a role in more sustainable engagement and impede further reaching transformation, especially in the male-dominated mining sector. Knowledge asymmetries and sector-specific knowledge add to unequal participation in the case of women.

Yet, Chiquitano elders are subjected to even more exclusion in collective decision-making mechanisms of the mining sector: their disapproving attitudes are based on the region's long struggle for lands and resources and bad practice by forestry companies; this is considered unwelcome in meetings with cooperatives and corporations. It also catalyses inter-generational conflicts as young community members are the most active participants in mining-related issues and push agreements with companies forward. Finally, just as in the case of Guaraní people, language and education-related factors add to the double or triple burden that particularly women and elders face both at community level and in collective decision-making frameworks with external players such as companies or state representatives.

Chapter 7 Results and Discussion: “Subgroup” or “Group Specific”

Rights in Collective Decision-Making Processes – Theory and Practice

7.1 Introduction

“...por la ley del perro del hortelano que reza: ‘Si no lo hago yo que no lo haga nadie’” (García Pérez, 2007: para. 3)

“... according to the laws of the orchard dog: ‘If I don’t do it, nobody should be able to’”

In 2007, the former Peruvian President Alan García Pérez launched a highly contentious public debate by using a 17th century play by the Spanish writer Lope de Vega (“The Dog in the Manger”) to compare indigenous peoples with a farmer’s dog that neither eats nor allows others to eat. This reflects current debates in contemporary Bolivia on the validity of indigenous peoples’ collective claims to natural resources and their legitimate use and administration thereof. In fact, competing claims and compelling interests between indigenous peoples and a strong corporate sector illustrate the need for a strong collective rights framework that protects vulnerable groups against economic “public” interests. Yet, my research shows that the very term “collectives” or “group-differentiated rights” not only ignores competing interests and claims in such collective units as well as internal power dynamics, it also overlooks debates on legitimacy, accountability and representativeness in participatory processes with the State and companies. I even argue that demonstrating a lack of respect for individual or subgroup rights in collective decision-making mechanisms weakens indigenous peoples’ collective claims as existing agreements do not reflect local decisions. On the other hand, collective frameworks provide spaces in which disadvantaged subgroups conceptualise their rights in the case of women. Rather than engaging in legal debates

on balancing rights, proportionality, precedence or subordination of collective rights vis-à-vis individual rights, it is looked at power dynamics and the *vernacularisation* of global standards in local settings as well as how the implementation of the law prevents, catalyses or amplifies inter-group (indigenous versus society at large) or intra-group (groups and individuals within indigenous communities) inequalities in participatory frameworks.

Thereby, I first look at the theoretical legal framework that underlies individual and collective rights, and how such different sets of rights materialise in practice. Based on these legal considerations, I discuss to what extent participatory rights can be understood in terms of power dynamics and patterns of domination which shall shed further light on the importance and role of relevant indigenous players, such as indigenous representative organisations and leaders. Finally, such dynamics are placed into a yet different dimension, namely the significance and power of the law and its use in practice, namely how the globally recognised right to prior consultation is implemented and shaped in practice and to what extent it is challenged by rights holders and used by the players involved in decisions.

7.2 Why Indigenous Peoples' Individual / "Subgroup" Rights Matter in Collective Decision-Making Processes

Existing human rights norms could be criticised for reflecting Western perspectives and might be understood as serving the purpose of enhancing national interests. This brings us back to the traditional universalist versus relativist divide in academic human rights debates (Grewal, 1998) which suggest that human rights can be either universally applied and adopt a meta form or are shaped and determined by local cultures (Donnelly, 1984). The former position, it could be argued, reflects a liberal

position which is reflected in many human rights treaties putting emphasis on individual rights instead of group rights; it suggests that human rights transcend all forms of boundaries (Farren, 2009). In fact, few legal documents make explicit mention of collective rights, mostly declarations such as the UN Declaration on the Right to Development (1986). Other instruments including the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992) establish individual rights with group dimensions, however not collective rights *per se*.

The latter approach to human rights, by contrast, focusses on human rights practice and the extent to which rights find local expression and difference to what is to be found in laws; according to this approach, divergence is indeed desirable (Farren, 2009). Famous cases of this irreconcilable nature are women's rights and cultural or religious rituals such as female circumcision (Althaus, 1997), or indigenous community justice which contradicts existing human rights standards and basic principles of law (Hammond, 2011). Child marriages, polygamy and extrajudicial divorces in the context of religious minorities are other examples of conflicting practices (Jovanović, 2012). Thereby, individual or group-specific rights which gained priority in the international human rights system are contrasted with collective rights such as those granted to indigenous peoples or minorities. For instance, the latter could claim non-interference regarding human rights issues based on the cultural particularities in indigenous communities such as customs and traditions including community justice mechanisms. A "third space" is proposed by Michael Freeman who suggests both sets of rights could enter into dialogue recognising individual autonomy and collective solidarity (Freeman, 1995). In the following, it will be distinguished

between two sets of rights, as well as subcategories and most importantly, to what extent my field research shows how both subgroup and collective rights can (or not) be reconciled in practice.

7.2.1 The Individual versus Collective Rights Divide and its Theoretical Implications

From the outset, it is important to clarify the meaning of both sets of rights: Yoram Dinstein distinguishes the two by defining individual rights as being “bestowed upon every single human being personally” and collective rights as “afforded to human beings communally, in conjunction with one another or as a group – a people or a minority” (Dinstein, 1976: 102). Theoretical discussions on individual versus collective rights are typically divided into two normative frameworks: liberal-individualists derive group claims from individual interests and rights; conversely, corporatists or collectivists do not consider group members as such, but focus on the communities’ common interests. As an advocate of the former framework, Peter Jones argues that groups cannot be regarded as subjects of human rights due to their conflict and possible precedence over individual rights claims (Jones, 1999).

In order to exclude any dichotomies with individual rights, Will Kymlicka rejects the term “collective rights” altogether and establishes “group-differentiated rights” instead (Kymlicka, 1996). While collective rights are presumably exclusively granted to collectivities as distinct from and conflicting with individual rights, group-differentiated rights can equally be exercised by individuals (Kymlicka, 1996). Hence, group-differentiated rights emphasise indigenous peoples’ particular rights, such as their right to ancestral territories, in comparison to other non-indigenous groups. Indeed, indigenous peoples’ rights are treated as a distinctive category of collective

rights and enjoy special recognition based on their special needs and interests (Buchanan, 1993; see Chapter 1 for a more elaborated discussion on indigeneity and vulnerability as a defining characteristic).

While Kymlicka's consideration of indigenous peoples' group-specific rights provides a promising approach towards collective claims, his framework is based on a single societal culture and thereby overlooks differing and competing collective narratives, and as a corollary, "*first Nation's kinship and marriage regulations which differentiate along gender lines would be unacceptable*" to Kymlicka (Benhabib, 2002: 59). Instead, Seyla Benhabib reminds us that cultural practices are rarely coherent and more attention should be paid to "*dynamic constructions of identity*" (Benhabib, 2002: 64) without necessarily compromising collective claims. Rather than extensively discussing cultural grounds, more focuss should be placed on inclusive and democratic regimes and political actors as respective groups can only achieve real autonomy if they are able to participate in cultural production and struggle (Behabib, 2002: 66). At a more general level, (cultural) identities are pluralised by means of multicultural demands with the help of, for instance, multiple jurisdictional legal hierarchies (Benhabib, 2002: 181): indeed, access to and exercise of traditional justice systems is a key element of indigenous peoples' demands reflecting an important expression of their self-determination.

Individual or 'sub-' groups within indigenous societies also play a particular role in that regard: the success of efforts to gain collective self-determination depend primarily on the enjoyment of womens' rights which is essential for the implementation of collective rights more generally (Kuokkanen, 2012). At the same time, patriarchal structures and power relations significantly influence the extent to

which women, for instance, gain a voice in indigenous societies and thereby compromises their access to resources and political participation (Kuokkanen, 2012). Similarly, systematic violations of indigenous peoples' rights have a severe impact on indigenous women as individuals (McKay and Benjamin, 2010). In many cases, women are disproportionately affected by violations, especially in the context of violence. Therefore, it could be argued that individual and collective rights are mutually interactive instead of competitive (Holder and Cortassel, 2002); both rights regimes complement each other and form part of a holistic unit which characterises indigenous societies. Additionally, indigenous women hold that guaranteeing women's rights cannot be separated from claims that secure their rights as peoples (Gutiérrez and Palomo, 2000).

However, the relational and distinctive character of both sets of rights becomes apparent in the context of group rights and implications for enjoyment as described by Allen Buchanan: while individual rights can be enjoyed, invoked or waived independently, group rights can either be wielded non-individually or as dual standing rights when an individual that is part of the group wields a right. Difficulties could arise in practice, as discussed in the following subchapters, where non-representative group members wield rights, or, at least limit the full enjoyment of the groups' collective rights on illegitimate grounds. Finally, Miodrag Jovanović points at the techniques to be used to balance conflicting interests, such as the test of proportionality whenever the State can demonstrate a compelling interest and less restrictive measures would not lead to the same result (Jovanović, 2012).

In the present cases, such conflicting rights and interests come with conceptual problems. Namely, indigenous peoples' collective rights could also be

considered group rights balanced against society's or the state's interests. In this context, individual rights are hardly considered: indigenous peoples' right to be consulted in extractive projects is rather balanced against another form of interest, the State's economic and public interest in the exploration or exploitation of the "nation's" resources on "state" territories. Jovanović's reference to a compelling interest becomes relevant in this case, as the Bolivian State's position according to the New Mining Law (see Background Chapter 4 for more details) does not allow affected people to veto decisions and declares natural resources as of strategic character and public interest for the development of the country according to the collective interest. In that sense, the terms "collective" and "group" gain several meanings and could be understood as "subgroups" within communities, indigenous peoples and society at large.

In fact, a Bolivian lawyer commented on one of my presentations and pointed to the danger of underestimating collective claims on individual rights' grounds which would weaken indigenous peoples' rights and could be used by the State to weaken collective claims. However, in my thesis I show that collective rights are granted in a way that enhances individual interests' such as individual leaders' or state interests which use indigenous representatives and organisation as puppets of the corporate sector. In that sense, as I will argue in the following subchapters, such collective claims lose their representative and legitimate character. Individual or subgroup rights in that context can contribute to the implementation of collective claims in that the intensified inclusion of indigenous women's representatives or elders furthers collective claims. The inclusion of the latter groups can also prevent illegitimate collective claims as they exert important checks and balances functions in assemblies

and meetings with the State and companies. Such realities are often overlooked as local dynamics and differences between indigenous peoples' decision-making at community level on the one hand and in meetings with the state remain invisible.

7.2.2 Individual and Collective Rights on the Ground

Collective rights, as it was argued earlier, could be understood as placing the community over the individual, restricting individual rights. In that sense a woman's right not to be harmed or physically abused could conflict with the community's culture or tradition or not to interfere with family matters. Along this line, it could be argued that "*oversight and reasonable limitations*" on indigenous decision-making would prevent abuse of individual human rights (Badger, 2011: 509). However, such limitations on indigenous justice systems do not only imply the respect of individual rights, but entail the enhanced subordination of indigenous decision-making structures to the will of dominant society (Sieder and Sierra, 2010). The latter is thus provided with essential discretionary powers as to the selection of indigenous customs and practices. On the other hand, cases of autonomous indigenous justice systems reveal significant challenges regarding the consideration of individual rights: indigenous judges, for instance, rely on discriminatory gender ideologies in Puebla, Mexico (Sieder and Sierra, 2010). In other communities women are not allowed to participate politically in relevant forums, such as communal assemblies, or to hold offices (Cleary, 2005). In such cases, collective rights take precedence over individual rights. In the case of UNDRIPS, it is explicitly stated that indigenous peoples' rights, customs and traditions, but also procedures need to be in accordance with international human rights law, including e.g. women's rights or the rights of the child

(UNDRIPS, Arts.34, 46(2)), both regimes in terms of individual and collective rights thereby coexist (see Chapter 3 for more details).

In both Guaraní and Chiquitano contexts I observed similar practice. Yet, such prioritisation of the alleged “collective will” over women’s and elders’ voices in assemblies materialises in meetings with external players rather than at community level. This could be illustrated by female leadership, gender representatives and elders councils which have emerged at community level for a number of reasons including socio-demographic changes and a political vacuum which has been filled by women and female mandate holders. Yet, in collective decision-making processes such changes remain invisible. This includes low numbers of female and elderly mandate holders in meetings with State representatives, but also their lacking active engagement in the process and possibilities to shape the outcome of meetings. Further, a number of institutional challenges affect women and elders disproportionately, such as location and duration of meetings with state representatives, particularly in case study I. While women face difficulties in attending meetings due to domestic obligations, the elderly are impeded by mobility-related factors. However, the very setup of official meetings, a form of hierarchical seating arrangement that relegates women and elders to the back rows, jeopardises the full enjoyment of participatory rights in collective frameworks.

On the other hand, collective rights constitute an essential framework within which disadvantaged subgroups conceptualise their rights: women’s rights, for instance, are associated with “broader struggles against inequality, poverty, racism and discrimination” in the context of collective rights (Sieder and Sierra, 2010: 38). By actively confronting inequality, poverty, racism and discrimination, indigenous

peoples enhance their collective rights and the living conditions of indigenous subgroups. Conversely, indigenous women's movements in their fight for recognition and awareness also contribute to indigenous peoples' collective rights – they act as catalysts of change. Human rights discourses and mechanisms are used by indigenous women in their specific cultural contexts and challenge dichotomous discussions on rights and cultures.

In the Chiquitano case in particular, gender discourse has actively contributed to the recognition of women's new political roles in their communities. Female leaders in Lomerío told me about the empowering function of women's rights recognition which helped women gain respect for their new role in the communities. This is reflected to an even higher extent in relation to membership with local mining cooperatives: in the latter regard, leadership roles are newly negotiated due to the recency of such cooperatives. Female active participation in such forums has already contributed to acquiring subject-specific knowledge in the mining context and had thus an empowering effect on their participatory opportunities both as *comunarias* and mandate-holders in community and cooperatives. At the same time, their active engagement as leaders has strengthened collective claims to lands and resources as their contributions become increasingly vital in negotiations with a wide range of players including private and state companies, indigenous regional organisations and the regional mining association. Further, in assuming new roles, indigenous women increasingly lose self-conscious attitudes vis-à-vis external representatives and thereby strengthen indigenous peoples' negotiating positions in the natural resource extractive sector.

Another indication for a reconciliatory approach towards individual and collective rights could be derived by the very rights regime that establishes them. As the drafting process of UNDRIPS shows, rights and obligations are formulated and shaped by the very rights holders who benefit from the regime (Charters and Stavenhagen, 2009), i.e. indigenous peoples and respective leaders or representatives. In such indigenous peoples' rights regime, a multiplicity of provisions refers to e.g. women's rights, the rights of the child, elderly people, or persons with disabilities (UNDRIPS; Arts.14(2), 17(2), 21(2) and 22(1)). The very wording of UNDRIPS indicates that even though indigenous peoples have the right to "promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures, (...) traditions, procedures and practices", these need to be "in accordance with international human rights standards" (UNDRIPS; Art.34). Yet, several collective platforms and groups representing such subgroups have been formed at UN level in order to defend particular interests including the Global Indigenous Women's Caucus (GIWC), the Global Indigenous Youth Caucus (GIYC) and the like. This is also reflected in the jurisprudence of respective treaty monitoring bodies.

As discussed in Chapter 3, some international and Inter-American human rights mechanisms support a legal conceptualisation of individual rights within the collective rights regime of indigenous peoples. Despite complexities and dilemmas, there is for instance general agreement among interpretative mechanisms as to not favouring representative structures within indigenous communities that would undermine individual members' participation and genuine representation. In a similar vein, bribing practice and other forms of subverting social cohesion in communities is absolutely ruled out. Another common aspect is the positive effect that is attributed

to individual rights in enhancing collective well-being and self-determination in decision-making processes. Individual or subgroup rights thus assume, it could be argued, a facilitating role in the collective struggle for self-determination.

7.3 Indigenous Collective Decision-Making Structures: On Legitimacy and Representativity

Genuine participatory processes in the form of indigenous collective decision-making mechanisms presuppose legitimate representative organisational structures and respective leaders on the part of indigenous peoples. However, international and regional human rights mechanisms generally refrain from addressing such issues based on indigenous peoples' right to maintain their proper customs and traditions, and ultimately their very right to self-determination. As a corollary of the former right, indigenous peoples have the right to choose their own "representatives in accordance with their own procedures" (UNDRIPS, Art.18), be consulted "through their own representative institutions" (UNDRIPS, Art.32(2)), "determine the structures and select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures" (UNDRIPS, Art.33(2)), but also to actively "maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions" (UNDRIPS, Art.5) and to "promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices, and (...) juridical systems or customs" (UNDRIPS, Art.34). However, questions remain in practice as to how non-representative structures should be dealt with and to what extent state interference in internal decision-making structures could be addressed (see Chapter 8 for a detailed proposed norm revision to address such issues). One of the most fundamental consequences of establishing non-representative and illegitimate

organisational structures is the exclusion of groups and individuals at community level which are not adequately reflected in consultation mechanisms or other encounters with external players.

7.3.1 On Indigenous Organisations: Genuine Collective Representations?

Apart from the legal basis of the described dilemma which limits prior consultation processes to “discussions of legal procedures” (Rodríguez-Garavito, 2011: 266), it is attempted to identify asymmetries and interplay between the players which could, in turn, explain the shortcomings of legal provisions in practice. It could be argued that consultation processes and other participatory mechanisms build on an ideal perception of altruistic players who act in the communities’ interest without outside interference, or as Fontana and Grugel frame it “FPIC relies on local institutions working properly” (Fontana and Grugel, 2016: 257). However, by doing so the *raison d’être* of indigenous representative institutions is hardly considered. In the case of the Guaraní, *Capitanías* were not created with the purpose of administering large numbers of compensation payments. Rather they were developed in the light of threats to lose territories, political pressures, entry of white land owners, and later in relation to government authorities and external players (See Chapter 4 for more details; Hirsch, 1999). Later on, external funding by means of development aid and NGOs at national and international level kept *Capitanías* alive (Hirsch, 2003).

In the consultation case that I monitored it became particularly visible how existing structures proved to be insufficiently equipped for administering the different tasks and responsibilities which need to be fulfilled in relation to external players. This includes keeping State allowances for food, accommodation and transport in a few families instead of equally distributing it to community members;

equally allocating pick up vans sponsored by NGOs in the communities; organising NGO funded workshops in all communities instead of limiting it to a few. In fact, the very organisational entity *Capitanía* has alienated itself from the communities to such an extent that it often represents contradictory agendas to local community assemblies. It has thus become a problem of vertical fragmentation in the Guaraní decision-making structures.

Similarly, Chiquitano umbrella organisations are not equipped with the necessary expertise and personnel to deal with mining issues, to assume monitoring functions and act as territorial defence units against private or state companies which violate prior consultation procedures. Decision-making mechanisms are further complicated by the organisational structures of Chiquitano organisations including local assemblies and a departmental organisation (CICOL) with different agendas. Based on the long history of deforestation and resource exploitation, CICOL has developed a strong stance against outside interference including mining cooperatives. Also at local levels, competing claims to resources and territories emerge between community authorities and mining cooperatives, thus including a further dimension in decision-making capacities, a form of sector-specific decision-making power which has materialised in mining exploitive activities. This becomes particularly challenging where local authority structures are not recognised by mining cooperatives. Indeed, mining cooperatives have become a form of parallel organisation and frequently challenge local authorities and thus also weaken collective decision-making practice, as the communities no longer speak with one single voice. It could be argued that this lack of clarity and ambiguity allows state and companies to select partners in order to influence the outcome of such processes.

In both cases, a form of fragmentation of decision-making structures either by means of vertical fragmentation (Guaraní) or sector-related divisions (Chiquitania) impedes adequate legitimate representation of local communities' interests. Case studies reveal that opting for a truly representative institution reflecting all vertical levels of decision-making accountable to the lowest level might not be possible (Larson, Cronkleton and Pulhin, 2015). It is indeed this institutional deficiency which "invites" States to make use of unclear lines of responsibility and decision-making capacities. A significant part in this can be attributed to the corporate sector. Suzanna Sawyer's elaborated ethnographic study reveals how transnational oil corporations used tactics of *divide and rule* in the Ecuadorian Amazon to create divisions and weaken resistance (Sawyer, 2004). This form of dominance stems from practices that go back to the colonial era (Mamdani, 2012), but also include contemporary forms of corporate conduct. Posner et al. have identified common tactics that are used in that regard including the frequency or duration of interaction, sowing the seeds of distrust, paying bribes and imposing penalties (Posner et al, 2010). In the present case, such conduct gains in complexity, but also in furthering unequal power relationships as the main corporate players involved are State-owned, COMIBOL in the Chiquitania and YPFB Andina in Guaraní territories. This increases the likelihood of state interference and reduces its neutral monitoring potential.

At the same time, the neglect of local power asymmetries in participatory processes often leads to an exacerbation of inequality and conflict at the local level (Botazzi et al, 2014). In many local contexts, these shortcomings contributed not only to the benefit capture by local élites, but also to a further marginalisation of vulnerable sub-groups (Ribot, 2011; Agarwal, 2010). In both case studies, this

becomes particularly apparent where such groups are either over-represented or have institutionalised at local level. In some Chiquitano communities, for instance, the elderly are more present than any other age group. However, in meetings with external players such as mining corporations their presence is not welcome. In the particular case of Chiquitano history, bad practice and interference with territorial sovereignty in the context of deforestation activities have had a significant impact on indigenous elders' position towards external players and natural resource issues. In Guaraní communities, the position of women stands out in terms of exacerbating inequalities, if not catalysing such inequalities, in prior consultation processes. Recently established female leadership positions and gender representatives have significantly enhanced female participation at the community level, but do not find the same fertile ground in meetings with State representatives. In the Chiquitano context, high involvement in artisanal organisations has strengthened female active participation and engagement in meetings. However, such engagement has not found similar expression in meetings with mining cooperatives or corporations.

It could thus be argued that community participation as exercised in consultation processes or other participatory instances does not provide sufficient potential to bridge intra-local differences (Richardson, 2015) and illustrates a form of "participatory exclusion" (2001: 1623) as Bina Agarwal argues. Consultation processes or isolated meetings between mining cooperatives and private corporations convert to instruments of exclusion and alienation from the very people whose voices they pretend to represent. This becomes particularly visible in cases where particular groups are over or underrepresented and creates different dynamics in official meetings compared to local assemblies. Such participatory processes thus do not

allow for more democratic forms of development (Schilling-Vacaflor, 2013), but are used by the State as an extension of its influence in the form of “legitimate” means through indigenous representatives and depoliticise consultation processes, pretending to give indigenous peoples voice and vote, or, as Tom Perreault puts it, to turn such processes into “mundane performances of bureaucratic action” (Perreault, 2015: 447). Such alleged participatory mechanisms do not only depoliticise extractive activities more generally (McNeish, 2013), they transform social structures by way of directly influencing representative mechanisms at community level. This, in a way, reflects the state’s everyday operations and the way indigenous peoples’ collective right to self-determination is converted into a purely administrative at best, and rights violating tool at worst. Said processes are used to enhance state authority and to establish monitoring functions over community members (Ferguson, 2014).

Moreover, persisting old patriarchal structures that have been adopted at the early beginnings of indigenous organisations and the establishment of Spanish speaking élites are outdated and do longer match current developments in participatory patterns at community level. This includes roles of female leadership or the recent establishment of councils of elders. In some cases, as illustrated by the preceding empirical chapters, unequal participation among community groups is not only reproduced, but catalysed in consultation processes or other participatory mechanisms. The very institutional set-up of meetings, but also the functioning and structure of indigenous umbrella organisations, and, most importantly, its use by state entities explain such developments. To what extent indigenous representative structures are deliberately influenced by corporate and state entities, as described

above, or are part of a purely administrative process with adverse impact, remains ambiguous.

Furthermore, the different forms of participation at local level and in forums with the state reveal the State's influence on indigenous peoples' agency in the process. This stems from the envisioned or pretended use of such mechanisms as an empowering tool and the view of actively including indigenous peoples as citizens. Furthermore, it reflects a perspective that pretends to understand citizens as "makers and shapers" (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001: 1; Gaventa, 2011) rather than as passive users of a system and have a transformative role (Leal, 2011). While the described participatory mechanisms in resource extractive projects thus pretend to involve community members (McNeish, 2013), practice shows a different reality. In fact, my ethnographic research reveals that meetings, even when they include large numbers of *comunarios*, are decided by a few leaders instead of large assemblies. Such leaders are interested in speedy processes and agreements with the Ministry which are often pre-drafted by State representatives and presented and "sold" by urban élites to their assemblies.

Especially in the Guaraní context, long debates in Guaraní do not find even minor expression in the agreements signed at the end of each consultation session. This reflects what Sherry Arnstein calls the *Ladder of Citizen Participation* which describes different levels of control and power that citizens exert in community development and how the redistribution of power enables excluded citizens to be included in decision-making processes (Arnstein, 1969). In a way, consultation processes symbolise what Arnstein describes as citizen control and the delegation of power in order to direct institutions or programmes and to be included in their

policies including different levels of participation, namely manipulation, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and ultimately citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). Yet, in the Guaraní context, it is difficult to distinguish between such levels for a number of reasons. Namely, the extent to which State entities only pretend to or actually provide opportunities of participation remains ambiguous. As decisions are mainly taken by a middle level (*zonal* leaders rather than local mechanisms or organisations at the national level), instead of local leaders, concepts of power and control over decisions become rather blurred. Similarly, mining cooperatives in the Chiquitano context have developed into a form of “in between” mechanism that closely cooperates with external players, yet allegedly represents local community interests. Even though in the latter case State influence is less evident compared to prior consultation processes (Guaranís), the idea of establishing cooperatives came from the regional mining entity (FEDECOMIN) and individual miners from the Bolivian Highlands. Several members of the board of directors are townspeople and only temporarily reside in the communities. Issues of indigenous control and power over decision-making, and ultimately self-determination, get blurred in such contexts.

7.3.2 On Indigenous Leaders: Vulnerabilities in a Complex Web of Players

Yet, institutional reasons are not the only issue which explains different levels of legitimacy and representativity in consultation processes or other encounters with external players. At the same time, consultation processes establish unmet expectations by isolating individual interests and private gain from such processes and separating them from the collective good (Masaki, 2010). Indeed, local communities cannot generally be understood as representing a common good (Thede, 2011;

Yashar, 2007), and individuals even less so. In the visited Guaraní communities, for instance, *Mburuvichereta* do not exert coercive authority, rather their decision-making capacities depend on consensus achieved in community assemblies, and leaders merely execute the decisions (Hirsch, 1999). At the same time, mandate holders are not remunerated for their work: most interviewees complain about clashing responsibilities of family and community obligations as leaders. Attending meetings takes considerable time, time which cannot be devoted to their working commitments in the agricultural sector as breadwinners of their families.

By contrast, in the consultation process leaders' roles do not reflect their original positions assumed at community level. Instead they are isolated from assemblies and in direct contact with *comunarios*. In this context, co-option strategies are commonly used, which consist in rewarding individual leaders to personally benefit whilst ignoring the collective goals. In an atmosphere of isolation from the communities and local leaders, such rewards are easier to accept. Case studies in Guaraní territories show that buying the conscience of indigenous authorities is common place, by means of, for instance, giving jobs to communal authorities (Giné and Villaroel, 2011). Another common practice includes employing indigenous leaders as environmental monitors for gas companies which severely strengthens economic dependencies between leaders and external players. It also increases leaders' interest in reaching agreements in a faster speed with fewer checks and balances from local assemblies. The long history of *Capitanías* shows that such practice has not only normalised, it has also been institutionalised based on the constant inflow of monetary and non-monetary goods which have enriched individual leaders and their families. Indeed, such practice has historical roots: it resembles strategies formerly

used by colonial authorities that strengthened the role of Guaraní leaders, because it was easier for the colonists to negotiate with a unique and privileged interlocutor than to wait for assembly decisions (Postero, 2007).

Just as shown in case study I, traditional leadership structures in Chiquitano communities date back to the pre-Columbian era where decision-making structures were based on consensus: leaders only intervened in times of crisis and served the role of spokespersons (Birk, 2000). Nowadays, leaders are still closely associated with community assemblies and face difficulties in current day affairs due to an ever growing mining sector. Local leaders are particularly exposed and vulnerable to pressures exerted by both mining cooperatives and private or state corporations. On one occasion, COMIBOL had asked leaders of the indigenous umbrella organisation CICOL for permission to enter Chiquitano territories to explore its mining reserves. After having been rejected, COMIBOL disregarded the decision and still attempted to enter the area when CICOL leaders were absent from the communities as they had been invited to a meeting in the country's capital. Local leaders were thus faced with enormous pressures and were unable to defend their territories without the mining cooperatives which acted as defence units (see Chapter 6 for further details).

One of the major shortcomings of such situation is thus the vulnerability of local leaders at community level. In fact, international human rights mechanisms understand aggression against indigenous peoples in exploiting natural resources including threats and encroachments on their territories as an extreme form of vulnerability (EMRIP, 2009a). This can be derived from the severe impact such encroachments may have on the right to food, safe drinking water and health, subsistence resources generally and forced displacement (IACHR, 2009: paras. 1076–

1080). While territorial sovereignty and resource rights-related issues are usually dealt with by indigenous representative organisations, both case studies show how the latter are either circumvented or misused by state entities. In the Chiquitania context, the mining-opposed umbrella organisation CICOL is deliberately excluded from decision-making processes by mining cooperatives and companies, thus establishing direct links with local leaders. In the case of the Guaraní, regional *Capitanías* are used by state and corporate entities to exclude local voices, especially leaders who attempt to genuinely represent their communities and interests. Yet, in most cases interests in and opinions about natural resource issues are too diversely spread among community members to be reconciled and be represented in a uniform way and in a single voice by local leaders. This is where outside influence explains further fragmentation of communities' voices and seriously jeopardises local leaders' endeavours in representing *comunarios'* genuine will.

7.4 Global Norms in Local Settings: Responses to and Contestations of Existing Collective Frameworks

The appropriation of global norms at local community level can be best observed in case study I which deals with a concrete prior consultation process with Guaraní people according to international standards – through the UNDRIPS framework – that apply to the Bolivian case. Thereby, it is looked at how indigenous peoples' rights are *vernacularized* in practice, namely the extent to which rights are “adapted to local institutions and meanings” (Merry, 2006b: 32) and “translated or transformed into local terms and ideas” (Pirie, 2013: 213). I further analyse how *indigenisation* plays a role in shaping new ideas as well as cultural practices and norms; the concept also

gains significance in explaining how local language and symbols frame such rights and provide interpretation and meaning in specific contexts (Snow, 2004).

I also assess in what way localisation takes place, namely by means of different degrees including “replication” and “hybridisation” which show in what sense local contexts are changed or merged with global elements (Merry, 2006b: 32). An important role in the latter regard is played by the creators of such rights and those who make use of laws (Merry, 2006a): this also provides insights into power relationships between creators and rights holders as well as the way the latter are able to contest, challenge or modify existing standards. This can also shed light upon internal dynamics and highlight where inter-group (indigenous versus non-indigenous) and intra-group inequalities (within indigenous communities) can emerge. Throughout the following discussion, I assess to what extent human rights are used as strategic weapon by powerful groups (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2008) and an instrument of masking power and legitimating the taker (Nader, 2005) and enforcing authority (Benda-Beckmann, 2009), or, contribute to some form of transformation by converting into an “emancipatory tool for vulnerable people” (Merry, 2006a: 49) or “weapon of the weak” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2008: 33, see also Scott, 1987: 29).

7.4.1 Law and its Potential to Create Inter-Group Inequalities in Local Contexts

First of all, inequalities appear between *mestizo* or society at large on the one hand and indigenous communities on the other hand, in this case Bolivian indigenous Lowland communities. Generally, gender, ethnicity, birthplace and family background are considered highly influential circumstances regarding social inequalities (Lefranc et al, 2009), in Latin America in particular. Indigenous background further explains

higher levels of inequality of opportunity (Ferreira, 2009): it includes circumstances that are more pronounced in indigenous communities than in non-indigenous populations. Several forms of disparity emerge between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples including language barriers, cultural differences, as well as different levels of education. Language barriers, for instance, are one fundamental example in explaining said disparity. In indigenous communities the relationship between *diglossia* and linguistic subordination is very close (Coronel-Molina, 2009): in most Latin American contexts, Spanish is used for educational or official purposes in addition to indigenous vernacular languages for ordinary conversations. Indeed, indigenous languages constitute the majority of subordinated, threatened and disappearing languages (Coronel-Molina, 2009). This explains why indigenous languages are not referred to as minority languages, but are denominated *minoritised* languages (Díaz-Couder, 1998; López, 2002). In practice, the predominant use of indigenous languages is not proportionate to and reflected in public administration and state institutions (De Varennes, 2004). Similarly, language subordination highly influences educational instances such as primary, secondary or university education (Canul, 2010).

In the Bolivian context in particular, language and education-related inequalities are decisive in explaining disparities between indigenous peoples and society at large. For a long time, education was not used as a means to create equality, but to create an “educated *indio*, obedient and respectful of authority” – as, according to a Bolivian saying, “a lettered Indian is a rebellious Indian” (“*indio letrado, indio alzado*”; Gustafson, 2009: 18). In fact, history shows that indigenous languages have been erased as Spanish enjoyed a privileged status in all domains, yet, it did find

opposition in some (Albó, 1995). The mestizo in charge of the state considered indigenous peoples as “childlike inferiors” (*indiecitos*) or “threatening savages” (*guerra de indios*) that were to be controlled by means of education – *mestizo* populations could not understand indigenous peoples as equals in any which way (Gustafson, 2009: 17). Furthermore, education was used to create boundaries between urban educated citizens and the “feminised Indian peasant”, the latter being referred to as racially inferior and without citizenship, education and property (Rama: 1996). The consistent use of Spanish in the entire consultation process, apart from the field inspection activity which was held only among *comunarios*, and the use of written documents instead of oral testimonies are strong indicators of such boundaries and disparities.

Indeed, said particularities and disparities come to the fore in interactions with the state and decision-making processes, in particular as they assume a special role in colonial or neo-colonial relationships. In the colonial context, several forms of domination and control materialise including the distribution of resources, techniques, but also institutions (Emerson, 1962). Dominance also encompasses administrative relationships between society at large and dominated populations by means of direct control of dominated people’s representatives or intermediaries, often élites (Gaventa, 1980). This becomes especially important in current prior consultation processes as the preceding sections have shown: the role of indigenous representatives and organisations vis-à-vis the State is crucial to understand the relationship between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous society and respective patterns of exclusion and domination. However, some agency needs to be attributed to indigenous representatives in establishing *Capitanías* which were created with the

purpose of cooperating with external players, but reflect indigenous decision-making structures at the same time. Such institutions are a clear demonstration of what Sally Merry calls *hybridisation* (Merry, 2006b: 44): in this case this implies the fusion of local decision-making structures with State-led assemblies as a reaction to specific needs that arise from global norms such as prior consultation processes. Inherent in said patterns of exclusion are also so-called developments of a “mobilisation of bias”, a term used by John Gaventa to describe a “set of predominant values, beliefs and institutional procedures that operate systematically to the benefit of the coloniser at the expense of the colonised” (1980: 31). In that sense, the institutional set-up of consultation processes including setting the agenda, the use of language and seating arrangements are crucial to understand to what extent the State’s values and beliefs predominate.

Yet, a fundamental element in explaining the maintenance of such relation of domination in contemporary contexts should not be overlooked. Namely, domination and exclusion gain legitimacy through the internalisation of standards and norms: the position of the dominated must be internally recognised in order to cultivate asymmetrical power relations, or, as Albert Memmi puts it: “...it is not enough for the colonised to be a slave; he must also accept this role” (1967: 89). This situation of submission and relative recognition and acceptance becomes important in the Guaraní communities belonging to the territories of Alto Parapetí which were only recently freed from contemporary forms of slavery and were thus exposed to all forms of domination over several centuries. This means that internalised subordination does not only exist in the history of the region which is transmitted by older generations, rather it is inherent in current generations as a lived experience and therefore shapes

negotiating roles in the consultation process with the State in significant ways. As Chapter 5 shows, this form of submission becomes also apparent in interviews with *comunarios* which reveal that we (interviewers) as townspeople and *mestizo* or white people are given special status reflecting a form of knowledge superiority. Indeed, in the colonial context it is important to understand dominated people's perception of themselves and the resulting low self-worth compared to society at large (Katznelson, 1973). I observed this in many interviews; in fact, interviewees directly referred to and recognised their lacking self-worth, self-conscious behaviour and embarrassment in assemblies with State representatives.

One of the most observable ways to understand inequalities – between indigenous peoples and society at large in this case – is to analyse the response of the deprived or dominated group in terms of power relationships (Gaventa, 1980). In a similar vein, this demonstrates the degree to which laws are responded to and contested and its respective potential to bridge or alter inequalities. One illustration of such response is the extent to which the dominated can “predetermine the agenda of struggle”, namely to decide which issues or questions are to be considered and are decisive in such encounters (Parenti, 1970). In the prior consultation process with indigenous Guaraní people, local assemblies were excluded from the decision-making process with the state: the planning meeting at the beginning of the process is illustrative of this. It was the longest meeting, namely a 16 hours negotiation on the issues to be included in the agenda of the consultation process, budget-related issues to determine the number of participants, number and nature of activities, and the appointment of indigenous advisors. The exchange of views and (non-)inclusion of

said issues in the meeting revealed the different facets of power relationships between the parties.

On the one hand, State representatives demonstrated their power by limiting numbers of participants and thereby preventing checks and balances; limiting number and duration of activities and thus limiting information and general opportunities of participation and influence; and restricted the location of the meetings to a city that was far apart from most communities, thus further restricting access to the process. On the other hand, the indigenous assembly actively tried to make use of legal provisions that could enhance their influence despite said limits and they thus attempted to alter existing power relations. This mainly concerned their representation and the use of experts in the process: four indigenous experts were to be contracted for the duration of the process, namely two lawyers, one engineer and a translator. While their role was actively limited by State officials in the process, their appointment could be considered a success on its own and as the result of increasingly strengthened negotiating powers of indigenous assemblies. Guaraní people's response to the existing (political and legal) order could also be exemplified by a new activity that was not *per se* required by laws and regulations on prior consultations. Namely, Guaraní people from Alto Parapetí engaged in an exchange of experience with a *Capitanía* in Charagua (an approximately 6 hours drive from Alto Parapetí) which was incorporated into the consultation process and was aimed at informing *comunarios* in Alto Parapetí about the impact of hydrocarbon projects elsewhere and the nature of consultation processes. Despite the short duration (one and a half days) of the activity, indigenous leaders considerably gained insights into negotiations and technical details – a small step towards bridging asymmetries.

Another aspect which illustrates how the parties engage in unequal power relationships is the existence of not genuinely reached consensus and manipulation in the light of lacking complaints (Lukes, 1974). Similarly, power in decision-making processes is exercised by “influencing, shaping or determining his very wants” (Lukes, 1974: 23). The latter can also be influenced by the former: consent could be used to “circumvent cognitive dissonance”, and be elicited from indigenous peoples as Colin Samson’s study on land claims agreements with Innu people shows (Samson, 2014: 253). Similarly, in this case, final agreements in all meetings were pre-drafted and merely signed by indigenous representatives. Thereby, previously held debates in plenary were not taken into consideration. Various elements of the process pointed to manipulated consensus: among others, limited time to review agreements, co-opted élites with diverging interests, few local leaders in assemblies, limited numbers of representatives and reviewers of decisions, isolated meetings in terms of geographical location and access by ordinary community members. It is through these institutional and administrative constraints by means of law implementation that power relations are maintained and inequalities are reinforced.

7.4.2 Intra-Group Inequalities in the Context of Collective Rights Implementation

The impact of collective decision-making processes on intra-group dynamics and inequalities remains largely unobserved. Even though existing studies point to the lacking success of guaranteeing genuine participation by all community members in e.g. natural resource management (Agrawal and Gupta, 2005; Larson and Ribot, 2007), little is said about the nature of such groups, their differing claims and above all how subgroup participation in collective processes differs from community decision-making. In the former context, debates evolve around “axes of inequality

based on wealth, gender, social status” (Akbulut, 2012: 1134), but they also look into questions of ethnicity and class (Boelens and Zwarteveen, 2005), as well as the way the latter lead to fragmentation and influence individual’s opportunities for political considerations and by that participation (Fraser, 1997). Thereby, it is acknowledged that individual community members or subgroups face asymmetrical challenges in decision-making mechanisms (Akbulut, 2012) yet, without providing insights on how different dimensions could be compared or contrasted in the context of collective processes. Most notably, the few studies which focus on particular cases, e.g. gender dimensions, obscure respective demands and women’s own processes and create a “collective homogeneous fiction” (*ficción colectiva homogénea*, Castillo Guzmán and Soria Torres, 2011: 12). Indeed, case studies on women’s individual claims in peasant and indigenous movements illustrate how their demands and rights as women are subordinated to class demands and claims from ethnic groups (Trigoso Berentzen and Fernández Montenegro, 2001). It is also noted that collective land rights regimes, for instance, are designed to work towards the “exterior” of communities rather than towards their “interior” part (Castillo Guzmán and Soria Torres, 2011).

Similar to the situation of inter-group inequalities between indigenous peoples and society at large, intra-group dynamics in collective decision-making processes can be explained by means of power relationships between the parties. It could be argued that “whoever decides what the game is about also decides who gets in the game” (Schattschneider, 1960: 105) – setting the agenda is one thing, but this might include decisions on potential participants. In the prior consultation process, such decisions were collectively taken by state representatives and *zonal* leaders. The Ministry decided on whom to get in contact with in the first place and convened

respective meetings with *zonal* leaders that represented the captaincy. However, once this was decided, *zonal* leaders were in charge of deciding which communities and leaders were invited to attend the process. As Chapter 5 shows, such decisions involved state allowances for food, accommodation and transport which usually stayed with a few families and communities such leaders were affiliated with or originated from.

Power asymmetries in decision-making processes at micro level can also be induced by what could be called “nondecision”: apart from rather direct forms such as threats or sanctions, there are also subtle forms including norms or procedures that can provoke “nondecisions” on the part of *comunarios* (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

Thereby,

demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are voiced, or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or (...) maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process. (Bachrach and Bachrach, 1970: 44)

As the extensive interviewing process in the communities shows, particular communities and *comunarios* were indeed excluded from the consultation process by different means. Institutional means such as limited spaces and budget in the consultation process constitutes one form of silencing opinions before they are voiced. That way local leaders, but also gender representatives and councils of elders did not have access to such forums, not even to attend meetings. The rules and procedures which govern consultation processes (see Chapter 4 for further details on the Bolivian consultation laws) allow only for a limited amount of activities, all directed towards obtaining consent and signing a final agreement. That way, little or no space is given for inclusive local assemblies with large representations of different groups at community level. Indeed, access to such activities of the collective decision-

making process is very limited for the above reasons. Lastly, participation in the meetings themselves is impeded by the institutional set-up of the meetings themselves including male leaders in the front rows and other seating arrangements, *zonal* élites that steer the process and determine the language spoken or strict agendas and schedules which impede any additional input or critical review of *zonal* leaders' decisions.

More recent laws and regulations on prior consultation processes demonstrate that including particular groups such as women can indeed be legislatively regulated. In the case of Peru (DPLF and Oxfam, 2015), the 2012 prior consultation regulation explicitly requires this as the following extracts show:

the obligation to consult needs to be accomplished by respecting indigenous peoples' traditions and customs (...) and the participation of women, particularly of those acting as representatives (Peruvian Ministry of Culture, 2012: Art.5(i))

the number of determined representatives needs to consider the needs of the process, with a gender approach (Peruvian Ministry of Culture, 2012: Art.10(2))

the consultation process needs to be carried out by means of a methodology with an approach which is intercultural, gender-sensitive, participatory and flexibly tailored to the local circumstances (Peruvian Ministry of Culture, 2012: Art.13)

The Peruvian legislative framework shows that a gender perspective is not only explicitly encouraged; several provisions highlight the importance of flexibility, considering local circumstances and needs. However, in practice such provisions, just as the constant references to "indigenous customs and traditions" in the Bolivian case, are subject to interpretations. Laws thereby become a strategic weapon of powerful groups, as argued earlier: mainly by those who translate norms into local contexts and by that exclude *comunarios* and subgroups. As Merry argues it is those "people in the middle" or translators who transmit international legal standards, discourses and institutions to specific situations and people (Merry, 2006b: 39). Indeed, state representatives and *zonal* leaders in particular become powerful players

as they master the language of both sides and could use law as a tool of empowerment of excluded groups; yet, such translators are also vulnerable to wealth and power, the language of the state and companies. It thus remains ambiguous whether more explicit references to particular subgroups could enhance their inclusion. In the Bolivian and Ecuadorian cases, there are no legislative and normative developments in that regard despite general constitutional provisions: while no discrimination provisions protect subgroups, there are no inclusion or promotion policies which show equality and a gender-based approach (Castillo Guzmán and Soria Torres, 2011).

In the light of a lacking legal framework on indigenous subgroups in consultation processes, alternative practice has been developed to confront challenges that relate to intra-group inequalities in collective decision-making processes. They could be regarded as a non-judicial response to existing legal gaps or lacking guidance, a form of practice that has developed in this area (see Chapter 8 for a proposal on a possible framework that addresses such challenges). In Ecuador, for instance, the Indigenous Women's Association of Sarayaku (*Asociación de Mujeres Indígenas de Sarayaku*) has given continuous support to Sarayaku people's struggle for their ancestral lands: in Sarayaku communities women have significantly contributed to raising voices in protests against extractive projects (Castillo Guzmán and Soria Torres, 2011).

In Peruvian prior consultation cases, women formed an association, the Association of Women Affected by Activities of the Mine Tintaya (*Asociación de Mujeres afectadas por las actividades de la mina Tintaya*) that was formally introduced into a form of round table of the consultation process (Castillo Guzmán

and Soria Torres, 2011). Furthermore, indigenous women developed a new Agenda for Women (*Agenda de las mujeres*) that was supposed to serve as a negotiation instrument, which included a participation enhancing element, namely to consider a special percentage for women's organisations in the "participatory budget". Nevertheless, said agenda also pointed to the shortcomings of participatory mechanisms, in this case women's lacking participation in community assemblies and decision-making spaces, failure in recognising their rights, missing support on the part of community authorities and criticism of women's organisations (Castillo Guzmán and Soria Torres, 2011). Other studies confirm that women's opinions and needs are not considered by mining corporations and peasant communities (Cuadros, 2010). By contrast, my field work with Guaraní people shows that local decision-making structures have opened up and have become receptive for women's new leadership positions and participatory roles in the communities.

Indeed, practice shows that enhanced female representation is limited to local community levels, or has, in some cases, been introduced into indigenous peoples' organisations. The latter could be exemplified by the Guaraní People's Assembly (APG) which promoted women's participation within its very structure because a separate women's organisation alongside APG would weaken the indigenous organisation's role in representing all Guaraní people: by including such groups, collective claims would be further strengthened (Van Dixhoorn, 1996). In the case of the Guaraní, women's leadership and participatory roles have become institutionalised both at local community level, and, to some extent in indigenous umbrella organisations. Yet, collective decision-making instances with the State do not show similar participatory patterns in the case of women. Rather, the very

mechanisms seem to encourage existing elitist structures that do not allow bottom-up approaches, nor would they consider changing dynamics at community level. It thus seems that intra-group inequalities emerge based on interpretations of the law that discourage inclusive participation and lacking capacities of such groups to challenge or modify existing power relations. While the law itself does not discriminate community members, it does nothing to prevent unequal implementation and provides considerable discretionary powers which encourage arbitrary interpretation by the powerful. Ultimately, the very emphasis on collective claims and indigenous peoples' customs and traditions in existing legal frameworks requires significant compromises: they jeopardise participatory mechanisms to work in a genuine, legitimate and representative manner.

7.5 Conclusions

Indigenous peoples' participatory rights in natural resource issues can be considered one of the most fundamental and revolutionary collective claims and safeguards against a strong economic sector. The collective right to prior consultation, for instance, symbolises and concretises indigenous peoples' self-determination in a century-long struggle against domination and limits on territorial sovereignty. However, its use in practice shows that participatory mechanisms that pretend to function as instruments of empowerment, transformation and as attributing citizen-agency, actually disguise unequal power relationships, catalyse, maintain or exacerbate inter- and intra-group inequalities and ultimately violate the very right to self-determination which it pretends to protect. Collective decision-making mechanisms defeat their purpose in a myriad of ways, most fundamentally by arbitrary interpretations of the rights that were inspired and established by

indigenous peoples themselves as the drafting process of UNDRIPS shows. While traditional legal-anthropological debates focus on the rights creation process, it is argued that the very implementation phase and the role of translators, who give meaning to the enjoyment of rights, or the violation thereof, reveal to what extent the very purpose of indigenous peoples' rights is fulfilled. It is shown that sector-specific interests in the case of mining cooperatives in the Chiquitania and vertically organised decision-making structures in Guaraní organisations lend themselves perfectly to be misused for enhancing state interests and thus converts indigenous peoples' representatives into puppets of the corporate sector. Implementing indigenous peoples' collective rights thus goes far beyond safeguarding the right to self-determination in relation to natural resource issues; it poses enormous challenges in terms of representativeness, legitimacy and accountability and demonstrates how persisting inequalities and power asymmetries are rather maintained than flattened.

Chapter 8 Conclusions: Towards a New Rights Respecting-Engagement with Indigenous Peoples in the Natural Resource Sector – A Guide for Individual or Subgroup Rights

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter proposes a revision of existing norms on prior consultation and other participatory mechanisms in the extractive sector based on insights gained in case study I and II; it thereby takes the *vernacularisation* of international norms into consideration. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is taken as the legal basis and it is proposed how existing norms could be modified or specified within its legal framework – such as in form of regulations or guidelines – in order to match with the local context in indigenous communities that are affected by natural resource exploration or exploitation. It will be distinguished between the different analytical categories that were used in the course of the project, including women’s rights (I), age-related differences (II), education and language-related rights (III) and local versus regional decision-making instances (IV). The establishment of a particular rights-protecting regime for such subgroups can be justified on grounds of non-discrimination provisions in UNDRIPS, particular references to e.g. women’s rights, but also as

“indigenous peoples have the right to participate in such decision-making processes through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.” (Art.18, UNDRIPS)

Consultation processes on the ground could be termed “one-size-fits-all approaches” at best or “imposed decision-making” at worst, and hardly take local dynamics and representative institutions into account. This includes female representatives and elders councils, but it also includes institutional factors of meetings, such as the space-

temporal dimension which impedes community members from participating. In the proposed modified framework, inclusion and non-discrimination are taken as a basis to allow for integrating indigenous peoples' traditional decision-making procedures, leaders and representative institutions and councils into account.

For each of said categories or sub-groups within indigenous communities, different negative and positive state obligations will be proposed. Negative human rights obligations require the state to show respect for human rights without implying specific steps or action or to avoid conduct that results in human rights violations. Positive human rights obligations, by contrast, require more active engagement on the part of States: rights need to be protected such as by taking specific steps and adopting measures to guarantee human rights. Thereby, the State shall respect, protect and fulfil basic human rights. This can include preventing third parties such as companies from rights-violating practice; it also implies enacting e.g. specific education programmes that ensure certain rights. In the following "guides for individual rights or subgroups" are proposed focussing mainly on positive state obligations that only find very basic expression in UNDRIPS. The particular needs of women, different marginalised age groups, monolingual persons and people with lower education levels as well as local leaders will be looked at and specific measures will be proposed specifying and elaborating on existing UNDRIPS provisions.

8.2 Women's Participatory Rights

Apart from general non-discrimination provisions such as in Art.46(3) UNDRIPS, existing women's rights standards hardly make explicit reference to indigenous women's (participatory) rights, and prior consultation processes even less so. Whenever decision-making mechanisms are addressed, they find expression under

the umbrella of non-violence (PFII, 2012; Kuokkanen, 2012; Hernández Castillo, 2001). Generally, indigenous women are protected via the collective rights regime: their exclusion and discrimination is considered as soon as it affects indigenous peoples' overall self-determination (PFII, 2012). Furthermore, land-specific rights have been explicitly related to indigenous women including control over and possession of land and their inclusion at all levels of decision-making (CEDAW, 2016). Yet, indigenous women's role and respective rights in prior consultation processes and other participatory mechanisms in the natural resource sector are not specified and require sufficient attention.

However, UNDRIPS offers particular protection measures that address the needs of women (Art.22(1) UNDRIPS) and protect them against all forms of discrimination and violence (Art.22(2) UNDRIPS). Other provisions that address prior consultation processes and participation by means of indigenous representative organisations and leaders do not specify issues of legitimacy and representativity, nor do they include clauses on non-discrimination or exclusion of specific groups. However, as my findings indicate women's roles in such processes requires particular attention based on particular needs, but also on exclusionary mechanisms that impede their active involvement and inclusion. In terms of negative state obligations, it is important to stress that non-discriminatory practice particularly concerns adopting institutional measures that have an adverse impact on women. This includes seating arrangements in assemblies, the particularities of mixed-gender meetings in which women feel more discouraged, and the absence of women's representative organisations that are not explicitly included in consultation processes, also due to limited spaces that are given to a few leaders.

In relation to positive measures, particular attention needs to be paid to the public/private divide which impedes female participation in relation to e.g. domestic responsibilities that cannot be assumed whenever meetings last several days at locations that are too distant from the communities. This could include measures as to adequate and additional transport possibilities, but also extends to encouraging female leadership which has developed at community level, but does not find similar expression in meetings with external players.

Negative State Obligations	Positive State Obligations
<p>Art.46(3) UNDRIPS: The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, <u>non-discrimination</u>, good governance and good faith.</p> <p>States shall conduct prior consultations and facilitate participatory mechanisms in a non-discriminatory manner in relation to women</p> <p>By adopting institutional measures in relation to gender representation including <i>inter alia</i></p> <p>Supporting initiatives to enhance active participation in assemblies with the State, e.g. by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">) avoiding spatial hierarchies in the seating arrangements) facilitating local empowering initiatives to support women in sharing their views in mixed-gender assemblies) encouraging women’s groups, such as artisanal organisations or other representative mechanisms to be explicitly included in meetings with the State 	<p>Art.22(1) UNDRIPS: 1. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, <u>women</u>, youth, children and persons with disabilities in the implementation of this Declaration.</p> <p>States shall respect women’s rights and take due account of their special needs by</p> <p>Paying attention to the public /private divide by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">) establishing supporting mechanisms that allow for child care during meetings with external players) arranging additional transport to travel back to the communities after each meeting (rather than after 2 or 3 days) for women with domestic responsibilities) Supporting local frameworks that coordinate domestic

	<p>responsibilities in light of the absence of women in accordance with the customs and traditions</p>
	<p>Art.22(2) UNDRIPS: 2. States shall take measures, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, to ensure that indigenous women and children enjoy the full protection and guarantees against all forms of violence and discrimination.</p> <p>States shall adopt measures to guarantee the inclusive character of prior consultation mechanisms and other participatory instances by <i>inter alia</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">) offering opportunities for female leadership and skills development) providing additional incentives for female mandate-holders) offering complementary workshops on subject-specific knowledge for women in the area of mining and gas extractive activities) facilitating networks on leadership and debating skills to address knowledge asymmetries

Figure 13: Proposal for revision of women's rights in collective frameworks

8.3 Age-Related Differences in Existing Standards

Existing studies demonstrate how indigenous elders significantly contribute to inter-generational knowledge transfer as well as re-engagement and their importance for young and future generations, principally regarding traditional land management practices (Brown, Creaser and Wilura, 2006; Mac Donald, Zoe and Satterfield, 2014).

Similarly, their role as sources of knowledge on natural resources and biodiversity is emphasised (Maiti and Maiti, 2011; Altman, Ens, Fogarty, Hunt, Kerins, May and Russell, 2011). In norms and guidelines, elderly are commonly considered as disproportionately affected by extractive processes and are identified as a vulnerable group (PFII, 2015; Natural Resource Governance Institute, 2012); their situation in accessing territories is regarded as serious (IACHR, 2011). However, detailed norms specifying elderly and youth's participatory rights in extractive processes are lacking. Yet, recent developments, such as the establishment of a new UN Independent Expert on the enjoyment of all human rights of older persons (HRC, 2013), and Open-ended Working Group on Ageing (HRC, 2011), international declarations (UNGA, 1982; UNGA, 1999; UN 2nd World Assembly on Ageing, 2002) as well as regional initiatives (CEPAL, 2007; IACHR, 2009; CEPAL, 2012) point to progressive developments of standards in that area.

Even more attention is paid to indigenous youth: the Permanent Forum devoted one of its thematic issues to indigenous youth (PFII, 2013a). Similarly, it discusses their participatory rights where decisions affect their well-being; the Forum puts emphasis on diversity in that regard: rather than opting for a general participation model for all, the Forum takes different expectations of indigenous youth worldwide into account (PFII, 2013a). As in the case of the elderly, specific provisions on participatory rights in consultations mechanisms lack; yet, even in the case of non-indigenous youth and elderly rights, there is no comprehensive, legally binding regime at international level.

Similar to the case of women, different age-groups are not referred to in the context of provisions on consultation processes in the UNDRIPS framework, but enjoy

protection under general non-discrimination clauses (Art.46(3) UNDRIPS). In the latter regard, I propose several more specific negative state obligations for including indigenous elders and youth in the process respectively. In the case of indigenous elders, I suggest a range of factors that become relevant when respecting indigenous peoples' rights in a non-discriminatory manner such as mobility issues or the cultural-historical context of the region which exerts a disparate impact on older generations. As to indigenous youth it is important to adopt a flexible approach regarding age ranges as communities in both case studies understand family responsibilities as decisive in determining who participates with voice and vote in the assemblies, but also in meetings with the State. Pre-determined age categories such as legal age and resulting electoral rights and responsibilities are considered irrelevant at community level.

According to positive state obligations, it is first of all essential to bridge inter-generational differences such as language divides or traditional hierarchies that impede different generations in the one-size-fits-all consultation process. Further, specific decision-making bodies such as elders councils or other leadership structures at community level need to be explicitly included in meetings with the State. In the case of the elderly, knowledge-related factors play a big role and deserve to be granted with due regard. This includes several measures that I recommend to be taken to, on the one hand, bridge knowledge asymmetries that emerge based on Spanish language or technical language, and on the other hand, to enable elders to share their traditional knowledge and enrich the debates. In respect of indigenous youth, I propose several institutional measures such as permanent forums or ad hoc mechanisms that could facilitate youth participation, especially since temporarily

returning youth from the cities lack consistency and are excluded from important channels of information between authorities and youth.

Negative State Obligations	Positive State Obligations
<p>Elders Art.46(3) UNDRIPS: The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, <u>non-discrimination</u>, good governance and good faith.</p> <p>The State shall refrain from limiting indigenous elders’ participation in prior consultation processes or other participatory mechanisms and instead granting participatory rights in a non-discriminatory manner by e.g. considering language-related difficulties, technical information, education-specific factors, mobility issues, the cultural-historical context and its impact on the older generation, and inter-generational gaps.</p>	<p>Elders Art.22(1) UNDRIPS: Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of <u>indigenous elders</u>, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities in the implementation of this Declaration.</p> <p>In all consultation meetings or participatory mechanisms, inter-generational understanding shall be enhanced, particularly as to language-related differences and in the light of traditional hierarchical decision-making structures.</p> <p>The State shall adopt measures to institutionalise elders’ participation in consultation processes or in mining cooperatives e.g. by means of representative institutions such as elders councils or other legitimate representative mechanisms.</p> <p>Programmes shall be adopted to bridge knowledge asymmetries including technical information on resource exploration/exploitation in appropriate and rights holder-oriented language and manner.</p> <p>Support for education-specific factors such as additional education initiatives shall be given to cover knowledge gaps providing information in Guaraní/Bésiro and providing sufficient opportunities</p>

to engage in native language practice during the whole consultation/participatory process or to establish a multilingual assembly.

Special collaborative efforts shall be made to enable indigenous elders to share their traditional knowledge on flora and fauna and other factors related to socio-environmental impact.

The State shall adopt additional measures to ensure mobility, particularly regarding elders with disabilities and walking impairments. Adequate transport is to be provided in that regard in accordance with particular needs.

All programmes and measures adopted shall consider the particular historical context (e.g. conditions of slavery, debt bondage, forced labour) by which mainly the older generation was affected.

Youth

Art.46(3) UNDRIPS:

The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, non-discrimination, good governance and good faith.

A flexible approach shall be taken in identifying age-groups: “youth” in the communities is to be understood as young persons with domestic responsibilities rather than the UN age range (18-24).

Youth

Art.22(1) UNDRIPS:

1. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities in the implementation of this Declaration.

Special measures shall be adopted to ensure local youth leadership is integrated into decision-making processes with external players in addition to urban, temporarily migrating élites.

Programmes for returning youth (from urban spaces) shall be

	<p>established as well as incentives for mandate nominations for young community members. This shall also include additional education initiatives and capacity building in political mandate holding, particularly for recently returned youth.</p> <p>Youth participation shall be institutionalised in forums with external players including several measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">) permanent forums or ad hoc mechanisms for meetings with external players shall be established that compensate for youth temporal presence in the communities) improved channels of information between youth, leaders and external players shall be facilitated in order to improve accessibility to important sources of knowledge) improved youth participation particularly where non-representative leaders and hierarchies persist
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Figure 14: Proposal for revision of age-related rights in collective frameworks

8.4 Education and Language-Related Rights in Participatory Frameworks

Indigenous peoples' education and language-related rights have found their place in more generally applicable instruments such as ICCPR: Art.27 (ICCPR) addressing ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, needs to be understood in the light of the use of land resources by indigenous peoples in particular (CCPR, 1994). More explicitly, the IACtHR pronounced itself on language rights in prior consultation processes: apart from the state obligation to consult using culturally appropriate

procedures, the IACtHR specifies the right to consultation in relation to the right to cultural identity under which language rights need to be considered (IACtHR, 2012). The right to culture which implies the practice of languages is understood as a crosscutting means of interpretation to guarantee other rights such as the right to prior consultation (ACHPR, 2009). Conversely, indigenous peoples' participatory rights directly affect cultural and language rights (EMRIP, 2012d).

Similarly, the right to education is broadly associated with the violation of land rights: where indigenous peoples' right to live on their ancestral territories cannot be guaranteed, the right to education as well as other rights are simultaneously violated as a consequence (IACHR, 2009b). In the Inter-American system on human rights, such rights are further spelt out in land regimes: State duties extend to providing sufficient bilingual material for schools in the affected communities (IACtHR, 2005a, 2006b). Further reaching obligations are stipulated such as providing the judiciary with intercultural training including education and insights on indigenous cultures and identity (IACtHR, 2003).

Again, as in the case of women and age-groups, monolingual Guaraní or Bésiro speaking populations are protected under general non-discrimination provisions of UNDRIPS (Art.46(3)). Similarly, yet in rather implicit ways, persons with lower education levels are disproportionately less able to genuinely participate in consultation mechanisms or other decision-making meetings in the natural resource sector. At the same time, lower education levels are a cross-cutting or transversal issue which affect particularly indigenous women and elders. However, as the issue came up in many interviews and focus groups, it will be treated as a distinct category and human rights obligation here. Particular attention is thus required in terms of the

public/private divide which concerns mainly women who regret that they have less subject-matter expertise and fewer training opportunities.

Regarding positive state obligations a wide range of measures should be taken in all parts of the consultation or decision-making process to ensure all *comunarios* have access to respective information. In the latter regard, information should be accessible in all languages, be provided in oral and written forms and to consider indigenous peoples' particular cultures and traditions. Most importantly, measures should be adopted which attempt to close knowledge gaps including bridging different divides such as between peasants and townspeople, agricultural workers and engineers etc., and mediate dependencies between native and non-native speakers or differences between leaders and state representatives in accessing technical data. Finally, special steps should be taken in order to consider indigenous languages and histories including oral language practice in all parts of the process which should also be reflected in final agreements. This has the purpose of preventing pre-drafted agreements to be signed that do not make mention of debates, which are often conducted in indigenous languages, and are not reflected in the final written pieces.

Negative State Obligations	Positive State Obligations
<p>Art.46(3) UNDRIPS: The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, <u>non-discrimination</u>, good governance and good faith.</p> <p>States shall conduct prior consultations and facilitate participatory mechanisms in a non-discriminatory manner in relation to</p>	<p>Art.15(1) UNDRIPS: Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.</p> <p>Public information on extractive projects and respective</p>

monolingual (Guaraní speaking) people and persons with lower education levels.

Particular attention shall be paid to the public/private divide which concerns primarily women in terms of fewer training opportunities, less subject-matter expertise including understanding of legal issues and land rights.

participatory mechanisms shall be provided in Guaraní. This includes written and oral information.

Thereby, due regard shall be paid to indigenous peoples' particular cultures and traditions.

Art.21 (1) UNDRIPS:

Indigenous peoples have the right, without discrimination, to the improvement of their economic and social conditions, including, *inter alia*, in the areas of education, employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, sanitation, health and social security.

Measures shall be taken to bridge knowledge asymmetries which either impede attendance in the consultation process or meetings with external players or inhibit active participation in such meetings, by *inter alia*:

-) ensuring that “inferior” termed knowledge asymmetries are not used to justify non-participation, such as not mastering the subject-matter or language-related differences**
-) ensuring that not only educated elites and persons with specific professions gain access to participatory processes with external players**
-) bridging divides in meetings including peasants/townspeople, agricultural**

	<p>workers/engineers or lawyers</p> <p>) closing knowledge gaps and mediating asymmetries in terms of technical data and insights between indigenous leaders and state representatives</p> <p>) bridging divides and mediating dependencies between bilingual <i>comunarios</i> and non-Spanish speakers by offering inclusive support and access to meetings with the State</p>
	<p>Art.13 (1) UNDRIPS: Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.</p> <p>Indigenous peoples’ particular histories and languages shall be reflected in meetings with the State or other players including oral language practice and opportunities to speak indigenous languages in all parts of the consultation process or participatory mechanisms.</p> <p>Further such practice is to be included in written language such as agreements and other written documents in the context of the consultation process or participatory meetings with external players.</p>

Figure 15: Proposal for revision of education/language rights in collective frameworks

8.5 Incorporating Local and Regional Decision-Making Dimensions

International instruments and respective monitoring bodies do not specify to what extent local, regional and national indigenous decision-making mechanisms should be included or not and how States should deal with non-representative organisations. Different approaches reaching from non-interference to providing minor advice exist both at UN and Inter-American levels (see Chapters 3.2 & 3.3 for a more detailed discussion). In fact, the main obstacle in prior consultation processes and other participatory instances in the mining sector are negotiations with non-representative indigenous organisations, entities or individuals. This includes non-representative leaders with personal agendas, individuals with not sufficient authority or mandates, cooperatives which lack general community support and authorised mandates or parallel organisations which are not externally recognised. These challenges can also be understood from an individual versus collective rights perspective since local, representative leaders are often undermined by non-representative regional or parallel organisations and individuals. On many occasions such leaders can thus be considered particularly excluded from decision-making processes.

At the same time, such reality relates to the respect for indigenous peoples' organisational structures and decision-making mechanisms as outlined in UNDRIPS. Namely, Art.18 and 32(2) UNDRIPS explicitly state indigenous peoples' right to choose their own representatives and according procedures and establish the State duty to consult and cooperate with indigenous peoples through such decision-making instances. Respecting indigenous assemblies comes with a number of challenges on the ground. To confront these issues of representativity, accountability and legitimacy need to be solved by indigenous assemblies.

Further, it is crucial for the State to respect organisational and hierarchical structures including assemblies' national, regional and local subdivisions. In order to further safeguard indigenous peoples' organisations from outside interference, it is proposed to avoid links with other players such as mining cooperatives, prevent manipulation of *comunarios* by direct or subtle means including bribes, encourage close cooperation with local assemblies, and establish joint committees to solve inter-community conflict and tensions between competing organisations beforehand. The duty to protect against any adverse impact by corporate conduct is also implicit in this: States should assume essential monitoring functions regarding all company–community encounters. Another crucial aspect regarding negative state obligations is the respect for indigenous peoples' decision to select membership. This has several implications in practice and could be mediated by the following measures. Assemblies and other decision-making instances should be given the opportunity to nominate ad hoc or permanent representatives that enjoy legitimacy at all levels. Ad hoc arrangements could serve the purpose of adjusting positions to the particularities of the respective project.

Positive state obligations shall add to this in order for States to take specific steps to facilitate the establishment and maintenance of indigenous political, legal, cultural, economic and social institutions (Art.5 UNDRIPS). This includes strengthening respective organisations by means of increasing the inclusive character of local assemblies such as by adjusting the budget and changing the location. It also includes institutional support in all areas of competence of indigenous organisations and allowing for an adequate time frame in such processes which, in turn, enable local decisions to be taken. Furthermore, emphasis should also be placed on facilitating

long-term, sustainable structures at community level including adequate funds which shall also be established for conflict mediating mechanisms. Finally, indigenous peoples shall be enabled to maintain their institutional structures and distinctive customs and traditions (Art.34 UNDRIPS) which, as I propose, could include strengthening local mechanisms such as the council of elders or female representatives.

Negative State Obligations	Positive State Obligations
<p>Art.18 UNDRIPS: Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision making institutions.</p> <p>Similarly: Art.32(2) UNDRIPS: States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.</p> <p>States shall attribute competence to indigenous assemblies or ad hoc mechanisms established for that purpose in order for indigenous peoples to decide on issues of representativity, legitimacy and accountability regarding representatives appointed for the process.</p> <p>By respecting indigenous peoples' own representative institutions and representatives chosen by themselves, States need to respect organisational, hierarchical</p>	<p>Art.5 UNDRIPS: Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.</p> <p>States shall adopt measures to guarantee the inclusive character of local community assemblies in meetings with the State, by e.g. adjusting budget to include larger assemblies, organising meetings in communities or in close proximity, and take agricultural labour-related availability into account. Accordingly, the budget should reflect participation numbers that approximate those at local representatives.</p> <p>Indigenous decision-making mechanisms shall be institutionally strengthened in order to avoid (economic or political) dependencies on e.g. cooperatives or other players.</p>

(national, regional, local) structures taking due account of local levels that might be undermined by non-representative umbrella organisations.

Respecting indigenous peoples' own representative institutions also implies avoiding links with other players such as indigenous mining cooperatives unless the latter are fully recognised by local authorities.

All forms of manipulation of *comunarios* shall be inhibited including direct means such as bribes and distributions of payments and indirect or subtle ways of exerting influence including influence on individuals in special positions or other institutionalised strategies to enforce cooperation.

Due account shall be taken with regard to parallel organisations. Prior to the start of the consultation process, extensive communication and collaboration in joint committees shall be undertaken where conflicting organisations exist. External agents such as the National Ombudsman institutions shall be used as a mediating party.

States shall consider decisions taken at local level without overruling the latter in official meetings with representatives. Such decisions shall not be questioned, conditioned or modified in meetings or final agreements that outline the terms and conditions of the consultation process.

Due regard shall be paid to corporate conduct. States shall assume monitoring functions regarding all company–community encounters or issues and comply with due diligence obligations in identifying bribing practices with the utmost rigour. Where appropriate this includes adequate investigation and punishment.

This shall include defence mechanisms where the territorial integrity is at stake or other units or mechanism that foster indigenous organisations' autonomy in all areas of competence.

Particular attention shall be paid to the time frame in consultation and other participatory processes: sufficient time shall be taken into account for meetings at community level in between activities related to such processes in order to allow decisions to be taken at community level. Thereby, Guaraní and Chiquitano leaders' traditional role as spokespersons instead of decision-makers is respected and single-handed decisions are avoided.

States shall adopt measures to facilitate long-lasting, sustainable representative structures at community level by e.g. establishing (permanent) funds to allocate payments to leaders (which are non-remunerable offices) for e.g. transport, food, accommodation and other needs prior to and after the process. This would impede blackmailing community leaders by cutting or reducing such allowances in case of objections to the project or other forms of lacking agreement.

Long term funding shall be allocated to conflict mediating mechanisms as a result of

	<p>project-induced tensions in accordance with indigenous peoples' customs and traditions and own conflict resolution mechanisms. Similar mechanisms shall be established in order to administer compensation payments and respective allocation.</p> <p>By allocating project-related funding, particular attention needs to be paid to representative structures and inclusiveness in order to avoid selective payments and comparative advantage for particular individuals or communities only. Utmost attention is needed where parallel leadership structures coexist.</p>
<p>Art.33(2) UNDRIPS: Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures</p> <p>Prior to any consultation process or participatory mechanism, indigenous peoples at all levels (local, regional, national) shall be given due consideration, in a secure and timely manner, in selecting ad hoc or permanent representatives that enjoy legitimacy at all levels, in particular in affected communities. Ad hoc arrangements could ensure that consultation processes are adjusted to the particular setting and particularities of the project (geographical scale and varying degrees of impact in the communities depending on the project).</p>	<p>Art.34 UNDRIPS: Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs, in accordance with international human rights standards.</p> <p>States shall adopt positive measures in order to enable indigenous peoples to develop their customs, spirituality, and traditions by explicitly including councils of elders, female representatives and other local mandate-holders as established in community charters and in other decision-making customs.</p>

Figure 16: Proposal for revision of local leaders' rights in collective frameworks

8.6 Final Considerations and Conclusions

Existing international standards and UNDRIPS in the present case of analysis provide a valuable indigenous peoples' rights regime and a good starting position for States to adopt participatory frameworks in the natural resource sector. This thesis proposes a form of guidelines that concretise such legal framework based on empirical research findings that illustrate how international norms are vernacularized or localised in two cases of natural resource extraction and respective participatory mechanisms. Particular emphasis is placed on vulnerable groups that enjoy special attention in UNDRIPS, other international human rights instruments, but also case studies on indigenous peoples, namely women and different age groups including youth and elders. However, other observations were made which have not found expression in existing legal frameworks, such as monolingual (Guaraní speakers and to a lesser extent Bésiro speakers) groups and persons with lower education levels which can be treated as a cross-cutting theme as e.g. both women and the elderly experience comparatively more exclusion on the basis of such transversal issues. Another important issue to be considered is the treatment of local authorities which are often excluded on the basis of competing mechanisms such as parallel organisations, regional umbrella organisations which undermine local voices or, in the case of case study II, mining cooperatives. Part 8.5 is the most elaborated contribution and can also be considered the most innovative part of all proposals as it is not expressed in laws or case studies: the complex entanglement of hierarchical structures, issues of legitimacy, representativity and accountability play a fundamental role in determining to what extent both individual or subgroup and collective rights can be respected, protected and fulfilled by the State.

In fact, it was argued that individual rights claims weaken the indigenous peoples' collective rights framework. However, such perspective does not pay due account to internal dynamics, conflicting claims at the local level and ultimately legitimises and accepts unrepresentative decision-making structures. Yet, caution is required in order to not to justify eroding human rights in the name of public interests or corporate agendas. This refers to indigenous populations, but could equally apply to other affected people such as ethnic or linguistic minorities or peasants. While so-called public consultation processes can be used to safeguard the participatory rights of such groups, their scope is more limited. At the same time, this does not undermine indigenous peoples' special status in international human rights law and respective regional mechanisms. Rather than granting a universal right to prior consultation and other rights to affected groups, indigenous peoples have actively contributed to a special rights regime (see Chapter 3 for more information). In many ways such a regime reflects a response to a long period of domination in the colonial context and ultimately a demonstration of indigenous peoples' will and self-determination. All this is specifically applies to indigenous peoples rather than having a broad scope which would include other populations such as peasants and ultimately reflects the legal character of such debate. The significance of the described regime for local communities remains largely unobserved.

This piece assesses indigenous peoples' rights in local community contexts and develops a critical perspective on collective rights dimensions. It shows to what extent group rights such as women's rights or elderly people's rights can be used as a safeguarding mechanism in order to be fulfilled under the collective umbrella or to contrast individual claims with a general collective framework that does not

necessarily include local or group differentiated interests: asymmetries can be identified between indigenous communities and society at large, but also within communities, so-called intra-group inequalities (see preceding chapter). Therefore, I propose a framework in which individual or group differentiated rights can be conceptualised rather than engaging in debates that are limited to discussing legal concepts i.e. proportionality, precedence or subordination of individual claims vis-à-vis collective rights. Such framework adopts a reconciliatory approach or a “third space” as proposed by Michael Freeman (see preceding chapter). The four frameworks (women, age-related, education or language-related and local or regional decision-making dimensions) gain particular relevance in collective decision-making processes where numbers of participants are limited and do not reflect the open, consensual assemblies of the communities. For instance, female mandate-holders or representatives of elders councils who increasingly voice their opinions at community level are not included in that regard.

Indeed, respecting indigenous peoples’ customs and traditions in local assemblies becomes most challenging in collective decision-making processes, especially where definitions and interpretations as to what constitutes such traditions and who shall represent communities diverge from one another. Mining cooperatives in the Bolivian Lowlands, for instance, constitute a new form of organisation which coexist alongside local authorities and increasingly gain political importance and economic control. Decision-making structures underlie fragmentation in terms of organisational structures (Guaranís) or sector-related divisions (Chiquitania) which might jeopardise accountable, local-oriented decision-making. In fact, I observed that local leaders do not necessarily stand up for their communities and local interests and

might even distort traditional or originally assumed positions. More research is needed in order to explore the reasons that can be attributed to such conduct, and, specifically the historical context which reveals how local leaders at community level were used by colonial rulers since time immemorial. It reflects direct forms of domination and control as well as structural aspects that are inherent in consultation procedures and turn into institutional or administrative constraints, especially language practice, but also agenda-setting, including, for instance, powers to initiate proposals. This places indigenous leaders in a vulnerable position, particularly in the current age and strong economic influences by various sectors in society which exert direct control over indigenous representatives.

Yet, these recent changes and particular cases shall not be used to limit indigenous peoples in choosing their representatives in accordance with their own procedures, instead it reveals that a more elaborated legal framework is needed which could safeguard this very standard and establish clear limits as to States' and corporate interference regarding their collective rights. It further requires more scope of action and initiative on the part of the communities in order to be able to shape indigenous decision-making mechanisms in their own way and to be transformative and enhance agency.

Similar room for improvement and potential for future research lies in both realisation and follow-up mechanisms in terms of socio-environmental impact and the right to water in particular. Even though the latter goes beyond the scope of the issues at stake in terms of participatory rights and the design of the study, it becomes an increasingly more important concern for local populations and the extremely dry areas of the Great Chaco. This includes, first of all, making water studies and

environmental impact assessments part of legally binding agreements rather than limiting such issues to annexed recommendations or suggestions. Such issues demand more rigorous monitoring mechanisms and compliance by impartial institutions instead of being linked to corporate entities or resource extraction-prone ministries, such as Mining or Hydrocarbon Ministries or departments. They also require preparatory and follow-up processes: technical information, for instance, is scarce and scientific explanations on magnetotelluric methods are hardly given. Great potential lies in the accessibility, adequacy, appropriateness and availability of such information for indigenous communities. In all stages of the process that I propose here, i.e. preparation, realisation, monitoring and follow-up, water quantity and quality constitute essential concerns: *comunarios* have repeatedly remarked the influence of extractive projects on the flow of water, but also the impact of dried out water-points and their negative effect for populations, flora and fauna (for more information, see Activity 3 Field Inspection as elaborated on in Chapter 5). UNDRIPS represents a solid starting point in that regard, yet, more elaborations, in the form of for instance far-reaching interpretations of the provisions, are needed in order to take local needs, both in terms of human rights and environmental concerns, truly into consideration.

In the Bolivian context in particular, UNDRIPS serves not only as a guiding, but legally binding framework. In consultation processes, UNDRIPS is explicitly referred to, as is ILO C169, as well as laws and regulations of the domestic legal framework. They guide consultation processes in that they provide the basic standards as to time frame, names and contents of activities and the actors involved. At the same time, the broad character of provisions in international conventions and declarations stands

out and allows the respective implementing mechanisms at State level to interpret such provisions according to their own needs and interests, taking advantage of considerable discretionary powers and a fundamental margin of appreciation. Hence, human rights instruments such as ILO C169 or UNDRIPS can be used against the very purpose which they mean to serve, namely as legitimising and depoliticising bureaucratic tools or, paradoxically, as instruments of exclusion and alienation. While they ideally aim to redistribute or delegate power and promise, observations on the ground reveal that actual transfer of power and control over resources is not guaranteed.

There is thus much hope for more concrete guidelines and regulations to allow for more participatory processes, particularly as to respecting local decision-making structures as the very structures of decision-making processes between state and indigenous representatives not only exacerbate, but mostly catalyse exclusion of specific groups and individuals from participating mechanisms. It is thus fundamental to use such guidelines to empower excluded groups and organisational structures including leaders and intermediaries that genuinely represent communities and thereby turn norms into a tool of empowerment and source of human rights recognition and guarantee.

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Appendices

Annex 1: Codification system by interviewer and language case study I

Código (castellano)	Código (guarani) Martha	Código (guarani) Daniela	Traducción	Análisis
I_1MDFm	-	-	-	
I_2MDMj	-	-	-	
-	I_3MNMt	-		
I_4_grupo_AFMi	I_4_grupo_AFMi	-		
I_5ADMt_1	-	-	-	
I_5ADMt_2	-	-	-	
I_6ANFm	-	-	-	
I_7ADFm	-	-	-	
I_8ANMj	-	-	-	
-	I_9ANMm_1	-		
-	I_9ANMm_2	-		
-	I_10ANMt	-		
I_11_grupo_AMij	I_11_grupo_AMij	-		
I_12ANMm	-	-	-	
-	I_13ANFt_disc	-		
I_14ANFm	-	-	-	
I_15ANFm	-	-	-	
-	I_16ADMm	-		
I_17_grupo_AMj	-	-	-	
I_18TNFm	-	-	-	
I_19TNMj_disc	-	-	-	
I_20TNMm	-	-	-	
I_21TNMm	-	-	-	
I_22TNFt_no_indig	-	-	-	
I_23TNMt_no_indig	-	-	-	
-	I_24_grupo_KMit	-		
I_25KNMm	-	-	-	
-	I_26KNft	-		
-	I_27KNFm	-		
-	I_28KDFm	-		
I_29_grupo_KMim	-	-	-	
I_30ASEF	-	-	-	
II_1ASEM	-	-	-	
-	II_2_grupo_MFt	II_2_grupo_MFt		
II_3MNMt	-	-	-	
II_4MNMt_no_indig	-	-	-	
II_5_grupo_MFm	-	-	-	
-	-	II_6MNMt		
II_7MNMm_no_indig	-	-	-	
-	II_8ANMj	-	-	
-	-	II_9ANMm		
-	-	II_10ANFt		
-	-	II_11ANFm		
-	-	II_12ANft		
-	-	II_13ANMt		
-	-	II_14ANFm		
-	-	II_15TNFt		
-	-	II_16TNFj		
-	II_17TDFm	II_17TDFm		
II_18_grupo_TMMi				

Annex 1: Codification system by interviewer and language case study I

Annex 2: Codification system by interviewer case study II

Entr	Grup	Código (Jessika)	Código (Efren)	Análisis
1		I_1CDMM	-	
2		I_2CNFM	-	
3		I_3CNFT	-	
4		I_4CNFT	-	
5		I_5CNFM	-	
	1	I_6_grupo_CNFJ	-	
6		I_7CNFM	-	
7		I_8CNFM_corp	-	
8		I_9CNFM	-	
9		I_10CNMM_corp	-	
	2	I_11_grupo_CNMiM	-	
10		I_12CNFT_disc	-	
11		I_13CNFM	-	
12		I_14PNFM_corp	-	
13		I_15PNFM	-	
14		I_16PNMM	-	
15		I_17PNFM	-	
16		I_18PNFM_corp	-	
17		I_19PNFM_corp	-	
	3	I_20_grupo_PNFT	-	
	4	-	I_21_grupo_PNMT	
18		I_22PNMM_corp	-	
19		I_23PNFM_corp	-	
20		I_24PDMM_corp	-	
21		I_25PNFM_corp	-	
	5	I_26_grupo_PNMJ	-	
	6	I_27_grupo_SNFMi	-	
22		I_28SNFM	-	
23		I_29SNFM_no indig	-	
24		I_30SNMM	-	
25		I_31LDMM	-	
26		I_32LDMM	-	
27		I_33LDMM	-	
28		I_34LNFT	-	
	7	-	I_35_grupo_LNMMi	
29		I_36LNFM	-	
30		I_37LNFM	-	
31		I_38LNFM	-	
32		-	II_1CNMT	
33		-	II_2CNMT	
34		-	II_3CNMT	
35		-	II_4CNFT	
36		-	II_5CDMM	
37		-	II_6CDMM	
38		-	II_7CNFM	
39		-	II_8CNMT	
40		-	II_9CNFM	
41		-	II_10CDMM	
42		-	II_11PNMT	
43		-	II_12PNMM	
44		-	II_13PNMM	

45		-	II_14PNMT	
46		-	II_15PDFM	
47		-	II_16PDMM	
48		-	II_17PDMM	
49		-	II_18PDMM	
50		-	II_19PNMM	
51		-	II_20SDMM	
52		-	II_21SDMM	
53		-	II_22SNFM	
54		-	II_23LDMM	
55		-	II_24LDMM	
56		-	II_25LDMM	

Annex 2: Codification system by interviewer case study II

Annex 3: Topic Guide for Case Study I

RESEARCH ON INCLUSION IN CONSULTATION PROCESSES IN HYDROCARBON ACTIVITIES

Topic Guide

1. Introduction

- Introduction to researcher and CEJIS team
- Study topic, aims and objectives of the study
- Elaborate on confidentiality and anonymity
- Provide information on recording and length (max 2 hours)
- Get involved in consent issues: e.g. possibility to withdraw at any time, no obligation to respond to questions, inquire about their opinion on disclosure
- Ask whether they have questions
- Ask whether it is possible to continue with the interview

2. Background

Aims: to start interview in a smooth way, enabling participants to talk, to explore their individual situation, position in community, approach to the research topic

- Personal and family relations (family, friends, other community members)
- Working status or contribution to community
- Other activities or personal interests
- Current well-being, specific issues of concern

3. Decision-Making in Indigenous Community

Aims: to understand the decision-making structures of the community, the participant's role in them, other people's position in decision-making

- Definition / meaning of participation and decision-making for them
- Describe broad decision-making structures of community
- When is decided as collective, which contexts
- Who participates and on which grounds
- Who does not participate and why
- Those not participating: only individuals or groups
- Not participating in all contexts/cases

4. Consultation with Indigenous Community in Project X

Aims: to explore the decision-making structures in particular context with State institutions, find out about decision-making manipulations

- Is consultation free, prior and informed
- Indigenous, collective consent relevant for overall decision / outcome
- How much time is spent
- On which aspects of the project is consulted
- How is consultation held and by whom
- Same actors participation as in internal decision-making
- Who does not participate and why

5. Participant's Involvement in Consultation Process

Aims: to shed light on the individual's (interviewee's) role in the decision-making process and his/her potential to shape the process

- Role of interviewee in decision-making
- Enumerate possible reasons for their (non-)participation
- What feeling regarding his/her role
- Feel fully integrated into consultation-process
- How this could improve
- Know community members in similar situation

6. Other Community Members' Participation in Consultation

Aims: examine the micro-level of the process, i.e. the integration of individuals into the decision-making process of the project

- Elaborate on groups / individuals which participate in decision-making
- Enumerate possible reasons for their participation
- Elaborate on groups / individuals which did not participate
- Come up with possible reasons for their non-participation
- Does discrimination play a role

7. Future

Aim: to see how interviewee sees her/his future, final reflections on participation in the consultation process and close interview by talking about some more general issues

- Ideas about how to change his/her role in future consultations
- Proposals about how other community members could be included
- Ideas about how to make process more inclusive in general
- Any other points the interviewee would like to raise

8. In conclusion

Aim: to reiterate confidentiality, to finish the interview officially and to ask for permission to archive interviewee's transcript for research/publication purposes.

- Thank interviewees for his/her time and opinion
- Reiterate confidentiality of the interview
- Encourage further contact with the researcher / research team for questions
- Ask for permission to archive the interview transcript
- Come back to anonymous character of the interviewee

End recording

Annex 4: Topic Guide for Case Study II

RESEARCH ON INCLUSION IN PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES IN MINING ACTIVITIES

Topic Guide

1. Introduction

- Introduction to researcher and CEJIS team
- Study topic, aims and objectives of the study
- Elaborate on confidentiality and anonymity
- Provide information on recording and length (max 2 hours)
- Get involved in consent issues: e.g. possibility to withdraw at any time, no obligation to respond to questions, inquire about their opinion on disclosure
- Ask whether they have questions
- Ask whether it is possible to continue with the interview

2. Socio-Cultural Background and Impact

Aims: to start interview in a smooth way, enabling participants to talk, to explore their individual situation, position in community, approach to the research topic

- Changes in the community since arrival of corporation / establishment of cooperatives
- → Basic services, education, infrastructure, health, skills and training
- Who benefits: individuals and/or groups, labour conditions
- Change of population: internal and external migration (new communities)
- Change of traditions, customs, community structure, language practice
- Impact of mining operations in the area, contamination or other impact
- FABOCE: Corporate conduct (violence, abuse)
- Opposition to mining activities (protests, social conflicts, activists)
- FABOCE: agreement with company, how to influence decision-making, consent, conflict resolution

3. Decision-Making in Indigenous Community

Aims: to understand the decision-making structures of the community, the participant's role in them, other people's position in decision-making

- Definition / meaning of participation and decision-making for them
- Describe broad decision-making structures of community
- When is decided as collective, which contexts
- Who participates and on which grounds
- Who does not participate and why
- Those not participating: only individuals or groups
- Not participating in all contexts/cases

4. Participation in Mining Activities and respective Decision-Making

Aims: to explore the decision-making structures in particular context with State institutions, find out about decision-making manipulations in terms of decisions

- How is participation in mining project
- How is participation in meetings
- How do other players (State, municipality, company) intervene
- Who are the actors
- How participate cooperative players in internal decision-making processes
- Who does not participate and why (follow-up women, age groups etc.)

5. Participant's Involvement in Decision-Making on Mining Project

Aims: to shed light on the individual's (interviewee's) role in the decision-making process and his/her potential to shape the process

- Role of interviewee in decision-making
- Enumerate possible reasons for their (non-)participation
- What feeling regarding his/her role
- Feel fully integrated into meetings on mining project
- How this could improve
- Know community members in similar situation

6. Other Community Members' Participation in such Decision-Making

Aims: examine the micro-level of the process, i.e. the integration of individuals into the decision-making process of the project

- Elaborate on groups / individuals which participate in decision-making
- Enumerate possible reasons for their participation
- Elaborate on groups / individuals which did not participate
- Come up with possible reasons for their non-participation
- Does discrimination play a role

7. Future

Aim: to see how interviewee sees her/his future, final reflections on participation in mining projects and respective decision-making and close interview by talking about some more general issues

- Ideas about how to change his/her role in future mining projects
- Proposals about how other community members could be included
- Ideas about how to make process more inclusive in general
- Any other points the interviewee would like to raise

8. In conclusion

Aim: to reiterate confidentiality, to finish the interview officially and to ask for permission to archive interviewee's transcript for research/publication purposes.

- Thank interviewees for his/her time and opinion
- Reiterate confidentiality of the interview
- Encourage further contact with the researcher / research team for questions

- Ask for permission to archive the interview transcript
- Come back to anonymous character of the interviewee

End recording

[Annex 4 Topic Guide for Case Study](#) | 1

Annex 5: Observation guide for case studies I & II**RESEARCH ON INCLUSION IN CONSULTATION PROCESSES / MINING-RELATED COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING WITH EXTERNAL PLAYERS****Observation Guide****1. Background**Location:

Date: _____:

Observation start time:
_____Observation end time:
_____Reference code/name for indigenous member:
_____Name of researcher/observer:
_____Other researchers in situ:
_____**2. Plans for activity period being observed**

Type of activity	Observation(s)
Nature of activity to be observed (e.g. decision-making meeting within indigenous community or dialogue between several community members)	
Purpose and format of activity/meeting	
Other relevant notes (background information, aspects that had impact on event or activity)	

3. Activity**Notes on occurrences:**

- What to assumed marginalised members do, where, how and with whom
- Report on observed aspects of their discrimination / marginalisation

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How do they participate or not in community ▪ Which other marginalised groups become apparent ▪ Which discriminatory practices can be observed 	
4. Any information on interaction(s)	
Among marginalised members	
Between marginalised and community	
Between community and state	
Between marginalised and state	
5. Closing	
Future activities / consultation or decision-making processes?	
Plans for future activities / project?	
6. Post observation perceptions	
Did observation differ from predetermined marginalised groups and / or discriminatory practices?	
Researcher perception	
7. Any other (post-observation) notes	

Annex 6: Analytical matrix for case study I

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS – FORMAT TO IDENTIFY PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION IN COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION

Interview code:

Name of interviewer:

Language used in interview:

Date of interview:

Age of interviewee:

Role or responsibility of interviewee:

Basis of discrimination Minute(s) Observation
or exclusion

Gender		
Language Practice		
Elderly		
Youth		
Origin and affiliation with community		
Economic situation		
Local context		
Disability		
Relation with other community members		
Social conflicts		
Miscellaneous		

Annex 7: Analytical matrix for case study II**INTERVIEW ANALYSIS – FORMAT TO IDENTIFY PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION
IN COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION**

Interview code:

Name of interviewer:

Date of interview:

Age of interviewee:

Role or responsibility of interviewee:

Affiliation or membership with mining cooperative:

Basis of discrimination Minute(s) Observation
or exclusion

Adverse impact (social, cultural), such as changes, migration, benefits, traditions and customs, language, opposition		
Participation and decision-making at community level		
Personal participation in mining activities		
Role or intervention of other players (State, municipality, company)		
Reasons for exclusion of individuals or groups:		
Gender		
Language Practice		
Elderly		
Youth		

Origin and affiliation with community		
(Non-) affiliation with cooperative		
Disability		
Tensions or social conflicts (with company, cooperative, within community, among different community groups etc.)		
Other reasons that explain exclusion of individuals or groups		

Annex 7: Analytical matrix for case study II

Annex 8: Information and Consent Form

Information and Consent Form

PhD project 2012-2016, Department of Sociology, University of Essex

Information and Consent Form

All information (see below) is provided on an oral basis in accordance with the oral traditions of the concerned indigenous communities and their habits and customs. Only contact information of the researcher is provided in hardcopy form.

Purpose of research and its aims

The proposed research project explores the inclusive character of participation processes in indigenous communities. It deals with people's participation in free, prior and informed consultation with the State and concerns majorly extractive projects. We would like to explore who participated and who didn't in the last consultation process with the State. How did the State support the participation of all people involved, who was left out and why. Additionally, we would like to understand whether people felt represented in the process in case they did not take part directly. We would also like to encourage suggestions and ideas on how to improve these processes.

Individuals conducting the study

The study is conducted by one PhD student, Jessika Eichler, who is the main researcher involved and in charge of the project. Two sociology students at the *Universidad Autónoma Gabriel René Moreno* (UAGRM) in Santa Cruz have been trained in the methodology used in the project and will assist in all processes of field research. They mainly support translations into the native language Guaraní as they are both native speaker of Guaraní and Spanish.

Cooperating NGO Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social "CEJIS"

CEJIS supports the field research due to their high expertise of consultation procedures and strong involvement in the area. They are not directly involved in research relevant activities, but support contacts with community chiefs, the communities themselves, transport and general logistical concerns. They might also embed the field trip into a project with the *International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs* (IWGIA) and use the results of the study to improve their projects in the area.

Discomforts and Risks

There are no risks in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. Some of the questions are personal and might cause discomfort. You are free to object to responding to the question.

Benefits

The benefits to society include specific recommendations to all involved stakeholders to improve consultation processes with indigenous peoples and to render these processes more inclusive and participatory. It can also serve to provide lessons learnt to other consultation processes in other regions of Bolivia or abroad in the future.

Duration / Time

1 hour and a maximum of 2 hours will be required to complete participation in this research. The period of time depends on the individual availability of participants. It is a single participation, unless the participant is asked to participate in a group debate and is willing to do so.

Statement of Confidentiality

Your participation in this research is confidential. The data collection methods (e.g. coding names) do not ask for any information that would identify who the responses belong to. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared because your name is no way linked to your responses. Videos or records will not identify names, names of communities or any other detail linked to your identity. Code numbers will be used in order to insure this. Data will be stored in the researcher's devices, not in any public computer.

Right to Ask Questions

Please contact the researcher via CEJIS at 3 3532714 (followed by 115 to talk to the researcher directly) with questions, complaints or concerns about the research. You can also call this number if you feel this study has harmed you. Questions about your rights as a research participant may be directed to the researcher directly.

Voluntary nature of participation and withdrawal

Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study.

Contact information:

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Annex 9: Analytical matrices for case study I

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_1MDFm
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Idioma de entrevista: castellano
 Fecha de entrevista: 11.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: No conocido
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: Segunda capitana de la comunidad

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	15:05-15:40 16:40-17:05	“Aquí más participamos mujeres que hombres”, “es raro que, tiene que haber una reunión bien estricta para que estén todos los hombres”, “después casi la mayoría es mujeres”, también en el trabajo Quizá hay diferencias entre Alto Parapetí y Ñembuite en cuanto a las mujeres (entrevistadora indica que hay poca participación femenina en la consulta)
Práctica Lingüística	9:50-10:30	Falta de participación por no hablar castellano, dependencia de los que saben
Tercera Edad	10:40-11:10 14:00-14:30 23:50-25:20 22:30	La mayoría: las mayores, también por vergüenza relacionada a idioma, entendido por la entrevistada como grupo que menos participa Reconfirmación: “los de la tercera edad, ellos” (grupo que menos participa), dos abuelos que casi ya no quieren participar, solo sus hijos y nietos, “no puedo, no entiendo” dicen Unos viejitos que se han ido a Camiri, como ejemplo de no haber sido incluido en una reunión (cuando se pregunta por personas excluidas en reuniones), nadie quería defenderlos, entrevistada dice que hay que comunicar, hay que apoyarlos, “nadie se va a quedar joven” Recomendación para su mejorar su participación: hablarles, ir a su casa, hacerles entender
Jóvenes	17:20-18:20	Cuando están los jóvenes, entonces participan, “pero casi no paran por aquí”, se van a Camiri, a

		SCZ, a Villa Monte; pero deberían estar allí, también para tener proyectos
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad	-	-
Situación económica	-	-
Contexto local	-	-
Discapacidad	-	-
Relación con otros comunarios	-	-
Conflictos sociales	-	-
Otras	9:40-10:30 19:40-20:20 21:50-22:10	Vergüenza en general Recomendación para mejorar participación por parte del Estado: a través de proyectos, también refiriéndose a la consulta Otras razones por no participación: por enfermedad

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_2MDMj
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 11.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 26
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Mburuvicha / capitán de la comunidad

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	10:30 – 11:20	“Antes participaron más mujeres, hoy en día igual” “Hay mitad de hombres y mujeres”, “Eso se ve en la comunidad: la cabeza o capitán soy
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	11:40 – 13:00 20:50 – 22:50	yo, la segunda es mujer, el tesorero es hombre, la secretaria es mujer” “Antes era diferente porque las decisiones se tomaron entre los que trabajaron en este sector”, “Ambos participan, todos por iguales” Explica la diferencia entre el trabajo entre mujeres y hombres y la importancia de participar ambos (en pareja) en las reuniones para tomar decisiones, llegar a un consenso
Práctica Lingüística	18:20 – 19:00	“A veces no vienen porque algunas reuniones son en castellano y otras en guaraní, y por eso a veces no vienen porque no entienden el castellano, y por eso es que a veces tienen vergüenza de hablar”, “y es por eso es que hablamos a veces mezclado, guaraní y castellano, así nos podemos comunicar”
Tercera Edad	19:00 – 19:35	“Los que tienen vergüenza de hablar y dificultades del idioma, son mayor de edad, los que tienen 45, 50, 60”, “A veces se sienten un poco menos cuando hablan puro castellano”, “y a veces cuando hablan puras palabras técnicas, ellos no logran a entender”
Jóvenes	34:30 – 35:20	“hay jóvenes se hacen a un lado”, “a mi persona no me impidió nada”, “los jóvenes a veces no se ven capaces”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica	13:50 – 16:00	Vulnerabilidad en participación: “Las personas pudientes...marginan a los que no tienen, los humillan, no los valoran” (hablan de otras comunidades como ciudad de Huancalla, ahí son casi todos ganaderos), “No es justo tener esa diferencia por el dinero”, “Algunos trabajan más y tienen más dinero”
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		

Otras	8:40-9:20	“Siempre hay ausencia en cualquier tipo de comunidad, pero siempre hay también una justificación”, “No se puede obligar” “A veces puede pasar por razones de enfermedad por ejemplo”
	13:15-13:35	“No hay vulnerabilidad”
	24:00 – 26:45	Habla de los impactos de los proyectos hidrocarburos, sobre todo al agua
	27:00 – 28:50	Sobre el proceso de la consulta en general, linda expresión en general
	28:50 – 29:30	Obstáculo general de la consulta: “poco les importa a los dirigentes”
	30:15 – 31:25	Dentro de reuniones de consulta poca participación debido a: “No entendían o se sentían incapaces de participar o sentían vergüenza”, “la mayoría tiene vergüenza, eso es la razón principal: luego nos critican...”,
	31:40 – 32:00	“Vergüenza de hablar en público, con las cámaras más”
	38:40 – 38:50	“Falta de participación por motivos del trabajo”
		Factores que determinan la dirigencia, como por ejemplo, experiencia, responsabilidad, honestidad

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: Martha Morales Barrientos
Nombre de entrevistador: I_3MNMt
Idioma de entrevista: Guaraní
Fecha de entrevista: 13. 10.14
Edad del entrevistado: 52
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarios

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	<p>2:40 – 3:20</p> <p>3:45 – 4:00</p> <p>4:20 – 4:35</p> <p>13:30 – 14:10</p> <p>17:00 – 18:00</p>	<p>“Cuando estoy aquí en mi comunidad, si voy, pero cuando no estoy, entonces no y va mi esposa. Y no podemos participar los dos en una reunión, porque uno tiene que quedarse en casa para cuidar por lo menos, porque aquí tenemos deberaje, tenemos maíz y no podemos dejar, porque talvez entra un muchacho o un animal, entonces si o si tiene que quedarse alguien aquí.</p> <p>“Cuando va a las reuniones mi esposa, ella me cuenta de todo lo que se habló en la reunión y así estoy enterado de lo que pasa en las reuniones”</p> <p>“Le dije que mi esposa va y a veces ella tiene que tomar decisiones por mí y no hay problema.”</p> <p>“A veces estoy 2 o 3 meses fuera de mi comunidad y es mi esposa que más participa en las reuniones, casi yo no participo por ese motivo... y en mis vacaciones cuando regreso, mi esposa me cuenta de todo lo que se habló”</p> <p>“Aquí son mayormente las mujeres que participan, aquí somos iguales, nadie es menos que otro, las mujeres incluso decidían para el trabajo que hacen los hombres, nunca se ha visto hasta ahora un rechazo de las mujeres por su decisión.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		“al hablar en un solo idioma , guaraní nos limita muchísimo para tomar decisiones opinar en la reuniones dentro mi comunidad como también fuera de mi comunidad”
Tercera Edad		“ No participo, porque no nos toma encuesta , por eso cuando hay reunión solamente escuchamos por que no tenemos nada que comentar”
Jóvenes	16:20 – 16:50	<p>“Aquí en la comunidad no hay secundaria y por esa razón salen a otras comunidades a estudiar y otros mayormente salen para trabajar”</p> <p>“Por motivo de que no hay trabajo en esta comunidad los jóvenes salen a la ciudad , y solo llega unos día por eso no se ve la participación de los jóvenes”</p>
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		“Por no ser de la misma comunidad , en muchas ocasiones no le toman en cuenta sus opiniones y decisiones que se dan en las comunidad”
Situación económica		Viven de la agricultura

Contexto local		-
Discapacidad		-
Relación con otros comunarios		-
Conflictos sociales	11:00 – 12:00	“Hay algunos que se casan o se juntan con algunos que no son de esta comunidad, por ejemplo con los de Arenal, y es gente muy mala, la gente de Arenal
Otras	3:20 – 3:45 6:20 – 7:00 7:30 – 11:00 12:00 – 13:00 15:50 – 16:20	<p>Razones para no participación: “A veces llego cansado a casa, y otra razón es que cuando la reuniones tienen lugar en la mañana y entre semana, yo normalmente trabajo, entonces solo puede ser los domingos, es por eso que no puedo participar mucho por cuestión de mi trabajo.</p> <p>Con respecto a consulta previa: “ellos que vienen son karay, y además tienen plata y no hacen caso a la gente. Además son también los capitanes que toman las decisiones”</p> <p>Habla de importancia del agua para la agricultura: “Recien llegó el agua de la quebrada socio y como si estuviera con gasolina o diésel y esta vez me acuerdo que todas las plantas, todo lo que sembrábamos no daba fruta, porque se saquearon todas las plantas y así perdíamos toda nuestra cosecha, se murieron también los animales que habían tomado agua de la quebrada. Los capitanes no hacen nada al respecto. Tampoco conocemos bien nuestros derechos, porque si o si tiene que quedarse algo para ayudarnos</p> <p>Recomendación para el Estado: “Para que voy a dar una sugerencia si nadie se interesa por nuestra comunidad”</p> <p>Participación de los capitanes: “Hasta los capitanes tienen que buscarse su propio viatico para poder participar en reuniones que se hacen</p>

		afuera de esta comunidad. Y solo se convoca para dos personas.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_5ADMt_1 & I_5ADMt_2
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 13.10.2014 & 14.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: -
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario, anterior capitán zonal de Ñembuite

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	21:20 – 22:20	Explica participación de menos mujeres en dirigencias, porque los hombres se ponen celosos si mujeres van a reuniones
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	11:15 – 11:30	“Mayormente las personas de tercera edad y enfermos no van”
Jóvenes	20:00 – 21:00	“Hay que invitar a los jóvenes para que participen más”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	16:00 – 17:40	“Nosotros somos mayoría (Ñembuite), pero solicitan dinero para todos, y lo utilizan ellos”
Situación económica		
Contexto local	12:30 – 13:20	“Si no tienen compañeros que les cuentan de las reuniones, entonces no están informados y no saben de las reuniones”
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	5:50 – 8:00 (parte 1) 8:10 - 15:00	Amplia y profunda experiencia en dirigencia: “Nosotros hemos empezado desde el inicio, 1985, desde que se fundó la APG, no había capitanes, había presidentes, desde 1987-1989 he sido presidente del grupo de trabajo, hemos ido buscando proyectos, para el tener un colegio por ejemplo” “En 1990 hemos empezado con el sistema de agua, en 1993 cuando todo era ya terminado, se

(parte 1)	<p>aprobó la ley de participación popular, en 1995 estamos por la marcha también y la ley INRA, 1998 nos hemos invitado el director de teco, después a partir de 1999 él era capitán zonal de Santa Rosa, consiguieron que los primeros salieron bachiller, en 2011 empezó a funcionar el internado”</p>
15:10 – 17:20 (parte 1)	<p>“Para Santa Rosa hemos trabajado hasta 2000, éramos su escalera, se han aprovechado de ellos, han hecho mucho para los de Santa Rosa, pero no han recibido nada. Entonces han buscado alianza, al final con el Alto Parapetí, desde 2000 hasta 2003, ahora es otra zona”, “donde los grandes karaís tiene mucho respeto”</p>
17:30 – 22:10 (parte 1)	<p>Cuenta del conflicto dentro de la propia comunidad y la inversión de dinero de un proyecto</p>
2:30 – 6:00 (parte 2)	<p>“Hay poca participación en las reuniones”, “Antes el capitán decía que hay que hacer, ahora es personal, la gente solo tiene interés personal”, “ahora 40% no bajan a las reuniones”, “la participación depende del mburuvicha, como anima a la gente”</p>
8:20 - 11:00 (parte 2)	<p>“Hay gente que hace campaña contra la asamblea, movilizan a la gente con opinión específica”</p>
13:20 – 15:00 (parte 2)	<p>“Razón para no participación en la consulta previa: falta de información, hay que ir casa por casa</p>
17:50 – 20:00 (parte 2)	<p>Recomendaciones para mejorar participación en la consulta previa: sobre todo internamente, dentro de la capitania</p>
24:15 – 28:00 (parte 2)	<p>“Obstáculo para la consulta: solo financian una sola persona para cada comunidad”, “Es peligroso porque no vamos a ver cuánto van a pagar, cómo fue en la reunión, explicar lo más importante” (falta control, transparencia), recomendación “decidir en la capitania quién tiene que ir, hacer un informe”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_6ANFm
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Idioma de entrevista: castellano
 Fecha de entrevista: 14.10.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 29
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, esposa de mburuvicha

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	8:30 – 9:30	“Si hay reuniones en la tarde, si van hombres y mujeres, pero si hay reuniones en la mañana, se ve más mujeres”, “cada vez se ve mujeres y mujeres” “los hombres llegan recién a las 2 o 3 de la tarde”, “las reuniones importantes tienen lugar los sábados y domingos” (para que puedan participar todos)
Práctica Lingüística	-	-
Tercera Edad	11:00 – 14:20	“Son las personas mayores, la tercera edad, los que no van casi (a las reuniones)”, “los de la tercera edad son los de 60 años, 50 años, hasta las 45 años es mayor de edad” (explicó antes que van mayormente los mayores a las reuniones, para clarificar se preguntó por la edad, porque parece que hay una diferencia de participación entre mayores y tercera edad, mayor de edad equivale a nuestra definición de “edad mediana”) “los de la tercera edad solo apoyan económicamente”, luego clarifica “pagan una multa si no van a una reunión”, “pero se entiende que van”, “conscientemente pagan, no es una obligación”, “razón por la falta de participación de ellos: algunos no puede caminar, algunos no aguantan, algunos son mal de corazón, enfermedades”, “no aguantan la bulla y las discusiones”
Jóvenes	5:30 – 6:30	“Más están los jóvenes allí”, “Apoyan al mburuvicha de la comunidad” (este es muy joven, aprox.22 años, recién entrado, desde hace un mes), “pero a las reuniones más que todos van los mayores”

Pertenencia con comunidad	-	-
Situación económica	-	-
Contexto local	-	-
Discapacidad	16:20 – 17:20	“No hay personas con discapacidad en esta comunidad” (si hay, una mujer ciega), “No hay con discapacidad física”, “Con discapacidad mental solo hay niños, creo”
Relación con otros comunarios	-	-
Conflictos sociales	-	-
Otras	8:00 – 8:40 23:20 – 24:40	“Los que no van, no van por razones laborales” Recomendación para mejorar participación: “que venga una persona que sabe mejor del tema, para que baje la gente; la gente va a bajar si viene gente de fuera, si solo es el mburuvicha, no van a bajar, si viene una persona más capacitada, un técnico, cambiaría eso”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_7ADFm
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 14.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 29
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Segunda Mburuvicha de su comunidad desde hace un mes

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	11:40 – 15:30	“Más antes no se conocía la participación, pero ahora con la equidad de género hay más participación de las mujeres”, “por ejemplo aquí cuando llamamos a una reunión zonal, lo que se ve son más mujeres, y las que más opinan son las mujeres”, “muchas veces cuando vienen las instituciones, los hombres se van para trabajar y ya no participan, se pregunta: dónde están los hombres?” “Y se responde: se quedaron a cocinar” (y se ríe), “más antes no nos dejaron hablar, pero ahora se ve capitana mujer al nivel
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		zonal, regional, comunal”, “mayormente son los hombres que trabajan, hay algunos que participan, pero no son mayoría, son las mujeres que participan más”, “solo los fines de semanas los hombres bajan, pero siempre la participación de la mujer es mayoritaria”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	6:40 - 11:30	“desde pequeño tienen que ir aprendiendo, aprender a participar, hacer cursos de liderazgo”, “todos los jóvenes tienen que bajar a las reuniones y tienen que aprender” (parece que ella como mburuvicha tiene una función especial de animar a los jóvenes, moralmente obligar), “su participación tiene que ser”, “esta es nuestra meta en la comunidad, que los jóvenes tienen que participar en las reuniones para ir viendo, porque ellos van a ser líderes en la comunidad”, “también hay un cambio ahí, porque más antes no eran los jóvenes sino eran las personas mayores que hacían eso”, “ellos ahora ya van sabiendo lo que son los derechos de los pueblos indígenas”, “...aplicando las nuevas leyes que hay”, “hoy ya en la escuela ellos llegan a saber, a través de la educación y los talleres (por el PDA por ejemplo), llegan a conocer los derechos”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	31:30 – 33:20 – 35:00	“El Alto Parapetí siempre nos dejaba en un lado, ellos recién cuando hacían negociación hacían un comentario, pero tampoco era que venían para decir esto mire, ellos hacían silencio, pero para todas las comunidades, entonces nosotros no teníamos conocimientos de todo eso, ahora recién, como se formado la zona de Ñembuite, recién vienen para hablarnos de la empresa, como van a hacer, cuales son las afectaciones” “Un taller no será suficiente para entender todo eso, son talleres que tienen que pasar, lo único para tener un poco más de conocimiento”, “ese sector era simplemente abandonado, cuando las cosas ya eran importantes y graves, venían los del Alto Parapetí, pero solo llevaban a la gente para ayudar en el saneamiento de tierras en su zona, pero una vez que estaba todo, lo utilizaba como “escalera”, en este tiempo no se visto ni un proyecto, mientras que ellos ya estaban todos con movilidad, con casas, eso era

		la reacción de la gente, prometieron proyectos etc., la reacción de la gente era fuerte”
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	16:00 – 16:40	“gente que no participa casi no se ve, porque a veces es obligación la participación, tienen que bajar todos”
	16:40 – 17:00	“Razones por no participar: no tienen el tiempo, porque tienen algo que hacer”
	18:00 – 19:10	“Son costumbres de las personas que impiden su participación, tampoco se los puede obligar”
	22:00 – 22:40	“Participación en consulta previa de ella misma: no pudo participar porque al nivel zonal se informó a muy corto plazo”
	31:10 – 31:30	“Recomendación para mejorar participación en consulta: tener talleres y capacitaciones para saber mejor, para tenerlo más claro”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_8ANMj
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 14.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 21
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	6:15 – 6:50	“De las mujeres son las que más bajan a las reuniones” “Es porque los hombres van a trabajar y las mujeres se quedan, la mayoría es las mujeres”
Práctica Lingüística		

Tercera Edad	7:00 – 7:20 13:00 – 13:30	“Los más viejos, los más adultos no van a las reuniones”, “Es porque no les gusta ir a las reuniones” “Hay algunos de tercera edad que viven solos, solo paran en la casa y no pueden ir las reuniones, nadie puede cuidar la casa”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	5:35 – 6:00 11:40 – 13:00	“Los que no participan en reuniones, simplemente no van porque no les gusta” “Razones que impiden la participación: porque algunos trabajan en su Chaco, otros por enfermedad..., algunos viven lejos y por eso no vienen, no hay quien cuide la casa”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_9ANMm_1
Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos
Idioma de entrevista: guaraní
Fecha de entrevista: 14.10.2015
Edad del entrevistado: No Conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	22:15 – 23:40	Aquí no hay mucha discriminación, todos participamos. “la mayoría que participa en las reuniones son las mujeres, ya que son días particulares. El motivo principal para la no participación de los hombres es el trabajo, otro motivo no hay. Los varones
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		aceptan las decisiones que toman las mujeres en las reuniones”
Práctica Lingüística	18:20 – 20:10	“alguno no participa en la reuniones grandes como decir en la consulta. Obstáculos en consulta: “No podemos captar todos con un solo taller, y quizá si alguien podría traducir del castellano, ahí sí la gente podría entender en un solo taller. Se necesita un técnico que nos explique cómo va a afectar el proyecto, más que todo por el medio ambiente”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	24:30 – 25:00	Participación de jóvenes: “Ya participan, también en temas orgánicos”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	-	
Situación económica	-	
Contexto local	-	
Discapacidad	-	
Relación con otros comunarios		Como comunarios tengo voz y voto como base. De dar sugerencia, idea, todo participamos. comunidad no existe “ que este sabes más”
Conflictos sociales		<p>) Existe todo tipo de problema en la comunidad pero se da de acuerdo de cómo actúa un dirigente pero en este tiempo más se da más el económico. Esto se puede reflejar por falta de información, coordinación de parte del mburuvicha comunal y esto hace que los comunarios tomen la decisión de inclusive de acudir a la autoridades civiles, (policía).</p> <p>) Problema generado por la empresa petrolera, por la empresa privada. por la poca información que daban empresa, los mburuvicha.</p>

		<p>. Malversación de fondo por parte de los mburuvicha zonal y estos causas un divisionismo.</p> <p>) Falta de coordinación entre ambas autoridades. tanto zonales con las autoridades comunales.</p>
<p>Otra</p> <p>Sugerencia</p>	<p>4:20 – 6:50</p> <p>8:02 – 8:50</p> <p>9:40 – 10:25</p> <p>11:10 – 11:30</p> <p>12:20 – 13:50</p>	<p>-En la consulta que hace el estado solo participan las personas que tiene documento. Porque hay persona que a esta altura todavía esta indocumentado.</p> <p>Una del problema que limita la participación de los comunarios falta de participación.</p> <p>Abrir un curso de capacitación, o un instituto técnico superior :</p> <p>Carrera : ingeniería ambiental, otra carrera relacionada con la necesidad que tiene las comunidades</p> <p>Para bachilleres, y persona que tiene El interés de ayudar con la necesidad de su misma comunidad.</p> <p>Los que participan en consulta previa: “Los que participan son quienes están documentados... muchas personas no han podido participar, hay personas que todavía no están documentados, y entonces no es su decisión si quieren participar o no. Y todo eso depende del Estado. No debería ser así...”</p> <p>Problemas en proceso de consulta previa: “Había problemas, económicamente, ha generado conflictos: el mburuvicha no bajaba información...”</p> <p>Problemas al nivel local/comunal: “Falta de coordinación de las autoridades comunales y zonales, y poca información para los comunarios. Se debería coordinarlo y negociar con los comunarios, con las bases.”</p> <p>Más problemas: “El problema era que nunca anuncia, era un capitán zonal, cuando se enteró el mburuvicha comunal, ahí recién nos enteramos las bases también”</p>

	15:00 – 17:30	Otro problema: “En ningún momento sabía la gente qué dinero se había distribuido cuando todo ya era firmado, los capitanes si sabían. Los comunarios quieren estar tranquilos: un dirigente no debería buscarse la vida con eso, la gente si se entera: ese hartó se está malversando económicamente.... Eso pasó en mayo o junio de este año” Habla del daño medio ambiental, impacto al agua, impacto a animales
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_10ANMt
Nombre de entrevistador:	Martha Morales Barrientos
Idioma de entrevista:	guaraní
Fecha de entrevista:	14.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	65 años
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunario, ex vocal

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	6:15 – 6:25	“Las mujeres siempre participan en las reuniones, también dan su opinión”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	4:30 – 4:50 8:00 – 8:30	“Antes yo si participaba, incluso era vocal de la comunidad, pero ahora ya estoy viejo. Soy de otra comunidad, llevo 38 años aquí, mi mujer es de aquí” “También cuando vinieron las empresas a hacer talleres o consulta, como no hablan (los mayores) mucho en castellano, otros no entienden lo que nos explican, y los jóvenes siempre están ahí para explicar, para ayudar a las personas Y mira “contexto local”
Jóvenes	6:30 – 8:00	“Los jóvenes siempre participan en la comunidad. Algunos no participan y es porque no hay trabajo en la comunidad, algunos estudian

		en otra comunidad o trabajan en Camiri. También dan su opinión, y no es que no se toman en cuenta por ser jóvenes... Y como ahora tenemos un capitán que es joven, ahora ya le da mucha importancia a los jóvenes.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local	8:40 – 9:30	Quien no participa: “Hay un grupo de personas que viven más lejos, más adentro que casi nunca va a las reuniones, que son de edad, de los 60 años, casi los vocales no los toman en cuenta, no avisan. Son muy conflictivos, y cuando participan en las reuniones generan problemas, son muy malos, la gente casi ya no los toma en cuenta en las reuniones”
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	0:20 – 0:42 1:10 – 2:00 2:05 – 2:50	“Aquí en la comunidad yo veo a algún dirigente que no se ocupa por el bien de la comunidad, hay algunos buenos, pero por envidia se inventan cualquier cosa” Consulta con empresa: “comunidades pusieron algunas condiciones a las empresas, que no que no pasara por el vertiente, porque con el tiempo se va a secar. Y en un taller nos explicaron que iban a tocar el vertiente en sus actividades, pero en la hora de la verdad no respeta los acuerdos que tenían con la comunidad” Respuesta de comunidad al respecto: “Los mburuvichas no hacen nada al respeto, seguramente las empresas les pagan. Hace poco tiempo que demandaron a un capitán, seguramente porque recibió plata de la empresa, era la plata para la comunidad, pero él se gastó

	<p>2:50 – 3:30</p> <p>9:35 – 12:05</p> <p>12:20 – 13:40</p>	<p>3000 Bs. Es por eso que algunos ya no participan en las reuniones.”</p> <p>Razones para no participar: “Algunos no participan porque viven lejos, otros no participan porque no les interesa. Algunas veces es porque no nos avisan. Ayer, por ejemplo, fui a Cuevo, y cuando regresé ya estaban saliendo de la reunión. Y yo ni siquiera estaba enterado.”</p> <p>Participación en consulta previa: “Cuando se hace consulta previa en Camiri, uno casi no participa, solo los capitanes. Uno porque, Usted sabe muy bien, Señorita, que para salir de esta comunidad uno tiene que buscar para su pasaje, no es fácil salir y por esa causa, uno no participa. Otro problema es que llegan las convocatorias y solo son para dos personas, y si o si tiene que ir un capitán, la capitana, y es por eso que uno no participa en las reuniones. Cuando hacen consulta, los técnicos usan palabras que se entienden muy bien y es por eso es que los comunarios no están interesados en ir hasta Camiri. Entonces, es quize decir, que uno de los factores que impide que participen los comunarios en las reuniones es porque no dominan bien el castellano. Algunos solamente hablan guaraní y por eso no entienden mucho y otros que entienden bien, no lo traducen o explican en qué consiste la reunión y todo eso.”</p> <p>Sugerencia para futuras consultas: “Que debería haber una persona que haya uno que interprete, que explica, qué consecuencia y cómo nos va a afectar. Quiza eso pasa porque algunos dirigentes no se ponen de acuerdo con las autoridades zonales y eso trae problemas para la misma comunidad”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

I_12ANMm

Nombre de entrevistador:

Jessika Eichler

Idioma de entrevista:

castellano

Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: 32
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	5:00 – 5:30, 8:20 – 8:40 18:10 – 18:25	“En nuestro caso, yo trabajo y no puedo asistir, pero ella (su esposa) siempre va, siempre baja a las reuniones”, “Ella siempre va, nunca falta ahí” “La mayoría que va siempre son las mujeres, claro, porque también para el hombre es medio difícil, también trabajamos”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local	13:15 – 14:30 16:30 – 17:45 23:20 – 24:10	“No sabíamos nada de la consulta, no estábamos enterados, yo creo que siempre hay una vocalista que informa también, pero a veces no sale, no sabemos si hay reunión o no”, “no viene para avisar” “El vocal todo por abajo va y casi no aquí (arriba lejos de la reunión), creo que es por la distancia” “Es sobre todo por los niños que uno se entera, por eso llega la información”
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	6:20 - 6:45	“Razones para no participación: cuando hay otras cosas que hacer, cosas más necesarias”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_13ANFt_disc (ciega)

Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos
 Idioma de entrevista: guaraní
 Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: 59 años
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	7:20 – 7:50	Respondiendo a pregunta quién participa en reuniones: “Mayormente participan las mujeres, porque los hombres se van a trabajar a la ciudad, a su chaco, otros llegan cansados, por eso mayormente van las mujeres a las reuniones
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	1:45 – 2:00	“Algunos de mis hijos tuvieron que irse para buscar trabajo, porque acá no hay trabajo”
	8:05 – 8:30	“También participan los jóvenes en las comunidades. También tenemos a un dirigente que es un joven, da muchas oportunidades a los jóvenes
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	00:10 – 1:30	“Hace 13 años que no salgo, solamente cuando mis hijos me llevan a Camiri, porque yo sola no puedo caminar y paro aquí no más en mi casa. Nadie me visita, porque hay algunas personas que se olvidan completamente de uno. No me queda otra que vivir sola aquí.”
	2:40 – 6:50	“Los vocales de la comunidad nunca me visitaron, cuando se hace reunión tampoco. Para otros eventos tampoco, porque ya no puedo caminar. De aquí no más escucho. Parece que cuando uno está en una situación como la en la que yo me encuentro, uno se olvida de uno. Hace 13 años que ya no puedo ver. Es muy difícil esta situación, porque muchas veces siento esa impotencia, de no poder ayudar a mis hijos, muchas cosas que he querido hacer, por lo menos trabajar, por eso muchas veces me sentí muy mal. Muchas veces he pensado: para que seguir viviendo. Lo único

	8:50 – 12:40	que pueda hacer es dar consejos, porque de otra manera no hay cómo ayudarlos.”
	12:45 – 13:50	“Varias veces nos han amenazado, que nos iban a matar, con cuchillo, y varias veces tuve que salir huyendo de mi casa hasta que quede sano mi marido, a veces tenía que quedarme en casa de mi vecina, porque mi marido cuando llegó borracho era otra persona. Pero era por el producto de la hechicería. Teníamos nuestra ventita y era por eso que teníamos, las personas tenían envidia. Hay algunas personas que se dedican a hacer maldad a los demás. Y a nosotros nos dejaron pobres, porque mi marido era bien trabajador. Y él sigue teniendo paciencia conmigo. A veces cuando hablamos con nuestros hijos, nos recordamos con tanto rencor de lo que me hicieron. Y mis hijos querían vengarse. Una vez fui a un curandero donde me explicó que lo que me pasaba era por el producto de la hechicería. Pero para que el curandero de información, es con plata, ya no podíamos asistir nunca más.
	15:30 – 16:45	Su participación en la comunidad: “Casi no participo en la comunidad por mi situación, pero me toman en cuenta cuando llega un apoyo a la comunidad, me mandan algo también. En mi situación en mi comunidad es grave, porque los hombres ya no pueden sembrar como antes, porque no hay agua” Sugerencia para mejorar proceso de consulta previa: “Que vean nuestras necesidades, porque nadie me toma en cuenta y no solo a mí sino a algunas personas que por alguna razón se enferman. Quisiera que se haga algo para que me tomen en cuenta o algún apoyo.”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	13:50 – 15:20	Conocimiento acerca de la consulta: “Varias veces mi marido me comentaba que en las reuniones varias veces quedaron con un acuerdo. Uno tiene que cobrar por un daño que se hace, puede ser por la madera de la comunidad. Pero a veces los dirigentes o algún comunario buscan

		sus propios intereses personales y a veces la propia comunidad se entera de lo que un dirigente hace”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_14ANFm
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 40
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, maestra en colegio desde hace 21 años

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	9:50 – 12:00	“A las mujeres, sobre todo las mujeres hay que incentivar, antes había un grupo de mujeres, pero ya no hay”, “Vienen con maridos e hijos, pero no trabajan, porque no hay trabajo para ellas”, “entonces debería haber un incentivo para que aquellas mujeres puedan formar un grupo de trabajo dentro de su comunidad” (cuenta de su comunidad y que grupo tienen en el tema de agricultura), “se habla de trabajo comunitario, pero no se hace, no se realiza”
	12:30 – 12:55	“todavía existe el machismo: cuando las mujeres quieren opinar, hay otras personas que las callan, no aceptamos lo que dicen, aunque opinemos de una manera, mejor haya alguien que las corrija, por eso callarlas, y por eso muchas veces no pueden participar en las reuniones. Vienen, callan, salen afuera, eso sí hay, eso se ve todavía”
	13:20 – 14:00	“Dentro de la reunión no hablan, las mujeres van a las reuniones, pero no participan, sino su participación... no hablan”, “el marido mayormente trabaja, entonces si hay una reunión no significa que todas las mujeres participan, unas cuantas... Si Usted cita para una reunión, vienen unas cinco o diez apenas. Si se da

		un incentivo más, quizá un día cambiará eso en la comunidad”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	12:55 – 13:20	“hay muchas personas mayores que tienen buenas ideas, pero llega el momento dentro de la reunión no pueden hablar, y luego fuera de la reunión, ahí, uhhh, se ponen a hablar un montón, hay todavía esa discriminación, ese machismo más que todo” (correlación ser femenino y de tercera edad)
Jóvenes	7:35 – 9:00	“Para los jóvenes les hace mucha falta, es un incentivo que se debe dar, porque ellos todavía no participan mucho en las reuniones, son puras personas mayores. Eso hace falta todavía, no participan los jóvenes y hay que ir e incentivar”, “Cuando los jóvenes quieren participar, no les dan oído, por lo más que opinen, no se acepta lo que dicen ellos”, “Solo los mburuvichas, los antiguos están ahí, y no les dan ese espacio para que puedan hablar también” Recomendación: “hace falta un taller, para informarles a ellos, explicándoles que ellos también pueden participar
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	6:10 – 7:30 14:15	En cuanto a obstáculos en la participación, en la comunidad “aquí falta coordinación, aquí falta un poco que se incentiva a la gente para que puedan participar” “decir a las mujeres que también pueden opinar, lo que hay que hacer es desde un principio escuchar a la persona lo que dice, corregir, así vamos a ir aprendiendo más, no decimos que ya sabemos opinar o 100%, pero en ese espacio se aprende”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_15ANFm
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Idioma de entrevista: castellano
 Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: 45
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, propietaria de la venta

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	9:30 – 10:40	“Ahora participan mujeres como hombres también, ya no es como antes, mientras que antes las mujeres casi poco participaba y poco hablaba también en las reuniones, en cambio ahora es participativa la reunión” Reacción a la opinión de mujeres en una reunión “ya estamos acostumbrados a que las mujeres también participan, antes era que la mujer quedaba al último, ahora ya no es así ya”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	11:00	“De la tercera edad casi nunca participan, pero a veces también bajan a las reuniones
Jóvenes	14:30 – 16:30	“Muchos jóvenes se van por motivos de trabajo y ya no vuelven, y los que están acá esperan hasta que haya trabajo con la empresa otra vez y esperan por acá” (con empresa no se refiere a petrolera, sino producción de sendas)
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios	7:50 – 9:30	“A veces cuando está medio peleado, por algún problema que pasa en la comunidad, los vecinos se pelean así, y a veces ya no participan” (pero dice que solo a corto plazo pasa, sino si no todos participan)
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	5:10 – 6:00	Grupo que más participa en reuniones “mayormente las personas que están más cerca, como nosotros, más en el centro, a veces no les hacen saber porque es más lejitos, por falta de comunicación no les llega la planificación, y participan más poco”

	6:00 – 6:30	Otras razones: “Hay algunos a los que no les gusta la organización, más les gusta trabajar, porque algunos dicen que participando ya uno se perjudica, no gana nada estando en reuniones”
	14:00 – 14:30	Razones para no participación en consulta previa “por razones de trabajar, como aquí no hay trabajo, tienen que irse a trabajar a la ciudad, y si la gente tiene trabajo aquí, la gente no ve que hay que salir por otro lado (como a las reuniones), y sino también los papás se quedan solitos porque muchos jóvenes se van por motivos que no hay trabajo”
	17:00 – 18:00	Recomendación para mejorar participación: “Crear una fuente de trabajo para los jóvenes en la comunidad, para que no se vayan todos a la ciudad

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_16ADMm

Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos

Idioma de entrevista: guaraní

Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: 68 años

Función/cargo de entrevistado: presidente del consejo comunario, resp. de educación

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	4:00 – 4:45	“Por mi cargo en la comunidad también sé que nunca participa la gente. En una reunión participan 5 a 6 personas o mujeres 5 a 8 y mayormente participan las mujeres y los hombres ninguno. Y no sé por qué, quizá porque cada uno trabaja, pero deberían tomar su tiempo para que participen.”
	30:20 – 32:25	“Algunos dicen que las mujeres qué van a saber del tema, así hablan algunos hombres a pesar de que las mujeres tienen los mismos derechos que los hombres. Si es cierto que las mujeres solo

		participan aquí en la comunidad, pero cuando se trata de ir afuera, en Cuevo o Camiri, ya no participan, porque hay maridos que son celosos y por eso sus esposos no les dan permiso para salir. Y eso también me preocupa, porque habiendo leyes, las mujeres siguen viviendo la misma situación. Algunas veces cuando les dé permiso su marido, las mujeres se meten con otro hombre, empieza y se separan, hay problemas. Los hombres también deberían ser conscientes que no todas las mujeres son así y que si respetan a su marido. Hay mujeres que si respetan y eso deberían entender.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	20:50 – 24:05	“Los jóvenes no participan a pesar de que hay hartísimos jóvenes. No hay interés por parte del mburuvicha, para motivarlos. Yo en mi cargo voy a intentar de incentivar a los jóvenes, tengo que un grupo de jóvenes, más o menos 30-40, ellos si tienen interés. Pero son tímidos, cuando se los pregunta algo, se callen. Se debería incentivar más a los niños y a los niños y adolescentes también.
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	27:40 – 28:30	“Hay una persona especial en la comunidad, una persona ciega, y la comunidad le hace llegar viberes también cuando llega ayuda. De esa manera se ayuda. Ella tiene una hija que tiene una hija, le ayuda, lo lleva a Camiri a cobrar su renta.”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	3:00 – 3:50 5:10 – 6:03	Razones por no participación en comunidad: “A mí me preocupa mucho de que no haya interés de participar como si estuviéramos bien dentro de la comunidad. Pero la gente no se da cuenta de los peligros que vienen de afuera, los problemas que hay, hay falta de participación.” Habla de su cargo en la comunidad: “Al principio no quería asumir este cargo en la comunidad. A

	6:20 – 7:25	<p>mí me engañaron en 2013 cuando me dijeron que íbamos a trabajar juntos, los comunarios mismos me querían apoyar y dar para el pasaje y pagar, no solo para el pasaje, sino para el almuerzo. Yo tengo que cubrir todo lo que gasto en las reuniones y hacer los informes, y para dar informe, tampoco participan”</p>
	7:30 – 9:35	<p>Cuando si hay participación: “Hay participación aquí, cuando dan un vibere, todos van, incluso los viejitos. Pero cuando no hay nada, nadie aparece en la reunión, por más que uno los avisa, va casa por casa, ni aun así se participa. Porque para tener una reunión, hay que hacer una citación. Así es en mi comunidad, no hay interés.”</p>
	10:20 – 14:30	<p>“Cuando la base da apoyo económico, tenemos que tener mucho cuidado. Como capitán, cuando uno compra comida, cuanta cuesta, siempre tienes que anotar, tienes que anotar todo eso para haya confianza de los comunarios para que den su aporte y luego para dar informe para comunicar cuanto sobra y cuanto gastó. A veces los capitanes se enojan cuando las bases piden informes, por eso ya nadie quiere participar ni confía en un capitán o dirigente. Por eso dicen que no quieren ir a la reunión, es perder tiempo, dicen.</p>
	14:55 – 16:25	<p>Participación en consulta previa: “Antes pertenecíamos a Alto Parapetí, ese saneamiento empezó en 2008. Era uno solo, pero los capitanes de las 17 comunidades todos participábamos, pero nunca nos comunicaron que sacaban plata: 150000 dólares y nunca nos informaron. Sacaron plata a escondida de la plata y los depositaron en un banco hasta que lo gastaron. Así actuaron los dirigentes. Y cuando ya no había plata, empezaron a vender todo lo que había en la oficina para vender, computadoras etc. Así pasó con los mburuvichas. Después de eso se hizo una charla interna. En Mandiyuti hicimos un bloqueo de 13 días contra las empresas. La empresa conoce el valor y el conflicto que tenemos y con esos 150000 lo llevaron a Camiri para compartir entre ellos. Y fue así que decidimos de alejarnos</p>

	17:10 – 20:45	<p>de los del Alto Parapetí. Ya no queríamos depender, ellos se enriquecen, se compran su auto, gastan, y nosotros seguimos en la misma, y ahora recién estamos empezando como nueva zona.”</p>
		<p>Problemas internos en la comunidad: “Esos son los problemas que tenemos con las empresas y por la sísmica que hacen tenemos un capitán de esa comunidad que es peor, le dieron 10103Bs sin el consentimiento de las comunidades. Él lo puso en su propia cuenta, sin consentimiento. Según él la empresa le dijo que si él no lo acepta, no iban a recibir ni un peso y es por eso que lo aceptó. Hicieron chantaje los de la empresa.”</p>
	24:05 – 26:20	<p>Sugerencia para el Estado: “Que a partir de ahora ya no vamos a permitir que entren más en esa comunidad, ninguna empresa. Mientras que ellos se aprovechan, nosotros seguimos en pobreza. Y eso nos pasa por ignorancia. También abusan de nosotros. Antes era peor: antes llegaron en camiones, nos mandaron esas empresas (el Estado). Antes dieron el dinero directamente a la APG y se aprovecharon. El otro día vimos una vagioneta de la empresa y no sabíamos lo que estaban haciendo en el Chaco. Preguntamos y nos dijeron que solo estaban paseando por el Chaco y nosotros sin hacer nada.”</p>
	26:30 – 27:25	<p>Mejorar participación: “Lo que se debería hacer es dar a los chicos talleres de capacitación, no solamente a los jóvenes sino a los dirigentes, para estar empapados con el tema de la consulta previa. También hace falta personas capaces que tengan conocimientos, acerca de recursos naturales, medio ambiente, es una necesidad urgente que se ve en la comunidad, no sola acá, sino en toda la zona. Otro aspecto es que no creemos en nuestra capacidad o la capacidad de un comunario en comparación a un... cuando viene uno que no es guaraní, un karai, todo el mundo viene. Porque lo primero que preguntan cuándo se toca la campana para convocar una reunión, es que por qué se convoca y por quien está convocada la reunión. Y si convoca un guaraní, nadie asiste, pero cuando se dice que es</p>
	28:40 – 29:35	
	29:35 – 30:25	

	32:20 – 33:20	<p>alguien que no es guaraní, entonces todos asisten, pero siempre y cuando con un proyecto.”</p> <p>De ese capitán dicen: “Solo para en la alcaldía, no mucho aquí se está haciendo comprar, quizá siguiendo el mismo camino de esos capitanes que... y si sigue parando solo, lo vamos a cambiar y vamos a convocar otra vez para tener otro capitán, porque ese capitán ya no sirve.”</p> <p>Participación en consulta previa: “Yo nunca he participado en esas reuniones en Camiri porque el capitán nunca nos ha avisado. El participa en las reuniones, pero él solito, nunca nos avisan cuando se trata de un tema importante y delicado.”</p> <p>Los que más participan en la comunidad: “Los que más participan en la comunidad son los que tienen algún cargo en la comunidad o lo que fueron antes (capitán, encargado). Eso también es el problema en esta comunidad: el capitán no más hablan, el resto solo da su aprobación, ni siquiera preguntan, preguntar el propósito o para qué.”</p> <p>Necesidades en comunidad en cuanto participación: “Tener personas que sean expertos en el tema, que sepan de liderazgo. Porque ese capitán no es capaz, este tipo de capitán ya no nos sirve y ya no se va a permitir que se tenga esa clase de capitán en la comunidad”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_18TNFm
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 16.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 32
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	14:00 – 14:45	“Mi esposo siempre participa en todo, en varias consultas ha participado...él si va. Yo quisiera ir, pero no puedo por mis hijos, no se puede, él se va y yo me quedo aquí con mis hijos”
	23:20	“La participación de mujeres es muy poco”, “tenían un grupo, hacía pan, vender, luego en eso de asumir cargos en la comunidad también hay”, “razón por falta de participación: no son muy decididas, buenos pensamientos, pero luego en la hora de decisión no los pueden desarrollar”, “creen que los demás se hacen la burla de ellas si se expresan”, “razones también: el esposo no las deja”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	15:40 – 18:20	“Aquí en la comunidad participan casi todos, pero en el caso de los jóvenes muy poco, los que son viejitos igual vienen, pero los jóvenes muy poco, hay por lo menos unos 15, más hay de 18”, “algunos se van, porque van a trabajar, la mayoría, algunos se van a Santa Cruz, otros se van a Camiri, otros por Villa Monte. Eso es lo que ha pasado con estos jóvenes, a partir de 18, para trabajar para la empresa”, “A los jóvenes muchas veces se les dice que no pueden participar, se invita solo a personas mayores”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	7:00 – 8:30	Habla sobre relación con otra comunidad, Arenal que es más poblada, están más organizados según entrevistada, su mburuvicha cita a reuniones solo un día antes, demasiado a corto plazo
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	18:30 – 23:20	“Hay dos, uno tiene 30 años y una mujer mayor”, “Él siempre participa en las reuniones, decisiones, tiene un cargo en la comunidad, por lo del tema de sistemas de agua (él es como cajero del sistema de agua)”, “la señora es de edad, se ha vuelto ciega, ella no puede entrar, ella al menos no baja a las reuniones, pero si la toman en cuenta para cualquier tipo de ayuda”, “los dirigentes no lo facilitan tanto, no son tan solidarios en esta parte”, “pero discriminación no hay”
Relación con otros comunarios		

Conflictos sociales		
Otras	4:00 – 7:00	“aquí en esa comunidad no existe la participación en la consulta de la empresa, porque no hay mucha coordinación con los dirigentes y a veces se van sin avisar a los comunarios” (es la comunidad más afectada), “ya hace tiempo que estamos así, que no tenemos dirigentes, casi 6 meses ya”, “a veces no avisan cuando se reúnen”, “a veces son 3 a 4 familias nada más que se reúnen, los que saben (de 25 familias en total), “es porque los dirigentes no coordinan con el directorio”, “la comunidad no sabía que una de sus comunarios fue nueva capitana zonal” (son incluso vecinos)
	27:20 – 30:20	Recomendación para mejorar participación en la consulta: “los capitanes deberían hacer conocer a sus bases, para que estén enterados y puedan ir a las reuniones, porque a veces se enteran por la radio, ellos no saben, quieren ir, pero no saben.” “tienen que avisar a sus bases más antes”, “había una consulta en Camiri a donde solo ha ido la capitana, ella, su esposo y su mamá”, “la gente dice que es por interés, porque se dice que se devuelve el pasaje, viatico, así es la gente”, “porque creo que a la consulta debería ir por lo menos 5 o 6 personas”, “antes si iban representantes de recursos naturales y dos más de la comunidad, pero sin embargo ahora solo van capitanes y nada más”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_19TNMj_disc
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 16.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 25
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario, cargo en comunidad:
contador, sistemas de agua

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género		
Práctica Lingüística	20:00 – 22:00	“Tenemos más cercanía ahora con la directiva, porque hablan guaraní, en las reuniones se habla guaraní y castellano, pero yo veo que habla más castellano que guaraní, se está perdiendo nuestra lengua, los propios capitanes deberían hablar, pero como hay los blancos (los karai) también, como decimos, que entiendan también nuestras palabras. Yo ya casi no hablo guaraní...”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	10:30 – 12:00	“Yo participé en la reunión con la empresa que va a estar aquí, no estábamos muy al tanto de lo que querían hacer, lo que iban a hacer, me puse a pensar, por los niños, como ellos iban a estar afectados. Pero ya se había hecho un convenio con los del Alto Parapetí, con la capitania del Alto Parapetí. Entonces ya no se pudo hacer nada”
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	4:00 – 6:00 8:00 – 9:40 12:00 – 13:30 23:00 – 25:00	“A veces participo, a veces no, casi no entiendo a ellos también, para mí es difícil de participar en las reuniones, cuando tengo la oportunidad, cuando tengo a quien me lleve, si voy”, “yo participaba una vez al año, pero ahora como no hay mburuvicha..., pero ahora está cambiando...” “No está haciendo reuniones aquí el mburuvicha, ahora están activos al nivel zonal, pero aquí no, no al nivel comunal. Entonces no puedo participar.” Recibir información: “De vez en cuando, como ellos van de mi casa, me pongo a preguntar de qué se trataba en la reunión, mi hermana participa en la reunión (la pregunto)” Mejorar participación de él en reuniones: “Para mí sería lindo en qué ir a las reuniones, para que participen todos también o por lo menos algunos, eso sería lindo, que haya algo para ir”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	16:30 – 19:00	Recomendaciones para mejorar participación de los comunarios: “hace falta más participes en las reuniones, para estar más unidos, tienen que

	19:40 – 20:00	dialogar y ser invitado, a veces la gente no está tan al tanto de qué se va a ser, de qué se va a tratar en la reunión, para que participe, falta también coordinación, a veces sabe el capitán comunal, pero no avisa a su base, a veces sabiendo no avisa para que se pueda participar en la reunión zonal”
	27:10 – 29:40	Antes si podía caminar Recomendación para mejorar participación dentro de las reuniones: “no veo mucha participación, va la gente, pero solo algunos responden a las preguntas que hace el mburuvicha, que ayudan a orientar a la gente, porque casi no entiende la gente. Hay que invitar a todos, para mí sería lindo que participen todos en la reunión.”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_20TNMm
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 16.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 26
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	8:00 – 8:30	“Es interesante la participación de las mujeres porque a veces tiene buenas opiniones y conclusiones, mejor que los hombres a veces, hay mujeres que saben también opinar”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	11:00 – 11:20	“Aquí en la comunidad casi no tenemos personas de tercera edad, son 3 o 4 y participan, les gusta participar”
Jóvenes	9:40 – 11:00	“Hay algunos a quienes les gusta participar, pero la mayoría no participa, porque algunos todavía están en poder de sus padres, entonces la mamá o el papá participan. Yo también me pregunto por qué no participan, nosotros siempre les

		decimos, pero parece que no quieren participar. Aquí incluso niños pueden participar, para ir aprendiendo, para ser mejores autoridades, pero aquí casi no...”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	11:20 – 14:00 14:50 – 16:15	“Mi suegra no va a las reuniones, aparte de ser cieguita, es sordita. Es discapacitada totalmente, de vista y de oído. Le pasamos información, de vuelta informan los familiares, su hija, su hijo. Hay otro que se mueve con su silla. Él es como una familia, participa en las reuniones. Tiene hermanas y lo traen. Él participa, pero poco participa en las reuniones de otras comunidades, su mamá y hermana participan y lo informan” Para mejorar su participación “Se lo traslada en movilidad, poco hay movilidad, aquí en las comunidades se hace todo a pie, es una nueva zona, recién nos hemos organizado, no tenemos propia movilidad todavía”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	6:55 – 7:20 7:40 – 7:55 9:20 - 10:00 17:00 – 19:15 19:20 – 21:40 23:50 – 25:40	Razones para no participación: “Algunos no están aquí, se van lejos, este tiempo, no hay trabajo, otros viven acá, pero no les da gusta para participar, no les gusta” “De las familias siempre participa una persona en las reuniones” “Los que más participan son los adultos, los cabezas de la familia, esos son los que más participan” Cuenta del impacto del proyecto a la comunidad, al agua por ejemplo Cuenta de una empresa que vino a la comunidad sin consulta, aprovecharon que había problemas dentro de las comunidades con la capitania

		Recomendaciones para mejorar participar en consulta: “que se consulte bien, que verdaderamente, con la comunidad con la gente. Para algunos la línea ha pasado por el Chaco, por el sembradillo, y eso no han recompensado con nada, y esa nueva empresa ahora tiene que consultar. Nuestra preocupación es que los obligamos a nuestros hermanos, pero algunos están patronados, y no pueden salir fácilmente de su trabajo.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_21TNMm
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 16.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	11:00 – 11:40	“Debido a la falta de trabajo en las comunidades, los hombres se fueron, no han tenido maíz, no se ha podido tener animales, entonces eran obligados a salir a afuera, entonces las mujeres estaban de mayoría”, eso crea conflictos? “No hay ningún desacuerdo, está en todas las normas que las mujeres tienen los mismos derechos, pero aquí no hay eso, todos iguales”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		Vea: “otros”
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	13:10 – 13:50	“Cuando hay reuniones importantes, él si va, pero a veces el vocal no va, no llega a su casa y por esa razón no va.”
Relación con otros comunarios		

Conflictos sociales		Vea: "otros"
Otras	5:20 – 7:30	"Hay algunos que no asisten, algunos que no tienen tiempo, otros van a otros lados cuando hay reunión u otros por razones de trabajo se van temporal, también hay algunos que van sin el permiso del mburuvicha y tampoco les interesa. Muchos migran, porque no hay trabajo, no hay recursos, salimos, otros se van. Yo tengo responsabilidad, soy plomero aquí con el sistema de agua, por eso cumplo por lo menos yo."
	7:30 – 8:30	"Aquí, además no había reuniones en los últimos tres meses, porque los hombres casi todos se han ido a trabajar, por esa razón no había reuniones, y a veces vuelven un día o dos días y se vuelven ahí, solamente dos o tres han vuelto, los demás puras mujeres"
	8:30 – 9:00	"Ahora tenemos una directiva nueva, por eso recién el domingo tenemos reunión, y vamos a mejorar"
	10:00 – 10:15	"Es la mitad de personas de la comunidad que asiste las reuniones"
	14:30 – 15:10	"Hay una norma de la comunidad para regular la participación. Por ejemplo, si uno no va a la reunión, hay un castigo, que haga una actividad en apoyo a la comunidad."
	15:30 – 19:15	Experiencia con consulta previa: "el Estado siente la obligación de cumplir, los que no cumplen son los que vienen aquí, la empresa no cumple, los empresarios, en este año, no convocan a la gente, no avisan cuando hay una reunión y no hay beneficios. Solo se hizo consulta con los del Alto Parapetí, solo nos llevaron en la última parte, ahí recién nos llevaron, para que firmemos, ni siquiera sabemos cómo se hace la consulta. Eso le cuento, por la experiencia, porque he visto que no es la forma"
	19:15 – 24:30	En cuanto a la consulta actual Sararenda 2D: "No conozco, no sé nada, porque no hemos sido invitados, o tal vez los mburuvichas han ido, pero recién informaron cuando ya habían firmado. No tengo mucha información sobre números. Tal vez

	25:30 – 26:30	<p>3 o 4 han ido por comunidad. No sabemos nada, estamos nulos en eso. Es poco, mientras más familias van, más nos podemos informar, pero como no hay esa opción de ir varios... Muchos no saben, me siento incomodo en esa parte, hay que conocer más. Los mburuvichas, ellos mismos pidieron a la empresa, que vayan comunidad por comunidad, que como que ya no hay para que nosotros vengamos, que vayan por comunidad, pero ni eso, peor todavía.”</p> <p>“Debería ser más público, para que todos puedan participar, querían capacitación para cada comunidad. Además se necesita más seguimiento por parte del gobierno de las empresas”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_22TNft_no_indig
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista:	castellano
Fecha de entrevista:	17.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunaria, no indígena

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	10:00 – 12:00	“Yo he sido discriminada por los varones, dijeron: ella mucho habla, se hace dueña de la reunión, no era así, es que me gusta participar, de tal manera dos tres varones me discriminaban, me quitaron la palabra de la boca, no me dejaban lugar, incluso me quitaban el lugar que tenía para apoyar a las compañeras, quisieron despojarme por el motivo que me gusta hablar, pero jamás me callaba, pero cuando llegó el derecho de la mujer para tener más defensa, había varios hombres en esta comunidad que me discriminaban, que decían: te vamos a botar, eres una mujer mala. De esa manera mucho he sufrido.”
	13:15 – 15:10	“Eso he visto en otras mujeres también, porque aquí también hay una compañera que quería

	15:40 – 16:40	hablar, pero no la dejaban, dijeron: por qué quiere hablar si los varones mandamos a las mujeres y qué pasa que los hombres se dejan mandar? ... Ahora las reuniones son más calmadas. Hoy día si nos escuchan más, porque se les he dicho, si Ustedes nos cortan la palabra, yo voy a llamar a la Defensoría y los voy a demandar, ya es suficiente lo que hemos sufrido. Muchas mujeres guaraní vienen aquí para que yo pueda contactar a alguien. Ahora toman poro sin lágrima. “
	17:40 – 19:40	Como ve ese fenómeno en otras comunidades: “Entre las mujeres se pelean, no se apoyan, no veo que una hermana líder pueda pedir para las demás hermanas, en cambio aquí, si uno está respetado. En otras comunidades no veo que las mujeres ajunten a su gente.” Al nivel zonal: “hay pocas mujeres, 2 o 3, a veces hay dos o tres días de reuniones, pero se callan”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	21:40 – 23:20	“Aquí el grupo que menos participa es la juventud, no van a la reunión, normalmente aquí las reuniones se hace de las mayores, son edades que tienen su pareja, eso tampoco es bueno para nosotros, porque la juventud debería prepararse, pero ellos no lo toman en serio. Es como si no les interesara, tomar su tiempo para atender las reuniones”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	28:50 – 29:40	“Aquí tenemos uno con la sillita de rueda, ese mismo hay aquí en la comunidad (refiriéndose a la discriminación) por ejemplo ayer ese señor que Ustedes entrevistaron, es discriminador en la clase en la que nos manejamos, a él no le dejaron de chueco, presucho, a mí también lo mismo, tampoco soy sana, me había quedado el hombro, solo lo manejo hasta una cierta parte”
	31:00 – 31:50	“Yo pedí un cargo para el chico en ruedas porque es capaz, para que sea un miembro de la

	34:00 – 34:20	comunidad también, pero dicen algunos hombres que él no va a poder, es inválido, pero él puede, él ahora dirige el comité de agua” “Él participa, hace preguntas en las reuniones”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	24:00 – 25:30	Mejorar participación de las mujeres: “hacer reuniones de mujeres, pasar talleres, clases, incluirlas, porque hay muchas mujeres calladas, y esas mujeres son las que sufren, las mal tratadas”
	26:30 – 28:30	Recomendación para el Estado: “hacer como antes, como CIPCA, que ellos mandaban a una técnica a coordinar con las comunidades, pero ella lo hacía mixto, hombres y mujeres juntos, haría falta de que sean netamente mujeres, porque mayormente participa el hombre y la mujer no. Si no está el marido, la mujer no hace nada, no puede comprar, no hace nada”
	35:15 – 36:20	Por lo de consulta previa: “Mire, aquí nuestros mburuvichas no nos han charlado, hasta ahora no puedo decir... en Cuevo había una reunión pero con una participación de dos participantes, entonces había un límite, y cuando queríamos ir nosotros, ya no había campo. El mburuvicha no aceptaba que vayan mujeres, debería ser compartido.
	36:30 – 38:20	
	38:20 – 38:50	Sugerencia para más participación de comunidades: “me gustaría mucho que nosotros como mujeres, que también queremos participar, porque yo en otros eventos, soy inquieta, pero acá los mburuvichas zonales no nos invitan para que podemos participar. Se debería solicitar al gobierno, que haya una mujer luche para nosotras. “De los jóvenes puedo decir: hay dos o tres personas en la comunidad privan, no nos dejan. nosotros seguimos en la esclavitud, esclavitud entre comunarios esta vez, ya no con propietarios, derivándonos la lengua que

		nosotros no hablemos, eso molesta, nos inquieta”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_23TNMt_no_indig
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Idioma de entrevista: castellano
 Fecha de entrevista: 17.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario, no indígena, anterior mburuvicha

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	11:45 – 12:30	“A partir de los talleres y los cursos se ha dado en la comunidad, la gente despertaba ya, antes la gente era más tímida, especialmente las mujeres, no opinaban, pero con tantos talleres, la gente ya se capacitaba y ahora es más participativo, ya opinan, piden la palabra, hay más participación”
	12:40 – 13:50	“Especialmente las mujeres ahora también toman cargos, antes no tenían la opción, ahora con el cambio de leyes y talleres, ahora dicen “equidad de género”, ahora se preparan más. Ellas también deciden ahora, ellas hacen cualquier tipo de trabajo en la comunidad”
	46:20 – 47:15	Razón por participación de la mujer al nivel comunitario, pero poco en reuniones de consulta: “las mujeres aquí en la comunidad pueden manifestarse aquí en la reunión, pero cuando salen afuera se sienten menos capaz, entonces prefieren que vayan los hombres. Tienen vergüenza de hablar”
Práctica Lingüística	42:30 – 44:40	“Ellos utilizan palabras, más, este, palabras que nosotros no entendemos. Y si nos preguntan si hemos entendido, entonces decimos que no, no hemos entendido. Hablando en guaraní, parece que es ahí donde la gente se queda más tímida y a veces no entienden bien y prefieren callarse. Por eso tienen que estudiar, ir a la universidad para que salgan más preparados.”

Tercera Edad	21:10 – 22:30	“Hay un señor mayor que vive ahí arriba, él nunca ha participado en las reuniones, cerca de 60 años por arriba, en los últimos 30 años nunca participó. Es una persona que tiene vergüenza, que no quiere comunicarse con la gente, no sale de su casa ni siquiera si uno va a su casa y grita”
Jóvenes	15:40 - 17:10 17:25 – 18:30 18:40 – 21:00	<p>“La juventud especialmente, casi no está participando, de 15 años para bajo casi nadie va, a pesar de que se les invita, a veces también decimos que es malo que vayan los niños, porque hay personas que usa malas palabras, por ejemplo contra las mujeres, y eso no es bueno que lo escuchen los niños, pero ellos también tienen que darse cuenta qué gente tenemos en la comunidad, pero en principio es bueno que la juventud ya participe en las reuniones”</p> <p>Razón para poca participación de los jóvenes: “Ellos, como si no les importaría, pero si llega algún desayuno, algún almuerzo, entonces todos vienen, hasta los bebecitos vienen, pero solo de lo que se trata en las reuniones, no vienen”</p> <p>“La juventud también se va a otro lado, Villa Monte etc., se van a buscar fuentes de trabajo, aquí en las comunidades no hay trabajo, entonces la gente se va a otro lado, a vivir mejor. En grupos se van, juntos deciden de salir. Hasta 40 años están saliendo, ellos se van, y solo se quedan las mujeres, son sobre todo los hombres que se van. Solo se van los hombres, porque si van todos, queda la casa abandonada, y cualquier momento puede llegar una ayuda (algún víbere), y si algo llega, lo pierden si no están”</p>
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	22:40 – 27:30	“El señor en ruedas y la señora de arriba que perdió la vista, ellos no participan en las reuniones, porque seguramente porque ella no ve y no la llevan, en cambio aquí el señor en ruedas si sale a las reuniones y tiene beneficios, en Cuevo podría tomar clases y quiere ir allá, participa como cualquier persona en las

		reuniones. Reuniones más alejadas: no sale ahí, solo a Cuevo, sino aquí nada más. Eso se debe a que no puede movilizarse, y si hay, entonces cobran, y no se puede y por eso no puede salir. Otras razones para que no vaya: debe ser porque él se siente incómodo sin su familia para cualquier necesidad, quién le va a ayudar cuando está en reuniones. La manera sería que él se vaya a Cuevo, porque ahí le pueden ayudar.”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales	8:10 – 9:00	“Ellos (El Arenal) era como un centro, era más poblado, querían que vayamos ahí para apoyarlos a ellos, pero a nosotros no nos han dado beneficios, nos utilizaron como números, pero no nos daban beneficios, nos les importan otras familias, otras comunidades, ellos nada más quieren la plata para ellos”
Otras	6:00 – 8:30	Cuenta de su tiempo como mburuvicha, gestión, personalidad jurídica de la comunidad (1994 de Timburenda, la palabra significa Timburín, que es un árbol y renda significa harto, había explotación de madera), independizarse de zona
	29:00 – 35:00	Participación en la consulta previa: “solo he participado una o dos veces en eso, una vez con la empresa y una vez con el Ministerio”, elabora extensivamente en explicaciones de la empresa y del Ministerio
	35:00 - 37:40	Sobre participación de comunidad en consulta previa: “Siempre hemos pedido que consideren nuestras necesidades en esos proyectos. Y no solo los zonales deberían decidir sobre todo eso, porque a veces deciden sobre todo eso y nosotros aquí en la comunidad lo vemos de otra forma, a los zonales muchas veces más les interesaba lo económico y no tanto las necesidades que hay en la comunidad, los zonales son zonales, nosotros lo vemos de otra forma, por eso me gustaría que siempre la comunidad participe, especialmente las personas que más interés tienen en sus comunidades, que vayan hablar bien para su comunidad. Deberíamos plantar eso.”
	37:50 – 39:50	

	39:50 – 43:00	<p>Razón por poca participación: “Muchas personas van y solo están sentados y no dicen nada, eso dificulta mucho, fuera mejor que todos podríamos opinar, eso falta mucho, la gente tiene poca experiencia, no puede expresarse, no puede pedir la palabra, mi idea es..., lo que uno quiere decir”</p>
	44:50 – 45:50	<p>Razón para falta de esa participación activa: “A la gente le falta capacitación, le falta coraje, tiene temor, en la hora de verdad no dicen nada, solo son un número más, y firman y listo, no han opinado. Quizá otras comunidades han decidido, pero por ellos, no por nosotros. Por eso hace falta capacitaciones. La vergüenza nos paraliza, nos hace que nos quedemos siempre retrasados. También la falta de capacidad.”</p>
	48:10 – 49:40	<p>Razones para poca participación en la consulta: “A veces los zonales no invitan, agarran, peor si saben que vienen los del Ministerio de Hidrocarbúros, que les va a devolver el pasaje, su viatico, no hacen saber a la comunidad, por eso no hacen saber a la gente. Entonces lleva a gente, pero a veces la gente es de su lado, solo van a hacer número nada más, para ellos está bien, están ganando, pero no hacen lo bueno para su comunidad, para ellos nada más, para su familia”</p>
	51:40 – 52:10	<p>Sugerencia para que vaya más gente a consulta: “Ahora el Ministerio pide menos personas, en vez de ampliar se está reduciendo, parece que menos plata se está mandando, están cortando ese espacio, hay para menos gente, eso hace mal también, porque a veces hay personas que quieren ir y participar”</p> <p>Otra sugerencia: “La única manera sería que los capitanes zonales, las autoridades que tiene más peso, tienen que convocar reuniones para que los comunarios vengan y escuchen, decir de qué se va a tratar y motivar a la gente para que participe, pedir más recursos para que haya espacio para todos”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_25KNMm
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Idioma de entrevista: castellano
 Fecha de entrevista: 18.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: 33
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género		
Práctica Lingüística	25:10 – 27:20	Vea: “otros”, sobre analfabetos “Hay también la debilidad de que hay personas, de las 60 familias que hay, no hay personas que sean capaz, de tener un conocimiento, no podemos discutir, qué cosa vamos a pedir, qué es la flora, la fauna, no hay personas, técnicos, los del Alto Parapetí nunca han venido para explicarnos cómo va a ser la afectación, cuánto podemos pedir, a nosotros nos falta harto ahora. Ahorita estamos sin técnico. Como capitania todavía no estamos preparados para eso.” Vea también sección “Otras”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	8:10 – 9:30	“...de los niños y de los jóvenes que recién están incorporándose, ya tienen que participar. A partir de los 12 o 13 años. Eso ahorita hace falta que los jóvenes participen en las reuniones. Qué no lo dejen que solo se hace entre personas mayores. Porque a veces les molesta en las reuniones que se da respeto a ellos.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		

Discapacidad	14:55 - 16:50	“Hay una señora, que tiene embolia, en cuestión de ayuda, lo que le damos para tener para medicamentos, pero en las reuniones no participa”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	4:50 - 7:40 7:50 – 8:20 9:50 – 10:40 10:50 – 14:50 17:10 – 19:50	<p>Participación en comunidad en general: “Lo veo poco, la participación aquí en la comunidad, casi todos no leen, casi la mayoría son analfabetos, eso es lo que a mí me preocupa, y eso por eso que no captan bien, solo hay algunos que recién están participando.” Por qué es un problema si la persona no sabe leer ni escribir, ya que la reunión es oral? “Es un problema porque los que vienen instituciones o técnicos que hablan palabras altas y la gente no lo puede captar. Yo tengo que estar en cualquier reunión para revelar, para traducir para los que no entienden.”</p> <p>Otro problema: “La gente participa en la reunión, pero casi no da su opinión, porque falta para entender”</p> <p>Edad de participación en la práctica: “ a partir de la edad de madres solteras, cuando tienen hijos recién empiezan a participar, antes no les importa todavía”</p> <p>Sugerencias para mejorar participación: “en los colegios estamos intentando introducir el sistema de líderes, mi propio hijo es el mburuvicha de su curso, de 7 años, él hace convocatorias a los demás, hace firmar por la profesora. Se ha ido avanzando con el DIA para que sean partícipes también los niños. En Timbuienda se está implementando, en el Arenal también lo quieren hacer. Así también vayan conociendo los reglamentos, las leyes, función de alcaldía, de los mburuvichas. Si los niños no pueden, en grande va a ser difícil.”</p>

	<p>20:10 – 21:15</p> <p>21:40 – 22:10</p> <p>23:10 – 25:40</p>	<p>Participación en la consulta previa: “lamentablemente yo no estaba en este tema, y casi no lo entiendo bien. Había una inspección, pero no estaba yo. Pero en la participación en la consulta en Camiri, como Usted sabe muy bien, nosotros no podemos, como estábamos todavía en conflicto con los del Alto Parapetí, y nosotros por eso no estábamos en una posición de decir, eso que se haga, porque todavía estábamos todavía en este discurso que ellos querían hacerlo todo, en esos trámites estábamos con la personalidad jurídica. Eso (el conflicto) nos perjudicó en la participación, porque no podíamos meter en el convenio, no podíamos ser en la carpeta, no podíamos entrar como zona Ñembuite, no nos podían incluir. No se ha podido.”</p> <p>“Hemos logrado tener una conversación entre capitanía y capitania, y hemos logrado que todo se ha pedido sea mitad a mitad, especialmente considerando los efectos a las comunidades. Se ha hecho un documento, pero no se está cumpliendo, porque seguimos teniendo problemas con el Alto Parapetí, porque no quieren compartir la mitad, y eso nos perjudica”</p> <p>Propuestas para mejorar participación: “Ya pronto vamos a tener nuestro propio técnico para movilizarnos también necesitamos un camioneta. Pero ahorita estamos intentando todo eso y demostrando que nosotros podemos también.”</p> <p>Propuesta que puede hacer el Estado para mejorar participación: “Hay un límite para representarnos, en cada comunidad hay que ir unos 2 o 3 personas, la mayoría que siempre viene, no hay recursos para los viáticos, pasando los cien es mucho, debería ir unos 6 o 7, es poco lo que se deje, que vamos a hacer si solo pueden participar unos 2 o 3, por eso hay debilidad, no están informados todos.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_26KNFt
 Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos
 Idioma de entrevista: guaraní
 Fecha de entrevista: 18.10.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, esposa del vocal

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	2:30 – 4:00	“Lo que puedo observar en las pocas reuniones en las que he estado es que se ve la participación de las mujeres, no solo que participen, sino dan su opinión, sus sugerencias, pero mayormente participa mi esposo, ya que tiene su función dentro de la misma comunidad también. Y cuando llegan mis hijos del trabajo o cuando tienen feriado, yo también participo. Pero como mi esposo tiene cargo, es vocal, participa más, siempre me cuenta, me informa”
Práctica Lingüística		Vea otras: costumbre de pronunciarse en público
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	4:03 – 6:15	“Los jóvenes no participan en las reuniones, no se ve su participación, y como mi esposo es vocal de la comunidad y siempre me informa y se anota quien participa y cuando, no es que no se informa a los jóvenes, se informa a ellos, pero no participan. Yo pienso que los jóvenes, según lo que dice mi esposo, no quieren participar por varias razones: siempre tienen tarea, aun son jóvenes y no tienen esa obligación de participar en las reuniones. Porque si participan es que como si estuvieran desperdiciando su tiempo. Otro porque no les interesa. A nosotros nos gustaría tener a los jóvenes dentro de las reuniones para que podamos así también conocer sus necesidades. Pero los podemos obligar.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		

Otras	1:55 – 2:30	<p>Habla de participación personal: “La participación en la comunidad no se da mucho. En ocasiones me quedo en casa para cuidar a mis hijos y como tengo una hija que trabaja en la ciudad y tengo que cuidar a mi nieto también, es por eso que no participo mucho en las reuniones que se hace en las comunidad”</p>
	6:30 – 8:40	<p>Sobre participación personal: “No me gusta participar y dar mi opinión. Yo no estoy acostumbrada a dar mi opinión en público. No es que no sepa del tema, pero no me gusta expresarme en público.... Para poder participar hay que estar al tanto de lo que pasa en la comunidad, pero como casi no voy, no puedo dar sugerencias. Hay que conocer el tema también. No puedo dar sugerencia sin conocer el tema.”</p>
	9:00 – 12:20	<p>Sobre participación en consulta previa: “las empresas privadas estaban trabajando en esta zona. Si está todo conforme con el capitán y decidido por el capitán, lo comunarios no dicen nada. No sabemos también por qué el capitán deje que entren las empresas a esta zona. A veces el capitán no hace conocer y toma decisiones sin consultar a la comunidad. Y ahorita tenemos muchas necesidades, contamos con escasez de agua, todo se secó, la siembra, y por lo tanto no hay trabajo para los hombres en el chaco y por lo tanto tienen que salir de su comunidad para trabajar, sobre todo los de la edad mediana.”</p>
	12:30 – 18:50	<p>Medidas para mejorar situación: “dar trabajo a los hombres, ni siquiera tenemos plata para pagar al internado de los chicos. Además tiene cargo mi marido y no puede trabajar. Queremos un trabajo seguro. Tampoco tenemos hospital. Necesitamos un centro de salud. Los jóvenes necesitan un trabajo seguro. Si no hay trabajo, no hay plata. Sin plata, no hay comida. Como madres estaríamos muy orgullosas si nuestros podrían salir bachilleres e ir a la universidad. También nos (la alcaldía) prometieron movilidad para los jóvenes. La alcaldía y el Estado siempre prometen, pero nunca cumplen. Aunque mi</p>

		esposo es vocal, tiene un cargo, pero no lo pagan.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_27KNFm

Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos

Idioma de entrevista: guaraní

Fecha de entrevista: 18.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: no conocido

Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	30:45 – 31:50	“Cuando se hacen reuniones en otras comunidades, no di mi opinión, porque si uno participa en una reunión fuera de la comunidad, no te toman en cuenta. También porque a veces no entiendo mucho el tema. Y es por eso que mi esposo me informa con anticipación y me explica y ahí si participo. Eso es lo que me pasa.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	4:45 – 7:30	“Hay algunos días que mis hijos no participan en las reuniones. Como decía la capitana ayer, los jóvenes no tienen interés de participar en las reuniones. No es que no les digo a mis hijos y dicen que tienen harta tarea y que no quieren ir. Algunas jovencitas que si tienen la edad de 20 a 21 y si está soltero o soltera, no participan. Pero si uno de 14 años tiene hijos, entonces si participa. Entonces cuando tienen familia, ahí recién participan. Tal vez por timidez o por miedo. Y nosotros pensamos que ellos por ir al colegio son más inteligentes, pero no participan. Por eso mi esposo siempre dice: por qué están en colegio? Cómo van a desarrollar lo que aprenden en el colegio si no participan en las reuniones?”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		

Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	<p>7:40 – 10:55</p> <p>11:00 – 15:10</p> <p>19:05 – 21:30</p> <p>21:50 – 22:50</p>	<p>Participación de la persona: “Cuando no estoy ocupada, voy y cuando es algo importante también. Mi esposo siempre trabaja en trabajos comunales. Es cabeza de la ganadería, de vacas también.... Cuando se trata de algo importante, si me pronuncio y doy sugerencias. Cuando se informa sobre un proyecto por ejemplo. Pero muchas veces hablan de cualquier cosa y no me da muchas ganas de participar. Por eso ya no participo....</p> <p>Sobre su posición en la comunidad: “Soy la persona en esta comunidad que me ignoran, que me odian. La mayoría me odia, no me valoran, me discriminan. Aunque todos que viven en esta comunidad es mi familia. Siempre me culpan de algo que no hice. Cuando se enferma alguna persona dentro de la comunidad, siempre me culpan. Dicen que soy una hechicera ni tampoco tengo este carácter de hacer maldad a otra persona. Nunca he tenido problemas con nadie, tampoco soy conflictiva. Me dicen bruja. Por eso es que cuando ayer estaban hablando (en el grupo focal), yo estaba callada no más. Quería decirles muchas cosas, que no es cierto, pero no pude decir nada. Ya nadie me visita, yo paro en mi casa con mis hijos, no sé si me tienen miedo. Por eso mi esposo me trajo acá (encima de la montaña) para que no me molesten.”</p> <p>“Cuando se pide ayuda, es solamente para ellos, no más, a veces ellos no me toman en cuenta. En muchas ocasiones llegaba vibere, alimentos para la comunidad, y solo ellos aprovechan. Y cuando las empresas dan plata, ni siquiera dan a nosotros. Nuestro capitán, él si aprovechó bastante gastando plata en nombre de la comunidad, para su gasto personal. Mi esposo y su hermano son los que más trabaja para esta comunidad. De las vacas que pidieron para la comunidad, ya vendieron una al parecer. Y no llega nada a la comunidad. Yo si quisiera</p>

	<p>15:10 – 16:50</p> <p>25:30 – 28:00</p> <p>28:10 – 31:00</p> <p>33:10 – 34:00</p>	<p>participar en las reuniones, pero a mí ni siquiera me avisan de las reuniones. También maldecían a mis hijos.”</p> <p>“Cuando se da aporte a los dirigentes, malgastan la plata de la comunidad. Y eso hace que la gente no quiere participar. Pareciera que están de acuerdo con ellos...</p> <p>“Todos los que vivimos en esta comunidad somos fundadores y somos familia, somos primos y hermanos, somos de Colorada. Hace 14 años que vivimos en esta comunidad. Kapirenda se llama lugar de paja.”</p> <p>Participación en consulta previa: “No sé nada de eso, porque los capitanes son los que toman decisiones, cuando se hace reuniones en Camiri, puros familiares de ellos participan. Cuando se hace reuniones solo hay participación de familiares del capitán. Porque seguramente la empresa que organiza siempre les dan viatico, le dan hospedaje. Cuando entra una empresa, solo algunos reciben dinero. Una vez que fui al Arenal, nos enteramos que estaban repartiendo plata en nombre de todas las comunidades. Cuando se hace una consulta previa, solamente participan familiares de los capitanes.</p> <p>Sugerencia para mejorar consulta: “que el dialogo se hace dentro de la comunidad, no solo con los capitanes. Y que se haga otro estudio sobre el agua, por la falta de agua y la sequía y que vengan a ver nuestra situación.... Qué no se haga solo un contrato con los capitanes. Si uno quiere participar, tiene que tomar de su bolsillo. Que para la próxima consulta, el Estado da más recursos, para 4 o 5 personas más para que participen.”</p> <p>Sobre la nueva zona de Ñembuite: “La zona de Ñembuite vuelve a llevar el procedimiento que el Alto Parapetí. Se pelean entre ellos, van a llevar el mismo camino que el Alto Parapetí, se pelean por la plata, son ambiciosos también los capitanes.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_28KDFm

Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos

Idioma de entrevista: guaraní

Fecha de entrevista: 18.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: 37 años

Función/cargo de entrevistado: secretaria de la comunidad

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	3:55 – 4:30	“Hasta ahora estamos trabajando muy bien, hasta ahora no hemos visto ningún problema. Y los hombres por el momento casi no están participando, no es porque no quieren participar, sino por el trabajo, algunos tienen que salir para buscar trabajo, a Cuevo, a Camiri, por esto en este tiempo solo están participando las mujeres.”
	8:20 – 9:15	“Como en esta comunidad más o menos son que componen puras familias, todos se conocen. Todos nos llevamos muy bien. Y cuando las mujeres toman decisiones por su esposo, el esposo no se molesta ni se incomoda. El participa en las reuniones.”
	11:20 – 13:00	Participación de mujeres en consulta previa: “Por experiencia le digo, por mi función en la comunidad. A veces llega una convocatoria solamente para los capitanes, y uno para la base, siempre llegan convocatorias solamente para un capitán. De vez en cuando para dos personas. Por eso no se ve mucha la participación de las mujeres fuera de sus comunidades. Las convocatorias cubren pasaje, alimentación, hospedaje... Cuando uno tiene interés en participar, tiene que buscar por su propio medio para poder participar. Y a veces no contamos con recursos suficientes para poder participar en reuniones y por la distancia más, para pagar trufi. Por eso hay mucha ausencia dentro de la comunidad”

Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	6:20 – 8:20	“La participación de los jóvenes casi no se ve en la comunidad, nunca participan los jóvenes en las reuniones, porque una vez pusimos un reglamento para que los jóvenes también puedan participar, también para ver su participación. Lo planteamos ese reglamento dentro de la reunión. Pero aun así no participan. Algunos padres dicen que es porque les da vergüenza hablar en las reuniones, otros dicen que no les interesa. Solamente un joven participa, pero el resto no. El también da sus sugerencias, sus opiniones. Eso también es la preocupación de la capitana, que ellos se interesen por su comunidad.
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local	4:40 – 6:00	“Solo mi tío no participa en la comunidad, vive más adentro, el nunca participa, porque dice que va a vivir en la comunidad de Colorada, porque su mujer era muy conflictiva en la comunidad. En las reuniones le decían que ella no debería ser así, que debería más cuidadosa en decir cosas. Y parece que mi tío se molestó y ahora se van a ir a vivir en Colorada.”
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	00:20 – 3:40	Participación personal en la comunidad: “Yo participo en la comunidad cuando el capitán o la capitana convoca una reunión, yo siempre estoy presente, por más que no esté mi marido, yo estoy presente. Además es mi obligación de participación. Además tengo un cargo dentro de la comunidad. Soy secretaria de la comunidad, ya llevo un año en este cargo. Cuando no está mi marido, estoy ahí. Cuando está mi marido, estamos los dos. Él no me prohíbe mi participación. Mi función consiste en redactar cartas o solicitudes para mandar a la alcaldía o para anotar todo se ha hablado en la reunión. Cuando hay alguna emergencia, aviso al capitán con anticipación. Por mi cargo, tengo que estar

	9:50 – 10:50	<p>atenta de lo que se dice en las reuniones para anotar y cuando no estoy anotando tengo que aprovechar para dar mis sugerencias.”</p>
	13:05 – 19:40	<p>Participacion en consulta previa: “Casi no participo en eso, porque cuando se hace reuniones en lugares lejanos como Camiri o Cuevo, casi nunca participo porque tengo una hijita menor todavía. Quizá por eso el capitán no me avisa también, las circunstancias en las que estoy.”</p> <p>Sugerencia para mejorar participación en la consulta previa: “He visto en muchas ocasiones que llega una convocatoria solamente para los capitanes habiendo interés de las bases. Lo que se podría hacer es que se amplíe cupo para más personas, para que participen 7 personas. Para apoyar al capitán y también para estar al tanto de lo que pasa fuera de la comunidad. Y cuando se hace reuniones en Camiri o Cuevo, convoca reuniones para informar a los comunarios. Mayormente los capitanes hacen su informe. Hay algunos comunarios que si quieren participar, pero no cuentan con recursos económicos para su pasaje, y es por eso que uno no participa en la reunión. Con una movilidad sería mejor, las mujeres están dispuestas a participar. Yo digo qué le cuesta a la empresa o el Estado ir a las comunidades, ellos tienen vagonetas, si no les alcanza para pagar a los pasajes. Son mentiras, ellos buscan también para convencer a los capitanes, pero si se van a las comunidades, los comunarios van a empezar a reflexionar y analizar y recién después decidir. Una sola persona necesita tener otra idea o sugerencia para poder tomar una decisión gracias a la ayuda también y así nosotros podemos analizar y de ahí recién decidir. De ahora en adelante vamos a hacer todo esto.”</p>
	19:50 – 21:10	
	21:30- 24:30	<p>Conocimiento en comunidad acerca de la consulta previa: “Nunca se ha sabido de eso, porque si hubiera pasado eso, ya estuviéramos al tanto, y estaríamos más preocupados también por lo que vamos a estar afectados. Pero como no participamos en las reuniones grandes. Le</p>

		informaron al capitán que solo van a estar afectados Arenal y Timbuirenda.” Habla de emergencia del agua, que el Estado venga a ver su situación y de un apoyo
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_30ASEF
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 19.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: asesora del proceso, ingeniera

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	17:25 – 19:00	“Los que participan menos son las mujeres, porque en este proceso, venían de los 3 participantes por comunidad, venían unas 7 en total de las 19 comunidades. Ahora, lo que pasa en el contexto de la inspección del campo, lo que es el evento más fundamental, las mujeres no van, por lo que hay que caminar, son solamente las más jóvenes o las capitanas que van, y es lamentable porque conocen bien la zona y para georeferenciarlo. Porque luego para sistematizarlo nos faltaba tiempo e información. Pero los que menos participan son las mujeres, en cuestión de plantas y eso, ellas son las que más saben.”
	19:15 – 20:45	Explicación de la discrepancia entre participación al nivel comunal y en la consulta: “Yo creo que todavía existe en las mujeres del campo, eso que el hombre lleva la palabra. En una reunión siempre van a estar delante son los hombres y las mujeres están al fondo, y solo hablan dos o tres mujeres, y si se pregunta por qué, dicen que es por sus hijos y vienen con sus niños chicos y si lloran, se salen. Y después en las reuniones comunales si hablan y una vez pregunté a una mburuvicha y me dice que tiene vergüenza y miedo de equivocarse, mientras que cuando

	33:00 – 34:00	<p>están en grupo más pequeño y ya se conocen, uno no tiene tanta vergüenza. Pero cuando hay gente externa, como Ministerio y empresa, mucho peor, y también por esa razón prefieren hablar en guaraní, pero al mismo tiempo saben que las personas en adelante no entienden su idioma. Es eso: vergüenza, miedo, el idioma.”</p> <p>Recomendaciones para mejorar participación de las mujeres: “crear espacios para las mujeres también, dale su propio espacio. La presentación de los derechos ya es tan monótono, y la gente se está aburriendo, entonces en vez de eso se podría dar un espacio para las mujeres, capacitaciones por lo de los derechos, debería ser más puntual”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	16:30 – 17:00	“No sabemos, y los que saben, los mburuvichas antigüos, no van, unos por la edad y otros por ni siquiera se los ha tomado en cuenta”
Jóvenes	21:00 – 23:40	“Hay varios jóvenes que participaron, son de 20 y más por arriba, después no hay, y deberían estar informados, porque si sale bien, los proyectos van a volver a entrar a la zona, pero hay poca participación. Y es principalmente por falta de interés, porque muchos piensan irse de la zona, quieren ir a estudiar.... Es que en esa zona solo se dedica a la agricultura, muy poco a otras cosas, también es solo para el autoconsumo, por la sequía no se puede producir más para vender... Además los jóvenes tienen mejor acceso a vehículos y así salen y vienen y salen más.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local	25:00 – 27:00	“Siempre se hace las reuniones aquí en Camiri, cuando los proyectos se realizan allá. Para la anterior consulta los (del Ministerio) llevamos a las comunidades, para ver también la distancia, hacían una olla en común y las mujeres también participan así, escuchando lo que se dice en los eventos, participan todos los comunarios. Mientras que aquí no se puede. Por lo menos la comunidad se informa más, es importante que sea en el lugar”

Discapacidad	24:00 – 24:30	“No conozco a ninguno, solo hay varios niños, pero personas mayores no conozco”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales	34:30 – 39:20	“En las comunidades hay influencia de las empresas, aquí en la dirección no porque es un proceso porque en las comunidades es más fácil. Porque si es por un chaco, es más personal, buscan al mburuvicha de la comunidad y no explican bien. En Karaparicito: dijeron que solamente querían hacer una medida, un estudio, y entraron, el capitán dio permiso, y pusieron una máquina. Siempre llega la empresa para conseguir más rápidamente lo que quiere. Dicen que no hay tiempo, no dan tiempo, no es que no dicen nada, pero solo a grandes rasgos, no dan explicaciones, no dan la oportunidad para que las comunidades puedan llamar algún técnico, y la gente no entiende de los detalles y firman. Como son autoridades (lo mburuvichas) no quieren mostrar la ignorancia, que no saben sobre el tema. Varias veces ha pasado eso. De Andina no se ha escuchado, pero de Total si se ha visto: han dado regalos para ganarse la gente, crean distracciones (promesas como empleo para las comunidades como choferes para la empresa, dieron cursos, pero al final solo emplearon a 5 en vez de 25)
Otras	3:00 – 5:00 5:30 – 7:15	Participación en la consulta: “Cuando se trata de proyectos es muy poca la participación, el Estado lo limita, cuando son proyectos de una sola TCO, pero cuando se trata de una, dos o tres TCO’s se limita el número de participantes, sin embargo, la línea va por todas las comunidades en la TCO Kaami, ya conocen el proceso los mburuvichereta y mandan a otros. Y todo se refleja en el presupuesto. El motivo económico es una debilidad muy grande, porque lo cortan.” “Por eso sería lindo de ir comunidad por comunidad e informar del proyecto, al menos las más afectadas, para las demás se puede hacer una socialización del proyecto, eso han pedido los mismos comunarios. Porque lo que pasó es que unos comunarios se enteraron cuando vieron trabajadores por ahí y preguntaron, qué está

	<p>7:20 – 9:20</p> <p>10:00 – 11:00</p>	<p>haciendo por ahí?, cuando el proceso de consulta ya pasó, pero ellos recién se están enterando. El proceso de consulta tal como está evita que todos los afectados se puedan informar de la misma manera, solo el directorio sabe, el resto no. El directorio también tiene otras cosas que hacer y hace no transmite toda la información, pero es una obligación del Estado de tener informado todo el área afectado. La gran debilidad es lo económico.”</p> <p>Cuentan de zonas afectadas, cuales son</p> <p>“Otra debilidad de lo económico es que no se puede imaginar cuánto uno paga para el camino, por eso hemos pedido que vayan a las comunidades y vean, de dónde tiene que venir. Y siempre dicen que es un presupuesto que viene del gobierno, que no se puede cambiar, motivos por los cuales se disminuye la participación de los mburuvichas. Y mientras menos veamos, mejor para la empresa” (como estrategia de la empresa para realizar proyecto sin oposición)</p> <p>Cual comunidad son afectadas (p.ej. Timbuienda) efectos (tiempo de cosecha, chaco, árboles)</p>
	<p>12:30 – 15:10</p> <p>15:10 – 16:20</p>	<p>Material que dan, como mapas: “ni los técnicos entienden lo que dice, como van a entender los comunarios, y ni ellos saben por dónde va la línea, no había coordinación entre empresa y Estado” (los que estaban en inspección de campo)</p>
	<p>28:00 – 29:00</p> <p>29:20 – 32:20</p>	<p>“No vienen los mismos técnicos del Ministerio y muchas veces no están al tanto de lo que pasó en actividades anteriores. Y se ha pedido eso desde el principio, pero nunca se ha cumplido eso, para negociar al final vienen otros”</p>
	<p>41:40 – 44:50</p>	<p>Sugerencia para mejorar participación: “Que se vaya comunidad por comunidad, sabemos que se va a tardar, pero el presupuesto podría ser el mismo o menos, porque ellos se tendrían que movilizar y los técnicos. Se va a informar a todos, y si se hace en la tarde no hay que pagar para</p>

		<p>alimentos. Hacer medio día en vez de un día. Pero es tiempo de ellos, que los impide, para ir a una comunidad a otra. Es cosa de movilizarse”</p> <p>Recomendaciones para que el Estado respete más la estructura, usos y costumbres de los pueblos guaraní: “el Estado tiene que ser parcial, no puede ser ni en favor de la empresa ni en favor de los mburuvichas, porque siempre se ha visto que el Estado es en favor de la empresa con el lema de que es un desarrollo para el país, vienen y hacen lo que quieren, el presupuesto incluso lo mandan a Total. El pueblo guaraní no quiere dificultar el desarrollo del país, pero tampoco quieren que pasen por encima, que no respeten su estructura orgánica. El mismo Estado tiene su jerarquía, pero la empresa no respeta eso, y cuando llega la denuncia al mismo Estado, el Estado promete de averiguar, pero hasta ahora no se sabe nada. Y eso tuvimos en Karaparicito, la empresa violó la estructura orgánica, hicimos un bloqueo, las empresas sobornaron a los mburuvichas para no interferir ha causado división en las comunidades. Entonces no, si hubiese sido un Estado imparcial hubiera investigado, y la empresa hubiera pagado una multa y tenido antecedentes”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_1ASEM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 10.11.2014
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: asesor de consulta, ahora: gran capitán zonal de la TCO Kaami

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	20:30 – 22:20	“Se toma en cuenta a las mujeres dentro del proceso de la consulta, sin dejar de lado. No hay muchas capitanas pero, solo 4 de la TCO, en
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		realidad son pocas las mujeres que quieren ser dirigentes, para las mujeres siempre es un poco complicado dejar a su casa, sus hijos, los hombres igual son un poco crítico con eso”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	7:40 – 8:05	Habla de plan estratégico de capitania cómo trabajar mejor con los jóvenes
	8:05 – 9:10	“En otros departamentos ya hay jóvenes profesionales, y aquí todavía hace falta y se necesita, por eso quiero como capitán trabajar con ellos para preguntarles cómo quieren mejorar su comunidad, la juventud académica tiene las ideas claras cómo se puede mejorar las condiciones en las que viven sus comunidades
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	3:15 – 7:40	Sobre participación en consulta previa: “en el proceso de la consulta obviamente no se ha conseguido que toda la población afectado haya participado como dice la ley obligatoriamente...Mucha gente todavía no conoce el proceso de la consulta, para qué es... Además el MHE limita la participación a través del presupuesto, como hay un presupuesto limitado para la cantidad de personas que va a participar, entonces el espacio que queda no es amplio. Mínimamente participan los capitanes, el directorio, pero los que mayormente participan son la gente mayor y algunos que se interesan por el proceso también. Aquí se debería priorizar los jóvenes, incentivarlos, porque son el futuro del país.”
	11:10 – 13:25	Prácticas de la empresa: “El hecho de que la empresa manipule el proceso, eso se está haciendo normal, esa situación, las petroleras forman parte del Estado, pero de hecho esas

	<p>13:35 – 16:00</p> <p>16:20 – 17:20</p> <p>17:40 – 19:00</p> <p>19:00 – 20:25</p>	<p>empresas bolivianas todavía tienen un vínculo con las transnacionales, y se trata de ganarse la voluntad de la gente, a veces sin permiso o sin consentimiento en una asamblea, entonces evocan a los líderes de las comunidades para que ellos puedan hacer otro trato, y ese trato es más personal, para que se pueda tener esa facilidad de entrar al territorio y ejecutar sus proyectos. Entonces ahí implica la responsabilidad constante y clara del dirigente en el momento que habla con los operadores de la empresa para que no ingreses sin consulta al territorio.</p> <p>Sugerencias para prevenir esas prácticas empresariales: “Se puede evitar, hay que trabajar en el tema de comunicación de los dirigentes. Hay personas que son respetuosos, pero también hay gente que no respeta la estructura propia de la organización... Las empresas se aprovechan de la situación, les sale fácil de entrar las comunidades, hablarle bonito al capitán e intentan de tener un acuerdo ilegal entre la empresa y la organización (guaraní)... Todo eso depende de los funcionarios de la petrolera, hay mucha diferencia entre los que ya conocen el sistema de vida de los guaraní y respetan su forma de vida y los que no conocen”</p> <p>Sugerencias para el Estado en eso: “No se aplican las leyes, y eso es una falta grave estatal de los derechos de los guaraní, el Estado como autoridad competente debería hacer un seguimiento, la tarea es del Estado”</p> <p>Sobre el carácter representativo de la consulta “No veo que se respeta los usos y costumbres de los pueblos guaraní porque los técnicos del Ministerio imponen, esa imposición ya se puede entender como una falta grave, eso viene de la parte política del Estado”</p> <p>Carácter representativo: “No se cumple, el carácter representativo no se cumple hoy en día, por el mismo hecho de que el Estado se está en eso de querer cambiar la situación de Bolivia indígena, solamente cuando le conviene, es representativo”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_3MNMt
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Idioma de entrevista: castellano
 Fecha de entrevista: 12.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	12:50 – 14:00	“Eso es lo que pasa aquí, hay más mujeres en las reuniones, los hombres trabajan, es casi puras mujeres, eso es lo que dicen las mujeres a veces: “no tenemos maridos” dicen, porque sus esposos no quieren venir. A veces les dicen, y después cuentan a sus maridos de lo que se trató en las reuniones, y a veces ellos no escuchan, y no es igual, uno debería asistir la reunión, también para entender mejor”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	22:15 – 23:40 24:20 – 24:45	“Ya no quieren a personas así de edad, todo tiene que ser casi puros jóvenes, el año pasado todavía eran más viejitos en cargos, pero se cansan, especialmente de los viajes, dos o tres días a otra zona a veces, por eso todos hemos decidido que ya habría que cambiar eso, ellos mismos han declarado que es bueno tener a más jóvenes” Lo que los impide en participación: “Se han cansado de andar, y algunos también tienen su trabajo, y si tienen que viajar de aquí allá y allá, su trabajo queda abandonado, por eso algunos quieren salir porque tienen su trabajo”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		

Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	3:00 – 8:30	Habla de la situación de la sequía, falta de agua, consecuencia para la cosecha, el maíz
	11:00 – 12:55	Cuenta de individuos que no participan, pero no sabe las razones, dice que seguramente no dan importancia a las reuniones, “a la mujer nada más manda, solo toma, pero también está mal de rodilla, está enfermo”
	18:20 - 18:50	Desventajas de no participación: “No se recibe beneficios cuando uno no participa, no recibe vívere, alimento del Estado por ejemplo, si no participa, es su castigo”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_4MNmt_no_indig
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista:	castellano
Fecha de entrevista:	12.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	54
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunario, no indígena

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	11:50 – 12:15	“Las mujeres hablan y deciden en las reuniones, por eso se hace las reuniones en la tarde, así pueden participar todos”
Práctica Lingüística	8:55 – 9:40	“En las reuniones se habla más guaraní que castellano. Yo solo hablo castellano, somos dos que solo hablan castellano. A veces pregunto a los otros para entender.”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	8:00 – 8:30	“No hay casi jóvenes aquí, han viajada, se han ido a Santa Cruz, Villa Monte por motivos de trabajo, hartos se han ido”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		

Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	6:30 – 8:00	Los que no participan: “Son los que han viajado, no sé qué razones hay, están ocupados también”
	10:50 – 11:15	Razones para no participación en reuniones: “A veces vienen muy pocos, están trabajando, solo están sus mujeres, sus esposas”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_6MNMt
Nombre de entrevistador: Daniela Morales
Idioma de entrevista: Guaraní
Fecha de entrevista: 11.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 59
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	15:05- 16:25	Los hombres dan privilegio a las mujeres para que así participen todos. Las mujeres no participan en Camiri por la distancia.
Práctica Lingüística	9:50- 10:30	Falta de participación por no hablar castellano.
Tercera Edad	21:05- 23:10	Los de la tercera edad no participan casi por que ya son viejito y ya nadie le avisa para que participen en las reuniones, solo su hijos participan y ya ellos se informan de sus hijos lo q pasa. También ya no pueden caminar lejos pero si lo toman en cuenta. Otros dicen que no les interesa por lo que ya son mayores.
Jóvenes	17:20- 18:20	Los jóvenes no participan, no tienen interés o si no se quedan lejos mirando. Y dejan que solo los mayores participen. O si no dicen que por que debo participar si no paro aquí” porque ellos van a SCZ, a Camiri por motivo de estudio y trabajo.
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	-	-
Situación económica	-	-Siembran hortaliza

Contexto local	-	Las vocales si cumplen con sus funciones porque les avisa cuando hay reuniones.
Discapacidad	-	-
Relación con otros comunarios	-	-
Conflictos sociales	-	-
Otras	9:40-10:30	Vergüenza en general
	19:40-20:20	Recomendación para mejorar participación por parte de los dirigentes con el estado o con la empresa.
	21:50-22:10	Otras razones por no participación: por enfermedad

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_7MNMm_no_indig

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Idioma de entrevista: castellano

Fecha de entrevista: 12.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: 31

Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario, no indígena

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

<u>Género</u>		
Práctica Lingüística	10:40 – 12:40	“Ahí en Arenal hablan guaraní, hablan igual castellano, yo he ido trabajado allá, y hablan su idioma, no se entiende en las reuniones si uno no habla guaraní. Aquí en las reuniones son los mayores que hablan guaraní, conversan en guaraní”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		

Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	4:00 – 5:00 5:10 – 6:00 7:00 – 8:30 8:40 – 9:30 12:40 – 14:30 16:00- 16:20	Cuenta de reuniones en comunidad, son 32 familias que hay allá Cuenta de proyectos con YPFB Andina, proyectos de apoyo Cuenta de reuniones, tienen lugar los sábados o domingos porque esos días no trabajan, hacen una olla común, se reúnen en la escuela Motivos para no participar: “Debe ser por trabajo, no se sabe, no quieren ir normalmente, porque nosotros los invitamos, quizá están ocupados” Habla de la toma de decisiones, mayoritaria... Apoyo a mburuvicha de comunidad para representarla en reuniones zonales, un tipo de viatico, financiado por la comunidad

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_8ANMj
Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos
Idioma de entrevista: guaraní
Fecha de entrevista: 13.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 22 años
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	18:09- 18:38	“Hasta que yo sepa no hay maltrato a la mujer. Si se trata de una reunión, se habla en parejas, los dos, o sea el hombre y la mujer deciden que hacer y toman la decisión”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	21:40- 22:11	“Se respeta mucho a los ancianos, se da mucho valor a ellos. Ellos tienen mucho conocimiento.

	22:50-23:21	<p>Tienen muchos conocimientos acerca de la organización y del tema de la familia”</p> <p>“Tenemos planificado de trabajar con las personas mayores para recuperar todo lo que es nuestro y que sean consejeros, asesor para la comunidad”</p>
Jóvenes	19:35-19:55	<p>“Mayormente participan los jóvenes porque son para ellos mismos porque de aquí en adelante algunos de ellos van a ser líderes, capitanes de las comunidades, ellos siempre dan sus opiniones y mayormente todos participan en las reuniones”</p>
	28:15-32:15	<p>“Jovenes que están en el colegio deberían participar más, tienen más conocimiento, y tienen menos ambiciones económicos. Así no tienen problemas con su comunidad. Los capitanes deberían trabajar más con jóvenes. Los jóvenes pueden ayudar a redactar cartas, o si líder no entiende el tema, para eso es importante que ellos puedan ayudar. Para tomar un cargo luego, es importante que aprendan dentro de la comunidad. También debería haber capacitaciones o talleres, algún especialista en temas ambientales, quizá se puede hacer algún convenio con los colegios para que ellos pasen clases sobre las necesidades que tiene la comunidad, los problemas de la comunidad.”</p>
	32:20-35:15	<p>Situacion económica: “Hay mucha falta de recursos económicos para poder ir y estudiar. Algunos salen bachilleres y no hacen nada. En muchos casos los padres ya son mayores y ya no están para poder apoyar a sus hijos. Algunos empiezan a tomar drogas... Y muchos salen de su comunidad en busca de trabajo.</p>
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		

Otras	0:00-6:40	<p>Problema de seguridad! “Seguridad lo describe de la siguiente manera: habla de necesidades en comunidad y situación de sequía, problema de trabajo, problemas de cortes de agua, casi no llueve, siembras se están secando, animales también necesitan agua, no hay seguridad para los humanos y animales, 50% de la gente se dedican a la agricultura, solo 4% lograron algo en la siembra (mayormente maíz), para comprar una bolsa para sembrar cuesta 50 dólares”</p>
	6:50-10:25	<p>En cada familia hay un medidor de agua, también una persona responsable como medidor de agua al nivel de la comunidad</p>
	10:55-15:15	<p>Consulta previa: “Casi no estoy al tanto de eso. Yo paro en Camiri, ahora estoy donde mi primo. He escuchado de la consulta con YPFB Andina. Se hicieron una reunión grande. Primero se hizo una buena coordinación, pero después un dirigente se metió sin consultar a su base, ni siquiera dio información a su base. Lo secamos como capitán. La empresa dio 1 millón para tres zonas: Ñembuite, Alto Parapetí y Kaami. Dependemos mayormente de la APG, y ellos dan permiso para que las empresas entren en las comunidades y las consultas se hacen en Camiri. Solo participan los dirigentes, porque dicen que solo llegan invitaciones para el directorio, para los que tienen cargo. Por eso solo van los capitanes y dan informes.... Si los capitanes no dan informes sobre las reuniones, se saca a ellos.”</p>
	15:50-16:30	
	17:45-18:21	<p>Participación personal en las reuniones: “Participo de vez en cuando, además cuando una reunión es importante si participo. Eso sé porque una semana antes se hace el aviso, cuando se trata del agua o de los problemas que hay, por ejemplo, es importante.”</p>
	24:40-27:25	<p>“Quizá no puedo decir cosas exactas de lo que pasa adentro, porque mayormente soy joven y soltero y muchas cosas de las parejas y las decisiones que se toman...”</p>
		<p>Sugerencia para mejorar proceso de consulta: “En caso de la consulta, la mayoría debería poder</p>

	35:30-37:31	<p>participar ya que es un tema delicado, para evitar todo tipo de problema que participen varios de cada comunidad, no solo 2 personas. Si solo van dos personas, especialmente en temas financieras seguramente se van a quedar con una parte de la plata que es para la comunidad. No van a gastar todo, pero... Si van 5 personas, deberían ir jóvenes también, deberían incluirse 2 jóvenes, para ver la situación de su misma comunidad.”</p> <p>“Los que se interesan por su comunidad y van a las reuniones tienen que buscar por su propia cuenta, su propio medio. A veces ni siquiera los tratan bien en una reunión, vienen sin desayunar, sin almorzar, sin devolver el pasaje. Incluso los capitanes no reciben sueldo. Tienen que buscar su propio medio. Un capitán por el simple hecho de ser un capitán, no le hace diferente a otra persona. También él necesita el apoyo y para apoyar a su familia. Y a veces la gente no entiende eso. Ellos sufren hambre. Para llevar adelante a su comunidad, necesitan una movilidad. Qué por lo menos vean esos aspectos, las empresas. Y así solucionar el problema.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_9ANMm
Nombre de entrevistador: Daniela Morales
Idioma de entrevista: Guaraní
Fecha de entrevista: 11.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: 54
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Segunda capitana de la comunidad

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	2:08-2:51	“Aquí se ve más participación de las mujeres que los hombres. Las mujeres todas bajan todas a la reunión, porque los hombres trabajan y mandan a su esposa para que puedan participar.”
Práctica Lingüística	3:42-3:55	“Aquí mayormente hablamos guaraní, solamente los jóvenes hablan castellano. Pero en si se hace reuniones en guaraní.”

Tercera Edad	3:05-3:42	“Siempre existe la vergüenza, porque los mayores mayormente tienen vergüenza de participar. Porque hay personas que son tímidas y no pueden participar.”
	9:47-10:20	“Los que menos participan son los de la tercera edad, porque ya tienen su bono y ya no quieren participar. Y dicen para qué voy a ir, ya estoy más viejito.”
	10:40-11:10	
	14:00-14:30	La mayoría: las mayores, también por vergüenza relacionada a idioma, entendido por la entrevistada como grupo que menos participa
	23:50-25:20	Reconfirmación: “los de la tercera edad, ellos” (grupo que menos participa), dos abuelos que casi ya no quieren participar, solo sus hijos y nietos, “no puedo, no entiendo” dicen
	22:30	Unos viejitos que se han ido a Camiri, como ejemplo de no haber sido incluido en una reunión (cuando se pregunta por personas excluidas en reuniones), nadie quería defenderlos, entrevistado dice que hay que comunicar, hay que apoyarlos, “nadie se va a quedar joven”
		Recomendación para su mejorar su participación: hablarles, ir a su casa, hacerles entender
Jóvenes	14:25-14:55	“Los jóvenes deberían perder la vergüenza de hablar. Porque los jóvenes son el futuro de esta comunidad. Porque ellos tienen un estudio de más alto nivel y ellos ya tienen otra mentalidad.
	17:20-18:20	Cuando están los jóvenes, entonces participan, “pero casi no paran por aquí”, se van a Camiri, a SCZ, a Villa Monte; pero deberían estar allí, también para tener proyectos
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad	-	-
Situación económica	-	-
Contexto local	-	-

Discapacidad	10:15-10:59	“Hay una señora que no puede ver y no puede participar en la reunión. Pero se reconoce cuando viene algún vibere, se hace reconocer y se entrega, la base lo lleva a su casa. Yo creo que en eso, no se deja a un lado. Se reconoce.”
Relación con otros comunarios	-	-
Conflictos sociales	-	-
Otras	4:05-4:45	Participación de familias en reuniones: “A veces vamos todos, a veces solamente el jefe de la casa. Si no tienen tiempo, se va la esposa. Ya ella cuenta, de qué se habla en la reunión.”
	5:13-7:10	Consulta previa: “He escuchado, una vez hicieron reunión con la empresa. Pero creo que no lo hicieron bien, porque los mburuvichereta no dialogaron con la comunidad, porque parece que les dan plata. Parece que no hablaron con su base. Y la base no dice nada. Qué van a hacer. Creo que ya lo aceptaron. Ya firmaron, eso hemos escuchado, ya hicieron trato. Pero si nos va a afectar. Pero qué más vamos a hacer si ya lo aceptaron? No hay agua, peor será aquí en adelante. Sí nos afecta, porque en el ojo de agua ya no va a haber. Ya no tendremos para sembrar.”
	7:10-8:55	
	9:05-9:35	Habla de falta de agua y de comité de agua
	11:15-11:57	Sugerencia para mejorar participación: “Tener la misma visión, tener un acuerdo entre los comunarios”
	12:01-12:25	Participación en consulta previa: “De aquí los comunarios no salen a participar en otros lados, no tienen para el pasaje. Pero los mburuvichereta sí. Nosotros los comunarios damos un aporte.”
	12:30-13:03	Otras razones para falta de participación en consulta previa: “A veces algunos de los

	16:00-16:35	dirigentes no tienen para su pasaje. Es la falta de interés de los dirigentes.”
	19:25-20:35	<p>Qué se puede hacer para mejorar participación en consulta: “Si hubiera un camión que nos recoja, ahí si podríamos participar todos, creo que hace falta eso. En otras comunidades hay eso, vienen a recoger, eso es lo que falta.”</p> <p>Habla de necesidad de agua y ayuda</p> <p>Lo que hace falta en comunidad para estar preparados para consulta: “Talleres, ahorita estamos sin técnicos, yo creo que los que tienen experiencia, deberían apoyarnos, porque nosotros no tenemos ni una experiencia ni eso. La consulta la que hacen ellos, el impacto, el presupuesto, cuanto nos pueden dar. No estamos preparados para eso. Aún no sabemos cómo se hace la negociación con la empresa.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_10ANft
Nombre de entrevistador:	Daniela Morales Morales
Idioma de entrevista:	guaraní
Fecha de entrevista:	14.10.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunaria

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	0:25-1:07	“Yo ya no participo mucho, ya soy más viejita, ya no puedo ir, de vez en cuando voy, antes cuando era sana, siempre participaba en las reuniones. Y ahora también vivo con mi nieta. También estoy mal de rodilla.”
	8:05-8:31	“Algunos ya no participan porque están enfermos, como yo, tengo problemas con mi

		rodilla. Creo que eso es la razón por la ausencia de los mayores en las reuniones.
Jóvenes	1:21-1:37	“Mis hijos, ellos van si están por acá, porque ellos trabajan por Santa Cruz, porque no hay trabajo por aquí. Los jóvenes se van de aquí y después vuelven”
	2:02-2:25	“El mburuvicha que tenemos es muy joven, parece como que no supiera nada. No tiene ni idea de nuestra necesidad, creo que no comprende su cargo. “
	4:25-5:46	“Ahora ni vemos la participación de los jóvenes, que alguien los anime a participar, porque ellos tienen un nivel de estudios más alto que nosotros, se debería animar a los jóvenes, son el futuro de la comunidad....No se ve mucho la participación. Creo que hay celo en los jóvenes, por los cargos, porque el mburuvicha anterior no daba lugar a los jóvenes, porque incluso no querían salir de su cargo, tenían que sacarlos a la fuerza para dar lugar a los jóvenes. Yo creo que los mburuvichereta son los que deberían incentivar a los jóvenes. Apoyarlos, aconsejarlos, quisiera que les den apoyo en la comunidad.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	0:02-0:34	Comportamiento de mburuvicha en comunidad: “A veces el mismo mburuvicha no habla bien, ni siquiera nos da apoyo a nosotros. El solamente se reúne con unas cuantas personas.”
	1:55-2:02	Comportamiento del mburuvicha: “Años ya hemos sufrido porque nuestro mburuvicha no coordina con la comunidad y por eso ahora cambiado”
	2:35-3:21	Comportamiento del mburuvicha: “Mas antes también tuvimos a una mburuvicha, se llamaba Señora Olga, ella en su tiempo buscaba mucha

	3:21-4:09	<p>ayuda. Pero la sacaron del cargo porque había mucho en su contra y la cambiaron. Así es la comunidad, andamos mal por los problemas que hay. Creo que depende del mburuvicha.”</p>
	5:44-8:17	<p>Participación en la comunidad: “Aquí no hay mucha participación, solo se ve unos cuantos adultos. Yo creo que el problema es que no hay integración de los que vivimos aquí, porque a veces hay discusiones en las reuniones, yo creo que eso está mal y desanima para participar. Los que tienen cargos, creo que para ellos mismos piden ayuda. Y debido a esto existen enfrentamiento en la comunidad.”</p>
	8:35-9:02	<p>Consulta previa: “Las empresas hicieron una consulta con los mburuvichereta. Pero en caso de nuestra comunidad, el mburuvicha saliente personalmente hizo negocios con la empresa, no informó a la comunidad sobre ese tema y no lo consultó con su base. Él se agarró la plata que era para la comunidad, creo que hasta se llevó para depositarlo al banco. Lo denunciaron a la policía. Incluso lo pusieron a la cárcel. No hemos progresado mucho. Perjudicó mucho a la comunidad, hasta el mismo se perjudicó a sí mismo como persona. Parece que en este tiempo los mburuvichereta solo trabajan para llenar su bolsillo, ya no para el bien de su comunidad. Un mburuvicha debería reunir y consultar primero a su comunidad. Cuando llega algún proyecto, cuando se presenta alguna ayuda, ver entre todos los comunarios la situación. Ver si nos conviene o si nos va a afectar en algo... Eso debería hacer un mburuvicha.”</p> <p>“Yo sugiero que hagan alguna capacitación cuando vienen algunos proyectos a mi comunidad, quisiera que alguien.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

II_11ANFm

Nombre de entrevistador:

Daniela Morales Morales

Idioma de entrevista:

guaraní

Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado:
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	1:20 - 2:00 2:02 - 6:05 P1:6 :25- 7:55	<p>Participación en comunidad: “Todos participamos, solo unos 20 o 15 que vayamos a la reunión. Yo estoy enferma, ese día de las elecciones, yo estaba mal.”</p> <p>Cambio de participación en la comunidad: “Ahora ya vemos unos 20 para arriba porque ya hicieron cambio de mburuvicha, porque hubo problemas, se metió con los politiqueros, con el anterior no se llevaron bien. Ahí empezaron los problemas: sacan plata de la comunidad. Ya no trabajan, ya no coordinan, porque ya están divididos pues. Debido a eso ya están separados políticamente. Ya no hacen saber a la comunidad cuando hay proyectos. La comunidad está dividida: unos se van por el verde, otros por el MAS, porque en Cuevo ganó el Evo, y ya no quieren saber del Ribby (de los verdes), a ver cómo quedan. Los comunarios se van a reunir y ver cómo solucionar eso, entre todos los comunarios.”</p> <p>Nuevo mburuvicha: “Con el nuevo mburuvicha vemos más participación. Antes poco se reunían. Con el mburuvicha saliente, la gente se peleaba, los hombres entre sí, las mujeres entre sí. Ya no había más participación. El conflicto surgió, porque se metieron con los políticos, así empezaron la pelea entre ellos.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: entrevista vocal
 Nombre de entrevistador: Daniela Morales
 Idioma de entrevista: Guaraní
 Fecha de entrevista: 11.10.2014
 Edad del entrevistado:
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: vocal del mburuvicha

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	10:55- 11:20	“Los hombres se ve más en cargos, porque más hablan, más dan su opinión y más pueden salir. En cambio para nosotras es más difícil poder salir.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	0:02- 0:32	“Los que si participan son las personas mayores.”
	2:45- 3:47	“Ya no se permite casi que participen en las reuniones, porque ya son adultos. El mburuvicha mismo dio este orden porque siempre vemos en las reuniones que hay desconformidad por algo y empiezan con las discusiones y eso es lo que se quiere evitar. Porque eso puede causar daño en su salud.”
Jóvenes	00:30- 1:35	Lo que les impide a los jóvenes: “No tienen interés en la reunión. Pero cuando llega ayuda a la comunidad, ellos también reciben. Y eso está mal si ellos nunca han participado en las reuniones. Y eso es lo que vinimos reclamando. Los jóvenes viven tranquilos en su casa.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	-	-
Situación económica	-	-
Contexto local	-	-
Discapacidad	-	-
Relación con otros comunarios	-	-
Conflictos sociales	-	-
Otras	4:32- 5:08	Discriminación en reuniones: “Sí, cuando una persona está opinando y vemos que no la toma en cuenta, es como no les importara y se ríen de él. También cuando hay enfrentamientos entre

	<p>6:08-7:45</p> <p>11:30-19:55</p> <p>20:45-22:15</p>	<p>familias. Y ahí aprovechan para empezar con sus peleas y discusiones.”</p> <p>Función del vocal: “Soy el vocal del mburuvicha. La función es ir y avisar casa por casa si no les mando un mensaje a su celular si no puedo, entonces mando una nota a mis bases y si no a mis hijas, porque lo tengo que hacer firmar y volverlo a la base. Para mí es difícil es cargo, porque a veces vienen para decirme que va a haber reunión en la mañana y no hay con quien dejar a mi hija pequeña, además sus hermanitas estudian y mis padres y mi esposo trabajan. Somos dos en el cargo aquí.”</p> <p>Consulta previa: “Sí he escuchado, pero no han consultado con la comunidad. Mayormente con el mburuvicha anterior, por eso lo sacaron del cargo. Dijeron que agarro plata del comunario. Ahí empezaron los problemas. El solo no pudo agarrar plata de la comunidad. Los empresarios mismos vinieron a la comunidad. Él ya había sacado plata y todos los detalles hicieron saber. Él ni siquiera vino, después de volvió a Camiri o Santa Cruz, como si estuviera huyendo. Ya no paraba en su casa. Por lo menos queríamos que nos explicara. Él se estaba alimentando bien con nuestra plata. En este tiempo la sequía era fuerte. Llegó la policía para agarrarlo. Ya lo había depositado al banco. Y le había comprado computadora para su hija y el resto depositó al banco. La gente acá no estaba enterada de que empresarios querían ingresar a nuestra tierra ni de la consulta, nada. Recién estos días se enteraron de todo eso. El mburuvicha no dijo nada, solo que la plata estaba depositada en el banco. Al final solo eran 13 mil y el resto parece que ya lo había gastado. No querían entregarlo a nadie por lo que pasó, ya no hay confianza en nadie. Ahora ya hay otro mburuvicha, es nuevo, es joven”</p> <p>Participación en la consulta: “Yo creo que si se encuentra para su pasaje, entonces van. Cada cual por el pasaje: si no hay pasaje, tampoco van. Si hubiera un camión que los llevé y vuelve a llevar, habría más participación. Algunas veces</p>
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		vamos puras mujeres, otras veces puros hombres.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_12ANFT

Nombre de entrevistador: Daniela Morales Morales

Idioma de entrevista: guaraní

Fecha de entrevista: 15.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: no conocido

Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, hermana del mburuvicha saliente

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	0:40- 2:45	“Yo ya no puedo participar, porque dicen que los ancianos, o sea personas mayores ya no pueden participar en las reuniones. Y ya por esa causa no participo. Tal vez dirían que no vamos a entender de lo que se habla. Yo creo que debe ser por eso.... Creo que el mburuvicha saliente propuso eso, porque ya sabe, hicieron cambio de mburuvicha. Se excluye a las personas mayores porque ya los ancianos, las personas mayores, paramos enfermos. Parece que no tomamos atención en las reuniones, debe ser por eso. Aquí todos participan.”
Jóvenes	2:45- 3:01 4:05- 4:55	“Los que no participan son los jóvenes y también los que no quieren ir a la reunión.” “A mí no me parece bien eso, porque ellos, los jóvenes deberían participar más, solo así deben estar informados sobre lo que está pasando en la comunidad. Porque si algunos tienen vergüenza, o son tímidos, yo creo que en la reunión deben perder eso. Participando y participando pierden timidez.” También mira “otros” a partir de 21:45

Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	<p>0:03- 0:40</p> <p>3:11- 4:05</p> <p>4:57- 7:11</p> <p>7:51- 9:56</p> <p>9:57- 16:22</p>	<p>Participación en la comunidad: “Yo hace años que no he participado en las reuniones. Los que van son mis hijos, son los que más están participando.”</p> <p>Razones para no participación: “Los que no participan, no quieren ir a la reunión. No tienen ganas de escuchar ni opinar, prefieren quedarse en casa. Pero cuando hay algún vibere, los primeros son ellos.”</p> <p>Sobre empresa que está entrando, consulta: “Creo que solamente con el mburuvicha tenían contacto, porque con la comunidad en si no estaba enterada, porque recién cuando hicieron reunión, ahí fue que se enteraron de la situación: que el mburuvicha mismo dio pase a los empresarios para que entran. Solamente los mburuvichereta estaban enterados de esto. El otro es el de Timbuienda, el otro es Kapirenda, junto con el mburuvicha de aquí. Creo que le dieron dinero, porque si fuera otra cosa, creo que informarían a su comunidad. Como se trata de dinero, parece que ellos mismos se hicieron quedar. Así no hicieron saber a la comunidad, pero al final se enteraron.”</p> <p>Consulta: “Al parecer ya no hay nada que hacer, porque ya está todo firmado, todo arreglado, ya los mburuvichas le dieron permiso. Nosotros los comunarios ya no podemos hacer nada, ya no podemos anular ese contrato. Cómo vamos a vivir sin agua? Si no hay agua, se pueden morir todos. También para nuestro chaco, para sembrar maíz, yuca, de dónde vamos a sacar agua? Hasta nosotros nos podemos morir sin agua, porque sabemos, vivimos del agua.”</p>

	16:31-19:32	<p>Conflictos: “Ya tampoco podemos hacer nada porque ya todo está dicho. Pero ya para en otra, creo que algunos casos como esto, primero se debe discutir en la reunión, tratar de llegar a un acuerdo y luego ver si este proyecto nos conviene o no nos conviene, si nos afecta o no nos afecta. Porque esos tipos de caso se arregla en las reuniones. Los mburuvichas les dieron permiso, me imagino que les dieron mucha plata, porque del mburuvicha anterior, porque escuchamos que ya había depositado la plata, ese mburuvicha era mi hermano, Julian Cleto. Así como le decía, era mi hermano. Nosotros no dijimos nada, pero otros comunarios se quedaron molestos, porque quién no se va a quedar molesto? Aquí sufriendo la sequía mientras que el estaba por Camiri o Santa Cruz. Ya lo denunciaron a la policía, porque lo que no entregaba la plata, porque esa plata, como Ustedes saben, le corresponde a la comunidad. Si se quiere utilizar la plata, el beneficiario tiene que ser la comunidad. Así lo tuvieron que agarrar y fueron a retirar la plata del banco. Pero creo que se lo había gastado. Hicieron reunión sobre este tema y como sobró la plata, quedaron en repartirse así entre los comunarios y tuvieron que repartir entre los comunarios. Pero con esa plata debería hacer algún proyecto para la comunidad, si tuvieron una mentalidad positiva, deberían hacer algo en común para la comunidad, pero ellos solo pensaban en repartir la plata por lo que estaban molesto, ya no confiaban en nadie. Porque si no hubieron tenido que entregar la plata a algun dirigente o alguna persona, y esta persona puede hacer lo mismo, puede gastar la plata. Para evitar algo decidieron repartir la plata, 100 bolivianos para cada uno. Pero terminando toda esa situación, ya estamos un poco tranquilos, tratando de olvidar este problema.”</p> <p>Como mejorar consulta, hacerla más participativa: “con lo que nos pasó, yo diría que los mburuvichas sepan manejar estos temas y que si hay alguna persona que quiere entrar en nuestra tierra que ellos convoquen a una reunión y que informen a la comunidad y también pasó</p>
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	<p>19:32-21:34</p> <p>21:45-24:35</p>	<p>que los mburuvichas dialoguen con sus bases para que vayan a participar en las reuniones en Camiri. Ustedes deben saber: los que siempre van a estas reuniones son los mburuvichas o si no mburuvichas de cada comunidad, pero para evitar eso, deberían participar todos, todos los que tienen cargo. Y que el estado de algún apoyo para poder participar en Camiri, porque Ustedes saben, lo que hace falta aquí es el pasaje. Porque seguro hay personas que tienen ganas de participar, pero si no tiene para su pasaje, no puede ir. Como Ustedes saben, aquí no hay trabajo. Sería mejor si mandan algún camión, ahí si participarían, y si no que se consigue aquí para su pasaje y que allá les devuelva el pasaje, una devolución. O si no que se reconozca su participación.”</p> <p>Falta de participación en reuniones: “Estamos bien entre todos, no sé cómo será en las reuniones ahora, porque solamente van mis hijos, porque yo ya no puedo participar en las reuniones. Yo recuerdo que en mis tiempos, hay algunas personas que se creen que saben todo, que son los únicos que conocen este tema, y ya no dan lugar para que otros participen, opinen por miedo de equivocarse. Yo recuerdo que una persona quiere opinar y la otra persona le dice, que ya hablaron de eso, que no, y la otra persona se siente mal, porque quiere decir que lo que opina está mal. No sé cómo estarán yendo a las reuniones.”</p> <p>Sugerencia puede dar a su comunidad: “Más que todo a los jóvenes, que dialoguen con ellos, que incentiven para que participen. Los jóvenes son el futuro de la comunidad. Los mburuvichas mayores incluso pueden contarles de su experiencia, pueden animarlos y pueden ir casa por casa o ir a la cancha ir decirles que participen. Solo así pueden perder la vergüenza. La mayoría de los jóvenes ya son bachilleres. Ya pueden practicar en las reuniones, es lo que yo sugeriría a los jóvenes, y a los mburuvichas que comuniquen con sus comunidades, que informen a su comunidad. Porque ellos están trabajando para su comunidad, no es para su beneficio, es</p>
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		para la comunidad. Si hay algún proyecto, ese proyecto es para el bienestar de la comunidad.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_13ANMt
Nombre de entrevistador:	Daniela Morales Morales
Idioma de entrevista:	guaraní
Fecha de entrevista:	15.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	4:20-4:55	“Participamos todos, pero a veces solamente van las mujeres, porque nosotros los hombres tenemos que trabajar, si no nuestros hijos. Y si hay tiempo, participamos todos.”
	P2: 0:35-0:58	Cómo es la reacción de los hombres cuando deciden las mujeres en la reunión: “Ellas después van y se los cuentan a sus esposos, esto hablamos en la reunión, en esto quedamos, así, cuentan lo que pasa en la reunión.”
	P2: 1:03-1:35	Qué hacer para que participen más hombres: “Charlando con ellos, con cada persona y hacer las reuniones los domingos porque entre semana no podemos porque trabajamos. Y si fuera los domingos, nos vamos a dar tiempo para participar más.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	3:19-3:25	“En si se ve más participación de las personas mayores.”
Jóvenes	4:55-5:57	Sugerencia para mejorar participación en general: “Que los jóvenes hagan caso a los mayores, que respeten a los mayores y que los jóvenes no esperen a que se les diga que vayan a participar, que ellos mismo se den cuenta que son parte de la comunidad y que si o si tienen que ir a la reunión.”

Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	<p>0:17- 2:58</p> <p>3:01- 3:19</p> <p>3:32- 4:25</p> <p>6:03- 7:38</p> <p>7:41- 11:03</p>	<p>Participación en la comunidad y en consulta: “Lo que yo veo es bueno. Siempre voy cuando hay alguna reunión, solo que la otra vez la empresa para entrar no nos dan ni una plata. Ni tampoco sabíamos de cómo eran los que entraron, no sabemos con quién hicieron trato. Al final si se supo. Yo creo que la empresa solo consultó con el gobierno no consultó con la comunidad. Al último, recién estamos enterados, pero ya estaban adentro. Deberían convocar a los comunarios a una reunión para que nos expliquen lo que van a hacer. Creo que los únicos que participan son los del Alto Parapetí. Y también creo que si mandan algún camión creo que si se va a haber la mayoría de los que quiere participar.”</p> <p>Participación de los comunarios: “Todos participamos, pero no todos hablamos en la reunión, solamente algunos.”</p> <p>Quien no participa en las reuniones: “Los que no quieren escuchar las discusiones, porque siempre hay discusiones, peleas en las reuniones y hay personas a que nos les gusta escuchar esos tipos de discusiones. Y los que también no participan los que están enfermos.”</p> <p>Mejorar participación: “Qué los comunarios no esperen las reuniones para pelearse entre ellos, porque ellos no se dan cuenta que eso desanima a otras personas. Y que el mburuvicha también sea responsable con su cargo, que informe a la comunidad si viene algún proyecto, si hay alguna cosa que hacer. Que consulte primero a la comunidad a lo que él quiere hacer, así los comunarios van a saber si eso beneficia a la comunidad o si eso puede afectar a la</p>

	<p>11:18-13:17</p> <p>13:22-14:35</p>	<p>comunidad. Así entre toda la comunidad llegar a algún acuerdo si se va a aprobar ese proyecto, si lo van a aceptar.”</p> <p>Necesidades en la comunidad: “Aquí en la comunidad tenemos necesidades, como Ustedes pueden ver, tenemos problemas con el agua y con el chaco. El agua viene de un pozo y si eso se seca, de dónde vamos a conseguir agua para nuestra siembra, porque el agua es primordial. Como pueden ver también, tenemos animales, y ellos piden del agua. Que el Estado mande a las empresas a consultarnos primero si tienen algún proyecto que hacer en nuestra TCO. Y que ellos mismo vengan a explicarnos de lo que quieren hacer y estar informado de lo que se quiere realizar, y no recién al último como pasó ahora. Eso, el mburuvicha tiene la culpa, él tenía que consultar primero a la comunidad antes de aceptar.”</p> <p>Razones para no participar en consulta previa: “Si una persona quiere participar, le hace falta para su pasaje. Lo que yo veo es que solamente los que participan son los mburuvichereta, yo creo que ellos participan tal vez porque les devuelven los pasajes y ellos quieren ser los beneficiarios. Y ya no quieren avisar a otras personas a que participen y decirles que hay devolución de pasaje.”</p> <p>Qué se puede hacer para que la participación sea más inclusiva: “Tal vez si los empresarios o alguien que les devuelve pasaje, ahí participarían más, quizá, mandando alguna vagoneta o camión para que los lleve y traiga de nuevo. Así pueden participar más.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

II_14ANFm

Nombre de entrevistador:

Daniela Morales Morales

Idioma de entrevista:

guaraní

Fecha de entrevista:

15.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	11:31-12:15	“Nosotros los mayores, somos los que más participamos, pero somos muy pocos, los mayores, y de los hombres muy poco. Y después informamos a nuestros esposos y cuando hay algun trabajo que hacer, los informamos. Quiza por el motivo de trabajo no participan”
	15:17-15:22	“Los de la tercera edad no participan porque paran enfermos.”
Jóvenes	12:15-12:36	“Peor los jóvenes, creo que nos les gusta ir a las reuniones. Por es que se ve muy poco la participación de la gente.”
	13:25-13:35	“Ni siquiera quieren escribir actas aquí en la comunidad, y eso habiendo bachilleres aquí en la comunidad.”
	14:55-15:07	“Los que no participan en las reuniones son los jóvenes. Los jóvenes porque no quieren participar.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	3:33-6:32	Sobre participación personal en las reuniones: “Yo aun así participo en las reuniones de la comunidad, porque si queremos estar informados, tengo que ir a participar, escuchar y opinar. Solo ahora no he estado yendo por mi enfermedad, me dolía mi tobillo, mi pierna, como si me hubiera cortado con algo. No puedo caminar mucho y he escuchado la campana para la reunión, pero por ese motivo no he ido a la reunión. También hizo un sol fuertísimo. Pero mi esposo si ha participado en las reuniones. La enfermedad que yo tengo, ya llevo casi 20 años con esto, he ido a los médicos y nada. Si me

	16:50-17:45	<p>pasan mis dolores, yo siempre participo en las reuniones.”</p> <p>“Solamente hay una persona ni vidente, a veces la toman en cuenta, cuando hay algun vibere o algun apoyo que viene a la comunidad. Quiza en otras comunidades es diferente.”</p>
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	<p>0:09-3:25</p> <p>6:33-11:25</p>	<p>Participación en la comunidad y problemas: “vamos a las reuniones para ir y pedir alguna cosa para la comunidad, también para ir e informarnos de lo que está pasando en la comunidad. También para cambiar algún mburuvicha. Más antes estábamos con el Alto Parapetí, ahora estamos con Cuevo, que antes se llamaba Ñembuite decían mis abuelos. El mburuvicha lo cambiaron, quizá por su conducta o porque le hacía falta la responsabilidad. Creo que debido a eso, no sabemos por quienes vamos a pedir ayuda. Como le decía, antes estábamos con los del Alto Parapetí, ahora con los de Cuevo. Dónde vamos a pedir ayuda. El Arenal antes se llamaba Ñemcuitirenda en guaraní y lo tradujeron al castellano y así se quedó. Entonces no sabemos por quienes pedir ayuda. Parece que los mburuvichas buscan ayuda para ellos solos, para ellos mismos y ya para la comunidad nada. Yo creo que estando en este cargo uno se olvida de su comunidad, buscando en ese oficio para ellos mismos.”</p> <p>Conflictos en la comunidad: “Antes vivíamos mejor, teníamos apoyo de todo lado, cuando todavía estábamos con los del Alto Parapetí. Ahora nada por los problemas que iban surgiendo en la comunidad, por los mburuvichas, no se llevaban bien con su gente, con la comunidad y hace que la gente esté sin ganas de trabajar juntos y sin participar en la comunidad. Porque el mburuvicha no coordina con su base, eso es lo más primordial, porque por algo son miembros, porque cada 2 o 3 años cambiamos de mburuvicha. Creo que hace falta para que hablen con toda la base, porque entre ellos no se creen y no se llevan bien, se creen más mejor o</p>

	12:45-14:55	<p>en un nivel más alto. Sobre todo ahora con la campaña, que se ve haciendo por los partidos políticos, también se ve la división en la comunidad, porque uno dice soy del verde, el otro dice que es del MAS. Y después cuando un partido gana, van a mirar mal al del otro partido y parece que entre ellos no más se ayudan. Pero eso no debería pasar porque somos de la misma comunidad. Cuando habíamos pedido ayuda del alcalde, creo que eran los verdes, porque ellos saben quiénes les ayudaban, porque me acuerdo que cuando salio la electrificación ni siquiera nos colocaron en nuestra casa y tuvimos que comprar panel solar. Dentro de la comunidad no estábamos unidos. No sé por qué dejaron a tres casas sin luz. Pero creo que eso ya va a acabar, ya va a terminar el mandato del alcalde.”</p>
	15:45-16:22	<p>Motivación para participar: “Cuando llega algun vibere, ahí si se ve harta gente, pero así para ir así a la reunión, no aparecen. Si se convoca una reunión, no viene nadie. Si se anunciamos que va a haber vibere, recién aparece harta gente. Más antes el mburuvicha no convocaba a las reuniones. Por eso lo cambiamos, porque ya sabemos sus cosas, ya no estaba actuando bien por lo que no informaba a la comunidad, por eso lo sacaron del cargo.”</p>
	18:05-19:33	<p>Sobre discriminación en reunión: “algunas personas no quieren tomar en cuenta en sus opiniones, porque algunos están opinando y la persona que está dirigiendo la reunión da la palabra a otra persona.”</p>
	19:55-22:47	<p>Consulta previa: “No estábamos enterados de eso. Hicieron un convenio con los mburuvichas, pero quizá con los capitanes ya que ellos nos informaron de algo, pero no de recibir algún apoyo. Solamente que ya había hecho trato con los del Alto Parapetí. Pero de otro proyecto no.”</p>
	24:17-24:51	<p>Mejorar la participación: “Ese tipo de mburuvicha que no coordina con su comunidad, tiene que cambiar, que nos informe de la empresa y el contrato que se hizo. Como no nos informó, lo tuvimos que cambiar. Yo en ese</p>

	<p>momento estaba en Santa Cruz. Tenía que repartir esa plata, pero no lo hizo. Lo demandaron a la policía, el devolvió la plata a la comunidad. Lo que nosotros queremos es un mburuvicha que pueda coordinar con la comunidad y que pueda informar de cada reunión que hay y que nos explique de lo que se habló en Camiri. Porque ya estamos cansados de que nos vean como... ya parecía un karay que trata mal a sus peones. Ya así nos trataba ese mburuvicha, el solo trataba con las empresas.”</p> <p>Para mejorar participación en comunidad: “Qué vayamos todos a participar en las reuniones en Camiri y que haya un transporte que nos puede llevar y traer de vuelta”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_15TNft
Nombre de entrevistador:	Daniela Morales Morales
Idioma de entrevista:	Guaraní
Fecha de entrevista:	16.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	-
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunario

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	10:51-13:25	“En las reuniones comunales la mayoría son las mujeres, son las más participan, porque los hombres por motivo del trabajo no pueden participar. Además las reuniones se hacen en la tarde y en la tarde la mayoría de los hombres se van a su chaco y si o si tienen que ir las mujeres. No es que no podemos participar, pero por motivo de trabajo no podemos participar en reuniones. Y si hay esa distinción no hay más que aceptarlo porque por el motivo del trabajo no podemos asistir. Además ellas nos informan: así quedamos, así hablamos, va a venir alguna ayuda, algún proyecto, nos están informando.”
Práctica Lingüística	3:21-3:51	“Todas las reuniones se hacen en guaraní, todos hablamos en guaraní. Pero hay personas que hablan castellano, pero entienden guaraní, por

		ese motivo las reuniones se hacen mayormente en guaraní.”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	0:52-3:05	Los que no participan en las reuniones: “Los jóvenes y los que viven más allá, los que viven más lejos. Motivo para no participar, es porque no quieren participar, no les gusta la participación. Pero cuando hay alguna ayuda, entonces ahí aparecen todos y son los primeros a recibir eso. No entendemos por qué y sus nombres son los primeros, y nosotros somos los últimos a recibir los víberes. Otro motivo: también viajan a Santa Cruz por motivo de estudio o de trabajo. Para mejorar su participación: charlando con ellos.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	4:05-4:52 5:03-5:23 5:31-6:13 6:23-6:55 7:02-10:51	<p>Sobre consulta previa: “Solo que se van solo los mburuvichereta, pero se van sin su base y no sabemos el motivo por lo que... solamente ellos participan, ya recién nos vienen a informar de lo que se trata en las reuniones”</p> <p>Para mejorar participación en consulta: “Los bases también deberían ir a participar en la reunión.”</p> <p>Afecto de proyecto al agua, problema de un solo ojo de agua.</p> <p>Qué hacer el Estado para mejorar participación: “Que manden un camión para así vayan todos a participar en Camiri y no solo los mburuvichas, sino que también participen con sus bases y que las empresas no entren, porque podemos quedarnos sin agua.”</p> <p>Recomendación para mejorar eso en comunidad: “Que haya coordinación de los dirigentes con los comunarios y que participen todos en las</p>

	13:52-14:21	<p>reuniones, que eso nos hace falta, que el mburuvicha coordine con la comunidad, que haya acuerdo entre todos. Es el mburuvicha es el que debería velar por su comunidad. Y que siempre nos estén informando de lo que sucede en las diferentes reuniones que se vienen haciendo. No podemos estar así. Qué tal si un día nos vamos a quedar sin agua? A quién vamos a pedir ayuda. Nosotros aquí sin saber si podemos tomar el agua que quizá se contamina por las actividades de la empresa. Si los mburuvichas están de acuerdo, los comunarios no tienen más que...que estar de acuerdo también. Un mburuvicha es un representante de la comunidad. Es como que la comunidad misma estuviera hablando, esto es un mburuvicha.”</p> <p>Sobre discriminación en reuniones: “No hay discriminación, porque si uno dice algo, lo apoyamos, estamos de acuerdo. Porque no hay solo reuniones comunales, sino los profesores nos mandan algunas invitaciones para participar en las reuniones. Así participamos en los colegios.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_17TDFm
Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos
Idioma de entrevista: Guaraní
Fecha de entrevista:
Edad del entrevistado:
Función/cargo de entrevistado:

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	11:41-12:50	“Otro problema que dificulta a las mujeres para participar en las reuniones, es que algunas madres tienen todavía hijos pequeños y necesitan el cuidado de los padres, y si hay que ir a otra comunidad no hay quien se quede en casa también. Cuando yo tenía ese cargo de ser responsable de género zonal, yo si iba. No importaba donde era la reunión, pero siempre
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		estaba yo presente. En ese tiempo mi hija estaba conmigo, pero ahora mi hija trabaja y ya no hay quien se quede en la casa y por eso tuve que renunciar mi cargo. Ahora solo soy presidente de género aquí en la comunidad.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	0:13- 3:29	Sobre comportamiento de empresas: “Como Ustedes saben, las empresas entran nuestras comunidades a explorar nuestros recursos naturales y todo eso y mientras que nosotros ni siquiera nos enteramos que entran nuestras comunidades. Tal vez a algunos dirigentes o comunidades les pagan por el daño y prejuicio que puede causar. Pero aunque todo eso puede ser comprado con dinero y aunque no se pueda ver el resultado del daño. Pero de aquí en 15 o 20 años vamos a ver el daño y cómo van a sufrir nuestros hijos. Nuestra preocupación es que aunque no nos va a afectar en un día, pero nos va a afectar en 20 años y eso nos preocupa. Más están enterados los capitanes de lo que va a

	<p>3:31-6:49</p> <p>7:55-11:07</p>	<p>pasar. Pero nosotros como mujeres no podemos ir a lugares más lejanos para hacer su seguimiento. La empresa nos explicó que no nos va a afectar a nosotros, sino a otra comunidad. Pero a veces pensamos también que es solo su charla de ellos para así nos podemos dar menos plata, porque si dicen que va a afectar a todos, entonces tienen que dar a todos, y eso no le conviene a la empresa. Porque hace algunos años que entró una empresa y no sabemos con quien hizo el convenio, la comunidad no estaba enterada en todo eso, creo que esa empresa YPFB Andina y eso ni siquiera nos dejó nada ni proyectos ni nada y eso nos preocupa a nosotros los comunarios. La empresa privada solamente entra nuestras comunidades, nuestros territorios, solamente para sacar, como si fueron ellos dueños, del territorio, de recursos naturales, entran y salen cuando quieren.”</p> <p>Razones por fallo: “Seguramente los capitanes tienen cierta culpa de que eso no pase, porque ellos van a las comunidades sin decir nada ni nos explican lo que van a decidir, qué están pensando, van sin dar informaciones a las comunidades. A veces solo dan el resultado de la reunión, nada más, no nos dijeron cuando decidieron eso, cómo decidieron eso y por qué. La comunidad no sabe lo que hace o lo que decide el capitán. Qué es lo que quiere plantar en nombre de su comunidad. Porque el capitán casi no trabaja constantemente, casi no coordina con nosotros. Es que no se interesan por su comunidad, se molestan si uno pregunta. No coordinan ni nos informan de las reuniones. Otra razón es que los capitanes casi no paran en las comunidades. Paran en otro lado menos en su comunidad. No es que las mujeres no quieren participar, pero hay que informarnos a tiempo. Por ejemplo para una reunión zonal que hacen, solamente va el capitán.”</p> <p>Relación entre comunidad y capitán: “no hay contacto entre comunidad y capitán, ni siquiera se molestan en avisarnos, el capitán para sin tiempo, no para en su comunidad, cuando para en su comunidad, llega cansado y ocupado. Aquí</p>
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		<p>hay sequía en la comunidad y problemas de agua. Pero ese capitán no lo ve de esa manera, qué necesidad tiene su comunidad. Yo pienso que los capitanes reciben algún sueldo, por ejemplo el capitán zonal, Julian, recibió plata de la empresa, recibió 13mil, sus mismos comunarios lo demandaron y fueron a sacar la plata. Los capitanes son muy picaros y eso. Y al final solo gastaron en el movimiento de los capitanes.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de grupo focal:	I_4_grupo_AFMi
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler & Martha Morales
Idioma de grupo focal:	castellano y guaraní
Fecha de grupo focal:	13.10.2014
Edad de entrevistados:	mixto
Función/cargo de entrevistados: de género	comunarias, una ex responsable

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	12:10 – 13:50	“Nosotros como mujeres ya participamos, ya ocupamos cargos, en cambio antes solo eran los hombres, los hombres tenían derechos y las mujeres no tenían... Las mujeres son las que más participamos, más trabajamos, en cambio la mayoría de los hombres casi no, no hay productos ahora, ahora tienen que salir a trabajar, no participan casi, pero los sábados y domingos si participan porque esos días no trabajan, no les decimos que no vienen”
	14:10 – 14:25	“Por eso el día domingo tenemos reuniones porque todos están libres y también sábado en la tarde”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	16:15 – 16:50	“Uno tiene que hablarles a los jóvenes para que ellos entienden, bajan los jóvenes, pero no todos, hay algunos a los que les interesa, hay otros a los

	19:50 – 20:25	<p>que no. Hablamos con nuestros hijos, decimos de lo que se trata. Pocos van.”</p> <p>“Hay algunos jóvenes que vienen a la reunión, hay que hablarles, hay que animar. Jóvenes son los que no bajan a las reuniones”</p>
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales	<p>6:15 – 8:35</p> <p>8:45 – 9:15</p>	<p>“Es una nueva capitanía, recién se está creando, recién dando un pasito, y antes vivíamos con los del Alto Parapetí, pero era una pena, que nosotros no teníamos para nosotros, solo para escalera, solo para aumentar el número, entonces eso era el motivo por el que nosotros hemos separado, no nos tomaron en cuenta, también hasta el municipio, poco nos toma en cuenta, entonces nos hemos unido todos para tener el gobierno a la cabeza, ya estamos en poder, ahora si vamos a seguir adelante junto con la organización que tenemos. Por eso nos hemos separados de esa capitanía, nosotros invitamos a ellos, pero ellos no a nosotros, ni conocíamos la empresa petrolera que venía, nada conocíamos, ellos no nos hacían saber, pero ellos se estaban aprovechando de esa plata, la gente se ha dado cuenta y no hemos reunido para poder sacar poder también, tenemos la misma capacidad que ellos. Ahora tenemos nuestra propia organización.”</p> <p>Lo que perjudicó la participación: “No teníamos a donde adjudirnos, teníamos algunos problemas, pero no sabíamos a donde ir, porque cuando hay una organización, nosotros podemos solucionar algo, pero cuando no hay unión no se soluciona nada, entonces eso es lo que nosotros hemos buscado”</p>
Otras	11:20 – 12:00	Sistema del vocal: Tiene que ir de casa a casa y avisar que hay reunión”

	18:15 – 18:25	Razones para no participación: “cuando hay una emergencia grave, todos se juntan. Depende del tema”
	21:15 – 22:25	Razones para falta de participación en consulta previa: “Ellos cuando invitan, nos hacen llegar una convocatoria, tantos personas etc., el pasaje es caro, la alimentación también, pero no alcanza para todos, por ejemplo en la movilidad, sería lindo tener harta plata para toda esa gente”
	23:45 – 25:10	“De nosotros (de Ñembuite) solo veníamos 2 o 3 personas, mientras que del Alto Parapetí venían 60 o 70 personas. Deberíamos saber todos. Si tiene lugar en la comunidad la reunión, ahí bajan todos, pero que vienen de allá, qué cosa, qué informe traen, deberían ir y escuchar todos para saber lo que dicen ellos”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código del grupo focal:	I_11_grupo_AMij
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler & Martha Morales
Idioma de grupo focal:	castellano (P1) y guaraní (P2)
Fecha de grupo focal:	14.10.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	jóvenes, hasta 24 años
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunarios, incluyendo mburuvicha

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	P2: 14:55 – 15:45	“Las mujeres son las más valientes en esta comunidad, son las que participan y deciden y son las que resuelven los problemas también, deciden lo que hay que hacer o no hay que hacer sobre todo en esta comunidad. Cuando se trata de un trabajo que solo hacen los hombres, solo participan los hombres. En una reunión comunal mayormente participan las mujeres, porque los hombres tienen que salir a trabajar, ellos sobre todo participan los sábados, son las que más participan son las mujeres. Y las reuniones de los domingos todos participan.”
Práctica Lingüística		

Tercera Edad	21:30 – 21:50	“Hasta los 55 años vienen. Viejos viejos ya no vienen (risa)... Lo de tercera edad es 60 años para arriba.
Jóvenes	19:50 – 19:55 21:15 – 21:30 23:10 – 24:10	“Mayormente los jóvenes van” Edad de participación de jóvenes: “Más de 18 años” Razones para explicar discrepancia entre poca participación en consulta previa y mucha participación al nivel comunitario “Porque no se tiene esa facilidad de ir todos, al nivel zonal, por ejemplo solo se invita al mburuvicha y es obligatorio para él. Depende de la convocatoria quien participa. Y es por eso es que en todas las comunidades, los jóvenes casi no participan. También es por falta de recursos, solo pueden ir 15 que representan a sus comunidades.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	11:45 – 12:10 12:20 – 13:20 13:20 – 14:20 15:10 – 15:30 18:35 – 18:50	Mburuvicha sobre participación: “Todos participamos en las reuniones” (tal vez también obligación moral de decir eso, se trata de su autoridad) Quién participa: “Hay 68 familias en la comunidad (Arenal), participan hasta 30 personas, con cualquier mburuvicha siempre ha sido así. Solo cuando hay zonal, participan más.” Otros dicen sobre participación: “Tal vez porque no les interesa, quizá tiene alguna actividad que hacer, también por falta de concientización por parte de las autoridades” Motivos para participar: “A veces hay problemas que hay que solucionar, ahí tenemos que participar y solucionar”

	<p>P2: 00:50 - 5:23</p>	<p>Otros motivos: “Informado más que todo, porque si no vamos a la reunión no sabemos de lo que han hablado, eso más que todo, para saber o solicitar algo de alguna institución”</p>
	<p>P2: 5:55 – 7:45</p>	<p>Experiencia con empresa: “Cuando la empresa llegó a la comunidad, entraron sin consultar a la gente, a los comunarios, informaron a los capitanes, pero no dijeron nada a los comunarios. Los comunarios no estaban enterados de eso, después de una o dos semanas recién informaron y ya estaban trabajando ahí. No se ha hecho nada: algunos capitanes son comprados, la empresa les ofrece dinero o cargo, y ellos venden a su propia tierra, a su propia gente, a su propia necesidad. Así no informan a sus bases. Y como reaccionaron los de la comunidad: agarraron a los empresarios y al mismo capitán lo agarraron y pidieron una explicación: por qué, desde cuándo, y cómo empezaron con este proyecto y coordinando con las empresas privadas sin consentimiento de la base. Y si se pregunta a los capitanes, tampoco no dicen nada y con eso se confirma la sospecha de que ellos reciben plata de la empresa. El capitán que tenemos ahora no tiene nada que ver. Y el problema con los capitanes que tuvimos es que nunca para en su casa, siempre para afuera de su comunidad, buscando ayuda para su comunidad, pero sin embargo pidiendo plata para sus propios intereses 3000, 4000 o 5000Bs para su propio bolsillo. Tuvieron que denunciar al capitán. Siempre se necesita para que se tome una buena decisión dos o tres colaboradores o más hasta incluso 5: es el problema que tenemos aquí, nadie se anima a trabajar para la comunidad, es con las empresas se invita solo a 1 o 2 personas de la comunidad. Y ellos solo negocian plata, pero sus bases ni siquiera estamos enterados. Nadie se interesa por el bien de la comunidad”</p>
	<p>P2: 7:50 – 10:50</p>	<p>Sugerencias para resolver esos problemas: “Como estamos formándonos en la nueva zona de Ñembuite, estamos haciendo una nueva ley para que de ahora en adelante, no solo va a ir un</p>

	<p>P2: 10:55 – 11:20</p> <p>P2: 11:30 – 13:15</p> <p>P2: 13:50 - 14:55</p>	<p>capitán, sino con un colaborante. Y eso pasa no solo en esa capitanía, sino también en Alto Parapetí y en Kaami. Según esa nueva ley, las tres capitanías (Ñembuite, Alto Parapetí, y Kaami) tiene que estar de acuerdo para que entre una empresa, si uno se opone, entonces no pueden entrar.</p> <p>Actitud de las empresas: “las empresas piensan que es fácil entrar la comunidad con esa plata, porque ellos ya saben que es la debilidad de los guaraní, su ambición por el dinero, especialmente de los capitanes, y durante mucho tiempo ellos han puesto el precio por cada cosa. Todavía no se han puesto de acuerdo por la cantidad de dinero para esa última consulta. Yo creo que lo que se debería hacer es primero la consulta en cada comunidad, ya no al capitán, ellos son los interesados en nuestros recursos. Qué se haga un tipo de taller para que no sea solamente un capitán en su reunión en Camiri. Para otra consulta necesitamos una persona confiable, en la que tenemos confianza para saber, una persona que tenga ese conocimiento del tema que no sea comprado por el estado. El antiguo capitán se engordaba mucho con la plata de la comunidad, por eso hubo cambio de capitán, porque se aprovechó bastante. Ni un proyecto se ha ejecutado en su gestión.”</p> <p>Razones para no participación de algunos: “No es que los capitanes tienen más capacidades en las reuniones, sino ellos mismos deciden, ahora ya sabemos porque ellos reciben dinero por parte de las empresas y van a la reunión por eso no hay participación de los jóvenes o de la mujer porque ellos decidieron así. Es por eso que en la reunión las mismas caras, las mismas personas.”</p> <p>Sugerencia para mejorar participación por parte del Estado: “que apoye a la nueva capitanía, a la nueva zona, a los que son afectados con una movilidad, para que se puedan participar los jóvenes, para cualquier emergencia, las personas mayores.... Que el Estado de trabajo a los jóvenes, y trabajar para su misma comunidad para sus condiciones de vida. ...Como capitán</p>
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		<p>tengo hartas propuestas para mi comunidad, ya no se van a perder como bajo la capitanía del Alto Parapetí cuando pertenecíamos a esta zona. Teníamos un proyecto de ganadero para esta comunidad, pero se utilizó para otra.... Tener un trabajo segura eso es una buena idea”</p> <p>Experiencia mala como capitán, falta de confianza: “Como soy el nuevo capitán, ellos me preguntan, de que vivo, porque tengo mi trabajo como capitán acá y no puedo salir a trabajar a otro lado y dicen: de qué vive, seguramente está robando la plata de la comunidad y ellos nunca participan en las reuniones. Sobre las reuniones tienen una idea mala: son los flojos que paran en las reuniones, son los que no tienen oficio que paran haciendo reuniones perdiendo su tiempo. Y los pocos que participan en las reuniones reclaman de todo.”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de grupo focal:	I_17_grupo_AMj
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista:	castellano
Fecha de entrevista:	15.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	jóvenes
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunarios

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	1:03:30 – 1:06:40	“En las reuniones la que mayormente participa es la mujer, en cualquier reunión hay puras mujeres, depende del tema, si se refiere a tareas del hombre, decide el hombre, las mujeres deciden sobre sus temas. Antes era que las mujeres no participaron. Pero puede ser por razones de celos, si, familiares que se ponen celosos. Como niños hemos visto eso, pero nosotros no. Ahora los dos se trata por iguales.”
Práctica Lingüística	27:10 – 27:30	“A veces hay personas que no entendemos, no se pueden hacer entender”

Tercera Edad	57:45 – 58:40	“Personas de tercera edad ya no participan, no se toman en cuenta y como tienen mucha experiencia, se sienten humillados”
Jóvenes	24:05 – 26:30 35:25 – 36:20 37:25 – 38:00 38:10 – 38:30 39:55 – 40:40 44:20 – 46:00 46:15 – 47:05	<p>“Solo nuestros padres son los que siempre están aquí. Son los mayores casi, los que más saben de la comunidad, porque paran casi por aquí. Cuando uno se va durante mucho tiempo, casi no te toman en cuenta...”</p> <p>Motivación de jóvenes para estar en consulta previa: “es importante para saber cuándo se inicia el trabajo, porque lo que necesitamos aquí es trabajar, por ese motivo estaba en la reunión, para estar al tanto cuando va a empezar. Al final no se cumple pero, ofrecen dinero, pero luego no se cumple nada.”</p> <p>“Aquí lo que pasa es falta de información del mburuvicha, van unos cuantos a las reuniones y los demás no saben, hacen un trato con la capitanía, llega plata a la capitanía y los demás no saben cuánto, se callan y no hacen consciente a la gente, a ellos no les importa si la gente luego de eso está afectado, Usted sabe que el dinero siempre...”</p> <p>“Los afectos no se van a ver mañana, sino se va a ver con los años, va a pasar por aquí la línea”</p> <p>“Nos preguntamos qué va a pasar con la gente a largo de los años, llega a la empresa a perforar, en unos cuantos años ya no va a haber agua, las comunidades que van a estar afectados”</p> <p>Lo que los jóvenes quieren pedir en proyectos hidrocarburíferos: “fuentes de trabajo.. Lo que nosotros queremos es poder decir no, porque ellos (los dirigentes) hacen negocios, mientras que la base no sabe nada. Y cuando las bases se enteran, los negocios ya están hechos, ya están confirmados. Uno si quiere participar, la participación no es concreta, no es transparente. Uno para poder hacer algo, hay que conocer más que todo. Y lo malo es que son ellos, la base, que van a sufrir los defectos, las causas con el tiempo, no mañana, pero en un siglo digamos.”</p>

	48:50 – 49:30	“Queremos saber lo que va a pasar dentro de algunos años acá, una señora mayor por ejemplo no va a entender mucho de lo que es sísmica. Y queremos más información para poder entender qué cosa sucede cuando hay esa explosión, qué es lo que afecta, los comunarios queremos entender eso. Porque viene un ingeniero y nos comienza hablar con palabras, que nosotros poco entendemos”
	50:15 – 50:30	Sugerencias para mejorar participación en toma de decisiones: “Tener mejores dirigentes, el problema es que con la empresa, a veces hay mburuvichas que son tímidos, vienen los charlan, ofrecen plata y proyectos y los animan para que firmen nada más, sin consultar a sus bases. No tenemos dirigentes que sepan las decisiones de su comunidad”
	54:30 – 54:45	Ideas para mejorar esos puntos: “Capacitación, capacitar a los mburuvichas”
		“dejar el espacio para que la gente pueda opinar y expresar sus opiniones en reuniones, algunos no se atreven”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	1:01:20 – 1:01:40	“No hay personas con discapacidad” (si hay, una persona ciega)
Relación con otros comunarios	56:30 – 57:00	“Algunos no vienen a las reuniones, porque no les gustan las discusiones o porque tienen algún problema con las personas que están adentro de la reunión, porque está su comadre participando...porque las personas los miran con mala cara”
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	20:10 – 20:55	Participación en la comunidad: “Aquí en la comunidad se ve que todos participan, no solo hombres, aquí en las reuniones piden la palabra antes de opinar de la máxima autoridad, y él es que da la palabra, cuando hay discusiones, él pone orden

	21:15 – 21:55	Motivos para no participar: “Cada persona puede tener su motivo, a veces trabajo, viajes, hay personas también que viven lejos, por falta de notificar”
	22:05 - 24:04	“Yo personalmente paro en Santa Cruz, y por eso no estoy al tanto de las reuniones de aquí. También por otras necesidades, uno va a otros pueblos, irse así sin razón, tampoco es así, uno se va por tiempo”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_24_grupo_KMit

Nombre de entrevistador: Martha Morales Barrientos

Idioma de entrevista: guaraní

Fecha de entrevista: 17.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: tercera edad

Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarios

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	1:45 – 3:00	“Mayormente se ve la participación de las mujeres, hay más mujeres en esta comunidad, hay madres solteras también y mburuvichas mujeres también”; Mburuvicha dice: “La comunidad está pasando por una situación difícil, una temporada de sequía, y por eso casi no se ve la participación: la gente tiene que viajar lejos para encontrar trabajo. Y es por eso que las mujeres mayormente participan, porque los hombres se van afuera para trabajar. Los que se quedan son los que participan en las reuniones”
	3:03 – 3:40	Participante masculino dice: “Cuando están los hombres y mujeres, ambos participan en las reuniones, no se trata de que ella sea mujer o hombre, aquí todos participamos.”
	20:30 – 22:30	Razones por participación de mujeres al nivel local, pero en la consulta no: “A veces las reuniones duran 2 o 3 días y es por eso que las mujeres no

		participan mucho, porque las mujeres que tienen hijos y se preocupan por ellos y por eso no. Además no tienen para su pasaje. Las movi­lidades solo dan para recoger a los capitanes, si tuviéramos una movilidad, seguramente podríamos ir todas. Uno sufre, porque no hay para desayuno, almuerzo.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	4:20 – 5:10	“No es que no quieren participar, pero es porque ellos van al colegio o instituto o trabajan y es por eso es que no participan mucho. Estudian y van a otra comunidad, el internado, y por eso no. Jóvenes casi no se ve aquí en la comunidad, porque salen a Camiri”
	6:20 – 7:50	Mburuvicha dice que “Los jóvenes tienen ese concepto de poder participar recién cuando estén casados o cuando recién tengan su familia. Pasan poco tiempo en la comunidad, a veces solo vienen los sábados y domingos y no quieren participar”
	7:50 – 8:55	Señora cuenta de experiencia con su hijo: “Para qué voy a participar, mamá, si soy joven. Ellos piensan diferente que las personas mayores. Además no les gustan los temas como el agua o la sequía, mejor no participo, dicen.
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad	10:45 – 11:20	“En esta comunidad solo tenemos a una persona de tercera edad que puede caminar y hace tres años eso. Ya no puede participar. Siempre la tomamos en cuenta pero.”
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	3:50 – 4:20	Sobre falta de participación en la comunidad dice mburuvicha: “Gracias a Dios no se ve ese tipo de problema en la comunidad. Cuando convoco reuniones, todos participan”
	11:30 - 12:50	Participación en consulta previa: “Antes las empresas entraban aquí en la comunidad sin

		consultar, sin dar explicación a la comunidad. No hace mucho que la empresa vino para decir que no íbamos a estar afectados, solo Timbuienda, Arenal y Karayagua, y en esta comunidad Kapirenda no va a estar afectada en nada.
	13:10 – 14:50	Experiencia con Alto Parapetí: “Se reunían y firmaron con las empresas. Y pasó que se notaba helicópteros por arriba de la comunidad y la gente preguntaba por qué y se estaba preguntando si entraban las empresas. Se pertenecía a Alto Parapetí y ellos no informaron sobre lo que estaba pasando. Todo era para esa zona. Ni siquiera era para sus comunidades, sino solo para ellos, los capitanes de la zona. Y así decidimos de separarnos de ellos.”
	17:10 – 19:00	“Los mburuvichereta recién hacen su reunión cuando todo ya está decidido, y deberían ir de comunidad a comunidad para informar de lo que está pasando y de tener el consentimiento para firmar, decir lo que están haciendo. De esta comunidad siempre van 3 personas a las reuniones si o si cuando llega la convocatoria, se necesita la participación de los capitanes y de los bases. Yo como capitana siempre he participado en varias reuniones. Y ahora ha entrado otra empresa más y quieren trabajar y solamente quieren hacer acuerdos con el capitán. En un documento he visto que solo quieren trabajar con el capitán y no con las bases. Y nosotros hemos exigido con la empresa que no solo entre el capitán sino que por lo menos otra persona pueda participar en la consulta previa.”
	19:25 – 19:50	Sugerencias para mejorar participación en la consulta previa: “Qué participen más personas en la consulta previa, como 5 personas por lo menos de cada comunidad”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de grupo focal:

I_29_grupo_KMim

Nombre de entrevistador:

Jessika Eichler

Idioma de entrevista: castellano

Fecha de entrevista: 18.10.2014

Edad del entrevistado: edad mediana, 25 años para arriba

Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarios

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	7:00 – 7:15	“Trabajamos hombres y mujeres, así equidad de género.”
	8:55 – 9:30	División del trabajo comunitario: mujeres hacen trabajo más liviano
	9:40 – 10:05	Participación: “Las mujeres solo toman una decisión, mientras que los hombres dan vueltas, las mujeres son más determinativas, directas son, actúan en un instante”
	10:35 – 12:40	“Hay una mayor voluntad de todas las mujeres. Las mujeres son más violentas, los hombres son más traviosos (dice hombre)”, “toman su coca piensan, charlan, antes de actuar (dice señora)”
Práctica Lingüística	12:40 – 13:00	Sra: en contexto de participación de mujeres y la vergüenza: “Nosotros somos puros guaraní, clarito nos entendemos, escuchamos en guaraní y rapidito respondemos en guaraní. El idioma tiene que ver con la timidez”
	15:00 – 15:10	Pregunta por problemática de reuniones oficiales en castellano: “Sí, tiene que haber un traductor o una traductora para que traduzca al guaraní, eso ayudaría”
	23:05 – 24:00	Falta de información y participación en consulta previa: señora dice “Solo mburuvicha fue a esa reunión, a veces no informa la mburuvicha porque esos técnicos que vienen de la empresa usan también las palabras técnicas, es como un abogado, y por esas palabras altas, digamos, uno como guaraní, con una sola explicación, no capta esa información, pero si el mburuvicha no salió bachiller, no puede captarlo, yo tengo esa impresión, ese presentimiento, porque yo varias veces igual he participado en esos talleres y sé

		que con una sola explicación uno no puede captar nada”
Tercera Edad	13:00 – 13:15	Señora: “La mayor parte de la comunidad, las personas de tercera edad no hablan el castellano y hay algunos que no saben ni leer ni escribir y en esa parte también hay un poco de timidez en hablar en castellano. Nosotros los hablamos en guaraní.”
	13:15 – 14:20	Señor: “Cuando hay reuniones con algún capacitador o alguna autoridad que viene de Cuevo o algún proyecto que describe el proyecto, se refiere a artículos tanto y tanto, ahí son tímidos, porque no entienden, para eso tampoco nosotros que sabemos un poquito, decimos que nos expliquen bien y claro que sea la palabra más corta que no sea una palabrita que diga un montón de palabras, para que nosotros lo podamos decir y traducirlo al guaraní, para que ellas entiendan”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales	28:45 – 29:20	“En la consulta había participación, pero no nos han dejado participar como le decía, los del Alto Parapetí no nos han podida meter la carpeta. En este convenio, en este acuerdo nos hubieran podido incluir, pero no se ha podido.”
	44:20 – 47:35	Involucramiento en anterior proyecto: “Puede correr plata por debajo de la mesa para que no se haga el seguimiento correcto, y la afectación dónde queda? En la comunidad, y a nosotros ya ha pasado que la sísmica de la BNP, nosotros no hemos recibido ni un centavo, ha pasado a unos 400m de la comunidad, solo a la capitania le han dado unos 1300Bs, era para la capitania. Los que más han recibido era Arenal, y es por eso que nosotros no estamos preparados. La falla ha sido cuando se hizo en convenio con la Capitania del Alto Parapetí, ahí ha sido la falla, ellos han hecho

		<p>el convenio y se han hinchado. Y eso me hace pensar... que muchos dirigentes actúan mal también, y no hay conocimiento allá, no han informado las bases de la comunidad, eso es lo que a mí me preocupa. Eso es como si a ellos no les diera importancia, sin embargo ellos explotan nuestro territorio.</p>
Otras	<p>5:20 – 10:05</p> <p>15:30 - 17:00</p> <p>18:15 – 18:40</p> <p>21:15 – 21:45</p> <p>25:00 – 28:30</p> <p>30:50 – 31:50</p>	<p>Descripción de toma de decisiones en la comunidad</p> <p>Otros obstáculos para reuniones oficiales como consulta: “Cuando hay mal versación de fondos en las comunidades con los dirigentes, que a veces el dirigente no está cumpliendo con su deber que tiene que cumplir, eso también desanima hasta las bases, que el mburuvicha de la comunidad no quiere participar por motivo de esto o por alguna razón que no podía participar, cuesta a veces incentivar a las personas. Hay razones también a veces, a veces se enojan. A veces obligamos a personas: “qué dicen? Opinen!”, eso no es justo.”</p> <p>Otros motivos para no participación: “A veces hay motivos como la familia o la salud, o no participan cuando salen al trabajo, o no tienen el conocimiento de la reunión a través del mburuvicha”</p> <p>Otros motivos para no participación: “A veces uno no participa en una reunión, porque no está bien informado del tema de la reunión, y si no del tema de que se trata, uno no viene a la reunión y recibe la información por otra persona. Eso no es correcto. “</p> <p>Señor: “La empresa que levanta la información vino, y dijo que no hay afectación, que no hace daño, y esa carga, y eso es un sonido que hace de explotar, con mucha gente dice que eso raja la tierra a la medida que explota, no sé cuántos kilómetros en su alrededor, se decía que eso es como tocando una campana, es un retunde que va hacia abajo, yo creo que es menos que la dinamita, eso es otra carga”</p>

	<p>43:15 – 44:20</p> <p>51:10 – 55:50</p>	<p>Obstáculos en consulta: “Eso es lo que decía, es que no hay, lo que nos limita el gobierno y la empresa, es que por comunidad solo dejan participar unas cuantas personas y no era lo suficiente, y sé que la empresa tiene muchos recursos y vienen a explotar nuestro territorio, entonces nosotros deberíamos ser partícipes de todo esto, nosotros todavía no podemos por dónde empezar”</p> <p>Hablan del efecto del proyecto, mayormente del agua</p> <p>Necesidades de la comunidad “Lo que queremos ahorita es llevarlo adelante a la capitanía, en particular a los de RRNN, que él haga un proyecto que busque personas capacitadas, que sea asuma esa responsabilidad, que empiece ya a capacitar a la gente, para que nosotros ya salir de lo que nosotros no sabemos. Eso es lo que yo pido que nuestro mburuvicha zonal y nacional así que nos apoyen, de dar una guía, la debilidad que tenemos. Los técnicos no son de aquí, son pasajeros que pasan nada más. Ahorita no sabemos ni cómo negociar, y estamos apoyando una capitanía que ya sabe negociar”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de grupo focal:	II_5_grupo_MFm
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista:	castellano
Fecha de entrevista:	12.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado:	mediana edad
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunarias, femenino

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Género	5:40 – 7:40	“Nosotras, las mujeres más que todo en la mañana tenemos tiempo, en la tarde ya están los niños. Nuestra participación depende del día y del tiempo... Mayormente aquí, las mujeres participamos en las reuniones. En la tarde
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	11:40 – 15:00	participamos hombre y mujer. Mayormente las reuniones son en la tarde, casi no se hace en la mañana.” “Si los hombres no vienen, es por motivos del trabajo... pero los hombres si se enojan a veces si la mujer toma tal y cual decisión...pero en general no causa conflictos
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	7:40 – 9:40	“Los jóvenes casi no participan en las reuniones, casi no hay jóvenes en esta comunidad, en otras comunidades hay más.”
	10:30 -	“Hay hartos varones que no vienen, jóvenes que no vienen.
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local		
Discapacidad		
Relación con otros comunarios		
Conflictos sociales		
Otras	4:25 – 5:00	Trato de no participación en la reunión: “Si no venimos a la reunión, tenemos que pagar una multa, es un tipo de sanción de 10Bs
	18:30 – 19:40	Obstáculos en participación en la consulta: “Cuando hay transporte, entonces si voy, pero si no hay, no se puede

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de grupo focal: II_18_grupo_TMMi
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Idioma de entrevista: castellano
Fecha de entrevista: 17.10.2014
Edad del entrevistado: edades mixtas, masculinos
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarios

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Género	11:00 – 11:10 11:45 – 12:05 12:35 – 12:50 12:35 – 14:25	<p>“Eso es el caso de los hombres (que van a trabajar y no pueden asistir a las reuniones), pero siempre quedan las mujeres en la comunidad”</p> <p>Cómo perciben los hombres la participación más fuerte de las mujeres: “cuando hay una reunión, ella toma la decisión para su marido y cuando vienen del trabajo, ellas los informan”</p> <p>Eso no causa conflictos? “Mire, en una casa, que vaya uno, escucha y después cuenta, los que no vienen, les contamos.” (parece que no importa el detalle que sea la mujer o el hombre que va a la reunión y luego informa)</p> <p>Reiteración, no les molesta que ella tome la decisión: “Cuando nuestra señora va a las reuniones, ella escucha más que nosotros, punto por punto, cuando yo llego, ella me cuenta, igual que todos los hombres que van a trabajar. Y además normalmente la mujer toma la mejor decisión, opiniones, los hombres somos medio sonsos”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	16:55 -	“De tercera edad son pocos”
Jóvenes	17:15 – 17:30	“Los jóvenes vienen cuando están de vacaciones, hay pocos jóvenes”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
Situación económica		
Contexto local	6:00 – 7:45	Los que viven más lejos no escuchan campana que avisa por reuniones
Discapacidad	19:25 – 21:30	“Cuando ellos pueden, vienen a la reunión a escuchar, son otro número más, forman parte de la base. El chico es tesorero de la comunidad desde hace dos años. “Depende de cuando ellos pueden” significa cuando lo lleven sus familiares. Aquí participa, pero cuando se trata de reuniones en otras comunidades, es difícil que participe, pero van sus familiares que son presentes, y recibe información de su hermana, de su mamá”
Relación con otros comunarios		

Conflictos sociales	37:30 – 38:50	“La última vez cuando entró la empresa (ilegalmente), había personas que querían paralizar, pero no hicieron. Ellos dijeron que vinieron del Estado y que nadie les podría parar, y la gente lo ha creído. Y la empresa ha pasado incluso por su patio y su chaco. Incluso querían llevar preso a los dirigentes. Pero la base los defendió.” (en Kapirenda fue, en 2013)
Otras	5:35 – 6:00 6:00 – 9:50 10:05 – 11:00 16:50 – 17:00 23:00 – 25:00 29:05 – 29:30 30:15 – 31:00	<p>Razones para no participar: “a veces porque no están, se van a trabajar, cuando están ellos, entonces vienen, siempre por motivos del trabajo”</p> <p>Como funciona lo de las reuniones, con campana, problema: los que viven más lejos a veces no escuchan la campana, quien es vocal y sus tareas, avisos</p> <p>Razones para no participación: “no están, o van al pueblo, larguito es, por motivos del trabajo, a veces también por la falta de recursos, y la gente se ausenta de la comunidad, se va a Villa Monte para mantener a su familia</p> <p>Grupo que más participa: “Son los adultos que más participan” (promedio que vive ahí en promedio tiene 35 años)</p> <p>Hablan del efecto al agua y la gravedad por el hecho de que solo hay un solo ojo de agua</p> <p>Razones por falta de participación en consulta previa: “Yo por lo menos no he sabido que había alguna consulta con una empresa, seguramente nuestro capitán de aquí ha participado en eso, nosotros no sabemos nada”</p> <p>Otras razones: “Bueno, parece que esto ha sido por falta económico, han participado solamente los capitanes comunales y los comunales ya tenían que hacer sus reuniones en las comunidades...creo que han ido ellos a la reunión en Camiri, pero no he participado yo. Solo el mburuvicha fue”</p> <p>“Debería haber por lo menos 3 hasta 5 personas ahí, para que uno esté informado, es lo más importante, estar informado. Es que no sabemos nada, si va uno a veces ni siquiera informa. Solo</p>

	<p>31:30 – 32:30</p> <p>36:20 – 37:30</p>	<p>sabemos que han ido a participar, pero, no traen pues, a informar. Eso es lo que nosotros decimos que tiene que haber más participación de cada comunidad, porque todos queremos estar enterados.</p> <p>Deseo por más participación y comportamiento ilegal de anterior empresa: “No queremos solamente que vaya el mburuvicha, sino que dos o tres personas más, porque a veces entre varios hay más ideas o sea ayudándose.”</p>
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Annex 10: Analytical matrices for case study II

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_1CDMM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 6.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 38
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: cacique (desde 2013, está en 2nda gestión), profesor de colegio, trabaja desde hace 14 años en la comunidad
 Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	4:30-6:30	Cambios: “La gente se ha emocionado por haber sacado el material, sacaban kg por kg hasta 5kg. Hubo cambios porque la gente ganaba dinero, se alimentaba bien. Pero después se fue acabando, ya no es como anteriormente, solo 1 o 2 kg sacan a 50Bs, y eso no cubre lo necesario para la familia. Pero no todos van, algunos se dedican al chaco, su cultivo y tienen para comer (...) Cuando no había mina, la gente iba a otro lado a trabajar, desde que ya hubo la mina, la gente ya no se fue a otro lado a trabajar y se quedaron acá después. La gente ya no se va 1-2 semanas, aquí no mas se quedan.”
	7:15-7:50	Consecuencia de la migración: “La gente no permanecía en su casa, solo las mujeres se quedaban, en cambio ahora el esposo no está lejos”
	10:45-11:50	Usos y costumbres de comunidad: “Por las tecnologías las costumbres ya no se mantienen. Antes cuando había una fiesta, era con la tamborita, la bomba, una flauta, ahora es una amplificadora nada más. Entonces con los recursos, uno compra una radio, tele, pero más antes, era difícil que uno tenga una radio. A medida de la mina ahora, la gente tiene su tele etc. hasta celular”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	32:15-33:40	“Todos los que vivimos en esta comunidad participamos, en las reuniones ordinarios, las señoras, los varones, personas de 60 años. Normalmente lo hago cada mes. Solamente hay algunas personas que se quedan calladitas, a veces son tímidas, algunos ya son de tercera edad.”
	36:05-37:15	Rol del cacique: “Mezcla de mandatos, como cacique y estoy asumiendo el cargo de docente en aula, y esta

	41:50-41:58	<p>función es como renegar. Pero en la reunión te hacen enojar, dicen el profesor y todavía hace los problemas. A veces hay palabras bien calientes</p> <p>Toma de decisiones: “Se toma decisiones en mayoría”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	<p>14:30-15:20</p> <p>15:25-15:55</p> <p>16:45-17:20</p> <p>16:05-16:30</p> <p>21:30-22:15</p> <p>23:55-31:45</p>	<p>“Un grupo vino a instalarse a trabajar, sin previa consulta, anoche a nosotros, a las 2 de la mañana, y eso es por la cooperativa que se está creando, es un problema interno, pero a su vez está acareando los problemas, a las otras comunidades. Ese señor está concesionando en otras comunidades.”</p> <p>Cooperativa – dirigente: “Aquí ya no me quieren hacer caso los de la cooperativa, por encima de mi autoridad, ellos están haciendo lo que quieren. Yo he informado a nuestra organización la CICOL y me han dado el apoyo para cualquier cosa para poder apoyar en este caso”</p> <p>“No son mayoría los de la cooperativa , nos tiene dividido, me han insultado, son solo unas 6 personas, de todo me han dicho, pero los demás comunidades me han apoyado contra la COMIBOL”</p> <p>COMIBOL: “Desde la Paz me llamaron y entraron directamente, con una orden, para que directamente a trabajar, sin tener ninguna reuniones o consulta (...) Los técnicos no más los mandaron, nosotros no los dejamos entrar. Se retiraron, pero anoche vinieron directamente a trabajar. Las demás comunidades me apoyaron. Es a causa de la mina, es por eso”</p> <p>Sobre Faboce: “Empezó a hacer la consulta popular en 2002, a través de la alcaldía, en dos reuniones no estuvimos de acuerdo que entren, y después decidimos que pudieran entrar. La alcaldía ya había firmado un convenio para que entren a trabajar. También aquí hubo consulta, han entrado a explorar, a hacer sus muestras. Recién el año pasado en enero, ellos vinieron, el 24 de enero firmamos un acuerdo con ellos, antes no recibíamos ningún peso directo, era con la alcaldía y la alcaldía nos daba algo, nosotros no estábamos muy conforme hasta ahí hasta que cambió con la nueva ley minera ahora. Y la alcaldía ha levantado la mano ahora dice que simplemente va a esperar el patente o la regalía. Nos hemos puesto de acuerdo con la empresa que todo eso que iba a la alcaldía ya fuera para la comunidad. Y es por eso que firmamos en enero este acuerdo. Ellos</p>

	47:55-48:58	<p>ya empezaron a trabajar. Firmamos también un acuerdo interno en la comunidad. Recién trabajaron más frecuente el 15 de junio, a sacar los materiales. Y la cooperativa creó este conflicto con este tema. Ellos igual firmaron este acuerdo con la empresa. Pero como este señor siempre los está incitando, entonces desconocieron el acuerdo que tuvimos con ellos, a mí me denunciaron, me trajeron policía a mi caso, me querían poner preso. Faboce da 5Bs por cubo a la comunidad, de manera directa. Y la cooperativa se molesta porque quieren recibir la plata como cooperativa, pero ese dinero es para la comunidad, para alguna mejora. Y yo saqué plata del banco, como unos 12mil y pregunté lo que íbamos hacer con esa plata y la cooperativa dijo que se reparte, entonces se acabó la plata. Yo quería poner iluminar la plaza. Pero hubo mayoría. Clarifica: la empresa cumple y paga. Los de la cooperativa gritaron lo más fuerte que se reparta. Ahora me insultan, que soy un sonso. No tengo su apoyo.”</p> <p>Desconfianza hacia cacique: “Recién me compré una moto con un préstamo, empreñando mi sueldo y todo y tras que llegué el otro día, me dijeron que ese dinero es de la comunidad que se está gastando, y saco plata del banco al toque quieren que la reparta. No puedo tener mis cosas porque me dicen que estoy robando de la comunidad”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	7:50-8:20 9:00-10:05	<p>En contexto de migración: “Mayormente eran las señoras no mas que participaban. Sin embargo se reservaba un día como el sábado para hacer un trabajo público, entonces como no estaban muy lejos, ya venían, pero de lunes a viernes no paraban en su casa”</p> <p>“Anteriormente las mujeres no participaban, escuchaban no más en las reuniones, no opinaba nada, mientras que ahora si participan, preguntas, si tienen dudas, dan sugerencias (...) Siempre han pasado instituciones a pasar talleres a capacitar para que las mujeres también participen, entonces hoy en día participan.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	40:05-40:20 40:25-40:44	“Si van, siempre”

		Pregunta por los que más participan en las reuniones: “Unos 3 de tercera edad son los que más opinan en las reuniones, más opinan que los jóvenes”
Jóvenes	39:10-39:55	“Mayormente los jóvenes, quizá por haber estudiado poco también, ahí se quedan, en las reuniones no hablan, se quedan calladitos, no participan, son tímidos, no sé por qué no hablan. (...) En su mayoría se van a Santa Cruz a estudiar o trabajar”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	18:33-20:55 22:25-23:30 23:35-23:55 34:45-35:35	<p>Señor de cooperativa (Jonny Montero): “No es de aquí, algunos dicen que es de Oruro, otros dicen que es peruano, es una persona que no tiene su identidad bien de donde es, tiene dos carnet de identidad. Lo que hace es sacar plata al uno al otro. Se vino a través de la alcaldía, como consultor para trabajar en sistemas de agua. El empezó a quedarse y no lo quieren ahora, ahora queremos aplicarle la justicia comunitaria por el hecho de que está actuando bien. El empieza a sacar plata de las personas. Ya vino gente a buscarlo porque les debe dinero, les vendió concesiones. Pero deben preguntar a nosotros por la consulta previa (...)”</p> <p>Él no participa en las reuniones, el viene mayormente, ya lo hemos nombrado persona non grata en la TCO de Lomerío, viene escondido en la noche, orienta a la gente y se va en la mañana otra vez”</p> <p>Oposición cooperativa: “La mayoría de los comunarios no está de acuerdo con esa cooperativa, por eso no quieren que entren a trabajar.”</p> <p>Con quien negocian corporativistas: “Están trayendo empresas de Oruro y dentro de esa lista de socios, hay dos empresarios de Oruro. Pero nosotros no queremos eso: como nosotros en la comunidad más la Cicol no estamos de acuerdo con eso, si queremos formar una cooperativa, que sea de puros originarios, como somos una TCO indígena, que sean solo personas originarios del lugar, por eso no los dejamos entrar a nuestro lugar. Es peor porque ellos entran sin permiso, a su manera”</p>
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	12:10-13:20	“Se ha creado una cooperativa en su mayor parte la comunidad no está en esa cooperativa. Otra persona de afuera está influyendo la cooperativa y está orientando mal. Entonces ahora hay una división dentro de la comunidad debido a los recursos, el tema de dinero. (...) Otras personas que no forman

	<p>13:55-14:40</p> <p>44:41-45:35</p>	<p>parte de la cooperativa, están sueltos. Pero aun no se quiere dejarlo a una empresa para que trabaje allá, entonces ya hay ese conflicto interno. La cooperativa quiere ir a sacar, aprovecharse, e incluso ha prohibido a los demás para que no saquen el material.”</p> <p>También efecto a otras comunidades: “Esto está afectando a otras comunidades, es cooperativa está trayendo a una persona que quiere concesionar el lugar del otro lado, es un conflicto que es interno, pero cada vez afecta a más.”</p> <p>Relación y conflictos con Cicol: “He traído al cacique de la Cicol para poder arreglar todos estos problemas, hasta al mismo cacique lo han insultado. Y fueron personas que incluso han sido capacitados en la Cicol. La señora ha recibido muchas capacitaciones, el señor igual fue dirigente de la Cicol, ha ocupado el cargo del cacique de tierra y territorio, pero ahora está en contra de la Cicol.”</p>
<p>Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos</p>	<p>33:45-34:30</p> <p>37:35-38:55</p> <p>40:50-41:00</p> <p>42:25-43:22</p>	<p>Los que no participan: “Son los de la cooperativa que no asisten la reunión y cuando hay una cosa, dicen que no conocen este acuerdo, o sea desconocen, pero como va a conocer si no participan en las reuniones, para que vea este acuerdo, porque yo nunca voy a decidir sobre una cosa, siempre consulto a mi base, y si me autorizan lo hago, si no me autorizan, no lo hago.</p> <p>Como incluirlos? “Es que no quieren, estoy coordinando con la alcaldía, con la Cicol para que puedan mediar esta reunión interna que voy a sostener, a ver si se puede solucionar. Si no quieren, entonces no quieren y si asisten crean problemas en las reuniones, están en su ideología, están mal orientados, yo siempre coordino con la alcaldía y la Cicol. Y ellos siempre dicen que no hay autoridad aquí, no hay la alcaldía, no hay la Cicol, peor el cacique mayor de la comunidad, así han dicho ellos”</p> <p>Otros grupos con poca participación: “No hay”</p> <p>Discriminación dentro de la reunión: “Hay, hasta a mí me han discriminado, Usted es un burro, un sonso, un incapaz, es ese grupo (corporativistas), ellos se cierran, ya estoy acostumbrado que me digan eso.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_2CNFM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 6.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 35
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: esposa de cacique, llegó en 1999 a comunidad
 Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:15-5:10	Cambios por minería: "Al principio la gente no tenía la costumbre, venía gente de afuera y entraban, con plata y buscaban gente para que minen y pagaban. Entonces la gente más abandonaba el chaco y más se dedicaba a la mina. (...) Más antes venían en camioneta, pero la gente se incomodaba, y como somos una TCO, las otras comunidades se unían para que ya no vinieran más, porque estamos perdiendo nuestra cultura decían. La gente ya no va a la misa, ya no va a la reunión, todo ha cambiado, ya no es como antes."
	5:15-6:40	Sobre costumbres: "Cuando yo llegué aquí, ya no había eso de costumbres, no había cultura aquí en esta comunidad no, en San Antonio si y sigue ahorita. Los viejitos aquí ya no pueden tocar instrumentos y a los jóvenes no les interesa."
	13:45-14:50	Beneficios de la mina: "que los que van a la mina reciben para su propia familia, hasta ahora no he visto otro beneficio, solo beneficio. Y un brasilerero dejó un motor, otro dejó una carpintería."
	20:05-20:50	Impacto ambiental de máquinas: "Solo el sonido, nada más. Ellos avisan, dejan su aviso al cacique para avisar. Un poquito, pero no mucho."
	40:30-41:40	Impacto social: "En esta comunidad (en comparación a su comunidad de origen San Antonio) la gente no quiere compartir, hay mucha maldad, talvez porque está en mina, prefiere ganarse algo en vez de ir a reuniones. Ahora uno ya no sabe lo que hace el otro, hay menos comunicación"
	44:10-44:20	Distancia de explotación de mineral: "a 4 km"
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	21:55-22:20	"Había consenso en las reuniones por el acuerdo con Faboce."
	22:55-23:25	Diferencia entre participación en reuniones locales y con empresas: "Los varones preguntan y opinan más en reuniones con las empresas, más que las mujeres,

	33:50-35:20	de las señoras poco. Es peor, ahí, solo dos o tres mujeres hablan.”
	38:05-38:40	Razones para no participación: “No saber dónde dejar a los hijos, no saber en qué ir, a veces se reúne en otras comunidades más lejanas. Antes la Cicol tenía camioneta, pero ya no hay, y ya no se puede ir” Notificación de reuniones: “en las reuniones hay parlantes para notificar. En San Antonio es por la radio que uno se entera.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	6:55-9:50	Gente de afuera: “Los que vienen son gente de plata, vienen a hacer estudios. (...) Y nunca respetaban las costumbres de la comunidad, se alojaron allá en la mina. Se quedan máximo un año. Y cuando hay algo que no les conviene, solicitan reuniones al cacique para tener una charla. Algunos no quieren escuchar. Hacen su campo, su carpa.”
	15:05-15:35	“Los de Faboce ya no vienen seguido, al principio si, pero ahora solo cada 2 o 3 meses quizá porque ya es seguro su trabajo. Porque nosotros pedimos que hagan proyectos aquí, talvez por eso no vendrán.”
	15:35-16:25	Los que vinieron por la minería: “Antes venían franceses, después venían otros chocos de empresas diferentes. Y cuando nosotros preguntamos a veces y ellos respondían: ‘Nosotros venimos a trabajar’. Y nosotros preguntamos: ‘Qué nos van a dejar?’ Y se iban...”
	17:00-17:55	Trabajo de Faboce y consecuencias para empleo: “Ahora con Faboce ya no hay quien trabaja allá, porque es pura máquina. Por eso el problema ahora es que la gente ya no trabaja allá, ya no hay plata, ya no necesitan manos de obras. Tienen que hacer un proyecto para nosotros. Pero a los que preguntamos solo dicen que no son dueños, tienen que averiguar.”
	18:05-20:05	Acuerdo con Faboce: “Primero participó el municipio, vinieron aquí, en la primera reunión no lo aceptó el cacique, pero ya estaba firmado el acuerdo entre el municipio y Faboce y mi marido como cacique no dio permiso para que entren hasta que se convenció a la gente para firmar. El alcalde convenció a la gente. Y no se acordaron de la Cicol, un año después de firmar el convenio informaron a la Cicol. Y mi marido como estaba bastante comprometido con todo se dirigió a

	27:35-30:10	la alcaldía y a la Cicol, y ellos no sabían nada. Hasta ahorita él de la Cicol no lo aceptó eso.” Con quien negocian: “Cuando hubo el acuerdo con el municipio, no hubo más negocio (al nivel local), porque eso se revisa cada año. El municipio ya no quiso, querían preguntar también a la Cicol, pero ellos se quejaron de que no consultaron antes de empezar. Cuesta que la gente entienda.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	9:50-12:25 22:20-22:40	“Aquí poco participan las señoras. A veces participan 3, es resto no. Y es una pena porque uno no sabe lo que piensa, lo que siente, nada. Razones: por falta de capacitación, porque poco salen. Yo por ejemplo siempre he salido a participar en reuniones de colegio, de la parroquia, de la organización. Ahí he aprendido un poquito y ahora me animo a expresar. En cambio las otras compañeras cuando uno les dice vayan a las reuniones, no quieren. Cuando hay reuniones aquí entre mujeres, pero con hombres no. No se sabe por qué. Las que más participamos son las de esta edad (de su edad) y las jovencitas.” En acuerdo con Faboce: “No sé si estaban de acuerdo o no, pero firmaron.”
Práctica Lingüística	23:40-25:00	“Los que no hablan bien el castellano, hablan el besiro, si no lo pronuncian bien. Son sobre todo las señoras de tercera edad. Mayormente los hombres hablan castellano. Pero no es un obstáculo para hablar en reunión.”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	12:25-12:41 12:55-13:30	“Las (mujeres) más jóvenes participan menos.” “Los hijos de ellos (de su edad) no hay. Se van, se van a Santa Cruz, se quedan los viejitos, no hay jóvenes. No tiene que ver con la minería.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad	37:00-37:15	“Los cooperativistas solo se reúnen entre ellos. No nos invitan. Ellos mismas planifican.”
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	30:10-31:55	“Los cooperativistas, los de la ‘supuesta cooperativa’ van directo a la mina, sin consultar, no respetan la estructura. La Cicol vino y trajo técnicos para explicar a la gente. El año pasado vinieron dos veces: explican si sirva trabajar en la mina o en otro sector.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa,	25:15-27:35	Conflictos con empresa: “No, con ellos no, sino con los que son de la misma comunidad, conflictos con el cacique, porque según ellos (de la cooperativa) lo

dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		acusan por colaborar con la empresa, pero ellos no dan plata. Y eso es el conflicto aquí: las otras personas creen que la empresa da a ciertas personas que la apoyan. Pero lo que yo veo no. Eso es el problema que hay aquí, por la plata.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	32:40-33:00	Discriminación hacia cacique: “Lo insultan, dicen que es licenciado, es profesor, pero no entiende, pura maldad”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_3CNFT
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista:	6.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	no sabe
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	no
Afiliación con cooperativa :	ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	0:00-0:16	“Y esa volqueta, carreando esa piedra o tierra, a dónde lo van a vender?”
	5:00-7:22	“La comunidad se queda sin nada, como no voy ahí a escuchar, entonces no sé. Se prometió trabajo para la comunidad, pero al final nada, solo para 1 o 2 personas. Ahorita solo veo volquetas, eso lo he visto. Prometieron ayuda, porcentaje, una volqueta, hasta ahorita no sé nada, si sigue siendo por porcentaje o no.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	11:00-11:35	“Las mujeres van pues, si está su marido van. Van los dos.”
Práctica Lingüística	16:05-19:20	“Habla más castellano que bésiro, porque mis nietos e hija no entienden, dicen ‘qué está hablando esa vieja?’ dicen, es bueno conversar en dos idiomas y es

		bueno hablar con los hijos en su idioma. Es importante que lo enseñen. Todos los mayores hablan en castellano y en bésiro, los que hablan bésiro con su marido, también le hablan en castellano.
Tercera Edad	0:21-1:12	“Yo no voy mucho a la reunión, antes cuando era joven si iba a la reunión. Pero por la enfermedad que tengo, no puedo, no aguanto mucho, mi barriga tiene un tumor, no aguanto mucho, estar sentada, tengo que echarme, no aguanto”
	7:32-9:35	“Como soy un poco mayor, no aguanto. A veces tienen lugar desde la 7 hasta las 12 y no voy a escuchar, no sé nada bien. Soy yo nada mas que no va a la reunión, parece. Ni vienen para contarme, nada.”
Jóvenes	11:45-12:15	“Los que ya tienen 18 años van a la reunión. Los que son mayor de edad también opinan.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	12:55-13:15	“Los de la cooperativa parece que están peleando no más.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_4CNFT

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 6.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 64

Función/cargo de entrevistado: no

Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	28:05-29:45	Cambios: “De afuera no, pero no nos estamos mirando bien a nosotros mismos. Yo siento que es bien triste. Sin minería nada iba a ser, es por esa mina y la cooperativa, todo íbamos a estar allí, y si esas personas quieren seguir con esa cooperativa, entonces que sigan.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	20:20-24:10	Reuniones con Faboce: “Al comienzo toditos participaron, todos firmamos, después va apartando con la cooperativa. En las reuniones después la cooperativa ya no estaba de acuerdo. Ese Jonny Montero lo ha puesto en la cabeza de los otros, él es el culpable, lo siguieron a él. No estamos de acuerdo con él. No conocemos a Doña Marcia, se dice que su concesión, solo manda de allá.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	3:55-6:55 13:20-20:15 32:20-39:45	Invasión de empresarios: “No sé cuánto tiempo ya está la minería, pero no trae trabajo, nada, ellos no más entran con su camioneta, no dice, voy a preguntar a los comunarios a ver si puedo pasar, no dicen nada. Eso sentimos hartos. Qué respeten a nosotros. Para que nos hagan respetar. Dos hombres se juntaron y trancaron el camino, otro día sacaron la llanta de los que vinieron. Nos dijeron: ‘Ustedes van a pagar’, por qué ni siquiera charlan con nosotros, nosotros valemos también. Siempre por encima de nosotros. Él tiene que pedir permiso de la Paz, ese que vale, pero aquí el alcalde, no hace nada, ni la Cicol, qué es la Cicol dice.” Sobre Faboce: “Vino el alcalde, él vino a hacer preguntas si queremos. Dijo que si quieren. Para la alcaldía se iba a pagar 3Bs y para la comunidad 2Bs. Pero como es hartos, rápida van a tener plata Ustedes. Pero piénsenlo, dijo. Nosotros dijimos que vengan a sacar, porque esa piedra no se va a vender, no es como estaño, Faboce nos había dicho eso. Tres veces vinieron a preguntar de Faboce si queríamos. Cuando ya reventó esa piedra, ese Jonny Montero se fue allá a sacar fotos. Después vinieron vuelta de la empresa con su máquina para perforar la tierra, eso ya la volqueta. Ahora están sacando. Su informe de ellos: el resto va al municipio, lo que va a venir acá directo a nosotros van a ser 5Bs, ya no es 2Bs. Queríamos más. Su promesa para nosotros: van a mejorar las casas aquí, los del Faboce dijeron en su tercer acuerdo.”

		Reunion en la sede con Faboce: “Los que no somos corporativistas, decimos que sigan trabajando, para que vamos a estar perjudicando a los que están trabajando. Pero eso no les gustó a la cooperativa . Al otro día fueron a Santa Cruz y volvieron con un paco a llevarse el cacique, él estaba enseñando, después fueron a su casa. Llamaron a un abogado. El paco dijo que el cacique se presentara en Cotoca, pero no tenía ningún documento. No dio la palabra al cacique, solo era para informar. Mañana lo iban a esperar en Cotoca. Son 10 los que denunciaron al profesor, se habían ido a Cotoca.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	39:40-41:00 43:33-43:40	“Muy poca es la participación de la mujer, no hablan, van a la reunión, pero no hablan, será que no tienen coraje para hablar, solo están ahí para escuchar. Tienen miedo porque no tenemos la costumbre, que vengan también las amenazas, meter preso.” “Son unas 4 no más que opinan, las demás escuchando”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	43:50-44:50	“Los mayores ya no, a los 60 años. Los que no participan ya no están para el trabajo público, pero a las reuniones si.
Jóvenes	41:10-43:15	“No van los jóvenes, no hay casi jóvenes acá, están en Santa Cruz, vuelven solo a pasear. Se van a trabajar, no sabemos por qué están de ida. Los que están si están en la lista (de presencia), a partir de 18. Los que son muy mañosos, los que no vienen, tienen que pagar: 5Bs si no van.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	7:00-13:22	Sobre Jonny Montero y sus prácticas: “Primero nos habló bonito cuando ya vio que todo firmamos, de ahí otra vez viene, querían pedir la palabra, pero él nada más habla. La gente ya no quiere saber nada porque sentimos que no valemos nada para él. Es bien discriminante. No tiene miedo él, cuántas denuncias contra él, pero sigue viniendo aquí. Hay algunos que lo siguen recibiendo. (...) Hizo una reunión y nos dijo que nos podría ayudar en recibir personalidad jurídica, entonces dijeron que si, él pidió plata, 200Bs de cada uno. Ya habíamos firmado y compramos 2kg, él quería conseguir la personalidad jurídica, volvió acá, y dijo que ‘Ustedes no sanaron

	25:05-27:45	<p>bien la mina' y no vale nada. Además dijo que 'la mina es del Estado y no de Ustedes'. (...) Todos firmamos, no era voluntario, sentí eso, dijo que hay que firmar, sino no tienen entrada para allá."</p> <p>Prácticas de corporativistas: "Sin consultar con el cacique se fueron a bloquear el camino. Y el cacique se fue a arreglar, pero él no los había mandado. Llamaron a Faboce a arreglar. Él preguntó, como quieren Ustedes, nosotros no vamos a venir a trabajar si Ustedes no quieren."</p>
Discapacidad	45:00-46:50	"Hay una que cuando era chica todavía se cayó de la hamaca a un juego, entonces se alzó su pie, su pie está prendido. Ahora ya no camina, no están planos sus pies. Su nombre es Barbarita. Es viejita ya, tendrá unos 80 años."
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	30:05-32:20	"Los que no participan en las reuniones son ese Fermín y Polonia. Y después dicen que no informa nada el cacique, él si informa, pero ellos no vienen a escuchar. Ellos dicen que agarra plata, pero no es así, él no ha cambiado, el comería bien y no viviría en esa casita. Dicen que recibe plata por debajo de la mesa. Además lo querían tomar preso."

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_5CNFM

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 7.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 50

Función/cargo de entrevistado: no

Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios,	3:15-	Cambios, beneficios: "Antes no había nada, ahora tienen de todo, tienen caro, antes no había, los cables, la luz... "
	3:45	
	6:30-	
	6:45	

usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición		Beneficios: "Si ganan, pero solo si pillan, hay días que sacan, otros días no"
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	7:10-8:20	"No fuimos, porque nosotros ya tenemos esa edad... tenemos 50 años, si uno quiere uno va, si no va, entonces no. A veces vamos, a veces no."
	9:20-9:45	"Nosotros mejor dicho nos retiramos por el trabajo, a veces hay trabajo, por eso no fuimos ahora, por el trabajo"
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	4:15-4:55	"No participo en eso de la minería, nosotros trabajamos, trabajamos en el chaco, solo otros trabajan en la minería o trabajan en el chaco y la minería. Otros compañeros trabajan ahí."
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	10:40-11:30	"Hay algunas que se meten, y van. Depende, a veces hay más mujeres, a veces menos. Algunas opinan como hombres."
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	11:30-11:45	"Igual se va a las reuniones."
Jóvenes	8:20-9:20	"Para los jóvenes es peor, no pueden faltar ahí en la reunión. Ahorita no están, están por Santa Cruz. Pero solo si están en la lista, la lista que dice comunarios. Un mes por allá, después vuelven."
	9:45-10:10	"Los jóvenes van a pasear, un mes por allá, dos semanas, vuelven acá, pero viven acá, solo para pasear."
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	14:30-16:25	"Es por grupo, unos apoyan a la cooperativa, otros los mineros (de la empresa). La cooperativano apoya a Faboce. Los dos valen, depende de donde uno quiere trabajar, para la cooperativa o Faboce."
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_6_grupo_CNFJ

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 7.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 22, 20, 20, 19, ¿

Función/cargo de entrevistado: no (profesiones: artesanía, tejido, bordado)

Afiliación con cooperativa: una participante es hija del director de cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	6:40-7:00	“Para mí no se ve nada de avance aquí en la comunidad, alguna obra para beneficiar a la comunidad, y yo no veo nada en que está avanzando”
	16:30-17:40	Cambios: “Los abuelos cuentan que antes era mejor, no había problemas, vivían bien, vivían de lo que cultivaban del chaco. Nosotros casi ya no trabajamos en el chaco, por falta de economía más bien voy a minar. Ahorita solo tengo un poquito en el chaco.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	20:30-21:30	“El año pasado nuestro cacique convocaba a reuniones generales para todos cada mes, el primero de cada mes. Pero cuando hay alguna emergencia, entonces solo la directiva se reúne, para que ellos planifiquen lo que hay que hacer, y uno vez decidido, informan a la comunidad.”
	26:10-29:25	“Los padres, las personas mayores son los que más opinan. Yo, por ejemplo no estoy en la lista, donde están los nombres de las personas que participan. No tengo marido, por eso no estoy en la lista, también cuando uno está todavía estudiando, no está en la lista, no se puede opinar en la reunión. Y los que están inscritas en la lista, tienen que pagar cuando faltan en las reuniones. Nosotros no tenemos que pagar. Claro, cuando uno no tiene marido, pero vive aquí, entonces si lo inscriben ya, para participar en los trabajos públicos y en las reuniones. Yo después de estudiar, si sigo aquí, me van a inscribir. El cacique decide sobre eso. (...) Yo si participo en las reuniones, pero voy por mi voluntad nada más, para escuchar qué es lo que hablan, no opino.”
	37:00-37:30	“Los mayores son los que más participan, nuestros padres.”

Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	8:15-9:10	“Hay personas que cuando necesitan algo y van a minar, a veces sacan medio kg o un kg, pero no alcanza para alimentar a la familia, si no uno se va al chaco de otra persona para sacar, no hay nadie que solo vive de la minería”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	9:50-11:15 14:50-15:50	“Los camiones que se ven allí viene a través de la alcaldía, vienen a hacer una charla y no toman en cuenta la comunidad, por eso a veces entran y salen, sacan materiales, por eso no se ve nada aquí de avance aquí en la comunidad. A veces también hay comunarios que no saben qué es lo que están esos que tienen la responsabilidad de asumir estos cargos, porque ellos no dicen nada a su base, no informan a sus bases, a los comunarios. Hacen convenios. Hacen convenios con los municipios y solo informan cuando el trato ya está hecho.” “La empresa Faboce hizo una propuesta a la comunidad, que iban a hacer obras, y trabajos para la comunidad, pero hasta ahorita no se ve nada de la propuesto que se han hecho. Prometieron viviendas y fuentes de trabajo para la comunidad. Hicieron esas promesas cuando iban a entrar allá. Por eso ahora tuvimos reunión para hablar sobre eso, para que de una vez empiecen a cumplir con las propuestas.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	30:20-30:50 33:10-35:50	Única mujer casada del grupo focal: “Mi marido solo va a las reuniones, yo no, pero tampoco opina.” “A veces se reúnen puras mujeres, a veces puros hombres. A veces es más fácil en grupos de mujeres, pero ahí igual se complican las cosas, por los conflictos que hay. Tenemos una presidenta de mujeres que hace esas reuniones, y que nos hace hacer un trabajo público. También hacemos reuniones por lo que no participamos todos, qué vamos a hacer con ellos que no opinan. A veces no sabemos a quién apoyar cuando hay diferencia de opiniones, por eso no opino nada.(...)”
Práctica Lingüística	37:40-38:50	“No hablamos el bésiro, pero lo entendemos, los que lo hablan son nuestros padres, nuestros abuelos. Algunos opinan en bésiro igual en las reuniones, pero nosotros no los entendemos.(...) En las reuniones con la empresa solo se habla en castellano, pero los abuelos en los dos idiomas pueden opinar.”
Tercera Edad		Vea: discapacidad
Jóvenes	18:15-19:25	“Nosotros si participamos en las reuniones, para ver como se cumplieron las promesas, las fuentes de trabajo...”

	21:30-24:30	“Tenemos que participar, si no hay que pagar 5Bs (...) Yo no opino en las reuniones, pero hay algunos que sí. (...) Los jóvenes casi no pedimos la palabra, solo los viejos. No participamos (dicen varias). Es por la vergüenza, tal vez está mal lo que uno habla.”
	25:15-26:05	Obstáculos en opinar: “Para opinar no me animo, tengo vergüenza, para entender, equivocarse, me da miedo, por eso no opino, se ríen si no”
	32:40-33:10	“A veces tenemos la oportunidad de opinar en las reuniones, también porque a veces no nos interesamos.”
	36:00-36:40	Sobre poca presencia de jóvenes en comunidad: “Los jóvenes están en la ciudad, se van, hay hartos que se van después de los estudios acá”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad	41:10-43:55	“Hay personas discapacitadas, una que no puede caminar, o no muy bien, Barbarita. No viene a las reuniones (dicen varias.) Ya es anciana pues. (...) Hasta los 60 o 50, ahí ya se jubilan, ya no hacen trabajos públicos, la reunión está vinculada al trabajo público, todos los sábados en la mañana.”
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	14:10-14:50 48:20-49:50	“Hay reuniones, pero a veces más hay problemas, todos opinan, rabia para uno, ahora estamos en problemas en esta comunidad por nada más que por el tema de minería.” “Conflictos solo se ve en las reuniones, ahí es donde se ahogan todos los... si no me llevo bien con otra persona. Pero el trabajo público la gente no se pelea. Solo es en las reuniones.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_7CNFM

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 7.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 40
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: no, hermana del cacique
 Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	4:15-5:55	Impacto: “Yo casi no entiendo eso de las cooperativas, no soy bien estudiada, pero si lo trabajo, nosotros lo vivimos en el lugar. No importa si lo ha estudiado, es importante haberlo trabajado. Más antes no se escuchaba es cosa de la minería, pero mis papás, mis abuelos se criado simplemente trabajando en la agricultura nada más, chaco, sembraban todo para tener plata, maíz, arroz, yuca, maní, eso era la minería antes aquí! Ahora los abuelos se acabaron, mis padres se murieron, ya ahora está empezando eso de la minería. Al principio era bonito, la charla, lo que pasa ahora con nosotros, lo que carecemos, es que hay puros problemas no está trayendo.”
	8:35-9:33	Cambio: “Todo el cambio que he visto hasta ahora, con todo lo poco que se ha podido conseguir, trabajar, se dice el porcentaje. Más antes cuando yo crecí, no había colegio, no había iglesia, no había la casa donde nos reunimos, a través de todo ese pensamiento se va formando la comunidad y es para el bien de todos. De ser minero es bueno, pero hay que trabajarlo.”
	9:35-11:46	“La mina que había en Lomerío era el maní. Se trabajaba, se sembraba, lo cosechaba y lo vendía. En cambio ahora ya nadie siembra maní. Ahora se dedica a la mina. (...) Mi mamá por ejemplo ya es mayor, que tiene la experiencia. Es trabajando, todo tipo de trabajo en la agricultura es aliento, es trabajando. Y yo como no tengo esposo, tengo que buscar para la olla para todos mis hijos, mis hijos están estudiando. Eso es lo que me enseñó mi padre: trabajar en la agricultura, qué pasa si no siembro, no gano, entonces cómo voy a conseguir para comprar? Prefiero el chaco, traigo yuca, cana, camote, para que coman mis hijos. Yo no soy para la minería”
	12:00-12:55	Impacto de minería: “Lo que yo veo es la enemistad entre nosotros, está trayendo ahora, queremos acortar esa enemistad entre nosotros. Los que se dedican a otros trabajos, están atacados, los mineros los están atacando, estamos en ese impacto malo. No nos entendemos. No hay coordinación, no hay diálogo, no hay entendimiento.”
	13:10-16:40	

		<p>Cómo empezó todo eso: “Por asesoramiento de afuera. Este lo que está asesorando muy mal y no sabemos de dónde es esa clase de gente, porque él no nos apoya, lo amenaza a uno: al cacique, a los que lo siguen, desconociendo a la Cicol, desconociendo al municipio. Por eso hay ese choque de rabia. Nosotros estamos con la Cicol y estamos con el municipio, porque si queremos algo, ayuda del municipio del municipio o de la Cicol, nos apoyan. Quieren ellos mandar más que los autoridades superiores. Casi hubo pelea aquí entre nosotros mismos, esa dificultad aquí entre nosotros. Ahora estábamos hablando con mi mamá, y me dijo que en su gestión nunca era así y ahora saben leer más que yo, pero piensan en maldad nada más. Se sube la presión, estará pensando en su hijo, el cacique. Lo insultan, lo critican, lo discriminan, tanto tiempo que le ha costado criarlo para que venga otra gente de afuera con policía a llevarlo a él.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	23:15-25:05	<p>“Los de la cooperativa no participan en las reuniones, sin embargo son los que más saben, no entendemos hasta ahora, pero lo que quieren sugerir son puras amenazas. No hay diálogo.</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	8:25-8:35	<p>“Yo no soy para eso, yo prefiero lo que es mi casa, mi chaco, porque yo de eso vivo, pero no allá”</p>
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	5:55-8:20	<p>“Han venido desde afuera y han asesorado a unos cuantos de la comunidad para que se haga esa cooperativa. Asesoramiento está bien, que se trabaje, pero asesorar mal, ahí se ve mal. En vez de que estemos bien unidos, hay ese, aquí lo llamamos división. Porque quien quiere estar en la cooperativa, pero solo así trabajando la mina no se puede. Parece que están escogiendo a ciertas personas, lo que les conviene, mientras que otros no. Para que mentir, es el problema que no trajo la minería. Por eso ahora tuvimos reunión, y bastante discusión. Al cacique lo atacan gravemente, porque él no apoyó, están trayendo a gente del interior más, está bien que se forme la cooperativa y que se trabaje en la mina. Pero es netamente para la zona, como viviente nativo, crecido, digamos que nacimos y morimos en este lugar, no como otra gente venga y nos esclavice. Es esclavitud porque nos dicen ‘trabajen, trabajen’ y la provisión se lo llevan y nosotros quedamos en qué? Eso es lo que analizamos nosotros. Está bien dijimos desde el comienzo, pero no queda beneficios para la comunidad, porque de aquí está saliendo el material, de qué sale todo, y no queremos ser pobres sin nada</p>

	16:40-17:30	después y ellos ricos allá. Está bien como digo, pero es trabajándolo.”
	18:05-20:55	<p>“Por eso yo les dije ayer cuando dijeron que eran de CEJIS, queremos hablar con el cacique. Por eso digo que no lo conozco si la persona no dice lo que quiere, porque ya desconfiamos, es mi familia, a mi me duele, ya no doy a la dirección. Yo en mi cuñada estamos muy celosas ahora para dar datos, en eso estamos.”</p> <p>Faboce: “Con Faboce no tenemos ningún problema, porque casi 2 años hubo consulta con ellos, siempre volvieron, se han dirigido a través de la alcaldía, entraron, consultaron de nuevo, volvieron. Al final la alcaldía aprobó. Al final dijimos: qué vamos a hacer con esa piedra, si esa piedra no la vamos a sacar, no nos vamos beneficiar, pensábamos que con esos centavitos tuviéramos algo para la comunidad. Y así se firmó, no tuvimos ningún problema con ellos. Pero qué pasó: la cooperativa los está atacando: ya hicieron dos ocasiones bloqueos para que se vayan. Tuvimos un conflicto grave, por eso trajeron pacos, abogados al cacique, porque quieren sacarlo diciendo que al cacique lo están pagando por debajo y que gana de esa empresa, eso es lo que hasta ahora no estamos entendiendo, porque mi hermano a veces ni siquiera tiene para comer, a veces viene aquí y comparto con él porque no tiene nada, él gana, pero es mensual. Y otra gente lo está picando, qué está ganando. Es calumnia contra él. No estamos bien con esa cooperativa, que haya gente de afuera.</p> <p>Qué se hace con beneficios: “Querían que se repartiera, especialmente los de la cooperativa dijeron que se reparta, que se reparta. Bueno el cacique les hizo caso y lo repartió. También han comprado cañería, porque algunos están sin agua, lo han comprado para los que no tienen agua, eso si está sirviendo para el bien de la comunidad, es para todos, los que no tienen. Y también se va a ir consiguiendo cosas que hacen falta en la comunidad.”</p> <p>Costumbres: “No comparten con nosotros, nos insultan (los de la cooperativa)”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	33:35-36:40	Participación de las mujeres: “Es la misma de los hombres, opinan, aceptan los trabajos, pero no

		sabemos qué pasará adentro si está bien o mal para ellos, pero tienen que hacer caso. Nosotros como mujeres también tenemos un cacique de género, ella es lo que nos manda, a hacer caso, es como nuestra madre en nuestra casa, es como la madre de la comunidad. Ella nos dice lo que hay que hacer y tenemos que hacer caso a ella. (...) Igual opinan en la reunión, ahora hay equidad de género, ahora compartimos lo mismo. Los que son calladitos, son calladitos, a veces son jóvenes o viejos, o mujeres igual, pero la mayoría es que opinan (...) Nosotros aquí lo llamamos el machismo, cuando ellos solitos quieren representar, quieren mandar a las mujeres: según mi mamá en su gestión, casi no opinaban las mujeres, eran los hombres, pero ya a través del transcurso, ya tenemos ese contrapeso.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	28:50-29:50	“Los que no participan son los que ya están jubilados, los más ancianos. Ya están jubilados y dicen ‘para que me voy a meter, si es para los jóvenes’. Esos son los que no participan. Los que pueden llegar y escuchan y cuentan de su experiencia. Los que no vienen, es que no les interesa”
Jóvenes	29:55-32:50	“Los jóvenes participan, nuestra cultura, nuestra ley dice, que si ya no están en el colegio, ya tienen que participar, solo no cuando están en colegio. De 18 años ya se meten. Los que siguen estudiando, no se toca, que sigan estudiando, pero lo que no están estudiando y son reservistas, si o si tienen que participar. (...) En la reunión no opinan mucho, son calladitos, pero en los trabajos públicos todos colaboran, ahí tienen que aportar. Ya está en la agenda que trabajen con los mayores. (...) Están calladitos en la reunión, aunque uno diga ‘piensen, opinen’, pero al final si dicen que están de acuerdo, pero nunca opinan o sugieren, si aceptan a trabajar, pero no hablan. No se sabe por qué, no puedo tener su mentalidad.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	25:40-27:50	Participación de corporativistas en consulta con Faboce: “Uno va y en vez de hablar con su compañero, dice, eso se pensó, eso se va a hacer, más bien enojaba a los otros, ellos se separan y más bien cuando uno preguntaba si estaban en la consulta: dijeron que no sabían. Entonces lo que ellos hacían era no participar para luego decir que no sabían. Para picar al cacique para decir que él no convocaba a ellos a reuniones para que sepan. Solo participaban uno o dos de la cooperativa. Los demás

		de la comunidad si participaban. No les convenía a la cooperativa. Después dijeron: en qué momento decidieron y aceptaron? No es que no había citación, si había”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	37:50-	Recomendación para reducir conflictos: “Qué no venga gente del interior, tenemos que cooperar entre nosotros y dejar de traer a los kollas, son brutalmente, ellos vienen a mandar, somos netamente de aquí crecido y nacido, no queremos a gente de afuera. Un kolla vino y estaba asesorando, vienen varios, decidimos ahora que los kollas no manejen Lomerío, que se vayan allí de donde son. Esa casa ahí, es su casa ahora, pero no porque ellos lo construyeron, sino se metieron ahí, entraban como en su casa, luego había 20 kollas ahí. Nunca nos dijeron por qué vinieron. Se encierran entre ellos nada más y no participan en la comunidad. Son muy abusivos, robaron agua, no se compran. No valemos en nuestra propia casa.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	36:50- 37:20	“Para mí la discriminación aquí era la de la cooperativa que le insultaba (al cacique), eso es, hacia nuestra persona, nos discriminaban totalmente a nosotros”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_8CNFM_corp

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 7.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 36

Función/cargo de entrevistado: corporativista, esposa de director de cooperativa

Afiliación con cooperativa : ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	2:45- 4:30	Cambio: “En el año 2006 empezó la minería aquí cuando todavía no hubo minería trabajábamos en el chaco, de eso vivimos. Y cuando empezó la minería ya dejamos el chaco un poco, nos dedicamos a la mina. Aquí no sabíamos minar, y vinieron los mineros de otros lados y trabajamos con nosotros, ellos nos enseñaron. Y sacábamos un kg o dos kg y llegamos a casa y lo vendimos, los niños también, se compraron galletas, dulces. Para nosotros nos sirvió para la
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	<p>6:50-8:20</p> <p>8:55-10:25</p> <p>10:25-11:00</p> <p>22:40-26:50</p>	<p>alimentación, para medicamentos, otras necesidades. Antes cuando no había mina, se salía a la ciudad para buscar trabajo y las mujeres se quedaban en casa. Y estábamos en casa con los hijos y esperábamos en casa al esposo, pero cuando empezó la mina, todos tuvimos la plata.”</p> <p>Beneficios: “Cuando trabajamos casi todos en la comunidad, había un comprador de mina, la gente llegaban y vendían los minerales. El comprador dio un porcentaje a la comunidad de 5Bs por kg, primero era a 2Bs hasta que llegó a 5kg. El OTB (denominación antigua para cacique de la comunidad) hacía reunión y todo el porcentaje que salió de la mina, se preguntó para que se quería invertir eso, algo en beneficio de toda la comunidad”</p> <p>Impacto a tradiciones/costumbres: “Con todo el porcentaje para la comunidad, de los 5Bs, más antes cuando no hubo ese porcentaje, se aportaba para una necesidad en la comunidad. Pero cuando ya hubo minería, ya no hubo esos aportes, para eventos de toda la comunidad. Todavía aportamos, pero ya no es mucho, eso veo de cambio, en los aportes de los comunarios”</p> <p>Impacto medioambiental: “No hubo contaminación, porque no utilizábamos ni una clase de químico para poder lavar la tierra, manual, a veces lavábamos en los pozos, pero nada de químicos que ocupan esas grandes empresas de mineros.”</p> <p>Impacto social: “Cuando antes no había todo eso, estábamos bien, nadie nos miraba mal. Y como ya ahora todo se está arreglando, los problemas dentro de la comunidad. Queremos coordinar con el OTB, para unirse, no haya división, queremos solucionar, también pidiendo a Dios. También nos dice que tenemos autoridad y tenemos que hacer caso a esa autoridad, porque está así la ley. (...) Antes no se podía coordinar, no hubo esa comprensión, se hablaba con el OTB, todo era problema para él, pero él no estaba conforme, durante años nadie podía hablar. Había como un choque, se vivía así como en una división. Para mí no era una división, sino un problema nada más, ellos allá y nosotros acá. En cada reunión yo decía que no me gustaba esa palabra división. En las discusiones en las reuniones se usa esa palabra. Para mí no es así, podemos charlarlo, podemos sentarnos para ver cómo lo vamos a hacer para que estemos viviendo así. Pero ellos no entendían, pero ya se puede hablar, se está</p>
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		mejorando, se dijo que se hace un cuarto intermedio, para vivir como antes, como netamente unido”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	4:30-5:20	“Yo por ejemplo me iba a la mina, sacaba, tenía mi plata y mis hijas igual. Así que todos, era un cambio, nos ayuda. (...) Ahora ya no mucho, ya no sale casi, antes sacábamos un kg o dos kg”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	5:30-6:50	“Venían unos mineros de Oruro, de La Paz y pedían permiso para entrar allá, nosotros no conocíamos la mina y así que ellos nos explicaron y nos llevaron ahí a esos lugares, descarriar donde había agua, así aprendimos nosotros. Y ellos se fueron, van y vienen, pero ya aprendimos trabajar, cómo sacarlo. “
	11:20-14:20	“La empresa Faboce ya hace un año que está aquí, ellos no sacan minería, solo sacan una piedra hueso, ellos trabajan con maquinaria, no ocupan agua ellos, pero si utilizan dinamita para la tierra. Donde ellos trabajan es en un portrero, de un grupo de personas, en ese lugar, como una quinta, de 15 socios. Cuando recién reventaron la dinamita, y el ganado estaba ahí, una vez cuando reventó la tierra una vez y mató a un ternerito, el dueño del animal informó en una reunión. Eso nada más fue. Pero no sé que utilizan, solo sé que utilizan dinamita. Ellos avisan que nadie vaya a ese lugar por la dinamita.”
	14:30-18:15	Reunión/consulta con Faboce: “Cuando recién vino Faboce, tuvimos una reunión con ellos. Y nos prometieron fuentes de trabajo para toda la comunidad. Por eso nosotros dimos permiso para que entren, pero al final no nos dieron trabajo. Querían dar trabajo para los que están todavía haciendo trabajos públicos y también para los de la tercera edad y para las mujeres también. No sé que tipo de trabajo nos iban a dar. También iban a hacer un alojamiento para la comunidad y mejorar las viviendas. Mejorar la comunidad, para ir adelante, no nos han cumplido y no están cumpliendo. Había un problemita por los porcentajes por cada cubo 2Bs, a nosotros no nos convenía, no es nada para nosotros, ni para un kilo de azúcar da y nosotros dijimos que aumenten a por lo menos 20Bs por kg. Ya no había conformidad con ellos los que están apoyando a la empresa. Igual no estábamos de acuerdo, porque 5Bs (desde hace unos 6 meses) no es nada.”
	26:50-29:00	Relación con la Cicol y municipio: “La cooperativa... con la alcaldía sí. Lo que yo estaba viendo... No había

		<p>coordinación ni con la alcaldía ni con la Cicol, había otras personas que informaron mal, por eso es que la Cicol no apoyaba a la cooperativa porque los informaban mal, y la alcaldía también. Se necesitaba que vayan los dos aquí a la comunidad para hacer una reunión y charlar, qué es lo que se piensa, por eso no había ese apoyo de la alcaldía o Cicol. (...) La mala información decía que la cooperativa traía personas de afuera, que no coordina con su OTB, pero sin embargo no era así, es que aquí no había comprensión, normalmente uno se sienta y charla, pero eso no hubo aquí, alejados, ya no nos tomaron como comunarios de aquí.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	<p>37:25-39:15</p> <p>40:30-50:20</p>	<p>“Me casé a temprana edad, no estudié, no conozco para poder enseñar a mis hijos, solo puedo enseñar lo que sé, no soy una estudiada. Porque más antes no hubo estudios acá, nuestros padres solo nos dejaron hasta segundo básica, para que la mujer sepa leer y nada más y a los 13 o 14 años ya se casa, así era antes. Yo me casé a los 14 años y en mi pensamiento no era para tener marido todavía, yo quería estudiar, pero no tuve esa oportunidad y quiero que mis hijos conozcan más. Y yo igual era tímida para expresarme delante de un grupo de personas. Cuesta cuando uno no tiene el conocimiento y no conoce palabras, a veces palabras que uno no entiende.”</p> <p>“Una vez hubo una empresa que trabajaba acá en minería y de las mujeres no había, las mujeres no trabajaban con la empresa, solo los varones. Pero si trabajamos nosotros en grupos organizados para tener algo de plata para nosotras. (...) Tenemos reuniones con la empresa cuando no está cumpliendo y nosotros apoyamos a nuestros esposos para que ellos reclamen, para que la empresa cumpla con las promesas que hicieron. Apoyamos con sugerencias. (...) Hay mujeres que no opinan, a veces dicen que no estaban de acuerdo, tímidos para hablar, pero dicen que tenían vergüenza, no se animaron. Parece que en una sala todos te miran, y si uno se equivoca, ya tiene miedo que uno se ría y eso intimida más, mejor me callo, dicen. Cuando uno tiene dudas, puede sacarlo, desahogarse, para eso está la reunión. (...) También puede ser que su esposo no quiere que hable, a veces tenemos reuniones de puras mujeres. Voy a hablar de mi persona, a veces el hombre no quiere que hable uno. Y hay reuniones de puras mujeres, y el va a decir `tantos reuniones, no vas a ir, te vas a quedar, me vas</p>

		<p>a cocinar, atender tu hijo está llorando`, eso a mí me pasaba al principio y uno siente ese miedo, quizá te pega, así pensaba, y para no renegar con el esposo, uno le hace casa y se queda, y no va a la reunión. Pero me gustaba y ya no hacía caso y me iba. Yo asumí un cargo, 3 años estaba de presidente de comité femenino de la iglesia, de 6 iglesias los estaba asumiendo, hacer reuniones con todas. Eso me hizo también para perder el miedo, perder la timidez para hablar, eso me gustó. Me costó, pero ya fui aprendiendo, ya pude hablar bien, ya no temblaba, ya no tuve el miedo. Eso falta aquí a las señoras, les falta conocimientos, para que conozcan más. Todavía hay eso. Por ejemplo ahora Ustedes tenían en su lista para su reunión a la señora Ogali, ella me comentó que su esposo casi no quería que ella vaya allá y yo dije por qué, él no quería, yo le dije que solo era un diálogo. Eso pasa a veces en el hogar, el esposo no deja, no quiere que asista. Pero como es sancionada la ausencia, a 5Bs, entonces en las reuniones ya tiene que participar.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	<p>31:20-33:55</p> <p>34:40-37:20</p> <p>39:15-</p>	<p>“Hay jóvenes que son así que casi nunca piden la palabra, hay también adultos. Aquí se toma en cuenta a los jóvenes, cuando ese joven no esté estudiando, no está haciendo nada pero tiene 18 años. Pero digamos que ese joven va a la reunión, pero no pide la palabra, pero está presente. Pienso que con todo lo que se charla, que ellos no piensan todavía como uno, va una reunión, opina y piensa para hablar si está de acuerdo o no. (...) Ellos aquí casi no ocupan cargos, porque se van a la ciudad, por eso casi no se toma en cuenta a los jóvenes que son solteros.”</p> <p>“A veces nosotros también analizamos todo eso, porque mi hija, ya hace un año ya, salió de aquí para estudiar, y es bien diferentes, los jóvenes que están la ciudad, que los jóvenes de aquí. Los jóvenes de la ciudad son más despiertos que acá, porque acá no había ni tele ni nada, todos se criaron en campo con nada, tele, teléfono, energía, ven novelas, para poder aprender, hacerse más vivos. Aquí no tienen ese conocimiento más para poder opinar, porque los que sí han estudiado pueden pensar, dar sugerencias, porque tienen más conocimientos.”</p> <p>“Será por los padres también, que no han estudiado que los hijos salen medio tímidos, porque no se enseñó en la casa.”</p>

Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	18:15- 22:40	“La cooperativa se estaba formando cuando todavía no estaba Faboce y así que nosotros de los que trabajábamos la mina, no había quien compre aquí en la comunidad. Teníamos que salir a otra comunidad, donde ya tenían la personalidad jurídica allá, entonces él compraba un cantidad de mina, él podía venderlo porque tenía personalidad jurídica. Por eso nos preguntamos ‘por qué no formamos una cooperativa para poder sacar una personalidad jurídica y venderlo acá con ese documento, por eso quisimos formar una cooperativa. Todos estaban incluidos. Y de ahí cuando recién se formó es cooperativa había un señor que apoyaba y ese señor no era de aquí, pero él tenía conocimiento más que nosotros para formar esa cooperativa. Y así que a ese señor lo elegimos como presidente de la cooperativa y confiamos a esa persona y teníamos que aportar para poder sacar esa personalidad jurídica, pensábamos que era fácil de conseguir ese documento. Y pasaron 1 año, 2 años, y no cumplió con nosotros, así que otros comunarios ya no estaban de acuerdo de seguir con la cooperativa, fueron retirándose, lo consideraron un mentiroso a ese señor. Solo unos pocos se quedaron en la cooperativa para formarnos de nuevo, el ya dejó a ser presidente, y se eligió a otra persona, una mujer. Con el trámite cuesta dinero para moverse, ella hizo todo, pero todavía falta, ya no somos varios, solo unos 10 personas. Y los que estaban primero, ya no quieren saber nada más. Unos comunarios dicen que estamos divididos, nosotros no diríamos eso. Y así sucedió.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	29:30- 30:25 30:35- 31:10	Razones temporales: “A veces el OTB convocaba a una reunión en el parlante y todos los comunarios, e invita a todos para poder decidir. Pero a veces no bajan todos a la reunión, porque algunos se van a pasear, otros se quedan en su casa, otros están enfermos, casi no se puede llevar a todos a la reunión.”

		“Todos asisten las reuniones, pero hay personas que no hablan, son más tímidos, no entiendo por qué no hablan. Esos son los que no son pues charlatanes.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_9CNFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 8.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 34
Función/cargo de entrevistado: esposa de segundo cacique
Afilación con cooperativa : ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	5:55-9:50	Cambio: “Cuando empezó la minería aquí, nosotros no sabíamos minar y vino gente de otro lado, que son expertos de la mina, con maquinaria. Primero nos dijeron que manualmente íbamos a trabajar, con picota, barreta, lámpera, no sabíamos nosotros, ni tuvimos nada ni para batear, lavar mina. Empezamos con este polvo, luego salieron piedras. Me acuerdo del comienzo, me fregué mi tapa de horqueta por nada más por ir a minar. Desde entonces ahora ya no vamos a la iglesia, no participamos en las reuniones, no participamos en unos talleres, todo se fregó de la mina, todo se fregó, todo se fregó. (...) La gente ya no hace caso, lo que quiere es plata. Antes vivíamos, trabajábamos chaco na más, a veces gente tenía plata y buscaba a trabajadores y decíamos, vamos allá a rosar, a chafrear, nos pagaban, poquito, pero nos pagaban, y tuvimos para nuestras chinelas, para comprar jabón, diesel. Era bien, porque era unidos nosotros, cuando tocaba la campana era para la reunión, gente rápido se reunía, vámonos a trabajar. Ahora ya no, a él que le conviene va, si no, no se va. A veces ni va a la reunión. Desanima a los que están encabezando. Uno agarra sus cosas para ir a minar. Participación en la iglesia no hay, puros niños y señoras, pero hombres no hay.”
	10:20-10:45	
	10:45-14:10	Cambio: “Participábamos con garrafa no más, sin luz, y ahora que hay luz corriente, ni siquiera quieren irse, se quieren quedar en su caso, cambio hartos” Cambio de usos y costumbres: “Todo cambió, ya no hay minga, ya no hay fiesta que se invita a toditos. Antes no era así, había fiesta para toda la comida.”

	15:20-18:30	<p>Había almuerzo para todos, y después cuando los niños fueron a jugar, nos quedábamos para tomar chicha, ahora ya no, estamos divididos nosotros. Tenemos dos iglesias diferentes y eso es lo que no dividió. Hace diez años empezó eso, antes de la minería. Una familia, Choré, son de esa religión. Es porque vinieron unos gringos con regalos, iban a las casas. Ahora somos poquitos en la católica. Y todo se perdió, las costumbres, la cultura.”</p>
	22:20-23:35	<p>Efectos medioambientales: “Friega el monto, ahí donde está la mina, pura laja, tierra deshecha. Antes era encerrado eso, mucho tiempo vinieron los mineros, yo era chica todavía. Para evitar esa pelea, hicieron un proyecto los de la Cicol, para que se respete, alambraron 600 hectáreas, ahí adentro hicieron un corral, trajeron vacas, hicieron potreros para que nadie entre. Pero sin embargo otra gente, como ellos traen gente de La Paz para poner adentro para que exploten esa minería y es privado, es encerrado, es un proyecto, pero no respetan. La gente llega y entra, sin permiso ni nada, y por eso hubo conflicto. Ellos vienen y nosotros dijimos, si vamos a su casa o su parcela donde ellos viven, qué nos van a recibir, no nos reciben, son otra gente, nos botan. Mientras que aquí entran y trabajan, porque somos gente muy pasiva, muy humilde, eso es. Lo aprovechan. Vienen con puras mentiras, que el gobierno los manda.”</p>
	52:30-58:10	<p>Beneficios: “Hasta ahorita nada, porque recién quieren trabajar, entraron este mes con 20 volquetas, está fregado el camino con mucha lluvia. Pero nos prometieron que nos iban a ayudar aquí en la comunidad, trayéndonos material, lo que hacen con las piedras. Para que un día tengamos piso de cerámica y techo para la casa, es nos prometieron. Este lunes queremos a presionar y hablar. Si no quieren, que se vayan.”</p> <p>Sobre particularidades culturales: “En este lado de acá, no conocemos, somos muy atrasados, nuestra cultura es así, no reclamamos, somos muy pasivos. Nuestros abuelos contaron que la gente de otro lado, del interior, otra cultura viene a mandarnos acá, como ellos viven allá. Por eso es que nosotros estamos aquí. El kolla dice que así vamos a progresar en Lomerío. En San Antonio tenemos experiencias con kollas, uno se casó con una lomeriana, y él se hizo pelear a su suegra, a su suegro, y él botó a su suegro, la comunidad se enfadó y lo querían wasquear, dijeron que el kolla es kolla y no se rinde así nada</p>

		<p>más. Allí no podían con un kolla, qué vamos a hacer con 10 kollas, hay uno kolla que los asesora a este. Nosotros también tenemos nuestra ley interna, y la ley dice que lo agarremos y lo wasqueemos, la ley no dice encerrarlo. Wasquearlo para que aprenda lo que es Lomerío y nuestra cultura. Primero se pregunta a la comunidad, toda la base se pone de acuerdo. Antes había una pareja que se peleaba, con hijos, ya en toda la comunidad, no había división todavía, era todo unido, tuvimos un reunión, una asamblea, preguntan que dicen: el mejor remedio y reglamento interno es la wasca. Le dieron wasca a la pareja para que se conformen, pero hasta ahora viven separados.” (sigue hablando de justicia comunitaria, caso en que quemaron a alguien en otra comunidad)</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	18:30-22:20	<p>Reuniones con Faboce: “Ya estaba la cooperativa, ya hubo oposición. Después hubo consulta, y al principio no queríamos, porque no sabemos cómo es, no sabemos de los precios, cómo va a ser después. Van a entrar y no van a querer salir y no van a cumplir con las promesas, así dijimos al principio. Pero ellos se dirigieron a la alcaldía, que los dejen entrar, y la alcaldía vino a la comunidad a explicarnos qué prometen ellos para la comunidad. También por la pobreza uno quiere también qué le prometen muchas cosas a uno. 3 veces vinieron, y dijimos que vamos a quedar en cuarto intermedio para que lo pensemos. Después otra vez vinieron y nos convencieron con todos su charla y así lo recibimos. Nos dijeron que es una empresa privada, no es del Estado, Faboce, pero nosotros no sabemos nosotros. (...) Había gente que no participaba y dicen que no estaban de acuerdo porque a veces no participan siempre. Hay algunos que no quieren ir a la reunión y luego dicen que no sabían. (...) La mayoría dijo que sí, porque queríamos una fuente de trabajo, pero hasta estamos reclamando fuentes de trabajo”</p>
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	41:20-43:35	<p>“Los de la cooperativa dijo que si no queremos ver gente de otro lado, que se vaya la empresa Faboce, pero es diferente, la empresa no nos hace pelear, no nos hace pelear, trabajar para ellos, no nos está asesorando. En cambio esa otra gente viene, los asesora a ellos, nosotros no sabíamos hacer marcha para bloquear, no somos de eso. Pero esos cooperativaya hicieron marchas, pararon y bloquearon el camino, porque no es de nuestra cultura eso. Están bloqueando, es de otro lado eso, ese que asesora a la gente aquí, nosotros no nos</p>

	43:45-45:45	<p>animamos para eso. Además tenían que para al dueño de la empresa, no las choferes que no tienen nada que ver, son simplemente trabajadores como uno.”</p> <p>Imponer costumbres: “Entran incluso sábado y domingo para trabajar como esclavos como antes. Mientras que no se vayan esos kollas de aquí, nunca va a terminar el conflicto entre nosotros. Qué se vayan. Para que sea como antes, nos saludamos, reímos, dialogamos entre todos, hacemos una masa. Nosotros ahora peleamos la mitad, y el otro lado está apoyando a esa gente. Si no salen, siempre vamos a pelear. (...) Ayer quedamos en cuarto intermedio, o sea que no va a cambiar.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	9:50-10:20 29:45-	<p>“Así es en las reuniones igual, puras mujeres, era bien bonito antes.”</p> <p>“Ahora participan las mujeres, pero no opinan. Hartos talleres he recibido, antes no podía opinar en las reuniones, al principio recién casada, no podía ir a las reuniones por mis hijos chiquitos, después en reuniones y talleres... tiene que haber equidad de género, yo digo por qué no pueden sacar a las mujeres de la casa para la reunión, a pasear, pero con el hijo, es difícil de dejarlo, antes no se podía. Ahora si participan, pero no opinan, no sé si es porque tienen miedo o vergüenza, a veces uno se equivoca. Somos unas 5 mujeres nada más que hablamos, el resto calladitas. Entre ellas si hablan, solo en las reuniones no pueden hablar, pero ahí es donde vale. Timidez viene de la falta de estudio, uno no conoce, uno no sale a la ciudad, uno se crío aquí donde nació, eso es pues. En cambio cuando uno estudia y conoce la ciudad, se despierta la mente.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	23:50-25:20 36:25-36:55	<p>“No pueden opinar, no participan, los de la tercera edad y los jóvenes también. Podrían participar, porque son de la comunidad. De mi edad, todos participan en la reunión, pero no pueden opinar, no pueden sugerir, quizá porque tienen vergüenza.”</p> <p>“Quizá cuando uno es tímido, todo es lo recibe el bebé, cuando nace...”</p>
Jóvenes	25:40-29:25	“Los jóvenes... no hay, muchos se van a Santa Cruz, aquí nos falta mucho, no hay para ir a trabajar, no hay universidad cerca para que puedan estudiar cerca, no tenemos ayuda de instituciones, por eso salen

		nuestros hijos bachilleres, y no tenemos recursos para que vayan a estudiar a Santa Cruz. El que no tiene, ahí nos quedamos, queremos que estudien, pero no tenemos. (...) Mi tío por ejemplo tiene su hijo en su cárcel, su único hijo, no sé dónde metió la pata, ya son 8 años en la cárcel, los recursos de Faboce ayudarían. (sigue hablando del hijo en la cárcel y la falta de plata para poder sacarlo)
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	14:10- 15:25 48:40- 50:10	<p>“Las cooperativas son de ahí, de la otra iglesia. Lo que yo no entiendo, no entendemos. Ese señor ahí de la iglesia es cooperativista ahí, es pastor además, pero no entiendo, porque en las reuniones no quiere ser corregido, quiere ser más que la autoridad, a veces pienso el estudia, lee la biblia, por qué no reflexiona, estoy haciendo algo mal, sin embargo nada. Yo creo que afecto a todos.”</p> <p>“En la reunión ayer Polonia dijo que ella no es para botar a gente a fuera, no soy como esos ayoreos, que no dejan que entre otra gente, por eso nos comparó con los ayoreos. Está bien, nosotros recibimos, si ellos tocan la puerta para entrar, los recibimos, pero si entran no más y pasan allá donde hay mina sin consultar a nosotros, a quién va a gustar. No sabe la comunidad que quiere esa gente. Por eso es que no nos gusta.”</p>
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	39:00- 41:25	“Para que sea como antes, que venga gente de otra comunidad, de otro país pues, de otra tierra, de otro lado, que trabajemos aquí nosotros. Si viene gente de otro lado, eso es lo que nos cambia. Cuando empezó la mina, la gente ya no hace chicha gratis, sino hace chicha para vender, si tienen plata, compran cerveza y beben. Antes se invitaba a los demás. Toda la gente está cambiando. (...) Para que vivamos en armonía y en paz todos nosotros, para que no saludemos, tiene que salir la gente a su tierra, que trabaje su tierra, así dijimos ayer.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

I_10CNMM_corp

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 8.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 40
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: pastor de comunidad
 Afiliación con cooperativa: directorio de cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

<p>Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>	<p>4:25-11:55</p>	<p>Cambio: “Cambio de 50% negativo y 50% negativo, cuando empezó la minería en esta comunidad, de inicio, los comunarios trabajaban en 100% en producción, se producía el maíz, el arroz, maní, la gente tenía lo suficiente, variedades de alimentación para sustentar a su familia, incluso tenían para vender. Cuando entró la minería ya no siembran maíz, ya no siembran arroz, porque se dedican a la minería, la familia empieza a sufrir, la plata para la familia no alcanza para comprar arroz, maíz, la parte de la plata afectó, por eso hubo es cambio enorme. Lo positivo de esto era que al inicio, pudimos conservar en poder producir, era la fortaleza, nos damos tiempo para poder sembrar, pero ya no mucho, pero ya no tuvimos mucho tiempo para eso. Las cosas que no producíamos acá como el azúcar, el aceite, lo comprábamos y el otro 50% lo producimos en nuestro chaco. Pero hay que saberlo trabajar, administrando, que haya pan en la casa. Pero trabajar la mina cuesta, cuesta manualmente, traer para poder generar más recursos, tiene que ser mecanizado. Eso nos hizo ver. El primero ano dedicamos todo a la mina, entonces no hubo nada para comer, fue un bajón total. En una reunión decidimos que no podemos abandonar a la producción, entonces hemos continuado, porque es una doble tradición. El ingreso de la mina en la zona... en muchos años hemos sido afectados acá por la minería. Anteriormente bonito se vivía con el chaco, se producía todo que se podía, diferentes variedades de productos. Ahora solo algunos solo tienen tiempo para sembrar maíz, nada más, porque están en la mina o trabajando para alguna empresa. Algunos ya ni siembran, porque están todo el tiempo en la mina, es más esclavizado, porque la mina no da, sacaba los recursos. Uno siembra media hectárea, y le da cabalito para un ano, come, tiene, no tiene que comprar para todo el ano. Si quiere tener más para vender, entonces siembra más.</p>
<p>Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario</p>	<p>13:40-15:25</p>	<p>“De inicio era bien hermoso, el cacique mayor, cualquier cosa, él daba conocer a la comunidad, consultaba, se dialogaba sobre el tema. La comunidad</p>

		era más unida. Pero con los años que pasan, ha ido cambiando un poco, la nueva generación, va perdiendo ese temor a la autoridad. Los jóvenes ya muy poco hacen caso, emigran a la ciudad, van y vuelven. Hay una convocatoria a una reunión, pero no van a la reunión. Eso ha tenido efecto a la unidad.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	11:55-13:30 32:45-	<p>Quién introdujo minería: “Esos insertos son de otra gente de afuera, son mineros, ellos vinieron, lo estudian y descubrieron que hubo mineral, y entraron a explorar, empezaron a trabajar y buscar a gente para que trabajen, así fue integrándose a la comunidad, se dejó poco a poco la producción. Nosotros ni sabíamos que existía mineral. Los mineros eran nacionales no más, aquí del departamento, de la ciudad. “</p> <p>Influencia de afuera: “Cuesta concientizar, según lo que yo veo, esa discriminación, los que hablan de Bolivia, todos somos libres para ir donde queramos. El Estado ha prohibido la discriminación, todos somos humanos y tenemos la misma necesidad y somos bolivianos, entonces por qué tenemos que cuartar cuando uno venga del occidente acá de que yo vaya allá. Si yo me iría al occidente, a mí no me gustaría que me echen de allá, entonces yo creo que a nadie. Todos podemos ir a donde queramos, pero presentándonos con respeto, merece respeto, los que no respetan, también tiene su trato. Entonces yo no estoy de acuerdo de que la gente discrimine, son bolivianos igual, por simples intereses económicos u otros, no quieren que un kolla venga aquí al oriente, eso es discriminación, no entienden, le falta entender, no tienen amor por sus próximos. Este mundo está pues ciego, anda brutaemente. Cuando hay el temor de Dios en el corazón, es diferente, uno siente por sus próximos, uno reconoce, pero cuando uno no ha nacido para Cristo, entonces son brutos y duros, le van y vienen, solo tienen el interés de comer y tener y punto. Entonces hay una diferencia en el mundo secular, pero si uno sabe que hay un Dios que nos ama, él nos dio todo, solo si no lo maneja mal. Yo no estoy de acuerdo que ellos no quieran, para esto está el diálogo, preguntar, si sirve o no sirve, analizarlo en un consenso de todos, sabiamente hay que decidir, falta la ética, y eso no muestra el liderazgo.</p>

Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	19:55-21:30	“Hay diferencia. Las mujeres, en su mayoría, solo estudiaban hasta su tercer o segundo básico, a lo mucho hasta el cuarto, mientras que el hombre tenía más, no sé si por discriminación, los padres querían que estudie más el hombre. Entonces si hubo esa variación, pero en este último ya no, todos por iguales. Mi hija ya salió bachiller y entró la universidad. Hay que cambiar esa visión, ya no copiarlo de antes y dar lo mejor para los hijos. Tenemos que ver que la comunidad progrese.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	30:45-31:05	“Hay también mayores que pueden dar el consejo y lo escucha (la autoridad) está bien”
Jóvenes	21:50-23:15	Vea parte: participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario “Eso es muy natural aquí, no es fuerte la participación, la asistencia si, falta de hábito. Uno no tiene esa costumbre, tiene el temor a que le pele en lo que va a decir, entonces mejor no hablar, escuchar no más, de esos habemos muchos. Depende mucho de cuanto ha estudiado, cuánto uno conoce, qué palabras puede decir.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	24:15-28:55	“Hay personas que tienen muchas ambiciones para ellos, y eso no es bueno. Hay cosas que son del pueblo y son sagrados, pero hay personas dentro de la comunidad que piensa aprovecharse de lo que llega a la comunidad de otro lado ajeno a la comunidad. Hay también personas que no apoyan a sus misma comunidad, sino a gente que tiene plata, entonces ya se acabaron los sonsos, ya estamos despiertos y miramos. Por ejemplo en la reunión que tuvimos ahora, lo que no me ha gustado es que la máxima autoridad no coordina con los comunarios, somos callados, sencillos y humildes, pero miramos y pensamos y las cosas no se deben hacer así. Una autoridad debe ser neutro, no debe apoyar a un grupo, sino debe ser como el padre de la comunidad, porque tiene la última palabra. Cuando actúa bien, entonces se respeta, pero cuando actúa mal, entonces ya no, se pierde la credibilidad, se pierde

	29:35-30:45	<p>ese temor a la autoridad, porque no está conforme. (...) Aquí tenemos un problema interno, la comunidad está dividida en dos, y eso nos duele mucho, que una autoridad así se autonombre, no consulta, eso no fortalece a la comunidad, sino la debilita. Entonces en las anteriores gestiones de nuestros padres era bien, bien respetado, las cosas que decía se cumplían, mientras que ahora hay ambiciones por los recursos aquí en la comunidad y eso crea problemas. (...) Por la gente que vino de afuera, la autoridad se hace comprar, le dan por debajo, a veces por miseria, le hablan bonito y dan la espalda a la comunidad.”</p> <p>Recomendaciones para solucionar conflicto: “El único remedio para darle solución es el diálogo de la autoridad y base. Si la autoridad reconoce y se baja al nivel comunario, pero si la autoridad está ahí y quiere ser el más, y quiere ser más alto, él más sabe todo, y la base ahí abajo, entonces... para tener una solución, tiene que bajarse la autoridad y dialogar.”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	15:40-19:25	<p>Identifica grupo que menos participa, niveles de educación: “Algunos no participaban, algunos participan, pero no dicen nada, se callan. Lo bueno es ir y participar. Sobre todo es el diálogo. Son los que no tienen el hábito de participar, son más directo, tienen más el hábito de trabajar, son personas que diferente educación, cada uno tiene diferente educación de los padres. También influye como uno a los hijos los encamina, los educa, los cría, entonces cómo debe ser la participación. Anteriormente hasta mi generación, estudiábamos, porque los padres no tenían la posibilidad de estudiar, no tenían cómo dejarnos estudiar, ahí no más, a veces hasta el tercer o segundo curso, no más, es por eso que muchos no podemos contribuir a la comunidad y poder participar y proponer, eso afecta. Pero este último, según la propuesto o plan del Estado, todos los bolivianos, debe perderse el analfabetismo, ya no debe haber, todos los padres están obligados a hacer estudiar a sus hijos. (...) Yo por ejemplo solo estudié hasta el segundo, intermedio, no había más.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_11_grupo_CNMiM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista:	8.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	varios

	57:15-59:55	<p>porque aquí casi la mayoría va diariamente a sacar en la mina lo poquito que hay, pero así como cooperativistas no podemos, porque somos pobres. Y ha pensado el Estado que podríamos entrar en COMIBOL, porque el Estado da el fuente de trabajo, los recursos, los respalda, le da el seguro social, recibe su sueldo, le da lo económico para la casa. Y cuando uno ya no puede trabajar, entonces recibe sueldo. A mí me convenía estar en esa reunión a escuchar, porque están avanzando los años y ya tengo 43 años y va a llegar el momento en el que ya no voy a tener fuerza para trabajar y estoy pensando para el futuro, porque los años pasan. Porque aquí la empresa (Faboce) nos dijo que nos iba a dar trabajo a toditos, hasta la tercera edad iba a tener trabajo, pero hasta ahora no hay trabajadores ahí, solo unos 3 o 4 que están trabajando y nosotros aquí somos varios. Parece que es mejor con COMIBOL porque es directo con el Estado, porque no tenemos para conseguir la personalidad jurídica, mientras que con COMIBOL, ellos tienen los documentos y más con el gobierno, dan plata.”</p> <p>“Si viene COMIBOL, vamos a ser esclavos como antes. Vamos a entregar las tierras al Estado, vamos a estar esclavizados, todos los días trabajando, eso es como poner en esclavitud. (...) En mi pensamiento... si viene COMIBOL: bien, porque nos da trabajo, aquí no se quiere trabajar continuamente, no hay costumbre, ahorita estamos libres. Si queremos trabajar trabajamos, si no queremos, nos echamos a dormir. Y los días pasan, no plata, no hay recursos para los hijos. Están durmiendo, no hacen nada y eso es el miedo que no quieren que nos esclavicemos, es el miedo al trabajo y al cumplimiento, porque si uno trabaja pues cada día de 6 a 6, entonces tiene para comer, porque está ahí trabajando. Pero si solo se trabaja un día en la semana y lo pasa pescando, pasando en el monte y dice que está trabajando, pero no es para generar recursos en la casa, eso es el miedo que no quieren trabajar. Esclavitud dicen porque está trabajando, pero es para uno mismo. Pero nos pagan pues, pero antes les hacían trabajar, pero no los pagaban.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		

	<p>40:05-42:20</p> <p>42:25-45:30</p>	<p>eso nos formamos como cooperativa para poder manejar nuestros propios recursos. Pero no sabíamos cómo establecer una cooperativa, es la primera vez, y eso es difícil, cuesta mucho dinero para hacer los trámites y demora mucho tiempo. Tres años estuvimos en eso y no se pudo, para conseguir la personalidad jurídica, la ficha ambiental lo que se necesita. Y ganó todo, la destrucción más bien, ya no quieren escuchar la cooperativa. Hay un grupo que trabaja con la empresa y están en contra de la cooperativa. La finalidad de la cooperativa era trabajar legalmente, reconocido por el gobierno, dar el permiso para trabajar. Hicimos una huelga en el municipio, debería ser beneficio para todos, pero mucha gente piensa en su propio bolsillo, por eso nos rechazan a nosotros. Debería ser una sola fuerza, con el apoyo del cacique, pero no fue así, el abogado de la empresa (Trujillo) le intrigó mal al cacique. Lo que hace él es pelear contra la cooperativa haciendo que nos dividamos, que él agarre a la gente que le conviene y les enseña cosas malas a ellos creando enemistad entre nosotros y lo que nosotros estamos pidiendo es maldad. El cacique está a su lado del abogado y a nosotros como comunidad, como pueblo, no nos está escuchando y le están poniendo en la cabeza que no escuche a nosotros, que somos ilegal, ahí le están poniendo eso en su cabeza. Hay cinco familias que están apoyando al cacique, el resto somos 13 familias que estábamos en la cooperativa. Y hay otras familias que no están ni para allá ni para allá, ellos no hablan nada, son callados, no se involucran en nada... Aquí la plata manda dicen ellos, pero nosotros no tenemos recursos en cambio Faboce y más que todo el abogado dice eso. Ya no nos entendemos aquí, nos dicen que queremos pelear dicen que estamos divididos, que no respetamos la autoridad. Nosotros si respetamos las decisiones, pero lo que queremos también es que nos escuchen cuando nosotros pedimos algo, que nos escuchen, pero no nos dan oído, porque le (al cacique) dicen que no le den oído y le hace caso y a su base no le hace caso”</p> <p>Sobre inicio de cooperativa: “Al principio éramos todo socios de la cooperativa, todos de la comunidad éramos 46 socios y después fueron desanimándose los demás porque demora tiempo, quieren de una vez, después de tres meses querían de una vez ya tener la personalidad jurídica, sin embargo es un proceso largo, un trámite de poder sacar los documentos hasta que quedamos 13 y después llegó la empresa. Y la empresa empezó a meterles virus a</p>
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		<p>las cabezas de los que se unen con ellos, decir sobre nosotros que no somos legales, además que ellos son una empresa fuerte y poderosa y tienen plata, y nosotros no tuviéramos. Somos 16 contra 5 los que no acean, pero aun así nos dejamos rastrar”</p> <p>“Había un señor que vino y es por él y ellos vienen del lado exterior y conocen porque así viven allá en su pueblo, todo es organizado como cooperativa y nos dijo que no organicemos, consigan los documentos con el gobierno, pidan permiso legalmente, porque así como estábamos era robar al Estado dijo, esa mentalidad deberíamos tener como cooperativa, y ya se hizo en Surusubí, se va a hacer en Puquio, en San Lorenzo, pero nosotros éramos los primeros que inspiramos. El señor que no estaba llevando adelante, él siempre estaba por aquí, trabajaba con sistemas de agua, después lo dejó y se alejó aquí, se hizo nuestro amigo, nos empezó a comentar. Pero cuando no salieron los documentos, le empezaron a decir que es mentiroso, por él no quieren a la cooperativa, por el señor que nos estaba guiando, dicen que es un picaro, él que nos llevaba adelante era un kolla y a los kollos quieren ver en Coloradillo. Él nos estaba enseñando bien y no mal.”</p> <p>Futuro de cooperativa: “Parece que lo vamos a dejar de ser, porque la comunidad no quiere que nos reunamos, que nos organicemos, mucho menos que vengan los kollas a trabajar, que quiere que seamos nosotros nada más. Pero si o si tenemos que traer una persona que tenga recursos para que nos ayude para que nosotros nos levantemos, que tengamos como Puquio ahorita, dicen que no quieren kollas, ellos están armando su cooperativa, pero hay uno que le da recursos para poder trabajar con la mina, hay un kolla que les está dando, es de la empresa Amasuya, y ese le da dinero a ellos, dicen que él entiende más que todo, en cambio aquí dicen que no quieren ver kollas. Ayer en la reunión dijimos que no queremos recibir a los kollas aquí, que no hay más kollas, solo cambas.”</p> <p>Lecciones aprendidas para el futuro: “La cooperativa no nos salió, es difícil ya recuperarlo. Deberíamos agarrar otra clase de trabajo, por decir, vamos a criar ganado, ya no mina, sino ganado con un proyecto, un proyecto de ganadería.”</p>
45:50-48:10		
49:15-51:05		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa,	1:04:20-1:04:55	Acerca de tratamiento de cooperativistas en reuniones: “Ellos no ponen su parte, no dicen,

<p>con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)</p>	<p>1:06:15-1:07:10</p> <p>1:08:20-1:12:30</p> <p>1:15:30-1:17:15</p>	<p>disculpen eso, que he hablado así, nada, solo ellos esperan de uno. Si ellos igual reconocieran su error en sus palabras, está bien, para unirnos bien para poder trabajar para el futuro de esta comunidad.”</p> <p>Para resolver conflicto: “Que ellos reconozcan su error y pidan disculpas por lo que ellos han hecho mal. Yo creo que vale mucho la disculpa, así podríamos otra vez trabajar juntos”</p> <p>Resolución de conflictos: “Tienen que llamar a toda la comunidad para que todos escuchemos que es el pensamiento de ellos, qué son sus planes, estrategias para trabajar, si nos conviene o no nos conviene, junto lo podemos debatir. Y no esperar como hicieron ellos esa noche, como no queremos verlos, que se vayan, que se vayan (los de la COMIBOL) y además estar con trago en la cabeza, con su coca, todo drogado, en vez de tener una buena conclusión, iban a pelear con nosotros, quién es el culpable? El cacique, porque llamó a gente de afuera, y no a nosotros, los comunarios de la comunidad. Queremos escuchar lo que dicen. (...) Es abusar de las personas que vienen, vienen incluso mandados del Estado. (...) Además se debería respetar a las autoridades, deberían examinar su conciencia, porque están muy mal, deberían sentarse y charlar con las personas que vienen, constructivamente. Hicieron caso a un solo cacique.”</p> <p>Llegada de otros comunarios para defender Coloradillo de COMIBOL: “La idea del cacique era que nos maltratemos entre cooperativistas, cuando el cacique sabía que iba a llegar la COMIBOL, se fue a pescar y a tomar también y a bolear, y cuando sabía que estaban llegando, entonces empezó a telefonar, a movilizar a los cooperativistas en otras comunidades. El cacique dijo que vamos a pelear para Coloradillo. Luego llegó borracho, esa mentalidad tiene. No quiere solución con nosotros, nos quiere golpeado, amenazado.”</p>
<p>Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos</p>	<p>24:05-31:20</p>	<p>Discriminación, varios dicen “Sí, discriminados, discriminación total, bastante discriminación contra los que están en la cooperativa. (...) También psicológicamente de murmurar hay, y parte de física también, de agarrar así de golpe, a halar los pelos, hay contra nosotros. Especialmente a la señora aquí, le han jalado el cabello. Y durante carnaval se han peleado como perro con gato las dos familias se han choqueado, padre con padre, hija con hija. Y eso es por organizarnos nada más. (...) Pero hemos dicho que vamos a tener una vida como si fuera un solo,</p>

		<p>comunarios. (...) El cacique no nos reúne para contarnos que es lo que va a suceder aquí en la comunidad, pero él si sabe lo que está sucediendo y llama a gente de otra comunidad, que no tienen nada que ver con la comunidad y vienen acá a presionarnos a nosotros lo comunarios. La noche del jueves así sucedió, hubo una visita. Nosotros no sabíamos que iba a haber una visita de COMIBOL y vinieron a consultar con la comunidad, era muy tarde y el cacique si sabía y llamó a pedir fuerza de otro lado, no sé qué habrá dicho. De Puquio, San Lorenzo, San Simón, todos hebrío y entraron la casa sin preguntar y nos rodearon ahí, y eso si sabía el cacique. Y yo pregunté, nos sorprendieron, todos borrachos queriendo golpearnos. A esa señora le dijeron que salga en un plazo de 30 minutos, y si no saliera le querían pinchar su llanta, quemar. En vez de eso podríamos sentarnos y conversar como cualquier persona, qué quiere, qué es su objetivo. No nos invitó el cacique. Queríamos sentarnos con ellos, pero llegaron esos de otras comunidades y nos separaron”</p>
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_12CNFT_disc
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista:	8.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	60
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunaria
Afiliación con cooperativa:	ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	6:15-7:20	Beneficios: “No se deja beneficios aquí, nada, no supimos cómo, lo agarraron.”
	29:30-	“Nosotros trabajamos en el chaco, también vendíamos, arroz, yuca, maíz, miel de cornel. Ya no podemos trabajar bien, antes incluso tuvimos maní, plátano, arroz, camote, todo se produce acá. Eso es mi trabajo, vender, ya no trabajé en el chaco. Me caí, ya no podía caminar. Ayúdeme para que yo tenga fuerza
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	7:40-8:20	Participación personal en comunidad: “De nada me entero, escuché no más, avisaron no mas, pero no con mi propio oído. No sé cómo empezó, no escuché.”

	21:50-29:15	Acerca de preguntas a entrevistadora: “No entiendo pues, para preguntar. Tengo que aprender cómo pensó. Nunca fui al colegio, por eso estoy así. No había colegio antes. Nosotros antes no entramos, no había ahí en Villa Fátima, ahí crecí. A los 17 me fui, mi esposo ya tenía 30, me casé con él a los 14. Él si iba al colegio a estudiar. Él si sabe, como es hombre, él se fue lejos a estudiar. Pero una mujer, como aquí en el campo, su padre no la deja lejos, si es hombre se va lejos. Cuando me casé yo era sonsa, mis padres tienen la culpa, no buscaban para poner su hija, así no más. Mi marido se fue a Concepción a estudiar, se fue a San Ignacio a estudiar, a Cochabamba, por eso sabe, al colegio, ahí salió. Él sabe, no es como yo. Cinco años estaba allá. Acerca de reuniones: él más participaba en reuniones, más conoce, opina en las reuniones. Yo entiendo, pero no bien, no conozco leer y escribir, hace falta, por eso estoy aquí.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	4:55-6:15	“A veces ofrecen a él, lo que sacan, lo compraban de ellos, no se sabía cómo se sacaba, ellos traen varios kilos y los venden a él. Llegaban estos mineros y los venden a él, pero nosotros no fuimos a sacar. Ahorita no sé cómo se trabaja”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	19:15-20:40	“Hay otras 3 personas de tercera edad. Parece que no van a la reunión, los viejitos ahí no van, ya pues viejos, ya no pueden, no van, no quieren.”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad	8:40-12:25	“No puedo caminar bien, me caí, cinco meses ya estoy así, no tengo fuerza para caminar. Fui (antes del accidente) con mi esposo iba, solo no fui. Fui solamente a escuchar, no opino, será que no entiendo, no se sabe qué hablan ellos, a veces no se escucha pues bien, la palabra de cada uno, es tumbado, por eso no se escucha pues bien. Es por mi enfermedad que no puedo”

	12:55-13:30	“No se me cuenta, no me visitan, ni siquiera vienen a verme, la gente es mala”
	14:45-15:00	“Si uno está mal, no se puede salir, no se puede juntarse con ellos”
	15:30-16:20	“A mí me faltaría una inyección, pero no fui, solo tomé leche para mis huesos, pero no fui al hospital hasta ahora. Y nadie me visita”
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_13CNFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 8.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 43
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria
Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	5:40-7:03	Cambio por minería: “Había recursos por minar, teníamos un poco de platita porque sacábamos minerales, y conseguíamos lo que necesitábamos, había cambio, porque teníamos para comprar por la minería. Yo también iba, para poder conseguir el dinero para mi necesidad, así manualmente al comienzo”
	40:30-41:25	Migración: “Cuando hay trabajo aquí, aquí muchas personas se van, como jóvenes, se van a otro lado, pero vienen si hay trabajo. Pero si no hay trabajo, se van de acá. Ahora no hay muchos jóvenes porque se van a la ciudad a trabajar.
	41:30-42:10	Cambio por minería: “De esa empresa que vino a trabajar acá, vino agua potable, por medio de ellos. Era Faboce.”

Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	23:50-29:25	“Casi todos van, pero no todos opinan. No opinamos todos. Los que opinan en reuniones con minería son los varones que opinan, porque las mujeres casi no entendemos de la minería. Más entienden. Más entienden por qué será... que más trabajan ahí, son varones que mayormente trabajan ahí. En reuniones de otros temas es lo mismo, pero ahí opinamos mujeres y hombres. Falta información sobre la minería. (...) Nosotros si opinamos cuando vienen a prometer fuentes de trabajo, va a haber una reunión con ellos de Faboce para hablar del cumplimiento.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	7:03-8:55 9:05-11:30 30:20-33:20	“Había muchas empresas, venían más antes, varias. No había muchos minerales, por eso solo se quedaban un tiempo y después se iban otra vez. No le resultaba, por eso se iban. Primero se consultaba con la comunidad, siempre consultaban y entraron a trabajar, pero no se quedaron mucho. Esta empresa que está ahora, no saca estaño, saca solamente una piedra que es el estato, no sé para qué es.” “Nosotros esperábamos cuando entró Faboce eran fuentes de trabajo para todos en la comunidad, eso fue lo que dijeron cuando nos hablaron y por eso nosotros dejamos que entren a trabajar, pero resulta que no dan trabajo, no están cumpliendo lo que prometieron. No nos dieron. Ahora siempre hay reuniones y nosotros preguntamos por qué no cumplen lo que decían al principio. Nuestro pensamiento es que se vayan, ahora recién estamos hablando de eso. Nuestro cacique va a hablar con el gerente de ellos para saber si va a haber fuentes de trabajo para nosotros o no.” Información de Faboce sobre promesas o programa: “Ahora dijo que iba a hacer una casa, un alojamiento, hasta ahorita no hay eso, ni están llegando materiales para construirlo. También querían hacer una posta, una posta de salud. Nada tampoco, no hay. (...) Dijeron que iban a trabajar con maquinaria, avisan con lo que quieren trabajar. Ahorita están trabajando con perforaciones y dinamita. (...)
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística	33:20-35:50	“Hay dos idiomas aquí, nosotros hablamos en castellano y el bésiro, hay personas que apenas hablan castellano, pero muy pocos. Por ejemplo mi

		mamá casi no habla castellano, son las señoras de la tercera edad que no pueden. (...) Se necesitaría a alguien que hable bien bésiro para que ellas pudieran entender, pero no hay quien explique en bésiro”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	35:40-37:50	“Tienen que participar todos porque aquí hay una ley que cuando uno no participa en una reunión, tiene sanción, le cobran a uno, obligatoriamente tiene que ir. Pero los jóvenes muy poco opinan. No sé por qué será, deberían opinar más, porque ellos han estudiado más que los otros, tienen más estudios, pero no. No creo que ellos no entiendan, ellos si entienden, pero parece que son más tímidos o sea que no pueden expresarse. Puede ser porque los padres son así.”
	38:20-38:40	“Los que opinan más son los otros, los que ya están casados y tienen familia, los jóvenes no”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	11:50-19:15	“Cuando empezó la cooperativa era todo bien, toditos nos inscribimos para la cooperativa, pero después un señor venía a charlarnos de la cooperativa, entonces quisimos entrar todos. Después no resultó la cooperativa, el señor que estaba dirigiendo la cooperativa no era una buena persona, era un hombre mentiroso, ofrecía todo, que iba a haber fuentes de trabajo. Mi marido estaba ahí, yo no me inscribí. Porque toditos íbamos a trabajar si entrábamos a la cooperativa. Pero mi marido no le gustó que trabajara yo, yo aquí para la casa. Alguien tiene que estar en la casa. Después trajeron maquinaria para trabajar, casi un mes estaba trabajando, sacaron un poco de estaño, como 100kg, vinieron, el señor se lo llevó, pero no les pagaron a los que estaban trabajando. Por eso mi marido ya no quiso saber de esa cooperativa, en vano nada más, casi un mes estaba trabajando y no le pagaron, por eso se retiró, y los demás igual poco a poco se retiraron, todo era mentira. Parece que a ese señor le gustaba mentir, como decimos acá era un pícaro, se llevaba a los materiales y no pagó a la gente. Fueron saliendo uno por uno, el señor sigue viniendo. Después de un tiempo se inscribieron otra vez, pero solo unos cuantos. Ya no querían. Pero como la otra empresa está acá, la cooperativa no quiere que esté acá la otra empresa. Siempre quieren que se vayan, para que trabajen bien ellos. Están molestan. Recién quería venir esa empresa COMIBOL, mucho han querido entrar a trabajar. Pero aquí en la comunidad no la aceptaron. Los cooperativistas querían que trabajen aquí. Aquí rechazan a COMIBOL, porque es del Estado. Y en ese caso a nosotros ya no nos va a

		dejar sacar, a trabajar, para sacar para nosotros. Todavía hay personas que sacan, son unas 10 personas. Ni siquiera los de la cooperativa están trabajando, hasta ahorita solo vienen a mirar, no están trabajando, será porque no está legal, así se escucha.”
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	39:20-39:50	“Los cooperativistas opinan mucho en las reuniones, peor si se trata de lo que está pasando ahora, son solo 4 a 5 personas nada más. Ellos defienden su cooperativa.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	20:01-23:30	“Con la cooperativa, y la empresa que está, nosotros apoyamos a la empresa, los de la cooperativa no apoyan a la empresa. Y por eso hay conflictos entre nosotros aquí, hasta ahorita no está arreglado. Ayer en la reunión decían, si sigue esa empresa, siempre va a estar ese problema, así pues, siempre hay ese entre nosotros. Toditos somos familia, pero el problema era bien grave. La cooperativa fue a bloquear allá, cómo van a hacer eso, era por los recursos. Pero no estaba bien lo que hacían, para eso hay aquí autoridad. Si querían un aumento de recursos, podrían ir donde el cacique y decir eso, el ya lo iba a comunicar. Pero ellos solitos se fueron a bloquear, por encima de la autoridad. Por eso nosotros nos pusimos incómodos, como si no hubiera autoridad para ellos. Pero ellos, como si nosotros fuéramos el problema. Nosotros ya no queremos apoyar a ellos, muy mal aquí, y todo eso solamente por la minería.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_14PNFM_corp

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 9.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 49

Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria

Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:10-5:20	Cambios: “Cambia el ambiente, económicamente también, hay dinero. Pero también es correr riesgo, para que poder ir, hay que tenerlo completo. Hay que protegerse para ir al pozo, hay que tener mucho cuidado con las piedras o cuando uno larga dinamita (...) No van muchos, hay que ir con guantes, aquí se trabaja manualmente, el pozo es profundo, con las manos haciendo cadena. Dos o tres veces fuimos.”
	5:20-10:30	Efectos de salud: “Uno puede tragar las micas, las micas del viento, de una piedra que salen al aire cuando uno saca del pozo. Todavía no se ha enfermado nadie, recién están empezando. El año pasado empezaron en noviembre, o septiembre, recién. En el pozo hay piedras de toda clase, y eso va al aire y uno lo traga directo, los pulmones. La gente no se pone protección, porque molesta, y uno suda. Es trabajoso, porque es manual, uno suda. Pero no es suficiente para mantener la familia, hay que tener chaco, mejor siempre es cultivar tierra, aquí da de todo, arroz, maíz, plátano, nada más que nosotros no trabajamos el chaco, pocos tienen un chaco. Más quieren ir a la mina, se distrae uno, uno no conoce, las piedras tienen varios tipos de color, pero no da para sobrevivir para toda la familia, no, hay que tener chaco siempre. Los que quieren se van todo el día y al otro día se va a su chaco, un día no más van. No da la mina, a veces sale, a veces no sale, cuesta para trabajar pozo. Bien se distrae uno. Es lejos, casi como ir a Colo Colo, 1 hora para ir.”
	10:40-11:10	Efecto de minería a comunidad: “No hay. (...) Tampoco hay migración. Es poquito (poquita la cantidad)”
	21:10-21:50	Cambios en cuanto a costumbres por minería: “Nada, como siempre, no hay cambio. Se trabajan juntos, se comparte la comida allá, llevan comida cocida allá para almorzar.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	24:00-25:30	“Toda la comunidad participa. En la cooperativa no hay siempre reuniones, solo hay a veces reuniones para los socios. En las reuniones de la comunidad se charla, se pregunta y si no le gusta, se arregla. Todos participan en las reuniones. Aquí participan hombres y mujeres, toditos participan. Por lo de opinar: si a uno le gusta, habla, si no le gusta, no habla. “

Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	32:40-34:30	“Siete personas por grupo van a las minas, los que están trabajando son puros socios. La cooperativa tiene 100 socios. Hay secretaria o tesorero que es mujer igual. La anterior semana se eligió la directiva, en el mes de febrero.
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	30:00-31:10 35:30-39:15	“Con la organización CICOL, con el presidente de la CICOL se coordina, con ese todo se dirige. Ellos dan consejos también.” Llegada de otros actores mineros: “Eso ya rato, el año pasado fue, vinieron, pero no me acuerdo de dónde. Y querían pues entrar, quieren sacar minas, pero la comunidad no permite esas cosas. Hubo reunión para que no entre la gente, para que le digan que no vengan, que tengan permiso de entrar. Aparece gente, vienen de diferentes lugares, buscan dónde entrar, buscan minas, pero la zona de Lomerío no permite. Ya no hay eso. Llegan y preguntan por autoridad. Pero la gente ya no lo cree, ya sabemos quiénes son, vienen a mentir, quieren entrar y después ya no quieren salir. Por eso más bien se pregunta lo que quieren y de dónde vienen al ingresar. Cuando se instalan, es difícil de sacarlos.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	25:30-25:40	“Las mujeres piden la palabra también y si les dan”
Práctica Lingüística	28:40-29:35	“Ahorita esos jóvenes ya no hablan en bésiro, puro castellano, ya no hablan. Escuchan, pero no hablan, si lo saben. En castellano hablan con sus abuelos, y ellos responden en bésiro o castellano.”
Tercera Edad	27:40-28:40	“No todos van, solo algunos, porque ya son cansados. Opinan cuando ellos quieren. Hablan igual castellano y bésiro. Mis papás por ejemplo hablan bien bésiro. También hablan el castellano.”
Jóvenes	25:40-27:40	“La mayor parte de los jóvenes casi no, porque están estudiando algunos. La mayoría de los que participan son familias, son casados, tienen responsabilidad. Pero así jóvenes de 18 años no van, porque hacen su tarea. A veces se hace reuniones los miércoles, los convoca el cacique un día antes. A veces bajan toditos, a veces no bajan. En la noche tiene lugar, a las 7 hasta las 10. (...) Solo los jóvenes van a los que les interesa, pero van sus papás, mayormente sus madres y padres. (...) Siempre se invita a todos por los parlantes.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		

(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	<p>15:40-16:15</p> <p>17:10-19:10</p> <p>20:05-21:05</p>	<p>“Pero aquí nosotros estamos conforme con la cooperativa. Soy miembro también. No hay nadie desconforme: los que no quieren, entonces no entran, no quieren trabajar, no ir a la mina, depende de la persona lo que le gusta.”</p> <p>Inicio de cooperativa: “Estábamos así charlando, dijimos que es mejor tener una cooperativa, y así trabajamos juntos. De ahí... ya está conformado. Por lo menos 1 año estábamos en eso, pero antes también sacábamos poquito, empezamos hace 2 años.”</p> <p>Relaciones con otras cooperativas: “Hay contacto con las demás cooperativas: 4 cooperativas. Pero no se trabaja juntos, cada uno en su comunidad trabaja. Se aprende, pregunta uno, la gente viajó para informarse (por asunto de conformar cooperativa etc.)”</p>
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	<p>11:25-15:30</p> <p>22:10-23:55</p>	<p>“Hubo conflictos porque no quieren que saquen mina afuera. La gente quiere entrar, gente de afuera quiere, pero se arregló todo. Son varios empresas han venido, les dijimos que no pudieron entrar. Dicen que son mineros, tienen documentos, tienen todo, pero son puros falsos. El año pasado pasó todo, en este año no pasó nada, solo lo de Colo Colo (Coloradillo). No sé de dónde viene la gente, son del interior. (...) A la gente no le gusta, se desespera, no quiere ver a gente, ya no queremos patronos, no quiere gente que esté mandando a las personas, quieren ser todo ya, liberados, trabajar para ellos mismos. A veces hay desacuerdos, pero se arreglan.”</p> <p>“Aquí está bien, no hay problemas. Es que aquí lo trabajamos nosotros, en Colo Colo hay una persona que trabaja del interior. Es muy diferente cuando viene otra persona de otro lugar a trabajar, porque hace dividir a la gente. Puede ser que no se llevan bien, hay peleas. No hay división aquí, se charla, hay reuniones. Los que van a la minería forman parte de la cooperativa. No hay nada como divisiones, vamos todos tranquilos, se trabaja todo junto, por grupo, un grupo va, al otro día otro grupo. Se comparte arroz.”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_15PNFM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 9.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 33
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria
 Afiliación con cooperativa: ninguna

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	11:55-13:20	Cambios para comunidad en temas de minería con conformación de cooperativa: “Nada cambió para la comunidad, nunca hubo un aumento, cuando se formó, al principio nos dieron todas las herramientas para la minería. Pero es como uno lo estuviera comprando, después uno lo paga a base de material. Nada, para mí no hubo nada de cambio, porque no había aumento en la compra o venta, bajó más bien y mantiene. Lo que si se tiene es que es por grupo, pero a veces uno saca, a veces nada, es difícil manualmente sin maquinaria.”
	13:20-15:05	Beneficios: “Nada, porque los que sacan, pues tienen, y los que no sacan, no tienen, no venden. Lo que sí que con el porcentaje con el que se vende, la comunidad recibe su porcentaje, toda la comunidad lo recibe. Pero hasta ahora no se ve nada de eso, en que. (...) Por grupos se van un día, una vez en la semana, nada más. Es para cubrir las necesidades que uno tiene, pero para tener en cantidad no. (...) Si no se dedican a su chaco. (...) Nada de cambio se ve.”
	15:40-22:05	Impactos: “Lo que se tiene cuando solea y solea, puede causar enfermedades, dolor de cabeza, la humedad. (...) Ahí donde trabajamos por grupos, hay peligro, porque es pozo hondo y son puras piedras. Uno está ahí con temor. Nadie sabe si uno se cae o no. (...) Protegernos contra eso...mentalmente nada más, es duro con las piedras grandes, y se mete explosivos. Yo no me meto a los explosivos, es para personas que saben bien eso. Hasta ahora no pasa nada, porque las personas saben el tiempo, la medida para salir. Antes se entraba hasta 50 o 100m, el pozo se hizo hondo, ahora unos 100m adentro. Ahí ya no hay aire. (...) Para protegerse: esos bardijos. No he escuchado de seguridad. (...) Si nos enfermamos, somos nosotros no mas, nadie va a venir a...porque no tenemos ni un seguro de nada (...) tenemos cascos y botines, ropa de nosotros nada más, solo nos dieron cascos y botines los de la empresa de, los de la

		FEDECOMIN, la Amasuya. Eso pasó cuando vinieron a entrar e informaron y todo eso.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	34:30-35:05	“Si o si tienen participar en los trabajos, las reuniones, y participan todos, porque está en una planilla.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	25:30-26:50 33:30-34:05	“Son todos los socios que participan en las reuniones de la cooperativa. Muchos participan nada más y poco opinan. Unos cuantos solo opinan, normalmente están todos de acuerdo, y si no están de acuerdo y lo hablan. Los que trabajan en la mina no opinan mucho, son los que más saben. Y los que no van a la mina, son los que más opinan.” Edad de participación en actividades mineras: “A partir de 25, 23, los más mayores tienen 50, 55. Los que están más avanzados ya no.”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	22:05-25:05 36:55-37:30	“Los de Amasuya solo están comprando los materiales, lo vendemos para el cacique y ahí lo compran, ellos se lo pasan directo a Amasuya, todo lo hace el cacique. También es de la cooperativa. No estamos asegurados que alguien nos pague, él tiene que manejarlo. (...) La CICOL no tiene nada que ver con eso, solo lo que tienen que ver con los recursos naturales, ellos igual acompañan. Cuando estaban los de la FEDECOMIN igual invitamos a los de la alcaldía, para que ellos sepan, para saber qué es nuestro objetivo, con qué se va a trabajar. (...) Él cacique solo maneja lo de que compren el material.” Cooperación con otros actores: “Más se trabajo con el municipio, porque ahí hay que entregar unos porcentajes.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	31:40-23:05	“También no van, las mujeres, la mayoría, pero van. Pero a veces también hay más mujeres que hombres.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	32:10-32:40	“Claro hay también, pero ya no los incluyen en el trabajo (comunal)”
Jóvenes	32:40-33:25 35:30-36:50	“De 18 tampoco los inscribimos, puede causar daño, los que ya tienen mujer, si pueden estar.” En cuanto a reuniones en la comunidad: “Son más responsables ya ahora. Con todo este trabajo que hay ahora, tienen que hacer lo que uno dice, lo que dice el cacique. Lo que son de la cooperativa minera son más responsables, porque están trabajando bajo órdenes, tienen que cumplir con las normas. Eso implica su mejor participación en las reuniones.”

Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	2:30- 11:55	<p>“La mayoría son socios de la cooperativa. Yo igual. No todos son socios. Ese día cuando estuvimos en la asamblea... 125 miembros, pero seguían inscribiéndose, no sé hasta ahora. Hace dos semanas atrás cuando vino esa directora de FEDECOMIN, Rosario. Cuando se formó el nuevo directorio de la base en tema de minería. (...) Hay cinco grupos, estoy en el cuarto grupo. El trabajo conozco bien. (...)“Cuando empezó el cambio, todo tuvo que estar con normas, más antes venían varios compradores, ahora un solo nada más. (...) Se empezó a minar en el año 1997, no recuerdo bien. El año pasado empezó a formarse la cooperativa, se escuchaba eso, pero se formó se conformó este año, ah no en septiembre del año pasado, ellos de la FEDECOMIN llegaron. Hasta ahora ya está bien organizado. Hay una asociación de las 4 cooperativas: Confederación de cooperativas de comunidades originarios de Lomerío, que es para Pukio, Surusubí, San Lorenzo y San Simón y siempre se reunían aquí, también se formó esa federación en septiembre del año pasado.”</p>
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	27:35- 31:10	<p>“Los profesores casi no participan en las reuniones de la cooperativa, solo estaban cuando comenzó, porque había maquinaria. Porque también se sacaba más cantidad de materiales y ahora ya no van. Los que trabajan en la alcaldía, en la CICOL, profesores, ya no participan ni asisten las reuniones. Tienen sueldo fijo, tienen asegurados su familia. Aquel momento no éramos socios todavía, era más a golpe, poco organizado, todos los socios y no socios iban a trabajar. Ahora solo van los socios, y hay un horario fijo, de 7 a 6, y no les conviene a los profesores, tampoco podrían ir a la aula. Cuando iban ellos, profesores les tocaba los días sábados o viernes. Y ahora tienen que estar ahí siempre como socios. Hay gente que opina, pero no van a la mina, y no saben cuánto sacrificio uno está haciendo tampoco.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_16PNMM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 9.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: aprox. 50
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario
 Afiliación con cooperativa: socio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

<p>Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>	<p>2:50-10:45</p>	<p>Cambios: “Inicialmente trabajamos afuera de la comunidad y muy pocas veces nos encontramos dentro de nuestra comunidad. Recién en 2004, empezamos a estar en nuestra casa ya. Mi trabajo siempre estaba viculado al tema educativo. (...) Hemos decidido con mi esposa de venir acá. Cuando empezamos a vivir acá, hemos visto que la gente ha cambiado el ritmo de vida, no es parte de nuestra cultura, lo que es el trabajo de minería. Mis padres y mis abuelos nunca hicieron una actividad minera aquí en Lomerío, nunca. Pero la zona de Lomerío si es una zona minera. Estoy convencido de que e Lomerío hay harta riqueza mineral. Lo que pasa es que en aquel tiempo no había personas a las que les hubiera interesado el trabajo, de explorar, de ver qué tipo de mineral hay. Y una vez encontraron algunos comunarios el material de la zona, entonces les interesaba, y empezaron primero de forma manual, y empezaron a ponerse en contacto con la gente interesada, quién compraba y ya había gente, compradores externos y ya no son comunarios, sino vienen de otra parte y ofrecen un precio de un kilo para la mina y entonces empezó a interesarse por el trabajo. Iban allá y la gente inclusive creyó una forma de costumbre, como un hábito, y dejó lo que es la parte tradicional lo que siempre se hacía, lo que es la agricultura, en la ganadería en menor escala. Y ahí me di cuenta que la minería rompe con la cultura de las comunidades chiquitanas. Y con eso también se empieza a er cierta actitud en la gente, por ejemplo antes la gente respetaba los días domingo, para los temas religiosos, y van a la misa. Y con el trabajo de la minería como que se creyó un, hay una mentalidad mucho más de pensar en el mineral en generar los recursos económicos. Ahí he visto la diferencia a lo que era antes, ya no hay domingo, la gente empieza a fomentar otro vicio, por ejemplo antes nunca se</p>
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	<p>11:35-12:55</p> <p>45:50-51:55</p>	<p>conocía la coca acá, el cigarro, el alcohol (aunque siempre ha habido), pero con el trabajo de la minería se ha fomentado. Y también en cuanto a la cultura misma, por ejemplo nuestra cultura, socialmente la gente se acostumbró a hacer minga, se hace minga los sábados y se invitó a los demás. Ahora ya no y creo que es fruto, el resultado del trabajo de la minería. Por eso ha rotpido lo que tradicionalmente la gente hacía, eso nunca existió en nuestra vida. (...) Y ahorita estamos luchando fuertemente para que las cosas se mantengan como antes: la evidencia pacífica, los valores de solidaridad, eso es la tarea de toditos los comunarios.”</p> <p>Otros cambios: “Si yo voy a mi chaco voy de una cierta hora hasta tal hora, y a medio día voy a casa, no hay nada que me impulse. Mientras que la mina es muy distinta. Peor si encuentran algo, no sienten hambre, quieren sacar, sacar y sacar, amanece y amanece. Como cambia la persona con eso, por el dinero será, porque cuando uno descubre el material, entonces piensa que ese material se convierte en dinero. Esa mentalidad tiene la gente. No dicen: tengo sueño, entonces me voy. Por ejemplo si no encuentro nada, entonces me voy a mi casa para dormir, pero con eso nada, de noche están, de día están, ese cambio he visto yo.”</p> <p>Beneficios: “Una vez que se legalice la concesión minera, ahora si recibe un porcentaje la CICOL con la personalidad jurídica. Depende del aprovechamiento de los recursos naturales, de qué manera se está aprovechando, depende de la cantidad que sale, de acuerdo a la cantidad que se comercializa, se recauda, en base de eso se decide un porcentaje para la CICOL. El municipio igual, pero no conozco bien... Es el cacique que compra el material, todo lo que saca la gente, y de ese precio de ese material, va un porcentaje para la comunidad, para limpieza de la plaza, limpieza de las áreas verdes, para una comisión de alguna autoridad, tiene un fondo la comunidad, el cacique lo administra. También va la cooperativa minera, se asigna también un porcentaje ahí para que se compre su material, la dinamita, eso se está devolviendo a la comunidad. Durante muchos años no había una organización así, ahora es más grande también, muy particularmente se hizo el aprovechamiento. (...) Tenemos dos moviidades en la comunidad, que somos dueños, es fruto de la minería de los porcentajes. Muchas cosas hemos conseguidos, de los porcentajes de la minería.”</p>
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Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	29:50-33:00	Participación en cuanto a minería: “Los que nos inscribimos era para la legalidad, como era un requisito para tramitar la personalidad jurídica de la cooperativa minera, toda la comunidad se inscribió para ser socio, pero socios pasivos, porque queremos que se legalice en nombre de nuestra comunidad. La vez pasada intentamos ir a minar, pero trabajar manualmente es mucho, es duro, entonces yo dije que, pero la gente en general si participa mucho en actividades mineras. La gente participa mucho en las actividades mineras. Se hace una planificación con toda la gente para el trabajo de minas, más antes no era así, cada uno iba y sacaba, no había mucha organización, él que quería ir, iba, él que no quería, no iba. No estaba bajo un plan, ahora si, se han conformado grupos de trabajo de minería, cada grupo tiene su día de turno. Todos participan en eso, las mujeres igual participan. Aquí es un poco diferente, aquí se debate, se debate mucho, en otro lado también será por la falta de información. Porque si uno sabe del tema de X, qué voy a opinar, no tengo sobre qué de preguntar, pero aquí toda la gente participa, los docentes igual participan.”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	13:15-22:35	“Yo creo que no ha habido gente externa que hubiera venido. Como: mira vamos a ir a mina, vamos a trabajar así, es la misma gente que ha inventado su manera de trabajar. Yo creo que es mucho más que cuando hay el dinero, hay la ambición también. Y para ellos es un logro. No hay un persona que diga que no vayan a dormir, por eso empiezan a masticar coca, y muchos descuiden su alimentación, porque el ser humano tiene que estar bien alimentado, para poder trabajar. Y la gente se deteriora rápido, lo que veo de la gente del interior, como Potosí, su vida de promedio es 35 años, a los 40 ya, y aquí es diferente, nuestros padres siempre vivían en armonía con la naturaleza, tenía el pescado cuando uno iba a pescar allá, o uno va a cazar, hay animales silvestres. Y con todo el impacto de la minería como con la dinamita, eso muele todo, y se huyen los animales lejos, eso es otro punto negativo para nuestra cultura. La desaparición de animales. De impacto ambiental todavía no, como nadie está trabajando con la nueva tecnología, entonces no afecta al agua. Una vez que se implementa la nueva tecnología para la minería, ahí si, va a haber contaminación de agua. Ahora no pasa nada. Eso va a ser, va a causar cuando empiecen. (...) Ahorita en la zona hay varias

	22:40-29:45	<p>concesiones, supuestas concesiones, y eso nunca se ha procedido de manera legal, por ejemplo que dicen las leyes bolivianas, dicen que cualquier trabajo que afecte a los territorios tiene que respetar la consulta. Entonces ha habido mineros que supuestamente han concesionado, y estaban completamente violando a los DD de los PPII. (...) Hay personas que siguen no más el periodo del colonialismo, tiene todavía la mentalidad de antes, no les importan los PPII, eso es la controversia, porque nosotros tenemos leyes a nuestro favor, la controversia entre los supuestos concesionarios y los PPII. Entonces no vamos a aceptar ninguna concesión minera sin previa consulta. Entonces si no queremos, no hay nada. Ya está bueno co el abuso. Eso hemos visto también, que lo interpretan a su favor, con gente humilde... Por suerte aquí en la comunidad casi todos somos profesionales, entonces no puede haber una persona que venga así no más para tratarnos como ellos quieres, no, si queremos les echamos waska para que se vayan por atrevido, eso es lo que hemos visto”</p> <p>Empresas involucrados: “Al nivel de Lomerío, es una señora, es una esposa de un señor que era dueño de una concesión acá, la concesión se llama “Latusequí”, ella se llamaba Marcia Delgado, su esposo se llamaba Pedro Gutierrez y el se murió. Y ella pensó que ella también iba a ser directamente hereditaria, pero en realidad requiere unos trámites como dice la ley. Eso es uno de los problemas que hay aquí en Lomerío ahora. Y ella no se anima a hablar con nosotros, difícil quiere venir, va ahí donde la gente que lo compra, pero son puras prevendas que se ofrecen a la gente y la gente aquí es muy frágil, la posición ideológica de la gente, y la gente abusa de la inocencia, de la humildad de la gente de aquí. La viuda sigue peleando, la mentalidad de esta comunidad es que queremos ser dueños de esa concesión. Y ya hay un buen avance de lo que es la cooperativa minera, sería lindo si la propia comunidad sería dueño de los recursos naturales que están debajo de la tierra. Eso es grave que venga gente de afuera para explotar los recursos naturales que tenemos. (...) Ha habido... el único que vino era el Pedro Gutierrez. (...) La COMIBOL... no entiendo su rol, pero a veces también utilizan el nombre de entidades estatales, es como si yo dijera que soy de la CICOL, y como no me conoce la gente, voy a las comunidades en nombre de la CICOL y automáticamente me creen a mí y esto ocurre con la CICOL, hay gente que va en su nombre, con el Ministro de Minería, no lo conoce mucha gente, hay gente que hace eso para beneficiarse</p>
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		personalmente. El otro día vinieron aquí los de la COMIBOL, hicimos una gran movilización, lo despachamos que se vayan, aquí también vinieron, a hablar con las autoridades de la comunidad. (...) Hay tantos debates por el tema de minería, tal vez por tanta plata. Es un banco la minería. Es un tesoro para ellos, una concesión minera.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	33:00-33:50	“De tercera edad ya no es obligatorio. Si ellos quieren, van, si no quieren, tampoco. Los que están todavía activos, todavía trabajan, ellos tienen que estar. Hay personas pasivos (de la cooperativa), y si queremos vamos, si no, no vamos, pero nadie dice nada.”
Jóvenes	34:30-35:10	“Los jóvenes también participan van a la mina e igual participan en las reuniones. Varios son incluso autoridades. Aquí en Pukio igual varios son autoridades.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	35:10-38:20 38:20-41:40	“Aquí no pasa nada, todos nos entendemos. Todas las actividades las llevamos en el marco de la armonía, todos los comunarios. Antes si había mucho roso, cuando uno encontró el mineral y no quiere que otro venga para beneficiarse del mineral, eso he escuchado yo. Eso he pillado. Nadie puede intervenir. Pero ahora ya no es así. Teníamos que ponernos de acuerdo, los autoridades, que estaba mal si uno solo se beneficiaba y el resto mirando, no compartía con otros. Por eso el que saca, saca para todos, por eso lo hacemos en grupos. Vivíamos en una comunidad mal comunado, todo para su familia, eso está mal, en vez de estar bien con su vecina, y causa rabia, hubo conflictos entre familias. Ahora es para todos. Los recursos naturales deben ser distribuidos por equidad.” Relación entre cooperativas y la CICOL: “Los caciques coordinan mucho en cuanto a los recursos naturales no renovables. La CICOL ahí es el dueño del territorio, entonces una vez que se legalicen las normas que hay en este país, las cooperativas mineras ya tienen que contribuir con un porcentaje que va a la CICOL del

	<p>41:40-42:30</p> <p>42:45-45:50</p>	<p>aprovechamiento de RRNN. Hasta ahorita, la CICOL también está tratando de ayudar, también para acelerarlo, el tema de los trámites, ese es el rol de la CICOL, está coordinando muy de cerca para que sepan también dónde está el problema, de los procesos de trámite. Anteriormente casi hubo problemas, no había esa coordinación constante. También se acuerdan de la CICOL en Coloradillo, que vengan, llamaron a los compañeros que vengan porque estaban en problemas. Sería muy importante que no se haga ningún convenio sin la CICOL con las empresas, tienen que estar la CICOL, porque es el dueño de los territorios de Lomerío. Estoy hablando del caso de Pukio con la CICOL....”</p> <p>“Pero en Coloradillo que es una comunidad chica, es complicado, dividido está. Pero ahí hay una persona que está sembrando, ha escuchado hablar de eso famoso Jonny, es un hombre muy dañino, hace problemas.”</p> <p>Relación entre cooperativa y cacique de la comunidad: “Los cacique de la comunidad tiene la última palabra. La cooperativa tiene su propia estructura de autoridades. Y la comunidad tiene su estructura con el cacique mayor que es la máxima autoridad dentro de una comunidad. Lo que ahora está haciendo aquí: sin la vena del cacique no se puede hacer ningún aprovechamiento de recursos de minería. Es más arriba de la cooperativa. Ahora incluso en una reunión de la cooperativa para poder sacar una resolución. Antes no era así, era bien fregado, era más informal, lección aprendida. No sé si eso mismo también está ocurriendo en las otras comunidades, cada comunidad tiene su diferente experiencia, yo estoy hablando de Pukio. Aquí el cacique es la máxima autoridad. (...) La cooperativa es una cosa, y la autoridad que manda la comunidad es otra cosa. Las cooperativas saldrían ser como brazos técnicos dentro de la comunidad. Y están bajo el mandato del cacique de la comunidad. Hay una directiva de la cooperativa. Cualquiera decisión que hubiera tomado la cooperativa minera tiene que ser con el visto bueno del cacique, así está funcionando, tienen que informar, no se puede hacer cualquier tipo de actividad sin el conocimiento del cacique.”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_17PNFM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 9.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 47
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria
 Afiliación con cooperativa: socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	4:40-8:00	Cambios: “No había plata antes, y ahora podemos hacer estudiar a nuestros hijos en la u, más antes solo hasta octavo curso y no salieron bachiller, porque antes para nuestros padres bastaba que uno sabía su nombre y listo. Por lo menos esos minerales nos ayudan para que sigan más adelante nuestros hijos. A veces si uno tiene suerte, saca cantidad, a veces poco. Lo que queremos es llegar hasta el fondo, se ve negro, a 15-20m, queremos llegar a ese 15m. Nosotros antes no hemos hecho estudiar a nuestros hijos. Ya por lo menos ahora podemos hacer estudiar a nuestros hijos. Y ahora cuando uno va a la mina ya tiene para su día, más antes sacaba material más hartito y lo utilicé para mis dos cuartitos. Ya ahora ya no puedo porque están estudiando mis hijos los dos en Santa Cruz, contaduría. Y de varios están estudiando ahorita, y es por la minería. Antes no había de dónde sacar plata.”
	8:00-10:50	Tipo de trabajo: “Uno tiene que ir a la mina y tiene que ir al chaco, dos partes, tiene que tener uno, ahorita estamos trabajando por grupo, somos 5 grupos, para cada día de la semana, así uno tiene tiempo para su chaco también o para hacer limpieza en su casa. Pero ahorita pura limpieza estábamos haciendo en la mina, cuesta ahora, dónde está ahora el material. Por estamos como asociación de minera ahora, hay 150 socios que se han inscrito solo de Pukio, con diferentes comunidades, seguramente incluyendo todos. Coloradillo no participa en eso, solo ahí hay un problema.”
	12:10-14:20	Impacto negativo: “Ahorita no hay problema porque estamos asociados ya. Todos recibimos los que vamos a la mina. Antes era que uno que iba a la mina, lo que sacó, entonces sacó pues. Es para él, ahora ya no. Todos los que van a trabajar reciben la plata. Antes

	<p>14:40-17:00</p> <p>21:20-24:15</p> <p>24:25-27:10</p>	<p>era personal. Con la asociación es diferente. Pero ahora cuesta, con la lluvia esta no podemos trabajar, se llenó. Estamos bombeando el agua, pero con la gasolina cuesta.”</p> <p>Impacto: “Estamos trabajando con dinamita nada más y barreta. A veces detrás del material hay una mica y es duro y uno se cansa y con dinamita se puede avanzar un poco. Y después uno tiene que esperar unas horas para que salga el olor del pozo. Hay que esperar, esos hombres queman hojas de motacú para que salga el olor de ahí adentro. Las mujeres están para botar la basura de adentro. Ya al fondo ya no nos podemos meter, es para los hombres nada más. Por eso trabajamos hombres y mujeres. Los hombres se van al pozo al fondo, las mujeres afuera recibimos la tierra para botar, peor que las mujeres son más débiles además si están embarazadas o están con su regla, no puede cargar mucho, los hombres cargan bien.”</p> <p>Inicio de actividades mineras: “De 1982, antes costaba 15 el kilo, después 20, 30, 40, un tiempo no más llegó a 120 el kilo, antes había mucha piedra. Una vez solamente llegó a 120 el kilo. Ahora otra vez está otra vez bajó, a 63. Si mucho baja, entonces hay que dejarlo y trabajar el chaco, porque si no está regalando. (...) El chaco solo es para autoconsumo, casi no da para vender. Ahora la gente poco tiene chaco por la mina. Menos chaco hay. La mina ahora es el chaco. Los que no tienen chaco. Yo digo que siempre hay que trabajar chaco, porque si no, no hay plata y uno sufre también, no hay por dónde, siempre hay que tener chaco”</p> <p>Cambio en cuanto a costumbres: “Ha cambiado un poco, ahorita el que no puede ir al chaco, paga a otro, y va a la mina, es otra salida. (...) Otras cosas se están perdiendo, como la minga, antes había minga y chicha y su chica fuerte, su chicha dulce, uno va al chaco y su comida, y eso poco hay. Ya no hay ya. Se está perdiendo. Antes: hacían fiesta, chicha, había para beber, no hacen, las viejitas lo hacían, las chicas ya no saben prepararlo, por los estudios de ellas, hay mucha tarea, una cantidad de tarea. Ya no es como antes, hay algunas que ni hacen hamaca de uno, como hilar a lo antiguo. Nuestras hijas ya no.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario		

Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	<p>27:55-33:25</p> <p>40:03-46:15</p>	<p>“Querían entrar ellos, pero nunca los dejamos entrar, los correteamos (ríe fuertemente). Hay que unirse, también con otra comunidad. Recién vinieron esos hombres con dos camionetas y estaban en Coloradillo y aquí, se reunió todita la comunidad, las 4 comunidades y se fueron a Coloradillo. Ya no es como antes, antes también se han abusado. Antes venían a robar madera, a cortar madera y lo llevaron ellos. Una vez acá en Tacuaral, se fue la gente de acá con un camión y lo corretearon los hombres, de allá vino la policía, se han porreado dos personas, y después nunca más vinieron. En la minería igual quieren meterse, hay una señora que dice que es su tierra: si fuera su tierra, estaría ella aquí, la CICOL ya ve por todo, ella siempre quiere. Pero ya no es como antes, somos gente ya nativos de aquí, antes era abusar por nuestra tierra, ya no pues. Se han organizado, se comunican rápido y se van allá. (...) El cacique habla con el presidente de la CICOL, y él hace reuniones el día lunes, rápido se comunican. Para esto está el presidente de la CICOL, para ver esas cosas. (...) Se coordina entre cooperativa y cacique, se sientan para ver qué solución hay. El cacique es socio de la cooperativa, él llama a la gente para reunirse también para la cooperativa. Está el cacique siempre en sus reuniones. El cacique siempre tiene que estar informado.”</p> <p>Invasión de empresas: “En la mina no aceptan, hay algunos que pagan, otros que no pagan, hay que hacer un contrato si ellos hacen algo para la comunidad. Algunos a lo escondido compran y los porcentajes no van a la comunidad. Algunas empresas ya no vienen porque saben que no se puede. (...) Llegaron a la comunidad y decían que iban a estar 18 días acá a trabajar, que vienen por parte del gobierno, pero no era cierto, pero nos dijo Rosario (de FEDECOMIN) que iban a venir, y ella ya fue a La Paz a hablar con un ministro para informar que están haciendo huevadas. Ella dijo que si se van allá, Ustedes no deberían aceptar a ellos. Por eso se conformó el directorio de la cooperativa, para solucionar eso, él ahora llama a los socios. No es como antes cuando no había teléfono, ahora en un ratingo, solamente hay una parte en Surusubí no hay conexión. Aquí por todo lado funciona. Es la COMIBOL que siempre viene, ya ha venido por tercera vez. Hay tienen algún contacto, parece que hay un señor en Coloradillo que da informes allá, les</p>

		dicen Tanker, el da informe a la COMIBOL en la ciudad, debe ser que le pagan por debajo. Con la moto se soluciona más rápido, van y se movilizan, antes no era así. Ahora son unidas las comunidades, antes peleaban y se mataron. (...) También vinieron la semana pasada (los de COMIBOL) con víveres y dos camionetas. La última vez recién los vi, estaba en mi chaco también, trabajaba allá, el ano pasado fue, en este ano vinieron dos veces. Nos dicen siempre que quieren hacer un estudio, ver el monte, pero no es pues.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	17:00-20:55	Participación en reuniones de cooperativa: “Todos los socios participan. Algunas 2 o 3 opinan las mujeres. Recién afuera dicen algo las mujeres (se ríe), adentro no (se ríe), qué será, tienen vergüenza de hablar. Yo me acuerdo antes era tímida para hablar en la reunión, más bien mi viejura ya por lo menos puedo hablar en las reuniones ya. De la ciudad si tengo vergüenza, pero aquí no más en las reuniones si opino (se ríe). A veces no los entiendo porque ellos hablan ya digamos así, hablan de más, inferior, y uno no entiende como uno no ha estudiado bastante, a veces uno no entiende, por eso uno está calladito, afuera recién uno puede hablar. Los hombres siempre hablan, pero de las mujeres solo unas 3 o 4, porque no fuimos a estudiar bien. Ahorita están estudiando lo mismo hombres y mujeres, antes era que el padre te decía que por lo menos sabes tu nombre y listo, así mi padre me dijo a los 14 años antes de casarse, de 13 o 14 años me casé, del quinto curso salí. Por lo menos mis hijas me están superando.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	36:10-37:00	“Los que son viejitos ya, ya no hay mucha exigencia para ellos. Pero si hay problemas que no se puede solucionar, ellos participan. Al fin del año cuando hay balance formal de la comunidad, de transporte, se juntan X personas, ellos si participan, pero así no más en las reuniones, una vez en la semana no participan. Los que todavía pueden caminar sin bastón, ellos si participan.”
Jóvenes	34:05-35:55	“Casi poco hay jóvenes, ahorita están estudiando, salen por allá, más están en la ciudad. Cuando salen de su estudio, vuelven. Por ejemplo los profesores, salen y vuelven acá. Hay otros que estudian otra cosa, esos ya no encuentran trabajo para ellos, se quedan en la ciudad a trabajar. Algunas chicas igual se casan por allá. Más los hombres se van y vienen.”

Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	37:10- 38:55	“Qué será, cómo será. A veces los que han salido bachiller no quieren recibir cargo. Yo les digo con un cargo se aprende. Es porque no hay pago, no hay plata ahí. Si hubiera plata, aceptarían. Ser autoridad es por honor, los caciques no reciben nada. Tienen que trabajar aparte. Por lo menos el cacique ahora saca el porcentaje de la mina y por lo menos tiene para su comida y gasolina, antes eso no había. Además hemos utilizado el porcentaje.”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_18PNFM_corp
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista:	9.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	33
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunaria, prima hermana de director 4 cooperativas (federación)
Afiliación con cooperativa:	socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	4:35- 5:50	Impacto: “Desde que hay mina, hubo primeramente recursos, para la familia, hubo plata para la caja de la comunidad, para la áreas públicas, la limpieza y todo eso y desde que hubo la mina también hemos conseguido las dos camiones por los porcentajes de la mina, de ahí salió eso. Es lo que nos lleva a la mina, y hace viajes a Concepción también. Hace servicio aquí para la comunidad.”
	5:50- 6:10	Impactos negativos: “Había, en los precios del material a veces. Cuando baja mucho el materia, ya

	7:30-10:25	no se trabaja. Y si no hay trabajo, no hay plata para la gente.”
	10:25-11:00	Cambio en tradiciones: “Hay cambio, por ejemplo la comida: ya no se come la comida que se comía más antes. Se compra pollo por allá, se mete al horno. Antes no se comía así, todo. Ahora ya no se va al chaco por ir a la mina, se compra el arroz, se compra la yuca igual que el plátano. Algunos tienen, pero ya no como antes. El pollo igual se trae de la ciudad, son muy pocos los que crían. Aquí la mayoría trabaja en la mina constantemente, ya no hay el tiempo para trabajar en el chaco. Cuando bajan los precios del mineral, es un problema para aquellos que no tienen el chaco, van a otros lados para buscarse trabajo. Es difícil porque uno encuentra trabajo en la comunidad y tiene que salir a otro lado.”
	11:05-11:55	Migración por minería: “Hasta ahorita no he visto nada. Ahora nada.”
	12:05-13:20	Contaminación por minería: “Yo no sé qué hay. A veces suceden enfermedades, pero no sé si será por la mina. A veces dolor de cabeza, de pie y de espalda.”
	13:35-13:50	Medidas de seguridad “Cuando se formó la cooperativa, nos dieron cascos para la cabeza, nos dieron osiconera para la nariz, las botan también nos dieron, pero algunos ya no lo tienen, se rompe pues. Hasta ahora cada cual se busca, algunos van sin protección. Ropa particular no nos dieron, nos vamos así no más con nuestra ropa. (...) Ahorita no siento efectos”
	13:55-14:55	Trabajo mujeres y hombres: “Mayormente los hombres entran al pozo, las mujeres son para ayudar nada más, se quedan afuera. Ellos están arriesgándose su vida allí.”
		Efectos a salud: “Algunos, porque allá hay un compañero, Ventura Rodríguez, el chofer del camioncito, le duele todo su pecho y su espalda, él dice que es de allá, de la mina. Son ellos que todos los días van.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	22:10-22:45	Participación en reuniones con cooperativa: “Hay cosas que decidir con los socios y hay que ponerse de acuerdo.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	6:10-7:25	“Hay personas que trabajan toda la semana, con varios grupos de trabajo. (...) Son 15 en cada grupo,

		son 5 grupos. Son 150 socios, hay socios que no van a trabajar.”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	15:10-22:10	Otras empresas: “Querían entrar, pero la comunidad, las autoridades no permiten que entre otra gente, querían si mucho, pero a comunidad no los deja entrar. Don Cesar, que murió, el quería mucho venir a trabajar aquí, pero como murió, entonces ya no. (...) Faboce no viene aquí, antes de Amasuya había una empresa grande, ya hace tiempo, la empresa Catorete, me parece se llamaba. Pero aquí la gente no es tan sencilla, si una persona, aquí primero se reúnen con la gente, se habla, se pone de acuerdo si o no y hay empresas que ofrecen cosas buenas para la gente, pero ya no se podía creer, eran puras mentiras de las empresas que vinieron más antes. Por eso ya no quisimos aceptar hasta que vino esa empresa, Amasuya que ahora está. A ella la aceptaron porque es a través de la ingeniera Rosario, por eso hasta ahora está comprando el material. Ella nos ayuda a sacar los documentos, trabaja en la federación, la FEDECOMIN, ella trabaja junto con Juan Chupé (el director de las 4 cooperativas). Ella es la que nos informó de la llegada de la COMIBOL, ellos ya vinieron más antes y entraron sin avisar a nadie. Nadie sabía. La anterior vez llegaron y hablaron con ellos, de buena manera y se fueron. Y después de 2 o 3 días volvieron, y esa vez directamente se fueron a Coloradillo, pero como Coloradillo pidió apoyo a los demás cooperativas, para que no se acepte a ellos a trabajar, por eso se fueron vuelta, aquí llegaron primero. (...) Tenían ahí negocio con 2 o 3 personas de ahí (de Coloradillo), por eso llegaron directo ahí. Cuando fuimos ahí, dijeron que no hay ahorita Cooperativa ahí (en Coloradillo), los que estaban ahí eran dos o tres personas nada más, y eso no es una cooperativa, porque solo se benefician ellos nada más y el resto no hay.”
	29:55-30:40	
	30:40-31:30	Relación entre cooperativa y CICOL o municipio: “De la cooperativa se invita a la organización CICOL, al municipio, si se hace, nos reunimos, aquí es diferente a lo de Coloradillo, trabajamos con la CICOL y con el municipio.”
		Colaboración entre cacique y cooperativa: “Aquí se trabaja todo juntos, el cacique coordina con el director de la cooperativa. Se pone de acuerdo, no hay diferencia de nada. El cacique es socio y va a las reuniones de las cooperativas.”

Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	22:45-25:10 32:10-35:10	<p>“Ahora ya la tomas en cuenta a la mujer, no, en todo, hasta hay mujeres autoridades. Más que todo lo que opinamos, todo se acepta. (...) Hay todavía mujeres que no opinan. A veces no lo entienden bien lo que se habla en la asamblea, a veces no las tomamos en serio las cosas. Porque a veces aquí se pregunta a la gente si entiende o no entiende la gente, porque a veces no nos responden, eso es lo que hasta ahora existe todavía. (...) *Se ríe cuando se pregunta por qué lo hombres opinan más*: No sé yo por qué será. Hay igual hombres que no opinan. (...) Son tímidas por hablar en una reunión.”</p> <p>“Aquí somos organizadas también, somos mujeres socias de las comunidad, formamos parte de una organización que se llama artecampo, netamente mujeres que bordan. Y nosotros igual hacemos reuniones y ahí hay la oportunidad de decir a las mujeres que hablen, que opinen, qué le guste o no le gusta. Ahí veo que más opinan, pero cuando estamos en una sala grande entre hombres y mujeres, no pueden las mujeres opinar. Yo siempre me pregunto por qué, porque a mí si me gusta opinar. (...) Aquí tenemos una cacique de género, con ella hemos coordinado reuniones, para que charlemos pues. (...) Somos organizadas para bordar. Todos los viernes nos sentamos, nos juntamos en la sede, en la casa grande donde van ahora en la noche, ahí, ahí todas las mujeres nos concentramos. Para ver los trabajos cómo están, revisar más que todo, hacemos a veces 250 a 300 cojines cada mes y eso se envía a Santa Cruz, ahí hay un almacén grande donde se vende. Aquí no se hace hamacas, solo en San Lorenzo.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	25:40-25:55	Entrevistadora hace referencia a tema de género y edad y entrevistada afirma: “Sí, por eso es, mi mamá por ejemplo no ha estudiado, ni un curso, pero mi papá si ha estudiado.”
Jóvenes	26:05-28:20	“Aquí poco participan los jóvenes, poco son. Hay jóvenes que recién cuando vuelven del cuartel, ahí si participan en las reuniones, ahí pueden opinar. (...) Están, pero parece que no le da ganas de ir y escuchar en la reunión, porque a veces reclamamos pues que hay varios jóvenes que recién cuando están con mujeres ya participan, ellos deberían participar primero en la reunión, pero sin embargo no es así. Los que participan son los de mayores de edad, son los que son constantes. A ellos, los casados, que están

		en la comunidad tienen todo el derecho de participar. Hay algunos que hasta los 18 años son solteros y si ya tienen la obligación.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	29:05- 29:55	“Aquí la cooperativa está conformado por toda la comunidad, toditos son socios. Bueno los profesores y esos dijeron que no pero igual participan. Es porque ellos trabajan. Dicen que no tienen tiempo para ir a trabajar allá, pero hay profesores que son socios.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_19PNFM_corp
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 9.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 37
Función/cargo de entrevistado: responsable de Artecampo de comunidad
Afiliación con cooperativa: socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:05- 7:40	Cambio: “Hubo mucho cambio, porque más antes la comunidad se dedicaba solo al trabajo de la agricultura los que no tienen profesión, y los que tienen profesión, se dedican a su trabajo. Más antes también costaba encontrar dinero para ahorrar. Entonces ahora los que trabajaban en el chaco se acercan a los que tienen su mensualidad para buscarse su dinero y para comprarse todo lo que se utiliza en la casa pues, como jabón. Y ahora cuando ya la mina se explotó, entonces todos iban allá pues. Antes si se encontraba el material mientras que ahora ya no. Hace ya 10 años que se está viniendo y trabajando así manualmente y se nota mucho la
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	<p>8:05-11:30</p> <p>11:30-14:05</p>	<p>diferencia ya. Se nota mucho el cambio, porque más antes no había moto como ahorita, antes ni siquiera teníamos bicicletas, casi todo era a pie. Cuando salió la minería un tiempito, había hartas motocicletas, salieron esos, después otra vez se fueron a la mina con las motocicletas. Ahora ya nadie va a la mina a pie, en motos van. Y recién desde 2009 o 2010 se consiguió el camioncito comunal, a través del porcentaje de la minería. Para cada kilo se sacaba un monto x y se fue sumando y cuando ya hubo un monto elevado, se preguntó a la base qué se iba a hacer con ese dinero y entonces compramos un camión. Y se iba aumentando, había viajes a Concepción, antes solo había de la CICOL, pero no hacían servicio a los comunarios. Y se compró el segundo camión. Pero ya está viejito uno de los camiones y ya no opera como antes. (...) Las otras comunidades igual estaban explotando manualmente y también se están consiguiendo, para nosotros ya no hay pasajeros y por eso estamos bajando también.”</p> <p>Impactos negativos: “Los niños, especialmente cuando era más fácil de conseguir el material, ahora se van con el cernidor, para cernir, para colar, iban los niños y al colegio ya no iban. Eso era el impacto negativo. Pero siempre se trabaja comunalmente y se observa. Y cuando el cacique convoca a una reunión, eso se pone como un punto, y ese punto se debate, ahí los jóvenes, estudiantes, niños iban. Y ahora ya no van a la minería, solo los días sábados para que no perjudique a sus estudios. (...) Los padres iban para encontrar y los niños a lavar los materiales y cuando hubo la reunión comunal, es que los niños querían la plata y ya no querían asistir clases, eso para mí era negativo, porque eso es un ratingo no más pasa y después ya no hay más, eso es lo que yo ahorita recuerdo. (...) Además de eso la gente trabajaba de 7 a 6 digamos, todo el día dejaban a sus niños en casa, no sabían si comen o no comen, van a clases o no van, eso también fue. Y ahora se trabaja comunalmente en grupo. Uno de la familia se queda, así ya no hay ese problema tampoco.”</p> <p>Impacto a trabajo de artesanía: “Tenemos diferentes diseños también, el más grande más paga, el más pequeño menos. Y hubo un tiempo en la minería en la que se pagaba 70, 80, 90 el kilo, y en un día si uno encuentra 5kg digamos, prefiero ir a la mina que bordar, dos años duró eso, que no había producción en Pukio. Pero aquí en la comunidad somos más numerosas las que bordamos y se notó mucho el bajón cuando de la minería salía hartito. Fue un</p>
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	14:45-22:20	<p>tiempo, después varia, y cuando nos dimos cuenta que ya no pudimos como mujeres, entonces volvimos a bordar. Claro vamos a la minería, pero ya no como antes, porque sabemos que ahí no llevamos nada, preferimos bordar. (...) En otras comunidades, como Santo Rosario, bordaron como nosotros, pero en los últimos meses del año pasado ya no. Razones no sabemos, es otra comunidad y lejos de aquí.”</p> <p>Migración: “Llegaban más bien, solo se fueron hijos de los comunarios, a estudiar, y también hay tantos profesionales a causa de la minería. Antes costaba mucho y ellos se dedicaban a trabajar todos los días y le mandaban dinero para poder estudiar. (...) Hay una pareja aquí que llegó y cuando se dieron cuenta que ya no se sacaba así fácilmente, dejaban y se iban de nuevo. Venían de Santa Cruz. Uno o dos parejas venían. (...) No, del interior del país, no se permite, solo comunarios nada más. Cada comunidad sabe cómo trabajar en su comunidad. Ellos (Coloradillo) quizá se hacen comprar fácilmente, vienen y dicen que van a trabajar allá y le damos tanto. Por ejemplo esa cancha en Coloradillo, eso hicieron allí, pero no sé qué cantidad de materiales se han llevado y aquí en Pukio no se permite eso. Los comunarios nada más entran a trabajar, pero otra gente no. Son bien cautelosos. (...) Son sobre todo problemas internos que tienen allí. Aquí si uno quiere... hay experiencia también. Porque más antes, yo me acuerdo muy bien, hace 9 o 8 años, una empresa llegó y quiso sacar madera, de la minería todavía no sabíamos que había, y venía un tal Quebrada Sur a un lugar que también pertenece a Pukio a 14km de aquí. Vinieron, invadieron, hicieron lo que quisieron con la madera. Lo organizaron bien, cuando llegamos al lugar, los varones estaban en el monte destrozando madera y las señoras ahí cocinando, y los cazadores tomaron sus máquinas y los trajeron acá y después se hizo un escándalo. Llegaron con un tipo camión con hartos fusibles adentro, y dicen apretar el botón y revienta. Y es por eso no se permite fácilmente con esa experiencia que hubo. (...) Varias empresas han venido, si hacen su propuesta, se puede recibirlos y trabajar, si la propuesta favorece a la comunidad, se acepta, pero si no, no se puede. (...) En temas de minería aquí, no ha sido una empresa sino, la dueña de una supuesta concesión, el señor falleció, estamos ahora pendiente con la viuda. Supuestamente era dueño, pero yo digo dueño cuando uno vive en el lugar, trabaja en el lugar, y solamente querían endueñarse nada más. No sabemos cómo consiguió la concesión.”</p>
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Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	22:35-24:55 27:40-28:55	Reuniones de la cooperativa: “No hay mucha participación en el sentido dar sugerencias y opinar de las señoras, ellas participan, pero no opinan. Quizá una más que otras. Pero mayormente opinan los varones. Yo a veces tengo esa idea que quiero decir algo en la reunión, pero con los varones parece como si no valiera la opinión de una mujer, a veces tememos a hablar. Eso existe todavía, ese machismo. Pero hay que hablar más fuerte pues para que escuchen. De repente lo que uno opina, no lo entienden. (...) A veces es que hay palabras que uno habla y no es correcto, el miedo de eso.” “En Artecampo si hablan y opinan. Nosotros ahí ya conocemos el trabajo que realizamos, somos concedores de nuestro trabajo. No tenemos problemas en opinar, de decir lo que a uno no le gusta. La mayoría habla, también hay señoras que no opinan, solo están presentes.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	24:55-26:50	“A las que les gusta opinar, entonces opinan y las jóvenes al menos cuando participan en la reunión, no hay. No podemos opinar. (...) Falta de experiencia social, vivir en la sociedad que impide a las chicas. Hay ya varias que salieron bachilleres, pero para opinar, quizá siguen aprendiendo. No entiendo yo por qué.”
Jóvenes		Vea: tercera edad
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad,		

entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_20_grupo_PNFT
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 9.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: personas de tercera edad
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarias, miembros de Artecampo
Afilación con cooperativa: socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	5:50-22:55	Cambio: “Acá hay mina, pero antes nosotros no conocíamos la mina. Yo por ejemplo ya no puedo caminar, entonces yo ya no puedo ir a la mina, pero sacan, ahora desde chiquitito conocen, y saben cómo trabajar en la mina, nosotros no conocemos la mina. (...) Si hablamos de las mujeres, por ejemplo, nosotros somos una organización, Artecampo. Al principio era bien bonito, todos participamos, nos reunimos cada vez, pero cuando empezó la mina, empezamos a hacer un trabajo al cual no estábamos acostumbradas, aparece la plata, trae recursos. De vez en cuando nos reunimos, genera recursos, y cada uno trabaja para su cuenta, por si mismo, y el resto que me entiendan. Se acabó toda la reciprocidad, esa convivencia. Pero ahora si se puede ir a Santa Cruz si uno quiere, ha habido bastantes cambios. Ya no van los niños ahí, pero antes si. Tampoco sabemos qué cosa nos puede traer después, si no nos cuidamos, porque es un trabajo bien sacrificado. Nunca nos han capacitado qué pasa después. Ya no dejamos que vayan los niños por ejemplo porque se puede pensar que ya no van a ir al colegio, ahora a que se dediquen a su estudio, por lo menos que el padre responde. También hay cambios en cuanto a los productos a consumir, ahora esperamos a que lleguen de la ciudad, decimos que ‘ya está llegando nuestro camión, ya está llegando nuestro chaco’, todos dependemos de lo que nos traigan. (...) También hay aspectos positivos: cuando sale (el material), se demuestra. Tampoco hay una buena planificación por
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		<p>parte de las autoridades, tanto en cuanto a los cultivos y la producción y el tema de minería. Pero no es demasiado tarde, complementariamente sería la minería. (...) Otra señora dice: Hay hartos cambios, porque antes no conocíamos motos, camiones, autos, más antes nada, solo caballos, caminamos a pie, nos vamos de aquí a San Antonio a pie. Pero ahora por la mina hay motos, ya no se permite los burritos en las casas. De repente aparece ese material, como dice la compañera, y la gente saca y tiene para su moto, pero más antes se sacaba y sacaba. Ahora ya no es así, todo ya está rebatido de nosotros. Hay ese polvo, no sabemos, como hay niños y viejitos. Un señor de Conce nos dijo que no nos metamos mucho a la minería, porque uno se enferma, entra en su pulmón, los mineros no viven hasta 40 años. Puede trabajar en su chaquito, puede sembrar yuca, plátano, eso es lo que nos consejo. (...) Otra dice: es peligrosa la mina, uno se puede enfermar, los que van todos los días, se puede ir de vez en cuando. Mayormente es para mantener a los chicos y la casa. (...) Considerando los aspectos positivos y negativos, va evolucionando la vida, siempre hay cambios, es cómo preguntar qué efecto tiene el sol. (...) Hay conflictos, bueno nosotros no hemos sufrido como otras comunidades todavía, somos bien unidos y nadie puede entrar, es nuestra casa, es donde vivimos, aquí vamos a vivir. Y no podemos decir, a vos vas a explotar mi tierra, porque vienen otras generaciones todavía y eso hay que pensarlo también. Qué seamos los dueños, nosotros a dónde nos vamos a irnos entonces, también hay contaminación. Hay personas que su mayor tiempo lo pasan trabajando, mi familia no lo hace tanto. (...) Se dice que el material esta a 50 o 100m bajos el suelo, sobre esto están las miradas ahora del gobierno, escuchamos que es una reserva. Pero a veces como mujeres no entendemos cuales son las leyes, las normas hasta dónde nos pertenece la tierra, quizá los 20 o 30cm, pero más allá abajo ya no nos pertenece. Por eso ahora estamos ejecutando que salga la personalidad jurídica para tramitar, que sea nuestra casa propia, que nadie venga a explotar lo no que fuera nuestro consentimiento. Tiene también ventajas como hacer estudiar a nuestros hijos, mejorar nuestras viviendas, cubrir las necesidades. Espero que no nos dividamos después.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	25:35-27:25	Participación en reuniones acerca de minería: “Recién se está empezando, ahorita estamos en una etapa más organizativa. Estamos listas para asumir nuestras responsabilidades. (...) En cuanto a la minera: se organizó en grupos, mitad mitas las mujeres y los varones. Las mujeres solo van a sanear, a baldear, es

	45:10-46:05	<p>hombre) decía anda a hacer ese trabajo. Pero si queríamos ir a asistir un curso, decían: este curso te va a dar de comer, quizá no lo vamos a comer, pero nos ayudará para aprender muchas cosas, por eso nunca lo toman en cuenta como una necesidad para una mujer. (...) Artecampo nos ha fortalecido mucho. En los años se estableció. Siempre vamos a seguir luchando.”</p> <p>“Sí, hay muchos hombres que son así, que son machistas. Antes mi esposo nunca me sacaba para ir a las reuniones, después con el tiempo él me invitaba y después me animaba. Pero después hay muchos hombres que siguen así, solo aparecen, hablan bonito, pero en la práctica no.</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	27:20-29:45	<p>“Yo no puedo, yo no puedo opinar, ya soy viejita. No puedo caminar, ya no participo en las reuniones. Antes si podía participar, en cuanto a las reuniones. No puede ya no debatir en las reuniones (...) A los jóvenes todavía le gusta participar. Tiene que ver con la edad. (...) Si puedo hacer una comparación: en el interior, las ancianitas igualito participan, en las manifestaciones se ve que siempre participan.”</p>
	39:35-44:10	<p>“Se debería tomar en serio los conocimientos de los ancianos, pero pensamos que ya pasó el día y no pensamos en la remuneración que viene, se necesita conocer, aportar. A partir de los 50 ya no exigimos, solo escuchamos, cambia todo. (...) Siempre participo y vengo... A veces uno trabaja en su chaco y con el sol caliente uno llega cansado, en la mayor parte siempre participamos. (...) Antes no nos tomaron en cuenta los hombres, pero ahora si, ahora se ha reconocido sus derechos. Las mujeres participan cuando hay una elección. (...)</p>
	47:05-48:45	<p>“Es difícil de incluir a personas de tercera edad, porque ya han cumplido, así que a las reuniones ni siquiera vienen, no es obligatorio, es voluntario. En el caso de los varones, si siguen participando con sus opiniones, con sugerencias. Em caso de las mujeres muy poco se ve, o más bien nada se ve en el caso de las mujeres de la tercera edad. A veces como se hace las reuniones en la noche, es difícil que esté sentada, ya no. Quién va a estar, a veces tarda hasta las 11. Ahora estamos a 30 años con nuestra organización y así que venimos. Quien tiene que asumir la responsabilidad son las dirigentes, venimos a escuchar nada más.”</p>
	48:50-52:30	

		“La juventud ahora ya no es lo mismo como antes, muchos han perdido los valores. A nosotros nos enseñaron nuestros padres, respeto el uno al otro, ahora muy poco se hace eso. Entonces frente a esos jóvenes decimos que mejor es callarnos. Si queremos influir, más allá se ríen, y ahí está. Mucho cambio hubo acá, quizá la misma naturaleza nos está haciendo el cambio. (...) Solamente hay un consejo de ancianos al nivel de la CICOL, no existe al nivel de la comunidad. (...) La hora influye también. La asamblea general se hace también, se decide sobre normas de comunidad, se hace cada 6 meses y ahí es de día y participamos. Pero otras reuniones como planificación etc. se hace en la noche, porque en el día todos se dispersan para sus actividades, ocupados con los animales etc.”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	24:40- 24:55	“Sí, yo si soy socia” (mitad de participantes en grupo focal son socias)
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	24:00- 24:40	Diferencia con Coloradillo: “La diferencia es que nosotros somos más unidos. Otra cosa es la autoridad, nosotros respetamos a nuestra autoridad que se eligió democráticamente. “
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_21_grupo_PNMT
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista:	09.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: conocido.	60, 62, 73, el resto no
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Comunarios de Base
Afiliación con corporativa:	No conocida

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios,	03:48- 05:04	“en este momento no podemos identificar todavía porque es trabajo manual..., a menos que empecemos con maquinarias, ahí podemos
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migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	<p>05:20-07:35</p> <p>15:47-17:50</p> <p>21:20-20 08</p>	<p>identificar (los impactos), mientras tanto seguimos a pulso y además todos somos nativos de aquí... por este momento no identificamos los defectos de la minería porque se está explotando solamente en pequeña escala...”</p> <p>“nosotros siempre estamos pensando a lo posterior, no sabemos que es lo que irá a pasar después, porque allá donde se saca la mina es pozo, incluso piedra que estaba debajo la tierra lo sacaron, aurita los expertos sobre el agua dicen que nuestras aguas no es potable, los niños se manchan los dientes, eso es del agua dicen, porque la mina esta allá en la altura y esa altura se junta el agua en los arroyitos y cae a la vertiente. El agua sale de debajo de la tierra..., eso se llama puquio que quiere decir manantial que nunca se seca..., más o menos eso nos hace pensar..., no sabemos más después...”</p> <p>“Los problemas pueden ser las enfermedades que puedan aparecer y el otro puede ser a nivel social, por ejemplo si bien otra gente, si vienen una empresa sellos van a trabajar a maquinaria y seguramente va a suceder cualquier problemas entre la sociedad..., puede emanar roces diferentes, porque la mina la verdad es que todo es plata, porque cuando hay plata va a ver problemas, va a ver ambición...; si se llegara a permitir que una empresa grande venga... puede haber ese desigualdad o amonestaciones o abuso en la comunidad, se piensa que puede haber eso, que puede suceder...”</p> <p>“...yo tengo una observación, más antes cuando no había mina éramos más unidos, teníamos la costumbre laboral así de sociedad , hombres- mujeres, eso se llama minga, pero hasta ahora que hubo la mina eso se perdió la colaboración entre nosotros, ese es el cambio que hubo”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	07:36-13:35	“por ahora por estos momentos hay una empresa que nos está comprando el mineral, siempre indirectos, intermediarios, todo lo que sale de los proo

	34:46-37:29	<p>Ductores a la empresa misma, cuando ya hay una tonelada bien y se lo lleva, por ahora, pero la idea es que aprovechemos al máximo el precio... es intermediario porque aparte que paga aquí ellos ganan de los que lo venden afuera... todavía es de forma pirateo, nos aprovecha siempre por la cuestión de los precios... es la empresa Ama Sulla...”</p> <p>“hace años atrás los mineros vienen a concesionar, nadie sabía porque no hubo consulta en esos tiempos, es como por los recursos forestales, ellos venían nomas diciendo ‘de nadie es los recursos, solo el dueño es el Estado, nosotros tenemos autorización’ decían y se lo concesionaban; en el caso de la comunidad hay una concesión pero ya es finau (difunto), esa es la preocupación de la comunidad...la esposa de este señor sigue luchando por sus concesiones, pero como existe una cooperativa que tienen contacto con las autoridades de arriba, ellos son los que están apoyando para que se llegue a documentar los tramites de la personería jurídica (FEDECOMIN)... la que nos asesora dice que si o si tienen que organizarse porque no queda más, y al organizarse tienen que tramitar si o si la personería jurídica, para que haya negociaciones de forma legal...”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	54:05-56:18	“mayormente en la reunión siempre hay timidez en las mujeres y el algunos varones, no todos emiten su opinión... a veces en la reunión se les dice que hable pero no lo hallan, la timidez es natural... muy poco participan las mujeres, claro asisten a la reunión pero no aportan ideas, no proponen..., tampoco preguntan si no entienden; por ejemplo si no entiendo tal cosa o de tal parte yo debo preguntar, pero mientras la señoras no lo hacen... “
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	56:45-1:00:00	“... yo también estoy en la edad avanzada también, y las normas de la cooperativa para la tercera edad es que no pueden entrar ya como socio desde cierta edad..., ahora los tratos con los de tercera edad, todavía no se ha tocado, porque los problemas que dijimos existen, a veces dicen que a las personas de tercera edad ya no les corresponden entrar ahí, son jóvenes mayormente; yo creo que es por falta de conocimiento, porque si conocen los principios de la cooperativa no se va a escuchar eso... la mina no es

	1:16:10-1:18:17	<p>de unos cuantos, por más que se esté organizando en cooperativa, es de la comunidad, porque ... la lucha no ha sido recién, por lo tanto yo creo que nadie debe de privar a nadie...”</p> <p>“Para nosotros sería interesante crear un consejo de anciano comunal, de consejería, de orientación y de charla, porque son de confianza y de experiencia... por ahora hay como se dice poco respeto, como que no le dan autoestima a los ancianitos, sin embargo tienen bastante recursos en su mente los ancianitos... eso es lo que tenemos en la mente, por ahora nos miran como a cualquiera, sin embargo hay muchos recursos en nuestra mente...”</p>
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	45:52-49:55	<p>“y como decía él otra cosa será cuando entren maquinas, la otra vez hartos personas que no somos todos, a veces entre la comunidad hay personas más ambicioso que cuando escuchan que una persona está preguntando por mina ya lo llevan de una vez al pozo sin preguntar a la comunidad, lo lleva sin conocerlo al tipo... la otra vez se habló, que (una empresa que no se conoce el nombre) quería desmontar 10 hectáreas, nosotros no permitimos. Vienen muchos empresarios ofertan y quieren entrar hay mucha tentación... como digo no faltan esas personas, una vez hicieron trato con un empresario que quiere venir a sacar tierra para que ellos lo laven no sé dónde; sería una tontería si hayamos permitido. El convenio era que iban a pagar 5.000 bs por cada volquetada, ya cuando se largaron a traer sus maquinarias nosotros no lo dejamos que entren, entonces le dijimos a ellos ‘bueno por favor salgase a la buena sino aurita nosotros lo vamos a quemar su movilidad’ ahí se calmaron, si hayamos dejado sencillo ya estuviera destruido muchas hectáreas... pero nos hicieron caso y se retiraron. El grupo que lo trajo está murmurando, pero ellos son unos cuantitos y la mayoría no estaba de acuerdo; esos jóvenes que</p>

		firmaron el contrato ni siquiera saben la lucha de nosotros por la lucha de nuestro territorio, y ahora unos muchachos quieren hacer negocio con empresas.
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	1:13:00-1:13:36	“el principal (problema de la mujer) sigue así, ese que no opinan porque no tienen estudios, esos que son bachiller tienen pues idea de opinar porque tienen experiencia; en cambio ese el que está cero (tiene menos estudios) no tienen pues que decir, ese consideramos también esa parte...”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_22PNMM_corp
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 10.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 39
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario
Afiliación con cooperativa: socio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	2:55-5:35	Cambio: “Hace tiempo que está aquí en la zona la minería, más de 20 años, se inició aquí en la comunidad, porque una cierta persona pilló el lugar y la zona donde había material., un recurso no renovable. Entonces empezó a trabajar la gente manual, aquí se trabaja manualmente, no como en una empresa con maquinaria. Todos trabajamos con el mineral wólfram, no solamente wólfram, sino una vez yo pillé oro. En la minería no hubo un cambio tan elevado, ahorita recién se está conformando la cooperativa, estamos sacando la personalidad jurídica. Estamos en lucha todavía, por falta de recursos económicos, porque con esos recursos hay que estar constantemente para poder sacar la personalidad jurídica para que sea legal la cooperativa. Cuatro comunidades ahorita están en ese proceso. En el caso de Coloradillo, no lo sé, solamente las cuatro están afiliadas, Pukio, San Lorenzo, Surusubí y San Simón. Coloradillo no sé muy bien, ahí hay algunos problemitas. Ahí son algunos cuantos que no coordinan. . Aquí toda la población está, inclusive los maestros están, no hay oposición, es una comunidad bien unida”
	5:40-10:05	

	<p>10:10-12:55</p> <p>13:15-14:05</p>	<p>Efectos: “Antes hubo ciertos problemas, había unos intermediarios que venían a querer a explorar aquí en la zona, pero nosotros no lo permitimos, supuestos dueños han venido a concesionar, a tomar los puntos, sacar unas cuadrillas, y nunca permitimos. Hasta ahora seguimos luchando, porque ahora para estas reuniones que tenemos va a venir la COMIBOL, a capacitarnos. Son charlas, nosotros ya tenemos experiencia cómo trabajar la mina. (...) Asunto positivo es que estamos trabajando para mejorar nuestro bien, social, familiar, eso. Hemos conseguido unas movilidades, a hacer servicios a otras comunidades que no tienen, o sea la comunidad se organizó bien. Se trabajaba, se sacaba el material, se sacaba el 5% para la comunidad y entonces salieron las movilidades tenemos dos. Todavía no estamos tan legales todavía, pero ya está a un 90%. Toda la documentación de las 4 cooperativas, íbamos a hacer otro plan de gestión, a medido de este año, vamos a sacar otro plan de gestión en asunto de minería. (...) No trabajamos toda la comunidad, pero casi estamos trabajando 70% de la comunidad, hay docentes, funcionarios públicos, pero mayormente cuando hay una convocatoria para una reunión, todos vamos y entramos para mejorar y solucionar los problemas. Aquí se hace las reuniones miércoles o viernes, pero cuando hay una demanda de problemas puede haber 3 o 4 reuniones en la semana. Pero ahorita no hay mucho, solo una vez en la semana. Nosotros somos siempre unidos en una reunión, en un momento arreglamos, porque si uno baja rápido, se soluciona pronto.”</p> <p>Relación con caciques: “El cacique coordina con todos, y también con las cooperativas de otras comunidades. Hay una reglamentación y coordinación con la CICOL y también con el gobierno municipal, tiene una jurisdicción municipal y la organización CICOL es una TCO de Lomerío, ahí trabaja la CICOL con las 29 comunidades aquí es la central en la casa grande. Entonces cuando hay un problema más grave, la organización CICOL y la municipalidad asumen la responsabilidad para solucionar el problema. (...) Aquí en la estructura de la cooperativa, hay un presidente de la cooperativa y la autoridad máxima es otra instancia. Y la cooperativa de Pukio forma otro comité de vigilancia para que vigile los trabajos y que problemas hay en los grupos. El comité de vigilancia tiene su directorio, también hay otro comité al nivel de las cuatro cooperativas. Y cuando hay un problema, el comité de vigilancia se reúne con toda su base aquí y luego</p>
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	14:15-22:55	<p>se soluciona con el cacique general. Hace un mes que se formó el directorio y con eso estamos trabajando ahora.”</p> <p>Situación de minería antes de formar cooperativa: “Había conflictos, a veces no había orden en el trabajo, cada uno entraba y trabajaba como se podía, ahora hay más orden, se organizó por grupos. Así en los días libres uno puede ir a su chaco, o tiene su ganado o tiene otras actividades personales. Antes había eso, conflictos: todos querían sacar el material casi personal, quería beneficiarse él solo, en cambio ahora ya no.”</p> <p>Migración: “Había, pero ahorita ya no hay. En el primer área donde nosotros vivimos tenemos nuestro límite comunal, había algunos que vinieron a piratear, a robar del otro, entraban y todos querían. Pero ahora ya las cuatro comunidades tienen ese material, entonces cada uno trabaja en su predio. Gente venía de otras comunidades. Y otros venían, los intermediarios de unos empresarios, que venían, son Brasileños en el año 1998 por ahí. Ahorita ya no viene porque ya conocen nuestra reacción. Una vez se enteraron aquí decían que había oro, zas, entraban y nosotros estábamos trabajando en nuestro chaco. Nos tuvimos que comunicar casa por casa, a pie al chaco, a 4 km, tiene que ir hasta allá para avisar. Nos sorprendían a veces, nosotros estábamos trabajando en diferentes trabajos, rápidamente entraron a trabajar. Y nosotros los agarramos y hicimos una reunión, porque aquí casi les dimos waska, porque es un abuso entrar sin autorización. Una persona que entra una casa, tiene que pedir permiso, si entra sin el consentimiento de nadie, eso es un abuso. (...) Por el momento quieren intentar a entrar nuevamente, ahorita es la COMIBOL, la semana anterior fuimos a Coloradillo. Otra vez están viniendo ahorita de San Ramón, por San Ramón están intentando a entrar aquí a Lomerío. Dentro de un rato lo vamos a conversar con el cacique para organizar. Porque ya hemos hablado con el presidente de la cooperativa de acá con el ministro de minería nacional. Estamos respaldados, estamos por la vía legal. (...) Antes así eran, entraban como les daba las ganas. La COMIBOL parece que está coordinando con esa Marcia Delgado, la viuda del señor de la concesión. Dentro de un rato vamos a tumbar unos palos en el camino para que no entren y ya no vuelven. En Coloradillo bien les pinchamos sus vagonetas y pegamos pues, así fue la decisión. Aquí cerca del río, ahí llegaron sin consulta, fuimos con 20 personas, los amarramos</p>
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		<p>aquí en la plaza y le dimos waska, con ese que ya está muerto, ese Pedro Cesar, que tiene la concesión y el llario, el brasilero. La viuda nunca la hemos visto aquí, solo hace negocios con la empresa que entra aquí. Creo que la empresa hace un convenio a le da plata a ella, pero nosotros no lo permitimos. (...) Nuestros abuelos no sabían leer, entraban y les mentían, engañaron para obtener una concesión, un área. Ahora como estamos sus nietos, ya no.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	25:30-26:02	<p>“Varones y mujeres participan, equidad de género, nunca discriminamos a las mujeres, hay también mujeres autoridades. En las reuniones todos participamos. En la cooperativa hay convocatorias y todos los socios participamos.</p>
	29:30-34:55	<p>“Se toma la lista en una reunión, en los trabajos públicos, en los áreas públicas, por ejemplo estamos tomando 10Bs para la limpieza de las áreas públicas, entonces todos aportamos eso que estamos en la lista, y esos 10Bs se paga por mes, para la plaza, la iglesia. En las reuniones implica todos los derechos para opinar, sugerir, sino solo uno puede sugerir, la diferencia realmente es en los trabajos. (...) Unos no opinan porque son tímidos, son hartos, será que no entienden, pero no opinan, me imagino que no entenderá en las reuniones. Los que poco opinan son mujeres, jóvenes y ancianitos también, están jubilados, por no haber estudiado. Por ejemplo aquí una persona que no ha estudiado, entra una reunión y es ancianito, creo que tiene 53 anos, eso se reconoce, a veces también es su memoria. (...) Esa generación, más antes no tenían para ir al colegio, había colegio, pero solo particular, no seccionar, se pagaba mensualmente. Porque yo por ejemplo entré un colegio particular, estuve yo 3 anos, y después de los 3 años se lo pagaba mi papá, después del quinto curso ya había colegio seccionar, del Estado y ahí estudié. (...) Antes había esos patrones, entonces muchas señoras, que aquí no hay, pero en Surusubí todavía hay de esa década, ellos ya son ancianitos, más se dedicaban al trabajo que al estudio, por los patrones, para las mujeres y los varones. Nunca les dejaron la libertad, domingo no fueron al chaco, pero trabajaban degradar el maíz para los chanchos. Había esa discriminación.”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado,	23:20-25:30	<p>“Cuando fuimos el otro día a Coloradillo (cuando entró la COMIBOL) éramos más de 100 personas, a las 11 de la noche. Pero cuando hay voluntad de</p>

municipalidad, empresa)		luchar por el lugar, a cualquier hora podemos ir a luchar. En el asunto de la madera también era así, nosotros ya estamos acostumbrados a enfrentarnos. Una vez la empresa Quebrada Sur entró en la zona a sacar madera y no pagaban bien a la gente y también nos fuimos. Y como la empresa mete plata, a un meso trajo unos 40 policías, pero nunca fuimos vencidos. Ahorita nuestro presidente de las cuatro cooperativas se está comunicando con el ministro de minería, con el medio ambiente, recursos naturales. También ha entrado la ABT, es su área, área forestal”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	26:03-26:55	“Los que nunca van, son los jubilados. Participan, pero ya no se los obliga, solo hasta los 60 años. Pero si hay un conflicto sobre el área de la comunidad, entonces nosotros los jóvenes no conocemos mucho, pero ellos lo conocen y los llamamos.”
Jóvenes	27:05-29:30	“Participan cuando tienen su tiempito, pero no se los obliga. (...) Aquí son los que son estudiantes, van al servicio militar, vuelve y si no sigue estudiando, se lo toma los trabajos. Pero si sigue estudiando hasta que tenga 25 o 26 años, no se los toca. No están en la lista. El requisito para entrar la lista es que cuando tenga mujer. Si está estudiando y tiene mujer, no pasa nada, no entra, pero si no está estudiando y tiene su mujer, entonces ahí sí. Si nunca se casa, se toma de todas formas. Se espera primero 3 meses, máximo 6 meses.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_23PNFM_corp
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 10.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 32
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, esposa del presidente de cooperativa, vivía mucho en Santa Cruz, pero es de comunidad
 Afiliación con cooperativa: socio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:50-7:20	Cambio: “No ha habido mucho cambio hasta ahora, con la minería un poco, en la minería trabajábamos manualmente, era un cambio cuando entró una máquina, porque antes era todo manual, para que haya más facilidad para los comunarios que trabajan en ese lugar, porque peligroso es el trabajo. Pero ahora otra vez estamos en la misma situación de trabajar manualmente. Lo peligroso de la máquina era que se caiga por encima de uno. El que nos estaba ayudando a sacar la personalidad jurídica nos trajo la máquina, con el 50% nos ayudó, parece que era de Amasuya. Pero eran hartos recursos, era demasiado caro, entonces se lo llevaron vuelta. Quedamos vuelta en la misma.”
	17:10-18:35	Migración: “Varia gente vino a querer quedarse o ayudar a los comunarios, pero nunca ellos de verdad cumplieron lo que habían prometido, era pura charla, era para ver donde era la minería. Pero como aquí estamos organizados, pedimos los documentos de ellos y siempre nos entregaron todo falso. Y el cacique llamó a sus empresas y ahí le dijeron que era empleados pero no dueños de las empresas. (...) Migración entre comunidades no hay.”
	19:20-21:45	Cambios en usos y costumbres: “Los niños casi siempre en sus vacaciones de colegio se dedicaban a la minería. Plata es plata, y los niños son curiosos y también ven eso, y ya no agarraron el cuaderno. En la mañana se iban al colegio y en la tarde ya se fueron a la mina, ya no hicieron la tarea. Después el director habló con los padres de las familias. De 9 para arriba empezaron a minar”
	24:30-28:10	Efecto a la salud: “La contaminación del agua, es que la lavamos la mina cuando sacamos, el agua puede afectar a los animales por el agua que baja en el río. Hasta ahora nada ha afectado. Por eso llevamos la mina a casa y con el agua del grifo en una bañera

	<p>33:10-34:40</p> <p>39:45-42:20</p>	<p>lavamos, para que no contaminemos el agua. (...) Dana a los hombres sobre todo, porque las mujeres no entramos a la profundidad de la tierra. Los hombres perforan y revientan dinamita, y ese polvo sube y puede dañar a los que están trabajando. Hasta ahora nadie se ha enfermado. No sabemos más después. (...) Hasta ahora no nos dieron, pero si se pide seguro, pero eso veremos. Si estamos enfermos, vamos a la posta, pero no tenemos seguro para lo que estamos haciendo. Cuando tengamos nuestra personalidad jurídica, será más fácil”</p> <p>Particularidad de cooperativa de Surusubí: ““En Surusubí puede venir gente de las 29 comunidades a su cooperativa, no es de una sola comunidad. Pero aquí solo los de Pukio”</p> <p>Debate sobre chaco y minería: “En una reunión decidimos que no vamos a vivir netamente de la minería, hay que dedicarse a hacer otras cosas. Se saca y no vuelve, se acaba. Eso preocupó mucho a los comunarios. Mientras que si sacamos del chaco, podemos volver a sembrar para evitar no comprar todos los días arroz, maíz, plátano. (...) Un día entro a la mina, y los cuatro días voy al chaco, tenemos nuestro chaco y un microhiergo donde crece nuestra verdura. También nos organizamos, así también ahorramos dinero, si no tenemos que comprar cada rato.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	29:55-31:05	Reuniones de cooperativa: “Cuando hay reuniones de la cooperativa, casi todos participamos en eso, porque casi todos los comunarios son socios de la cooperativa minera. Porque nosotros queremos saber si se avanza con el tema de la personalidad jurídica. El 28 de febrero se formó la central de las cooperativas. Todos los socios participan en las reuniones”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	7:20-17:05	Rol de Amasuya: “Nos ayudó a sacar la personalidad jurídica, por eso con el 50% están ayudando. Nosotros aportamos cada mes para que... ojalá un día lo saquen. Porque la empresa no puede sacar si no tenemos la personalidad jurídica. (...) Hace rato que estaba la COMIBOL, ellos querían entrar sin el permiso de la comunidad, del cacique de la comunidad. Vinieron, vienen del Estado, y dicen cómo son del Estado tienen el derecho de entrar donde hay mineral, vinieron directamente a Coloradillo. Pero los comunarios de las cuatro cooperativas no los dejaron que entren en

		<p>Coloradillo, ahí querían empezar a trabajar y después pasarse acá. (...) En Coloradillo hay un señor, ese señor más antes también quería entrar aquí, el quiso meter maquinaria aquí, mitad para él y mitad para los comunarios. En Coloradillo son cinco personas nada más que le ayudaron a él, por eso entró su gente también para meterse ahí en Coloradillo y como son 6 personas nada más y los demás están con Faboce, el cacique de la comunidad no pudo solito y entonces nos reunió de las 4 cooperativas, así no entraron a Coloradillo (...) A las dos de la mañana se movilizaron, hicieron guardia en diferentes lugares del camino, tanto como en Pukio como en Surusubí, San Lorenzo y San Simón. A las 10 de la noche pasaron nuestros comunarios a Coloradillo y hasta las 2 de la mañana estaban ahí con ellos. Y los de la COMIBOL no fueron vuelta a Santa Cruz, sino se quedaron en la comunidad de San Pablo, no se fueron esta noche. De ahí no supimos nada más. Pero siempre tiene que estar alerta la presidenta de la cooperativa de San Ramón, porque cualquier día o noche puede llegar uno. Ellos dicen que tenían permiso del Estado, que vengan a entrar ahí. No sabemos con qué finalidad ellos vienen, si o si los comunarios tienen que estar alertos, se tienen que comunicar con las cuatro cooperativas para unirse. (...) Ellos tienen mapas de donde hay mineral en la zona de Lomerío. (...) Siempre es en el lado donde hay mina, llegaron unos trabajadores, entraron así no más para sacar fotos para algún estudio, sin el permiso del cacique, eran unas nueve personas más una cocinera. Si o si tienen que preguntar por permiso. Pero si hay problemas, nosotros si o si lo tenemos que enfrentar. Cualquiera llamada que hace nuestro cacique, bajamos inmediatamente para saber lo que pasa en la comunidad, por eso hay que reunirse si o si cuando hay emergencias. Rápido se movilizaron incluso a esa hora. El cacique de la comunidad de Coloradillo llamó a la tesorera de la cooperativa de Pukio, ella le dijo al presidente de la cooperativa de aquí, y como no entran llamadas en Surusubí, y de ahí se llamó a San Simón, y aquí se reunieron para ir todos juntos a Coloradillo en camión.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	31:05-32:45	“Hay diferencia... más antes cuando se formó la cooperativa, no querían que trabajemos las mujeres, solamente varones. Pero nosotras de alguna parte también podemos, las mujeres también necesitamos aprender. Los que trabajaron antes, los comunarios,

		trabajaron puros hombres, es porque tenían miedo que nos pase algo. Pero nosotras nos levantamos porque igual tenemos derechos, si o si tenemos que aprender cómo se trabaja en la cuestión de la minería”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	23:40-38:50	“Los ancianos son los que poco participan, los jubilados, los ancianos, más antes cuando se criaron nunca tocaron a ese previo, a veces reclaman, a veces cuando no entienden, reclaman. Pero uno los charla y los hace entender. Ahí ellos dejan de preguntar. Tiene que ver con entendimiento. Sí, por el idioma, es que reclaman. (...) Mi abuela solo habla bésiro, pero dice que no entiende mucho de minería, ella dice que no creció para lavar la tierra, ella trabajó en su chaco, vendían y compraban lo que necesitaban. Ella no sabe lo que es la minería, su marido nunca iba a la mina tampoco y no le enseñó. También es porque se pueden enfermar.”
Jóvenes	18:40-19:20	“Jóvenes si hay que van a Santa Cruz, pero cuando escuchan de la minería no vienen ellos. Netamente comunarios son los que trabajan en la minería.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_24PDMM_corp
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 10.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 37
Función/cargo de entrevistado: cacique de comunidad
Afiliación con cooperativa: socio, pero no trabaja en mina

	<p>36:35-37:25</p> <p>39:05-40:35</p>	<p>no tratan de un informe, o una asamblea, hay asuntos que hay que tocar. No todos los comunarios participan. Hay también entender la clasificación de personas que tiene nuestra comunidad: uno, hay personas estudiosas, hay personas que no son tan estudiosas y que no se han preparado pero si tienen buenas sugerencias. Pero también hay personas que no dicen nada, son personas que no llegaron a ejercer un estudio. Pero qué es la diferencia entre ellos: las personas estudiosas son capas de poder lanzar propuestas, pero en el momento de la parte laboral, quienes son las personas que ejecutan el trabajo y son fieles al trabajo, son los que no han estudiado y que ahí están de base, son esos. Cómo las cosas se van equilibrando: yo soy muy capaz en plantear, pero en el momento de trabajar quizá no, son los de la base, que simplemente se les dice “hay trabajo mañana”, y ellos están puntuales. En este aspecto en las reuniones, ellos casi no participan, y eso también entendemos, pero en el momento del trabajo ellos están presentes. (...) Es como en un estudio que hacemos nosotros en el momento porque ya lo vemos como estamos trabajando con ellos. Pero cuando se trata de una asamblea general cuando se trata de escuchar los informes de diferentes temas de minería, ganadería, transporte. La gente viene y están obligas a escuchar: eso es la diferencia entre asambleas ordinarias y asambleas generales, hasta que los jubilados tienen que estar, jóvenes tienen que estar en estas reuniones.”</p> <p>Los que no participan: “Hay, pero muy poco, algunos que no participan, será un 3 hasta 5% de todos, porque muchas veces es cuestión es carácter, o no quiere ser tan activo en el desarrollo del pueblo. Prefieren en su casa, en su familia, que no se interesan tanto por el resto. Pero no son muchos.”</p> <p>Participación activa o pasiva: “Muchas veces no opinan porque no hay el carácter de poder hacerlo. Muchas veces se sientes subestimado porque hay personas muy estudiosas. Muchas veces puede ser la subestimación o el complejo y no tienen el carácter de decir “yo no estoy de acuerdo con esto”, porque hay personas dentro de la reunión que siempre están opinando, quieren hacer valer sus propias opiniones y cuando la persona de base está calladito ahí, no puede decir nada, “Qué hago, ahora soy yo quien voy a empezar a hablar”, cuesta, somos muy lentos para reaccionar. Y cómo podemos comprobar eso: después de una reunión, ellos expresan su disconformidad a otra persona, no estaban de acuerdo, porque en su</p>
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	<p>26:10-27:45</p> <p>29:05-32:10</p>	<p>Experiencia con ingreso de empresas: “En años anteriores ha habido empresas, hace muchos años atrás, un 19 de marzo, ellos sacaban nuestros recursos maderables de uno de nuestros predios a 15km de aquí de la comunidad. Entraron sin nuestro permiso, empezaron a cortar y sacar madera y la notificación llegó aquí un 19 de marzo y la gente dejó de festejar por ir a defender un derecho, un recurso que tiene la comunidad de reserva para nuestros hijos que ahora somos nosotros. Entonces dejaron esa actividad, se fueron allá y fue una pelea tremenda. Se les quitaron su maquinaria, los trajeron, pasó una semana. El dueño de la empresa, que se llama Quebrada Sur trajo como 60-70 soldados, llegaron a la comunidad agarrando a 3 o 4 personas y los apalearon a 3 o 4 de nuestros comunarios, se lo llevaron. Fue una pelea y se quedó en nuestra historia. Y la gente igual salió a defender. Son cosas que se han hecho durante muchos años, la gente ahora tiene es carácter de poder defender lo suyo. Y con la entrada de las empresas para concesionar nuestras áreas mineras ha sido en constante lucha. Llegaron siempre acá, querían entrar, y nosotros siempre teníamos que corretearlos de acá, con camionetas, con palos con todo. O sea el asunto no es la forma en la que entran, sino la forma en la que entran y cómo se expresan, como quieren atropellar la dignidad de la gente, la gente originaria de acá. Creen que son indígenas “Y qué saben?”, para nosotros eso es atropellar. En la comunidad siempre hemos mantenido ese tipo de carácter con relación a diferentes empresas. (...)</p> <p>Tipo de empresas: “Son empresas privadas. Por ejemplo Quebrada Sur es una empresa privada. De minera también: muchas empresas mineras han entrado aquí, no solo el Estado. Solo en este último ha entrado el Estado, como la COMIBOL, pero normalmente empresas privadas viviendo con la... supuestamente con un documento avalado por el gobierno. Siempre dicen: “Aquí tengo documentos, entramos al gobierno, al departamento de minería, hemos solicitado este terreno y este terreno es de nosotros”. Muchas empresas vinieron así. Y hasta ahora nos siguen visitando las empresas, solo ahora ya estamos trabajando con una empresa que ya hemos elaborado un convenio con ellos, Amasuya, pero solamente de compra y venta, no de explotación todavía. Más adelante, dependiendo de cómo van los trabajos después de tener nuestra personalidad jurídica, podemos ya firmar un convenio de</p>
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		<p>explotación. Pero eso vemos más adelante, si es con ella o con otra persona o una empresa.”</p> <p>Relación entre autoridad política y cooperativa: “En el primer momento, el primer choque con la cooperativa minera era crear dos cabezas dentro de nuestra comunidad. Uno por ejemplo la estructura en la que nosotros estamos como autoridades de la comunidad. Dos el cooperativismo minero dice que tienen que tener una estructura, y que el comande en la comunidad. Y eso hizo notar una vez en una asamblea, no puede haber dos cabezas en una comunidad. En el momento en el que hay dos cabezas en una comunidad, vamos a tener una comunidad dividida y no podemos hacer eso. Entonces la estructura que manejamos dentro de nuestra comunidad es que nosotros (los caciques) seguimos siendo las máximas autoridades de un pueblo y que la cooperativa minera está sujeta a nuestro liderazgo. Como en un departamento por ejemplo, cacique, secretario, y los diferentes departamentos de secretarías de operación, operativos, como por ejemplo economía y producción, salud y deporte, recursos naturales, género. Eso es la estructura. Entonces debajo del cacique, y debajo del operativo de recursos naturales, se tiene que sujetar el de la cooperativa minera. Entonces se sujeta, no va a ser otra cabeza de la comunidad y si llega a ser otra cabeza, vamos a tener problemas. Y entonces una vez lo tuve que exponerlo al pueblo, de que así se tiene que manejar. De que ellos se sujeten a nuestro liderazgo para mantener cierto orden en el campo de la jerarquía. (...) Entonces el responsable de recursos naturales trabaja con el presidente de la cooperativa minera. Ahorita no está funcionando como debe funcionar, pero la idea está, es la idea, está enfocada, así estamos estructuradas.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	44:05-44:10	“Las mujeres están entre las personas que poco opinan en las reuniones”
Práctica Lingüística	44:05-46:30	“Si las reuniones y asambleas fueron todos en su idioma (bésiro), fuera un poco más entendible, para la gente de la tercera edad. Pero para la gente joven vamos a tener el mismo problema, porque no todos entienden y hablan el idioma. Podemos suplir una parte, pero por otro lado, va a haber ciertos problemas porque algunos no entienden el bésiro. Es el último desafío que estamos confrontando en esa comunidad, es volver a reindivicar, porque lo hemos

		perdido, al hablar el bésiro. (...) Son pocos que solo hablan bésiro, hay algunas señoras, que solo hablan el bésiro, son muy pocos, será el 10% de todos.”
Tercera Edad	37:45-38:35	“Hay personas mayores que ya son jubilados que no tienen ninguna responsabilidad dentro de la comunidad, están pronto para ir a las reuniones, escuchar.”
	41:35-41:50	“Personas mayores que no están, no han hecho ninguna preparación, allí están calladitos nada más, hay entre esas clases de personas que no participan”
	42:20-43:30	“Los que menos participan de todos (entre personas de tercera edad, mujeres y jóvenes) son personas mayores. Y también puede surgir otro problema, como están tan inconstantes en el tema de reuniones: a veces ellos no logran entender lo que es la política. Si hablamos del Estado de la nación, el gobierno, los recursos vienen de tal... a veces no logran a entender. Lo que para ellos es más práctico para entender: “Señores, tenemos un proyecto de tal cosa, el viernes, todos a trabajar, traigan sus machetes, traigan sus palas” y es más entendibles que hablar de... todo un discurso relacionado a un país”
Jóvenes	41:10-41:35	Los que no participan: “Hay personas jóvenes que no lograron a hacer un estudio más allá, ni tampoco en algún momento se han animado a ejercer un cargo público, a veces se sientes ineficientes. Por eso en algunas reuniones están callados algunos jóvenes.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	11:45-15:40	En cuanto a conflictos: “Tiene que ver mucho el tipo de liderazgo en una comunidad, cuando la autoridad en su momento toma decisiones muy serias y el otro es el temor a Dios, aquí tenemos un sentido de obediencia, eso hace que nosotros como líderes podamos en vez de formar parte de un sistema de cosas que tiene la comunidad, nosotros tenemos la potestad de llamarle la atención, porque en sí, no formamos parte de por ejemplo una malversación de fondos, porque si nosotros hubiéramos roto por ejemplo esos principios de tener cierta cantidad de dinero, de hacer malversación de fondos a nuestro propio favor, entonces no hay la potestad de poder llamar la atención de alguien, porque nosotros estamos mal. Eso es importante: nosotros llamamos

	<p>la atención de las personas con mucha seguridad y mucha certeza, porque demostramos con nuestro ejemplo de vida que no somos la clase de persona, eso hace que nuestro liderazgo sea creíble. Por ejemplo si yo digo a un borracho que evite a tomar mucho alcohol con su plata que podría usar para comprar algo para su esposa, él no me podría responder como Usted. Eso hace que el tipo de liderazgo, los mandatos que se dan por medio de nosotros, sean creíbles y que van para un bien de cada persona. Eso es la diferencia que hay: en cambio en otras comunidades, las autoridades forman parte de ese círculo. Y en el momento de llamar a alguien no tienen la potestad, no tienen el derecho. Lo que también hemos aprendido aquí, es que nunca nos hemos parcializado con ninguna persona, por más amigo que sea. En el momento del problema, no te voy a dar un juicio, porque sos mi amigo, nosotros aplicamos la justicia por nuestro bien. Eso ha hecho que nuestro pueblo siempre se mantenga, eso son algunas razones por las cuales mantenemos aun una comunidad unida, trabajadora, luchadora por un pueblo en desarrollo, con trabajo, con principios bien establecidos. El resto son pequeños acomodos nada más en la comunidad.”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	Vea clasificación de esas personas en parte “participación y toma de decisiones en reuniones”

Recomendaciones para mejorar participación:

47:15-48:50 “Lo más práctico y lo que más queda como recomendación en esa comunidad: se va a armar un equipo de técnicos, de profesionales. Todos los planeamientos que se van a dar al nivel de la comunidad, debe ser a través de talleres, de explicar despacio para que la gente pueda entenderlo, crear grupo pequeños que permite a las personas dar su opinión. Hay grupos pequeños de 6 personas y se puede opinar mejor, entre ellos, mejor compartiendo, riendo juntos que tener una asamblea grande. Eso nos va a dar mayor dirección, y conocer mayormente qué es lo que piensa cada persona. Y luego agarrar todas esas ideas, sistematizarlo, centralizarlo y luego conocer. Eso está en la tarea de poder hacerlo.”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_25PNFM_corp
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista:	10.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunaria, tesorera de cooperativa

Afiliación con cooperativa: socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:05-5:10	Cambios: “Gradualmente los cambios que ha habido, a veces se exagera, pero se puede normar, a veces la gente en vez de invertir en algo bueno, la gente invierte el dinero en tomar, es un aspecto que afecta directamente. Pero nosotros también hemos pensado en eso y como caciques han intentado influir en las personas, como casi obligarles casi como que ese dinero no se malgaste que se beneficie algo como sus casas, el estudio de sus hijos, porque es un beneficio para toda la familia. Pero si lo malgastas de esa manera, solo se beneficia una sola persona. No estamos ajenos a eso, tampoco hay que descuidarlo, hay que normarlo y eso vamos a hacer. Cuando se empezó con la minería, era por encima, ahora está más en profundidad, venía cualquier negocio, se vendía, se compraba y así empezó. Y entonces fue habiendo el impacto en cada familia en los recursos, porque antes no había, era limitado, ahora ya hay para cubrir las necesidades. Eso es el primer impacto de la minería.”
	5:20-6:55	Impacto a usos y costumbres: “Eso también quería afectar, los usos y costumbres, mayormente en el trabajo, ahí se ve la forma de ser de cada persona, de cada hermano y vecino. Se ve si uno es solidario con el compañero cuando uno trabaja en grupo uno tiene que saber lo que tiene. La única costumbre que se ha dejado un poquito atrás es la minga. Esa costumbre bien esencial de ese pueblo, de esa comunidad se ha perdido un poco, después en el resto sigue lo mismo. Porque se sigue cuidando las costumbres, no se deja al lado. Lo único es la minga: cuando unos ya tenían sus recursos, preferían a pagar a alguien para que cuide su chaco, para que lo limpie, con ese ámbito ya no se utilizaba a las personas, a los vecinos para un trabajo. Las demás costumbres siguen y eso siempre vamos a cuidar.”
	12:40-13:30	Organización de minería antes de formar cooperativa: “Desde 2003 está la minería, cuando se empezó a vender, solamente era al nivel de la comunidad, él que podía, iba. No era organizado, no se trabajaba por grupo, nadie veía quien trabajaba o no trabajaba, quien cumple o no cumple, era quien puede, quien podía sacar, sacaba, él que no podía, entonces no podía.”

	<p>17:45-18:25</p> <p>32:50-34:10</p>	<p>Recién, bastante nos apoyó el presidente de la CICOL cuando entendieron qué es el deseo de toda esa gente. Y eso vamos a coordinar nuevamente para ver qué posibilidades hay. También más antes se estaba dando, no era cooperativa todavía, pero se daba un cierto aporte a la CICOL para que inviertan en las necesidades y las comunidades que no tienen. Nuestro objetivo siempre era de dar a la CICOL para que ellos lo inviertan en las comunidades que no tienen recursos, y eso va a ser una de nuestras propuestas también. Vamos a tener una reunión con todas las cooperativas y vamos a analizar nuevamente retornar a dar ese apoyo a la CICOL, porque ella es nuestra entidad más grande de nuestra zona y nos va a defender, como tal también merece tener un apoyo de todas las cooperativas. Pero con un proyecto, que ellos puedan invertirlo siempre en las comunidades que tienen recursos en sus predios, porque aquí respetamos los predios de cada comunidad. (...) Más antes hubo un poco de descoordinación con los caciques porque pensaron que la cooperativa iba a dividir, que la cooperativa iba a manejar todo y los caciques no iban a valer, pensaban mal. Pero ya viéndolo, pero desde el año pasado ya fue diferente, no es como nuestra comunidad de vecino, Coloradillo. Nosotros siempre hemos pensado en la coordinación. Queremos la unidad entre las autoridades. También con el municipio, el municipio siempre nos ha apoyado para mandar la documentación a La Paz, siempre nos han apoyado. Porque cuando un día tengamos la personalidad jurídica, ellos van a tener su porcentaje también. En fin, la cooperativa va a ser para todos, no solamente para la cooperativa, se van a beneficiar todos los actores, como la alcaldía, la CICOL, los caciques, la comunidad.”</p> <p>Jerarquía y relación de poder entre cooperativa y comunidad: “Ellos nos dieron... de poder trabajar algo autónomo, para no cargar mucho trabajo al cacique. El año pasado hemos visto que el cacique mucho se recarga de trabajo, pudimos también nosotros activar, ayudar, sola que las coordinaciones serían en decisiones ya. Hacemos esto, pero decidimos ya con el cacique, cuando haya algo grande que hacer, decidimos con el cacique. Pero el trabajo interno lo maneja la cooperativa, pero tampoco sobrepasa la autoridad de la comunidad.”</p> <p>Participación de caciques en enfrentamiento con COMIBOL: “Sí, también los caciques participaron, fue nuestro cacique, fue el cacique de Surusubí, todos,</p>
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		<p>todos los caciques, todas las cooperativas y sus bases. (...) Y quieren pasar otra vez los de la COMIBOL, ahorita vamos a empezar a movilizarnos otra vez. (...) Siempre tenemos un contacto con Rosario de FEDECOMIN, alguien avisa a ella, y ella a nosotros”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	23:40-26:55	<p>“La participación de la mujer es interesante. Hoy en día la mujer ya tiene su lugar. El machismo al principio era tan fuerte en Lomerío. Pero ya se está conociendo los derechos de la mujer, ya hay más respeto, más apoyo de la pareja hacia la mujer y de los hijos también. Para que pueda estar aquí donde estoy, necesito el apoyo de mi marido, de mis hijos “qué dicen?” y cuando me ven a veces trabajando, me dicen “mamá, déjalo eso”. Lo más lindo de la participación de la mujer cuando es el apoyo de ambos, de ambos. A mí siempre me ha gustado luchar por los derechos de la mujer, mis compañeras, que ellos también participen y se envuelvan en la sociedad. (...) Participan las mujeres en las reuniones, deciden, tienen el apoyo de su pareja, eso es bueno. Y seguimos así, la mujer va a seguir adelante. A pesar de su corto conocimiento y estudio que ha hecho, hay participación. (...) A veces hay esa complejidad todavía en ellas (lo de no opinar), pero cuando están entre mujeres opinan ellas. A veces hay un poquito de discriminación cuando los hombres no quieren entender cuando una mujer opina y a veces nos equivocamos y entonces se ponen a reír, y eso es un poquito el temor que existe todavía. Pero después la participación es bien, están participando, asisten las reuniones y los trabajos. Por ejemplo, en el año pasado bastante hemos hecho trabajar a las mujeres en los trabajos de minería, trabajábamos en un grupo del cacique, las mujeres en un grupo de trabajo que podemos hacer. Y ahí hay esa participación.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística	29:25-30:05	<p>“El gobierno está, en todas las áreas digamos... en el colegio, en las reuniones. Nuestro cacique no sabe hablarlo, porque mayormente ha parado afuera, es joven, entonces no puede hablar el idioma, las personas mayores pueden, pero no se los limita tampoco. Mejor si empiezan hablar en nuestro idioma.”</p>
Tercera Edad	28:55-29:25	<p>“Ellos, de acuerdo a sus posibilidades, están en las reuniones, opinar, eso está bien o está mal, han pasado por todo eso, trabajo, lucha, tiene más conocimientos. No se les excluye a ellos, están llamados a compartir lo que saben”</p>

Jóvenes	26:55-28:50	<p>“Cómo haríamos con los jóvenes.... Eso es medio difícil todavía. Algunos tienen conciencia ya participan, pero otros todavía son apáticos para eso, les falta conciencia para participar en la sociedad y ver cuál es el rol de los jóvenes, de sobresalir. Yo pienso a veces que cada uno tiene su don, pero no tanto a veces, se hacen a un lado. Tienen que participar, están en la lista. No tienen conciencia todavía. (...) Son pocos que vienen con ideas renovadas de Santa Cruz, los que se han ido. Mayormente tiran más a la ciudad, trabajar en... en la comunidad no participan, porque ya tienen otro ambiente. Pero en la asamblea general si participan, ahí participan todos, porque todos están llamados a participar.”</p>
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	19:45-21:50	<p>“Soy tesorera de la cooperativa. Tenemos un directorio, la semana pasada tuvimos la central de las cooperativas mineras de Lomerío, como la federación de Santa Cruz, ella es nuestra entidad matriz de nosotros. Se ha creado una central, esa central nos va a representar más arriba, nos va a llevar a la federación, hasta La Paz. Eso es nuestra estructura que se está formando al nivel de Santa Cruz. Para más centralizar, nuestras quejas, nuestros problemas ya no va a ser directamente a la federación, sino va a ir a la central aquí, y la central eleva ya en nombre de todas las cooperativas. Aquí queremos hacer la central, porque estamos en el medio de todas las cooperativas.”</p>
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	7:10-7:55 13:30-14:10	<p>Oposición a la mina: “Sí, siempre como en cada pueblo y comunidad no todos están de acuerdo, piensan diferentes. Pero al final llegamos a la conclusión que la lucha es de todos, no es de unos cuantos ni para unos cuantos. Entonces todos han tomado esa conciencia y hasta ahorita todos estamos de acuerdo, pero trabajamos siempre en la equidad, compartiendo todo. Toda la comunidad es socia, los únicos que no lo son, son los ancianos nada más, después todos.”</p> <p>Conflictos entre comunarios por minería antes de cooperativa: “Sí, sí, a veces algunos comunarios hacían sus cositas y venían otros y no respetaban, entonces en eso, se crearon problemas. Pero después nos dimos cuenta de la necesidad de organizarnos, acomodarnos para que se respete todo. El trabajo en</p>

	21:55-23:40	<p>grupo se respeta, piden permiso cuando quieren faltar, estamos organizados ya.”</p> <p>Causas del conflicto con cooperativa en Coloradillo: “Es que se dejan manejar por un señor que se llama Jonny Montero y por la viuda Dona Marcia, la dueña de la concesión, es por eso: a veces por la plata baila el mono. A veces por unos cuantos kilos y no pensar que el trabajo siempre va a ser para su comunidad, para su pueblo. A veces hay personas no prestan para cosas así y no es bueno, eso es actuar egoístamente y no pensar en los demás de su comunidad, eso es como venderlo. En cambio nosotros en esa forma estamos bien... Para ellos no es nada la persona del cacique, pero lo vamos a solucionar, no pensábamos meternos en eso, pero eso va a ayudar, con todas las comunidades vamos a ayudar a ellos a solucionar. Con el cacique vamos a trabajar, además el cacique es él que autoriza, que da el permiso, es el representante legal de una comunidad, y por qué no van hacer valer a él. No lo hacen para nada, hacen sus reuniones internamente. La maldad no camina lejos.”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	30:05-32:45	<p>Grupo que menos participa: “Los que menos participan en los trabajos duros es la tercera edad y los que tienen discapacidad. Ni en las reuniones pueden participar, los que tienen discapacidad. Porque teníamos jóvenes que eran activos y ahora tienen discapacidad, entonces ellos no pueden, esos son los motivos, los factores por los que no participan, después... De discapacidad hay unos 5 a 6 personas que son mayores, mayormente son personas que todavía pueden trabajar, que tienen embolia. Un joven trabajaba en la radio, pero después tenía embolia y no pudo involucrarse más. Ellos ni pueden opinar, con sus madres se van a la reunión. Son discapacidades mentales son. Hay uno sordo/mudo. Hay una señora que solamente participa en las reuniones para las mujeres nada más. Pero siempre se ha invitado a ellos a participar, tampoco se los excluye, siempre se los toma en cuenta.”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_26_grupo_PNMJ
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 10.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarios, director de cooperativa
Afiliación con cooperativa: socios

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	6:00-8:35	“He visto que no cambió nada o qué más o menos ha cambiado...” Otro dice: “He visto de que desde un principio, antes cuando empezó la minería, el precio para el mineral era muy bajo, la gente no sabía nada sobre el precio, dieron cierta cantidad, pero más bajo era el precio, ahora con todo el cambio de formar la cooperativa, hay buenos precios, así se ha cambiado también la vida de los comunarios, de ir a la mina a trabajar y producir. Todo eso pasó en las comunidades en los alrededores de Pukio, como si fuese Pukio como un centro, está en el corazón de minerales de esas comunidades. Entonces la gente empezó a formar cooperativas.”
	8:35-9:45	Costumbres: “Actualmente las costumbres no cambian, el idioma, la cultura, eso no ha cambiado nada. El trabajo que uno hace sí, pero la cultura nada (...) Desde hace 7 o 8 años hay minería, y eso fue manual no más.”
	10:30-12:20	Manera de trabajar: “Más antes la gente no tenía experiencia en ese trabajo (de minería), se ha trabajado así manualmente y ahora uno busca el mecanismo para trabajar más mecanizado. Estamos recién empezando el trabajo y formando una cooperativa, en el camino todo se acomoda”
	12:30-15:50	Impacto a salud: “Hay una diferencia del tiempo, ahora ya no es como al comienzo. Ya estamos un poco cansaditos, ya no da lo mismo el cuerpo, y falla a veces. A veces el trabajo arruina el cuerpo de un hombre. (...) Hay dificultades siempre para el ser humano en el tema de minería. Hay un bajón para el ser humano, uno empieza temprano y a partir de una cierta edad uno cambia, la situación de vida, con el tiempo se va detorriéndose el cuerpo. Hay enfermedades. Nosotros hasta ahora no estamos en un seguro de salud, en una caja nacional, no estamos, eso es la preocupación. Por eso hay que sacar la personalidad jurídica de la cooperativa y hacer todo para estar seguro (...) es el problema de salud, porque uno trabaja de noche y de día también, se tiene una enfermedad de el calor, de noche el frío, hay dificultades siempre”
	18:45-20:35	Migración: “Anteriormente, en un consenso de la asamblea, se ha determinado que las mujeres que

		viven aquí y tienen el marido de otro lado, tienen el derecho de trabajar un día en la mina. Se puso un acuerdo dentro de la asamblea. Ya con el tiempo se iba cortando eso, ahora ya no se permite que vengan de otras comunidades a trabajar dentro del predio lo que es Pukio. Por ejemplo, los de Pukio tampoco pueden ir a Surusubí ni a San Lorenzo ni a Coloradillo. Pero más antes como recién se estaba empezando, se permitía, pero un solo día en la semana. Pero ahora se está cortando, porque ya se formaron las cooperativas en las diferentes comunidades.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	30:50-34:25	Participación de comunarios en decisiones: “Los directorios son los que llevan la cabeza de la cooperativa, ellos proponen la estación del trabajo de la minería. Ellos ponen su propuesta, el sistema de trabajo y ellos consultan a sus bases. Ellos entonces hacen su propuesta y se aprueba o no se aprueba, se coordina el trabajo. (...) Se trabaja por grupos, entonces dentro de ese grupo existe un responsable, y ese responsable tiene una lista de los socios y al fin de semana o cada 15 días se da el informe. Ahí se toma decisiones. El que falta tampoco va a poder tomar decisiones. (...) Se nota en las reuniones, están de acuerdo siempre con la decisión de la mayoría. A veces hay algunos que no se animan a hablar en público, son tímidos y es por eso.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	21:00-24:05 24:20-29:05	Influencia de afuera, otras zonas del país: “Aquí en Pukio nunca se ha permitido que vengan terceros, que vengan de afuera, del interior a trabajar aquí. Solo de aquí a 5km un comunario de la zona de Lomerío, pero si no hasta ahorita Pukio nunca ha dejado que ingrese un tercero a trabajar dentro del predio como pasa en Coloradillo, que vengan de otro lado y nadie los conoce. Ya son mayores que han visto todo eso, Pukio es un ejemplo en el que siempre se ha fortalecido así, luchar y luchar por su tierra y luchar por su TCO (...) Es el consejo que tienen los abuelos, ellos escogieron ese lugar y a base de eso hay que respetarlo, aquí tampoco se le falla a nadie que se despacha y que se bota, sino se atrae más a los hijos. Eso también se ve en las asambleas, que hay unidad en el pueblo. (...) El problema en Coloradillo es que no se entiende la gente, hay división, no se apoyan, hay otra gente que no se conoce, ni siquiera es su familia.” Influencia de empresas: “Varios han venido por aquí, nunca se aceptó, nunca preguntaron al mismo

		<p>cacique de la comunidad que se solicite para poder ingresar por eso es que no se aceptaba nada de ellos. (...) Los que venían pedían permiso, pero no se aceptaba, se los pedía que ellos se presenten y que hablen con la comunidad, con la base, en una asamblea, que se presenten y presenten todos sus documentos, si es legal o no es legal. Ellos decían que mañana iban a volver, pero nunca más volvieron. Ellos querían ingresar así sin consulta de la comunidad. Decían que mandaban el supuesto dueño de la concesión que ya ha fallecido ahora que era mandado, pero que el venga a la asamblea, pero él nunca se presentaba. Por eso se decía que todos presenten sus documentos al día, sino no pudieran ingresar, o sino pedíamos que se junte la asamblea y consultarles, pero nunca han bajado. Es por eso que ahora, Pukio no permite intervenir en su área de trabajo. No como en Coloradillo, que llegó gente y se aceptaba, decían esto e ingresaban, y así han concesionado su área de ellos. Eso es la diferencia que hay en otras comunidades. En otras comunidades como Surusubí, San Lorenzo, son las dos comunidades donde el área donde tienen su área de trabajo hace 3 o 5 años atrás, que les han recortado una parte de su terreno en una propiedad. Y dentro de esa área donde les han recortado hay existe mineral, y eso han agarrado. Surusubí en su área no tienen mineral ni tampoco San Lorenzo, ahí han recortado el área que tiene mineral, también en una parte de San Simón, pero San Simón tiene también su área como en Pukio. Ahí dentro de esas áreas tienen su mineral.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	24:55-36:05	<p>“Acá, dentro de nuestra comunidad, todos participamos en las reuniones, el 100% no estamos todos. Pero en sí, somos la mayoría. Nuestro cacique convoca una reunión y se participa. Ahí, participan todos lo que piden la palabra, sugieren dentro de la reunión, no solo los varones, sino las mujeres, también tienen el poder de sugerir y opinar, también de llegar a algunas conclusiones dentro de nuestra comunidad. Entonces no discriminamos, sino estamos todos, todos nos involucramos en dar sugerencias y llegar a una conclusión.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística	37:00-39:15	<p>“Todas las reuniones son en castellano (otro afirma), a veces cuando uno no entiende, se le habla así en su idioma cuando hay un caso de un problema. (...) Los viejitos hablan castellano e igual hablan bésiro. (...) A veces no entienden ellos también los ancianitos, si</p>

		uno les pregunta, medio les cuesta a ellos reaccionar, ellos están acostumbrados a que uno les habla así en bésiro, a veces dicen “qué?” y les cuesta entender. Si uno les pregunta en bésiro rapidito responden.”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	16:30- 18:45	Tiempo antes de la cooperativa: “No había conflicto. Anteriormente, hace 2 años atrás, casi se formó un conflicto dentro de la comunidad por malentendimiento de la gente, uno quiere dar por un lado, el otro por otro lado, y casi se ha dividido. Era por la venta de la tierra casi como el conflicto en Coloradillo. Era que el material se iba sin que se enteró la comunidad, es por eso que casi hubo conflicto”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	39:25- 43:05	“Todos participan, aquí hay un grupo ganadero, artesanos, ellos están siempre en la reunión. (...) (Entrevistadora hace referencia a caso guaraní donde se participa menos en reuniones con el Ministerio) Acá ya estamos acostumbrado a que venga otra gente y nos hable así profesionalmente, son los que nos colaboran dentro de nuestra comunidad, ellos se lanzan, pero nosotros igual nos lanzamos, esa ventaja tenemos, de los profesionales que existen dentro de nuestra comunidad. No es novedad si ellos vienen a charlarnos, nosotros también tenemos esa base. (...) Hay profesionales que vienen de la alcaldía, son de acá, y eso es lo bueno, porque ellos vienen y explican todo, porque varios de nosotros casi no entendemos del tema, y vienen y explican en la asamblea. Esos profesionales ayudan al pueblo y están constantemente con nosotros si poco entendemos del tema. También hay profesionales que están en la ciudad y nos ayudan desde allá, hay esa coordinación entre los que son miembros de la comunidad, los que están afuera, pero ayudan en fortalecer el pueblo. A veces a través de proyectos, a veces llaman, a veces llegan acá a reunirse y dar información, lo que puede pasar, se analiza y se concluye.”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

I_27_grupo_SNFMi

Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
 Fecha de entrevista: 11.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: edad mezclada: 35, 37, 40, 22, 18, 60
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunarias
 Afiliación con cooperativa:

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	10:35-11:40	Cambios: Persona de 60 años: "Para mí no hay cambio, no trabajo en la mina, no sé para ellos que trabajan, pero si me gusta participar y escuchar. Los que van a la mina sabrán si ha habido cambio."
	16:50-19:20	Cambios: persona de 18 años: "Que la gente ya no se va lejos a trabajar, sino se queda en comunidad por minería. Iban a buscar recursos en otro lado, hay diferentes trabajos, hay para chaquear, trabajar en el monto y para tumbar palos, ir al chaco, uno ahí trabaja para ganarse su platita, es una semana y vuelve. El chaco está más o menos a una hora. Pero para ir a otra comunidad como Pukio es lejos"
	19:25-19:55	Cambios financieros: "Ayuda la minería, se compra todo, peor para pagar para los colegios", varios afirman que vale la pena "sí"
	20:35-21:30	Costumbres: "Siempre hacemos una limpieza que la llamamos 'trabajo público', limpieza de cancha, plaza, calle, eso no se está perdiendo. Cada sábado se hace. De abandonar lo que es al beneficio de la comunidad, no, se mantiene no más."
	22:05-24:50	Migración y otros cambios, referencias a mejor participación por minería: "No, casualmente uno con nosotros, no tenemos fuentes de trabajo. Las mujeres somos amas de casa, los esposos trabajan en el chaco, ahora hay persona que tienen fuente de trabajo y generan recursos mensual. Entonces la persona que lo necesita lo busca y pregunta por un trabajito que le dé para darle recursos para las necesidades de la familia. La mayor parte aquí es puros docentes, así que algunos comunarios se dirigen a ellos porque tienen recursos, la vida es para buscarse para sustentar a la familia. Ahora con la cooperativa es diferentes, más constante hay reuniones. De problemas y conflictos siempre hay, pero se soluciona. Más constante se contacta, nosotros como comunarios, si hay alguna emergencia nos juntamos. Mientras que antes no hubo nada de

		eso. Había semanas en las que todos no nos veíamos, las caras de los comunarios, cada uno hacía sus trabajos. Ahora es diferente, se hace los trabajos en conjunto, en grupo, uno está así, constantemente. Más se juntan, porque trabajan juntos en grupos. Hay que reunirse para debatir un asunto, una información que es urgente.”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	45:25-47:15	Participación en reuniones sobre minería: “Es bien participativo. Yo no soy socia, pero igual voy para escuchar. A veces hay discusión pues, quieren pelear. No soy socia, porque tengo otro trabajito, igual no tuve bien mi documento, cada uno tiene que ser bien certificado, vigente, legal, por eso no me inscribí. Hay inscripción, está abierta la inscripción. (...)”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	29:30-37:05	“Más antes había gente que quiso entrar, por eso ahora hemos luchado mucho para que formemos la cooperativa, y para que la cooperativa tenga los requisitos, los documentos los que se requieren de una cooperativa. Que no haya otra gente, terceros, que venga a querer explotar o explorar a nuestra tierra. Eso es lo que nosotros nunca quisimos. Más antes, gente de afuera siempre nos han atropellado, vienen a querer entrar. Parece que ellos van a querer dominar, esos son los temores de nosotros, vivientes, nativos del lugar (...) El otro día llegaron esos de la COMIBOL, yo fui a escuchar, llegaron la segunda vez, querían mucho entrar allá, a la mina, pero lo que hicimos nosotros era que dijimos que no pudieron entrar y pedimos todo lo que ellos tienen que cargar, por ejemplo, siempre decir a las autoridades, por lo menos el cacique mayor de la CICOL tiene que tener su credencial, para ver que legalmente trabajan, de parte del gobierno. Allí nos presentaron sus credenciales vencidas, cualquiera persona se da cuenta. Ya no es como antes, nuestros abuelos, ya no están, ya ahora somos expertos un poco, ya no vamos a quedar, como algunos dicen, tontos, ya, aunque sabemos leer, no mucho, pero ya entendemos y comprendemos las cosas y entendemos para que vienen. Y ellos pues exigen y exigen para poder entrar, tienen que esperar y volver a pasar por la organización CICOL. Volvieron otra vez, aquella vez quedaron allí en Coloradillo y ahí pues nos fuimos, se fue toda la comunidad a enfrentarse ahí. Aquí nosotros, los lomerianos, se dice que cuando nos enojamos que no escuchamos. Y nos fuimos y les hablamos que se vayan, y ahí se alteraron ellos mismos se alteraron de la COMIBOL, él

	37:55-42:15	<p>dijo que era abogado, un abogado nunca se va a alterar de esa forma. Nuestro compañero, le dijo que en media hora se retire, y él le dije quién era él para que lo despache. Ahí pues se enojaron otros. Y ahí como no sabíamos si era dividida la comunidad, había estado dividido... Los dos grupos del primero grupo, nos dijeron ´nosotros no vamos a atropellar en su comunidad de Ustedes`. Nosotros no queremos ver a otra empresa, ni siquiera si es reconocida del Estado, a una señora dijo ´nosotros no necesitamos a Ustedes, nosotros tampoco los atropellamos a Ustedes`, le dijimos que no se está dando cuenta y que un día va a llegar esa empresa y lo va a botar de su comunidad. Nosotros somos los lomerianos y bolivianos, tenemos que luchar pues, tenemos que estar unidos. Y luego se fueron, pero bravos pues, se fueron a otra comunidad. Después le dije a mi esposo, le dije que si como si ellos vinieran del Estado, qué van a ir bebiendo y qué se van a enojar. Se emborracharon los de la COMIBOL. Los comunarios no bebieron. Eran cinco familias nada más de Coloradillo que estaban adentro con ellos, estaban haciendo su reunión, querían pisotear al cacique mayor de ahí. Dicen los comunarios que la empresa Faboche ya está saqueando ahí, el cubo 5Bs, según así lo escucho, qué va a sacar uno con 5Bs? Ni un kilo de arroz se puede conseguir, ni un kilo de azúcar. Es barato.”</p> <p>Amenazas de empresas: “Don Cesar que tuvo una concesión, nos amenazó, que quería vender. Ahora hay problemas con la viuda. Una vez entró, quería explorar y explotar, entraba a la mina, no nos respetaba. No hicimos nada, era la primera vez y nosotros no teníamos idea todavía. Incluso bebía, en la posta era su alojamiento, una noche se dice que empezó tirotear, paraba con su arma. Quería matar a un cambia, pero ahora está muerto él (se ríen varias). Don Carnelo, igual, quería ser superior, no nos acordamos cuándo era, hace 8 o 9 años...”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	11:40-13:05	“Nosotros como señoras, tenemos nuestro grupo, un especial en la semana vamos a trabajar, es un trabajo fuerte, eso es nuestro plan para hacer el trabajo. Por el medio del trabajo conseguimos recursos para sobrevivir con la familia, más que todo las necesidades. Para que los esposos no tengan que salir a buscar trabajo, conseguir recursos en otro

	<p>13:55-15:05</p> <p>47:20-54:20</p> <p>1:00:55-1:04:35</p>	<p>lado, lejos de las casas, aquí no más hay trabajamos. Ahora cubrimos las necesidades de los hijos que van al colegio, hay la facilidad. Por eso ahora se formó una cooperativa.”</p> <p>“Todas las mujeres y varones participan en el trabajo. En la misma cooperativa se comparte, documentado, más que todo estamos manejando todo nosotros mismos. Hay mujeres socias, varones también. (...) Las mujeres hacen el mismo tipo de trabajo, las mujeres igual van adentro del pozo.”</p> <p>“Ahí (en las reuniones) somos unidas pues, cuando se trata de descansar, descansamos, cuando se trata de trabajar, todos trabajamos. También participamos en las reuniones. (...) Opinan. De repente cuando uno opina, y no es lo mismo que lo que opinan los varones. A veces no es así. Algunas participan. Yo no opino. Soy muy tímida. (Se ríen todas cuando pregunta entrevistadora de qué tiene miedo). A veces cuando las mujeres mucho hablan, sus maridos dicen que mucho hablan, por eso uno ya no se anima a hablar, es puras vueltas. Es que la mayoría de las mujeres es que el temor es si uno se equivoca y las otras señoras se ríen y eso es el temor, porque hay muchas mujeres que no quieren ser corregidas y en caso en que uno piensa normalmente si hay crítica, una va mejorando pues, y la mayoría de las mujeres en una reunión, así es pues, la mayoría de las mujeres tienen el temor de equivocarse, a expresarse en pensar de qué va a hablar. Los varones son diferentes. Las mujeres tienen más temor. (...) Es también la costumbre, algunas señoras, yo salgo y las saco para hablar, parece que se asustan y parece que tienen miedo. (...) Las señoritas ya son diferentes, tienen otra forma de expresarse y uno como madre de ella, tiene otra forma, ellas más se expresan. Pero hay también algunas que no se expresan y son estudiantes, hay estudiantes bastantes tímidas. Hay algunas que salen, sacan su bachillerato e igual no pueden expresarse, se ve. Será también por lo que más entienden pues o sea sabe expresarse y hay otros que no hablan, hay dos cosas: uno no habla, no opina, no sugiere, tal vez porque no entiende y hay otro que no entiende, no tiene la oportunidad de hablar, se sugerir, de dar la propuesta, criticar. Pero no todos somos así. Es muchas veces que uno no pregunta o pide la palabra es porque uno no entiende.”</p> <p>Forma de organizarse entre mujeres: “Estuvimos organizadas en la parte de trabajo de artesanía que</p>
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	1:04:40-1:06:30	<p>se llama “El Dorado”, éramos 11 o 15, casi la mayor parte de la comunidad, tenemos una casa especial donde trabajamos. Pero en el transcurso de los años nos demoralizamos, tuvimos un problema con la vista, con la aguja, y después de un tiempo, nos dimos cuenta que era del trabajo, la vista se cansó, igual trabajamos día y noche igual, se cansó la vista. Más antes no teníamos luz eléctrica, era con la chispa. Y así lo dejamos, en una reunión dijeron varias que querían dejar de bordar por la vista, casi la mayoría tenía problemas con la vista. Y hasta ahorita, casi nadie borda. Ahí fue nuestra organización más grande, de donde viene, Artecampo, ellos quieren saber en lo que estamos, qué avance tiene y se hace un plan de trabajo, se convoca cada responsable de cada comunidad, cada grupo donde hay eso trabajo.”</p> <p>Persona de 60 años dice: “Más antes ese trabajo era más constante pues, hasta ahorita a esa altura dejamos de trabajar en la artesanía. (...) Casi no hay organización ahora, no se ha superado, ahí está.”</p> <p>Persona de 60 años dice: “Íbamos más antes, cuando todavía no estaban estas (las mujeres más jóvenes) a la reunión, no bordábamos”</p> <p>Organización para tema de minería: “No, solamente así, si el presidente de la cooperativa convoca una reunión, uno va y ya. (...) Pero en la comunidad tenemos una cacique de género, que representa a las mujeres de la comunidad, tenemos eso. Vive en la esquina de la plaza. Tiene un bebé, o viajó por su bebé que está enfermo por eso no vino.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	54:25-56:10	<p>Persona de 60 años: “Yo cuando salgo, aquí en las reuniones yo no hablo, escucho nada más y me gusta participar. Yo no opino aquí, para eso estoy de ida, será porque soy sonsa que no opino. Yo escucho nada más. Tengo una hija que está en eso, por eso yo voy por ella, para que sepa de lo que están hablando sus compañeros, participo por ella, no es por mí.” (luego resulta que su hija tiene discapacidad: vea parte “discapacidad”</p>
Jóvenes	56:10-58:55	<p>Persona de 18 años: “Bueno, yo de mi persona, nunca he participado en ninguna reunión, en la asamblea general. No me interesa, casi no entiendo. Cuando llegan mis padres, yo les pregunto y ellos me avisan. También me entero de lo que hay. Los de menores de 18 años casi no les toman la atención. 18 años por arriba y yo recién este año voy a cumplir, ahí recién voy a participar y opinar. La ley de la comunidad, dice que desde el primer año que uno entra el colegio hasta los 18, hasta los 19” Otras</p>

		<p>dicen: “Como ella no salió todavía, se dedica a otra cosa. Es madre soltera. No la tomamos en cuenta como comunaria, así no más en casa. Este año cuando recién cumple 18 años, ahí recién tiene derecho y la obligación de participar.”</p> <p>Vea también: “Género”</p>
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	<p>24:45- 28:50</p> <p>42:20- 45:15</p>	<p>“Aquí la comunidad no es grande, todos forman de la cooperativa. Solo habrá algunos 2, algunas mujeres, pero el resto son socios. Aquí casi no hay división, todos pertenecen a cooperativa. Las reuniones de cooperativa y de comunidad es un solo, si el cacique de la comunidad cita para una reunión, toditos vienen, si el presidente de la cooperativa cita para una reunión igual todingos vienen, ambos se colaboran. El cacique se ocupa de la comunidad y la cooperativa tiene su directorio, el cacique igual tiene su directorio también. Hay otro directivo también del colegio que llamamos ‘junta escolar’, hay un responsable que planifica. (...) Trabajan todos juntos, cacique y presidente de cooperativa, porque no hay diferencias, porque está incluida toda la comunidad, somos socios. Ellos dos se coordinan, tienen el mismo peso, colaboran, nada de división (...) Lo de los aportes de la minería, tiene que manejar una parte el cacique y otra parte el directorio de minas.”</p> <p>Personalidad jurídica y involucramiento en actividades mineras: “Se consiguió hace un año. Cuando uno no lo tiene, se preocupa y lo logra. Pero uno no se preocupa, también apoyan otras organizaciones, pero si no se interesa, no se apoya. (...) Igual como nosotros antes, cuando se empezó recién a trabajar y después de dos años, nadie iba a la mina ya. Había un presidente que se eligió aquí de la comunidad, él no más, pero nadie más, ya no era nada la mina para la comunidad, uno se dedica al chaco. Después en el transcurso de los años otra vez hasta ahorita. A veces hay años redondos, como la lluvia, a veces uno llega en vano, llega todo sucio, demora. Era barreta, martillo nada más, después se empezó a organizarse en grupo. En grupo ya es diferente, individualmente solo es para ensuciarse, a veces saca un kilo, a veces no.”</p>
Discapacidad	1:07:00- 1:09:25	<p>“Hay, ella (la cacique de género) tiene una hija que no habla, ni escucha. Es difícil, es por eso es que voy por ella.” Otra persona dice: “Ella se comunica con pura mímica con su hija”, su madre dice: “Hay un</p>

		idioma especial, no participó ella, como tiene su hijo chiquitito, tiene que estar uno detrás de ella, para verla para sus estudios. Ella tiene que estudiar. Yo he visto a una en San Antonio igual, tremenda esa chica, todo eso opina, no opina para hablar, pero con su letra opina, lo entrega, ella ya sabe y tiene su otro trabajo. Yo pensé que voy a ir a mirar, y fui, ella escribe y lo entrega, y así opina, eso es en San Antonio. Es que ella ha estudiado pues, porque tiene su especial donde su colegio.”
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	59:15-1:00:25	“Hay señores a los que no les interesan las reuniones de la comunidad. Ellos mismo se hacen despreciar, ellos solos. La invitación siempre les llega a todos, los que están dentro de la comunidad. No sabemos por qué. Parece que no les gusta el desarrollo social de la comunidad. Están en las paredes de su casa, están conformes con lo que es, no hay esperanza de superar más allá, de ser alguien en la comunidad.”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_28SNFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 11.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 30
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, esposa de miembro directorio cooperativa
Afiliación con cooperativa: socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	5:10-8:10	Cambio: “Hay circulación de dinero, ya es otra fuente de trabajo y la gente ya no sale a trabajar en otro lado para sustentar a la familia. Normalmente todos van, los hijos que trabajan para contribuir a la familia. En cuanto a los estudios igual, a través de la minería no hay muchas dificultades para los padres para ayudar a los alumnos o profesores o la escuela si hay una necesidad: ahí estamos listos porque tenemos la
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	8:30-8:55	<p>facilidad de cómo ayudar. Mientras antes no, era difícil, no había circulación de dinero, si uno quería montar un negocio, no sale, ahora sí, de todo. Si uno hace su negocio, sale. En cuanto a negativo: como por todo lado, cuando hay dinero, hay dificultades, pero siempre hay que enfrentarlo y solucionarlo. La compra de mineral por ejemplo es un problema: una persona que sabe los movimientos y todo, no quiere que otra persona pueda aprender, sino él quiere quiere, solo él. Mientras que nosotros los comunarios queremos que otra persona supere, que otra persona aprende los movimientos de la venta, como sale o no, de ir conocer más allá.”</p> <p>Migración: “De otras comunidades si vinieron, de fuera de Lomerío no. La minería es para las personas que quieran trabajar, no hay limitaciones. Venían de sobre todo de Monte Rica.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	38:25-41:05	Diferencia entre participación en cooperativa o comunidad: “Aquí como es una comunidad chica, todos son cooperativistas, al mismo tiempo son comunarios. Cuando es de la comunidad, la autoridad se llama cacique, y de la cooperativa es el presidente. Cuando hay asamblea de la comunidad, cuando cada cartera (como responsables de temas) da informes e información, ahí el presidente de la cooperativa puede informar también. (...) Pero hay socios que son de otras comunidad, y ellos tienen el derecho de venir a las reuniones de la cooperativa, pero cuando la reunión es de la comunidad, entonces es de la comunidad.
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	18:50-28:05	“En cuanto a llegada de COMIBOL: no es la primera vez, la gente de aquí ya están cansados con las personas de afuera, que mienten y se aprovechan, nosotros lo tomamos como un abuso. Ellos antes abusaban a nuestros abuelos, viceabuelos, ellos quieren seguir con la corriente, quieren que nosotros seguimos en esa... Los abuelos no han estudiado como la gente ahora, con su inocencia, se aprovechaban, quizá antes no tenían la oportunidad de estudiar, hacían lo que querían, llegaban y abusaban, pero ahora ya no, la gente es más prudente. (...) Somos personas que reciben a los demás y bienvenido es, que nos visiten con una buena intención, los recibimos, pero la gente ahora es paciente, pero una vez que se levanta y se enoja, es grave. (...) Se ha solucionado, pero ya esto a veces vienen sin consultar, quieren, exigen, nos

		<p>muestran papeles falsos que son enviados de organizaciones, del gobierno, pero no. (...) Siempre cuando hay ese tipo de problemas, nos dirigimos a la organización CICOL, ahí se toma el trabajo de investigar, si las cosas son ciertas o no. Es una organización que está, se respeta a ellos. (...) Más antes hubo un enfrentamiento serio con una empresa forestal que se querían adueñar, los de aquí fueron ahí para enfrentarlos, pero ellos no estaban ahí, solo trabajadores que ellos decomisionaron las máquinas y vinieron. A veces uno se confía que no va a pasar nada después. Ellos avanzaron una noche, las empresas o cualquier enemigo lo primero que quieren enfrentar es quien está encabezando el grupo y así que conocieron a los que están encabezando aquí y llegaron una noche, los agarraron y pegaron y así. Antes la gente de acá miedo les tenían a los militares, a los policías, entonces así llegaron: era un abuso, golpearon la puerta y entraron, agarraron al comunario y la gente no supo nada. Pero si se enteraron cuando se fueron que habían abusado, por eso hay el miedo que otra vez suceda eso. Pero como hay la ley comunitaria, ellos tienen miedo ya. Esa empresa se llamaba Quebrada Sur, eran bien abusivos. (...) En tema de minería solo hubo ese señor, era el dueño de la concesión que ya ha muerto, claro como él era dueño, traía a empresas que querían trabajar, pero los comunarios, como viven aquí son originarios, nunca los dejaron entrar. Como él ya murió, la cooperativa ya quiere, se ha formado y solicitó el lugar. Pero la esposa del señor ahora quiere heredar, ahora ella es la que manda en nombre de la COMIBOL, pero no es COMIBOL. Ella quiere rescatar lo que era de su esposo y venderlo a otra empresa. Parece que un chino lo quiere y otra empresa extranjera.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	28:50-31:35	<p>“No nos animamos a hablar en público, no nos animamos a expresar, pero hay otras que sí. Somos tímidas. Cuál será la razón... En el caso de mi persona, si alguien viene que digamos me enseña, puedo captar rápido, pero si me cuesta expresarme delante en público, no sé si es mi ser o quizá antes en el hogar de mi padre y mi mamá, no sé que era el trato. Hay niños que quieren expresarse, pero los padres dicen que se callan. A veces también en casa, el esposo, la cultura también acá, es un poco machista, uno como mujer ahí tiene que estar, no es como los hombres, hacen lo que quieren. Eso se mantiene todavía.”</p>

	41:35-42:30	<p>Pienso que todavía estoy en la etapa de aprendizaje, siento que tengo que aprender mucho.”</p> <p>“Quizá a veces queremos opinar, pero no opinamos, pero ya cuando estamos afuera ahí recién murmuramos, nos arrepentimos por qué no hablamos. (...) Hay también responsable de todas las mujeres, ahí si entre mujeres, cada una tiene más confianza para hablar entre mujeres y hablamos (se ríe).”</p>
Práctica Lingüística	32:20-33:10	<p>“Menos se habla en bésiro, casi no se habla en bésiro, los que lo hablan son los abuelos. Pero ya yo y mis hijos, no lo hablamos, lo entiendo pero, mis hijos ni lo hablan ni lo entienden. Se está perdiendo el hablar bésiro, pero creo que si uno lo enseña, se aprende. (...)</p>
Tercera Edad	31:50-32:20 33:15-33:55	<p>“Hay aquí también mujeres de edad que se expresan, hablan, pero en el idioma, en bésiro, se expresan mejor así, pero ya en castellano nada.”</p> <p>“Ellos (tercera edad) nos aconsejan. Aquí cuando hay asamblea, todos van, también los de tercera edad, van y participan, tienen el derecho de opinar, hablar, todo eso.”</p> <p>Vea también: Otra razones</p>
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	9:15-17:50	<p>Miembros de cooperativa, personalidad jurídica e idea de formar cooperativa: “Hay personas de otras comunidad que forman parte de cooperativa, pero no conozco, solo son nombres, no vienen a las reuniones. No participan en grupos de trabajo. Ellos ponen el dinero para el movimiento de papeles que se necesita, que todavía está en proceso. Por eso son socios. No trabajan como trabajamos nosotros. Están en lo último de la personalidad jurídica. Falta algo, la personalidad jurídica ya está, pero casi venció con el plazo, pero otra vez se ha renovado. (...) Son nuevas las cooperativas de las demás comunidades, pero están en eso. Esa cooperativa es primera, ya lleva años, hace 7 años, íbamos espacio por la falta de recursos. Es la primera cooperativa que ha empezado. (...) Al principio no sabíamos bien. Seguro que alguien, ya no me acuerdo ya, vino y nos orientó, de otro lado, del interior, pero con un comunario de aquí. Jonny Montero también tiene antecedentes con nosotros aquí, él cuando recién llegó, era como un técnico, hacía proyectos, como nosotros aquí</p>

		<p>necesitamos agua potable como no tenemos, en eso iba a trabajar con nosotros e iba hacer un proyecto para tener agua potable ahí arriba, y nos pedía tanto y la comunidad se le dio. Cuando se le dio el dinero, ya no volvió más y andaba con vueltas, se escondía. Después la comunidad reclamó y le ejecutó el dinero que pidió. Y él dijo que el proyecto está en proceso y nada hasta ahora y nunca más volvió acá. Al principio era una persona bien humilde, iba casa por casa, informó sobre su proyecto. Entregamos nuestros documentos a él, a veces por falta de conocimientos. (...) Hay una persona que no es chiquitano, su esposa si, él si conoce toda esa zona, La Paz y Santa Cruz y tiene amistades, trabajó en el gobierno donde hay cooperativas grandes y eso le ayudó. Guillermo Quispe, al principio era bien, pero llegó el momento en el que él también se hizo grande. Es socio, pero ya no es una persona de confianza como antes, porque él es que se más conocía, y más se tenía confianza. Él es una persona, hay testigos que dicen que nosotros solo somos sus trabajadores. Y él compraba el mineral, malgastó el dinero, hubo desconfianza. Se le preguntó, y él no lo acepta y se enoja.”</p>
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	28:30-28:45	“Aquí no hay división entre nosotros. Todos participan.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	34:05-38:20	<p>“Más antes había personas que no participaban, pero las autoridades trabajaron en eso. Obligaron a todos a que ellos tienen que ir, porque son comunarios y forman parte, tienen el derecho de sugerir, de contribuir. Aquí en la comunidad... (...) Más antes había personas que estaban en su casa, no asistían a reuniones, no querían trabajar en trabajos públicos. Ahora la autoridad ha hablado con las personas. Quizá han tenido problemas personales con otros. En las reuniones ordinarias de la cooperativa, todos tienen que estar. Cuando se trata de reuniones ordinarias de la comunidad también, tienen que estar. En cambio para los trabajos públicos, se duplica el trabajo. (...) Hay obligación de participar para los comunarios y comunarias y jóvenes que ya hayan cumplido su servicio (militar). Tienen que participar también. Personas de tercera edad no, llegan a una edad cuando ellos se jubilan, ya no trabajan públicos pero en las reuniones si tienen que participar. Porque nosotros lo tomamos como ellos tienen más experiencia. Pero si no, tampoco se puede obligar,</p>

		porque a veces están enfermos o a veces cuando uno no puede ir, se manda una nota a la autoridad especificando las razones. Ellos no pagan multa. Me parece que es de 50 o 60, creo, hay un reglamento en la comunidad.”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	I_29SNFM_no indig
Nombre de entrevistador:	Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista:	11.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	46
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	comunaria, vive 20 años en comunidad, es de SCZ
Afiliación con cooperativa:	socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	53:35-57:05	Organización de trabajo de mina e impacto: “Aquí trabajamos en grupos, hombres y mujeres. Nosotras las mujeres entramos los sábados y los varones, cada grupo entra 8 personas una vez por semana, los cinco días. Hacemos el mismo trabajo los hombres y las mujeres. Nos falta mucho, trabajamos manualmente. Es puro brazo, espalda y pulmón lo que hacemos. Por eso no es justo que nos paguen lo que le de la ganas. Bien duro es. Por encima de unas tablas dormimos, después nos levantamos otra vez seguimos trabajando. Todos sufrimos. Se sufre el calor, no hay sombra, si llueve, uno se resbala, para descansar unas dos o tres horas. Hay resfríos, el olor de la dinamita produce dolor de cabeza, el calor en el sótano, transpira uno. Se come con las moscas. Recién trabajamos 4 meses con Amasuya, antes no era tan constante. Ahora trabajamos con motor chico con taladro para poder perforar la tierra. Antes no tomaba una hora para poner un agujero pequeño. Bien sacrificado es el trabajo.”
	57:35-58:25	Impacto a salud: “Dolor de espalda, de pulmones todavía no. Y la alimentación. En los años anteriores la gente se alimentaba así. En la mina hay más enfermedades.”
	1:08:40-1:12:05	Cambio: “Se ha visto que ayudó a los estudios para los chicos y el otro tener más comida. La gente ya no anda a pie, anda en moto, eso gracias a la mina. Otro cambio es la pérdida de cultura, como la minga, la

	1:15:10-1:16:45	<p>forma de vestirse, su lengua materna, ya no quieren, quieren ser toditos cruceños. Todo se está perdiendo, porque viene gente de afuera. Ya no quieren ser lo que somos. Quieren, yo no entiendo, tengo que ser lo que soy a valer lo que soy. La gente no quiere ser del lugar. No sé lo que les falta.”</p> <p>“No da solo para ir a la mina, todos tienen su chaquito también. Si nos confieramos en la mina, de repente no sale, con mucha lluvia, se derrumbó, y si no traemos. Si no tenemos el chaco, estamos fregados, no tenemos nada para sustentar. Además en casa tenemos chivos, pollos, chanchos. Si nos dedicamos a solo la mina, estamos fregados. (...) Ya sería ganancia si saldrían por los menos 2 toneladas a la semana o 15 días, pero sacamos para sobrevivir nada más.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	21:45-22:35	“A mí me nombraron presidente del tejido, de bordar, los productos mandábamos. Valorizaron mis trabajos. Trabajamos durante 3 años.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	1:20-3:30 4:45-9:50	<p>Sobre COMIBOL: “Han venido 4 veces ya, las comunidades los han despojado. Y van a volver a venir según algún pretexto de capacitar a la gente, acerca de cómo manejar una cooperativa, pero nosotros ya tenemos esa capacitación, no la necesitamos por parte de la COMIBOL. Es todo picardía, la gente aquí es ingenua, es gente que poco a poco ya está entendiendo porque lo que no queremos nosotros es esclavitud, ya en estos tiempos ya no existe. Y parece que esa empresa quiere entrar y dicen que ofrecen trabajo, claro nosotros por decir nos vamos a la mina nosotros, saco por decir 300kg, entre 8 o 9 son socias por decir, saquemos un saldo de 24 horas dos mil pesos. Pero enterándonos de eso, que nos requieren empatronar, no nos van a pagar 200 pesos al día, y no eso lo que queremos, ser peones. Puede ser la desconfianza que hay, y ese día decían que si sigue entrando la COMIBOL, a la fuerza tenemos aquí la ley comunitaria, incluso quemarlos vivos.”</p> <p>“No es que van a venir gente de afuera a querernos masacrar, y aprovecharse de nosotros. Ese tiempo ya pasó. Ya estamos viviendo en otra era. Hay que aprender a defenderse y valorarse. Sobre caso de Marcia Delgado: a la gente les falta conocimiento y capacitación, nosotros mismos. Nos engañaron, nos dieron bebida, coca, todo y ahora como el dueño</p>

	<p>11:50-12:40</p> <p>29:15-42:50</p>	<p>murió, la señora quiere estar a toda costa, pero no va poder, porque ya estamos más conformados, tenemos cooperativa. (...) Lo que pasa que en Lomerío con tanta minera que hay, tanto como árboles, lo que hay debajo de la tierra, está lleningo, de mineral, es una reserva grande que tiene Bolivia. Aquí nadie es dueño de nada, pero si puede vivir uno hasta que muera, puede sembrar, cultivar la tierra y trabajar el subsuelo, pero si solicitándolo al gobierno y eso estamos haciendo ahora. Pero en sí que seamos dueños dueños no, y si me quiero ir, me agarro mis cosas y me voy, no puedo vender mi terreno, todo queda en beneficio de la comunidad. Y si alguien de afuera quiere establecerse aquí, tiene que casarse, si es hombre, con una mujer de aquí, y vivir, y si la mujer es de otro lado, el hombre la tiene que traer aquí y vivir aquí. (...) Jonny Montero: por un lado tiene razón, dice la realidad, porque él me dice a mí, que `Ustedes son unos simples cuidantes de acá, no son dueños de nada', y yo lo entiendo así que no somos dueños de nada, porque no tenemos pues, no puedo vender ese pedazo de tierra, me voy a vivir donde me guste. Al mismo tiempo tienen toda esa tierra, ese globo, todo unido, como una abeja en un enjambre, pero al mismo tiempo uno no es dueño de nada, hay un dicho en ese, no tiene donde para caerse muerto, no tiene nada. Y es una expresión muy tonta o absurda, porque si yo me caigo, no se va a decir nada, uno tiene donde caerse.”</p> <p>Trabajar con Amasuya: “Para mí la empresa Amasuya está trabajando bien, lo que están haciéndolo mal son los a la cabeza, no el dueño, sino los gerentes, hay una mala administración.”</p> <p>“Antes entraban piratas, los que compraron tierra. Nosotros igual somos piratas, porque no está legal el trabajo todavía sin la personalidad jurídica, falta ficha ambiental. Pero hasta entonces todos somos piratas. Antes quien pirateo bastante es Guillermo Quispe que vive con una mujer de aquí, se hizo un poco rival de nosotros, porque él ha querido. Después con la llegada de Amasuya, los piratas tenían que irse, pero ellos son otra piratera y querían pagar menos a nosotros. Queríamos que la empresa nos pague el precio justo del mineral, eso es lo que nosotros queríamos. No hace mucho. Se fue el presidente con nuestro mineral a La Paz para saber cuánto valía. Y después se fue el señor Quispe y hizo un convenio de 5 años con Amasuya. Hicieron su convenio con Kevin, que es un gerente de la empresa. Quispe ahora es un intermediario que lo pusieron para que él trabajara</p>
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		<p>con las cuatro cooperativas que están en Lomerío y él tiene la orden de comprar la dinamita, el dueño de la plata lo da a Kevin y Kevin se lo da Quispe y él lo da a la gente. Lo que nosotros queremos es trabajar directamente entre cooperativa y empresa, nada que ver con Kevin o Quispe, lo que queremos saber cuando hicieron el convenio a cuánto querían vender el mineral, son 4 meses que hemos trabajado y en esos cuatro meses hubo 4 bajones de mineral, y eso no sabemos si el dueño de la plata lo sabe o si solo son Kevin y Quispe. Quispe no tenía nada en su casa, el precio de la mina bajó, y ya hubo venta en su casa, eso pasó. En el segundo bajón, se llenó su negocio de mercadería. Es de nosotros la plata, nosotros creemos que no nos está pagando el precio justo. Supuestamente va a su bolsillo. En el cuarto bajón ya lo sacamos de rescata, de comprador. Ahora hay un problema por eso en la comunidad. Y además de eso él tiene su sueldo de las 4 cooperativas. Antes estaba a 10Bs el kilo porque no había nadie que le hacía competencia y la gente no despertaba y buscar un comprador, se conformaba con Quispe. Es un vividor que se aprovecha de la gente. Es por eso hay problemas entre nosotros. Pero la gente se calla y es ingenua. (...) Quispe es socio también, también parece que la alcaldía igual está involucrada: se dice que la alcaldía hizo el convenio con la empresa, y la empresa lo agarró a este Quispe como garantía. Por eso vamos a hacer todas las preguntas a Amasuya. (...) A Quispe le dan la plata para comprar dinamita, taladro, roca, motores, guantes, botas. Resulta que el señor Quispe ha estado vendiendo guantes, botas afuera, y eso se está descubriendo. No sabemos si los dueños de la plata saben del bajón del wólfram. Quispe de si mismo dice que somos su mica (la suciedad que sale de la mina), sus peones, porque él gana plata con su inteligencia. Él nos roba. Y viaja con eso, con el sacrificio de nosotros. La gente no se daba cuenta.”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género	3:55-4:45	<p>“A veces en las reuniones la gente apunta a uno, porque uno entiende. A veces cuando yo pregunta, los de arriba dicen que ‘ella es la que más habla, la más preguntona’, las demás mujeres no dicen nada, son calladitas, por qué, porque no entienden. Pero ahora poco a poco ya están entendiendo la situación de trabajo. Tenemos derecho de hacer valer nuestro trabajo.”</p>

	14:10-17:05	“Ahora como mujeres nos estamos dando cuenta que somos igual que el varón, que tenemos los mismos derechos. Eso me costó mucho, había mujeres muy torpes con sus palabras, yo le dije en tema de protección de la mujer y de no llenarse de hijos, el hombre tiene que ayudar en todo, como la esposa también. Porque me daba pena cuando yo llegué aquí, solo se andaba a pie. Y a mí me daba pena ver a esa mujer con tremenda bolsa, cargada, pasando o a veces veía al esposo montado en su caballo y la mujer con la bolsa en la cabeza, a pie ella. Señoras vienen a capacitarnos a que no tengamos hijos.”
	24:10-25:20	Mejoro de participación de mujeres por organización artesanal: “Se pudo mejorar participación, mayormente porque trajo fuentes de trabajo y en aquel tiempo no hubo fuentes de trabajo, era el único método para poder trabajar y ganarse algo, para los chicos, para los estudios y la ropa. Para el esposo no había trabajo fuera del chaco, en el chaco se siembra para sobrevivir, pero para sembrar en cantidad y para llevar comercialmente, es lejos para llevar a Santa Cruz. Solo da para mantenerse uno. Y lo que salía era del tejido. (...) Las mujeres sentían que era una ayuda para el esposo, para traer aceite y azúcar al hogar, pero después seguían con su capricho.”
	26:15-27:55	“En ese tiempo (de bordar) hubo un cambio, abrió la mente, ahora en las reuniones la mujer se envuelve ya, se expresa, no tiene mucho temor. Si hay algunas que van, porque somos muchas, que vamos a una reunión, las que hablan son unas tres o cuatro, las demás están todas en silencio. Es porque temen, siente que no se pueden envolver y expresar bien. Tienen miedo de expresarse. (...) Cuando una mujer se expresa, ellos corretean a uno, porque para aprender es equivocándose, críticas constructivas son buenas.”
	1:13:30-1:14:05	“Mujeres trabajan en la mina los sábados, porque entre semana están ocupados los puestos por los varones. No hay tiempo para nosotros, por eso los sábados nada más. Los varones no nos dejan, dicen que las mujeres en la casa, tienen otro trabajo, que lavar, cuidar a los chicos.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		

Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	47:45- 48:40	“Aquí solo es Quispe, hubo división durante unos 15 días, después empezamos con Amasuya. Lo que nos molesta de Quispe es que nos está discriminando, se está burlando de nosotros y el wólfram está bajando y no sabemos si el dueño de la plata lo sabe, eso es. No sabemos.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	10:55- 11:45 28:20- 28:45 50:25- 51:15 1:05:05- 1:06:25	“Si uno no es de la zona, uno se siente hasta discriminado, porque no soy de aquí. A veces en las reuniones dicen ‘por qué habla ella, si no es de aquí?’” “Los que no participan son los que no entienden. Van a casa y dicen ‘para qué voy a hablar si no entiendo’, y se explica a ellos. Hablan afuera de la reunión, en la reunión solo escuchan” “Hay muchos los que no participan. Los que participan son los que más entienden. Hay de todo, mediana, jóvenes, viejos también.” “De alguna forma vivo aquí en la soledad. Aquí me llaman Macharaca, en castellano es una persona que no es igual que ellos, como karai. A veces no me sentía bien. A uno lo discriminan porque no es del lugar. El otro que discriminan es el Quispe porque es Kolla. Hay otro que se llama Julio que lo discriminan bastante, él también fue a enseñar a la gente a laborar en la mina.”

Información complementaria: Aquí todos son familias, aquí se casan entre familias, entre primos, sobrina y tío. Los ayoreos viven entre parientes. Los perros tampoco saben cuál es su hermano.

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_30SNMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 11.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunario, lleva años en comunidad, origen:
Afiliación con cooperativa: socio, ex director de cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

<p>Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>	<p>22:25-24:05</p>	<p>Cambios a causa de minería: “Se ha generado recursos, vendían huevitos de la gallina para comprar jabón, ahora tienen para el jabón, para la ropa etc. Hay más recursos y hay más movimiento, pero cuando hay muchos recursos, también hay mucha pelea. Uno mira el otro, el otro mira al otro. Con el cooperativismo todos son parejos, la gente de la calle de Lomerío todavía no entiende todo eso. (...) También en el tema de comercialización ya saben ellos, los de otra zona como Oruro. Aquí me ha costado mucho el tema de compradores para unificarlo, para que se compre en uno. Junto con el municipio hemos unificado todo eso, ahora solo estamos esperando un documento para poder vender el mineral.”</p>
<p>Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario</p>		
<p>Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras</p>	<p>9:50-11:10 11:15-14:35</p>	<p>Involucramiento personal en cooperativa: “He sido presidente de la cooperativa. Pero ya no, quise una reestructuración, y ya no la pude manejar, ya formé parte de la empresa y ya no se podía, tuve que renunciar. Lo he dejado hace unos 6 o 7 meses. Me eligieron, después me reeligieron, 4 años en total, estábamos bien. Ahora el documento está atrasado, recién se ha anulado, hubo cambios con la ley minera, muchas cosas han cambiado y hay que actualizarlo, por eso.”</p> <p>Idea de formar cooperativa: “Yo ya tuve experiencia, del interior, de La Paz, mi madre es minera. Yo les expliqué a ellos, porque todo fue puro concesionado, que la gente era empleados de ellos, ya no querían estar empleados, pero querían trabajar ellos propios. Pero esto ha costado mucho, hemos solicitado con la FEDECOMIN en La Paz, ellos vinieron, fue la primera cooperativa al nivel departamental que se fundó, era el único, pero en trámites nos ganaron los de San Ramón, después en Beni, después de nosotros, empiezan ahorita. Es largo el trámite y seguimos. Ahora estamos con la empresa y la cooperativa, porque existe un financiamiento fuerte en tema de maquinaria, estamos considerando otra estrategia para ver cómo vamos a generar este recurso. Pero va a depender ahorita de la reunión, cómo se portan, a Pukio ya no volvemos porque ahí no hay ningún</p>

		<p>problema, directamente han aportado dinero. No hay conflicto, están de acuerdo y tranquilos, conforme, así que podremos dar el segundo paso en el proyecto, porque si no perdamos. El segundo paso consistirá en nuevos proyectos a largo plazo, con un proyecto con un financiamiento mucho más grande, 2 millones, 3 millones dólares sobre todo para la maquinaria, hasta ahí la empresa está ayudando en obtener la ficha ambiental. Ahorita vamos a analizar, vamos a hacer un socialización, una evaluación qué nos dice la gente, qué dicen los socios, si nos dicen que está bien, ya vamos a presentar el nuevo proyecto. Si no, vamos a esperar hasta que puedan entender.”</p>
<p>Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)</p>	<p>3:15-9:45</p>	<p>Descripción de planes y actividades de Amasuya: “Las actividades iniciaron en 2001, hemos formado una cooperativa, antes estaban concesionarios, pero para trabajar así la gente formó la cooperativa y ya está tramitando la personalidad jurídica, en 2011/2012 empezó esto, y desde ahí empezamos con la cooperativa, estaba un poco conflictivo, pero seguimos con la documentación. En 2014/2015 estaba yo socializando con la gente para que pudiera venir la empresa para hablar sobre cuestiones económicas y comprar mineral, entonces he hablado con el municipio para que me puedan ayudar en buscar un rescate (comprador) solvente, entonces he ido a La Paz, Oruro, Cochabamba para buscar diferentes comercializadores. Uno me aceptó, que podía comprar, podía ayudar en cuestiones de recursos, apoyo en maquinaria, ayudar con botas, cascos etc., entonces ya está una buena evaluación de lo que qué más falta, estamos presentando nuevos proyectos y esos proyectos ya contienen algo de largo plazo para tener una actividad mejorada, una represa grande, tener trinchadora, tener retro, así que maquinaria, para que sea mecanizado, y los tramites no ayudan, por ejemplo de la ficha ambiental. Ya estamos en la segunda fase, y estamos socializándolo con la gente para poder evaluar si están de acuerdo con eso o qué más necesitan. Ya hemos visitado a Pukio, ahí están de acuerdo, vamos a continuar con su cooperativa, vamos a tratar de tener una empresa grande. Por los recursos ya hemos hablado con la empresa, con los representantes de la empresa. La empresa puede financiar y hacer el deembolso... Estamos socializando y Pukio ya aceptó. Aquí (en Surusubí) vamos a hacer primero una evaluación, en qué están ellos, si quieren trabajar así con la cooperativa o si con la COMIBOL están queriendo. (...) Pero hay también comunidades que quieren trabajar con la COMIBOL y no podemos obligarlos, depende de ellos. Ya estamos socializando con cinco</p>

	<p>14:45-16:30</p> <p>16:30-18:50</p> <p>19:05-22:10</p>	<p>cooperativas, ya uno tenemos (Pukio)... 5 son, porque Coloradillo ya habló conmigo ayer, y me dijeron que iban a hacer un reestructuración, van a socializar a su gente para que se reestructure, porque lo estaban haciendo mal, ya vamos a ser cinco que formen parte de la federación (FEDECOMIN). Vamos a hacer una socialización para ver si están de acuerdo con la federación y con nosotros. Eso estamos manejando ahorita, una reunión aquí, luego a San Lorenzo, mañana a San Simón. (...)</p> <p>Me han contratado después de que estaba encaminando todo eso. (...) Estamos en lo de la personalidad jurídica, estamos peleando la cuadrícula, el ministro ya aceptó para darle el arrendamiento, y con ese arrendamiento ya sacamos el NIM y con eso ya podemos vender libremente minerales y con eso podemos hablar con comercializadores”</p> <p>Beneficios para la empresa: “En este caso podría ser como asociar, no como se hacía antes, compartido, sino solo asociar, tampoco socios. Va a depender de la negociación, si están en contra como 60 o 70 %, no decimos nada, pero ya lo dejamos. Por eso vamos a hacer una evaluación, qué dirán ellos, si están de acuerdo, ya podemos iniciar los primeros pasos.”</p> <p>Relación con cooperativa en Coloradillo: “No, Jonny Montero es persona no grata en Lomerío, lo han expulsado de aquí, tiene un memorando que han delegado desde aquí, porque ha escapado de aquí, de Monterito, de San Simón, de Pukio y Coloradillo igual, no quieren. Igual está metido con el director de COMIBOL. Nosotros solo vamos a colaborar con Coloradillo si se reestructura la cooperativa, algunos van a salir, y personas que no son de aquí, como empresarios etc., no van a manejar eso. Nuestra organización, la CICOL no lo va a permitir. Que hay personas extrañas que entran y lavan el cerebro de la gente, como pasó en Coloradillo, no se va a permitir. Los otros están en otro lado, eso no vamos a permitir. Si ellos están de acuerdo con reestructurar la directiva, empezamos el trámite, o sea apoyar que esa cooperativa sea cooperativa y no concesionaria cooperativa, que esa gente trabaje de ahí. Primero vamos a dar un pasito y después otra reunión”</p> <p>Entrada de empresas: “Eso ha pasado, a Coloradillo, por ejemplo han entrado varias empresas. Faboce, por ejemplo, tiene un convenio con el municipio, entonces es con el área. Pero con la nueva ley minera es por el mineral, van a tener una reestructuración de</p>
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		convenios, cambiar. (...) Empresas mineras... han entrado, pero no así impulsivo, la gente las aceptó, han trabajado un rato, pero sin el compromiso de las comunidades. Solo conquistaron unas 2 personas de acá, pero nunca se vio eso (como abuso). No han utilizado violencia, sino han causado malestar y división. Han estado involucradas, hasta en la política se han metido también. Esas empresas venían de Oruro, Potosí, unos de China han entrado también. En cuanto al medioambiente han ocasionado muerte de los peces, y lo han sacado.”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad	24:05-25:03	Razones por venir a comunidad: “Desde 1988 estoy aquí, vine porque por aquí se descubrió el mineral, lo estaba estudiando un poco, que está saliendo el oro, el estaño, algunos minerales tenían potencia, otros no. Queremos hacer un estudio cuales son, y según cómo afecta a la gente”
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_31LDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 11.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: director de 4 cooperativas
Afiliación con cooperativa: socio, comunario de Pukio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación

		<p>Impacto a costumbres: “Sí, hubo, el impacto social de que otra gente viene y mete ideas dentro de las personas, dicen que hagan eso aquí, allá, y ya tienen consentimiento. Por ejemplo dentro de nuestras cooperativas hay gente infiltrada, eso hace que se distorsiona nuestra cultura, nuestra forma de vivir, en una parte. La otra parte es económicamente, ahora antes bien no había muchos recursos económicos, se dedicaban en gran parte a la agricultura y poco se veía el vicio, tanto en la juventud. Sí vemos ahorita un niño que tiene plata, porque el padre produce mina y tiene plata. Eso se ve, se han incrementado los vicios, porque hay plata por el tema de minería. Entonces mucho vicio, un impacto negativo, mucha coca ahora en nuestra cultura, todo el mundo bolea, excepto yo digamos, no boleo ni fumo, entonces por esas cositas hubo mucho cambio. Mucho vicio en las comunidades, muchas borracheras, esa parte si.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	6:55-9:10	<p>Articulación 4 cooperativas y representación política: “Dentro de nuestro territorio tenemos una organización que es la CICOL. Es la dueña, la representación legal de toda la TCO, entonces ella es la máxima y nosotros somos organizaciones productivas, asociaciones productivas. O sea la minería es una parte de la organización o sea que nosotros nos tenemos que dirigirnos a nuestra organización matriz. Eso lo estoy viendo como central. Como central de las 4 cooperativas mineras de Lomerío nosotros vamos a coordinar bien con la CICOL. Uno en el tema de la contribución a nuestra organización (la CICOL), ahora dentro de la organización CICOL en el estatuto y reglamento de la CICOL dice que todas las asociaciones productivas tienen que aportar con un 5% a nuestra organización por todos los recursos naturales sea renovable o no renovable. Y eso en la parte de minería no se está contribuyendo. Ahora yo encargado como presidente de las cooperativas mineras de Lomerío me comprometí con el cacique general, sentarnos y ver ese tema del 5% para ver contribuir a nuestra organización y que ellos nos apoyen a nosotros. Y todas esas asociaciones deberían ser así, la parte de ganadería, de la agricultura, de la minería. Y la parte de minería ahora va a ser el ingreso fuerte, tanto los beneficios directos e indirectos, a nuestro municipio</p>

	<p>9:10-12:05</p> <p>18:15-18:55</p>	<p>por la venta de productos, los minerales, van a salir regalía a la gobernación y al municipio. Entonces en eso ahorita estamos como central de poder unirnos y contribuir a nuestra organización CICOL, por qué, porque es nuestro ente matriz que nos vigila, que tiene que saber lo que estamos haciendo.”</p> <p>Relación jerárquica: “Está siempre debajo, nuestra organización CICOL siempre está en la cabeza, solo somos operativas, somos asociaciones productivas. Entonces es como dentro de la comunidad: hay la asamblea general que es la máxima autoridad de la comunidad, pero tiene un representante, un cacique mayor, y dentro de ese cacique mayor es lo que fiscaliza todas las actividades productivas. En Pukio, quién es que controla todas las asociaciones, las cooperativas es el cacique mayor y las cooperativas están abajo. En este caso, la CICOL es nuestra máxima y nosotros, es la parte productiva. Por lo tanto estamos debajo de nuestra organización, nos debemos a nuestra organización. Dentro de las cooperativas tienen caciques mayores que se relacionan bien y que son superiores a las cooperativas. Y los caciques mayores están bajo de nuestra organización CICOL que es nuestra máxima autoridad. Entonces el municipio está casi en el nivel de nuestra organización, pero la organización es el ente matriz. (...) Nosotros como central de cooperativas tenemos nuestro ente fiscalizador que es la Federación Departamental de Minería que es la FEDECOMIN, Santa Cruz. Esa es la que nos fiscaliza a nosotros como central, en la forma de nuestra estructura orgánica al nivel nacional, local estamos como central, como departamental y como nacional que es la FEDECOMIN. Pero también dentro de nuestra zona, hay un ente matriz que se relaciona exclusivamente con esa federación, que se reportan, que se informan, tanto Federación Departamental con la CICOL y la central. Así estamos estructurados. Entonces para qué hemos constituido una central para justamente luchar, nuestro objetivo es tener las áreas, los contratos mineros con el Ministerio de Minería. Esa es la lucha, porque hay muchos interesados que quieren venir a apropiarse a todos nuestros recursos que tenemos aquí en Lomerío, y eso no vamos a permitir, nosotros vamos a luchar para que nosotros seamos los dueños tanto de los suelos y los subsuelos.”</p> <p>Relación y rol de COMIBOL: “Estamos ahorita en lucha con la COMIBOL, cuál es su interés: COMIBOL ahorita solo es un ente administrativo de su área,</p>
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		ellos eran los que antes administraban todos los áreas mineros del 2009 al 2011, pero dentro de ese tiempo hacían lo que les daba la ganas, hacían fraudes, estafas, por decir yo tenía una petición, voy con mis papeles de la COMIBOL, estaban verificando el plan, luego decían `ya, no más`, mandaba comisión, ya, eso es mineral, bueno, por lo tanto se la agarraba COMIBOL y yo quedaba afuera. De eso se prestó COMIBOL, en este periodo de 3 años han varias minerales mineras”
	-	-
Género		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	12:45- 13:10 16:30- 18:00	Integración de cooperativas en la central de cooperativas: “Uno de mis planes como director de la central es unificar a las comunidades que tienen conflictos, en nuestro plan de actividades tenemos un ampliado de las cooperativas de Lomerío en esa comunidad.” “Dentro de la comunidad hay los que quieren ser socios y los que no quieren. Y en este proceso te trámite, las puertas están abiertas. Pueden ser socios ingenieros, socios profesores así como en Pukio, primeramente eran 60, en el segundo trámite eran 100, ahora somos 125 y dentro de esos 125 están metidos todos, docentes, doctores, ingenieros. No se cierra las puertas. Porque mirando hacia un día cuando estemos mecanizando el trabajo se va a ver cambios diferentes en el tema económico. Y eso es lo que justamente pasando en Coloradillo: hay un grupo que está predominando y marginando. Lo que queremos es ir y unificar y ayudar más que todo de salir de este problema. Pero ellos no lo hacen porque lo están haciendo porque otras personas de afuera vienen y les meten ideas de esto es así, así, así, eso es el problema. Hay personas que ... con informaciones y se pasan como socios dentro de la cooperativa, ese es el problema, el ejemplo es Coloradillo.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	13:10- 16:03	Sobre tensión/división: “Justo eso sucedió el año pasado en Pukio: uno, porque había dos bandos, uno es la que supuestamente son profesionales, donde están los empleados públicos, todos los que trabajan en el gobierno municipal, los que trabajan como profesores, técnicos, todos esos eran los que tenían

	<p>plata, son mensualizados. Por otro lado hay esa parte en la comunidad que no son empleados, no tenían fuentes de trabajo, entonces esa gente vivía de la minería, pero esa gente trabajaba prenominado, o sea dominaban la parte intelectual, por lo que son profesionales, entonces quería dominar a la clase que no son mensualizados, por lo tanto ahí casi hubo un enfrentamiento. Cuando yo era dirigente de la CICOL, sucedió eso, esa gente trajo a la empresa para vender los minerales, y ese otro bando se opuso. Hubo casi un enfrentamiento. Y eso por qué, porque no hubo un líder que se plante. Entonces en este caso cuando yo entré a ser presidente de la cooperativa, lo que ya no soy, lo que hice es me reuní con toda la comunidad, hice diferenciar los de acá y los de allá, por lo tanto tienen que apoyar. Porque dentro de la comunidad hay ganaderos, hay agricultores y hay de todo, y ellos (los otros) son empleados. Entonces llegamos a un entendimiento, el apoyo mutuo, que dentro de la cooperativa minera no simplemente van a ser mineros, también pueden involucrarse otras personas de la comunidad. Y esa es la tarea de nosotros como central, ir a la comunidad de Coloradillo, apoyar esa comunidad, a que no estén divididos, más bien que se unan y formar una sola cooperativa como en Pukio. En Pukio nosotros no tenemos problema. Ahora tenemos un poco problemas con Surusubí, San Simón, mañana vamos a ver con San Simón. Como central estamos metidos en ayudar, solucionar problemas, gestionar, representar, esa es la tarea como directorio de la central para que no haya conflictos internos, sino más bien unificarnos y apoyarnos. Eso es el sistema del cooperativismo, que todos nos apoyemos y trabajemos en conjunto.”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_32LDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 12.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 37
Función/cargo de entrevistado: dirigente de la CICOL de economía y producción
Afiliación con cooperativa: no es socio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación

	11:10-12:30	otras comunidades si, como Pukio, ellos van todos los días, turnados, hay familias que van todos los días. Y no se nota nada de cambio, se mantienen pobre como yo.”
	12:35-14:10	Migración: “Sí, hubo una familia se vino por la minería. Pero ha engañado a la comunidad: decían que iban a quedar a vivir. Y cuando hubo este bum que se vano, se fueron. Engañaron, se llevaron el material y no volvieron.”
	26:50-30:05	Práctica de vender en otro lado: “Existe esa práctica, entre los mismos socios existe eso, por el temor de no querer aportar 5Bs, solamente por los 5Bs, el porcentaje a la comunidad. (...) Ellos, los de Amasuya, los llaman `compradores ilegales´, son los que no anuncian a los autoridades que también van a comprar y no aportan nada. Sí, igual existe eso en otras comunidades.” Cambios en costumbres de comunidad: “No sé si es en sí por la minería, pero si está cambiando, en parte, pero no en general. Por ejemplo, ya no se hace la chicha dulce, la chica fuerte también, porque como hay plata quieren comprar cerveza. La tamborita tampoco suena porque cada uno tiene su equipo de música. Ya se baila con música de otros países. (...) Sí, ha cambiado, el tema de que nosotros los lomerianos, no es que somos flojos, pero nos gusta el pago ya. Y en la artesanía no es así, se toma mucho tiempo hasta que lo compre alguien, y la necesidad es de todos los días. Entonces prefieren ir a la mina, porque si tienen suerte, sacan hartos, ya lo venden y ya tienen platita. Por eso la artesanía no es muy rentable, es muy a largo plazo”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	36:30-37:05	“Mayormente van jóvenes que ya pueden trabajar y adultos, personas de tercera edad ya no, no pueden trabajar, el trabajo es bien pesado, los que quieren.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	14:10-17:10	Relación entre cooperativa y CICOL: “Yo lo generalizo más: yo como dirigente de la CICOL, no estoy de acuerdo con las cooperativas mineras, pero no estoy en contra de explotar la minería, estoy de acuerdo que se explote. Pero para qué crear una cooperativa si ya tenemos una organización que se llama CICOL. Por qué? Porque se está creando divisionismo, los mineros de la cooperativa ya no van a obedecer a nosotros. Tienen su propia estructura, sus dirigentes mencionan que así dicen las leyes, pero ellos no han

	22:25-22:40	<p>participado en elaborar las leyes, las leyes van en contra de que todo lo que hemos logrado como organización CICOL. Tal como la ley forestal, se sobrepone, eso significa que también se sobrepone a todo lo que hemos ganado sobre lo que es el territorio de Lomerío. Ahí está mi preocupación, por eso siempre digo a los dirigentes que las leyes se adapten a nosotros, no nosotros a las leyes. Si las leyes están en contra, deberíamos unirnos las cooperativas y la organización y proponer la modificación de leyes en base de nuestra misma vivencia en la TCO. Pero no he logrado todavía que me entiendan, pero estamos en eso, no voy a bajar los brazos. El problema es que corremos el riesgo de perder todo, porque damos puerta libre para que entren cualquier cooperativas de donde sean y como a la cooperativas les ampara la ley, entonces no pueden de despujarnos como se hubiera una sola minera de la parte de Lomerío.”</p>
	23:00-26:45	<p>Actor en CICOL que coordina/responsable de tema de minería: “El de recursos naturales, tierra y territorio y el cacique general”</p>
	39:25-42:50	<p>Entrada de empresas: “Sí, ha habido, varias empresas han entrado, pero no han tenido un buen resultado, por eso se fueron, ellos hicieron mal sus cálculos donde tenían que sacar una cierta cantidad de toneladas de minería, nunca sacaron, nunca han recuperado la inversión. (...) El tema es que ahora ya cambió la situación: antes no dejaban entrar a nadie, en cambio ahora invitan por la cooperativa minera, eso es lo que se está viendo últimamente. Es porque quieren hacer el aprovechamiento con maquinaria ya, sofisticada con maquinaria pesada, para eso invitan a las empresas. Como las cooperativas aquí no tienen capital, es por eso que invitan a las empresas para que compren el material. (...) El tema es que algunos son engañados, ellos sacan cálculos de tantos días, pueden sacar tanto, les salen mal sus cálculos”</p>
		<p>Involucramiento de la CICOL en evento de invasión COMIBOL: “Les hemos dicho que no entren y con eso es suficiente. Se los hemos dado a las cooperativas mineras que vayan y los defiendan, si estaban bien estructurados, tienen su directiva, sus socios, se fueron, supongo que los sacaron. Ellos han insistido, me acuerdo que el lunes insistieron y dijimos que no, y ellos se fueron el martes, el miércoles volvieron a entrar. (...) Coordinamos (CICOL) con ellos (las cooperativas), pero ya activamente, así, sálganse no, suficiente con documentos. Y las cooperativas con el</p>

		<p>documento se fueron, y más su documento de ellos con su firma, sí, se las apoyó, pero yo no fui. Me llamaron esa noche, y yo llamé a los de la cooperativa y les dije que vayan, recién estaba por descansar, me llamaron a las 12 de la noche. (...) Parece que nos han insultado con palabras graves. (...) Como cooperativa ellos están sumetidos bajo la ley, como cooperativa, pueden según ellos pueden, como organizados como cooperativa, pueden solicitar áreas dónde mejor les vale. Y entonces eso te da la puerta libre para que puede entrar cualquier, es el caso de ellos. Y ellos han querido entrar, y bueno dijo la cooperativa, `qué pasa aquí`, entonces a ver la CICOL, ahhh, recién se acuerdan de la CICOL, pues la CICOL tiene poder de decisión si ellos pueden entrar o quien entrar. Que hemos hecho ya, un documento que no entren. (Efren aclara: como no son legales, pero si están organizados, han ido con el documento de la CICOL”</p> <p>También vea: tensiones (por tema de relaciones entre actores: CICOL, cooperativa, comunidad)</p>
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Género	37:20-38:15	“Parece que en la estructura están tomadas en cuenta y en el trabajo ya, directamente a la minería también, van como pareja. Hacen el mismo trabajo. Pero no va a reventar la dinamita. El trabajo se divide: puede ser que el hombre acarre la tierra y la mujer esté lavando...”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	42:55-44:45	<p>Comunarios pueden vender a otro comprador o no: “Personas no socias igual pueden ir a la mina. (...) Tienen un contrato con Amasuya para vender el material, si no lo hacen, para eso está la directiva de la minería. Los obligan. El porcentaje que pagan a la comunidad, igual pagan los socios. Efren aclara: Si venden a Amasuya, contribuye a comunidad y por eso los obligan). (...) Hay gente que no contribuye, de noche se sale, por ejemplo, aquí hay un comprador de Amasuya, pero a Coloradillo llega otro comprador y hay competencia. El de Amasuya está consensuado con la comunidad, se decide entre toda la comunidad, quien va a ser el comprador, la comunidad determina, él va a comprar tanto y de ahí se va a sacar 5 pesos para la comunidad. De pronto viene uno, y están pagando 200Bs al kilo y saben que tienen que pagar 205”</p>

		que los que pueden, pueden ir a trabajar, porque hay muchos salarios, como profesores u otros que no podían trabajar pero lo hacían por los demás (...) Yo soy uno que no formo parte de eso, al principio me inscribieron, pero después se fue cambiando las carpetas, en un momento iba a ayudarles a elaborar la carpeta, pero no tuve tiempo, después modificaron otra vez, por eso no me inscribí, me fue demasiado pesado, los requisitos son bien pesaditos, si o si hay una convocatoria en la ciudad, a San Ramón hay que irse.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_33LDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 12.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: no conocido
Función/cargo de entrevistado: cacique mayor de la comunidad
Afilación con cooperativa: es socio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:10-10:10	Cambios: "Recientemente empezó el trabajo, con el apoyo de la empresa que estaba ayer (Amasuya). Los comunarios necesitaban más que todo el apoyo, porque anteriormente trabajaron manualmente.. Por lo menos se quiere trabajar ahora con máquina, como escucharon ayer (en la reunión con Amasuya), y así habrá más posibilidades de acceder al material, no supieron mucho. Es un cambio porque la gente es curiosas de sus principales necesidades, entonces ellos estaban seguros de que la minería les ayudaría para sus sustentos diarios. En base de eso hubo más tranquilidad en ciertas familias. Los más que no podían acceder a ningún fuente de trabajo. Pero al final la mina no cubrió 100% de las necesidades, solo cubrió un poco las necesidades. Otro punto es que tenían ahora un lugar seguro para trabajar y no salen de aquí a otro lugar digamos. El lugar de la minería como existía era de una patrón, pero ahora no era para el patrón el trabajo, sino para ellos mismos. En cambio más antes buscaban al patrón que tenía plata. Ahora el patrón es la mina, pero el 100% ganan los
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	10:40-16:50	<p>obreros. Un porcentaje pequeño pertenece en acuerdo de todos. Por decir, les comento lo que yo he rescatado, por ejemplo 92Bs, y cuánto se retiene para la comunidad? Todos un porcentaje, 3 Bolivianos, y 2 Bolivianos para él que compra. Esas retenciones son de acuerdo con la comunidad, no es quitarles el derecho. Y esos 3 Bolivianos vuelve vuelta al mismo trabajador, ya a lo grande, por algún proyecto común de la comunidad, algún apoyo a la salud. Entonces el mismo trabajador trae este beneficio, por ejemplo esa moto ahí salió de ese porcentaje. Entonces ya es un beneficio social. Ahorita no hay ningún mozo, por ejemplo el mozo trabaja 5 días, y cuánto gana el mozo? Así de antes, cuánto le daba el patrón? Ganaba el mozo de solamente dos días y los tres eran para el patrón, era ridículo. (...) Al inicio no hubo mucho provecho porque se trabajó manualmente, en cambio ahora con maquinaria remueve, ayuda a producir."</p> <p>Cambios negativos o usos y costumbres: "Sí, un poco, lo negativo es que ellos confían en que ese material les resulta 100% y se descuidan de la costumbre que es el trabajo en el chaco para sembrar maíz, arroz. Pero hay gente que bien lo planifica, tres días voy al mineral y dos días al chaco para sembrar, así que no descuidan: entonces tienen los recursos económicos, pero también tienen para comer. (...) Un 20% solo van a la mina, de las 62 familias serían 10 personas que están trabajando constantemente, eso es su fuente de trabajo, pero el resto va dos meses, o algunos solo se van solo dos horas. (...) Más antes hacían un trabajo manual, y se descuidaba la parte del chaco, pero también la parte religiosa. O sea que ya no había domingo, toda la semana. Los católicos siempre estamos. Y el otro es que los que están en la mina, toman casi todo el tiempo y además lo del domingo. Claro que sacaban, pero lo primero era la cerveza. Pero solo eran algunos. Pero ahora eso casi ya no existe, ahora se trabaja por grupo. Y si hay un trabajo comunal si o si tienen que participar."</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	34:40-38:50	<p>"La gente participa y da sugerencias. Tampoco están muy aparte, sino están. No es una comunidad grande. La minería es como un proyecto. Hay por ejemplo un grupo ganadero, se forman diez personas. Y el municipio ofrece un proyecto de ganadero, un modulo. Y aquí no van a ir todos todos 100%, sino se forma un grupo de diez o veinte personas y entonces el proyecto se aprueba en nombre de la comunidad, pero quiénes se benefician? Es ese grupo, hay ese relacionamiento. Quién lo firma el proyecto, el cacique mayor. Y también si fracasa ese proyecto, el</p>

	<p>43:10-43:35</p> <p>43:50-49:40</p> <p>56:35-58:30</p>	<p>cacique mayor tiene que ver eso. Mayormente no es toda la comunidad, porque no todos se interesan por la misma cosa. Por decir hay un grupo a que le gusta la ganadería, a otro la agricultura, avalado por el cacique mayor, así funciona aquí. Aquí no hay ningún enfrentamiento por parte del cacique mayor frente a las organizaciones."</p> <p>Participación en reuniones de cooperativa: "Es el presidente de la cooperativa que participa, y los socios. Y yo como cacique mayor también tengo que estar, en representación de todos, los que son y los que no son cooperativistas"</p> <p>Participación en reuniones de comunidad: "Solo tienen voz y voto los que son socios en cuanto a decisiones vinculadas a la minería. Entonces lo decidieron mayormente los que lo trabajaron, los socios. Los que no son, están para dar sugerencias, pero están. (...) Cuando hay una demanda de la comunidad, mayormente... por ejemplo hay un sector minero que son socios, son 26, y hay otra cuestión de la forestal, hay otro tanto, entonces ahí se comparte. De repente ese socio minero está, pero no está en la forestal, entonces en la distribución de los porcentajes, ahí lo recibe toda la comunidad. (...) Mayormente si Ustedes observan, hay personas que simplemente no van por grupos, sino simplemente por escuchar, qué novedades etc., a veces por proyectos que están tramitando, porque aquí hay varios proyectos, eso le interesa a la gente. Entonces la opinión casi que nada, no sé por qué, pero cuando les interesa alguna cosa, si opinan. (...) Por ejemplo si un deportista participa en una reunión, y no opina en esa reunión del cacique, pero cuando va a esa reunión de deporte, si opina, así más o menos. (...) Hay también personas que se quedan en casa, son personas no activas, moralmente, les interesa casi nada, cómo llevar adelante todo, no apoya en cuanto a las decisiones, no sabe nada.(...)"</p> <p>Diferencias de participación en reuniones de cooperativa o comunidad: "Hay una orden aquí, en tal fecha tenemos reunión general, ahí todos van: todas las organizaciones como mineras, agricultura, como es una comunidad. Hay orden así: el cacique mayor convoca para tal fecha una reunión general para comunidad entera, entonces no excepto mineros u otros grupos, sino todos, eso. (...) En ambas partes hay presencias (de cooperativa y de comunidad): si convoca la cooperativa, van. Y si yo convoco una reunión y que no voy a hablar de minería sino de</p>
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		repente otro tema, también van. Porque el minero es el mismo comunario. Yo cuento con las 64 familias contando, solo el último que tiene es ancianito y que ya no puede caminar. Entonces ahora como personas activas serían unas 40 familias, activamente, los que pueden todavía opinar y sugerir y todo."
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	17:35-18:15	Relación cacique y cooperativa: "Yo les colaboro. Por ejemplo si ocurre cierto problema en el trabajo y hay que arreglarlo, hay una coordinación, yo no me aparto. Más antes era más aparte"
	18:55-22:05	Jerarquía: comunidad y cooperativa: "La cooperativa forma parte de la estructura de la comunidad. No son grupos extraños o muy particular, los mismos socios son comunarios de la comunidad, y no pueden estar aparte. Hay tres personajes importantes lo que considera la comunidad: primeramente está el cacique mayor, después la de género y después la educación. Después entra el de recursos naturales y hay otros, somos nueve, creo. Y dentro de eso está el directorio de la minería. Trabaja muy cerca del responsable de RRNN. Por ejemplo el convenio que tenemos con la empresa, ellos empiezan a hacer el convenio, para avalar todo el convenio, tengo que firmarlo analizarlo yo. Porque dónde se van a quejarse, es directamente conmigo. Entonces cada organización dentro de la comunidad es acorde con el cacique. Tengo que estar en esas reuniones, para que no cada uno haga su plan sin que yo esté presente."
	22:35-26:50	Invasión de otras empresas: "Varias había, hartísimas había. Yo no viví esos momentos, cuando venían. Supuestamente decían que eran unas empresas a los comunarios. O sea mayormente ellos eran los que mandaban, pero menos la comunidad. Entonces qué hacía la gente? Simplemente iba a trabajar, no como ahora que son autónomos en su trabajo. Entonces traían su maquinaria, eran convenios con la comunidad, trabajaron juntos, comunidad y supuestamente empresarios, pero no son. Son intermediarios, son como decimos "busca vidas", se van, mienten, dicen "esto es mi concesión, trabajemos". Ellos son mandados de otras empresas, ellos vienen, las empresas da al intermediarios para que trabajen. (...) Las empresas compraban sus materiales, se llevaban. (...) Mayormente no hay una persona que sepa bien la organización del tipo de trabajo que es la minería."
	26:50-27:35	

	41:50-43:00	<p>Convenio con Amasuya: "El gobierno municipal es nuestro garante. Primeramente el convenio sirve para conseguir la personalidad jurídica."</p> <p>Futuro y importancia de cooperativa/comunidad para comunarios: "Nosotros no vamos a perder nuestros usos y costumbres aquí, ya? No va a venir otra gente imponer a nuestra estructura de nosotros. Así como lo dicen, de todas las comunidades vamos a respetar sus usos y costumbres hasta la educación de los dirigentes, no va a haber ningún... Esa directiva de las cuatro cooperativas, de dónde viene eso, de aquí, de Lomerío, no viene del exterior, de COMIBOL, de otro lado que no conocemos a imponer lo que ellos quieren. En cambio el presidente de las cuatro cooperativas es de aquí"</p>
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Género	54:20-55:55	<p>"Las mujeres igual participan, pero con un temor de que su opinión no vale. Yo siempre les digo, o sea yo hablo el castellano y en bésiro. Entonces yo explico a las señoras que no tengan vergüenza, todos tenemos los mismos derechos, derecho de equivocarnos. Tenemos el derecho de participar, no solo en castellano, sino también en el idioma de nosotros. (...) Más hablan el bésiro, mi esposa no habla bésiro. Las señoras que hablan bésiro son las que tienen 45 años en adelante. Ellas son las que perfectamente hablan, las otras también hablan, pero tienen dificultades, pero si hablan. En otras comunidades no sé cómo será."</p>
Práctica Lingüística		Vea: "Género"
Tercera Edad	49:40-51:10	<p>"Las personas de tercera edad, cuando cumplieron ya su trabajo comunal, público, ya no van a las reuniones. Pero nosotros como autoridades tampoco estamos diciendo que no vayan. Ya es su interés si van o no van, sin embargo yo digo que deberían estar todos, especialmente ellos que ya estaban cuando se inició la comunidad. Lo que yo veo es que de 70 años por arriba ya no van a las reuniones y se quedan en su casa. Por lo menos después de la jubilación, solo participan 100% unos 5 años más, de ahí ya va bajando. Ya no les interesa casi nada."</p>
Jóvenes	51:15-54:20	<p>"Lo que pasa es que igual aquí los que participan, solo es presencial, pero no opinan. Callados están, a ningún joven lo he visto opinar. Nadie sabe por qué. Por el momento hay hartos jóvenes, pero cuándo se va a ellos al fin del año? Unos están trabajando, otros por los estudios, mayormente por esos motivos están por allá. En Santa Cruz mayormente están. Están organizados en Santa Cruz, son jóvenes residentes de</p>

		acá. De alguna forma tienen su aporte pequeño a la comunidad como residentes. No es la cantidad, pero ellos no se apartan digamos. Por ejemplo hubo un aporte de todos los jóvenes de aquí de San Lorenzo y nos regalaron un reflector, una pantalla, era para la comunidad. (...) Hay un jefe de los jóvenes, ellos se concentran todos los domingos en el deporte en Santa Cruz. Nosotros contamos con ellos. Son los jóvenes de Lomerío, pero internamente hay un responsable de San Lorenzo y viven en Santa Cruz."
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	27:45- 34:30	"La diferencia es que ellos que forman parte de la cooperativa quieren incorporar a los que no están. Y ellos lo sienten en cuanto al porcentaje, porque el porcentaje no solo sirve a los que están en la cooperativa, sino a toda la comunidad. Entonces ahí está un poco mal. Porque igual cuando uno no trabaja, recibe indirectamente. Por ejemplo una persona que tiene negocio, pero que no va a la mina, en su negocio se está beneficiando del trabajo de los compañeros en la minería, es indirectamente. Ese pequeño conflicto hay. (...) Hay mucha gente que no es socia, pero que si va a la mina. Pero hay un lugar de donde sale el material que solo es para los socios, no permiten entrada de otra persona. Ahí mismo no dejan. Hay que preguntar y tener permiso. (...) No hay mucho conflicto, la lucha de nosotros es para todos. Hay otra manera para que todo salga bien. Por decir, el mismo socio puede estar reemplazado. No es que no queremos verlos, simplemente es que se comparte. (...) Contrato de compra-venta con Amasuya: los trabajadores no deberían exagerar lo, tienen que sacar correspondiendo a sus capacidades. Porque la empresa proporciona herramientas, dinamita, asesoramiento y maquinaria, pero todo eso es a cuenta del productor, no es regalo. El regalo es lo de las botas, los cascos. Eso es el apoyo de la empresa. Pero hay ciertas herramientas que el mismo productor tiene que pagar. Y cómo paga eso? Del mismo material"
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	38:00- 41:30	Conflictos de jerarquía en el futuro? "Por el momento si hay un problema, porque no tenemos la personalidad jurídica, pero teniendo la personalidad jurídica nadie nos va a poder imponer. (...) No creo que haya un problema entre cooperativa y comunidad, porque por el momento estamos coordinando, no se está apartando la autoridad máxima de la comunidad del minero, estamos juntos.

		Entonces el conflicto de COMIBOL: yo no digo que como son mineros, váyanse. Yo fui (como cacique), yo sé, ellos no van solo, no piden permiso, pero vienen a hacer una coordinación. Entonces no está aparte, siempre, en ningún momento va a ir aparte. Porque si uno piensa así, va a ser un problema grandísimo. Es un sector fuerte. Según nuestro reglamento interno, no va a pasar así, todo es como pareja, solo ciertas cosas son, no divididas, pero en sus lugares de trabajo. Por ejemplo, lo que estamos haciendo ahora. Cuando empezaron a minar, los compañeros, eran unos 5 personas, no hubo camino a la mina. Qué hicieron los comaneros, vinieron y dijeron "Senor Casique necesitamos su apoyo por todo la comunidad para mejorar el camino", entonces fuimos con toda la comunidad. No solo los que trabajan allá, no solo él que es minero, sino todos, contamos como comunidad."
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_34LNFT
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 12.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 60
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria
Afilación con cooperativa: es socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	4:10-10:25	Cambios: "La plata nos sirve, pero al mismo tiempo nos trae problemas. Más antes que haya habido ingreso por la mina, cuando todavía no conocíamos la mina, había respeto entre familias, padres, madres, hermanas y hermanos. Pero ya cuando llegó la mina, la plata para comprar la mina, ya no, después ya no. Ya no hay respeto, cuando uno va al pozo, a uno lo sacan, así empezó la rabia. En cuanto al dinero, ya quieren rescatadores, o sea un interesado, una empresa, viene conmigo y me dice que me da plata y que le dé mina. Eso nunca he hecho. Y viene el otro y él quiere saber igual. Entonces uh, y eso es el conflicto. Aquí lo he notado. Más antes no era así. En cuanto al medio ambiente lo mismo, en cuanto a la madera, lo mismo. (...) Se hace contrato con algún
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	19:00-20:45	empresario, vende, y la plata se agarra, se queda con la plata calladito, para las necesidades personales. Eso estamos viviendo como TCO. Ya los beneficios ya no, otros se benefician, toman cerveza, y en la borrachera empieza a insultarnos a nosotros, y eso nos asusta. A los que no agarramos plata por la mina, la madera etc. Ellos agarran la plata, tienen amigos, se vienen y dejan la plata, consiguen madera para sus amigos. Y no dicen nada a los demás. (...) En las reuniones la gente empieza a reclamar, la gente que llegaron a saber un poco, reclaman, y ellos responden que no, que es mentira. Por lo que yo reclamo, por eso me han elegido para que yo asumo la cartera, responsable de tesorera."
	20:45-22:35	Migración: "Cuando escuchan que está saliendo mucho mineral, se vienen, los hijos, pero no mi hijo, pero los hijos de otros, se meten también ahí para sacar. A algunos les agrada, a otros no, es bien sacrificado. Uno se ensucia, y cansa, hay que usar herramientas, barretas. Con esto yo cabo la tierra, hay que sentarse abajo y cavar. Para los hombres es más grueso, a esa hora ya están rendidos y cansados. Y uno no sabe dónde está, hay unos días que uno encuentra, otros no."
		Efectos a la salud: "Según lo que yo veo es que los que se meten bien a la mina, son flacos. Tanto el olor, lo que absorben, ya están enfermos, son sordos, no escuchan. Llueve, hay sol, se friegan sus oídos y el olor, es como el gas, se huele. Ahí donde está la dinamita, revienta, unos 15 minutos uno se va vuelta, pero el olor sigue, uno lo absorba además. Y son flacos, no hay mineros gordos."
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	31:30-34:30	Participación en tema de minería: "Se llama a todos, pero a veces no les gusta a la gente opinar, calladitos están, eso es lo que uno no puede confirmar con la gente porque no hablan. Y yo no puedo mantenerme calladita y salir de la reunión sin decir algo, para mí no es la forma, hay que opinar. (...) Solo unos cuantos opinan y sugieren. La mayoría no opina. A veces no bajan, unos cuantos nada más. Se enojan más bien, no les gusta la discusión. Pero cuando aparece el conflicto hay que someterse también. Son pasivos, por eso, no quieren que les duela la cabeza, mejor no ir y se quedan en su casa. (...) A veces se enojan, por la mina también."
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	14:45-18:35	Ayer renunció como tesorera de la cooperativa: "No me agrada, después de haber dicho cuantas veces al cacique que estamos organizados, y cuándo él va a decir que aquí está la plata, trabájenlo, y quién va a

		<p>justificar lo que Usted hace? Si Usted es el fiscalizador... Nos dio solamente los porcentajes, con el resto se queda, le deja 50 mil, 100, él compra la mina. Así avisan los que dejan. Además lo que a mí no me agrada es que no hay esa consulta. No vienen y saludan y pregunta si queremos recibirlos, el alcalde municipal y los empresarios que le ofrecieron. El alcalde lo agarró, y dijo que lo teníamos en dos partes: tenemos estaño, y acá en este lado tenemos wólfram. Entonces somos ricos porque tenemos material. Pero nosotros no tenemos asegurados nuestra tierra. Solamente que el presidente nos dio el título así, pero en todo no, así TCO, que nosotros tengamos nuestra propia tierra, eso no, y eso es nuestra cultura, de vivir así en conjunto. Solamente que cada comunidad tiene su área, hace su senda en los alrededores de su comunidad. Eso nada más, se pone un mojón, un palo plantado.”</p>
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	<p>10:25-14:10</p> <p>22:40-31:30</p>	<p>Relación comunidad y cooperativa: "El mismo OTV no quiere respetar a esa organización, de la que yo soy tesorera (la cooperativa). Su esposa es profesora, empleada del Estado. Agarra la plata, compra, se va a un lugar, y debería dar a una persona que no tiene plata. Y él es autoridad de la comunidad, debería supervisar. Y su señora trabaja en aula, entonces el no debería agarrar, porque su señora igual está recibiendo, pero le vale. Eso pasa. (...) De vez en cuando voy a sus reuniones (de las cooperativistas): entre ellos hay conflictos a veces, porque esa bebida, la llevan en su mochila, toman y ya empiezan a discutir, insultarse, la llevan a su lugar de trabajo. Y grave se amenazan, incluso largar una dinamita a las personas. Antes cuando no había ese trabajo de minería, de madera, todo era tranquilo. Yo me acuerdo a mi papá que visitó a las personas saludando con su sombrero, lo sacaba. Ahora ya no hay eso. Hay cambio, pero no es cambio bonito."</p> <p>Empresas que entran: "No, porque somos bien unidos. Mi padre me recomendó mucho, él fue a la guerra antes, estaba dos años en la guerra, duró 5 años, la guerra del Chaco. Él me recomendó muchas cosas, hemos ganado dijo, harta gente mató. Él dijo que 'sé que es pecado, pero es defender, tampoco es mi voluntad, los que tienen la culpa son los presidentes'. Son los del campo, conocían mejor que los de la ciudad. (...) En ese momento estaban defendiendo nuestro territorio, qué sería de nosotros si hubieran ganado, si no hubiéramos sido esclavos. Sería peor ahora.</p> <p>Ahora con el presidente Evo peor, hasta la riqueza, en ese entonces eran hasta 30cm no más lo que nos</p>

		<p>pertenece, ahora se está luchando para poder acceder a los recursos naturales y eso es la lucha ahora, estamos todavía luchando. (...) Nuestros padres nos decían que no hay que dejarse así no más, peor dictar, que somos aquí del lugar. Mi papá es un Masaí, viene de San Ignacio de Velasco, inmigrando de los patronos antes. Entonces encontraron este lugar, se asentó aquí, venía otro que se asentó... Nos organizamos después, y es respaldado por la CICOL que es nuestra máxima autoridad. De ahí nos respetaron. Antes decía el prefecto de Concepción mandaba una carta diciendo que necesitaba 100 hombres a trabajar en su Chaco como prestando vial. Y la gente calladita, se acomodó a trabajar, nada de decir que no podían, calladitos. Mi papá decía antes que nos cuidemos y que hay que aprender a hacerse respetar, eso es lo que a mí me decía mi papá. Ya vivíamos tranquilos y ya no sufren como él sufría, hambre, sol, lluvia. Eso se me quedó en la cabeza. Antes los de Coloradillo nos llamaron, a ayudarles, se entonaron, decían que la tierra era de todos los bolivianos, es de nosotros decían como también eran bolivianos. Yo dije que consulten primero, y tampoco me metí rápido, esperé y escuché, calmar entre hombre y hombre. No estaban borrachos, pero bravos estaban. La tierra no tiene dueño, somos dueños los que vivimos aquí. Pero vi que no había solución, ya querían agarrarse a puñetes, y escuché a lo que decía mi papá (él estaba todavía vivo, pero viejito), y estaba yo al tanto.”</p>
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Género	37:50-40:10	<p>“No opinan (las mujeres), no opinan. Las mujeres para trabajar, van con sus maridos. Pero en cuestión de conflictos no se meten, cobardía será. Así lo veo, se lo vende no más su marido, no hay coraje. Tal vez será en mi caso que mi padre era guerrero, sangre de mi papá, y también me decía que hay que lanzarse. Mientras que sus papás no eran, y saben pues nada, no están informados. Eso parece que es, se esconden. Si es una fiesta, si van, a hacer chicha, si van y opinan, pero una cosa así como una reunión, plan de trabajo, no van.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	41:10-42:50	<p>“A mí me duele mucho, que todos a mi edad, sea hombre o mujer, somos nosotros que debatimos, me agrada siempre a mí, también si es solo es una reunión para las autoridades, pero yo me meto, para saber qué pasa, porque si uno no se va, no se entera de nada. Y como uno es comunario, hay que bajar.”</p>

	44:20-44:25	Respondiendo a pregunta quién ya no va a reunión: “Los viejitos, los de la tercera edad ya no van.”
Jóvenes	40:15-41:10 43:05-43:45	“Ah sí, también (respondiendo a quién no participa), depende también del papá, si el papá le agrada no ver problemas y quiere ver el cambio, sale, y su hijo también sale como su papá. Pero si no, tampoco va a la reunión, no hace nada. Aquí hay tanta clase experiencia.” “Trabajan y terminan a estudiar, pero se quedan allá, solo se aparecen para la fiesta el día 10 de agosto. Pero mis hijos no vienen, tengo cuatro en Santa Cruz, dos en Trinidad y uno en España.”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	34:30-37:50	“Hace unos días que hubo un enfrentamiento aquí en Coloradillo, siempre en Coloradillo, de aquí se fueron, querían llegar a las dos. No fui, no me contaron nada, yo estaba costurando, ahí contaron. No vinieron, hay personas que están a favor porque les dan un poquito de platita y salen a favor de ellos. Esperaron hasta las 12 de la noche, como hubo teléfono, los llamaron aquí, no me imaginarme, tantos problemas hay. Hay un grupo cuyo presidente es que le sigue al presidente del Estado, pero es mentira, supuestamente ellos están trabajando para el presidente. Pero cuando vienen aquí actúan mal, quieren explotar la mina, pero nuestro lugar todavía no está asegurado, no tenemos personalidad jurídica todavía. Y hay una persona que es muy dañina, y afecta a las cuatro cooperativas. En el trámite en uno que está metido, viene ese Don Cesar, no sé qué dirá.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

I_35_grupo_LNMMi

Nombre de entrevistador:

Efren Cabrera-Barrinetos

Fecha de entrevista:

12.03.2015

Edad del entrevistado:

Arriba de los 60 años

Función/cargo de entrevistado:

Ancianos jubilados

Afiliación con corporativa:

Ninguno es socio

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

<p>Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>	<p>04:34-06:10</p> <p>06:22-08:28</p> <p>08:48-18:30</p>	<p>“el ambiente social, cuando empezó la minería empezó el problema, acarreo ´problema por todos lados, mientras no había minería no había problema... viene los técnicos de otros lados que quieren minar aquí, y ya preguntan por la ficha ambiental y si no lo tienen hay cualquier excusa de multas o sanciones al grupo la cooperativa que quiere minar..., cuando no había al minería no había problema, no conocíamos problemas, aunque había pirata de minería. No son reconocidos, mientras aurita quieren ser reconocidos, ahí también está el problema, porque hay cositas que tienen que cumplir, la cooperativa si lo llama en una reunión en tal parte, el dirigente tiene que cumplir sea como sea, y si los recursos no lo tiene ya comienza a pedir a los socios y si los socios no tienen recursos ya hay un problema, ya ese problema lo toman en cuenta a los más grandote (hablando de la FEDECOMIN) que dicen que tal cooperativa no estuvo presente por motivos de recursos; ya es un problema un obstáculo para que sigan minando, porque si no presenta ya hay una sanción...”</p> <p>“bueno, hablando de eso, es verdad que es un problema ay un lio, casi personal a veces, porque digamos con la plata era para que no haya problemas, pero hay más problemón, porque se refleja en los trabajos ya estando en el pozo dicen ‘este es mi lugar que más acá’ de ahí viene el otro que no tiene suerte, y viene el otro que tiene... no ya no entonces ahí es un riesgo en el trabajo, ahí está la cosa porque esto acá y bueno, no podemos ganar la sociedad dentro del trabajo, por eso es que no podemos entender, ya cuando esta la plata es un lío..., de ahí pues surge el problema, antes era tranquilo..., mas allá no conocemos que requisitos hay de ahí no podemos seguir...”</p> <p>“... bueno el cambio en un principio que yo veo no, nunca he ido a trabajar..., en un principio, en le 2010 más o menos, primeramente algunos tenían otra experiencia de ir a trabajar en otras partes, vinieron acá y encontraron, familiarmente empezaron, ya otra persona está mirando y empieza a preguntar dónde, entonces ya se forma el grupito y se va allá en el lugar, no tenemos coordinación de ese trabajo, no estaba organizado en cooperativa era familiar nomas, era al que tienen suerte, según al que tienen suerte si es su hermano o su hija pillan y es su suerte; y otro</p>
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	18:55-20:02	<p>que ve ya que los muchachos tienen platitas, ya empiezan a investigar a los demás y se van también, que pensarán pues que van a aprovechar fácil por no querer cavar otro pozo, está esperando al que está cavando porque tiene su pozo, pillan y ya no respetan incluso lo levantan al propietario de pozo que lo pillan, entonces de noche se va y piratean lo que ya dejó el dueño lista para sacar se lo sacan, entonces ahí está el problema. Entre así nomás sí que sea de cooperativas, es lo que yo escucho que a tal profundidad se encuentra esa mina y limpiar y cavar todo eso es un trabajo. Y que venga otro a sacar directo lo fácil, esta pues robando, ya no es sociedad, entonces ya surgen el problema y no respeta la herramienta que dejan dentro del pozo, se pierden, se roban, ese es el problema, yo sufrí de ese problema que me robaron mis dos barretas de mi chaco y fue esos que trabajan en la mina... Cuando ya se quería organizar cuando ya su todo el pueblo se empezó a formar grupos de trabajo, ahí ya fue cuando empezó el problema de los alimentos, entonces ya no se hace chaco, ya no alcanza para comprar porque los víveres lo traen de Santa Cruz no hay yuca, no hay plátano, no hay maíz. En tiempo de lluvia está bien no, pero en tiempo de sequía no hay ni chaco ni mina y no tenemos para comer y sufrimos ya, un problema trae esa mina; ahora ya no hay agua en la mina y otra vez esta bonito para trabajar; hubo un problema (con la comunidad Surusubí) que pillaron esa mina en el territorio que pertenece a San Lorenzo, y los otros que vieron que hay recursos en esas tierras dijeron que no firmaron nada que esa tierra no era de San Lorenzo... un problema se hizo hasta que al final se hizo la cooperativa que ahora ellos están trabajando (en ese lugar que estaba en disputa) ahora toda la comunidad tiene que hacer el trabajo público para hacer camino hacia la mina, pero todos tenemos la posibilidad ir, unos cuantos, un grupito de 10 máximo; los socios se inscribieron unos 20 pero no van esos 20 a trabajar; dicen en la asamblea general que esos recursos pertenecen al pueblo, desde el más chico hasta el más grande...; pero como la cooperativa ya está registrado mensual y ni van a la mina y ahí está el problema; porque el pensamiento de arriba (los de FEDECOMIN) cuando son socios trabajan y trabajan y de ahí pues genera plata, pues su nombre es mina, lo poquito que venden compran arroz, así que no pueden aportar; de ahí también los convoca a la reunión a la ciudad a la federación y ni para su pasaje hay, entonces su cuenta ya hay 500bs de multa, ese es el problema, si hubiese el trabajo continuo no creo que hubiese</p>
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	40:15-41:28	<p>tanto problema porque... son cuatro os que trabajan en grupo, dicen entra un grupo y sacan 10 kilos entra el otro grupo y sacan 3 kilos y dice que no encuentran, entonces cuando entra el otro grupo ya hay incomodidad..., el pensamiento no debería ser así...”</p> <p>“no me atrae nada la mina, él lo dijo, el otro igual, todos son problemas para el bien social, ni siquiera para que el pueblo adelante o ni siquiera para el en su hogar mejore, más bien lo que más trae es conflicto; para que y me meta en conflicto con ellos a sabiendo ya? Ni que fuera loco..., estoy bien nomas, no tengo enemigos, no tengo con quien discutir, pero los comentario llegan que fulano, que mengano, que más allá...”</p> <p>“La división se manifiesta en la llamada a reunión, a veces llama a reunión de socios nomas..., y si uno que no es socio aparece por allá a mirar, hay una diferencia así como si no pertenece aquí (con la mirada l dicen que se vayan)...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	41:30-43:15	<p>“en las reuniones generales de nosotros vienen por punto (los temas que se van a tratar), eso maneja el OTB (cacique) y su directiva (salud, junta escolar, deporte, minería) entre todos dicen cuáles son las actividades, cuáles son los problemas dónde más hay problema; entonces en donde hay más problemas siempre es con el cacique de minería, yo le decía hace rato que el problema es recursos, porque había una reunión en San Ramón en la que no fueron y ya había una multa de 4.000 bs y ellos tienen que pagar, entonces la comunidad tuvo que poner de sus recursos para pagar esa multa por que no tuvieron para sus pasajes para ir; ya mucho se incomodan al hacer eso...,</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	44:10-45:25	<p>“bueno aquí hay mujeres que a veces no tienen el coraje para hablar, porque a veces le intimidan y le dicen ‘para que va a hablar si no saben’ ahí lo baja</p>

		también su moral de la mujer, aunque quiere hablar con ese comentario lo intimidan, la gente que está en la reunión lo intimidan al menos si esta calurosa la reunión se enojan ya ahí la mujer que quiere hablar lo conocen nomas, la gente murmuran por allá y lo callan y ya no piden la palabra aunque tiene alguna duda, se calla. Donde habla ya es afuera y dice: ‘yo quería hablar y pedir la palabra’ peor nada pues. De que aquí hay (discriminación hacia la mujer en la reunión) hay participan pero es la presencia nomás, pero de ahí a hablar a opinar en la reunión no pasa porque le intimidan, así pasa...”
Práctica Lingüística	46:18-46:35	“...no sabe expresarse, si es por el idioma a veces puede expresarse en su idioma mismo...”
Tercera Edad	45:42-46:15 1:00:39-1:01:12	“lo que uno siempre teme cunada habla de las reuniones que lo que diga no coincida con el tema que se está hablando o también no saben muy bien el castellano ‘no para que vas a hablar, no sabes’ algo así dicen y lo bajan la moral a uno, o se a que lo discriminan...” “Nosotros no participamos mientras que no hay una invitación exclusivo, no entramos a meternos en su asunto de ellos, porque ellos (el pueblo) tienen sus apuntes para trabajar...”
Jóvenes	54:25-55:10	“según a lo que se ve ellos no participan de las reuniones mientras que no lo llaman, están por ahí..., van a los trabajos públicos a remplazar a sus padres
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	20:10-23:45	Conflictos que aparecieron con la minería: “entiendo yo que casi como ya no hay entendimiento en la comunidad, casi como se siente más retrasado, en ves que vaya superando cada vez está más retrasado, a veces ya ni come bien, abandonan su hogar, dejan a sus niñitos chiquititos, todo el día sin comer, ya no hay víveres en la casa porque el chaco ya no existe, más lo que yo veo es ambición. Yo creo que yo era el número uno ahí si yo haiga vido (de ver) bonito la sociedad entera, no es que ellos no sean (refiriéndose a todos los comunarios) más yo veo que

	38:05-39:20	<p>es ambición porque más tiran a su lado, ahí ya se vio lo que dijo el, que se roban los pozos que se piratean, no tienen moral, no tienen respeto y escuche que ya se han peleado ahí toman coca, lo que más abunda ahí es el vicio; sin embargo ha habido referencia del gobierno mismo, que se venga a trabajar las empresas pero con un gobierno sólido, así como dicen que recibamos por igual desde el más recién nacido hasta el más veterano, que ellos traigan maquinas aquí, que traigan gente experto, entonces los porcentajes que les quedan que sean para el bien social, ya sean para camino o para puentes o en el lugar pueden ser un colegio o un coliseo..., entonces quien no va a querer? ... aprovechemos mientras estén ahí, quien no va a querer un colegio, un buen hospital, o un coliseo..., pero aurita por lo que se ve solo trae conflicto...”</p> <p>“Los que se oponen son los que no quieren ir a trabajar ‘bueno yo no voy’ dicen, peor cunado toca la repartición de excedentes ahí se quejan y dicen ‘porque a mí me tocó poquito...”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	47:22-47:40 48:55-50:20 51:43-52:50	<p>“... entre nosotros existe el poderío (machismo, se escuchó una vos) más franqueza, para mí lo veo que más atiende a la gente de afuera, por decir ustedes...”</p> <p>Esto no tiene que ver con ningún tema pero me pareció importante escribirlo: “quisiéramos que estas entrevistas no queden en la viento, quisiera que esto llegue a los oídos de nuestro mandatario, para que sepa la realidad que los recursos naturales que exigen aquí es para más conflicto... ese es un tema que no atrae conflicto, no atrae armonía, no atrae beneficio, no atrae un logro o un desarrollo sino solo atrae conflicto; y que solucione ese problema..., para que no estemos mezquinando ese oro que está en la naturaleza es a hacer una obra de bien social, sabemos que es la tarea de los gobernadores</p> <p>“ no hay un grupo específico que discrimina sino cualquiera que ya lo conoce al que va a pedir la palabra ya lo que va contestar y hacen bulla para que no hable y esa persona se va bravo (muy molesto) por no poder haber hablado..., no hay un grupo específico...”</p>

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_36LNFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 13.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 46
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria
Afilación con cooperativa: es socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	3:35-6:58 8:20-11:15	Cambios: "Hay cambios en la economía, plata por la mina. Se ve en el hogar, para los hijos. Pero la gente trabaja en el chaco también, chaco y mina. Normalmente dos días en la mina y tres días en el chaco. Hay algunos que solo trabajan en la mina, hay harto, suficiente, suficiente para sus familias. (...) Casi no hay cambio, son pocos los que están trabajando en la mina, diez personas solamente, hombres. Las mujeres nada, ninguna. No nos metemos tan al fondo. En Pukio igual trabajan las mujeres, en grupos trabajan, pero aquí no, todavía. También vamos a ayudar cuando haya más material." Efectos a salud: "Uno se enferma estando allá. Hambre, uno no come. Gripe, dolor de cabeza por la dinamita que entra en la cabeza, tiene efectos. No se puede respirar bien. (...) Por las micas, pica todo el cuerpo, eso afecta. (...) No se respira bien y poco. (...) Con el tiempo puede afectar a los pulmones también. (...) Desde el año pasado se trabaja la mina, antes solamente el chaco."
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	17:55-20:20	"No somos unidos nosotros, se llama a la reunión y no vienen. No les interesa, cada uno está en su pensamiento. Será que no entienden. Mayormente son los viejitos que están, hoy en día la gente ya no sabe unirse. Yo si participo. (...) Unos cuantos opinan, son los hombres, como la edad de mi esposo, 40 años por ahí"
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	7:05-8:20	"Trabajamos por grupos, por 5 personas en grupo, cada dos días. 2 Grupos nada más, a veces hasta sábado. Son 10-11 personas, también hay grupitos de menos personas."
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	13:50-15:25	Relación socios y no socios: "Ahí están, ellos esperan no más a que llegue el porcentaje de los que trabajan. Para todos se reparte. Se utilizó el porcentaje para la personalidad jurídica: la comunidad recibió el

	28:15-28:35	<p>porcentaje y lo entregó a la cooperativa para arreglar los papeles."</p> <p>Relación entre cooperativa y cacique: "El cacique apoya, él también es socio. Si es jefe de la cooperativa quiere algo, él le apoya."</p>
	-	-
Género	20:35-25:45 29:40-32:30	<p>"A veces están tímidas, tal vez no está correcto dicen, por eso se callan o nos callamos. Yo no opino porque no me escuchan. A veces opina, pero no mucho, no me escuchan mucho, los que están adentro, eso temo yo que no me escuchan. Algunas mujeres opinan como hombres. (...) Hay un "club de madres", organizan trabajo, público. A veces nos llama en parlantes para ir a la reunión, a veces nos reunimos, y para los trabajos públicos cada sábado, nos vamos a limpiar. (...) Nos reunimos en la casa de artesanía. Otros son socios y trabajan cada día así."</p> <p>"Casi no puedo opinar yo. Así dice mi esposo, opinar y hablar, está bien tu idea, tu pensamiento. Quiero opinar, pero tengo el temor de que no me escuchan. (...) No salí bachiller, solo tres años no más fui al colegio, somos varios, él (su padre) no pudo ya para nuestros materiales. Me casé a los 16 años, antes incluso a los 12 o 13 años se casaron mis compañeras. Los compañeros (varones) iban más, 10 años al colegio, han salido bachilleres."</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		Vea: Participación y toma de decisiones
Jóvenes	20:25-20:35	"A veces participan también, 26-25 por ahí"
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	11:25-13:40	"Se formó una cooperativa para organizarse, la idea vino de Santa Cruz, ese Emilio (FEDECOMIN). De la CICOL también dijeron que nos organicemos."
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	15:25-17:45	"No hay conflictos, todos trabajan tranquilos, en la mina o el chaco (respectivamente). (...) Hay varios que van a la mina sin ser socios. La mitad de los que van son socios. 26 están inscritos en la cooperativa, son un poco menos que la mitad."
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_37LNFM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler

Fecha de entrevista: 13.3.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 48
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria, responsable de género de comunidad
 Afiliación con cooperativa: no socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

<p>Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>	<p>5:15-7:20</p> <p>7:20-7:35</p> <p>8:45-9:45</p>	<p>Cambios: “Para mí no hay cambios, los que son mineros, siguen en lo mismo, han retirado algo. Más bien hay problemas siempre, cuando tienen problemas con otras comunidades, tienen que solucionar, pero cuando no tienen problemas ahí, arreglan problemas aquí. Tiene que hablar con el OTV, él si va con ellos para solucionar problemas en el lugar. (...) Don Joaquín ya no va, porque estaba tosiendo, ya estaba sordo, estaba enferma de la minería. Esos que hacen la mina normalmente son especialistas, tiene para ponerse y a máquina, yo veo que más eran enfermedades, eso no es un cambio. En cambio cuando trabajaban con caña, por ejemplo Don Joaquín tenía caña y hacía miel, lo vendía y nosotros consumíamos, esto si estaba bien. En cambio con la mina, veo yo, paraba enfermo, mal de la garganta, ya no se duchaba. Entonces en vez de mejorar, el se estaba empeorando y su familia.”</p> <p>Efectos a salud: “Del polvo de la mina, del pozo se enfermó Don Joaquín.”</p> <p>Beneficios: “Hay momentos que sí y hay momentos que no. No es diario que ellos sacan. Para mí más ganan en el chaco, porque paran sanos, mientras que en la mina más se arruinan, porque toda la noche están ahí.”</p>
<p>Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario</p>	<p>20:20-24:40</p>	<p>“Siempre casi la mitad, pero no todos. Pero cuando presión del OTV, pues bajan. Si no, pagan, 50 pesos se paga, porque a veces los llaman dos o tres veces y no bajan. (...) Es porque les gusta ir a pescar, coquear, está en el agua, pero la reunión no es nada. Por eso un día antes se avisa. (...) En la cooperativa no lo sé porque no participo (...) Opinar: La mayoría opina, porque a veces les obliga el OTV, porque quiere saber qué es su opinión, por qué no charlan en la reunión, y solamente después y afuera, porque eso ya no vale.”</p>

		(...) Algunos salen de la reunión sin opinar nada, pero todos están de acuerdo, pero no se sabe por dentro.”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	4:35-4:55	“Yo no estoy casi al tanto de eso, me avisan cuando hay una reunión, pero no voy al lugar digamos como los varones.”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	12:50-16:45	Personas de afuera: “Son esos kollas que vienen, una vez vienen y ya no quieren salir. Algunos aceptan, pero no sabe la mayoría de la comunidad. Solo unos tres lo están trayendo, así pasó en Coloradillo, pero los otros no quieren. Porque la gente no es de aquí, no son vivientes mismos de aquí. (...) La gente se junta y se comunica por teléfono como en Coloradillo, los vivientes los que no querían que estén ahí. (...) Era personal, para traer a personas de afuera, pero luego se habló eso en una reunión. Si se quedan una vez ya no los podemos sacar, y eso pasó en Coloradillo, pasó varias veces ha pasado ahí. Después piden ayuda los demás de la CICOL. Ahí hay unas pocas personas a las que les gusta la mina.”
	17:30-19:10	Empresas: “Hay ahorita empresas aquí, las que sacan esas piedras blancas. Faboce en Coloradillo, aquí no. (...) Aquí los OTVs lo arreglan y van, hay un problema por la minería y ellos van, están al día de eso.”
	-	-
Género	9:45-9:55 26:45-30:40	“No, nosotros no participamos en la mina. Nosotros solamente participamos en tejer esto, eso es nuestra mina.” “La mujer igual tiene derechos ahora, de opinar. Siempre en las reuniones tienen que opinar las mujeres, no solo los hombres, antes sí, los hombres no más hablaron. Cuando habló una señora, levanta la voz un hombre, ahora nada. Si la mujer igual tiene una boca y una idea de decir algo, tiene que decir. (...) Por eso hay mujeres que no opinan en las reuniones: hay mujeres que se levantan no más, todo conforme, pero yo no sé cómo vive con su marido, pero ya se lo dije, que la mujer igual tiene derecho de opinar y que vaya a su casa a decírselo a su marido. La mujer tiene que decir si su opinión no le gustó a su esposo y hay que decirlo al público, a ver qué va a decir el señor ahí. (...) No todas lo están entendiendo, pero siempre cuando están sus esposos, casi no opinan las mujeres, porque piensan que estando los esposos qué van a hacer si opinan mal o bien. Las mujeres más opinan cuando hago reuniones con las señoras, toditas opinan. Cuando hay reuniones con puras mujeres, todas opinan, pero así con varones nada. (...) Siempre hay un marido que no quiere que opine su señora, y la señora de miedo no opina en la reunión. Miedo de

	33:15-42:10	<p>su marido que no le pegue. Claro, le pegan, pero no lo cuentan. Pero ya vienen los más nuevos e igual opinan en las reuniones, los jóvenes. A mi edad si existe eso. (...) Opinan las mujeres en reuniones mixtas, pero no cuando están sus esposos.”</p> <p>Club de madres: “No soy de aquí, soy de otra comunidad. Son unas cuantas nada más que son activas en el club de madres. La mayoría de las personas es de otras comunidades. Se inició hace más o menos 60 años, porque yo llevo 33 años aquí. En todas las comunidades hay algo como un club de madres. (...) Organizan reuniones con las señoras, van todas las mujeres y limpian su patio, lo que es afuera de sus casas. Antes trajeron leña, todas juntas para alguna señora, luego para otra, así no hay que ir diario para traer leña. Otra es que hacían huerta, sembraban tomates, pepinos, otras verduras más. Había dos gringas que nos enseñaron a sembrar, eso era la obligación del club de tener verduras. Después de eso se junta. Las responsables dicen a las señoras si no hacen bien sus trabajos, se reuniones todas para hablar de esos asuntos. Ya ahora con el OTV, el club de madre igual participa, y se comunica al OTV. (...) Y ya opina las mujeres, se juntas si hace falta algo. Otra cosa es que hay una organización de 14 comunidades de tejer, dos de cada comunidad participan en esas comunidades. Ya no se hace huertas, solo los que están con niños en colegios. (...) Las que opinan ahora en las reuniones (comunales) qué es lo que dijeron las señoras (en las reuniones del club de madres), ya con los varones en las reuniones. Y algunos hombres lo apoyan, otros no. Las señoras si quieren ir a participar, pero a sus maridos no les gusta.”</p> <p>Recomendación para mejorar participación: “Es con su marido, con su pareja, porque aconsejar a la señora igual que nada, porque él que manda es su marido. Hay que hablar con la pareja. También puede ser que la señora miente, y no se sabe. Ya lo descubrimos el otro día: dijo que no es porque su marido no quiere, lo agarró Asunta, aquí las mujeres lo tenemos difícil hacer desayuno para los chicos, se van al colegio, y será que solo unas dos o tres horas no trabajan y ya se acuerdan de su olla, de ahí la mujer no quiere irse, porque no sabe organizar su trabajo.”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	30:40-33:05	<p>“Los de la tercera edad casi ya no van a la reunión. Tienen su otro grupo, recién se organizó. Por uno que era profesor de aula, ahora es jefe de la tercera edad,</p>

		junta a todos los jubilados, tiene su secretario. Hace reunión con la tercera edad. Se cansan con los más jóvenes, en cambio ahora lo pueden hacer con las tardes de los días sábado o domingo, se juntan. No se van quedar hasta media noche. Algunos están durmiendo y solo unos cuantos están hablando. El responsable de ese grupo va en representación de ellos a la reunión con el OTV.”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: I_38LNFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Jessika Eichler
Fecha de entrevista: 13.3.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 35
Función/cargo de entrevistado: comunaria
Afiliación con cooperativa: no socia

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	4:10- 6:25	Cambios: “Desde el tiempo que empezamos a ver esa mina, al principio era bien bonito. Cuando había, salía hartito. Cada persona y cada familia, cuando se vendía, pensaba en qué cosa se iba a comprar con la plata. Se pensaba que iba a haber más ingreso de dinero, pero todavía no hubo ese cambio. Reciente hubo un presidente y secretario de minería, en ese tiempo se manejaba como piratas no más, como se sigue hasta ahora. Otro es que la comunidad en la sociedad se tomó la decisión de aportar a la comunidad, un 5% de lo que uno saca por kilo. Y eso es para el beneficio de
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	11:35-13:55	<p>la comunidad, y con esa plata se está haciendo los trámites ahora para la personalidad jurídica. En la sociedad ya hay más cambio cuando uno trabaja en la mina, pero hay que también saber trabajarlo, porque es bien riesgoso, también con el agua, con el pozo, las piedras, bien riesgoso, pero algunos van pues a trabajar.”</p> <p>“Hay cambios, pero depende de cómo utiliza el dinero. Yo personalmente cuando fui a trabajar con mi esposo, me compré para mi cama, para mi heladera, o sea cosas que sirven para mi recuerdo. (...) El hombre siempre tiene ese deseo de tomar, de comprarse coca, pero no todo va ir a eso, serán 10 pesos, le alcanza. Con el medio ambiente también hay que saber cuidarlo, los reciclantes uno si o si tiene que traer de donde uno está trabajando, si no se ve feo.”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	18:15-23:10 23:25-24:05	<p>“Lo siento por la gente que no participa, al mismo tiempo da tristeza y da rabia. Es un poco difícil de obligar a la gente, todo tenemos que ser un poco sociable, de dar idea, porque si uno no más habla, los demás dicen que ella no más habla. En esta comunidad tenemos el problema de que no son puntuales, sociables más que todo, hay personas que se quedan no más en sus casas. Según mi pensamiento es que depende de la autoridad, cómo es su posición, porque si un dirigente que tiene una idea y si yo le pregunto y la gente se queda y no está de acuerdo. Pero si un dirigente se plantea y dice que lo quiere así, se cumple, tiene otra voz. Entonces el comunario va a decir que el OTV... (empieza a llover, vamos adentro). Si él muestra inseguridad y no está conforme con su palabra... decidido para hacer las cosas bien. De una vez tiene que decir, no mucha charla y muchas vueltas, si no la gente se acobarde acá.”</p> <p>“Yo desde el comienzo he participado y sigo ahí hasta que me jubile. Me gusta ser sociable, me gusta trabajar, me gusta hacer todo, no estoy así que no quiero, que no se haga.”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	6:25-7:35	<p>“Más antes me gustaba, pero ya no. Participaba, no soy socia. Y ahorita cuando escucho de, me gusta ir y escuchar las reuniones. Hemos ido a Pukio. Ya se formó la directiva de las cuatro cooperativas porque Coloradillo está aparte, no está incluido con las cuatro cooperativas. Y eso por falta de información.”</p>
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado,	7:35-9:40	<p>“Desde un comienzo ha venido gente que siempre querían trabajar con nosotros. Había dos señores que venían el otro día y entraron allá. Nunca llegaron a</p>

municipalidad, empresa)	15:05- 16:05	<p>pillar a esa mina, así en cantidad, se pillaba siempre poquito no más. (...) Vinieron de Santa Cruz, hasta ahora los hemos visto vuelta venir. Y otros venían para comprar, otros también para comprar. Parece que esto ahora está ocurriendo por aceptar varios compradores y no tener un convenio de venta y compra de esa mina. Eso es lo que pasa con Coloradillo, por eso hay un conflicto: si nosotros apoyamos una parte, y la otra parte de otro grupo nada, ahí ya está el problema, que no nos entendemos. Porque cuando se formó el directorio es para bien, según mi entendimiento: lo que yo entendí es que uno trabaja y da su porcentaje y cuando uno fallece puede entregar su capital a sus hijos.”</p> <p>“Vinieron a trabajar con nosotros, ellos dan para que nosotros vendamos la mina para ellos. Ahora en Coloradillo es así, pero allá entraron con otra visión: con la personalidad jurídica quieren formar otra cooperativa, pero tampoco entiendo bien. Ahí hay dos bandos, no sé, es difícil de entenderlo.”</p>
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Género	9:55- 11:35 25:30- 28:15 29:30- 33:20	<p>“No éramos varias mujeres, pero ya no vamos. El trabajo es muy pesado, ahí en el pozo. También depende de cómo se organiza, porque si hay una buena organización, no participa la mujer. Más antes era individual el trabajo, ahora ya que el pozo está más hondo, hay que trabajar en grupos. Ahora se está organizando de nuevo. Queremos organizar mujeres para ir a lavar (ya no trabajo pesado), sale la mina, no es que no sale, por lo menos si uno saca dos kilos, pasa el día.”</p> <p>“Participan, cuando hay trabajos públicos, todingos participan. Pero cuando hacemos reuniones, ahí cuando no participamos en una reunión, tenemos que pagar una multa. Los hábiles tienen que pagar: desde cuando uno se casa hasta que se jubile su marido o hasta que cumple sus 50 años. Se sigue participando si uno es sociable, pero si uno no es sociable... Es porque aquí uno ya se casa a los 15 o 16 y ya tiene que participar (en vez de a partir de 18 años). Es diferente para los hombres, para los hombres es a partir de los 18 años. También se puede participar antes, pero no es obligatorio.”</p> <p>“Si se hace una reunión de mujeres, ahí si opinan. Si se hace una reunión grande al nivel comunal, unas cuantas nada más hablan. Ahí también hay representantes de ellas en la reunión comunal. Las reuniones para las mujeres son las del club de</p>

		madres. En esas reuniones se habla de la participación de la mujer, de algunos proyectos que uno quiere hacer, también analizar asuntos de la mina, cualquier tema. Cada año cambiamos de presidente que nos representa en las reuniones comunales. (...) Hasta ahora nunca hemos hablado del tema de minería ahí. (...) En las reuniones comunales hay más presencia de las mujeres en comparación a las de la cooperativa.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	24:40- 25:20 33:25- 33:55	“Cuando se jubilan casi ya no están en reuniones, no quieren ir a veces porque están cansados de su trabajo. En los trabajos públicos si participan, pero así en reuniones no. Por qué será, no les gustará la charla” “Algunos bajan, otros no, por qué será pues.”
Jóvenes	23:15- 23:25	“Con los jóvenes es difícil, recién se están juntando con hombres.”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	16:05- 18:10	“Aquí, no ha habido conflicto. El problema que hay aquí es que uno confía en ciertas personas, da el aporte, y ellos malversan los fondos, es si ha ocurrido. Primero era de la comunidad (los fondos), no de la cooperativa, pero desde que se formó la cooperativa, ya va a ir para la cooperativa. Pero debería haber un porcentaje para la comunidad, porque la tierra es de la comunidad.(...) Nada de empresas, no vinieron. Solo en Pukio, aquí no, no me acuerdo de algo así.”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

II_1CNMT

Nombre de entrevistador:

Efren Cabrera-Barrientos

Fecha de entrevista:

06.03.2015

Edad del entrevistado:	60 Aproximado
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Comunario de Base
Afiliación con corporativa:	No afiliado

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación

o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	04:05-05:30	“nada, no se ve nada, a veces vienen pura mentira dicen: ‘vamos a dejar por el bien de la comunidad’, pero es mentira, no se ve nada... empezó el año 1999 o más a sacar mineral, a veces nos mienten nomás y poquito pagan, por eso es que no se ve nada hasta aurita... porque más antes había mineral por encima nomás... no se ve nada...”
	06:12-06:20	“se casi pura pelea nomás, (a causa de la mina) eso es lo que se ve...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	08:22-10:48	“se hace reunión de la comunidad para ver si se acepta o no a los que vienen..., FABOCE hizo una consulta para poder entrar... la autoridad de esta comunidad llama a la reunión, ahí se decide si acepta..., después de eso recién vienen (los terceros que quieren trabajar en áreas de la comunidad). El cacique informa primero a la gente, si hay una cosa primero van a donde el cacique y el cacique les dice: ‘tengo que consultar primero a mi gente a ver que dice’... así es acá.
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	17:49-20:52	“ya los viejitos no trabajan como los que están en la lista... en cambio los jóvenes están obligatorio a hacer el trabajo público. Las costumbre de nosotros es que cuando un viejito hizo muchos

		años de trabajo, ya no es obligatorio.., ya no está uno en los del cacique..., los que ya son ancianas igual ya no están obligados a participar... pero si cuando hace algún dinero para la comunidad se lo reconoce a todos los viejitos.”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	11:00-11:40	“más antes todos participaban, pero ahora ya hay división así que dicen que ya no hay autoridad... así aurita este tiempo es...”
	12:10-12:30	“la cooperativa minera no está de acuerdo con FABOCE dice que no va a ver trabajo para la comunidad...”
	15:35-15:50	“aurita que están divididos ellos nomas quieren hacer... ellos llegan y ya saben dónde reunirse (los socios de la cooperativa que no son de la comunidad)...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	13:00-13:22	“...a veces hay personas que se hallan más sabiosos” (así intimidan a otras personas que quieran opinar y participar)
	21:40-22:10	Auto-discriminación por no saber leer bien: “bueno casi en este tiempo, ya no le entiendo porque yo no sé casi leer, aurita estos jóvenes son estudiados... ya no es igual como antes nosotros...”

Código de entrevista:

II_2CNMT

Nombre de entrevistador:

Efren Cabrera

Fecha de entrevista:

6.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado:

68 años

Función/cargo de entrevistado:

comunario

Afiliación con corporativa:

no afiliado a la cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

<p>Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>	<p>¿Qué cambios se dieron desde que se explota la mina y antes?</p> <p>Antes éramos bien unidos para los trabajos, para las reuniones, entonces ahí había peso, mientras ahora ya no se ve casi así. Después aparecieron esto de los protestantes...ahora hay división entre nosotros, después apareció el tema de la minería y desde ahí estamos más divididos de la comunidad. Una vez vino una empresa a querer trabajar la mina nos dijo que había mina pero que no daba para trabajar con máquinas grandes, entonces nos recomendó que nos organicemos para que la trabajemos... antes de que se forme la TCO cada comunidad tenía su deslinde, tenía su jurisdicción, en una reunión en Monterito quedamos que se iban a respetar los deslindes anteriores a la TCO... ahora la gente que viene nos sabe que nosotros luchamos para tener nuestro territorio actual, había unidad.</p> <p>¿Cómo está ahora ya con la minería?</p> <p>Ahora aparecieron estos concesionarios, pero nosotros nunca sabíamos eso. Esos que vienen ahora ni nos saludan, no nos preguntaron dónde está la autoridad para charlar... ellos entran nomas como si fuera su chaco, nosotros quisiéramos que nos tomen en cuenta, que nos consulten... a veces vienen los de la ciudad y nos hablan por artículo y artículo, pero nosotros no sabemos nada de eso. Ellos dicen que tienen su concesión aquí y que quieren ser un comunario mas, pero yo les dije que los verdadero somos nosotros, porque desde nuestros abuelos hemos vivido aquí... este tiempo cuando apareció la mina ya no quieren ir al chaco, solo quieren ir a la mina, con el chaco no ganamos nada pero ya tenemos para comer. Aun así ellos prefieren ir a escarbar tierra y esas cositas.</p> <p>Mas antes vino un empresario que trabajo dos meses en esta comunidad, y nos dijo, “le vamos a pagar su jornal y le vamos a decir la verdad... hay mina pero no hay en cantidad, no da para que una empresa grande venga, ustedes organicense y exploten ustedes nomas, hay mina pero no hay cantidad” eso nos dijeron esa empresa.</p> <p>Con la explotación de la mina, ¿quiénes se benefician?</p> <p>Había la tarifa antes de 5% para la comunidad y eso era para toditos y se juntó una platita para comprar un motorcito de luz, eso era antes cuando no había la cooperativa, pero ahora ya cuando existe la cooperativa ya no dejan porcentaje para nada ellos dicen que están luchando por la comunidad pero sin</p>
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	24:20-25:25	<p>embargo no dejan nada para la comunidad porque es para los socios de la cooperativa nomas dicen... nosotros las personas de la tercera edad ya no podemos ser socios de la cooperativa porque somos mayores... el Johnny Montero que dice ser gerente de la cooperativa dijo “ el que no está inscrito como socio de la cooperativa, prohibido ir a minar” él dijo así. Entonces yo les digo, como puede ser que nosotros los que luchamos por el territorio ya nos están sacando gente que viene de afuera, eso no nos gustó a nosotros. Ahora nosotros somos TCO y esa es nuestra organización que nos defiende... nosotros queremos la cooperativa pero queremos que solo sea gente originaria de lomerío, como por ejemplo en Puquio, el San Lorenzo y en Surusubí. Quisiéramos así. Pero los comunarios de esta cooperativa metieron a gente de afuera que de aquí (minuto 19:54). Hay comunarios que ya no quieren hacer chaco.</p> <p>¿Cómo le afectan a los comunarios de coloradillo que vengan gente de afuera en las costumbre y tradiciones de la comunidad?</p> <p>Como le dije, antes vivíamos felices hacíamos reuniones y todos participábamos, pero ahora ya no es así con todo eso que vinieron de afuera ya no es así, porque ya casi nos hacen pelear entre nosotros cuando no había gente de afuera, antes había amistades, todos nos queríamos, pero ahora ya no es así... ese Johnny montero para amenazando y eso es lo que no nos gustó... los cooperativistas están enfrentado con el cacique, además lo insultan... lo de FABOCE se consensuó entre todos y ellos dicen que no aceptaron, pero en esa acta esta su firma... el cacique llama a todos a la reunión y los que no lo hacen caso son los que no van a la reunión, la comunidad lo eligió a él para cacique y aun así los cooperativistas no lo respetan ni le hacen caso.</p> <p>Sobre la llegada de terceros a la comunidad: “precisamente es eso lo que yo le digo aurita, porque más antes los de la comunidad éramos unidos... somos católicos todos por nuestros padres, hacíamos fiestita en la casa de alguien y todos participábamos, mientras que ahora ya no van a la capilla, en los trabajos públicos ya no querían hacer caso, pero yo digo precisamente para eso hemos formado la comunidad, porque entre todos no aguanta un trabajo”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	25:30-26:15	“con esos que han venido de afuera se notó ya la división, porque hay gente los mismos comunarios los escucha a los de afuera y les mienten, casi nos

		hacen pelear entre nosotros, si más antes no habían estos problemas... antes no había estas cosas...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		“los que se dedican a las minas dicen que es pues CICOL?, que es pues el cacique?, vengan, vamos a trabajar y a sacar mina
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	40:08-40:20	Refiriéndose al tema de ajuste de precio de piedra Feldespato. “había en un principio un documento convenio (de FABOCE) con la alcaldía, y eso ya no tiene valor, hay que volverlo a hacer”.
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	56:40-56:56	“una reunión comunal normal es de más o menos 27 personas... pero con todas las señoras son cómo 40 personas” En su lenguaje existe una discriminación oculta hacia las mujeres.
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	53:37-53:48	“A veces cuando hay reunión yo quisiera que me escuchen, peor no quieren pues, entonces yo me pregunto cómo se va a solucionar eso?
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	34:22:34:46	“el problema es que el los cooperativistas no lo toman en cuenta como cacique y por esos no van a la reunión y después dicen que no saben cómo entro FABOCE a la comunidad”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	26:13-27:27 31:30-33:50	“Hasta aurita tengo un hijo que está en contra de nosotros porque así le enseñan... ese Johnny Montero no respeta a la CICOL, ni al alcalde, más bien el para amenazando, como le digo él nos está haciendo dividir... una vez casi nos peleamos en dónde hay trabajo por causa de él...” “entre las comunidades nosotros decidimos agarrarlo a él para que le hagamos la justicia comunitaria” Conflicto FABOCE-Cooperativa “con lo que han venido de afuera a apoyarlo ellos están siendo beneficiados (los cooperativistas), porque para ellos no hay caiques, ellos en la comunidad son minoría... al cacique los trataron de incapaz de sonso, de burro... de ahí Polonia Charupá, le dice por qué no se

	39:20-39:50	fija en los materiales que se están sacando"... el cacique siempre rinde informe, son Polonia y Fermín los que no quieren dar informes de la cooperativa... ellos dicen: <i>'nosotros no sabemos cómo entro la empresa está aquí'</i> , pero sin embargo ahí están las actas y esta su nombre"
	53:49-54:00	"los cooperativistas bloquearon el camino de los camiones de FABOCE...ellos se apartaron de nosotros, él cacique llama a la reunión y ellos no van"
	01:03:10-01:04:10	"No quieren ni disculparse, ni nada de eso... cerrado son ellos... el grupo de los cooperativista no quieren reconocer su error" "...una vez los cooperativistas pasaron...nos dijeron algo que nos hizo acabar la paciencia, entonces nos reunimos con algunos comunarios, tumbamos palos para que no pasen, y le dijimos: 'bueno para ustedes es nada la CICOL?' y 'el cacique de la comunidad?', haber volvámonos a la casa a charlar. Había uno (comunario) que se fue muy bravo y le pincho la goma de su movilidad... de ahí empezó volver a la calma"
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	37:04-37:22	"ellos no van(los cooperativistas) a la reunión, después reclama que no hay informes, que no se sabe cuánto se están sacando material" Se da un sentido de autoexclusión por parte de los cooperativistas.
	59:46-59:57	"ellos prefieren trabajar ellos nomás, pero eso no tiene que ser así...debería ser entre todos los comunarios nomas, que no vengam intermediarios que no conocemos de donde..."

Código de entrevista:

II_3CNMT

Nombre de entrevistador:

Efren Cabrera

Fecha de entrevista:

07.03.2015

Edad del entrevistado:

57 años

Función/cargo de entrevistado:

No tiene cargo

Afiliación con corporativa:

No afiliado.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación

o exclusión

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación

o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:40-04:25	“...cuando se empezó a explotar, de ello llevan has veces que no nos pagan, dicen que es regalado (está hablando del material que se lleva FABOCE). Lo que yo veo es que hay pocos recursos...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	09:00-10:04 10:15-10:48	“cuando yo participaba en la reunión la hacíamos cada fin de mes... yo participaba cuando yo trabajaba de los trabajos públicos, los que están en esa lista, nadie tiene que faltar. Ahora yo estoy jubilado pero debes en cuanto participo... es obligatorio participar para los que están en la lista...” “en esos tiempos de reuniones solo es para decidir sobre los bienes que caen para la comunidad..., todos participan de ahí se sabe que es lo que uno tiene que hacer para la comunidad...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	13:52-14:22	“por nada más hay la desunidad, porque traen gente de afuera de la comunidad..., lo que hay es odio..., por nada más estamos asi...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	08:10-08:23	Para que ingrese FABOCE a trabajar: “han pedido permiso a la CICOL, a la alcaldía y por eso es porque esta acá
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:		-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		

Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	13:07-13:45	“bueno, la verdad es que a nosotros los que no estamos en la cooperativa ellos (los de la cooperativa) nos miran pues mal porque... no hay una cosa bien..., a todos los nos miran mal, así hace ese grupito, por anda más hay ese conflicto feo.”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	08:31-08:48	“aquí como digo hay un grupito que no estaba de acuerdo (con el ingreso de FABOCE), por eso es que existe esa división...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	11:00-11:28	“desde que ya no participo se escucha en las reuniones que ya algunos no quieren participar por problemas individuales...”
	19:18-20:00	“en la última reunión que participe se ha sentido ese... (No le salen las palabras), a veces hay insultos al cacique, eso es lo que se ve..., es como que...”

Código de entrevista: II_4CNFT

Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera-Barrientos

Fecha de entrevista: 7.3.2015

Edad del entrevistado: 80 años

Función/cargo de entrevistado: No tiene cargo

Afiliación con corporativa: No afiliada.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación

o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	07:02-07:46 20:48-21:30	“no cambio nada pues, porque no lo vi yo nada, quiere llevar quitarnos, pero no se ve nada que trabajo trae... lo llevan mina pero no veo que dejan nada aquí...” “no hace mucho hay ese minería, estaba el mineral nomas, pero nadie lo trabajo, estaba nomás...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	09:50-11:54	“FABOCE ya está llevando (material), no hace mucho nos a dejado dinero, pero lo que la gente quiere es que ese dinero se reparta entre todos, ellos quieren eso y si el cacique hace eso ellos se enojan... los de la cooperativa. Si les van a dar otra vez (FABOCE) ellos sigue quieren que repartan el dinero; el cacique uiere trabajar, pero la presidenta de la cooperativa no deja...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	18:49-19:20	“no participo yo de las reuniones... cuando se murió mi compañero, desde ahí yo no participo...”
Jóvenes	18:10-18:18	“los jóvenes que están el colegio no participan...”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad (No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		

Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	14:23-14:43	“el cacique tiene que re compartir la plata, peor no es para toditos los ancianos, es para los que pueden trabajar...”
	26:26-27:25	"...hay personas que dicen que el cacique esta recibiendo debajo de la mesa..., lo insultan, le dicen que no sabe educar, que no sabe enseñar a la gente... yo les digo a él que escuche nomás..." (en el sentido de decirle que tenga paciencia.

Hubo mucha complicación en esta entrevista porque la señora hace mucho tiempo de la reunión y esta muy poco informada de lo que pasa en la comunidad.

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_5CDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista: 07.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 45 años
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Cacique primero
Afiliación con corporativa: No forma parte de la Cooperativa.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:51-04:10	“Al comienzo no sabíamos, pero vinieron y nos metieron la idea de que con la mina se hace plata... y la gente iba a sacar la mina... ya empezaron a conocer la plata (el dinero)”
	04:47-05:01	“hace unos 5 años atrás, entonces ellos iban a la mina y sacaban (mineral) los niños, y llegaban los niños con dinero, se compraban soda, galletas, tenían de todo...”

	05:38-06:00	“más antes los domingos toditos (los comunarios) íbamos a la iglesia, en cambio cuando empezó la mina ya se olvidaron de la misa...”
	06:11-06:49	“para los trabajos públicos, a rosar en plena calle, (ellos dicen) ‘para que voy a ir allá (trabajo en comunidad), yo me voy a mina y gano ciento y tanto, pongo 15 y pongo dos veces más’... ya no hacen caso los mineros... eso fue fregando las costumbre”
	06:50-07:25	“más antes por decir había minga ⁴⁴ , había que pedir ayuda de la comunidad, no había plata pero por hacer comida y chicha fermentada la gente viene, se cocinaba pollo, chanco, hace bien su comida la gente va, entonces cuando terminan de trabajar, agradece el dueño y va decir: ‘no tengo plata pero esta es mi plata, vengan acá vamos a tomar’ y trae su caja y metemos fiestas, entonces la gente contento salen, por venir solo a comer y a tomar y otra parte a colaborar”
	07:27-08:10	“ahora ya no hay ni minga, la gente no va a la iglesia, van a los mucho siete o 10 personas mayores la mayoría, antes iban unos 20 o 30 se llenaba nuestra capilla. Ya no sacan ahora mina, pero ya se acostumbraron a no ir, prefieren irse a pescar, a cazar... eso fue lo que ha fregado un poco desde ese entonces ya no quieren hacer caso al caique...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	45:21-46:10	“...aquí tenemos una asamblea al año, la ordinaria, luego tenemos una asamblea cada 15 días... lo anual es para saber quién sale y quien se queda... todos participamos...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	58:16-58:41	“para mí que los compañeros (cooperativistas) están errado...ellos quieren coordinar con otras personas que vienen del interior porque dicen que directo se tienen que coordinar con La Paz nomás “
	08:12-08:24	“vinieron y nos dijeron: ‘que van hacer trabajando así, son ilegales ustedes, porque la mina es del estado’, no quisimos hacer caso hasta que vino otro y nos dijeron: ‘hay que legalizarse para ser cooperativa y trabajemos’...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	10:16-11:03	“venían los dueños de las concesiones y decían: ‘si seguís comprando yo te la voy a decomisar esa mina porque no es tuyo, estas pirateando’...los empresarios decían eso... entonces nosotros viendo eso vino ese señor a organizarnos...este señor Johnny fue el que nos convenció a toditos...”

⁴⁴ Palabra coloquial para describir un trabajo que se hace en conjunto entre grupo de conocidos, ese trabajo no es pagado con dinero sino con fiesta y celebración a la conclusión de la jornada.

Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	57:09-57:20	“... las mujeres jóvenes tampoco solo van a la reunión pero no opinan, cuando ya tienen su marido nomás empiezan a opinar, no sé porque será...”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	47:55-48:04 48:35-48:59 55:00-55:45	“...todos los de 18 años participan, los que no están estudiando salen del cuartel y participan” “y los menores por decir, si tienen más de 18 años y está estudiando, no lo tocamos... puede ir y puede opinar pero no está obligado... si no estudia, antes de los 17 años ya lo obligamos a participar de los trabajos públicos y de las reuniones” Hay una persona de acá, que es mi tía Ana, que nunca participa de las reuniones...la señora de allá abajo (refiriéndose a la anterior entrevista), esa mayor, así como esa edad hay tres personas... hombres de esa edad casi no hay, los hombres más van a las reuniones, las mujeres, las viejitas, no van será porque no quieren... pero si van y opinan es escuchado...”
Jóvenes	48:06-48:32 56:45-57:10	“...hasta los 50 años nomas tienen la obligación de participar, por decir (ejemplo) mi papá ya no es tomado en cuenta para los trabajos públicos, pero de las reuniones el participa junto con otros señores mayores , ellos participan, las reuniones son abierta a todos” “... a mi hijo que está en cuarto de secundaria le digo que vayamos a la reunión y vamos, pero ellos casi nunca opinan en las reuniones...ellos tienen su reunión aparte en el tema de deporte, pero así en las reuniones generales ellos no opinan.
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa,	18:14-18:41	Conflictos y tensiones con el señor Johnny: “ese señor Johnny decía: ‘anótese señora, porque si usted no se anota no lo vamos a dejar entrar, porque

dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		como cooperativa, nosotros vamos a pagar impuestos, entonces usted no va a tener derechos'... entonces la gente decía: 'este recién llego y nos está queriendo cortar, yo soy vieja ya aquí y este nos está queriendo prohibir', ahí comenzamos a desconfiar de él..."
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	57:21-57:54	"no sé porque será, pero cuando son solteros los jóvenes no opinan, se ríen nomas...ellos deberían estar aquí pero... a ellos les gusta hablar del tema de jóvenes nomás..."

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_6CDMM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista:	07.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	42 aproximado.
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Presidente de la cooperativa de agua ⁴⁵
Afiliación con cooperativa:	No es minero cooperativista,

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:54-05:04	"hemos dejado de trabajar un poco la agricultura por meternos a la minería, porque más antes cuando no descubrieron la minería nosotros vivíamos de la agricultura, sembrábamos maíz, yuca, caña, camote, todo eso que se da acá, de eso negociábamos, vendíamos y teníamos recursos, especialmente para los alumnos, cuadernos y esas cosas. Ahora desde que hay esa minería, algunas personas ya no tienen chaco, porque se dedican a la mina nomás, todingo los días van allá, claro que eso reciben dinero y tienen para alimentarse, entonces ese es algunos cambios que he visto que antes no habían"
	15:23-15:45	Cambios en la relación de los cooperativistas y los no cooperativistas: "... más o menos son 4 familias las que están en la cooperativa, ellos siguieron, de ahí yo me retire y ay no quise más saber..." (Se retiraron varios y a partir de ahí la comunidad quedo dividida; la minería fue la causa de la división de la comunidad).

⁴⁵ La cooperativa de agua es otro tipo de cooperativa que no tiene ninguna relación en cuanto al desarrollo de sus actividades con la cooperativa minera

Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	16:41-17:14 18:56-19:19	En el momento de decidir si FABOCE entraba o no a trabajar en la comunidad: “Al comienzo toditos estábamos de acuerdo, firmamos todavía, pero ya después al ver que no había el incumplimiento de FABOCE de ahí ya empezó a no estar conforme la cooperativa...” “todo lo que participamos en el trabajo comunal hasta los 60 años, somos los que tenemos voz y voto para decidir, de los 60 para delante ellos están jubilados...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	07:53-08:59 13:14-15:15 23:26-23:58	“había una empresa China... aquí instalaron su empresa, de allá adentro traían la tierra para sacar el estaño, ellos tenían maquinarias, estaban trabajando por los menos tres meses continuos, de día y de noche, pero después nuestra organización CICOL le pidieron documentos y no tenían documentos... eso fue más o menos en el 2012...” “como un asesor vino ese Johnny Montero...entonces nos animaba, pero era pura mentira, pura charla, nos decía que hay que trabajar, vamos a traer maquinarias, vamos a sacar la personería jurídica (de la cooperativa) en 20 días, luego decía que en 15 días, luego en 10 días y así venia mintiendo... luego entramos a trabajar porque teníamos que aportar para eso de su viaje, aportamos, y allá fuimos a trabajar vimos que no daba la mina, y pensamos que por ahí no daba para sacar maquinarias..., pero el decía que va haber... por eso dijimos hasta ahí nomás y varios nos retiramos de la cooperativa...” “... aurita hay socios de la cooperativa que no son comunarios, son personas que vienen del interior de país, por eso es reclamo de la reunión de ayer, lo que se quiere es que haiga la cooperativa, pero que no haiga personas del interior que forme parte de la cooperativa, que ser na nativos de aquí, porque nosotros vivimos aquí y sabemos cómo es que se vive... aurita en esta cooperativa (de coloradillo) tiene miembros que son del interior, por eso es que ellos vienen siempre...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	10:58-13:12	“cuando ya se fue la empresa China, vino la empresa FABOCE, hubo consulta yo me acuerdo, primero llevo a la alcaldía , por medio de la alcaldía fue que entraron, allá hicieron el negocio con la alcaldía y el alcalde vino acá, charlo con la comunidad primero... después vinieron vuelta a hacer la segunda consulta,

	16:02-16:37	<p>en ese tiempo estaban toditos de acuerdo (con que FABOCE entre a trabajar), no había todavía esa cooperativa ... después vinieron a hacer la tercera consulta, ahí ya se decidió que entre; la cooperativa también ya se organizó, al comienzo estábamos todos los comunarios en la cooperativa... pero al final ya cuando FABOCE entro y la cooperativa ya estaba organizada, hubo un señor que vino de allá (el interior del país) para ser asesor de la cooperativa..."</p> <p>"cuando ya empozó el conflicto con la cooperativa fue con las mentiras de FABOCE , porque cuando ellos hicieron la consulta nos prometieron, nos dijeron: "vamos a ayudar, vamos a hacer balos en los colegios, vamos a hacer alojamientos, mire hasta aurita ya es un año y no se ve ni baño ni nada, por eso es la molestia de los cooperativistas..."</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	19:12-19:43 33:17-33:43	<p>En el tema de la participación de la toma de decisiones: " a partir de los 60 años ellos ya están jubilados, claro que ellos participan de las reuniones , pero ya ellos no tienen la voz ni el voto, somos nosotros los que participamos del trabajo comunal... los que no participan del trabajo comunal, ya paso su época, su tiempo"</p> <p>"tienen derecho a hablar porque a veces ellos tienen buenas ideas por la experiencia, conocen y nos puede ayudar, por eso es que ellos van para apoyar..."</p>
Jóvenes	31:25-32:31	Haciendo una comparación con los jóvenes de ahora: "antes los jóvenes eran cumplidos, ahora ya no ya como antes... los que estudian no están en la obligación de participar de los trabajos públicos, al joven y a la señorita de más de 18 años que no está estudiando, (el cacique) lo agarra y lo ponen en la lista
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		

(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	24:43-25:20	En el tema de las reuniones de los cooperativistas: “... cuando ellos hacen reunión de la cooperativa, ellos solo hacen entre ellos, pero cuando hay reunión de la central de cooperativa, nosotros no vamos porque no pertenecemos... hay reuniones de la CICOL y de la alcaldía en la que son se invita a las cooperativas, pero solo es para ello...”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	05:32-06:50 17:16-18:08 39:50-41:03	<p>“cuando empezó la minería hubo problemas porque venían empresarios, más antes entraban como si fuera nomas su propiedad, después de un tiempo nos plantamos fuerte y les dijimos que tienen que consultar primero para poder pasar, claro que ellos decían que era su concesión , pero nunca hacían consulta con nosotros... ellos sacaban los puntos, así que ellos venían sin pedir permiso, entonces nosotros dijimos como vamos a dejarnos hacer eso con la empresa que entro y lo hemos detenido, de ahí ya poco corto un poco eso porque la gente se enoja, pincharon su llanta a partir de ahí hubo consulta...”</p> <p>Conflictos internos de la comunidad: “...el problema interno que salió ayer el tema es por recursos... el cacique de esta comunidad no da informes, ese es el tema que ayer discutíamos, porque queremos saber en qué se había en que se ha gastado los recursos, porque quedamos en que cada mes se tenía que presentar informe pero ya estamos en marzo y nada...”</p> <p>“... hay discriminación, por eso fue la discusión ayer, porque la nosotros no estamos de acuerdo con la cooperativa, y la cooperativa no está de acuerdo con FABOCE, entonces ahí está la lucha. No hay un acuerdo común en que todos apoyemos a la cooperativa o a la empresa... en eso estamos nosotros de poder arreglar, porque en la próxima reunión general ahí vamos a poder solucionar... para no seguir con el problema de la cooperativa, FABOCE y la comunidad, para que marchemos todos juntos...”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	38:20-39:40	“hay discriminación en las reuniones, nos discriminan porque somos evangélicos y los otros grupos son católicos, en esa parte hay discriminación para nosotros, nos discriminan como evangélicos, en cada reunión siempre sale esa palabra: división, divisionismo, porque nosotros pertenecemos a otra iglesia, ellos no están conformes con lo que nosotros

		participamos, hay cosas en la que nosotros no podemos participar como evangélicos, como en chupar por ejemplo (beber alcohol)... ahí la discriminación hacia nosotros, a veces nos hablan mal..."
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_7CNFM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Canbrera
Fecha de entrevista:	08.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	39
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	No tiene cargo
Afiliación con corporativa:	no afiliada

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	04:34-06:33	“yo veo que desde que empezó esa mina, mas antes nadie trabajaba para esa mina, no conocíamos que había mina, después cunado conocimos la mina toditos nos íbamos a trabaja r allá, como dijo mi esposo, ya dejamos de trabajar el chaco, porque nosotros aquí vivimos de todo lo que hay en el chaco, desde que empezó la mina ya algunos no hicieron chacos, algunos se van a minar, sacan..., pero ya hoy en día ya solo se saca poquito nomás, mientras que antes se sacaban un kilo o dos kilos y alcanzaba para pasar el día, pero ahora ya no da, pero no da si es grande la familia y lo que no tienen chaco están pues grave (los que se dedican a la mina sufren más porque a veces no sacan mineral y no tienen para comer)..., eso es lo que yo veo, si sacan un poquito de mina es para ese día, al otro día otra vez tienen que ir...”
	06:55-07:22	“...vemos que es mejor trabajar nuestro chaco, porque solo se está sacando poquito, y más allá ya no se va a sacar nada, por eso vemos que es nomas seguir con nuestras costumbre, de sembrar nomas maíz, yuca, plátano, con eso pasamos el día”
	11:25-13:27	“hay problemas con los de la cooperativa, el problema empezó..., esta empresa FABOCE entro a través de la alcaldía, pero después vinieron a consultarnos si estamos de acuerdo con que entren a trabajar..., se acordó en que la comunidad iba a recibir 2bs por cubo y los de la cooperativa después no estuvieron conforme. En una reunión como la de

		ayer se quedó en que se iban a aumentar a 5 bs desde el año pasado... los socios de la cooperativa quieren conocer en que se está gastando ese dinero y no están de acuerdo con el precio”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	18:37-22:02 25:12-26:10	“al comienzo cuando vinieron a sacar muestra del material, entraron dos o tres veces... le pidieron permiso al cacique y toditos estábamos conforme con que entre la cooperativa... después los de la cooperativa no estaba conforme... pero había una mayoría que apoyaba a FABOCE...” En la inclusión de la toma de decisiones: “el cacique convoca en el parlante y todos están libres de ir a escuchar (ancianos, niños, adolescentes), en cambio los que están en la lista y participan del trabajo público, ellos sí o si tienen que estar porque si no hay sanción”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	14:16-15:15	“al comienzo ellos vinieron a charlar con la comunidad para ver si lo dejábamos trabajar, nosotros lo aceptamos porque ellos nos prometieron hacer alojamiento, traer a sus médicos para atender a todos los de la comunidad, hacer balos para el colegio...” (De los mencionados solo se cumplió el que ellos traigan una doctora médica una vez por mes).
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	36:40-37:00	“...hay quienes no pueden participar en la reunión porque ya son pues viejitas...”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad	33:06-34:57	“buenos según los que ayer estaba escuchando (en la reunión), yo creo que cuando uno está a la cabeza de algo en la comunidad..., nunca he visto como ayer, algo vergonzoso... claro en la reunión todo sale

		cunado hay problemas, tratan a la persona como si no valieran le dan, le dan, le dan (la critican duramente)... los más apuntados ayer eran tres personas socios de la cooperativa... una era a la señora presidenta de la cooperativa, yo sentí que la discriminaron...”
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	15:57-16:46 18:09-18:50	“hay oposición (a la cooperativa), por esta gente que está asociada a comunarios de la cooperativa, esa gente son de Santa Cruz, no son de aquí de Lomerío, hay comunarios que no están conformes con que venga gente de otro lado. Los comunarios estarían conformes si los miembros de la cooperativa fueran de aquí nomas...” Resumen del conflicto del 5 de marzo con empresa estatal COMIBOL y las cooperativas. : “dicen que la COMIBOL vino esa noche y las cooperativas de las otras comunidades vinieron a sacarlos a ellos porque no quieren que la COMIBOL entre aquí...” (al parecer la COMIBOL se apoyo estaba apoyada por la cooperativa de Coloradillo).
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	31:15-32:23	Discriminación por religión: “n la reunión que hay cada lo yo puedo decir que a los evangélicos nos discriminan, porque nosotros no podemos llevar los pensamientos como otros... nosotros no compartimos en la cuestión de bebidas (en la fiesta de la comunidad comparten bebidas alcohólicas)..., y eso es lo que a ellos no les gusta

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_8CNMT
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista:	08.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	82
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	No función
Afiliación con corporativa:	No afiliada (madre de la Pres. de la coop.)

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	05:30-06:10	“antes se hacían minga pal chaco, se siembra maíz arroz, plátano, yuca, eso... antes...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario		
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	10:35-11:18 11:53-12:06	“las ancianitas ya no van a las reuniones... ahora van puro nuevos, yo no puedo andar, me duele mi rodilla por eso no puedo ir...” “Somos 7 los que no fuimos ya a la reunión porque somos mayores”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		

Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_9CNFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista: 08.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 50
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Comunario.
Afilación con corporativa: No afiliada

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición		
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	08:25-09:50	“Hay multa a los que no van a las reuniones..., yo no asisto a las reuniones y tengo que pagar... yo no participe en la consulta que hizo FABOCE..., pero en la reunión todos participan...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	04:44-05:23 15:12-15:47	“los collas no traen nada de música, vienen a minar nomas y se van... sacan tantalio y estaño” Sobre los cooperativistas en las reuniones “ ellos opinan pues porque hacen reuniones con toda la comunidad, entre los opositores y la cooperativa... ellos toman sus decisiones en conjuntos porque todo participan”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	06:10-06:28 11:07-12:10	“eso los de FABOCE son los que están sacando varias volquetas de material...” “según me han contado cuando FABOCE vino aquí a consultar prometió hacer alojamiento, posta

	14:30-	<p>sanitaria, que iban a mejorar la comunidad, que iban a mejorar la cancha, que iban a hacer baños para el colegio, ah y también dijo que iba a hacer fuentes de trabajo para las personas; apenas unas tres personas están trabajando y los demás nada... ya hace un año esta FABOCE..., de lo que prometió no hay nada...”</p> <p>“CICOL y la alcaldía son los opositores (a los cooperativistas) porque no dejan trabajar a la cooperativa, lo interrumpen,...y hasta ahora no hay trabajo...”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	07:50-08:14	“... yo no voy casi a las reuniones..., a veces cuando hay tiempo yo voy, pero cuando no hay tiempo no voy, me quedo nomás en la casa porque tengo que atender a mi madre, porque ella no puede caminar no puede hacer nada...”
	16:01-10:19	Participación de la entrevistada en la comunidad: “yo no se esas cosas (los conflictos entre comunarios), yo escucho nomas... no estoy enterada de esas noticias que pasa acá...”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	16:53-18-20	“... mi mama no puede caminar, por eso no participar... así como ella hay varias (8 entre hombres y mujeres), ellas ya no participan... ya no opinan porque ya no van a las reuniones, ya están jubiladas le dicen, no pueden hacer nada, ya pues ya no hay nada...(para las personas jubiladas)”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		

Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	05:30-06:06	“según dicen que por allá hacen explotar dinamita... porque los de la cooperativa todavía no han hecho eso, quieren trabajar y vienen y lo corren, eso hacen los de la empresa FABOCE, esos son los que no los dejan trabajar a los de la cooperativa”
	06:51-07:38	“FABOCE es lo que esta haciendo daño aquí en la comunidad... la mitad de la comunidad no está de acuerdo que trabaje FABOCE aquí, la otra mitad lo apoya, no sabemos por qué...”
	13:22-14:04	Los de la cooperativa ahí nomás esta, no hay trabajo porque no lo dejan trabajar y ya ellos se oponen... estos los de FABOCE y la mitad de la gente de la comunidad... los de la cooperativa, discuten reclaman, en las reuniones, toditos van a la reunión”
	21:00-24:03	Relato sobre el conflicto entre cooperativas de Lomerío y COMIBOL: “ esa noche del conflicto yo fui , porque esa gente venía de otro lado a querer wasquear a ese que han venido de la COMIBOL y le dijeron que se vayan que no los quieren a esa gente aquí, pero esa gente que dijo eso era de otras comunidades... yo me fui a ver uqe pasaba y los vi a ellos todingos chupau (borrachos) y con bolo (coca), ahí se animaron a hablar esa gente; y casi hubo pelea, bien grave estuvo eso, eso fue allá en esa casa de la cooperativa (una esquina de la comunidad... eras más o menos unos 50 o 100 que vinieron en moto, en camiones y los de nuestras comunidad no sabían. Eso era más o menos a las 11 de la noche... decían que era culpa del cacique que el los llamo a esa gente para que los apoye así fue...”
	24:42-25-54	Sobre lo que se decidió después del conflicto en una reunión: “en la reunión le dijeron que primero tenía que consultar a los de la comunidad, para ver si se puede o no se puede (llamar a otras comunidades), esa era la forma... pero el no consulto con la comunidad, y a los que aquí no les consulto... los comunarios lo ratearon a el, le dijeron uqe era una incapaz, el no dijo nada, calladingo estaba... después el cacique dijo que el tenía la culpa, reconoció su error, se disculpó con nosotros...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Es importante señalar que la entrevistada solo está en la comunidad algunos días, por tanto la opinión que tiene del desarrollo la conocemos en el minuto: 27:06-28:56 para que la comunidad mejore, “ tiene que ser más grande la comunidad, como en otros lados hay de todo, tiene sus friales, discotecas, de todo hay, en cambio aquí con poca gente no se puede hacer nada, ni comercio se puede hacer porque no hay quien compre... lo que yo quiero es que se venga las personas que se vinieron a Santa Cruz...” (en lo personal creo que es una posición legítima.

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_10CDMM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
 Fecha de entrevista: 08.03.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 40
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: Cacique de RRNN de la comunidad
 Afiliación con corporativa: No afiliado.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:37-04:43	“hubo arto cambio, por ejemplo, desde entonces estamos mal, no estamos bien como estábamos antes, muchos problemas nos trajo, desde entonces hay división dentro la supuesta cooperativa que quieren hacer y la empresa,. Hay mucha gente que no está tranquilo, que esta con rabia (molestia entre ellos), eso trajo la empresa... la verdad una parte yo estoy contento con la que trajo la empresa FABOCE.”
	05:14-06:10	“desde que entro la empresa (FABOCE) ha habido gran cambio, porque ya no es como antes, mas antes era tranquilo, Vivian feliz la gente, también no había la supuesta cooperativa y así que en eso estamos, pero desde que llegó la empresa hay ese cambio...la gente ya no levanta su cara... (es sinónimo de desmoralización)”
	06:18-06:35	Con la entrada de FABOCE: “... bueno, también una parte es bien, por que enviaron a sus médicos para que vean a nuestro niños... Yo creo ya pronto todo se va a mejorar ...”
	31:01-32:20	“últimamente con esta cooperativa la comunidad ha cobrado un poco más fuerza, ya no atropellan como antes... yo veo que ahora la gente está unido (la gente hablando de los las otras cooperativas de Lomerío), pero aquí en nuestra comunidad aunque ellos digan que no estamos divididos estamos divididos, porque ellos hacen su reunión a parte y nosotros, les

		<p>comunicamos a todos, ´pero ellos no, por eso nosotros en este momento estamos un poco mal, no estamos tan contento, pero son por dos personas nomas... que están contactándose con otra gente... la cooperativa puede ser bien, lo que pasa es así como le digo, la gente (de la cooperativa) pasan sin consultar sin decirnos de donde son ni que es lo que quieren hacer, no dicen nada de eso, ellos directos pasan a trabajar...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	<p>17:05-18:50</p> <p>21:09-23:00</p>	<p>Para decidir si entra o no FABOCE a trabaja a la comunidad: “... FABOCE no entro así nomas, le tiraron (tardaron) dos años, venían a consultar, venían a pedir, o sea años le tiraron... pero el precio no lo hemos hablado, eso lo ha hecho la alcaldía, aquí llegaron ya cuando ya estaba firmado, nosotros no sabíamos... últimamente con la nueva ley de minería le quitaron todo lo que tenía que caer a la alcaldía, la ley dice que tienen que caer aquí (en la comunidad)..., primero la alcaldía firmó y después nos dejaron solitos a nosotros, de ahí renegociamos... todo se ha negociado, todo se ha firmado...”</p> <p>“aquí si hay reunión o consulta, toda la gente tiene que participar..., en las reuniones tienen que estar toditos, pero a veces mucha gente dice, ´yo no estaba de acuerdo’, es por lo que ellos nunca estuvieron en la reunión (se los invita a todos), se les dice ´vengan hay reuniones con la empresa, a algunos no le importan prefieren ir a pescar o a cazar ya cuando llegan de nuevo los demás que asisten a la reunión ya firman las cosas...”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	<p>36:47-39:15</p> <p>41:13-41:43</p>	<p>“hay un señor, un tal Johnny Montero, él nos llevó 800 kilos de mineral estaño hace 2 años, nos dijo que de allá nos iba a llegar a 150bs por kilo... yo solito le di a ese señor 100 kilos de mí, porque yo era rescatador (comprador intermediario de la comunidad) y nunca volvió... ese es el problema con él porque a muchas personas de otras comunidades a engañado... a partir de las mentiras de él se deshizo la cooperativa. Pero la señora Polonia continua con la cooperativa, pero ya con personas del interior del país... después volvió otra vez ese tipo, ya desde ahí se quedó bien mal”</p> <p>Relata cómo está organizada la FEDECOMIN: “sucede que la federación de Cooperativas de Santa Cruz ya sabían que los de la COMIBOL se va quedar a la cooperativa de coloradillo y ahí van a trabajar...esa noche solo vinieron los dirigentes de las otras</p>

		cooperativas... de la CICOL solo vino el cacique de RRNN...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	09:16-10:43 21:20-21:35 29:19-29:40	Comportamiento de FABOCE con la comunidad: “Para nosotros hasta el momento lo que ha hecho FABOCE está bien, no hemos tenido problemas... todavía no ha cumplido con todo lo que dijo, pero cuando ya empiece a trabajar ahí se va a ver, mientras más salen materiales de nuestras comunidades más vamos a ganar nosotros... el sábado quedamos en que ya ellos tienen que cumplir con la construcción del alojamiento, lo que sucede es que ellos no están trabajando porque llueve...” “lo que si FABOCE quiere es personal para la fábrica en Santa Cruz..., allá, no acá” Explicando una ocasión en la que la COMIBOL militarizo la comunidad de coloradillo para resguardar a una empresa de Korea del Sur: “Imagínese la COMIBOL lo trajeron a esa empresa Koreana... trajeron harta maquinaria, eso sí que trajeron fuente de trabajo... “
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	34:15-35:42	“...yo creo que los problemas de la cooperativa se puede superar cambiando la dirigencia de la cooperativa de coloradillo, tener a otro, no poner l a una mujer como presidenta de la cooperativa, (el propone) poner a una persona que tenga pensamiento cosas buenas, no solamente en su bolsillo. (Refiriéndose a la presidenta de la cooperativa), no entiende..., para ella nadie sabe nada a todos los trata como si no supiera nada... yo estoy de acuerdo con la existencia de la cooperativa, no con la directiva actual... tienen que cambiarse para que marche bien...”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición		
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	04:50-04:55 08:02-08:18	“el 99% de la gente participa en las reuniones” “hay en un local ahí hacen asamblea cada 15 días... más o menos, no sé bien, no estoy al tanto”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	07:05-07:14	“(personas de afuera), yo he visto que vienen pero solo como comprador...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad,		

entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	00:30-00:46 04:34-04:40 08:20-08:43 10:10-10:40	“primeramente le voy a decir que yo no participo, tampoco no voy a la reunión, porque no soy de aquí” Sobre la participación del entrevistado en la minería. : “yo pues casi no participo de la minería, no voy ni a las reuniones ni a la mina...” Autoexclusión de parte del entrevistado: “sencillamente no voy porque no estoy acostumbrado a esa vida... a esas reuniones, asambleas...” “yo nunca participe (de reuniones) sencillamente yo no voy porque no quiero, a min nadie me dice que no vaya, a mí me preguntan más bien porque no voy... mi señora si yo le mando para que vaya en la reunión”

Aclaración: el entrevistado Es un ciudadano Peruano que vive en la comunidad solo 5 años, está muy desvinculado con el tema minero. Por tanto muy poco de lo que nos dijo se puede rescatar para uno de los temas de análisis.

A partir de la mitad de audio el entrevistado habló de temas no importantes para el análisis a pesar que se insistió en las preguntas sobre los temas.

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_12PNMM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista:	09.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	36
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Comunario de Base
Afiliación con cooperativa:	Miembro de la Cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios,	02:55-03:25	“Los de la cooperativa minera recién se está organizando, no tienen personería jurídica, creo que el Lomerío solo surusubí es la que tiene...”
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usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	05:44-06:50 07:07-07:34 08:53-09:25	<p>“no solamente hay cooperativa minera sino también se están organizando cooperativa de transporte, de agua... se quiere saber la necesidades para organizase, porque si no se organizan. La cooperativa minera se organizaron con el fin de que los socios tengan beneficios, en estos ultimo he visto que todos los minerales que sacan lo depositan en común, lo juntan y lo venden en común...”</p> <p>“casi todos están (en la actividad minera), hasta los profesores están, ellos van en su tiempo libre, en cambio los demás se turnan, van medio cada día, se turnan van por grupo y trabajan todo el día...”</p> <p>Asumiendo que el cambio por la minería es que hoy hay más dinero: “bueno el cambio es que algunos invierten bien su dinero y otros no, a veces digamos... no veo mucho cambio, porque lo ideal fuera que inviertan bien su recurso pero eso no se...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	03:32-05:13 11:10-11:20 13:20-15:05	<p>“hablando en el tema de las reuniones, cuando el cacique llama a la reunión la gente participa, a veces hay asamblea comunal, que se la hace cada año, pero también cuando hay alguna emergencia, la participación en la reunión se la hace sobre una norma que ha sido elaborado en base a la sugerencia de las opiniones de los comunarios... entonces el que no participa tiene su sanción, por eso es obligatorio. Pero al que no va a participar tienen que hacer llegar porque no va a participar. Una de las sanciones puede ser lo que aquí se conoce como trabajo público, entonces la no participación de un comunarios tienen que hacer unos trabajos...”</p> <p>“En la reunión se convoca y participan todos...)hay personas que están por cumplir)”</p> <p>(no sé si corresponda aquí esta parte del relato pero me pareció que debía transcribirse) “... todas estas actividades la coordinan con la CICOL la cooperativa, porque la CICOL tiene que dar el visto bueno... el tema del municipio es más administrativo con el tema de impuestos y eso. La cooperativa minera no puede ir a su capricho nomás debe basarse a las normas...”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		

Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:		
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística	09:58-10:35	“bueno ellos no está obligados a participar, algunos ya están jubilado que son los mayores de 60 años, ya ellos no participan del trabajo público, ya a ellos no se los toma en cuenta... pero si ellos quieren participar nadie los puede prohibir...”
Tercera Edad	20:19-21:59	“a nivel del municipio la tercera edad tiene sus representantes también, pero aquí en la comunidad no hay... aquí en la comunidad la tercera edad son minoría... se los respetan su opinión de ellos...algunos viejitos van a la reunión a los que les interesa, otro que no les interesa no van pues”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	05:15-05:43	“bueno también hay algunos que participan y opinan en las reuniones, más que todo es la participación y el cumplimiento a la norma que hace el caique (se sospecha que solamente asisten a la reunión por cumplir), a veces se toman decisiones como en el tema de minería y ese temas muy complicadito... yo puedo dar mi opinión así como los profesores y otros que no participan en la actividad minera...”

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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_13PNMM
 Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
 Fecha de entrevista: 09.03.2015
 Edad del entrevistado: 52
 Función/cargo de entrevistado: Comunario
 Afiliación con corporativa: Cooperativista.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:18-04:50	“ah claro antes, cuando no había la mina (...suspiro...) era el chaco nuestra mina, puro chaco trabajábamos (antes) no había mucho trabajo así como aurita hay algunas construcciones y puede pillar otro trabajo, antes se sembraba arroz, yuca plátano, maíz y se vendía. Ya cuando empezó la minería lo dejamos el chaco, algunos lo han dejado por completo, otros todavía tienen un poco”
	18:06-19:43	“aurita ya no se trabaja como antes, antes se trabajaba en trabajo público, ahora tenemos un aporte de 10bs todos que es para rosar (cortar las malezas de las calles y plazas), tienen que poner si o si todos, nosotros somos 160 habilitados para el trabajo público. Ahora ya le pagamos a una persona para que roce (corte las malezas) con máquina, ya nosotros no participamos...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	11:42-12:40	“casi la mayoría de los comunarios van a la reunión, algunos se van a la pesca y fallan, y a los que fallan a fin de año tienen su sanción que es hacer un trabajo publico... la reunión a veces es una vez a la semana y según la necesidad...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	07:49-09:14	“hay una empresa que nos está comprando el mineral, esa empresa nos está ayudando en dinamitas, en las brocas, en los taladros, en la manguera para las bombas herramientas carretillas todo eso ellos nos facilitan, nos han dado casco, nos han dado botas... de La Paz creo que es esa empresa, ellos nos comprando...”
	29:48-31:45	“nosotros ya hemos corrido a ver a 3 empresas hemos corrido, a “quebrada azul” se llamaba y a otra

	31:55-34:50	<p>empresa que se llama Sutó... Con el caos de la empresa Ama Sullá es diferente, esa es una empresa minera, esa vino hablar con la comunidad para poder entrar si permiten o no permiten... ellos no vienen a trabajar, ellos nos quieren ayudar, ellos solo nos compran el mineral... hay pues una presidenta que está en Santa Cruz (...intenta acordarse, se está refiriendo a la Presidenta de FEDECOMIN que es la que representa a todas las cooperativas mineras del Departamento de Santa Cruz), nos apoya...</p> <p>Como se decidió hacer que entre Ama Sullá a la comunidad: "nosotros le hemos visto sus buenos pasos de ellos, nos charlaron, nos ofrecieron que nos iban a apoyar para que trabajemos, hasta nos apoyó con una máquina para que trabajemos nos apoyó con 200 horas de trabajo de máquina... algunos dijeron que no querían, ellos eran los mayores de edad creo que eran 3 o 4... hay un porcentaje que da a la comunidad por eso se tienen dos camiones y para las necesidades de la comunidad... para los de tercera edad hay también, se aprobó con 100bs mensual, no es mucho pero es algo...</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	12:48-13:00	"los jóvenes participan, así los que están en el colegio, pero solo van a escuchar nomás..."
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	25:59-27:27	"en la reunión se dijo (en el sentido borrar diferencias entre los cooperativistas y los no cooperativistas), que es pues los que trabajan en la alcaldía, en las instituciones, nosotros aquí que no salimos de la comunidad estamos avanzando, está creciendo (la comunidad) y ellos que es lo que están aportando, ellos no aportan nada. A veces cuando hay la fiesta del pueblo se necesita plata (fiesta de la tradición) y ahí es cuando se le pide dinero a los técnicos que

		trabajan en la alcaldía, ahí pues por lo menos ellos ponen...”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	10:35-11:30	“más antes cuando recién había la cooperativa había oposición, más antes, ahora ya no hay, eran más que todos los profesores los que se oponían, pero ellos tienen pues de donde agarran, ganan mensual (haciendo referencia que los que están trabajando en la mina lo hacen por necesidad), serán pues unos 10 (personas) que se oponen. La mayoría está en la cooperativa... mayormente apoyan la minería”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	14:24-15:30	Hay algunos que no van frecuentemente a las reuniones, son los que trabajan en la alcaldía, casi no van y cuando van chupau (un poco borracho) a las reuniones después de sano no van... son unas 3 o 5 personas...”
	21:29-22:32	“hay discriminación entre los comunarios, pero eso lo acomodan para hablarlo en la reunión... y ahí se soluciona, salen consejos para que mejoren pero otros no lo toman en cuenta...”
	27:28-28:04	Refiriéndose a la escasa participación de las reuniones y por tanto de la toma de decisiones de los no mineros de Puquio: “...a veces participan cuando hay cosas de importancia o cosas graves ahí recién participan... a veces fallan a la reunión 10, 20 o 30 personas del 160 personas habilitadas que somos...”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_14PNMT
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista: 09.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 55 años
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Comunario
Afilación con corporativa: Miembro de Cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios,	04:40-0810	“más antes de la explotación de la mina así en la comunidad, hay recursos económicos familiarmente hablando, el recurso económico dependiendo de la familia en que lo gasta puede ser salud, ropa, alimento construcción de su casa, también entra
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<p>usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición</p>		<p>especialmente la educación para de los hijos en comprar ropas para los alumnos... hay comunarios que tienen sus hijos afuera de la comunidad en la universidad por decir Santa Cruz o Cochabamba y esos recursos le sirven económicamente para los alumnos como para su alquiler, su alimentación, transporte materiales para los mismos estudiantes, esa es la ventaja de los recursos económicos y más antes no había todo eso, algunos vendían su vaquita vendían sus cosechas, antes los hijos que salían de bachiller en la comunidad ahí nomás se quedaban y no había recursos para que vayan a la universidad o instituto. Ahora que ya hay este material que le llamamos Wolfrám entonces hay un poco de facilidad, esa es la ventaja de lo que hace la mina. Por otra parte la mina es un recurso no renovable, no es como los árboles que vuelven a crecer, en cambio en la mina no si el recurso salió, salió. Entonces toda la gente aprovecha, como es TCO la gente van y sacan”</p>
<p>Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario</p>	<p>15:32-20:20</p>	<p>Sobre la decisión de que Ama Sulla entre o no a trabajar en la TCO: “ eso lo deciden a nivel de la dirigencia de CICOL primero se dirige a la organización luego al municipio, ahí se informa que es lo que quiere la empresa, de dónde viene, que hace, todo eso, entonces el municipio lo acepta, después la empresa se va con la dirigencia de la CICOL que es de la TCO de Lomerío... los dirigentes informan a la comunidad si le conviene o no le convienen y en conjunto con otras comunidades se aceptó a la empresa... asi nomas entra por entrar se tiene que hacer consulta, a la CICOL al Municipio y a la Comunidad. La comunidad tiene que saber qué beneficios va a tener, lo que se prometió no se firmó un convenio, solo se quedó así nomás. Como la cooperativa de Puquio está en trámite su personería jurídica, cuando salga la personería jurídica de Puquio la empresa va a ser convenio entre el municipio la CICOL y la Comunidad y ahí se va a decir cuál es la patente, que va a ser para la comunidad, esas ´propuestas tienen que ser consensuadas con la empresa y con la comunidad... después de ahí se lo firma y se lo sella, pero aún no salió la personería jurídica porque está en trámite, pero ya está más del 60%... Recién se formó un directorio de las cuatro cooperativas mineras, dentro de cada comunidad hay un directorio comunal, así esta aurita, hace una semana que se formó se llama la Sub-central de cooperativas mineras de Lomerío, las cuatro comunidades están representadas en ese directorio...”</p>

Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	27:30-29:00	“en las reuniones todos participan obligados, porque cuando se trabaja en grupo no va a ser todo perfecto, hay que informar... si hay problemas hay que informar a toda la base... si hay un problema nos reunimos semanalmente o cada 15 días que es la reunión de la cooperativa y la comunidad...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	12:40-15:22 20:40-22:18 22:28-23:20 26:33-27:05 34:30-35:50	<p>“si no me equivoco hace dos años atrás la mina estaba a 100bs el kilo, pero después bajo a 85 bs, de mineral Wólfram que es lo único que se saca aquí, no sé porque baja será porque el oro baja eso nos dicen, este año bajo a 63 bs, actualmente está a ese precio... La empresa que nos compra es de La Paz, ellos manda dinero y la persona responsable de compra viene y nos compra, asi cada 15 días... esa empresa se llama Ama Sullá, ellos están desde el año pasado si no me equivoco están desde el 8 de septiembre del 2014, en este momento no estamos sacando mineral”</p> <p>Sobre el Rol que juega la COMIBOL en Lomerío: “Coloradillo no asistió ese día (para la posesión del directorio de la subcentral de cooperativas mineras de Lomerío) porque en coloradillo hay problemas, porque entro la COMIBOL que es una empresa a nivel nacional y está avalado por el Estado Boliviano, Creo que esa COMIBOL no trabaja con cooperativas, por eso los de coloradillo no están de acuerdo con incorporarse como cooperativa con las cuatro comunidades, porque creo que esa cooperativa trabaja con la COMIBOL, no todos unos cuantos, pero si los de coloradillo estaban invitados al evento, solo vinieron dos o tres personas a escuchar nomás, pero no se pronunciaron si estaban o no de acuerdo, Coloradillo está pendiente...”</p> <p>“el asunto es que CICOL es la misma zona porque CICOL somos todos nosotros, porque el municipio esta abarcado en el mapa de las 29 comunidades, igual CICOL, pero CICOL y Municipio coordinamos, somos la misma gente, aquí nacimos y coordinamos”</p> <p>“el directorio de cada comunidad minera muchas veces con una llamada a la Fedecomín ahí van y pasan un pequeño taller sobre mina, como se explota, como se maneja toda esas cositas...”</p> <p>En el tema del relacionamiento del a cooperativa de puquio: “solamente se relaciona con la CICOL y con el municipio, con con la COMIBOL, no se permite que entre la COMIBOL a nivel del municipio, porque ellos no trabajan con las cooperativas..., las decisiones de la comunidad la respalda la CICOL, el Municipio, y</p>

		Fedecomín de Santa Cruz, porque como vamos a ser un municipio minero...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	31:20-32:00 32:49-33:02	“...la mujer en asunto físico no iguala al hombre, la mujer se cansa primero que el hombre, por eso, eso hay que normar en la reunión porque se puede lastimar..., la mujer tiene un trabajo un poquito más mínimo” “la mujer tiene derecho de opinar, de participar en algún cargo, no hay nada de que solamente el baron
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	32:05-32:48 43:10-44:17	“también las personas de la tercera edad tampoco ya no hay que hacerlo esforzar mucho... el físico es diferente, por eso siempre hay la reunión para que los jóvenes no discriminen a los ancianos, los barones a la mujer, y así” “aquí varios son jubilados, para ser el trabajo público ya no son tomados en cuenta, pero dan sugerencias y consejos porque son personas mayor, en la reuniones participan los ancianos y ancianas... como son mayores de edad ellos orientan
Jóvenes	33:08-34:30	“los jóvenes claro, los que no están en la universidad, los que llegan del cuartel y por falta de trabajo no estudia, esos son los que trabajan en los grupos, pero como son jóvenes no tienen casi interés de trabajar con adultos de 30 años... cuando uno trabaja en conjunto hay que saber controlarse... hasta el cacique, no por ser cacique no va hacer más bien tiene que ir adelante a dar el ejemplo”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad,	36:00-37:08	Relato de algunos conflictos con COMIBOL: “...ellos vinieron aquí el anterior lunes, dicen que ellos no pidieron permiso, no conversaban con la dirigencia, además dicen que ellos ya vinieron el año pasado y

entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	37:12-39:40	dijeron que ellos no tenían que pedir permiso al cacique ni a la CICOL porque ellos representan al nivel del Estado Boliviano, ellos dicen que van hacer estudios de minas porque en la zona de Lomerío está destinada a hacer cooperativa de mina y la COMIBOL no trabaja con cooperativas, es por eso que no se llevan bien y no lo acepta, eso es el asunto...” “el problema en coloradillos dicen que hay solo 6 comunarios que están de acuerdo con la COMIBOL y resto no quieren, por eso como coloradillo es de TCO de Lomerío, dio parte (informar) a la CICOL para que vayamos a apoyarlos al dialogo, porque todo Lomerío somos un cuerpo..., entonces ese día, los comunarios de varias comunidades dijeron de por favor retírese (a la COMIBOL)...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	46:42-47:35 48:18-49:03	“hay una persona mujer paisanita (del interior) que vende ropa, ella alquila ahí en mi cuarto, ella no va a las reuniones, pero da cuota a nivel comunidad...” “hay un señor de tercera edad que no es boliviano, es un cholo peruano que no va a la reunión, hace tiempo que él no va a la reunión, de aquí es su esposa...”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_15PDFM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista: 10.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 48
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Productora de miel de abeja
Afiliación con corporativa: Afiliada pero no trabaja

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	02:55-04:25	“tiene su bueno y tiene su malo, antes nosotros vivíamos de la agricultura y no de la minería, antes sembrábamos maíz, yuca, plátano, de todo había y no teníamos donde vender, todos teníamos porque todos trabajábamos agricultura... bueno después apareció la mina, pero la mina cuando hay es bien, pero cuando no se pilla es pérdida de tiempo porque pierde tiempo de hacer su chaco...”
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	04:45-06:10	“lo que yo veo ahora es que la mayoría no tienen chaco, y cuando no hay la mina la gente sufre... uno tiene que tener suerte para sacar, además el trabajo allá tiene que ser con maquinaria porque imagínese, es arriesgarse la vida trabajar ahí, porque para conseguir un kilo de mina uno tiene que meterse en el pozo y eso es lo que no me gusta a mí... nosotros antes no vivíamos de la mina vivíamos de agricultura, nosotras las mujeres trabajábamos de lo artesanal y así vivamos”
	06:25-06:47	“trabajar allá cuesta uno se sacrifica mucho, va cavando, va cavando y si uno no pilla ese día, más el trabajo”
	07:00-08:14	“antes pues había un trabajo público, había una persona que se llevaba su chicha dulce se invitaba a todos, ahora ya no ese recién se está perdiendo, ahora cada es a que se la entienda (cada quien por su lado)..., nosotros no sabemos si eso es por la mina o porque hay más gente ahora que antes, aurita hay harta gente, tal vez es por eso también.
	21:00-21:32	“aurita os representantes de las cuatro cooperativas están luchando para que los que explotan las minas sean los de aquí nomás, para que no venga nadie a venir a sacar la riqueza de nosotros... estamos en trámite de sacar (a personería jurídica) para que seamos legal...”
	29:57-32:07	“en un principio los niños explotaban en mineral, después hemos visto que los niños se perjudicaban mucho, porque los niños todavía están en crecimiento... iban (a la mina) a recoger, a rebatir la tierra... ahora ya no van, al menos que están en el colegio, ya no van...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	08:49-09:35	“dos veces al mes se hacen las reuniones, y cuando hay necesidad se hacen una extraordinaria...ahora mayormente todos mujeres, hombres, tienen la libertad de opinar”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	14:55-15:34	“aurita estamos sacando la personería jurídica, el que nos está apoyando es el de la federación departamental de minería”
	15:53-16:29	“en el tema de la venta del mineral: “ hay una empresa que nos apoya en el negociado, nosotros reunimos el mineral y ellos lo llevan, porque nosotros todavía no tenemos la personería jurídica... la

	23:55-24:20	comunidad decidió para que entre esa empresa (Ama Sullá)” Relación entre la CICOL y la Cooperativa: “aurita ellos están coordinando porque ese día (1 de marzo del 2015) tuvimos una reunión con la presidenta de la fedecomín y estaba participando la CICOL... si hay buena relación, aurita bastante nos ayuda la CICOL...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	10:28-10:40 16:38-16:52 18:32-18:50	“las mujeres jóvenes jovencitas no se está viendo bien, porque ellos estudian y eso...” “aurita se le da nomás a la mujer que opinen, todos tenemos derechos de opinar y vale nuestra opinión en la reunión...” “ahora ya no hay esa discriminación, antes había mayormente los hombre no le dan la palabra a las mujeres, pero ahora ya no”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	10:46-11:16	“ellos participan ellos opinan porque ellos son nativos de la comunidad... hay cositas de la comunidad y los jóvenes se cierran, ellos los viejitos comparan la comunidad de ahora con antes”
Jóvenes	09:44-10:20 12:00-12:43	“bueno los jóvenes que tienen edad de 18 años ya participan de las reuniones, los que están estudiando no participan o participan muy poco...” “hay cosas en la que los jóvenes exageran, a veces sin consulta ellos gastan... recién se sacaban la mina y se daba 1bs para la comunidad para cualquier cosa, hay autoridades a veces en la que calladitamente gastan, ellos deben preguntar a los comunarios porque la palta es de todos, ahí es donde la tercera edad aconseja a las autoridades...”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		

Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	21:34-23:55	Están en trámite para sacar la personería jurídica: “Por eso cuando vino COMIBOL no lo dejamos que entre, porque queremos que seamos nosotros (los que exploten la mina), por eso estamos nosotros en el trámite de sacar la personería jurídica y en dialogo con el responsable de toda la minería, con un viceministro o ministro no recuerdo muy bien, para que seamos nosotros los que aprovechemos los recursos... La otro vez llegaron varias maquinarias grandes así sin pedir permiso a la CICOL... por eso aquí no lo dejamos entrar... y la COMIBOL dijo uqe para ellos no lo hay autoridad, no hay CICOL, no hay nada y por eso no lo dejamos entrar”
	27:22-29:09	“nosotros no queremos que nos pase como en coloradillo, nosotros en conjunto con la CICOL no opusimos para que se vayan de una vez (las distintas empresas que intentaron entrar), eso significa que es una lucha de todos, mayormente los que somos bien luchadores somos los de esta banda (hablando por el distrito de Puquio, uno de los cuatro distrito en los que está dividido lomerío), porque hemos participado en marchas aun cuando el presidente Evo no era presidente”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	19:02-19:26	Otros que no participan pueden ser “que a veces no tienen tiempo, trabajan y llegan cansado a su casa, o está de viaje”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_16PDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera
Fecha de entrevista: 10.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 29 años
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Presidente de Cooperativa Puquio
Afiliación con cooperativa: Presidente de Coop. Minera

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	05:00-08:20	“... los que están más al tanto desde que inicio la minería son los que vivientes de aquí... aurita en las comunidades se están formando cooperativas mineras, vinieron y nos explicarlo como es que podíamos formarnos en cooperativas, pasamos cursos, por eso es que le digo que los comunarios entendieron la vida de que es ser un minero, nosotros
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	09:10-10:40	<p>a la cabeza de las 4 cooperativas, estamos luchando para que en si tengamos una representación única de las 4 cooperativa, nuestro objetivo es socializar y tener un documento que nos de la potestad de explotar en el subsuelo que es con la personería jurídica, en estos momentos estamos trabajando manualmente, aun no tenemos un documento que nos respalde. Por eso como cooperativa necesitamos apoyo para tener la personería jurídica y para legalizar el trabajo...”</p> <p>“aurita la producción que tenemos hay un encargado que compra, luego hay un porcentaje por kilo que es destinada a la comunidad para que lo gaste en salud... de esa manera la minería ayuda para a la comunidad... la comunidad entera está involucrada en la explotación de la minería...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	12:15-13:00 13:55-14:30	<p>“la CICOL es la máxima representante de las 29 comunidades, ellas es la primera en saber que actividades estamos haciendo en conjunto con el municipio...”</p> <p>Para que entre una empresa a trabajar: “se llega a un acuerdo, se lo invita al cacique para que dé el visto bueno, luego se llama a una asamblea a la comunidad y luego la comunidad es la que va a decidir si, sí o no</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	14:49-18:30	<p>“la Fedecomín es la que nos representa a las cooperativas mineras y nos está ayudando en los documentos, con la COMIBOL no tenemos relacionamiento, solo nos ha traído problemas y no beneficios. El problema es que ellos entran aquí al territorio como si fuera su casa, llegan aquí, no coordinan con la máxima autoridad, ellos quieren hacer como les da la gana, y no lo vamos a permitir que ellos decidan por intermedio de nosotros, jamás. Por eso es como cooperativa y como comunidad somos nosotros los que vamos a tomar decisiones por la comunidad... es la actitud de COMIBOL lo que hace pelear y hace dividir más que todo... ellos vienen a querer mandarnos en nuestra casa y eso nosotros no lo vamos a permitir. Nosotros ahora como las cuatro cooperativas mineras estamos más unidos que nunca,</p>

		nos estamos cooperando, cualquier problema estamos ahí todos...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:

II_17PDMM

Nombre de entrevistador:

Efren Cabrera-Barrientos

Fecha de entrevista:

10.03.2015

Edad del entrevistado:

29

Función/cargo de entrevistado:
comunidad
Afiliación con cooperativa:
minera

Cacique Mayor de la
miembro de la cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:04-04:30	“antes, solo unos cuantos explotaban, a los que le interesaban; cuando se empezó a descubrir que el wólfam era un minera [...], entonces algunas personas iban al lugar a trabajar y esos lugares donde ahora se explotan eran diferentes, antes no estaban explotados como hoy [...], ahora se a sacado harta tierra, inclusive ya utilizan dinamita en los pozos porque son piedras duras y eso van sacando, entonces se ven un cambio en ese lugar porque ya no se va a poder cultivar, por eso es que ese lugar se lo ha denominado netamente zona minera, ese lugar prácticamente esta no apto para la producción [...] eso sería un poco los cambios negativos que yo le podría decir [...], pero tampoco no se podía prevenir, porque si o si se iba a explotar, sea nosotros o sean otros porque eso son concesiones mineras...”
	04:33-04:55	Impactos positivos de la Explotación del mineral wólfam: “lo positivo es que por lo menos ahora la familia va allá y trabajan, se traen un kilo, y eso ya tienen como 80bs al día o depende si encuentran más rápido, así ya tienen el sustento para su familia mayormente aquí circula el dinero así el dinero en la familia por el mineral...”
	05:00-06:19	Cambio es usos y costumbres; adaptación de la lógica minera que no es originaria de Lomerío: “bueno cunado ya se pensó en formar cooperativas porque esas tierras sin que nosotros sepamos aunque es nuestro territorio, nosotros no sabíamos de que solo somos dueños solamente de 30 centímetros de y que lo más debajo de la TCO había otro dueño que no viven aquí, supuestamente eran los dueños, los concesionarios y ellos nos decían: ‘nosotros tenemos aquí nuestro mineral así que entramos cuando queramos’, entonces nuestra gente se resistió, y dijo que esto no podría ser así, porque ellos (los supuestos dueños de las concesiones) querían venir a imponernos sus políticas, sin consultarnos, ya cuando nació la consulta previa, nosotros ya dijimos que primero ellos tienen que consultarnos sino no entran, pero también dijimos que así (impidiendo que entren terceros a explotar el mineral) nunca íbamos a ganar nada que mejor era que nos organicemos; y ahí nació

	06:30-07:47	<p>la idea de formar la cooperativa, hasta ahora, porque seguimos en esa lucha porque aún nos falta sacar la personería jurídica, eso ya está en trámite y con eso buscamos que las cuadrículas que en este momento son de otros sean de la comunidad</p>
	08:00-09:15	<p>“el beneficio directo para la comunidad es que el 5% de los ingresos por la venta del mineral va destinado a la comunidad, con esos recursos pagamos la limpieza de áreas públicas, a veces pagamos refacciones en el centro de salud a veces apoyamos con recursos, también a pagamos el consumo de energía eléctrica de la plaza..., hemos visto que ese beneficios que tenemos es muy importante porque es el único ingreso que tenemos nosotros ahora como comunidad, porque no sacamos impuestos a los comerciantes ni a nadie, solamente es a la minería. Cuando hay eventos comunales o visitas de alguien del estado o del Gobierno de laguna manera nosotros tenemos que contribuir y de ahí sacamos para poner alguna contraparte”</p>
		<p>“ahora hasta los domingos van a la mina, ya no van a la misa, ,as lo que se dedican es a la minería y a través de eso se van dedicando a los vicios, empiezan a beber y esas cosas, antes los domingos era sagrados, todos íbamos a la iglesia en cambio ahora ya no [...], pero nosotros –como autoridad- hemos tratado de regular un poco, en las reuniones dijimos que si el dinero de la minería va a ser para emborracharse, y haber problemas en la familia, nosotros –como autoridad- la paramos; entonces dijeron los comunarios que iban a cambiar y desde ahí se dijo prohibido beber en la mina porque es peligroso, imagínese con dinamita y borrachos en la mina. Por eso nosotros como autoridad hemos decidido intervenir...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	16:33-17:21	<p>Toma de decisiones: “es más o menos la misa que la de la organización CICOL, está la asamblea es la máxima autoridad, luego estamos los caciques mayor luego primer cacique, de educación, salud, genero, de recursos naturales, y de economía y luego esta las bases...”</p>
	17:25-19:12	<p>Casos en los que se decide entre toda la comunidad: “cuando se trata del tema tierra (...), hay cosas que nosotros podemos decidir sin consultar, por ejemplo el otro día se nos vino la idea de (...) implementar los postes para la plaza, de ahí en la reunión nosotros dijimos queremos esto y la gente decide, nosotros tomamos la iniciativa pero ellos deciden, hay otros casos por ejemplo que los padres quieren ayuda para</p>

	20:45-22:04	<p>algún evento educativo, y nosotros le apoyamos, no le consultamos a la base pero si nos anotamos para informar después lo que se hizo (...), cuando ya se trata de tema tierra, recursos naturales o minería, nosotros no decidimos, las bases son las que deciden, ellos empiezan a decir que les conviene que no les conviene...”</p> <p>“cuando se va a decidir sobre algo importante tiene que estar más del 50% de la comunidad (...) a veces en reuniones informativas vienen mujeres y no muchos, pero cuando es una reunión extraordinaria tienen que estar todos si o si, si faltan le damos su sanción. En las asambleas generales que se hace cada 6 meses quedamos en eso (...), solo en las informativas no se toma asistencia...”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	20:00-20:30	“cuando se tenía que decidir sobre el tema de minería algunos terceros venían donde mí y me decían: ‘ya pues hagamos negocios’; y yo les consultaba a la comunidad y la comunidad decía no...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	15:44-16:18	“aurita se está coordinando más con el ministerio de minería porque nosotros estamos afiliados a federación departamental de Santa Cruz, donde tenemos a una presidente allá y también hay como 60 cooperativas afiliadas allá, y ella automáticamente está bajo la cadena de mando hasta llegar al ministerio”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	11:00-11:40	Los no socios de la cooperativa: “mayormente son los jubilados de la comunidad, los ancianos. Algunos están escritos como socios, otros no; pero no es porque no quieran sino porque la fuerza ya no les da porque los trabajos son pesados; y otras personas que no son socios de la cooperativa son los funcionarios de la alcaldía, pero ya cuando se les explico que necesitamos unirnos ya nos apoyaron...”
	25:10-25:39	“... no todos van a las reuniones de los jubilados, pero hay personas como Don Ignacio que es fundador de la CICOL y de la CIDOB, ellos constantemente están asistiendo a la reunión y dan sus sugerencias, sus

	26:32-29:57	<p>dirigentes decían una cosa [...], pensaban que cuando se formó la cooperativa iba a ser un golpe para ellos, un choque y nosotros como autoridades pensábamos eso y nosotros nos hemos reunidos con las autoridades y con las 4 o 5 cooperativas que hay en coloradillo y dijimos nosotros (como cooperativa) si nos vamos a organizar nosotros no va a ser para enfrentarnos con la CICOL o con el municipio, sino que sea un brazo operativo, un brazo técnico de la comunidad; en este caso de la cooperativa minera de Puquio, se constituye en el brazo técnico-operativo de la comunidad, pero yo sigo siendo el que tiene toda la responsabilidad de la comunidad y ellos solamente son el brazo operativo, porque aparte tenemos la cooperativa de transporte, de agua entonces ellos coordinan lo que van a hacer en la comunidad, entonces ellos son brazos técnicos y no pueden decidir lo que van a ser en la comunidad sin consultarme, no pueden subir por encima de la autoridad sino que siempre van a estar coordinando. Lo mismo sucede entre nosotros y la CICOL, nosotros los cacique mayores somos los brazos técnicos de la CICOL en cada comunidad; lo mismo pasa con la SUBCENTRAL de Cooperativas mineras de Lomerío que se creó, ellos son el brazo técnico de CICOL y coordinan todo con la CICOL, no es que la Subcentral va a ser más que la CICOL. La CICOL siempre va ser la que va a llevar adelante todo”.</p> <p>“cuando nosotros recibimos el cargo de esta comunidad, la comunidad estaba dividida, estaban los que querían y los que no querían la cooperativa minera, estaban divididos por problemas internos (...), pero hoy ya lo hemos subsanados, prueba de ello es que para la campaña todos somos del mismo color, de la misma ideología (...), es una muestra de que estamos unidos...”</p>
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	22:30-23:55	<p>Asistir a la reunión y participar en ella: “Aquí en la comunidad yo lo clasifico en tres niveles: las personas que no son estudiados y que se dedican al chaco, ellos van a la reunión, escuchan pero no sugieren, ellos son los agricultores a ellos solo le interesan trabajar, se les dicen vamos a trabajar y están puntuales, si bien no opinan –en las toma de decisiones- pero son la parte operativa del trabajo; hay otro grupo de los comerciantes que no participan mucho, tampoco sugieren tanto pero están ahí, a veces hablan a veces no (...) participan un poquito más que los otros ; y hay otro –grupo- que son los profesionales que son los que dan ideas porque son más intelectuales, opinan, proponen, sugieren. Por eso yo tengo que ser bien cuidadoso, porque hay</p>

		diferentes clases, no puedo yo explicar y decir términos generales porque algunos no pueden entender, entonces lo que hacemos nosotros es bajar hasta que entiendan todos , eso es lo que nosotros tratamos de hacer porque nos hacemos entender con todos”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_18PDMM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista:	10.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	46
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Director del Colegio
Afiliación con corporativa:	Socio pasivo.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	02:52-06:03	“inicialmente cuando nosotros vinimos de otro lugar en el año 2000, la gente se dedicaba netamente a la actividad del Chaco (...) a los meses que estábamos aquí, fueron comenzando las investigaciones sobre la minera y fueron descubiertos unas cosas negras que había en los cerros (...) ahí empezaron a trabajarlo , a partir de ahí ya empezaron a dejar de trabajar en el chaco, porque con la mina ya hubo más ingresos económico, y se comprar los víveres, es un trabajo más al instante, se vende y se compra, eso es uno de los cambios (...), otras cosa también fue el desenfreno que hubo en un inicio, se acostumbraron a beber porque había más dinero, pero eso lo paramos con la autoridad en los análisis de las reuniones que hacíamos (...) algunos si tuvieron buena conciencia y reflexionaron en lo que gastaban y comenzaron a juntar materiales para sus casitas, peor otros muy pocos (...) hubo ciertas envidias de los que sacaban menos a quienes sacaban más (...) antes se sacaba el mineral de forma individual, recién ha aparecido la cooperativa...”
	07:26-08:20	“no veo tanto cambio positivo (...) así como se está sacando aurita el material es como en cualquier lugar, se saca en función a las necesidades (...), se necesita que se mecanice el trabajo, porque actualmente es con picota, y martillo...”
	09:14-09:36	Beneficios de trabajar en cooperativa: “los beneficios es para todos, es equitativo, lo que se saca de este

	09:43-11:00	<p>grupo es para todos, lo que sacan los demás también es para todos”</p> <p>Usos y costumbres: “...nosotros como pueblo esta enraizado profundamente los principios religiosos , la cultura no se lo vive tanto, lo que prima aquí si es el idioma besito, los bailes y chovenas es muy poco, más su potencialidad aquí es el deporte, el fútbol”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	18:15-20:30	“las reuniones se hacen de acuerdo a las necesidades de la comunidad, a veces hay proyectos y otras cosas, ahí se lleva a cabo (...), se convoca a todas las bases para tomar alguna decisión (...) yo creo que como todo grupo no todo siempre participan, digamos de que toditos opinen en la reunión no pasa...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	06:27-07:09	“otras personas de afuera han venido acá y dieron un punto de vista de que era necesario conformarse en cooperativa (...) otras personas de afuera que trabajan en minería han venido aquí y han visto como la gente trabajan y como ellos querían entrar también a esa labor, ellos en su buena intención (de ser aceptados para que exploten) los orientaron y les dijeron organicense...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	12:15-15:30 15:50-16:30	<p>“con la federación hay una buena relación por parte de los mineros porque incluso han hecho charlas en la comunidad, hace dos semanas se formó la central de Cooperativas mineras de Lomerío, eso lo hicieron los de FEDECOMIN. (...), la relación con la COMIBOL no esta bien, porque ellos no quieren el funcionamiento de las cooperativas, hay una pugna entre la cooperativa y los terceros que quieren explotar el mineral sin hacer la consulta diciendo que ellos son dueños de las concesiones, por eso no hay buena relación con la COMIBOL, pero si hay buna relación con el ministerio de minería (...) mediante la FEDECOMIN a la cual están afiliados las cooperativas mineras...”</p> <p>Formas de negociar con las empresas: “ellos simplemente nos están apoyando con la documentación para que se legalice el cooperativismo, para que salga la personería jurídica...”</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	
Mujeres	21:37-21:58	“las mujeres también algunas dan su opinión o sugerencia, veo que hay timidez al opinar o expresar sus ideas”
Práctica Lingüística	29:10-29:29	“algunas veces se hacen las reuniones en besiro, eso es lo que estamos intentando pero haber...”

Tercera Edad	20:47- 21:35	“hay de tercera edad que muy poco participan, también las personas mayores y jóvenes, también en todas las edades hay líderes, por ejemplo la autoridad de la comunidad es muy jóvenes”
	23:25- 23:45	“bueno ellos porque ya cumplieron sus actividades de servicio, porque ya piden su jubilación y eso se está respetando, pero tampoco se los coartan, ellos están libre de participar en todo lo que quieran...”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	31:38- 32:29	“aurita nos estaremos entendiendo, al principio ha habido falta de entendimiento pero ahora ya se ha solucionado (...) había falta de entendimiento entre los que no querían la explotación minera y los que querían ...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	22:54- 23:10	“uno puede ser porque no le importa lo que se trate en las reuniones, otro porque no están dentro de la comunidad”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_19PNMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera-Barrientos

Fecha de entrevista: 10.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: no conocida
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Profesor de Colegio
Afiliación con cooperativa: No afiliado

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	03:12-06:30	“la mayoría de las personas ya no trabajan chaco, mayormente se dedican allá, en parte están esclavizándose ellos mismos porque hay días en que no sacan nada (...) antiguamente la gente se dedicaban a sus chacos, otro cambio en lo social es que cuando sale el minera la gente no lo aprovecha bien sus recursos lo malversa, un tiempo sucedió eso, salía harto mineral y había harto dinero y la gente no aprovechaba, gastaban su dinero en bebidas, no mejoraban sus ambientes donde vivían, a excepción de algunos que si aprovecharon (...), todos tienen dinero, eso es algo negativo. (...) un poco los niños ya se estaban dedicando a sacar mineral y ya no al estudio eso es muy peligro, ahora ya no sale mucho mineral, ya no hay producción, el trabajo es manual, y esta todo removido el lugar...”
	08:20-09:30	“aquí las costumbres sociales son los trabajos públicos, antes se hacíamos lo que es la minga, ahora ya no, antes se hacía cada fin de semana (...) ahora más le interesan a trabajar en la mina; en lo religioso también ya no quieren ir a misa, y eso es porque quieren mas dinero...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	15:00-16:55	“aquí se decide en la asamblea, lo que se deciden en la reunión es lo que se hacen (...) no se permiten que entre algún empresario sin consultar (...), aquí en lomerío se compra el mineral vía la cooperativa de Surusubí, porque es la única que tiene su personería jurídica...”
	19:30-19:35	“se convoca la reunión dos días antes,
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	12:24-14:00	“yo no estoy tan al tanto pero según se dicen que el mineral que esta allá, tiene un dueño y por esos es que se están organizando... y con el municipio so lomerianos también (...), nosotros no dejamos que los concesionarios entren...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	18:17-18:30	“las mujeres algunas dan su opinión y su inquietud”
Práctica Lingüística		

Tercera Edad	19:53-20:42	“no se le exigen que participen de las reuniones a los de la tercera edad (...), la minería no da beneficios para los ancianos, antes ellos iban a la minería pero le daban trabajos más sencillos ahora no van porque ya los trabajos son más difíciles...”
Jóvenes		
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	30:05-32:08	Los no afiliados en Puquio que somos los profesionales: “al inicio por que no íbamos todos a la mina nos decían porque no vienen, nos reclamaban a los que no íbamos, ahora nosotros los docentes no vamos y nadie nos dice nada, porque cuando uno se compromete en varias cosas y no cumple ahí están los reclamos, para evitar eso mejor hacemos un solo trabajo, porque los que van al mina es a trabajar y no a mirar, por eso los docentes no vamos; los que van allá son los que están libres y no tiene otros compromisos, el trabajo es voluntario...”
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	10:12-12:00 22:45-23:48	“al inicio si había oposición porque solo un grupito se beneficiaba de la mina y los recursos son de todos los comunarios (...) por lo que veo ahora trabajan en grupos por eso ya no hay oposición (...), yo no soy socio porque no tengo tiempo, al inicio intente serlo, porque había una máquina que nos ayudaba a remover el material ahora está más difícil encontrar el mineral, es muy peligroso...” “mayormente cuando hay interés que les conviene unos y no a otros, por ejemplo con la minería mas antes no se sabía cómo es el sistema de repartición, unos decían que el grupo que saque es para ellos porque les corresponde, pero el problema de eso fue que había grupos que iban y no sacaban nada y el trabajo era el mismo, ese tipos de contradicciones había en un principio...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	25:43-27:32	“yo no puedo decir a la gente que hable a la gente mayor, porque tiene que ver el nivel de formación al hablar en las reuniones (...), ellos se sienten más o menos inseguros por su estatus de formación inferior, hay personas que no son leídos (letrados) entonces que va a poder hablar en una reunión si no

		pueden, ellos e la reunión solamente dicen: ‘ sin estamos conformes pero no ha entendido del todo (...) sucede que se equivocan en la expresión, los demás se ríen y por eso tienen miedo a hablar (...) la autoridad solamente está conforme con lo que está presente...”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_20_SDMM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista:	11.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	No conocida
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Vice-Presidente de SUB-central de Cooperativas mineras de Lomerío
Afiliación con corporativa:	Afiliado

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	04:31-06:50	Cambios positivos: “...se está trabajando el mineral manualmente y se está trabajando de forma organizada en socavones, solamente se hace la apertura y se mete en los socavones, los beneficios es en la economía (...) aquí nuestra economía es muy pésimos, por lo cual no hay medios de transporte para sacar lo que uno siembra en cantidad, nove, no tenemos vehículos para sacar y vender a los mercados, tal vez los mercados si lo podemos obtener, pero el transporte es lo más complicado. Ahora la minería está dando un cambio, tal vez un 40% hay un cambio porque los comunarios ya pueden cubrir sus primeras necesidades, además es para aumentar la producción que se hace y que se ha sabido hacer como en la producción de verduras y otros trabajos, el dinero sirve para apoyar otras actividades.
	07:00-08:24	Cambios Negativos: “unos de los cambios negativos es que los comunarios tienen su dinero y el vicio (alcohol, etc.) se está aumentando ese es el cambio negativo, porque hay compañeros que trabajan y sacan su dinerito, trabajan por decir 24Horas y ese comunario puede ganar hasta 1.500 bs y la mitad lo invierte para la canasta familiar y la mitad se lo gasta en el vicio, entonces hay pues un cambio. Mas antes la costumbre de la comunidad era que se podía beber en lo fines de semana o en eventos especiales, en

	08:27-08:54	cambio ahora ya cualquiera tiene su plata y amanece borracho, ese el cambio negativo.
	09:09-10:45	Cambios en salud y educación: “cambios pero ya es individual, ya cada familia cubre sus gastos individuales en cuanto a la salud; en la educación también, porque todo se invierte en materiales para los niños, eso sí está funcionando el 100%
	13:00-15:09	Cambios en la forma de ganarse la vida: “aquí se organizan, tenemos al menos 5 grupos de a 9 personas, entonces ellos entran 24 horas y tienen su herramientas de trabajo, se saca tierra de adentro, se bota, todo manual. Se escoge el material y después se lava en una batea donde hay agua y se saca y se vende por kilo (...), aquí forman parte todos los comunarios, y a las comunarias no se les exigen, hay como 12 señoras que son interesadas en la mina y están participando en la explotación...” Aquí se por el tema de la minería se paga 1bs para la comunidad y 2bs para la cooperativa, para que la cooperativa se pueda mover y hacer documentos o viajes, lo mismo en el tema de la comunidad eso es por kilo... como recién nos estamos organizando nosotros vamos a dar un porcentaje para la CICOL porque es la representante del territorio (...) entonces vamos a reunirnos para consensuar cuanto es lo que se le va a dar a la organización CICOL...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	30:05-30:25	“ aquí se ha visto que cada comunario participa de las reuniones, también las señoras, hay también de jovencitos y cuando hay un acuerdo es porque la mayoría a optado por ese acuerdo”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	10:50-11:50	“la cooperativa no tiene límites de socios, aurita somos 56, hay socios de la comunidad de monterito y también esperamos tener socios de otras comunidades (...) la brega es que sean socios originarios...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	23:18-24:16	“nosotros tenemos relación con una sola empresa, la relación solo es para la compra del material, solo nos compra el material, siempre tenemos nosotros a través del internet si sube o si baja el precio del mineral, todas las comunidades le vendemos a esa empresa...”
	24:29-27:02	“ se empezó trabajando con la alcaldía haciendo acuerdos para que la empresa entre a trabajar, entonces la alcaldía está muy informada que se está trabajando manualmente a pesar de que no es legal, entonces es parte de lo malo que hay, pero así se está luchando, actualmente la cuadrilla no es de

		<p>nosotros, se está haciendo planes, las cuadrillas están revertidas al estado porque el dueño que era murió, y como dice la ley cuando una persona muere las cuadrillas son revertidas al Estado, entonces cualquier personas pueden solicitar, entonces nosotros ya hemos solicitados esas cuadrillas, porque recién se a abierto las oficinas para solicitar las cuadrillas (...) nosotros tenemos la fe de que si la vamos a lograr conseguir esas cuadrículas, por eso no permitimos que la COMIBOL saque coordenadas y puntos y se lleve la información, nosotros nos damos cuenta de que ellos con esa información que saquen pueden hacer negocios con las empresas y eso es lo que no queremos. (...) el ingeniero que vino de la comisión de la COMIBOL dijo pensando que iba a tener el apoyo de los comunarios: ‘nosotros queremos venir verificar, hacer estudios y bueno meter empresas y ustedes trabajen ahí’ y el sentido no es ese, nosotros le dijimos pare, que nosotros no queremos trabajar de esa forma, nosotros somos dueños del lugar y queremos solicitarlas y queremos trabajarlas nosotros lo originarios del lugar y explotar la minería (...) desde ahí empezamos a luchar duro para no dejarlo entrar y no los vamos a dejar entrar.</p>
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres		
Práctica Lingüística	31:28-32:00	“En el caso de las mujeres hablan, opinan en las reuniones, y si no entienden las ancianitas hablan el propio idioma que es el básiro, en su mayoría la tercera edad es la que habla el básiro...”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	30:35-33:35	“asisten pero no participan, y no participan puede ser porque no le interesan, porque es tímido o porque no está informado (...), las mujeres igual, sino entienden las ancianitas ellas hablan en básiro (...) aquí todos asisten a la reunión porque la misma comunidad tienen su reglamento interno, puede ser como un día de trabajo u otras cosas a no ser que estén enfermos o estén de viaje eso si se los considera (...) están obligados a asistir a la reunión los que están en la lista, pero también están invitados los jovencitos desde los 15 años...”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		

		“la cooperativa está organizada, tiene la personalidad jurídica tiene todo, pero no tiene el área donde trabajar, porque eso (la concesión de Cesar Gutiérrez) fue revertido al Estado y tenemos todo el apoyo en la expresión del presidente que quieren que los originarios sean dueños y aprovechen de los recursos naturales renovables y no renovables...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	33:53-34:50	“toma de decisiones de la Central de Cooperativas mineras: “nosotros tomamos la decisión en cada asamblea de los mineros, la asamblea se hace cada mes y se las va a hacer rotatoria en Puquio, Surusubi San Simón y San Lorenzo

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_21SDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera-Barrientos

Fecha de entrevista: 11.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 30
Función/cargo de entrevistado: presidente de la Cooperativa
Afilación con corporativa: Socio-Presidente.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	05:25-08:30	“nosotros no estamos bien organizados, porque había otro presidente de cooperativa que no manejaba bien (...) aurita como nosotros somos el nuevo directorio nos cuesta enderezar a la gente porque iban y trabajaban a su propia cuenta, ahora más bien ya estamos trabajando en grupos. (...) cambios de lo que es en la mina es que algunos saben invertir bien su dinero, otros no saben, se ve (el dinero) la cuestión de la mina, mas antes nos juntábamos solo cuando había reunión mensual, en cambio ahora ya nos relacionamos bien, constantemente nos vemos las caras, trabajamos de a 24 horas (...) ordenadamente estamos trabajando desde el mes de julio. Nos hemos asociado con una empresa que nos da fuente de trabajo, pero no nos está explotando. La empresa no se está metiendo en nada, solo nos ha dado traído una máquina que removi6 la piedra, nada más. Ama Sullá se llama la empresa y las cuatros cooperativas afiliadas a la Subcentral están trabajando con esta empresa...”
	08:50-09:40	

	10:13-13:30	<p>Bueno como le digo hace tiempo se veía mucha perdición porque como le digo la gente no estaba acostumbrada a cumplir las normas, hacían borracheras y esas cosas, aurita nosotros como estamos encabezando prohibimos beber en la mina...”</p> <p>“como le digo aquí no todos saben invertir su dinero, más o menos el 80% de la gente sabe invertir y se compran heladeras o cocinas o invierten su plata en hacer su chaco y otros solo viven de la mina, los aportes en el colegio también están al día... Más antes cunado no había mina en la comunidad no podíamos contar con los comunarios al 100% porque los comunarios se iban a buscar trabajo a otros lugares como a los potrero de ida San Ramón, por allá la gente se iban meses, nunca podíamos estar reunidos. En cambio ahora con esta mina estamos todingos los que estamos en la acta de la comunidad (...) ahora todos dormimos en nuestras casa y no estamos por allá, mas antes no había ni para organizar un campeonato (de fútbol), no alcanzábamos aurita ya hay varios equipos, aquí desde que hay la minería sábados se respeta y domingos se respetan en el tema de las religiones, nadie va a la mina...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	03:50-05:10 18:48-19:35 19:50-22:00 23:50-24:43	<p>“bueno en cada comunidad tiene su forma de hacer su reunión nosotros lo hacemos mensual, solamente es las reuniones de emergencias no se les puede decir a todos (...), en las reuniones mensuales...”</p> <p>“...Antes de intentar entrar cualquier empresa o persona primero tiene que pedir permiso a la CICOL y les tiene que dar un aval, pero estos señores no hacen así, es por eso que nosotros no permitimos...”</p> <p>En el caso de Ama Sullá y su ingreso a trabajar en Lomerío: “hubo una consulta previa para aceptar a la empresa y aurita hay un convenio, esa empresa cuando vino hizo una consulta previa con todos, primero vinieron por la Alcaldía, después vinieron por la CICOL (...), nos dieron una propuesta y nosotros decidimos aceptarla decidimos también que íbamos a hacer el balance cada 3 meses. Aquí hubo una reunión, hubo consulta y todos participamos...”</p> <p>“en las reuniones que son de la cooperativa participan todingos, todos son socios de la cooperativa, excepto uno que es carpintero, él no va</p>

		“algunas mujeres son más enfocados en sus maridos, por decir por lo que su maridos tiene herramientas opinan lo mismo que sus maridos y les siguen apoyando y proponen que se junten los que tienen con los que tienen (...) luego las esposas de las que no tienen salen un poco la calentura de la charla y dicen: ‘los que tienen herramientas que lo hagan todo’, pero como le digo para eso está el cacique.”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	32:00-32:55	“los ancianos son los que nos dan consejos (...) son los que han fundado la comunidad, ellos todos opinan...”
Jóvenes	29:08-31:40	“los jóvenes participan porque se los invita a todos los jóvenes, para eso se les invita porque hay algunos jóvenes que hacen lo quieren... algunos opinan porque más antes los ancianos del consejo de ancianos no dejaban hablar a los jóvenes pero eso ya ha cambiado (...), el miedo que uno tienen es el de no hablar correcto, de que otros lo contradigan, por eso no hablan... los que están en colegio es van a la reunión pero no opinan...”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad	22:55-23:45	“cuando las reuniones son de temas de la cooperativa, se discuten y se participa más que en las reuniones de las comunidad, falta el tiempo en las reuniones cuando se habla de la cooperativa, la gente quiere saber todo, hartos se debate...”
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	46:23-48:10	“lo que nosotros estamos tratando de hacer es trabajar directamente con la empresa, no con el intermediario porque hay un comunario que sido elegido por la empresa para que retire dinero de la empresa y nos compre el mineral, es un paisano que ya vive 30 años aquí, él quiso extorsionando... esa queja le vamos a presenciar a la empresa...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	41:37-43:50	“a veces solo unas 10 personas son las que más hablan y ellos quieren que salgan una cosa, hay en las reuniones aquellos que son pensadores pero que son callados y uno se les pregunta directo a ellos y recién hablan y dicen ‘no estoy de acuerdo por tal razón’; o a veces porque unos tienen herramientas y otros no tienen por eso no hablan (...) los que tienen herramientas se sienten con más derechos que el que

		no tienen, pero para eso está el cacique que los meten a los que tienen herramientas y los que no tienen en un mismo grupo de trabajo...”
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Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_22SNFM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista:	11.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	no conocida
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Sin cargo
Afiliación con corporativa:	Afiliada de la Cooperativa.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	16:22-19:45	“bueno hablando del tema de minería, hay mucho cambio porque antes del 2010 que fue cuando empezó la minería nosotros trabajábamos la agricultura, sembrábamos yuca, maíz , papaya, todo eso (...) después empezamos a trabajar con la minería manualmente, como nuestro hijos puedan por lo menos estudiar ahora con la mina todos tienen la oportunidad de estudiar, porque más antes si uno tenía 6 hijos solo podía mandar al colegio a tres y los otros tenían que trabajar, ahora digamos se practicaban lo que es la cultura, ahora ya no hay cambios ahora los jóvenes visten a la moda, todo eso antes no había. Por otra parte podemos mandar a la universidad a nuestros hijos, en el tema de la alimentación también no dejando de lado del chaco. Con esa plata también se ayuda a lo que se produce en el chaco...”
	23:10-24:05	“trabajar en la mina es peligroso porque “(...) los pozos tienen más o menos 15 metros de profundidad”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunitario	24:30-	Como ella ve a la estructura de toma de decisiones: “nosotros tenemos aurita una central de cooperativas que recién se creó, después de ahí siguen los caciques mayores de la comunidad y el presidente de la cooperativa (...) para conformar ese directorio que tenemos se hizo una asamblea de las comunidades que trabajan en minería (...) ahí se dice que se va hacer y que no se va hacer, ahí todos tienen la obligación de estar presente. (...) asisten casi todos los hombres y mujeres, pero no todos participan digamos no 100% de las mujeres...”

Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	20:30-22:55 27:40-30:08 31:55-34:00	<p>“trabajar en la mina para nosotras es una vez por semana,... los varones tienen el grupo hasta los viernes, son 5 grupos de hombres y dos de mujeres, las mujeres solo podemos explotar el sábado y el domingo y somos 2 grupos, pero este tiempo por ser tiempo de lluvia no estamos trabajando; pero mayormente son los hombre que están trabajando. (...) así se organizó pero yo no es así...”</p> <p>“varias veces aquí me han querido cuartar que yo opine, me han querida sacar afuera por opinar por demás, la misma base, los ancianos fueron que me quisieron sacar, es porque algunos tienen más informaciones y es porque yo viajo constantemente a Santa Cruz y veo que lo que la gente quiere imponer no es así... yo hubiera que la defensoría de la mujer se moviera para ver mi caso para sentar una denuncia, justamente ayer quería hacer eso pero es lejos pues, para sentar la denuncia hay que ir a San Antonio...”</p> <p>“bueno yo veo que en la parte de la mujer existe mucha discriminación todavía a la mujer, y esto parte de la misma comunidad porque si yo quiero hablar demás ellos me cortan la palabras y me quieren sacar afuera. Hay veces también parte mucho de los varones, por decir ellos quieren nomas tener un lugar, por decir autoridad municipal ellos nomas quieren ser y no le dejan a las mujeres y también en la misma casa nacen todavía jovencitos la discriminación y eso nace en el mismo ambiente, frente a eso nosotros estamos ahí para que se corte con esta discriminación, por eso hay que pararnos fuertes [...], cuanto no quisiera yo que en la zona haya más capacitaciones para las mujeres para que no nos dominen los hombres...”</p>
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad		

Jóvenes	27:14- 27:30	“Mayormente los jóvenes no participan pero si asisten...”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)		
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_23LDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista: 12.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: desconocida
Función/cargo de entrevistado: De fiscalización de la Subcentral
minera de Lomerío
Afiliación con cooperativa: Socio de Cooperativa

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación
o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	05:20- 07:40	“bueno, para nosotros todavía la minería estamos empezando a destapar la producción y todo lo que sale solo es para mantenerlos el día nomas, quizá más después vamos a tener el resultado cavando más adentro (...), si alguna institución nos apoyan va a ver fuentes de trabajo y eso es lo que buscamos, que la gente salga de su pobreza, porque en la actualidad la gente va a buscar trabajo en la ciudad, claro que aquí
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		hay bastante riqueza pero tiene que haber con que sacar y es con máquinas nomás...”
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	25:02-26:50 26:53-28:26	Sobre el tema de los aportes para la comunidad y como decidieron para llegar a ese acuerdo: “nosotros también tenemos que dejar un porcentaje a la comunidad, pero recientemente nosotros pedimos una reunión en la que pedimos que todavía no nos cobren porcentaje hasta tener la personería jurídica, ellos no nos querían comprenderno, pero diciéndole que: tenemos que aportar a la federación mensual, penemos que aportar a la subcentral, tenemos que aportar para conseguir las herramientas manualmente, tenemos que aportar para el motorcito que hace perforar la piedra, tenemos que aportar harto y los que no tienen que aportar solamente están ahí esperando entonces nos comprendieron y vamos a aportar a la comunidad cuando tengamos la personería jurídica, entonces ahora... todos tienen derecho a participar en la minería...” “el día que más participamos de las reuniones es los sábados y cada fin de mes (...) aquí hay un autoritarismo, hablan unas tres personas, no hay participación de toda la mayoría y eso ya se lo está encarando a estas personas, cuando hacen eso la autoridad le llaman la atención, a partir de eso está empezando a haber más participación”.
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	20:15-21:26	“la CICOL está reclamando su derecho de recibir algún porcentaje y eso es lo que se va a definir ahora en la comunidad San Simón, (...) la posición de CICOL es de recibir el 5% nosotros decimos que es mucho pero eso lo vamos a consensuar entre todas las cooperativas...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	28:25-28:50	“todos tiene que participar, a veces las mujeres hablan unos cuantos y no le entienden, también puede ser que no quieren hablar, pero siempre nosotros reconocemos eso y tenemos que hacer hablar también...”
Práctica Lingüística	28:57-29:07	Razones por la que no participan de la reunión: “porque a veces no saben castellano, tienen miedo a equivocarse, pero nosotros de decimos que importa que hablen en bésiro...”

	31:22-32:20	“tratamos de hacer reunión en nuestro propios idiomas, a veces solo hablamos castellano, las personas de tercera edad ya no están obligado a participar...”
Tercera Edad		
Jóvenes	30:38-30:57	“Los que fueron a su servicio militar ya participan... los que no tiene profesión igual participan, las mujeres jóvenes también participan...”
Pertenencia a/afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	10:18-12:22	“al principio hubo oposición a la minería (...) ya está chiquitita la oposición (...) la oposición ya están callado, aurita por ejemplo el cacique de la comunidad ya está con nosotros, antes él era oposición y el corregidor él siempre fue oposición...”
	17:35-18:29	“la COMIBOL viene atropellando nuestro derechos y abusivamente, por si acaso la ley dicen que ellos nos tienen que consultar, ellos dicen que nos consultaron pero no es verdad, ellos vinieron tres veces y no nos consultaron, entonces eso nos molestó a nosotros, el hecho de que quieran entrar sin permiso...”
	23:00-24:54	Relato del Conflicto de Coloradillo: “nosotros no queremos que entre la COMIBOL porque desde un comienzo querían dejársenos a las cooperativas, por eso nosotros no lo queremos a ellos ni ellos nos quieren a nosotros, por eso es que ellos entran si consultarnos, ellos dicen que es de ellos la minería de coloradillo (...), en coloradillo la cooperativa está en contra del caique mayor y a favor de la COMIBOL, nosotros como subcentral lo apoyamos al cacique mayor...”
	00:45-01:10	“el conflicto de San Simon es que un grupo de la cooperativa quiere meterse con la COMIBOL y nosotros como cooperativa estamos peleados con la

		COMIBOL, parte de la cooperativa si o si quiere apoyar a la COMIBOL...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	30:00-30:15	“antes aquí no había mucha participación, pero ya últimamente ya está habiendo más participaciones...”

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista: II_24LDMM
Nombre de entrevistador: Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista: 12.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado: 47
Función/cargo de entrevistado: Presidente de la Cooperativa
Afiliación con corporativa: Socio.

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	04:00-06:08	“cuando le va bien hay cambios, a veces ya cubre sus necesidades del hogar, también ya consume mucho más artículos de la venta pareciera que no se acostumbrará invertir en el trabajo comunal que antes hacíamos, que es el chaquito (...), pero no hemos tenido la suerte de extraer harto, hemos extraído (el mineral) solo de a poquito. Los únicos que se beneficiaron fueron las ventitas porque toditas la plata hi vuelta cayo, también nos beneficiamos de no ir a otro lado a comprar, porque más antes a veces íbamos a comprar a Concepción, a Santa Cruz o a otra comunidad, entonces en la comunidad hay la venta que se benefician.
	06:18-0928	“... aquí en la comunidad no hubo tanto cambio (...) todo ahí nomás solamente como decir sería el cambio de trabajo. Más antes cuando se dedicaba al chaco, más antes no faltaban los productos tradicionales: maíz, yuca, plátano. En cambio hoy hay mucha diferencia porque a veces el socio (de la cooperativa) confía mucho en que le va a ir bien y llega el momento en el trabajo choca con el terreno duro, con el tiempo y con el precio del mineral (...) no cuadra ni el jornal (día), creo que con esos obstáculos el socio va ir a la quiebra, entonces se necesitaría alguna técnica de como poder cuñar (aguantar o sostener) y saber que hacen los grandes mineros para

	19:40-20:00	poder esos obstáculos cuando lo hubiese tenido o cómo lo hacen o que facilidad les da el Gobierno a ellos, eso es lo que no me imagino como ellos pasan (los obstáculos) si es que ellos han trabajado la mina desde la llegada de los Españoles, yo creo que ellos tienen grandes experiencias, entonces eso me he fijado, ahí donde nosotros como comunidad hemos tropezado con eso obstáculos, por eso es que estamos medio congelados, nadie nos despierta el ánimo de ir a la mina, por eso nosotros decimos que es un minero fracasado (risas)”
	24:15-24:56	<p>“De oponerse, nadie se opone a la minería en esta comunidad, lo que pasa es que no van a trabajar porque el trabajo allá es sucio, duro y sacrificado es adivinando, porque no se sabe si va a sacar o no va a sacar...”</p> <p>Cambios en la forma de vida al dedicarse a sacar el mineral: “fuimos, cavamos, no sacábamos nada, todos los días (su alimentación) era agua con limón y ya aquí en la casa ya estaban gritos, ya querían robar porque no había para comer, ya el ultimo día sacamos y fue un alivio...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	31:10-34:50	“cada dos años se elige a una OTB (organización Territorial de Base) y esa OTB tiene su directorio [...] que lo acompaña en su gestión a ellos se lo elige por voto secreto entre toda la comunidad (...) participan todos los comunarios partir de los 18 años para arriba. (...) hay cosas que se tienen que decidir entre todas la comunidad, porque ocurrió muchos problemas con eso. Hubo una vez un POA (Plan Operativo Anual; planificación de tareas para un año) en el cual se destinaba 30.000 que correspondía a la comunidad y aquí en la comunidad se hizo un reglamento era al que todo lo que se agrupase se le iba a dar su alambre y en ese entonces la familia dio prioridad a su familia; otro ejemplo puede ser en el servicio de agua que a mí no me llevo porque yo no era de su familia, en cambio llegaron cañerías de agua a lugares donde no hay ni casas (...), por eso es que ya no decide solo el directorio sino toda la comunidad...”
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras	20:03-21:25	“hay otros que no son de aquí y son interesado en la mina (...) son de Santa Cruz, el finado Cesar y su esposa Marcia, comenzaron a concesionar en medio monte, ellos pues saben dónde quedan las oficinas para concesionar...”
	21:50-24:00	“había un señor, Don Ilario que era experto en minas (...) dice que cuando empezó a trabajar animo a la

		gente a que hagan el trabajo minero porque decía que en cada esquina de la plaza va haber televisor asientos, que nuestras calles iban a ser asfaltadas, que cada uno iba a tener su movilidad. Nos ilusionaba mucho (...) pero no sacó nada en la mina, así que la gente no le creyó...”
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)		
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	37:18-38:28	“la participación de las mujeres a diferencia de antes es un poquito diferente, ya están participando, porque más antes solo presenciaban nomás, pero no sugerían porque no tenían nada para hablar (...) así era la cultura de nuestros padres, otro era por falta de educación, se creía muy bajos siendo que se podía rescatar algunas cosas de ellas...”
Práctica Lingüística		
Tercera Edad	40:20-42:16	“ellos son pues los que acostumbran a callarse, no tienen casi opinión, como si no supieran, siempre ese su línea antigua, a veces cuando ya están afuera, habla, o sea, a veces cuando están adentro no hablan pero salen afuera y hablan (...) le cuento nomás un caso de un viejito iba a haber una reunión y la esposa se dice al viejito: y él le contesta que se calle ella, que no le esté cuestionando a él...”
Jóvenes	39:14-40:16	“en el tema de los jóvenes está bien nomás porque los jóvenes ahora sobresalen mucho pero sin conocimiento fundamental de la organización, de los avances que se ha tenido, ellos hablan nomás como cualquier hablador pero está bien...”
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas	18:18-19:22	“los que no son socios de la cooperativa nos dicen a los que somos socios: ‘vayan hagan esto’; sin embargo (ellos no saben que estando allá en la mina) tenemos varias necesidades, uno tiene que tener su herramienta (...), nosotros con cincel y combo (herramientas muy básicas) trabajábamos
Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa,	11:11-17:18	“primeramente había oposición por lo que en la comunidad la mayoría solos parientes (...) a veces llego a ser autoridad una familia, la familia se reunió y

dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	25:40-30:47	<p>se puso de acuerdo a tener una idea y se puso a hacer un convenio con uno que le interesa la mina y luego el convenio lo aprueban y como son autoridades lo aprueban y los otros comunarios lo aprueban nomás, no tienen los mismos aprovechamiento; eso es lo que diferencia (...) eso era en hace tiempo. Ahora no es así, hubo dos tiempos que se explotaba la mina así, es que ahora es un consenso comunal de todos los miembros de la comunidad, incluso ahora se formó también para defender también nuestros recursos naturales que está dentro de nuestra delimitación, o sea ya se animó a que se vayamos a trabajar en la mina (...) porque las normas y leyes del estado se fueron como sobre posicionando nuestras normas como originarios, se manifiesta en que nosotros tenemos un límite y han concesionado dentro de ese límite, según las leyes de la minería dice que era de ellos y no de nosotros y siendo que está dentro de nuestra delimitación, supieron esto nuestros compañeros comunarios vecinos para defender nuestros recursos, nuestro vecinos comunarios se legalizaron pero en nuestros territorios, ellos sacaban y sacaban el mineral y cuando supimos que ellos estaban beneficiándose entonces dijimos como podemos acceder a trabajar eso, organizándonos en cooperativa dijimos, porque el Estado Boliviano aprobó una ley en la que solamente organizándose se puede acceder (...) y esos que no son de la comunidad ya ha solicitado el lugar de la mina, por esa razón se animó la gente pero de nuevo se desanimó por que el lejos (hasta donde está el mineral) son 10 km más o menos, pero sin camino. A nosotros nos mandaban antes diciéndonos despáchenlo a esos de ahí como van a estar en nuestros área y nosotros le dijimos que nos ayuden a abrir camino para llegar a la mina (les pidieron eso a los comunarios que no están de acuerdo con la cooperativa). Cuando ya los otros comunarios se fueron de nuestra áreas ya estaba no había tanto mineral, nosotros hicimos que se caiga el pozo que ellos dejaron para que no sea tan peligroso además que ya no había mucha mina...”</p> <p>“ya cuando la gente supo que había mineral se fue allá, y ese señor Ilario empezó a llevar su retroexcavadora y sus volquetas para traer hasta la orilla del rio, justamente las señoras lavan su ropa en el rio, de repente cambio el color del agua, rojo se puso y fue por la tierra colorada que se trajo de allá (...) ya la ropa que lavaban en vez de blanquear se ensuciaba grave (...), las mujeres se juntaron y le dijeron: ‘ se sale o aurita juntamos gasolina para quemar todos sus motores’ así fue que se salió Don</p>
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		llario (...) de ahí fue donde tuvimos nuestro pozo (para sacar el mineral) y en ese pozo entro nuestra vecina comunidad de Surusubí (...) hubo una molestia de porque ellos no consultaron para entrar, en ese entonces ellos ya eran cooperativa, nosotros todavía no.
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos	38:31-39:10	“a veces entre conocidos no falta que se bajonean, que se critica, que dicen: ‘no sea tonto para hablar’ a veces también por nervioso, porque nunca hablan se equivocan, por no equivocarse a veces deciden no hablar

Análisis de entrevistas – formato para identificar patrones de discriminación en participación

Código de entrevista:	II_25LDMM
Nombre de entrevistador:	Efren Cabrera-Barrientos
Fecha de entrevista:	12.03.2015
Edad del entrevistado:	48 Aproximado
Función/cargo de entrevistado:	Corregidor Zonal (hay 4 en todo Lomerío)
Afiliación con corporativa:	No afiliado

Base de discriminación Minuto(s) Observación o exclusión

Impacto (social, cultural), tal como cambios, migración, beneficios, usos y costumbres, idioma, oposición	04:52-08:50	“cuando empezó la minería fue de un rato a otro, no estaba legalizado, era un riesgo para todos; se trabajó manualmente... aquí hay una norma de la comunidad, es que los recursos naturales pertenecen desde el más viejito hasta el más chico... pero habían unos comunarios que sacaban sin como piratas (de forma individual) y lo vendían en coloradillo; hubo una reunión y la paramos. Ese tiempo valió hasta 80 bs el kilo de mineral, luego se formó un comité de Recursos Naturales... 5 bs se quedaba en la comunidad, yo era el encargado de recoger el dinero...”
	11:07-13:30	“aurita no tenemos una cooperativa consolidada, son más o menos 25 comunarios, pero aparecen solo unos 5 a trabajar o dos; es de nombre nomás, es como si yo me inscribiera como socio pero no vaya a trabajar, porque les piden (la FEDECOMIN) para una fiesta de a 3.000 bs y ellos no tiene, es diferente se cooperativa..., casi como que no tienen costumbre de ser cooperativa... no funcionan porque no tienen la costumbre de trabajar juntos, todo lo que se saca el que pille es para el grupo... el que saca más es su suerte, es por eso que no funciona. El otro día fui a abrir sendas con ellos y me dio mareo de ver en

	14:06-15:02	<p>donde trabajan, es un pozo profundo, dicen que van por los 60 metros, además ellos no trabajan de acuerdo a normas, la forma que ellos trabajan es a lo de dios (muy peligroso)...”</p> <p>“... cuando no había la mina había harto cuestión de agricultura, no siembran maíz, ni plátano, ni caña, eso es lo que sucedió después de la mina; pero si la gente escuchan que está saliendo la mina todos se van allá..., pero normalmente no es así...”</p>
Participación y toma de decisiones al nivel comunario	24:22-25:00 40:24-41:05	<p>“Bueno aquí en general todos participamos... ya si hay una reunión de mineros, yo si me invitan voy, pero si no me invitan no voy...”</p> <p>“hay unos cuatro que quieren hacerse dueño de la reunión, para ese caso que hagan la reunión los cuatro nomás que no dejan de opinar al resto del pueblo, y al que más no habla hay que decirles que hable...”</p>
Participación personal o de otros en actividades mineras		
Rol e intervención de otros actores (Estado, municipalidad, empresa)	34:48-35:35	“vino un empresario que traía plata, entonces los comunarios se animan, dijeron que les iban a dotar todos los equipos para trabajar como dice en la ley minera: cascos, barbijos, botas...”
Razones por exclusión de individuos o grupos:	-	-
Mujeres	26:38-27:18 27:21-28:30	<p>“mayormente ellas no tiene seguridad de ser comunarias, a donde van sus maridos ellas tienen que ir (refiriéndose a las mujeres jóvenes), hay otros que se van a donde sus mujeres, pero lo normal es que la mujer venga a la casa del hombre, ellas tienen que acostumbrarse si o si (risas...) a la vida de donde vive el hombre, así es...”</p> <p>Participación de las mujeres en las reuniones: “bueno ahora ellas ya opinan, antes eran los hombres nomas, nosotros decidíamos. Ahora que ya tienen sus derechos también le dejamos que opinen, por si que si no opinan no sabemos que quieren, o van a decir ‘los hombres no nos dejan’; porque después dicen: ‘porque no dije’ o ‘iba a decir’ eso está mal, en la reunión es la cosa, afuera ya no vale, entonces ahí tenemos que opinar todos, un problema, un</p>

	28:42-30:08	progreso, todo eso, para que no diga '¡esto iba a decir!', tiene que opinar, 'por ahí está en lo cierto...'” “más antes, en tiempo de mi padre, no había opinión, era lo pue ellos digan... Cuando se hacen reunión tiene que estar ellas también, sino tienen su sanción al igual que todos. Algunas no opinan pero dicen si, como sea pero por obligación tienen que participar pues...
	39:25-40:05	“yo veo que se tiene que hacer las reuniones con todos y darle la oportunidad, decir 'tal señora tiene la palabra'; porque no tiene costumbre de empezarse cunado esta la sal grande, 'por ahí le pelo' (dicen ellas), yo veo que una vez que rompen esa vergüenza y dicen la verdad ya...”
Práctica Lingüística	55:10-55:41	“a veces la vergüenza (de no participar y opinar en las reuniones) es por no poder hablar bien el castellano, eso es yo digo, mayormente en las señoras y un poco también en los barones...”
Tercera Edad	35:58-37:50	“en la última reunión que hubo, nosotros les dijimos a los de tercera edad que se organicen, porque de 60 años no son viejos; lo que veo yo aquí es que los que salen del trabajo público ya no lo vemos más... ya como aislado cada uno por su lado...aquí hay varios...cuando salen no lo vemos más ni en la reunión... uno que otro nomás vienen en la reunión los más valiente... pero tampoco nosotros lo invitamos...”
Jóvenes	25:14-26:35	“hay jóvenes que son activos (en la participación de las reuniones), pero hay otros que hay que mandarlos, mayormente los mayores encabezamos los trabajos... los jóvenes mayormente son puro estudiantes, tenemos una ley en la comunidad de que si pueden los jóvenes estudiantes participan en los trabajos públicos, si se casa recién entra en trabajo público, porque ya es comunarios con responsabilidad...”
	38:05-38:25	“a veces hay jóvenes que opinan sin experiencia, en cambio los mayores ya tienen experiencia... no hay quien se la charle
Pertenencia a/ afiliación con comunidad		
(No-) Afiliación con cooperativas		

Discapacidad		
Tensiones o conflictos sociales (con empresa, con cooperativa, dentro de comunidad, entre varios grupos comunarios etc.)	15:16-	“cuando comenzó la primera vez, claro uno no sabe qué problema va a ver (silencio)... venia gente afuera, era rápido a expulsarlos, hasta yo les he ayudado, les decíamos ‘se van o los detemos aquí’ entonces se iban (risas...), pero ahora son los propios hermanos chiquitanos que están explotando la mina y no hay como sacarlos... ahora son los mismos Chiquitanos que hacen negocios con los de afuera...”
Otras razones que explican exclusión de individuos o grupos		

Annex 11: Agreements signed as part of the prior consultation process 2D Sararenda

PROCESO DE CONSULTA Y PARTICIPACIÓN
PROYECTO: EXPLORACION SISMICA 2D SARARENDA
(YPFB ANDINA- BOLIVIA)
“REUNION DE PLANIFICACION”

En la Camiri los días 16 y 17 de mayo del año 2014; se llevó a cabo la actividad: Reunión de Planificación, programada entre el Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía y las TCO Kaami y Alto Parapeti; con el fin de firmar el acta de entendimiento que garantice la ejecución de la Consulta y Participación en virtud al Art. 11 del Decreto Supremo 29033.

Habiendo la TCO's convocado a través de sus instancias de representación a nivel zonal, departamental y nacional al Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía a la presente reunión; según Cite APGN°230/2014.

Primero.- (OBJETO): El objeto de la Reunión de Planificación, es analizar el presupuesto y la metodología de trabajo planteada por las TCO's; con la finalidad de llegar a acuerdos y la respectiva suscripción del acta de entendimiento que garantice la ejecución del proceso de Consulta y Participación

Segundo.- (PARTICIPANTES): Los participantes de la presente reunión son:

- Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní – APG- Nacional
- Concejo de Capitanes de Santa Cruz – CCSZ
- TCO Kaami
- TCO Alto Parapeti
- Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y energía – AC.
- YPFB Andina

Tercero.- (RECURSOS HIDRICOS): En virtud al art. 4 (Bases y Principios - Transparencia) del Decreto Supremo N° 29033 y al acta firmada en fecha 10 de mayo del presente, correspondiente a la actividad Reunión Preliminar, en la cual las instancias de representación de las TCO Kaami y Alto Parapeti solicitaron la presencia de la empresa YPFB Andina para aclarar el tema del manejo de los Recursos Hídricos en el área del proyecto, se cursó por parte de la APG Nacional una invitación a la empresa para que realice una explicación técnica a detalle como complemento a la información preliminar del proyecto. Específicamente en lo que se refiere a los recursos hídricos.

Se hicieron presentes 5 representantes técnicos de la empresa, los cuales brindaron una exposición amplia y detallada del proyecto. Asimismo, respondieron las inquietudes de los participantes representantes de las TCOs Kaami y Alto Parapeti. Como resultado de las intervenciones tanto de la empresa como de las TCOs, se acordó llevar a cabo un estudio hídrico superficial y subterráneo con la participación de las TCOs; en la zona del Cerro Sararenda, paralelamente al proyecto. El cual será sistematizado y entregado dos meses después de finalizado el proyecto de "Exploración Sísmica 2D Sararenda".

Cuarto.- (DE LAS OBSERVACIONES A LAS CARTILLAS): En virtud al art. 10 (Coordinación e Información inciso b) Información adecuada) del Decreto Supremo N° 29033, en la Reunión Preliminar se hizo entrega a las instancias de representación de la APG Nacional de las cartillas del proyecto, tanto en idioma español como guaraní, para su correspondiente revisión y/o aprobación por parte de los representantes de las TCO Kaami y Alto Parapeti.

Revisadas las cartillas por parte de las capitánías y la APG-nacional, se comprometen a enviar las observaciones hasta el 23 de mayo de 2014.

Quinto.- (DEL PRESUPUESTO EN GENERAL): El presupuesto general para el proceso de Consulta y Participación del Proyecto Exploración Sísmica 2D Sararenda; asciende a un monto total de **Bs. 350.311,20 (TRECIENTOS CINCUENTA MIL TRESCIENTOS ONCE 20/100 BOLIVIANOS)**; el cual se ejecutara de acuerdo al cronograma de actividades adjunto al presente acta.

Se establece que el inicio de las actividades programadas será a partir de fecha 02 de junio de 2014; debiendo ejecutarse cada una de las actividades dentro de los días establecidos en el cronograma de actividades, de acuerdo al art. 12 (Ejecución de la Consulta) del Decreto Supremo N° 29033.

Sexto: (DE LAS ACTIVIDADES A REALIZARSE): Para la ejecución del proceso de Consulta y Participación se realizarán las siguientes actividades: Taller de Socialización del Proyecto, Recorrido de Campo, Reunión de Identificación de Impactos Socio Ambientales y Reunión de Validación de Acuerdo; las mismas que se efectuarán de acuerdo al cronograma establecido.

Séptimo: (DE LOS GASTOS Y RESPALDOS): Todos los gastos realizados en el Proceso de Consulta y Participación deberán contar con las facturas y descargos correspondientes; de no ser así, se procederá a realizar el descuento de impuestos de ley.

Para respaldo de toda cancelación se solicita la presentación de fotocopia de carnet de identidad, firmado y con impresión de huella digital; en caso excepcional, de no contar con el mismo se realizará la certificación (de no más de 5 personas) por parte de la capitania y autoridades presentes.

Octavo: (DE LOS CONSULTORES).- En cuanto a la contratación de los Consultores se solicita remitir hasta el 20 de mayo de 2014, los curriculum documentados y Aval de la Capitania, para de esta manera poder viabilizar el proceso de contratación de los mismos. Debiendo a su vez los consultores aperturar sus cuentas bancarias y el correspondiente registro SIGMA.

Los consultores deberán entregar dos resultados que corresponden a un solo producto: un informe preliminar para el pago del 35 % y un informe final para la cancelación total de la consultoria.

Primer resultado: corresponde a un plan de actividades que debe incluir mínimamente: antecedentes, objetivo de la consultoria, alcance, participantes y cronograma de actividades.

Se establece la presentación del primer resultado el 28 de mayo de 2014; debiendo el MHE tramitar la cancelación en un plazo de 20 días hábiles.

Segundo resultado: corresponde al informe final de actividades que debe incluir mínimamente: antecedentes, objetivo de la consultoria, alcance, participantes, cronograma de actividades, descripción de las actividades (incluidos listas de participantes que incluya: nombre, CI, comunidad y capitania a la que pertenece y firma; registro fotográfico y otros que se vean convenientes), resultados de la consultoria, conclusiones y recomendaciones.

Se establece la presentación del primer resultado el 01 de agosto de 2014; debiendo el MHE tramitar la cancelación en un plazo de 20 días hábiles.

Si los consultores no emiten factura, el MHE será agente de retención de impuestos. Asimismo, para la cancelación final, deberán presentar el correspondiente pago a la AFP.

Noveno.- (CONFORMIDAD).- En constancia a las clausulas anteriores, firman los presentes.



COMUNIDAD

unidad PLE

PROCESO DE CONSULTA Y PARTICIPACIÓN
PROYECTO: EXPLORACION SISMICA 2D SARARENDA
(YPFB ANDINA- BOLIVIA)
"REUNION DE EVALUACION TECNICA"

En la Camiri el día miércoles 04 de junio de 2014, se llevó a cabo la reunión de evaluación técnica en las oficinas de la APG nacional.

Primero.- (OBJETO): El objeto de la reunión fue el de tratar asuntos relacionados a los Consultores por Producto indígenas, para desarrollar el proceso de Consulta y Participación del Proyecto Exploración Sísmica 2D - Sararenda

Segundo.- (PARTICIPANTES): Los participantes de la presente reunión son:

- Mburuchica Roberto Quispe – Responsable de Recursos Naturales APG- Nacional
- Mburubicha Nicolás Percira - Representante Concejo de Capitanes de Santa Cruz – CCSZ
- Mburubicha Hugo Molina – Responsable Recursos Naturales TCO Alto Parapeti
- Mburubicha Luis Alberto Fernández – Responsable Recursos Naturales TCO Kaami
- Técnicos de las capitanías y APG: Reynaldo Gomez (TCO Kaami), Herland Montero (TCO Kaami), Lisbeth J, Ruiz G. (TCO Alto Parapeti) Luis Alfonso Changaray (TCO Alto Parapeti), Alexander H. Padilla (APG- Nacional). Las autoridades de la APG Nacional justificaron la ausencia del técnico Nelson Eguez que se encuentra en comisión oficial.
- Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía – AC.

Tercero.- (DEL DESARROLLO DE LA REUNION): Durante el desarrollo de la reunión se trataron los siguientes temas:

1. Contratos: Se informó el estado del proceso de contratación de los 6 técnicos, por parte del MHE, dando ha conocer que el mismo está siguiendo su curso normal, de acuerdo al cumplimiento en la presentación de documentación por parte de los consultores por producto indígenas.
2. Informes del Primer Resultado: De acuerdo al compromiso asumido por los consultores según acta de Reunión de planificación, los informes relacionados al primer resultado de la consultoría debían ser remitidos vía correo electrónico hasta el 28 de mayo, con la finalidad de ser revisados. A la fecha solo 5 de los consultores presentaron los mismos. Con el objetivo de coadyuvar en el buen cumplimiento de los acuerdos de ambas partes, el equipo técnico del MHE reviso los informes del primer resultado de los presentes de manera personal e individual, durante la presente reunión; como resultado y acuerdo se determinó que los consultores presenten el Primer resultado corregido de acuerdo a las directrices planteadas por el equipo técnico del ministerio.
3. Desembolso de movilización de los Consultores por producto: se asumió el compromiso de desembolsar el 50% de los gastos para la movilización de los 6 consultores; el mismo que se entregara durante la actividad de

inspección de campo en la capitania Alto Parapeti; y el restante 50% en la actividad de Identificación de impactos socioambientales.

4. Incumplimiento de compromisos: En virtud al Acta de reunión de Planificación, se estableció como fecha límite para la presentación de los CV documentados de los Consultores por Producto el 20 de mayo del presente año; lamentablemente, debido al retraso de la entrega de los mismos, recién el 26 de mayo se ingresó la documentación al MHE para dar inicio al proceso de contratación.

Sobre el mismo punto, se trató el incumplimiento en las tareas y actividades que deben cumplir los consultores por producto. Se hizo notar en la reunión, el incumplimiento de uno de los seis consultores en la presentación del Primer Resultado de la Consultoría, continuando con el retraso y perjudicando a sus demás compañeros.

Asimismo, se hizo notar a las autoridades presentes la ausencia de dos de los técnicos a las actividades programadas para la socialización del proyecto. A este respecto, las autoridades de la APG Nacional y del Consejo de Capitanes Guaraníes de Santa Cruz se comprometieron a velar por el buen cumplimiento de las actividades realizadas por los técnicos. De igual manera, el MHE solicitó que ante cualquier ausencia justificada de alguno de los técnicos a las actividades programadas para la Consulta y Participación del proyecto de referencia, sea comunicada.

Cuarto.- (CONFORMIDAD): En conformidad con todas las clausulas antes mencionadas firman los participantes; a hrs. 19:00.

Camiri, 04 de junio de 2014

ROSELYN
ROSELYN T.
MHE

Luis Alberto Fernandez Serrano
Resp. APG - NAL

Lisbeth Ruiz
tec. Alto Parapeti

[Signature]

Sr. Nicolas Pereira Manera
RESP. RR.MH. y M.A.
CONSEJO DE CAPITANES G. SC.

[Signature]
Belinda Duran
MHE

Alexander H. padilla M.
APG - NAL

Herland Montoro
Consultor Parari
SECRETARIA RR.MH. y M.A.
NACION GUARANÍ

[Signature]
Felix Chufegaray F.
Consultor Alto Parapeti

[Signature]
Reginaldo Gomez
C. 0252305

ESTADO PLURINACIONAL DE BOLIVIA
Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía

Juan Cleta
Sr. Julian Cleta
CAPITAN ZONAL
CAPITANIA RUMBITE

Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
SECRETARIO ZONAL Y MA
A.P.G. NACION GUARANI



Juan Padilla Zabalaga
CAPITAN ZONAL
ALTO PARAPETI

Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
CAPITANIA RUMBITE

Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
CAPITANIA RUMBITE




Juan Padilla Zabalaga
Sr. Juan Padilla Zabalaga
CAPITAN ZONAL
ALTO PARAPETI



Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
CAPITANIA RUMBITE



Eduardo Jacinto Lozano
Sr. Eduardo Jacinto Lozano
CAPITAN COMUNAL
VICUATY

Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
CAPITANIA RUMBITE



Luis Alberto Fernandez Serrano
Sr. Luis Alberto Fernandez Serrano
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
ZONA KAAMI



Jorge Baranda
Sr. Jorge Baranda
CAPITAN COMUNAL TAYI
ZONA ALTO PARAPETI



Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
CAPITANIA RUMBITE



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Roberto Chiriz
Sr. Roberto Chiriz
RESP. DE RR.MM. y M.A.
CAPITANIA RUMBITE

Sra. Cristina Suarez



ESTADO PLURINACIONAL DE BOLIVIA
Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía

PROCESO DE CONSULTA Y PARTICIPACIÓN
ACTA DEL RECORRIDO DE CAMPO TCO ALTO PARAPETÍ
PROYECTO "EXPLORACIÓN SÍSMICA 2D - SARARENDA"

En fecha 09/06/2014, en la Comunidad de Tacete, del municipio de Liguillas, provincia Cordillera del departamento de Santa Cruz, se concluyó el recorrido de campo planificado en las áreas de afectación dentro del proceso de Consulta y Participación del proyecto: "EXPLORACIÓN SÍSMICA 2D, SARARENDA", bajo los siguientes términos:

PRIMERO (ANTECEDENTES).

En cumplimiento del inciso a) del artículo 5° del Decreto Supremo N° 29033, el Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía en calidad de Autoridad Competente en Procesos de Consulta y Participación, a objeto de dar continuidad al proceso de Consulta y Participación del mencionado proyecto, cumpliendo los procedimientos establecidos por el DS 29033.

SEGUNDO (PRINCIPIOS).

En cumplimiento a la Constitución Política del Estado, Ley de Hidrocarburos N° 3058 y Decreto Supremo N° 29033, el proceso de Consulta y Participación para el proyecto "Exploración Sísmica 2D, Sararenda", se basará bajo los siguientes principios:

- Principio de Respeto y Garantía
- Principio de Información Previa y Oportuna
- Principio de Veracidad
- Principio de Integralidad
- Principio de Oportunidad
- Principio de Participación
- Principio de Transparencia

TERCERO (PARTICIPANTES).

Para el recorrido se contó con la participación de las siguientes instituciones:

Representantes de RR.NN. y Medio Ambiente de la APG Nacional	Sr. Roberto Quispe
Responsable de RR.NN. y Medio Ambiente del Consejo de Capitanes Guaraníes de Santa Cruz.	Sr. Nicolas Pereira
Representantes de la (s) <u>20</u> comunidades pertenecientes a la TCO <u>Alto Parapetí</u>	<u>Carapanito, Iviyaca, Tacete, Capirenda, Yapumbia, Cavahatarendá, Yaiti, Itauata, La Colorada, Karayahua, Huoraca, Bajo Carapani, Ivicuati, Parapetimi, Yaxora, Mandiyuti, Timbira, Tartagalito y El Arenal.</u>
Directorio de la TCO	Directorio

Comisión Técnica del Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía	Oscar Ayala Ing. Tito Rondon Ing. Iris Guzmán
Equipo Técnico de Consultores	Raymundo Gomez, Luis Changoray, Lizbeth Ruiz, Herlan Montero y Alexander H. Padilla M.

CUARTO (OBJETO).

El recorrido de campo, actividad en cumplimiento del Procedimiento de Consulta enmarcado en el D.S. 29033 (Art. 12°), se llevó a efecto de observar en el mismo sitio las área de afectación por donde se realizarán las actividades del Proyecto **"Exploración Sísmica 2D, Sararenda"**. Este recorrido se realizó desde la Comunidad de Iviyeca hasta la comunidad de Arenales.

OBSERVACIONES: De acuerdo al Acta de Entendimiento del Proyecto de referencia, consensuado y firmado en fecha 17 de mayo de 2014, las actividades de inspección de campo e identificación de impactos y socialización del Proceso de Consulta y Participación debía realizarse en serie (una actividad tras otra), en las capitanías involucradas, iniciando el 9 de junio y finalizando el 13 de junio para el recorrido de campo en la TCO de Alto Parapetí. La comisión del MHE se adaptó a la organización y características del área para el relevamiento de los componentes Socio Ambientales existentes en la Zona y de igual manera realizar las observaciones fundamentales, cumpliendo con lo programado y debiéndose respetar el presupuesto acordado en el acta de entendimiento en todas las partidas del mismo.

QUINTO (DEL DESARROLLO DEL RECORRIDO).

Durante el recorrido, los representantes de las diferentes comunidades de la Capitanía Zonal de la TCO Alto Parapetí, representantes de la APG y CCG SC, Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía y el equipo de consultores que participaron, llegando a las siguientes conclusiones:

- Se cuenta con el registro de cada uno de los componentes ambientales en matrices, mismas que estarán incluidas en el informe final del Proceso de Consulta y Participación.
- Se realizó una reunión de planificación en la Escuela de Tacete, organizándose el recorrido de la semana, los grupos de trabajo de los técnicos y participantes de cada una de las comunidades.
- Se tuvo la ausencia del técnico Nelson Equez, despidiéndose en concenso con los Moribichas, Representante de la APG, consejo de Capitanes Guaraníes y capitanes de las Comunidades de la TCO, que desde la fecha se excusa y excluye al Técnico mencionado, por tener otras responsabilidades en la APG.
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Los representantes del Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía tomaron nota de las observaciones e inquietudes de los representantes de las diferentes comunidades participantes en el recorrido del proyecto **"Exploración Sísmica 2D, Sararenda"**.



ESTADO PLURINACIONAL DE BOLIVIA
Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía

PROCESO DE CONSULTA Y PARTICIPACIÓN
PROYECTO: EXPLORACION SISMICA 2D SARARENDA
(YPFB ANDINA- BOLIVIA)

"REUNION DE IDENTIFICACIÓN DE IMPACTOS SOCIO AMBIENTALES"

En la ciudad de Camiri, los días 30 de junio y 1ro de julio del año 2014, continuando con la ejecución de la consulta (Art. 12 D.S. 29033), de acuerdo al cronograma aprobado en el Acta de Reunión de Planificación de fecha 16 y 17 de mayo del presente, se llevó a cabo la actividad: Reunión de Identificación de Impactos Socio Ambientales, programada entre el Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía y las TCO's Kaami y Alto Parapeti; con el fin de firmar el acta de la Reunión de Identificación de Impactos Socio Ambientales que garantice la ejecución de la Consulta y Participación en virtud al Art. 13 del Decreto Supremo 29033.


Primero.- (OBJETO): El objeto de la Reunión de Identificación de Impactos Socio Ambientales, es analizar, presentar y socializar con las TCO's los resultados y sistematización de la Identificación de los Impactos Socio Ambientales; con la finalidad de llegar a acuerdos y la respectiva suscripción del acta de la presente actividad, garantizando la ejecución del proceso de Consulta y Participación

Segundo.- (PARTICIPANTES): Los participantes de la presente reunión son:

- Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní – APG- Nacional
- Concejo de Capitanes de Santa Cruz – CCSZ
- TCO Kaami
- TCO Alto Parapeti
- Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y energía – AC.


Tercero.- (DESARROLLO DE LA ACTIVIDAD): En virtud al art. 4 (Bases y Principios - Transparencia) del Decreto Supremo N° 29033 y al acta firmada en fecha 17 de mayo del presente, se desarrolló la actividad de socialización de las Observaciones al DIP e Identificación de Impactos Socio Ambientales, de acuerdo a sus usos y costumbres de la Nación Guaraní.

Cuarto.- (DE LAS OBSERVACIONES AL DIP): El equipo técnico de Consultores Indígenas de las TCO Kaami, Alto Parapeti y APG realizó la socialización de las observaciones al DIP; las mismas que fueron remitidas mediante nota escrita al MHE. El equipo técnico del MHE, se compromete a



ASAMBLEA DEL PUEBLO GUARANI

Organización de la Nación Guarani de Bolivia
Fundador de la CIDOB



RESOLUCION DETERMINATIVA

ZONAS/CAPTANIAS
MIEMBROS

Santa Cruz:

- > Alto Isaac
- > Alto Parapeti
- > Bajo Isaac
- > Charagua Norte
- > G.K.K.
- > Iupaguesu
- > Kaaguasu
- > Kaami
- > Parapitaguesu
- > Santa Cruz
- > Takovo Mora

En instalaciones de la casa grande de la nación guaraní, el día 17 de julio del 2014, se desarrolló la cuarta actividad denominada: firma y validación de acuerdos del proceso de consulta y participación del proyecto: **"Exploración sísmica 2D, Sararenda"** con la participación de los capitanías Alto Parapeti, Kaami, consejo de capitanes guaraní de santa cruz, y la APG Nacional, Habiendo analizado el punto 3, del temario establecido para esta actividad, tomando en cuenta los antecedentes incumplidos por el ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Anergía en base al acta de entendimiento firmado en fecha 17 de mayo de 2014 entre la APG Nacional y las capitanías involucradas en el proceso de consulta y participación.

CONSIDERANDO

Que, el ministerio de hidrocarburos viene incumpliendo de manera sistemática y permanente los acuerdos suscritos entre nuestra organización con relación a la contratación de recursos humanos locales que desarrollan actividades de los proceso de consulta y participación, retrasando y perjudicando el buen avance de los proceso que de buena fe y en ejercicio de nuestro pleno derecho desarrollamos.

Que, los perjuicios de nuestros recursos humanos de manera constante violando los acuerdos contractuales suscritos entre el MHE y nuestra Organización han provocado, conflictos organizativos internos, inseguridad y desconfianza por parte de nuestras autoridades y técnicos para continuar apoyando a la conclusión del proceso, acciones que indignan a nuestra organización.

Por tanto la asamblea en pleno uso y ejercicio de sus atribuciones y competencias conferidas en los estatutos y reglamentos y en el marco de los usos y costumbres

DETERMINA.

PRIMERO: Suspender el proceso de consulta y participación del proyecto: "Exploración Sísmica 2D Sararenda" hasta que el MHE-DGGSA, haga efectivo el pago del 35% del producto presentado en cumplimiento de los contratos de consultoría por productos suscritos y los acuerdos establecidos en la planificación del proceso de consulta en virtud del D.S 29033 y la ley de hidrocarburos.

SEGUNDO: No permitir, que se siga retrasando los pagos pendientes de nuestros recursos humanos consultores de TCO Takovo que desarrollaron el proceso de consulta del proyecto: perforación de pozo DROX-1001, tendido de línea de recolección y tendido de líneas de recolección del pozo DRS-B y de otros procesos que se encuentren pendientes de pago vinculadas a proceso de consulta y participación del Pueblo Guarani.

Guarani - Camiri - Santa Cruz - Bolivia; Av. Humberto Suarez Roca frente a la Sub-Gobernación Provincia Cordillera
Casilla 60 - Correo Central Camiri; Telf. /Fax: 00591-3-9522070; Email: gpg@cidis.ws

ESTADO PLURINACIONAL DE BOLIVIA
 Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía

...acuerdos, los cual se postergo del 17 y 18 de julio hasta el día de hoy 1 de agosto, de acuerdo a determinación de la Asamblea.

Segundo.- (OBJETO): El objeto de la Reunión es el de consensuar, validar y firmar el Acta de Validación de Acuerdos, dando cumplimiento al Art. 13 del Decreto Supremo 29033.

Tercero.- (PARTICIPANTES): Los participantes de la presente reunión son:

- Asamblea del Pueblo Guarani – APG- Nacional
- Concejo de Capitanes Guarani de Santa Cruz – CCG SC TCO Kaami
- Comunidades: Yobatitindi, Rodeo, Guasugua, Pipi Paripeta, Pipi Santa Rita, Pipi Itiyuro, Cañon de Segura, Urundaiti, Piedritas, Guapay, Rueme Viejo, Itanambicua, Imbochi, Alto Camiri, Guirarapo, Yuti Itakise, Salinas y San Isidro de Ivoporenda.
- TCO Alto Parapeti
- Comunidades: Caraparicito, Iviyeca, Tacete, Capirenda, Carhuatarendo, Yapumbia, Yaiñi, Itacuatña, La Colorada, Karayagua, Huaraca, Bajo Carapari, Alto Carapari, Micuati, Parapetimi, Yeyora, Mandiyuti, Timboirenda, Tartagalito, El Arenal y Ñembuite.
- Consultores indígenas Guaranes
- Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y energía – AC.

Cuarto.- (DESARROLLO DE LA ACTIVIDAD): De acuerdo al Art. 7 del D.S. 29033, las decisiones resultantes del Proceso de Consulta y Participación adoptadas conjuntamente deberán ser respetadas y consideradas como fundamentales para la ejecución del Proyecto.

Asimismo se dio cumplimiento al Art. 4 (Bases y Principios) y el Art. 9 (Fases de la Consulta y Participación) en todos sus momentos (Incisos a, b, c y d), así como al Art. 10, 11, 12 y 13 del mismo D.S. 29033.

Quinto.- (DE LAS OBSERVACIONES AL DIP): La Asamblea, en presencia del MHI, han consensuado y aceptado las aclaraciones y los argumentos presentados por la Empresa, al DIP del Proyecto. Asimismo se impusieron las mismas en el Estudio de Evaluación de Impacto Ambiental, adjuntado la información resultante de la actividad de campo en las TCO de Kaami y Alto Parapeti.

Ricardo Núñez B.
CAPITAN COMUNIDAD PIEDRITAS
ZONA KAAMI

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ESTADO PLURINACIONAL DE BOLIVIA
 Ministerio de Hidrocarburos y Energía


R.R. LUNA
 APS - NAC.


J.E.S. MULE DGO

Sexto.- (DE LA MATRIZ DE IDENTIFICACIÓN DE IMPACTOS SOCIO AMBIENTALES): En Asamblea se definió y consensuó la matriz de identificación de impactos socio ambientales, la que se adjunta a la presente Acta.

Séptimo.- (CONFORMIDAD).- En constancia a las clausulas anteriores, firman al pie del presente documento, los participantes.









































Annex 12: COMIBOL document on initiation of explorative activities without consulting or reaching agreement with local authorities



Annex 12 COMIBOL document on initiation of explorative activities without consulting or reaching agreement with local authorities