

**Canadian Profit at the Expense of Human Suffering: An analysis of the El Dorado Mine in
El Salvador**

by

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Abstract

The El Dorado gold mine in Cabañas, El Salvador, is regarded as one of the most controversial mining projects in the Americas given the disastrous contaminating effects it will have on the Lempa River, the largest in the country. The role of international organizations, including the World Bank and the Canadian government, is often overlooked in this contamination process. In fact, most Canadians are unaware of their own participation in this mining project and praise extracting companies as champions for international economic development, job creation, material progress, and social programs. In this thesis, I explore the damaging implications of mining disguised as economic development. I examine how this so-called development project, rather than improving the living conditions of the people in San Isidro, is actually degrading their environment, disrupting their social fabric, bringing them illness, and even causing them death, among other calamities.

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Dedicated to those who suffer the consequences of mining

Chapter I: Introduction

“It is health that is real wealth and not pieces of gold and silver”
-Mahatma Gandhi-

1.1 Gold fetishism

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors in 1492, gold, silver and precious stones were not produced as commodities for exchange. Indigenous peoples valued silver and gold only as a form of ornamentation and not as currency or a depository of wealth (Taussig 1980:199). Instead, these items were considered something “superfluous since they were not good to eat nor useful in obtaining food” (De La Vega 1966:253). Today, gold is ascribed meaning mainly as a commodity that symbolizes wealth and power. Gold gained its value as a source of wealth since all the commodities previously utilized as formalized money were perishable (Nathan 2011:4). Since gold proved to be long-lasting, it became a way of storing value and capital for individuals (Nathan 2011:5). When gold is ascribed value simply as a commodity, the origins of the metal are forgotten, and the people who suffer the consequences of its production remain invisible. Karl Marx describes how “the value relation between the products of labour which stamps them as commodities, have absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising there from” (Marx 1906:83). Marx refers to this phenomenon as commodity fetishism, where the process of production is forgotten or remains invisible. The commodity is only seen as a product within itself, not as a creation from human labour. Therefore, as Marx claims, people in a capitalist society treat gold as an object with intrinsic value, separate from the exploitation of people whose labour produced the object and those who suffer the consequences of its production. Galeano (1973) strengthens the notion of this fetishism when he explains that during colonial times precious metal exports were four times greater than the value of slaves and luxury goods colonial governments’ imported (Galeano 1973:29). The

way in which human life was treated as value-less by gold explorers during colonial times, is replicated today by mining companies around the world.

In this thesis I will address how in San Isidro, El Salvador, people are being threatened by the exploitative practices and conditions created by mining corporations. Pacific Rim, a Canadian based gold mining company presents the extraction of gold as an economic opportunity to both the Salvadorean government and investors in the company. The company also claims that its mining activities will provide a much needed commodity worldwide. Through more in depth analysis, however, gold appears to be a commodity in demand not for its use-value, but as a source of wealth and power. The growing demand for gold has generally been distributed to about 10% for technology, where it is used in computers, cell phones, airplanes, space shuttles, and military technology (Visual Capitalist 2012). Fifty percent has been allocated to jewellery sales (Visual Capitalist 2012). The remaining 40% sits in the hands of investors and central Banks that hold approximately 35,000 tonnes or about 20% of all gold ever mined (Visual Capitalist 2012). In total, about 90% of the gold extracted is used as a way to socially display power and prestige through jewellery and wealth contained in banks. Critically looking at the utilization and distribution of gold, one begins to wonder about what is the real necessity for gold. Only 10% of the yearly produced gold has a utilitarian value besides demonstrating wealth and class in society. In this way, it seems that the main pathologies afflicting people in mining communities stem from greed motivated by the symbolic representation of wealth and power in the form of gold. Much of the suffering and disease caused by mining activities in El Salvador demonstrate the social origin of such pathologies.

Yet, the causal relationship between mining and the proliferations of disease remains unspoken, for the emphasis goes to the presumed progress and development it brings.

1.2 Problem statement

The search for gold in Latin America began in 1492 when Columbus and other Europeans reached the American continent (Brown 2012; Eccarius-Kelly 2007; Galeano 1997). In Spain, Columbus exaggerated reports about his gold discoveries and intrigued European interest in the accumulation of wealth. He made it seem that gold was everywhere and all one had to do is dig along the riverbanks (Brown 2012:3). Once the Spanish arrived on the American continent Indigenous trade and gifts were not enough to feed the greed and endless search for power and wealth of the Spanish conquistadors (Brown 2012:3). They demanded and thereby forced indigenous peoples to produce more gold. In this way, a long history of human rights violations linked to gold mining began. Continuous mining gradually began to degrade the environment as the mercury used permeated soil and polluted rivers (Brown 2012:5). Furthermore, adverse health effects were visible immediately as forced labour and the use of hazardous chemicals made indigenous peoples susceptible to disease (Brown 2012:5; Eccarius-Kelly 2007:53).

Since the discovery of gold in Canada in 1860, it has been a major hub for the extractive sector (Cranstone 2002:1). Small scale prospectors in southern British Columbia discovered a substantial number of gold, silver and base-metal deposits in 1893. From that time the mining industry steadily grew within Canada and accounted for a large part of Canadian gross domestic product. However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, exploration and mining were not doing well economically in Canada (Werniuk 2007:24). Therefore, Canadian companies began to look for opportunities and investments beyond Canada's borders (Werniuk 2007:24). In particular the United States and Latin America offered an inviting location due to its geographical proximity (Werniuk 2007:24). In the last decade the Canadian extractive sector has expanded tremendously

that in 2010 almost half the mining activities in the world were conducted by Canadian companies (FAITC 2012). That year the extractive sector had interests in more than 8,000 projects in 100 countries and received more than \$35 billion in gross domestic product (FAITC 2012). The Canadian government takes pride in being a leading economic power providing natural resources to the globe and at the same time claiming to act as partners in local and international development.

In 2002, Pacific Rim, a Canadian mining company proposed to explore for gold in San Isidro, Cabañas as part of a project that came to be known as El Dorado. Backed by the World Bank the Canadian government and the Salvadorean government, Pacific Rim has been able to present mining in El Salvador as development that will ultimately benefit the country. Since development was initially introduced as the idea that “greater production is the key to greater prosperity and peace” (Truman 1949) most Canadians typically think of development as a generally benevolent activity. Therefore, Pacific Rim corporate representatives claim that the mine will promote economic development by creating jobs for one of the poorest regions of the country, an area lacking economic activity (Pacific Rim 2010A). Pacific Rim also argues that the company will be a significant corporate taxpayer in El Salvador (Pacific Rim 2010A). Furthermore, Pacific Rim agents discuss that they will fund a non-profit organization to implement literacy programs, education initiatives, healthcare promotion and reforestation (Pacific Rim 2010A). Many Canadian governmental officials support Pacific Rim’s El Dorado project through liberal economic policies, eased laws, and reduced taxes (Marshall 2012; Natural Resources Canada 2011). However, there are some Canadian governmental representatives that are more critical of extractive companies and have attempted to introduce laws such as Bill-C323 to hold companies accountable for environmental and human rights abuses abroad.

Many community members in San Isidro and leaders of organizations, including the *Asociación de Amigos de San Isidro Cabañas*¹ (ASIC) and the *Comité Ambiental de Cabañas*² (CAC) believe that mining activity will lead to widespread contamination of the surrounding environment and water supply (Zucker 2010:41). The proposed El Dorado gold mine is a combination of an open-pit and under-ground system (Pacific Rim 2010B). Gold is generally found within ore, which is then crushed, flattened, and sprayed with a chemical solution containing cyanide (Gold Corp 2013). The chemical waste is then collected and stored in special tailing ponds or containers previously built as part of the mining project (Gold Corp 2013). Although these tailing ponds are built to effectively contain the used chemicals, accidents, earthquakes, lack of maintenance and inappropriate care usually lead to disastrous results. Cyanide or other chemicals leave the containers and lethally permeate water sources, soil, and pollute air (Ogola *et al* 2001). The El Dorado mine will be located at the basin of the country's largest and most important river, the Lempa River (Achtenberg 2011:3). The Lempa River provides potable water for much of Cabañas and is the main source of water for over half the population of El Salvador (Zucker 2010:46). Community members in San Isidro particularly fear what the use of cyanide and other chemicals will do to their health, since disastrous contamination has been well documented in many countries (Akcil 2010; Basu *et al* 2010; Kovak 2000; Monning 2005; Ogola 2001; Ono 2011).

Cyanide is central to gold production and it may have disastrous consequences, for example, in Romania a cyanide spill occurred that contaminated the Tisza River. Government officials and environmental experts in Romania stated that the Tisza River is “dead for many

¹The Association of Friend of San Isidro Cabañas: Est. 1992. Support San Isidro through clinics, schools, infrastructure and children’s recreational programs.

²Environmental Committee of Cabañas

years to come and will threaten human health” (Kovak 2000:536). In Peru, mercury spilled in transit from a damaged container carried on a truck (Monning 2005:6) resulting in the hospitalization of over 200 people. Hundreds of people continue to suffer from fatigue, skin rashes, chronic headaches and the psychological problems of the exposure (Monning 2005:7). In Kenya, residents have been exposed to arsenic, lead, and mercury. The impact of these chemicals in the human body is devastating as these chemicals, attack vital organs such as the brain, liver, kidney, the fetus in pregnant women, and the nervous system, which eventually leads to incurable Minamata disease³ (Ogola *et al* 2001:55). Another chemical that is heavily used in gold extraction is Arsenic. In Brazil high concentrations of arsenic have also been found in gold mining areas (Ono *et al* 2011). Arsenic is the most harmful chemical to human health and has caused irreparable damages to the environment and people of mining communities in Brazil (Ono *et al* 2011). These are only some examples of the thousands of human and environmental tragedies that have been registered around the world as a result of contemporary mining techniques.

Another form of contamination that may occur in San Isidro is from the utilization of hot water to extract the gold from the ore in underground mining. Once the gold is extracted, the water is “decontaminated” and then dumped into nearby rivers or streams. This method, known as Geothermal gold extraction will be used by Gold Corp, another Canadian company, at the Cerro Blanco mine in Jutiapa, Guatemala. It also threatens to contaminate San Isidro because water will be dumped into Lake Güija which connects to the Lempa River and hundreds of water sources from many communities in Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. These are the concrete environmental and health risks that the people of San Isidro are concerned about. To

³ Neurological syndrome caused by mercury poisoning. The most notable symptoms are numb hands and feet, muscle weakness, impaired vision, hearing and speech.

address these issues Pacific Rim Mining Corporation has conducted an economic cost benefit analysis and claims that it will bring El Salvador out of poverty (Pacific Rim 2010B). However, this analysis does not put a price on potential environmental degradation and the lives and health of thousands of human beings. Even with the vast amount of empirical data on the negative effects of mining on human health, Pacific Rim still continues to call their practices environmentally and socially safe (Pacific Rim 2012A).

1.3 The setting

The city of San Isidro is located in the department of Cabañas, El Salvador with an approximate population of 10,340 people. It is only seventy kilometres north of the country's capital, San Salvador (Alcaldia Municipal de San Isidro 2013). San Isidro's local economy relies on the production of fruits, vegetables, grains and sugarcane (Alcaldia Municipal de San Isidro 2013). Favorable agricultural conditions are facilitated by the relatively hot weather and access to six nearby small bodies of water, which include the following rivers: Las Cañas, de Los Pueblos, Titiguapa, San Isidro, Viejo (San Francisco) and El Jícaro (Alcaldia Municipal de San Isidro 2013). Much of the drinking water, however, comes from the Rio Lempa (Collins 2009:256). Presently, San Isidro is governed by a right-wing Mayor José Ignacio Bautista (Collins 2009:254). Historically, the department of Cabañas has been controlled by the right wing ARENA government (Republican Nationalistic Alliance Party). Municipal policies in San Isidro were compatible with the right wing ARENA government that in 2002 allowed the construction of the El Dorado mine project, a 144 km² mountainous area located on the outskirts of San Isidro (Collins 2009:254).

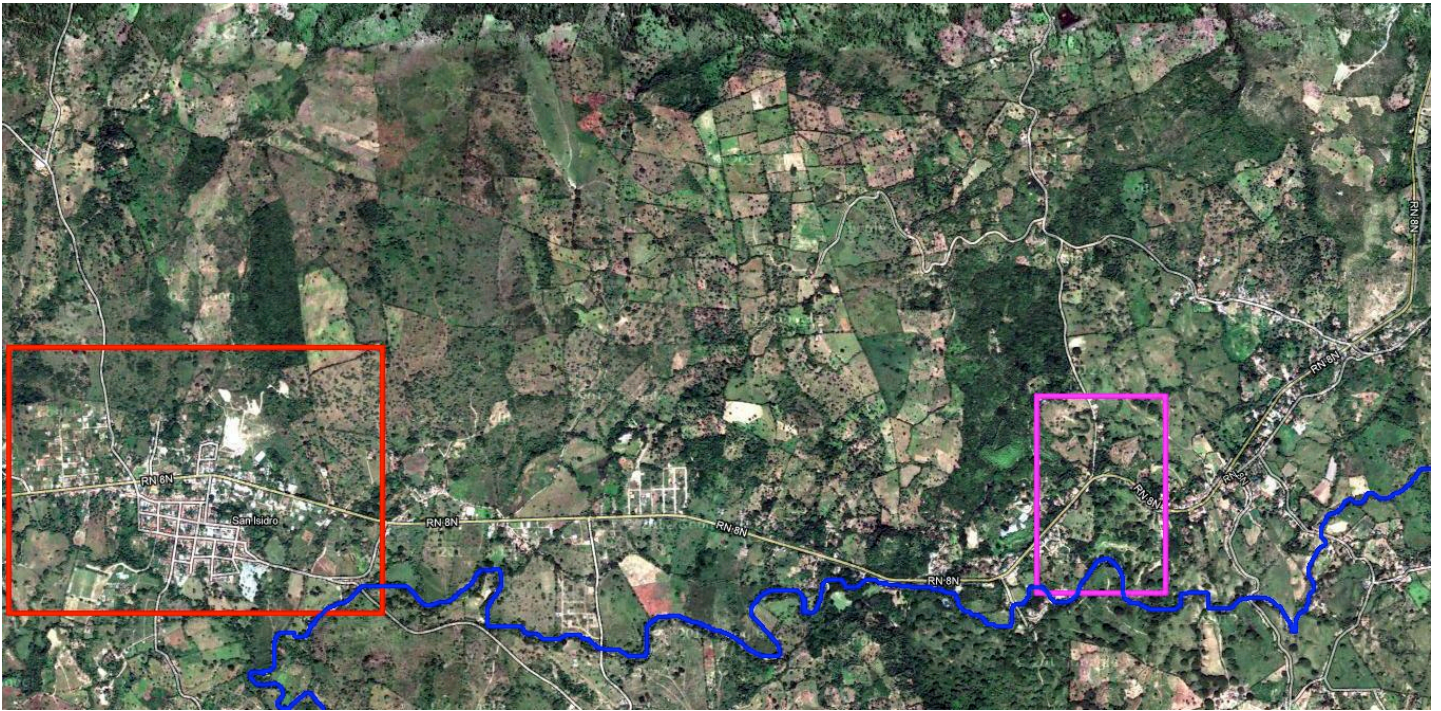


Figure 1: Proximity of the El Dorado Gold mine (Purple) to San Isidro (red) and the San Isidro River (blue).

(Based on Google Earth 2013)

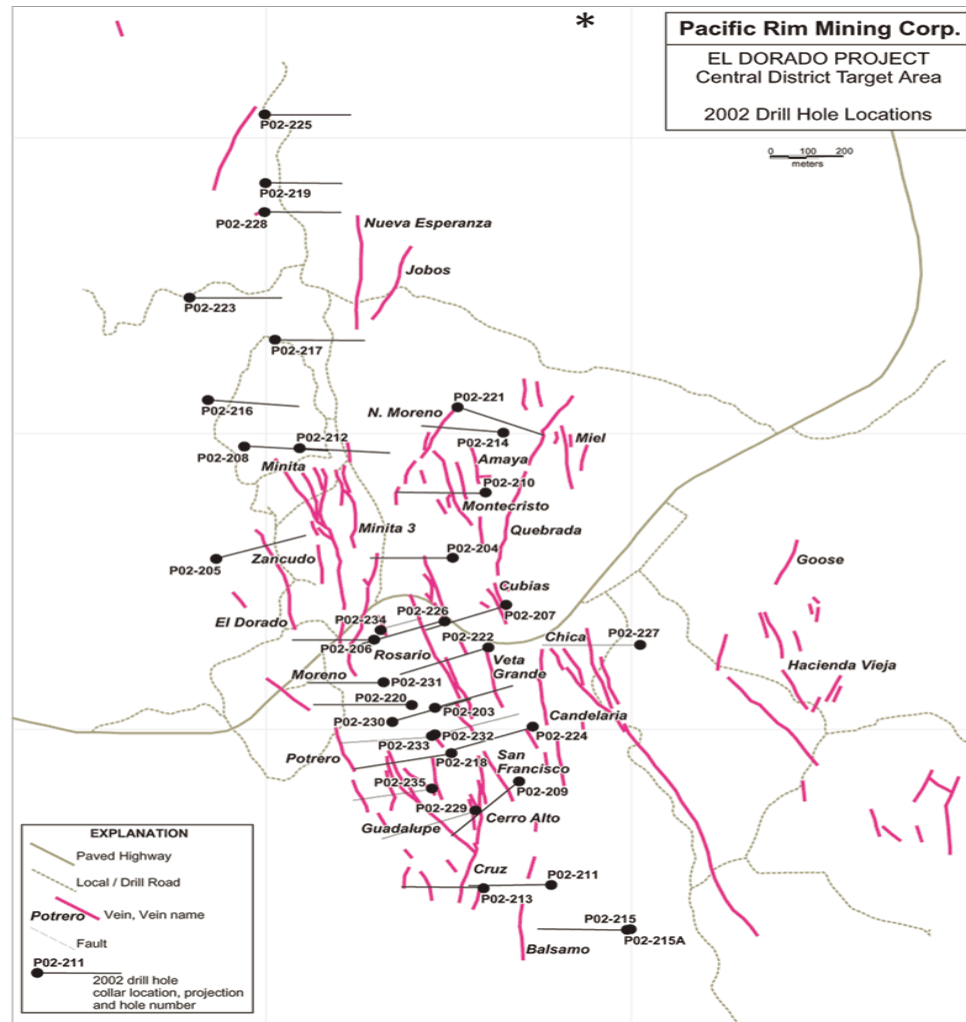


Figure 2: El Dorado Project drilling Locations 2002

(Pacific Rim 2002)

1.4 Purpose of study

Disproportionally, most research on the extractive sector tends to focus on the value of corporate social responsibility and economic development, minimizing in this way its negative impact on human populations and the environment (Basu *et al* 2010; Borneman 2002; Brenes *et al* 1997; Lazăr and Dumitrescu 2009; Sagebien *et al* 2008). More critical research of the “actual benefits” of development tends to emphasize social suffering and environmental degradation as

the direct result of mining. Aligned with a more critical perspective (Gardner and Lewis 1996; Baer et al 2003; Farmer 2005; Scheper-Hughes 1993), my research will focus on exploring the health and social impact that gold mining is having in the community of San Isidro, El Salvador; and the way in which the Canadian government may indirectly contribute to structural violence, suffering and illness in El Salvador. By taking a critical medical anthropology approach to understanding health and illness, I will explore how political and economic factors play a central role in the occurrence and distribution of health and disease. Structural forces imbedded in the organization of development projects to a large degree dictate which populations will be at risk of disease and illness. In the context of this thesis, the term “development” refers to the idea representing the world as in a state “of linear progression and change in which the North is ‘advanced’ and the South locked into static traditionalism which only modern technology and capitalist relations of production can transform” (Gardner and Lewis 1996:1). In San Isidro, like anywhere else, the health of the population is affected by the total environment in which it is embedded. Thus, disease must be understood as inextricably linked to the epiphenomenal conditions of mining presented as development.

This study will help us uncover the political and economic structures that produce and reproduce social inequality, poverty, illness, suffering, pain and death in the name of development and material progress. It will also demonstrate that international development endeavours have deep roots in the colonial projects of several Western societies, but that they are often equated with economic prosperity and well-being for all. I hope that this study will open up discussions of what the Canadian government’s role is in ultimately causing and promoting the suffering of thousands of people as a result of gold mining in El Dorado. Finally, this study will hypothetically link the benefits that bill C-323 could bring to San Isidro if it is passed. This bill is

designed to hold the extractive sector accountable for the abuse of human rights, environmental law, and allow non-Canadians to take legal action against Canadian companies. If passed, this piece of legislature will have a direct connection to the way Pacific Rim is conducting business in El Salvador, which has already caused health problems and lethal social unrest.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Mining, development, and critical medical anthropology

The basic premise of critical medical anthropology is that any analysis of health, illness and healing must take into consideration the economic and political context in which medical ideas and behaviours emerge and have impact upon the world (Sheppard-Hughes 1993).

Undoubtedly, there is a correlation between a person's social and economic status and health, illness, pain, suffering and death (Baer *et al* 2003; Farmer 2005; Gardner and Lewis 1996).

Although being healthy seems to be the single most important aspect of human life, defining it as a homogeneous experience is problematic. As an operant definition the World Health Organization (WHO) defines health “as not merely the absence of disease and infirmity but complete physical, mental and social well-being” (World Health Organization 2013). This definition is widely contested, but it serves as a starting point for understanding health. Health and illness involve the interaction of biology, social practices, culturally constituted frames of meaning along with political and economic processes that shape social relationships and behaviors (Baer *et al* 2003:36). In this view, illness (its subjective experience) and disease (its objective signs) are the result of a total social and material environment that positions some individuals in a more vulnerable place than others in society.

As there are many divergent definitions of health, Sander Kelman has proposed two main views of health, one within the context of system of capitalist production, and another beyond those boundaries. Kelman (1975) makes a distinction between “functional health” and “experiential health” (Kelman in Baer *et al* 2003:4). On the one hand, he claims that ‘functional health’ is the “optimum capacity to perform roles within society, particularly within the context of capitalism, to carry out productive work that contributes to profit-making” (Kelman in Baer *et*

al 2003:4). Using this model, Pacific Rim officials could argue that people of San Isidro are neglecting their own health simply by opposing gold extraction in, and the exploitation of their land. Furthermore, within this view, the people of San Isidro may seem unhealthy because they do not contribute to economic production. Paradoxically, this model of health would also imply that so-called “under-development” is a form of social sickness; and that, mining companies bring health to communities that are not performing their optimum role in capitalist production. In this way only the developed can be viewed as healthy. “Experiential health” on the other hand, according to Kelman’s (1975), is “freedom from illness and alienation and the capacity for human development, including self-discovery, self-actualization, and transcendence from alienating social circumstances” (Kelman in Baer *et al* 2003:4). In this definition health is characterized through a state of general well-being and based on the self. Rather than bringing health and prosperity, in this view mining would be associated as a disruptive activity, altering the local population’s sense of well-being and in turn making them sick. Lack of economic and political power to make decisions about the conditions and future of their land, alienates the community of San Isidro further away from having an experiential state of health.

2.2 Biomedical hegemony

Most of the research on mining and its effects on human illness is addressed and understood from the Western biomedical system (Baer and Singer 2007:142). Western medicine takes a positivist approach to the biological explanation of human disease and illness (Baer and Singer 2007:142). Hence, advocates for mining limit their understanding of disease to possible contamination or accidental cyanide spills into the ground or water supplies. Through this analysis disease is a natural agent occurring in the environment that can be prevented through the

use of scientific knowledge and technology. Despite the wide spectrum of medical systems, most “developing” nations have inherited health care systems modeled after the advanced capitalist nations. In El Salvador, colonial history and dominance of landed oligarchy facilitate the penetration of the biomedical model into society. The biomedical model therefore serves the process by which capitalist assumptions, concepts, and values are imposed on medical diagnosis and treatment (Baer *et al* 2003:14). Through these ideologies the negative effects of mining are minimized and instead ideas of economic prosperity predominate. Antonio Gramsci (1971:210) refers to the establishment of a singular ideological model as hegemony, whereby the traditional ruling class changes men and programmes to retain power, and reinforce it for the time being. In this model the ruling class exert direct control through the coercive institutions of the state apparatus (Gramsci 1971:244). Through a hegemonic process one class exerts control of the ideological life of society through structural means. Thus, hegemony is achieved through the reinforcement of values, attitudes, beliefs, social norms, and legal precepts that permeate civil society (Gramsci 1971). Medical hegemony is thus expressed in developing nations through international agencies, foundations, and bilateral aid programs. Pacific Rim takes full advantage of the ability to dictate what is healthy through the ideology of development that privileges profit as being in a healthy state. In addition, large corporations, like Pacific Rim, are heavily involved in the health sector of developing nations, mostly by advocating for the construction of hospitals, training of physicians, advocating for immunizations, and the supply of medical, surgical and diagnostic equipment (Pacific Rim 2010A; Baer *et al* 2003:41).

From a strictly biomedical perspective, disease is very often seen as a non-social problem by rendering it as a biological problem, and therefore, as personal misfortune. Biomedicine emphasizes an orientation on the need to cure people, rather than prevent the actions and

environmental conditions that cause illness and disease in the first place (Baer *et al* 2003:12). By solely focusing on the body as a diseased entity, biomedicine fails to look at how the body is shaped by its environment. In turn, the political and economic structures that shape a person's environment are not put into context and the ultimate sources of disease are not examined. From a critical medical anthropological point of view, structural forces imbedded in the organization of society dictate which populations will be at risk of disease and illness. Rather than personal misfortune or a strictly biological issue, most sicknesses are the result of socially produced conditions. Galtun (1969) refers to these socially produced conditions as structural violence where overt violence is not exerted upon an individual, but rather it is concealed structures and organizations in society that limit a person's decision making and access to the basic necessities to live to the maximum human potential. Although diseases are suffered by individual physiological bodies, they have equally important social, economic and political dimensions (Scheper-Hughes 1993). In the context of San Isidro, policies that facilitate gold mining have become structural violence and the ultimate cause of poor health, illness, social unrest and death in the community. The political and economic causes of human illness are rarely seen as pathological conditions. This is the case because according to Farmer (2005), conventional biomedical ethics do not take into account pathologies of a world economy that privileges profits over human well-being. The disruption of daily cultural processes is not properly addressed, and the false assumption on economic prosperity does not outweigh the negative effects of mining on human health, the environment, culture, and society.

Chapter III: Methodology

3.1 Approach: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

My approach to investigate the impact of mining on health led me to understand it as more than a mere material process. An understanding of the historical, political, economic, social and ideational structures and interests groups is necessary. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides that understanding by fundamentally examining hidden and overt structural relationships of dominance, inequity, power and control as manifested in discourse and practice (Wodak and Meyer 2009:10). CDA as a methodology is characterized by a multiplicity of approaches used to critically examine ideologies and power relations through the systematic investigation of semiotic data in written, spoken, and visual form. As a methodology CDA's main focus is to recognize the discursive events, institutions and social structures that shape social practice. Hence, by describing discourse as social practice this approach facilitates the task of critical medical anthropology in identifying structural violence and the underlying institutional ideologies that exert power over the marginalized.

Wodak and Meyer (2009:3) emphasize the importance of a discourse, meaning anything from a historical monument, a policy, a political strategy, narrative, text, talk, speech, vocabulary and language. These discursive practices can produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, gender, and ethnic minorities through hidden ideologies of the dominant class. It is essential to define ideology as a coherent and relative stable set of beliefs or values (Wodak and Meyer 2009:8). However, CDA is not interested in the ideology on the surface of culture, it is rather the more hidden and concealed type of everyday beliefs, which are often the ideologies under analysis. Prevailing ideologies emerge as neutral, holding on to values and beliefs that stay largely unchallenged. Organizations or individuals in power will exert control

and try to influence the ideology of a society towards one that will serve their best interests (Wodak and Meyer 2009:8). In order to understand how discursive ideologies become social practice it is imperative to understand how institutions and people with power create ideologies. A central concept to CDA is the analysis of power through the understanding of how language is used to manipulate public opinion. CDA is interested in uncovering where power is located, and how it produces and reproduces social domination of marginalized groups of society. The concept of power is central for comprehending the particularities of control in modern societies, even though power remains mostly invisible (Wodak and Meyer 2009:10). Through a careful interpretation of the changing discourse it is possible to see how the interests of different actors and institutions transcend the prevailing ideologies of the ruling class. It is important to begin with a historical analysis as it provides a macro foundation of the discourse before identifying themes at a micro level.

3.2 Gathering data

Primarily, all my sources for this study come from written documents, including peer reviewed articles, scholarly books, archives, newspapers, institutional reports, activist's blogs, investor portfolios, mining websites, documentary films, media sources, personal contacts, Canadian federal and provincial bills, and transcribed speeches from Canadian parliament. All the sources were produced between 2002 and 2013. I have focused on sources from these years precisely because Pacific Rim acquired the El Dorado mining project in 2002. I specifically concentrated on these documents because they explain mining through a liberal capitalist framework, therefore by using critical medical anthropology I was able to explore beyond what is being claimed and analyze what is not being said. All the sources I chose to analyze fit within

three themes, 1) Mining and Development, 2) Environment, and 3) Human rights and health (See Appendix A). Appendix A visually helps to understand the shifting discourse of mining. It also helps to identify how each document was categorized into the three themes above. These themes facilitated the analysis of the documents and allowed me to cross reference ideologies and critically analyze how some ideas were presented while others were not. In this way I could identify how structural violence is exerted onto the people of San Isidro.

I began my analysis by exploring the ways in which El Salvador and Canada are connected through foreign policies and trade. To understand this relationship I focused on the historical trajectory of Canadian mining in El Salvador. Then I began with examining the descriptive statistics available in government and non-government documents (CIDA; FAITC; US Department of State; Open Parliament), statistical reports from the World Bank, World Health Organization, and the United Nations. In these sources I examined the percentage of people living in poverty in El Salvador, the percentage of inequality, how many people have access to quality drinking water, the dollar amount of aid El Salvador has historically received, the dollar wages of people in El Salvador, the percentage of growth of the extractive sector in Canada, and the overall health statistics of the Salvadorean population. The data collected from these sources shows how Salvadorean society fits within the wider context of the world system and provides valuable information to cross reference with my qualitative data.

To further inquire about dominant ideologies, structures of power, and institutions I proceeded to the qualitative elements of my study where I continued to utilize CRA to unravel notions of power, ideology, and inequality. I mostly utilized textual documents and documentary films as mentioned above. Firstly, I identified sources of power as constructed in discourse. I critically examined the point of view of the authors of the documents to understand their position

in society. Then, I focused on the usage of language as a strategy to exert power over others through ideology. For example, the notion that Canadian extractive companies provide jobs for the people of San Isidro (FAITC 2012) is based on the idea of job creation, with no reference to what it entails or what the consequences may be. I used Comaroff and Comaroff's (1991) model for the analysis of ideology. They claim that ideology creates a sense of a determined ordering of the world that is seen to result from the action of people. Therefore, in order to impart a sense of reality and meaning, ideology is realized in the sense of conscious understanding of signs and actions (De Burgos 2006). The second step was to understand how powerful actors create a discursive ideology that results in social practice. In this step I had to understand how the discourse of development frames a definition of progress. Within this discourse I attempt to understand how development is defined by the Canadian and Salvadorean government, politicians, and community members of San Isidro. I also examined how mining was presented and understood within the wider context of development and how these understandings result in social practice. I looked at both governmental and non-governmental documents from Canada and El Salvador. In particular, the Canadian international development agency (CIDA) provided much information on how modernist ideologies of development result in social practice. CIDA also provided much information about the historical change of mining ideologies and discourse and how these ideologies shape international development projects. The third step was to critically identify the goals or hidden agendas of powerful institutions and actors, such as the World Bank, IMF, and CIDA and how their stated goals perpetuate inequalities. In this step I cross referenced the stated goals of institutions with descriptive statistics available in government and non-government documents as mentioned above. This analysis provided an explanation of how inequality is propagated through ideologies of powerful actors in the world system.

Throughout this process I used the principles of CDA. Accordingly, data collection is not considered to be a specific phase that must be completed before analysis begins. Instead, data collection is an ongoing process of finding indicators for particular concepts, expanding concepts into categories and, on the basis of those results, collecting further data (Wodak and Meyer 2009:27). Although this process led me to an iterative cycle of data collection, it was an important step to verify and validate data. I stopped seeking new data once I achieved a point of saturation and no new patterns, concepts, or categories were found.

Through the critical analysis of textual documents I mentioned at the beginning of this section, different themes, actors, interests, and arguments emerged, leading to the narrowing down of a vast amount of data. I have arranged the data extraction in this way because descriptive statistics provide me with information on a wider scale. It makes social, economic and political patterns and explanations of El Salvador's peripheral position in the world system. I then focus on qualitative documents to narrow down the explanations of the problems visible through descriptive statistics. By using qualitative data, I was able to understand hidden as well as overt structural relationships of dominance, inequity, power and control, as manifested in discourse.

3.3 Criteria for Assessing Quality

The analysis of documents with critical medical anthropology provided an alternative point of view to the hegemonic ideology. This type of analysis resulted in a critical understanding of the underlying ideologies, and the concealed power relations embedded in discourse. Therefore, the results of this study were complete once the analysis of documents and other data revealed no new findings (Wodak and Meyer 2009:31). At this point the process of

saturation was evident. Thus, it was possible to conclude data collection and analysis. Conscious of potential problems for biased interpretation based on selecting some texts and neglecting others, I chose documents that address issues central for critical medical anthropology and discursive analysis. I specifically look for documents that would allow me to elucidate the asymmetry of power between the extractive sector and the people of San Isidro, and the specific power structures that determine the distribution and occurrence of health in a population. Thus, to insure excellent quality research in terms of validity and reliability a process of triangulation was utilized. First it was possible to triangulate different discursive texts with each other. Secondly a triangulation process based on four distinct levels was utilized as explained by Wodak and Meyer (2009). Triangulation to ensure validity mainly theoretical and based on concepts of context, which take place in four levels: 1) immediate language or text 2) inter-textual and inter-discursive relationship between texts, genres, and discourse 3) the extra-linguistic or social level called the context of situation 4) the broader sociopolitical and historical context (Wodak and Meyer 2009:31).

Chapter IV: Power, greed and development

4.1 The social construction of development

As a historically produced discourse, “development” emerged in the twentieth century contingent upon historical conditions of exploitation and dependency. Only at this point in time did countries begin to identify themselves as “under-developed,” and the notion on how to “develop” became a primary concern (Escobar 1995:6). At the same time that development emerged, “poverty” was “discovered” on a global scale and it became the goal of the so-called development project to manage it (Escobar 1995:22). Paulo Freire clearly explains the construction of the development discourse in his analysis of the oppressor-oppressed relationship.

In order to have the continued opportunity to express their “generosity,” the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this “generosity,” which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty. That is why dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source. True generosity consists precisely in fighting to destroy the causes which nourish false charity (1970:44-45).

Freire argues that poverty was the injustice perpetuated by the oppressor, and development was the false charity that could be permanently expressed. By creating a system where “generosity” was itself exploitative, the oppressor could continue to remain in power. Thus colonial relationships of dependency were reproduced by the development project.

Instead of promoting ideologies to change unequal political and economic structures, development provided a favourable direction for capitalism and modernity. The aim of which was to supposedly eliminate poverty by creating consumers to actively participate and stimulate the world economy. The ideology behind neo-liberalism exacerbated the social and economic inequalities that structured risk for human rights abuses and also shaped epidemics (Farmer 2005:19). Instead, it promoted yet another means by which the economies of the peripheral states

could be further exploited and helped replicate inequalities of power. Farmer suggests that neo-liberalism as a form of development or social system becomes inherently and patently more pathogenic than other social systems (Farmer 2005:152). Furthermore, almost by design it “excludes the participation of the people whose welfare it purports to advance” (Farmer 2005: XXIV). For this reason the structures of oppression were transferred over into the development project, and conditions remained the same as neo-liberalism became hegemonic.

Under colonialism the Eurocentric idea that Indigenous peoples were “backwards” presumed that it was European destiny to bring about progress, modernity and development (McMichael 2008:26-30). In this way colonial ideologies permeated discursive practices of development. Homi Bhabha’s analysis of how colonial discourse frames development allows for a critical understanding of the origins of this practice. Bhabha states that

The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction (1990:75).

Development then allowed a structural power over the specific conditions of colonial and so called Third World subjects. Arturo Escobar contends that as an idea and practice ‘development’ has functioned as a mechanism for the colonial and neo-colonial domination of the South by the North (Escobar 1995:9). The production of discourse under conditions of unequal power is what constructs a “Third World” subject in ways that allow the exercise of power over it (Escobar 1995:9).

4.2 Conditions for development

By the end of the Second World War two important events began to take place giving rise to development as a historically produced discourse (Escobar 1995:6). The first was the

decolonization of many colonial states and the second was the ideological war between capitalism and real existing socialism (Gardner and Lewis 1996:5). Colonialism implied the division of labour that stimulated European industrialization, and forced non-Europeans into primary commodity production (McMichael 2008:31). Decolonization on the other hand constructed development in a radically new sense, linking it to sovereignty, and social justice (McMichael 2008:41). As the decolonization of many states took place the idea of sovereignty was attractive to newly formed countries. Economic disparity also led many of the nations to look for alternative paths to imperial systems of development. One solution was the counter hegemonic movement threatening “First World” capitalism presented by the Soviet Union in the post war period (McMichael 2008:45). However, before any opportunity to assess the appropriate direction to take, the US President, Harry Truman, gave a proclamation changing the old development model of “old imperialism-exploitation for foreign profit” for a “program of development based on democratic fair dealing” (Truman in McMichael 2008:44). On January 20th, 1949, the discourse associated with old style imperial exploitation was replaced by a paradigm presenting itself as universal, natural, and therefore separate from its colonial roots (McMichael 2008:45). President Truman declared that “only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people” (Truman in McMichael 2008:44). Essentially, what Truman did on this day was divide the world between those who were “modern”, and those who were not. Modernity was now the goal of all nations, the ones who had the label could now assist the ones who did not. In a postcolonial era, “Third World” states would not repeat the European experience of developing through the exploitation of labour and resources. Therefore, “development” was

presented as a national process with free agency and self-determination for decolonized countries (McMichael 2008:45). Paradoxically, development became a new form of colonization.

4.3 Development as material progress

From its very beginning, the development project was presented as a benevolent activity designed to help nation states reduce the level of poverty found within its borders. Associated with this poverty is the abuse of basic human rights like the access to education, nutrition, housing, water, security, and overall life quality. Eduardo Galeano (1973) claims that “human murder by poverty in Latin America is secret; every year, without making a sound, three Hiroshima bombs explode over communities” (Galeano 1973:5). In this context some national governments in Latin America presented development as a response to the murder by poverty. However, the development project failed to look at the historical roots of poverty and instead explained inequalities as a failure of nations to modernize at the same rate as the North. In this explanation, modernization theory assumed that all economies were situated at different stages of economic development; and argues that with adequate technology and investment all economies could move in the same direction to modernity (Rostow 1960). Grounded in colonial ideologies, “traditional” societies were seen as backwards and uncivilized. It was also assumed that through proper implementation of development paradigms these problems could be overcome. Hence, the Truman doctrine also initiated a new era of understanding progress. Within the same doctrine, the new goal of managing world affairs was to “bring about the conditions necessary to replicate the world over the features that characterized advanced societies” (Escobar 1995, 4).

Modernization now measured successful development through economic features such as the Gross National Product (GNP) or Per Capita Income (Gardner and Lewis 1996:6).

Proponents of development suggest that to reach modernity, nations must go through three distinct stages only achievable through high capital investment and technology (Gardner and Lewis 1996:13). The first stage assumes a ‘take-off’ where development planners can implement projects that stimulate conditions for infrastructure, manufacturing and effective government (Rostow 1960). During the first phase of modernity it was necessary to stop forced labour and slavery in order to create waged labourers that could function in the world market. Only through this way could the creation of wealth be extended to all corners of the world. At the second stage, societies reach ‘self-sustaining’ growth and ultimately end up at the ‘mature’ stage or the age of mass consumption, high productivity and high levels of urbanization (Rostow 1960). Although not everyone will directly benefit from economic growth, it is assumed that the “trickle-down effect” will ensure that the riches of those at the top of the economic scale will eventually benefit the rest of society through increased production and thus employment (Rostow 1960). This view of development presents the extractive sector simply as a sustainable tool to reach modernity.

Most contemporary understandings of development are heavily influenced by modernization theory. Modernization is regarded as economic development for peripheral societies. Through the process of modernization, all social conditions across national societies are homogenized replicating the ‘ideal’ modern society (Sonntag et al 2001:223). It was widely believed that poverty would be simply overcome by this new arrangement and homogenization of social conditions. To strengthen modernization theory, the Post War reconstruction of Western Europe and Japan proved to the world that through appropriate policies it was possible to achieve development and raise people's living standards (Sonntag *et al* 2001:224). Institutions would provide the basis for a larger integration into the world market. Modernization theory claimed that developed countries had a greater diversity of institutions; therefore, the creation of new and

specialized structures and institutions was important for the under-developed countries to come to share in the developed countries' ways of life (Sonntag *et al* 2001:224). In this newer neo-liberal understanding of modernity, the free market is dependent on the creation of new institutions, and the role of the state or government is diminished and relegated to only create conditions that facilitate the workings of the free market such as policies, and enforcing contracts (Domingues 2008:41).

4.4 Dismantling the hidden agenda behind development

Rather than having policies directly tackling the root cause of poverty, large financial organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental institutions define development optimistically, for they assume that all countries will eventually experience economic growth if conditions are adequate. Development based on the notion of modernity ignores the historical implications of growth benefiting the colonial power. Other theorists attempt to uncover this agenda suggesting that growth of European nations came from the exploitation and under-development of other parts of the world (Frank 1967; Wallerstein 1979). Hence, colonial legacies reproduce the structures in contemporary society to benefit those in power. Development is then a neo-colonial tool for domination of under-developed states. Frank (1967) analyzes the relationship between the metropolis (core) and satellite (periphery) and concludes that the relationship is exploitative. He suggests that metropolis-satellite relationship throughout Latin America is inherently unequal and impoverished regions of the continent are those that historically had the closest relationship with the metropolis or colonial power (Frank 1967:9). Furthermore, Frank (1967) contends that the relationship at the macro level extends to a relationship at the micro level. He suggests that there is a micro-metropolis within a satellite state

that is linked to the larger metropolis of the world system (1967:16). Therefore, local elites, representing the best interests of the metropolis spend considerable time and effort accumulating wealth and power. In this way, the metropolis is represented within the satellite, and the permeation of ideas, practices, and discourses become the official reality. It is through this process that the ruling elites in countries like El Salvador often collaborate with international agencies, foundations, and bilateral aid programs to determine policies that empower foreign investors at the expense of local satellite communities (i.e. San Isidro) (Baer *et al* 2003:41). In this way, capital accumulation in the satellite is unlikely to occur because of the processes which accumulate it into the micro-metropolis, and because wider international processes that take it outside the country into the world system's core (Frank 1967; Gardner and Lewis 1996:7).

Development analyzed in this way presents a new form of exploitation, reproducing colonial structures between the metropolis and satellite. This relationship is further analyzed by Wallerstein (1979), as he presents the North as the center or core of capitalism and the South as its periphery. Through imperialistic practices, peripheral economies were integrated into the market on an unequal basis and the exploitation of resources in peripheral countries led to an accumulation of wealth by the core. In these terms development is a political process that does not challenge the prevailing political structures. Instead, it further aggravates the existing division of nations to those who are modern and those who are not. In reality the notion of development does not address the root cause of under-development and poverty. Instead it reproduces the structures that cause poverty, malnutrition, poor health, poor housing, low education, malnourishment, mortality, and environmental degradation.

Political and economic policies that create a favourable climate for investment that allow the asymmetrical accumulation of wealth rely on structural violence enacted by power-hungry

individuals in search of unlimited gains. These characteristics are social pathologies imbedded within the world system that create human suffering. Although the immediate cause of disease may be the contamination of local water supply, it is the greed of those in power that ultimately causes suffering and illness among the people of San Isidro Cabañas in El Salvador. The El Dorado gold mine may bring a bright future and prosperity for those in power, but misery, suffering and disease to those in the periphery.

Chapter V: Structural Violence in San Isidro

5.1 Salvadorean neo-liberal paradise

In El Salvador neo-liberal policies were first implemented when the Salvadorean government received funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This agency supported the restructuring of the Salvadorean economy along neo-liberal lines (Van der Borgh 2000:41). Based on this ideology, the government had to be concerned with protecting multinational corporation's rights as investors. It had to set up state institutions that functioned to secure private property rights and to support freely functioning markets (Harvey 2006:145). Further pressure to comply with neo-liberal ideology came about in the 1990s when the Salvadorean government gave in to pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to reform its tax code and encourage foreign investment. In 1991, the World Bank extended a \$75 million structural adjustment loan and the Inter-American Development Bank provided additional adjustment financing (World Bank 2002:5). In 1990 the IMF approved a standby agreement followed by another in January 1992 and one more in May 1993 (World Bank 2002:9). The purpose of these loans were to encourage policies in line with the dominant ideology of neo-liberalism. According to the IMF borrowing countries are subject to certain terms, including adjusting the economic policies that according to the IMF created the problems that force them to seek funding (IMF 2012:2). In short this program supported the structural adjustment scheme of the World Bank, proposed in 1991. Over the period from 1991 to 1998 the World Bank approved a total of 13 loans worth \$540 million to El Salvador (World Bank 2002:5). Adjustment lending took approximately \$125 million, and the rest went to health promotion, education, energy, agriculture and land titling, public sector modernization and enhancing competitiveness (World Bank 2002:5).

Prompted by the IMF, World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank, the Salvadorean government supported macroeconomic programs. In El Salvador these neo-liberal economic reforms were first implemented by the ARENA (Republican Nationalistic Alliance Party) government when President Alfredo Cristiani (ARENA) took office in 1989-1994. This party represented the interests of the landlord classes and was naturally aligned with foreign capital (Van der Borgh 2000:38). ARENA, discursively applied neo-liberal policies maintain the neo-liberal claim that development and thus human well-being including health, education and poverty reduction could be best achieved through the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade (Harvey 2006:145). Therefore, ‘the role of the government became one that created a good business climate (Holden 2008:345). Following this neo-liberal ideology the first measures implemented by the Cristiani government were the privatization of state-owned banks, liberalization of trade, reduced prices and interest rates, fixing the Salvadorean exchange rate at 8.75 Colones to the US\$, and the banning of state monopoly on traditional agricultural exports (Van der Borgh 2000:42; World Bank 2002:1). These rights secured private property, freedom to make investments of any kind, and access to local financing (Romero 2007:245). In this process the country opened up its borders to multinational corporations trying to take advantage of reduced costs and enhanced profits. The idea of economic development through neo-liberalism was implemented as a way to modernize. It was now only a matter of time that the search for profit in many aspects of Salvadorean society would outweigh human health and well-being.

Successive ARENA governments (Armando Calderón Sol from 1994–1999, Francisco Flores 1999-2004, and Antonio Saca 2004-2009) continued along the same neo-liberal policies implemented by Cristiani’s government. The Calderón Sol administration initiated the first wave

of privatization by liberalizing trade. He privatized the pension system, state owned companies (sugar mills, telephones, electricity distribution), and legalized all dollar transactions (Colburn 2009:150; World Bank 2002:1). He also subsidized large concessions to private enterprise to perform tasks previously managed by the government (Colburn 2009:150). The government of Francisco Flores from 1999-2004 promised promote job creation and income generation, to improve public security and access to public services, and to promote the sustainable use of natural resources (World Bank 2002:1). However, it was during Flores administration in 2002 that Pacific Rim was granted exploratory permits throughout the country (Pacific Rim 2010B). In 2000, without public consent, President Flores announced the introduction of the US\$ as the legal tender of the country. For capitalists, this procedure simplified investment and facilitated international transactions (Towers and Borzutzky 2004:29; World Bank 2012:2).

Under the Saca government, on March 1, 2006, El Salvador became the first nation to sign the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). This covenant further reduced import and export tariffs and essentially liberalized trade across borders, stimulating more international capital. It also gave extensive rights and privileges to multinational corporations, particularly through chapter 10, investors rights provisions (Scheffey 2010:3).

The neoliberal policies implemented throughout the years claimed the market as a vehicle to material progress that does not have any bias and is free for all people to prosper. Under closer examination, however, it becomes evident that the market is constructed to serve the interests of the few who exploit the system. McMichael argues that markets are neither natural nor free. They are institutional constructs, managed by powerful institutions, banks, corporations, states and non-governmental organizations (2008:149). Neo-liberalism is thus the result of powerful governments and corporations pushing trade deals and other accords (Chomsky 1999:13). The

defining political and economic paradigm of neo-liberalism is then the process whereby a marginal number of private interests are permitted to control as much of social life in order to maximize their personal profit as much as possible (Chomsky 1999:7). This ideology, neo-liberalism has become a hegemonic discourse. It has universal effects on ways of thought and political-economic practices (Harvey 2006:145). It has been incorporated into the (common-sense) way people interpret, live and understand the world (Harvey 2006:145). As the social consequences of these policies become clearer, a massive increase in social and economic inequality has been visible in many parts of the world. Inequality is thus marked by increase in “severe deprivation for the poorest nations and peoples of the world, a disastrous global environment, an unstable global economy and an unprecedented bonanza for the wealthy” (Chomsky 1999:8).

Although macro-economic strategies and neo-liberal policies are discursively presented to the wider population as a path to modernity and economic development foreign investment and economic lending packages result in increased inequality. In El Salvador, World Bank Reports indicate that in 1991 the gini-coefficient⁴ was 54.0 and in 2009 it remained relatively high at 48.3 (World Bank 2013). This demonstrates that development projects do little to decrease the unequal distribution of wealth, the main cause of poverty. The concentration of wealth in El Salvador can be clearly seen that the percentage of income held by the top 10% of the population was equal to 37% in 2009, while the income share held by the lowest 20% was 3.7% (World Bank 2013). In 2010, approximately 42.5% of the population in El Salvador still lived in poverty, earning less than \$2 a day as defined by the World Bank (World Bank 2013). It seems that the privatization of the economy only serves the interests of the small oligarchy that

⁴ The gini-coefficient measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from perfectly equal distribution (World Bank 2013).

has traditionally controlled the country (Boyce 1996) while the rest of society remains excluded from decision making. Thus, structural violence is enacted through various policies of the Salvadorean government and international funding agencies. Paul Farmer explains that the neo-liberal era has been a time of looking away, a time of averting our gaze from the causes and effects of this structural violence (Farmer 2005:16). When we look at and listen to those whose rights are being trampled, we see how political rights are intertwined with social and economic rights, or, rather, how the absence of social and economic power empties political rights (Farmer 2005:16). The case of the El Dorado gold mine in San Isidro falls within this logic.

5.2 A brief history of the El Dorado mine

The mining story of San Isidro is of course not a recent one. The Spanish discovered gold in the area in the early 1500's, and conducted small scale production until the late 1800's (Pacific Rim 2010B). During this time like in many other parts of the Americas, mining became associated with environmental degradation, disastrous health risks, slavery, exploitation, material under-development and human rights violations (Galeano 1973; Monning 2005; Taussig 1980). One of the atrocious practices of the colonial power was the use of Indigenous peoples as slaves in mines where they were exposed to toxic levels of mercury (Brown 2012:3; Eccarius-Kelly 2007:53). The European conquistadors built their own wealth at the expense of the community's health, environment and social well-being. It was not until 1948 to 1953 that underground mining techniques were first utilized in San Isidro where the El Dorado mine is now located (Pacific Rim 2010B). During this time the New York and El Salvador Mining Company a subsidiary of Rosario Mining operated the mine finding only one of the large gold deposits in the area, the Minita Vein (Pacific Rim 2010B).

In the 1990's neo-liberal policies by the ARENA government attracted many multinational corporations to the area. By applying modern, scientific conditions in line with those of the Western world natural resource exploitation is discursively said to provide a productive road to decreasing poverty (Escobar 1995:23). Like so, it is in the “interest” of “developed” countries to bring about material progress to those that are still under-developed as can be seen in the case of El Salvador. From 1993 until 2002 the El Dorado mine was explored by Mirage Resources and later Dayton Mining Corporation (Pacific Rim 2010B). The latter explored the surrounding area around the Minita vein, but did not find other deposits (Pacific Rim 2010B). Pacific Rim finally acquired the El Dorado mine in 2002 through a merger with Dayton Mining. In 2005 they discovered more gold veins including the South Minita, Balsamo, Nance Dulce, Coyotera, and Nueva Esperanza (Pacific Rim 2010B). In 2005, Pacific Rim was also heavily investing in the Santa Rita Gold project in Central El Salvador, northwest of El Dorado. In 2006, Pacific Rim also signed an agreement to acquire a 100% interest in the Zamora gold project 50 kilometres north of San Salvador, El Salvador. They also acquired additional exploration licenses of the Cerro Colorado (Pacific Rim 2010B).

At the same time that Pacific Rim was actively engaged in exploration, US based gold mining company, Commerce Group Corporation, was heavily involved in gold mining through their San Sebastian Gold mine in the department of La Union. In 2004 the exploitation concession license was issued by the Salvadorean Government for a period of 30 years (Commerce Group 2008). Also in 2004, Commerce Group Corporation was granted a permit to explore an area of 11,115 acres for precious metals (Commerce Group 2008). However, in 2006 the first environmental catastrophe was documented in El Salvador. The *Ministerio de Medio*

*Ambiente y Recursos Naturales*⁵ (MARN) confirmed the presence of unhealthy levels of cyanide and iron in the San Sebastian River (MARN 2012). The most visible source of contamination was the flow of acid water that is rust colour down the San Sebastian River (MARN 2012). The *Centro de Investigación sobre Inversión y Comercio*⁶ (CEICOM) associated the numerous deaths in Santa Rosa de Lima with contamination from this mining operation (MARN 2012). In particular the highest reading of cyanide found in the water flow was 0.450 milligrams per liter. The Salvadorean compulsory standard for human consumption establishes a maximum limit of 0.05 milligrams per liter, which means that the quantities are 9 times that amount. Another finding was high concentrations of Iron at 393.4 milligrams per liter. The Salvadorean compulsory standard for water for human consumption establishes a maximum of 0.3 milligrams per liter; the measured rate was 1000 times that amount (MARN 2012). In 2006 El Salvador's Minister of the environment revoked the San Sebastian Gold Mine exploitation permit, which at the time was the only exploitation permit in El Salvador.

In 2006, pressured from community members, the Catholic Church, and some government officials, Pacific Rim was required to produce an environmental safety report. Growing aware of the large opposition to mining in the country, President Antonio Saca strategically banned mining in the country in 2008, one year before the Presidential elections. Pacific Rim's exploration permit was revoked and their exploitation permit was not approved (Pacific Rim 2010B). Thus, in 2008 the company was forced to stop all exploratory activities (Achtenberg 2011:4). In response, in 2009 Pacific Rim sued the government of El Salvador for \$77 million under the Dominican Republic Central American Free Trade Agreement (DR CAFTA). The lawsuit was filed on the grounds of alleged violation of international investors'

⁵Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources

⁶ Research Center of Investment and Trade

rights and in reference to Article 10.3 (national treatment), Article 10.4 (most-favoured-nation treatment), Article 10.5 (minimum standard of treatment) and Article 10.7 (expropriation) (U.S. Department of State 2011). Since Canada is not a signatory of DR CAFTA the company presented its dispute through its subsidiary in the United States subsidiary, Pac Rim Cayman LLC. At that time, it was based in the Cayman Islands, and later relocated to Nevada in 2007. The company tried to strengthen its case by claiming that the El Dorado operation was largely financed in the U.S. and that it has strong business ties in Nevada going back more than a decade (Andersen 2011:2).

When in 2008 the Salvadorean government withdrew Pacific Rim's mining permit, the World Bank intervened claiming that the government was undermining (no pun intended) the World Bank's investments since the 1990s. In line with their structural adjustment policies the World Bank took on the case of Pacific Rim at the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), a branch of the World Bank. Notwithstanding, the World Bank concluded that "Pacific Rim by itself does not have sufficiently "substantial" business activities in the USA to proceed with its claims under CAFTA" (Pacific Rim 2012B). Accordingly, the arbitration claim could proceed under the Salvadorean investment law implemented by the ARENA government.

Although these institutions claim to promote human rights such as health, education, access to food, clean water and housing it is arguable that this is their real purpose. If the World Bank were really concerned with human well-being, the case would not proceed and international laws would not challenge the El Salvador's sovereignty. In 2012, the total cost spent by the Salvadorean government for litigation has already been \$5 million dollars in public funds (Mining Watch 2012). To put this amount of money into context it could have provided

Salvadoreans with one year of adult literacy classes for 140,000 people or feed 60,750 families in temporary housing for 2 weeks during a natural disaster (Mining Watch 2012). In this way, this case shows that instead of promoting health the neo-liberal climate facilitates powerful institutions to exploit people for profit. By creating an investors climate to bring about market driven economies the profit-making orientation of capitalism penetrates into the healthcare industry and health only becomes important as a money making enterprise (Baer et al 2003:40). Therefore, the World Bank has the strongest influence on health policies and projects that open up the country to large corporations (Baer et al 2003:40). In this way the World Bank becomes important in creating an investors climate that privileges investors' interests as opposed to promoting health or improving the living conditions of the people they are designed to help.

Wallerstein's (1979) world system theory can clearly be applied to mining in El Salvador, as an international hierarchy of nations that allows the accumulation of wealth in core countries at the expense of impoverishing countries in the periphery. Within this system, mining projects are presented and legitimized through a discourse of development promising progress for all. Past exploitative colonial practices are forgotten and the analysis of health is limited only to the physiological contamination of the environment that can be prevented through the adequate use of science and technology. Structural violence is evident as CAFTA gives more power to investors than it does to the country it is supposed to develop. In this way the citizens of San Isidro are restrained from a state of experiential health and mining as a form of development inherently becomes pathological. The World Bank fits under this pathology because the way it intends to promote health and human well-being is contradicted by their search for profit. Although the World Bank wants to promote health, they continue to create an environment where the immediate cause of illness and disease is facilitated. The World Bank continues to

support Pacific Rim in their case to sue the government of El Salvador and the people of San Isidro are ignored.

5.3 El Dorado gold mine and San Isidro

In 2002, Canadian company, Pacific Rim, was granted an exploration license in San Isidro, Cabañas by the then governing ARENA party (Achtenberg 2011:3). Based out of Vancouver, Canada, Pacific Rim declares itself to be an “environmentally and socially responsible exploration company” (Pacific Rim 2012A). As such, Pacific Rim claimed its benevolence by stating that it will bring “economic development to one of the poorest regions of the country, an area lacking economic activity” (Pacific Rim 2010B). Pacific Rim greatly benefited from the World Bank’s labeling process of El Salvador as a developing nation with about 42.5% of the population living in poverty (World Bank 2013). They were able to construct their project around the proposed benefits that this industry brings to the country while hiding its potential environmental degradation and impact that it could have on the population’s health. In this way, Pacific Rim was able to become a key player in the field of health promotion. Since modernity theory assumes that an increase in economic measurements of success will automatically bring about an increase in the fields of health, poverty reduction, and education, the World Bank becomes biased in only sponsoring those projects that will bring about economic development compatible with market-driven economies. Thus when Pacific Rim announced that the mine would have an economic output estimated to be worth 1.5 billion dollars in 2002, the project was particularly accepted by the World Bank and welcomed by the Salvadorean government (Andersen 2011:1). Therefore, instead, of taking a preventative approach to health, Pacific Rim was directly involved in a curative approach to health. They could also promote

education based on the benefits of mining as opposed to those that demonstrate the environmental and health implications.

Through the agenda of economic development, Pacific Rim was able to promote other proposed benefits that mining would bring to the city of San Isidro, Cabañas. Some of these other benefits included scholarships, local schooling, housing, roads, and other infrastructures, as well as the creation of hundreds of jobs for the community (Pacific Rim 2010B). However, as claimed by the National Roundtable Against Mining⁷ (MESA) few local residents have the technical skills to qualify for these positions (Achtenberg 2011:3). Therefore, the jobs would not be for the people of San Isidro. Other benefits that Pacific Rim allegedly brings to the countries it exploits include government revenue. In the case of El Salvador, Pacific Rim Corporation claims to be the largest single tax payer in the country as the Salvadorean tax law requires them to pay tax on 25% of profit (Pacific Rim 2009B). Also under existing Salvadorean investment laws based on structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and neo-liberal policies of the ARENA government, only 2% of royalties would actually be paid to the Salvadorean government (Pacific Rim 2010B). Of this, 1% is paid to the central government and 1% is paid to the local government where exploitation occurs (Pacific Rim 2009B). Whether or not this revenue will actually be re-investment in economic and social programs for San Isidro and El Salvador is an unknown story. As Frank (1967) suggests the exploitative relation of the world system concentrates money into the micro-metropolis within a satellite (peripheral) state that is linked to the larger metropolis (1967:16). Therefore, local elites, representing the best interests of the metropolis are looking to accumulate wealth and power and are often the ones that exacerbate inequality within a country.

⁷MESA is composed of both local Salvadorean and international organizations that oppose the detrimental consequences of mining.

The proposed benefits of the El Dorado mine are appealing to some community members of San Isidro. Nevertheless, they recognize that the potential for horrendous environmental disasters outweighs the proposed economic benefits. Even Pacific Rim corporate representatives acknowledge that cyanide compounds are toxic (Pacific Rim 2010A). However, they argue that their properties are well understood and they will adopt globally accepted best practices in the use of cyanide for safe transportation, transfer, and use (Pacific Rim 2010A). El Dorado's open pit and under-ground mines will both utilize cyanide to extract gold from the ore (Pacific Rim 2010B). To deal with any environmental disasters Pacific Rim promised to be a signatory to the "International Cyanide Management Code" for the manufacture, transport and use of Cyanide in the production of gold (Pacific Rim 2010A). This code is a voluntary industry program, promoted by the United Nations Environment Program and the International Council on Metals and the Environment (Pacific Rim 2010A). In addition, mining operations that committed to this code undergo an independent third party auditor and a re-verification every three years (Pacific Rim 2010A). Therefore, Pacific Rim convinced the Salvadorean government to allow them to begin exploring for gold in San Isidro.

The prospect of metal mining quickly became heavily criticized by most community members in San Isidro and environmental and human rights activists around the country. Local and national environmental activists started to mobilize opposition to this mining project. They argued that the main beneficiaries of El Dorado are the mining companies, since clearly most of the profit would leave the country to Canadian companies and its shareholders. Furthermore, the environmentalists and human rights activists argued that mining activities in El Dorado would result in irreversible contamination of the environment, causing illness, hunger and general misery in the community (Zucker 2010:41). Since extracting gold requires enormous amounts of

cyanide, mining activist point to precedent environmental catastrophes in neighbouring Guatemala and Honduras. For example, the Marlin Mine in Guatemala, operated by Canadian giants Gold Corp was blamed for contaminating local water supplies with “arsenic, magnesium, cyanide, copper, and iron” (Garcia and Yagenova 2009:164). People living in close proximity to the mine have suffered from “skin rashes, hair loss, respiratory difficulties, and other disorders” (Basu *et al* 2010:71). They also suffer from the most visible physical problems such as, explosives which cause air and noise pollution, as well as thick dust contaminating the surrounding farm lands (Dumitrescu and Lazăr 2009; Garcia and Yagenova 2009).

Opposition to El Dorado continues around the contamination and depletion of community water, a vital resource that sustains life. According to Achtenberg (2011) an average metallic mine consumes about 24,000 gallons of water per hour, something comparable to what an average Salvadorean family consumes in the span of a twenty-year period. Community members claim that during the initial exploration stage wells were quickly drying up and became poisoned by unknown chemicals, resulting in bodily discomfort and dead livestock (Macdonald 2010:17). Research conducted by Basu *et al* (2010) has found that these ailments could be linked to cyanide exposure. Akcil (2010) and Kovak (2000) have also documented the correlation between these health conditions and a cyanide spill that occurred at a Romanian gold mine. What makes contamination from the El Dorado mine an even more alarming problem is the fact that it is located at the basin of the Lempa River, the country’s largest potable water supply (Achtenberg 2011:3). If this river became contaminated it would not only effect San Isidro, but over half the Salvadorean population, Guatemala and Honduras. Like many communities threatened by the extractive sector, drinking water has become a major concern for impoverished populations (Akcil 2010; Kovak 2000; Ogola 2001; Zucker 2010). In El Salvador, World Bank reports

indicate that in 2010, about 20% of the urban and 58% of the rural population did not have piped drinking water (World Bank 2013). This number is significant as it puts the impoverished people of El Salvador at the highest risk of disease, and displacement from their homes.

To dissipate people's fears of possible contamination, Pacific Rim's corporate representatives promised that tailings ponds or waste water pools will be lined with non-degradable materials that will prevent any contamination to the surrounding area (McGee 2012:11). The company assures that it meets every single environmental law of El Salvador and even exceeds the strictest regulations internationally. However, Saha (2010) argues that "developing countries" suffer from weak environmental regulations and often a lack of government implementation. For this reason, Salvadorean activists suggest that Pacific Rim has not taken into account that El Salvador is one of the most seismically active countries in all of the Americas and a major earthquake could easily break the tailings pond (McGee 2012:11). Furthermore, Pacific Rim has not taken into consideration that El Salvador suffers from large weather disasters that have flooded many parts of the country and destroyed large infrastructure. Thus, El Dorado could also result in a large environmental and social disaster for San Isidro and hundreds of other communities. Activists consider that there are not sufficient measures to guarantee any real safety for the people of San Isidro (McGee 2012:11). In response Pacific Rim argues that these "anti-mining" advocates fail to see the bigger picture of economic progress and are themselves anti-development (Henderson 2013). Community activist, however, do not see themselves as "anti-mining" or anti-development, but rather as defenders of the environment, their health and their lives (Barrios 2013).

The conditions brought about by the early stages of mining seem contrary to the spirit and claims made in the name of development. The embodiment of suffering and feelings of

illness by the people of San Isidro cannot be reduced to a by-product of mining. Instead these health conditions must be examined within the wider context of the world system. The El Dorado development project seems to have unconstrained power over the lives of people in San Isidro. This suggests that social and economic forces have shaped mining epidemics and are, in every sense, the same forces that have resulted in feelings of illness and disease among people of San Isidro and a sense of marginalization (Farmer 2005:40). By presenting mining as a benevolent project, intended to help the people of San Isidro, the suffering of the community rarely comes into the consciousness of the wealthy, even when their power may have a direct relation to their suffering (Farmer 2005:31).

5.4 A community divided: International laws and local deaths

Colonial legacies remained ingrained in Salvadorean society throughout the 19th century. The agro-export based economic system guaranteed the unequal distribution of land, resources, power, wealth and prestige in society. As a result, a relatively small oligarchy quickly came to power, influencing policies that would concentrate wealth in their hands. Historically, it is this micro metropolis (micro-core) along with the core of the world system that controls decision making in El Salvador. Inequality in the country is then a result of a long succession of dictatorial governments, far more concerned with the pillage of the nation rather than protecting the rights of its people (Zucker 2010). In Cabañas at the departamental level the political party in power has historically been of a right-wing ideology. The ARENA party has been concerned with protecting private properties, and stimulating foreign investments, such that they bow down to Pacific Rim. Unlike other parts of the country, in Cabañas during 2009 all nine municipalities in the region were controlled by ARENA. By controlling the judicial system, policies can be

implemented that favour mining projects. The resulting mining proponents are therefore a unified front of right wing politicians and Pacific Rim mining company (Zucker 2010:44).

In 2007 as the price of gold went up the El Dorado mine was valued at over 3.3 billion dollars (Zucker 2010:41). International interest in the exploitation permit started to become more and more important and pressure was put on the Salvadorean government to grant the permit. Conscious of the 2006 Commerce Group Disaster and the growing opposition to mining in the country, the Salvadorean government banned mining in 2008. Pacific Rim's exploration permit was revoked and their exploitation permit was not approved (Pacific Rim 2010B). The prohibition of mining in El Salvador has temporarily put a stop to environmental concerns, but has exacerbated social unrest. The tensions between mining companies' economic interests and community dwellers' environmental concerns have led to escalating violence ranging from intimidation to assassinations (Berrios 2009; FLD 2010; McGee 2012; Zucker 2010). Farmer (2005:40) notes that human suffering is interconnected with political violence, these afflictions are not the result of accident they are the result, direct or indirect, of human agency. Therefore, as the search for power and wealth permeates society those concerned with money primarily let greed influence human decisions (Farmer 2005:40). Several community environmentalist and human rights advocates that have stood up to mining activities have been threatened and some even murdered for opposing the mining project (Berrios 2009; FLD 2010; McGee 2012; Zucker 2010). The patterns of violence evident in San Isidro cannot be attributed to pure chance. The activities of all people involved are threatening the prospect of mining in San Isidro, as so the idea that a Canadian mining company contributing or aggravating political violence in Cabañas is extremely real.

Between 2006 and 2009, many community members in San Isidro began to feel tensions

between protectors of the environment and pro-mining activists, including San Isidro mayor José Ignacio Bautista, and other government officials. One of the first instances of political violence associated with the opening of the El Dorado mine was the death threats received by Radio Victoria, a local alternative radio station in San Isidro (Mining Watch 2011A). Radio Victoria's staff received a frightening sequence of death threats and physical attacks for reporting on issues such as allegations of electoral fraud during the 2006 and 2009 municipal elections (Mining Watch 2011A). Other reports included the environmental fight against Pacific Rim's efforts to mine gold in Cabañas (Mining Watch 2011A). The threats against the radio station continued and in July 2009, the radio station was vandalized and much of its equipment destroyed, temporarily knocking them off air (Mining Watch 2011A).

The same year in 2009, San Isidro experienced its first death from the political mining epidemic. Marcelo Rivera a director of the *Asociación de Amigos de San Isidro Cabañas* (ASIC), a human rights-based community organization in San Isidro, was the first of four-community environmental activist to be murdered in a series of political and economic killings in San Isidro (Zucker 2010:40). He mysteriously disappeared on June 18, 2009. His body was found 12 days later at the bottom of a 100-foot well with his hair and toenails removed and his trachea crushed (McGee 2012:11). The autopsy report concluded that Rivera was killed in a drunken brawl, but community members, who saw the body, claimed the signs of torture were visible (McGee 2012:11). Friends and family of Rivera knew the autopsy had been depoliticized by government officials because he did not drink alcohol (McGee 2012:11-12). MESA was also suspicious of the autopsy and described this murder as a targeted assassination (Achtenberg 2011:4).

According to community members,

Marcelo's murder was carried out by four gang members who were reputedly paid \$100,000 each for the job. As an activist in San Salvador pointed out bluntly, 'you don't

need half a brain to know who has that much money around here. It's the company' (Zucker 2010:41).

Similar to an epidemic, the murders did not stop after this first one. The perpetrators of these deaths are still free and enjoying impunity and they continue to assault other community members. In August 2009, Ramiro Rivera Gómez, unbelievably survived an attack where he was shot eight times in the legs and back (Berríos 2009). It is assumed that Ramiro was targeted because he was the Vice-President of the *Comité Ambiental de Cabañas* (CAC), an organisation educating the community about the health and environmental risks of cyanide contamination (FLD 2010). He was active in raising consciousness about the company's actions and for this reason he was shot again and this time he was killed in his car on December 20, 2009 (Berríos 2009). Rivera was shot in the head and chest by gunmen. Another passenger in the vehicle was also killed and a teenage girl was injured (FLD 2010).

The binary divide between those that oppose mining and those that support mining has been at the forefront of destroying families' well-being and security. In 2008, José Santos Rodriguez a board member of the CAC was attacked by unknown assailants with a machete and lost several of his fingers on his right hand (FDL 2010). The violence did not stop there. According to his wife, Dora Alicia Recinos Sorto, in 2009 several unidentified armed men had come to their home to look for him (FLD 2010). Once they could not find him Dora Alicia Recinos Sorto also became a victim of the violence. She was also an active advocate for the protection of the environment and human rights and a member of CAC (FLD 2010). Six days after the murder of Ramiro Rivera Gómez on December 26, 2009, Dora was also killed, along with her unborn child.

Dora Alicia Recinos Sorto was gunned down as she returned from washing clothes at the Lempa River. [She was eight months pregnant.] Her three-year-old son was wounded at the murder scene. Several other activists have narrowly escaped similar assassination attempts; even more have been moved into safe houses; and a few dozen have received personal death threats via e-mails and text messages throughout the year. All, so far, with relative impunity. While the authorities have yet to identify who planned the crimes, friends of the victims roughly know who is behind the intimidation (Zucker 2010: 40).

On January 11, 2011, Radio Victoria was targeted again, this time through a letter pushed under their door in the middle of the night (Mining Watch 2011A). Even though there is supposed to be 24 hour police protection the perpetrators were able to deliver their notice. Radio Victoria reported the incident to local police and the attorney general's office. However, the authorities have not shown much interest in the case as no other evidence has been collected or pursued and they have only received one phone call (Mining Watch 2011A).

The death threats of the radio station were again followed by the murder of another protector of the environment and human rights. On June 2, 2011 Juan Francisco Durán Ayala was hanging posters in the city of Ilobasco, Cabañas to campaign against mining and Pacific Rim (Mining Watch 2011B). The CAC reported that local mayor Cheyo Castellanos ordered police to remove the banners and to intimidate the activists hanging them (Mining watch 2011B). On June 3, 2011, thirty-year old linguistics student, Juan Francisco Durán Ayala, went missing as he left for classes at the Technological University in San Salvador (Mining Watch 2011B). The next day, on June 4th government authorities found a body that had been shot twice in the head (Mining Watch 2011B); and although medical examiners declared this body was 'unidentifiable,' they claimed it was Juan Francisco's. It was later buried in a common grave in San Salvador (Mining Watch 2011B). The following week, however, the CAC found Juan Francisco's body. The authenticity was confirmed by the father who positively identified his son (Mining watch 2011B). Community members and representatives from non-governmental agencies gathered to

honour the work Ayala was doing before he was murdered. Nevertheless, government official depoliticized Ayala's murder and attributed to gang activity (McGee 2012:12).

The police said Ayala must have been connected to the MS [the *Mara Salvatrucha*, one of El Salvador's notorious gangs] because he had a tattoo... But it was a tattoo of Che Guevara. From the perspective of those who worked with Ayala, it is more likely that his demise was politically motivated. The last night he was seen alive, Ayala and his friends were followed by police while putting up posters for an anti-mining workshop (McGee 2012:12)

Many other activists who oppose Pacific Rim's mining development have also received death threats. The list includes environmental leaders, Catholic priests, media, and radio journalists (Achtenberg 2011:4). The El Dorado mining project has divided the community between those who support it and those who oppose it. Since local authorities in San Isidro are members of the right wing ARENA party that allowed El Dorado to operate, many local party members blindly support the mining project. Contamination does not distinguish between ideologies. According to local activists, San Isidro mining supporters are paid by Pacific Rim to create the illusion that the community willingly embraces their mining activities (Broad and Cavanagh 2011:28). Pacific Rim for example "supported some politicians with money for projects" said San Isidro community member Oscar Beltrán (Zucker 2010:43). According to Beltrán, it is simply a way to control the mayors of communities, because they are the ones who control the Salvadorean tax laws that limit corporate taxes and reduce royalties payable to 2% (Zucker 2010:43). Other community members state that they have turned down a \$30-a-week offer to meet with representatives of Pacific Rim to inform on anti-mining activists (Broad and Cavanagh 2011:28). The result is community tensions where no one feels well. Everyone embodies anxiety leading to illness and feelings of suffering, and most people cannot trust friends they have had for years. One community member explains that now in San Isidro, and other communities one cannot trust people one has trusted in one's entire life (Broad and

Cavanagh 2011:28). He goes on to explain that one of the worst things mining companies have done in the community is to turn everyone against each other (Broad and Cavanagh 2011:28).

Comparable to any other social epidemic, these murders embodied the tensions between structures of power and community members living at the margins, and whose basic rights are violated in the name of progress and development. “Political and structural violence are intricately intertwined in a self-reinforcing system. They are not mutually exclusive” (De Burgos 2012). Therefore, although these deaths are of the crudest violence, their origin is by all accounts structural. As claimed by Farmer (2005:40), “neither culture nor pure individual will is at fault; rather, historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces conspire to constrain individual agency.” Farmer (2005:158) also reminds us that structural violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the fruits of scientific and social progress. Ironically, development advocates repeatedly argue that the fruits of science and social progress are defining features of development. The question, however, remains: progress and development for whom and at what price?

The power asymmetry imbedded in the contradictions between transnational economic interests and local people’s right to life drastically transform local politics and international opinion. Despite its many contradictions, development is still thought by many as primarily generating wealth of countries or regions for the well-being of their inhabitants. In theory, development is seen as the key for reducing or eliminating poverty, social inequality, and unemployment (Escobar 1995). In reality, however, the non-uniformity of progress and development has brought to many parts of the world malnutrition, hunger, disease and an increment of social disparities (Escobar 1995), often resulting in violence and death. People from San Isidro are not randomly opposing progress and development per se, but rather the negative

impact such activities will have on their environment and bodies. These people simply seek to protect their land and livelihood. Here it becomes evident that there is a great contradiction between the profit-making goal of the extractive company and the environment and livelihood of the community it is presumed to help through economic progress and development.

Chapter VI: Canada's role in human suffering

6.1 Creating a discourse

As participants and beneficiaries of the Canadian economy vis-à-vis Latin America we indirectly benefit from the exploitation of mining communities such as San Isidro. Most Canadians are unaware of their contribution to the exploitation of communities abroad through mining because the Canadian government has created the conditions that hide the negative impacts of such enterprises. As a way for Canadian policy to diverge from that of the United States, Pierre Elliot Trudeau introduced his Third Option in 1968 (Rochlin 1994:231). In this context, Canada formed deeper relations with Latin America. As Canadian foreign policy took new directions it became recognized globally as an alternative to US hegemony, and nations in Latin America and around the world welcomed Canada (Rochlin 1994:233). However, in 1984, a new ideology aligned with that of the US emerged with the election of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (Rochlin 1994:233). These policies were in line with the neo-conservative agenda inviting foreign investment, privatization, and strong support for foreign policy (Rochlin 1994:233). In the 1980s, as some Central American countries went through civil wars, Canada became particularly involved in El Salvador. It played a key role supporting “human rights, democracy, socio-economic development and refugee assistance through the country’s most difficult years” (Government of Canada 2012).

Presently, Canadian foreign policy has stepped up the neo-conservative agenda proposed by the Mulroney government. Development projects have particular importance in foreign policy, and national growth. Nevertheless, policies are aimed at promoting growth within Canada’s borders as opposed to assisting community members it claims to help. In this way, structures of dependency are reproduced by these policies and structural violence is exerted upon the

marginalized. Since 2006 when Stephen Harper was elected as Canadian Prime Minister, policies promoting “international development” have been clearly favoured. In November 2007, during his second year of office, the Harper government praised the Canadian extractive industry, claiming that that sector can play a key role in poverty reduction and sustainable development (FAITC 2009). Similarly, Harper’s Minister for International Trade, Ed Fast, began his speech at the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada conference on March 5th 2012, stating that:

The Canadian mining sector and its related industries contributed more than \$35 billion to Canada’s gross domestic product in 2010. These Canadian companies provide high-value jobs to thousands of workers around the world and in Canada (FAITC 2012).

In this way, the government made it its goal to create a competitive business environment for modernity to unfold. The philosophy behind was that by having Canadian investors go abroad, they could stimulate the productivity of communities, and in turn it would help them to help themselves.

6.2 Creating consent through taxation systems

Mining companies have been extremely attracted to Canada to the extent that in 2008 over 75% percent of the world’s mining companies were located in the country (FAITC 2009). These companies accounted for 55% of the extractive sector expenditures worldwide and invested \$60 billion in so called developing countries, including \$41 billion in Latin America (FAITC 2009). The Canadian government has created a competitive international market for extractive companies. It has the lowest corporate tax rates in the G7, thus increasing its global attractiveness as a business destination (Marshall 2012:17). By creating a relatively enticing taxation system Canada has been able to attract foreign investors interested in resource extraction

both locally and abroad. For this reason, the Canadian government has created a two tier (Provincial and Federal) system where corporations are taxed according to the location of activities. If mining activities take place within Canada, they are taxed by both the federal government and the provincial government. In this case, the federal government provides a provincial abatement of 10% (See table #1). If activities are conducted outside the country, the provincial abatement does not apply and all taxes are paid to the federal government. However, what is most appealing to the extractive sector is the mineral exploration tax credit (resource rate reduction) reducing tax payable by 10% (See table #1). Furthermore, since 2009, the Canadian government has reduced the federal tax annually until 2012 when it will remain at 15% (See table #1). The below table is a breakdown of changes in the federal taxation system for mining companies. Note: Table #1 shows 2010 federal tax rate at 18%. Tax rates have decreased to 15% as of 2012.

Table 1: Canadian Corporate Income Tax Rates Applicable to Mining (June 10, 2010)

	Tax Rate %
Federal income tax rate (basic)	38.0
Less provincial abatement	-10.0
Rate after abatement	28.0
Less Resource rate reduction	-10.0
Federal income tax rate applicable to mining	18.0

Resource Tax Rates effective after Dec 31, 2008

From	To	Effective
19.5	19	January 1, 2009
19	18	January 1, 2010
18	16.5	January 1, 2011
16.5	15	January 1, 2012

(Natural Resources Canada 2011)

In 2011, the Canadian government received a combined total of about \$9 billion in revenue directly from mining corporations (Marshall 2012:16). About \$3.9 billion dollars was paid in royalties, \$3.2 billion in corporate income tax, and \$1.9 billion in personal income tax (Marshall 2012:16). In total, about 40% of this amount went directly to the federal government, and 60% went to the provincial and territorial governments (Marshall 2012:16). The table below shows how the taxes were divided. Note: Table #2 shows 2010 federal tax rate at 18%. Tax rates have decreased to 15% as noted in table 1.

Table 2: Corporate Income Tax Rates (June 10, 2010)

Province/Territory	Net federal tax rate on resource income %	Prov./Terr. Statutory Income Tax Rate %	Resource Allowance Reduction %	Net Provincial Tax Rate on Resource Income %	Net Combined Fed./Prov./Terr. Income Tax Rate %
Alberta	18.0	10.0	-	10.0	28.0
British Columbia (BC1)	"	10.5	-	10.5	28.5
Manitoba	"	12.0	-	12.0	30.0
New Brunswick	"	11.5	-	11.5	29.5
Newfoundland and Labrador	"	14.0	-	14.0	32.0
Nova Scotia	"	16.0	-	16.0	34.0
Ontario	"	11.0	-2.75	8.25	26.25
Prince Edward Island	"	16.0		16.0	34.0
Quebec	"	11.9		11.9	29.9
Saskatchewan	"	10.0	-	10.0	28.0
Northwest Territories	"	11.5	-	11.5	29.5
Nunavut	"	12.0	-	12.0	30.0
Yukon	"	15.0	-	15.0	33.0

BC1: Planned provincial income tax rates are 10.5% effective January 1, 2010 and 10% effective January 1, 2011, respectively.

(Natural Resources Canada 2011)

The main proponents of the tax incentive system have been Prime Minister Harper and Minister for International Trade Ed Fast. By creating a tax system that favours capital over human well-being associated with the negative impact of mining, I argue that the Canadian government is at the root cause of poor health, suffering, pain, and the recent political murder of people in San Isidro. Conveniently, the negative effects of this industry are forgotten as socially constructed discourses of development permeate into civil society. Through high profile government representatives and the general media favouring the extractive industry a discourse on the potential benefits of mining is created. Framed as development, mining becomes associated with benefits around economic output, job creation, and commitments around corporate social responsibility. Generally, Canadians are convinced by what they hear on television and rarely challenge those assumptions. Without hesitation many people overlook the potential harms being caused to populations where mining projects occur and take what they hear from the media as the absolute truth. Noam Chomsky refers to this as “securing consent” or “consent without consent” (Chomsky 1999:51). According to Chomsky, the idea of securing consent is based on how the common people are not represented by themselves, but instead, they are represented by corporations and structures devised to protect and support their own interest (Chomsky 1999:46). In this way, hegemonic control (Gramsci 1971) prevents people from challenging the assumption embedded in the organization of society that favours profit over human well-being.

6.3 Development agencies conspiracy

Much of the revenue the Canadian Government and shareholders receive from the extractive sector comes directly at the expense of the health, land and life of people living in

places like San Isidro, in “developing” nations illusively benefiting of mining projects. However, to facilitate mining projects, the Canadian government has also been able to legitimize its devastating environmental policies through so called developmental agencies. One of these is the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). A report by Beverley J. Oda the Minister of International Cooperation argued that:

CIDA remains committed to helping developing countries achieve prosperity by growing their economies and building new opportunities for their citizens through its Sustainable Economic Growth Strategy focusing on: building economic foundations, growing businesses, and investing in people through vocational training...it will also strengthen business and investment climates by, for example, helping build the legal and financial frameworks of partner countries that enable a competitive business environment and enhance access to economic opportunities; improving trade facilitation, economic integration and infrastructure; encouraging responsible investment in extractive sectors; and fostering better and more sustainable economic planning (Oda 2012: 9).

In favour of neo-liberal policies these strategies have permeated the Canadian government and all aspects of its aid industry. This report does not just connect Canadian aid to mining interests; it restructures CIDA to better serve the interests of large corporations. This new repertoire of activities subsidizes the obligations of mining corporations to provide them benefits to extract from foreign countries.

In 2011 CIDA in partnership with the private sector implemented policies arguing that natural “resources can contribute to poverty reduction in many of these countries and improve the standard of living for their populations” (CIDA 2011). These policies resulted in project implementations in partnership with NGOs and the mining industries (CIDA 2011). CIDA then became one of the main mining proponents supporting Canada’s CSR strategy for the Canadian extractive sector (CIDA 2011). The announcement represented a total contribution of \$26.7 million by CIDA for mining corporations (CIDA 2011). As Mining Watch Canada suggests, CIDA is using taxpayer dollars to subsidize the world’s wealthiest mining companies (Coumans

2011:30). With CIDA contributing taxpayer dollars to mining corporations it has now become a process that involves all Canadians in unknowingly promoting the exploitation and suffering of human beings where these mining projects take place, including El Salvador. It is evident that in some respects CIDA's development agenda can be seen as guided by profit. To cite one example, in 2008, exports of oil and minerals from Africa, Asia, Central and South America were worth about \$1,189 billion" (CIDA 2012B). This is more than nine times the value (\$128.6 billion) used to fund development projects in developing countries (CIDA 2012B). In short, the Canadian government development projects are only investments intended to generate revenue at the expense of people's land and lives these projects are in principle supposed to help.

Instead of being concerned with the ultimate causes of human suffering, Canadian companies seek to limit responsibility by implementing policies such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) designed to conceal the negative effects of the exploitative and environmentally destructive industry. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada representatives claim that "due to Canada's high level of credibility and legal-judicial expertise in both civil and common law systems, CIDA programming in legal and judicial reform has been steadily growing" (FAITC 2009). Therefore, the credibility of Canadian institutions has guided the Canadian government and private Canadian companies to the creation of a practice called the "Canadian Advantage", a CSR strategy for the Canadian international extractive sector to help guide the performance of Canadian companies abroad (FAITC 2012). CIDA claims to play an important role "in assisting developing countries move from dependency to self-reliance" (FAITC 2009). They try to legitimize the industry as one that changes the structures of dependency by "building and modernizing the governance regimes to ensure that natural resources are managed in a technically and environmentally sound manner" (FAITC 2009).

However, it is clearly visible that structures of dependency are simply reproduced in the world system. Canada as the core continues to exploit and extract profits from El Salvador as the periphery. Poor implementation of CSR strategies serves only as a way to legitimize the practices and policies of the Canadian government, development institutions and extractive companies.

In October of 2011, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced the creation of the “Canadian International Institute for Extractive Industries and Development.” Minister of international cooperation Julian Fantino argued that:

The new institute will build on Canadian leadership in the management of natural resources in developing countries, which is critically important for sustainable economic growth... The University of British Columbia, leading the coalition, will now establish and operate a world-class institute that will deliver knowledge on proven regulation and oversight to help resource-rich developing countries create jobs and economic growth (CIDA 2012C).

In theory, this institute would “build” on “Canada’s leadership in the mining sector to support and build natural resource management capacity in developing countries” (FAITC 2012). However, the vision of the program is limited to the “stimulation of sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction in developing countries [sic] by improving their respective abilities to use and to benefit from their extractive industry sectors” (UBC 2013). This program will only serve as another structure that empowers the discourse of natural resource extraction as a way to material progress and modern society. In order to further legitimize the production of knowledge and adequate responsibility of extractive companies CIDA granted the University of British Columbia (UBC), Simon Fraser University (SFU), and the *Ecole Polytechnique de Montreal* (EPDM) a \$25 million grant on November 23, 2012. The purpose of which was “to help developing countries benefit from their natural resources in environmentally and socially responsible ways” (Lin 2012). I speculate that the selection of UBC and SFU to operate the

Institute was based on the fact that “Canadian companies, many headquartered in Vancouver, B.C, dominate the world’s mineral exploration” (Lin 2012). The close proximity would allow for better communication between the two parties, and with two world renowned universities advocating for the extractive industry any doubts on the negative effects of mineral exploration would be put to rest. This connection may also be tied to how UBC is already investing heavily in the oil industry (UBC endowment 2012) and they have one of the world’s most renowned mining engineering programs (UBC 2013).

6.4 Ethics, investments and greed

The Canadian government further supports the extractive sectors by investing the Canadian pension plan into public and private equities. These equities make up about 49.7 per cent, or \$84.6 billion, of the investment portfolio (CPP Investment Board 2013). The Canadian Pension Plan invests its holdings into over 40 Canadian gold mining companies, and over 70 Canadian companies involved in the extractive sector. These companies include Gold Corp, operating Marlin Mine, a notorious project abusing indigenous rights in Guatemala. Gold Corp is also involved in the Cerro Blanco project in Guatemala. This project also threatens to contaminate the Lempa River shared by Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador (Valladares 2010). In their 2009 report, Pacific Rim claimed that its total assets were valued at \$8.2 million in 2009 (Pacific Rim 2009). Since Pacific Rim’s stock dropped 30% (Collins 2009:256) when the Salvadorean federal government revoked their mining permit, the CPP and the Canadian government has strategically avoided further investments with the company. It is abundantly clear that the true purpose of Pacific Rim is to generate a profit for its shareholders, and not to provide a better standard of living for mining communities. Why doesn’t the Canadian

government invest this money in a sustainable activity that promotes human well-being instead of in historically exploitative activities that destroys the lives of the people it is designed to assist? Even though the Canadian government defines gold mining as development, an important question remains development for whom? If only 3% of the profit stays in El Salvador, and the remaining 97% leaves, it is clear that most of the benefit is for Canada, not El Salvador. This is the case, of course, without mentioning the consequences of health, environmental degradation, and the lives of people.

Without much government intervention, and lack of awareness from civil society, mining corporations thrive and produce the greatest possible profit for their shareholders, pension plan beneficiaries, the Canadian government, and the general Canadian public through tax redistribution. Canada's role in extractive sector investments is not simply driven by genuine concern for development; it is also motivated by the large amounts of profit it receives from that sector.

6.5 Bill C-300 and C-323

Currently, Canadian laws enhance investors rights domestically and abroad. These laws let corporations go into a foreign country to extract precious metals and leave the country without responsibility for any of the adverse effect of their operation. In this regard, Canadian laws do not address environmental and human rights abuses committed by Canadian corporations in other countries, including El Salvador. For this reason, there have been attempts by some politicians to pass bills which would hold corporations responsible in foreign jurisdictions. In 2010, Member of Parliament (MP) John McKay introduced Bill C-300 into the House of Commons. This bill was introduced as “an act respecting Corporate Accountability of

Mining, Oil and Gas Corporations in Developing Countries.” Bill C-300 would give the Canadian government power to investigate complaints against extractive companies operating abroad, and most importantly withhold government funds from any company declared to be offending (Hill 2010).

The purpose of this Act was to ensure that corporations engaged in mining, oil or gas activities and receiving support from the Government of Canada act in a manner consistent with international environmental best practices and with Canada’s commitments to international human rights standards (Bill C-300 2009).

Unfortunately, on October 27th, 2010 Bill C-300 was defeated in a vote of 140 to 134 in the Canadian House of Commons. Members of Parliament aligned with the ruling Conservative party voted against the legislation in the second reading, while opposing bloc Quebecois, liberal and NDP party members voted yes to the bill (Open Parliament 2010). Speculations about the defeat of Bill C-300 have occurred because the mining industry argued that if the Bill passed into law, many would leave Canada and settle their operations elsewhere (Hill 2010). The main concern for mining corporations was that foreign complaints could be abused by competitors, as well by foreign governments to withhold or withdraw permits (Hill 2010). But as clearly argued by MP John McKay the law would have simply prevented public funding, including Export Development Canada and the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board, from funding or investing in companies found guilty of environmental or human rights offences.

A new hope for making the extractive sector accountable came on October 5th, 2011, when Bill C-323 was proposed by NDP MP Peter Julian. This new bill is supposed to take mining sector accountability one step further by allowing foreign victims of corporate abuses to sue in Canadian courts. According to parliamentary readings,

The bill calls for extending the authority of the Federal Court system to protect foreign citizens against a broad range of human rights violations committed by Canadian and non-Canadian corporations and persons operating outside Canada. It would allow lawsuits in Canada for a host of universal human rights violations, such as genocide and torture, as well as activities that significantly destroy the environment or violate key international labour rights (Open Parliament 2011).

The bill itself would apply directly to the case of Pacific Rim in San Isidro. As human rights abuses, murders, and environmental degradation is taking place. Essentially, Canada's judicial system would protect foreigners from Canadian corporations negatively affecting their health and causing suffering by ensuring that the court system responds to the needs of these people directly. Since its introduction last year, the bill has not progressed beyond first reading. It is an innovative bill that could potentially change the way Canadian corporations conduct business abroad and bring justice to the victims of development. However, it is important to recognize that once again hidden interests could undermine the bill and make it difficult for it to pass into law. It is generally known that private members bills never pass, but this is an important one that essentially involves every Canadian. If passed, however, we must make sure the law does help foreign individuals instead of having it as a disguise that covers and protects irresponsible Canadian companies and irresponsible investing in general.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

The idea of development is still seen by many as an inherently benevolent, necessary, and desirable human activity, at a closer examination, its praxis has shown to be quite the opposite (Baer *et al* 2003; Escobar 1995; Farmer 2005; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Scheper-Hughes 1993). As a social construction, development has been and continues to be predicated on a model of progress that benefits the elite groups in detriment of those that have been historically marginalized (Escobar 1995; Frank 1969; Wallerstein 1979). As the San Isidro mining project shows, development is usually based on the tensions between a conceptual North/South, core/periphery, or metropolis/satellite power dichotomy. Furthermore, it is legitimized through a discourse that highlights its presumed benefits, while hiding its negative consequences. The mining project El Dorado in San Isidro, supported by many and opposed by others, reproduces in a micro way the same asymmetry of power and tensions inherent in the “world system” (Wallerstein 1979). To some people in San Isidro, mining is seen as a way of developing their community because development gradually became a coherent discourse through professional practices, technologies, and narratives of a better future (De Burgos 2013). By means of enticing ideas of progress for everyone, neo-colonial practices continue to politically and economically dominate peripheral countries through development projects (Escobar 1995). When our understanding of Pacific Rim’s mining projects focuses mainly on its economic benefits—job creation, infrastructure building, market growth, shareholder profits, gross domestic product, income per capita—its insidious effects on human health and environmental degradation are dangerously ignored.

Undoubtedly, most Canadians who invest in, or support, mining projects overseas are not fully aware of the detrimental consequences that some of these enterprises have on the lands and

people they claim to develop. In Canada, development projects have and can take many forms. They can be reified in the form of foreign aid, like CIDA projects, international investments funnelled through institutions that include the CPP, or economic ventures like Pacific Rim mining company. However, it seems to me that there is something fundamentally wrong with the idea and praxis of economic development when implementing it results in environmental degradation, human suffering, and even death. The economic interest of corporations and their shareholders is not worth more than the life of a single human being. Nevertheless, while Pacific Rim is unscrupulously searching for gold, neighbouring communities of El Dorado are suffering the contaminating consequences of its exploration and proposed mine, and the social impact of a divided community. Disputes between international investors, local representatives and community members defending their land and health have already cost human lives in San Isidro. Furthermore, if the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), from the World Bank, is able to reinstate the permit for Pacific Rim to continue its gold exploration, more lives will be claimed through political murders and contamination of the environment. Many people in San Isidro and El Salvador in general fear that further expansion of El Dorado will culminate in contaminating the Lempa River, the largest and most important river in the country.

Imposing economic development through the extraction of natural resources in order to feed the greed not the needs of human beings riskily places some humans as more important than others. Since the utilitarian value of gold is only 10% in technologies and other products that we actually use, one wonders what the real necessity for gold is. Therefore, I have argued following with Gardner and Lewis (1993: 63) that when implemented from a top down approach development policies and projects do not succeed because they do not understand the traditional ways of life, knowledge, and needs of the local communities. Hence, current development

models only serve the interests of the dominant groups, allowing them to achieve their goals at any costs, including human health, suffering and life. Mining disguised as development is particularly entrenched in deep contradictions where the health and well-being of people are not the main concerns. Some of the physical and social pathologies in San Isidro cannot be understood separate from the wider local and international economic structures that serve the best interest of the people in power. The relationship between economic and political structuring and its impact on human health and lives is what Farmer (2005) refers to as structural violence. They are imbedded in the organization of society and dictate what populations that will be at the highest risk of disease and illness. The Canadian government as part of the core vs. peripheries fosters this structural violence for its interest in gold, wealth and profits impacts the health and lives of people in El Salvador. The Canadian government has promoted the extractive sector to grow at an unprecedented rate. This will certainly help the Canadian economy develop, but it will proportionally further impoverish the people and the land from which the gold is extracted.

Conscious of human rights abuses resulting from irresponsible mining practices, some Canadians have attempted to make the extractive sector accountable by creating laws to punish those that harm the environment and human well-being. However, it is yet to be seen if this law will pass and accomplish what it is set to do or will just be another structure that facilitates mining and hides its catastrophic consequences. Since all extractive activities destructively alter the environment, the extractive sector as a source of development cannot claim to be a path to health and well-being for people in so called developing countries. There is no green mining or benevolent development, unless people and their communities are put first and allowed to participate in projects of their own design (Chambers in Gardner & Lewis 1996: 63). Only by giving voice to the people of San Isidro facing the adverse effects of mining can the structures of

violence inherent in the way the extractive sector currently operates be dismantled. Until then, mining and development projects will continue to be imposed on people as part of a globalized form of structural violence that parallel to bringing material wealth to a few, brings illness, suffering and death to many in the name of progress and modernity.

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Appendices

Appendix A

The first column represents changes in policies that impact how mining is conducted. The second column gives a full citation of the document analyzed through Critical Discourse Analysis. The third column briefly discusses the main focus of the document. Methodologically I divided the documents into three themes: 1) Mining and Development, 2) Environment, 3) Human rights and health. (*) Marks key changes in Canadian mining policies.

Timeline of Canadian mining policies.	Reference	Main focus of the Article/Book	Theme		
			Mining and Development	Environment	Human Rights and Health
2000 Introduction of the US Dollar as legal currency of El Salvador.	Kovak, Carl. 2000 Cyanide spill threatens health in Hungary. BMJ 320.	Examines the contaminating effects of a cyanide spill at a Romanian gold mine. Focuses on the effects on the Tisza river shared by Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and Serbia.		150 tonnes of dead fish. Contaminated drinking water.	
*Canadian government investing in mining through CPP 2002 Pacific Rim acquires exploration license.	Borneman, James. 2002 El Salvador Means Business. Textile World 152(11): 52-56.	Discusses the role of the government to open up El Salvador for foreign investment. It describes these strategies as pro-development policies.	Free trade zones. Reduced Taxes. Increased foreign investment. Increased employment= Higher standard of living.		
2002 Gold prices begin to rise quickly. \$309.73 per ounce.	Cranstone, Donald. 2002 A History of Mining and Mineral Exploration in Canada and Outlook for the Future. Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.	Covers the changing role of the extractive sector in Canada. In particular how natural resource extraction can lead to economic benefits for the country.	Gold, Steel, Petroleum, Sulphur Production = economic development for Canada		
2002 World Bank lends \$24.05 million for modernization program.	World Bank. 2002 El Salvador Country Assistance Evaluation. Operations Evaluation Department. < http://www.oecd.org/countries/elsalvador/35294163.pdf >	This article looks at world bank funding from 1989-2002. In particular it looks at structural adjustment programs and the role of the government to set up a business climate for “development.”	Implementing Neo-liberal policies= more funding from the world bank. More funding from the world bank = more power to mining companies.		
2006 Antonio Saca	Towers, Marcia and	Discusses the negative			Dollar gives

becomes President of El Salvador. 2006 CAFTA is signed.	Borzutzky, Silvia. 2004 The Socioeconomic Implications of Dollarization in El Salvador. <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i> 46(3): 29-54	implications of dollarizing the Salvadorean Economy. The article looks at the consequences for the impoverished populations that now struggle to purchase the basic necessities they need to survive.			investors and banks rights, but makes it difficult for farmers. Results in poor health and abuse of human rights.
*2006 Prime minister Stephen Harper takes office. Policies change to promote mining as development.	Romero, Jose Roberto and Mendez, Antonio 2007 Doing Business in El Salvador. <i>Romero Pineda & Asociados</i> 9: 245-252	This article explains how El Salvador has constructed policies to attract foreign capital.	CAFTA= more investment Investment= development		
2006 Commerce Group Cyanide spill. Disastrous in El Salvador.	Werniuk, George 2007 Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada: 75 years of industry support. <i>Canadian Mining Journal</i> 128(2):23-25.	Discusses the history of the PDAC. How it began in Canada and now is more concerned with mining project abroad.	Mining as a source of economic development.		
2006 Pacific Rim applies for exploitation permit.	Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. 2007 Deep and Ragged Scars in Guatemala. <i>Peace Review</i> 19(1):51-58.	Explains the human rights abuses of gold mining in San Marcos Guatemala			Structural violence on Mayan populations since colonial times
2008 Mining is banned in El Salvador. One year before elections.	Sagebien, Julia., Lindsay, Nicole., Campbell, Peter., Cameron, Rob and Smith, Naomi. 2008 The Corporate Social Responsibility of Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America: a System Perspective. <i>Canadian Foreign Policy</i> 14(3):103-151.	Authors argue that CSR has both positive and negative impacts, but should not take the role of the government. They suggest that CSR cannot transform systemic and political structures in which inequalities appear.	CSR hides the negative environmental and health implications of mining companies. It serves as a structure that creates an alternative discourse.		
2009 Pacific Rim sues El Salvador.	Lazăr, Maria and Dumitrescu, Ioan. 2009 Mining in the context of sustainable development. <i>Mining Revue</i> 15(10): 12-16.	Authors argue that mining is necessary to develop modern society. Their motto is “everything is nothing without mining.”	Mining is safe with modern technologies. Mining is necessary to development.		
Harper government announces job creation plan.	PacificRim 2009B Mitos y Hechos < http://www.pacificrime.lsalvador.com/s/Mitos_y_Realidades.asp >	In this article Pacific Rim argues about myths and facts. They try to explain “reality” and clear false statements.	2% royalties. 25% tax on profit only. Mining as economic development.		

<p>*Canadian government reduces Taxes.</p> <p>19.5% to 19% in 2009</p>	<p>Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (FAITC). 2009 Corporate Social Responsibility: Building the Canadian Advantage: A Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Strategy for the Canadian International Extractive Sector.</p> <p><http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/ds/csr-strategy-rse-strategie.aspx?view=d></p>	<p>This article suggests that the Canadian mining industry contributes to Canada's prosperity. It also looks for investments in developing countries, and helps them develop. The Canadian government has been at the forefront of CSR making sure all their mining companies are environmentally friendly and ethically accountable.</p>	<p>Mining = prosperity for Canada and developing countries.</p> <p>Canada contributes to CSR to ensure all companies are accountable for their actions.</p>		
<p>Canadian government announces CSR projects.</p>	<p>Pacific Rim 2009 Consolidated Financial Statements.</p> <p><http://www.pacrimmining.com/i/pdf/PAC_RIM_30_April%202009_FS.pdf></p>	<p>This document presents Pacific Rim's financial statements. The mining companies stocks have fallen significantly since El Salvador banned mining.</p>	<p>In their 2009 report, Pacific Rim claimed that its total assets were valued at \$8.2 million in 2009.</p>		
<p>2009 Canadian Bill C300 is proposed</p> <p>2009 Bill C300 passes its first reading.</p>	<p>Bill C-300. 2009 An Act respecting corporate accountability for the activities of mining, oil or Gas in Developing Countries. <i>House of Commons Canada</i>. Second session, Fortieth Parliament.</p>	<p>This is a Bill presented into the Canadian house of commons that tries to limit the power held by mining corporations abroad. It is designed to remove government funding from these companies.</p>			<p>Acknowledges that mining abuses human rights. Limits Canadian governments role in the extractive industry.</p>
<p>2009 First mining related murders in El Salvador.</p>	<p>Open Parliament 2009 Vote #50 on April 22nd, 2009, on Bill C-300 An Act respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries.</p> <p><http://openparliament.ca/bills/votes/40-2/50/></p>	<p>Demonstrates that Canadian politicians agree that mining companies are abusing human rights. This is the record of a vote and speech that passed Bill C-300 as noted above.</p>			<p>137 votes for yes. 133 for no. The bill passed the first reading.</p>
<p>2009 Mauricio Funes (FMLN) becomes president continues ban on mining.</p>	<p>Yagenova, Simona and Garcia, Roció. 2009 Indigenous People's Struggles Against Transnational Mining Companies in Guatemala: The Sipakapa People vs Gold Corp Mining Company. <i>Socialism and democracy</i> 23(3):157-166</p>	<p>Article looks at the negative effects of mining in Guatemala. Environmental implications, neoliberal policies, and structural violence are particularly evident. The Guatemalan Government and Mining companies have violated international indigenous rights.</p>			<p>Mining companies = Structural violence and violation of Mayan indigenous rights.</p>

2010 Canadian Bill C300 is voted down by conservative government.	Hill, Liezel. 2010 Canadian lawmakers vote down controversial Bill C-300. <i>Mining Weekly</i> . < http://www.miningweekly.com/article/canadian-mps-vote-against-bill-c-300-2010-10-28 >	Article discusses how the Canadian government voted down proposed bill C-300. They demonstrate that the fear of loosing mining companies from Canada outweighs the abuse of human rights abroad.			Fear of loosing the income of mining companies in Canada outweighs the abuse of human rights abroad.
Canadian government reduces Taxes. 19% to 18% in 2010	Pacific Rim 2010A Social and Environmental Responsibility. < http://www.pacrimmining.com/s/ESResponsibility.asp >	Tries to demonstrate the transparency of mining companies. They argue that they will provide economic development and only temporarily use the land.	Development through: Jobs, health, taxes, scholarships, education, housing and infrastructure.		
*Canadian Government encourages mining as development through CIDA.	PacificRim 2010B El Dorado, El Salvador. < http://www.pacrimmining.com/s/ES_Eldorado.asp >	This page gives an overview of the El Dorado Project in San Isidro. It declares that the project is safe and wanted in El Salvador.	Mining is safe They have a right to mine, and will take their rights to the world bank.		
CIDA promotes job development through mining	Scheffey, Krista. 2010 Pacific Rim v. El Salvador and the Perils of Free Trade in the Americas. <i>Council on Hemispheric Affairs</i> 30(15):3-5.	Discusses the legal arbitration by Pacific Rim. Suggests that mining will harm the environment. CAFTA is then a law that limits the country's sovereignty.			CAFTA is a form of structural violence that privileges profit over human health.
New global approach to cyanide management introduced internationally	Akcil, Ata. 2010 A New Global Approach of Cyanide Management: International Cyanide Management Code for the Manufacture, Transport, and Use of Cyanide in the Production of Gold. <i>Mineral Processing & Extractive Metallurgy Review</i> 31(3): 135-149.	This article looks at the new cyanide code that Pacific Rim claims it will be a part of. The code presents many solutions to proper management of cyanide. It concludes that modern science and technology make cyanide use safe in the environment. Therefore mining can lead to development.	Material progress can be best achieved by applying modern science and technology. Cyanide can be safely managed by mining corporations and therefore result in development.		
2010 Canadian Bill C-300 is voted down in parliament.	Open Parliament 2010 Vote #125 on October 27 th , 2010, on Bill C-300An Act respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries. < http://openparliament.ca/bills/votes/40-3/125/ >	This parliamentary document presents the results of the second vote from Bill C-300. The results indicate 134 to 140. It is clear that the conservative government of Prime Minister Harper is opposed to putting pressure on the extractive industry.	Mining can positively contribute to the Canadian economy. Conservatives fear a large exodus of mining companies if this bill is passed.		

2010 Canada funds \$16 million through UN for development projects in El Salvador.	Front Line Defenders (FDL) 2010 El Salvador: Killing of human rights defenders Mr Ramiro Rivera and Ms Alicia Recinos Sorto, and death threats against the staff of community radio station. < http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/node/2316 >	This article clearly outlines the murders that have taken place in Cabañas. The murders have been clearly started once mining companies arrived in Cabañas. Although it may not be the mining company murdering people, the tensions are definitely brought about by them.			The murders in Cabañas are associated with the world system. Mining companies are directly involved in the exploitation process.
	Macdonald, Alexander. 2010 Mining and me. <i>The Presbyterian Record</i> 134(17).	Critics the intentions of Pacific Rim. Discusses how they will sue under CAFTA.		Mine will result in contamination	CAFTA protects investors.
2010 Commerce group sues El Salvador under CAFTA.	Zucker, Gabriel. 2010 El Salvador: Mining the Resistance. <i>Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine</i> 62(2): 40-50.	This paper describes the conflicts at the El Dorado mine. Murders, pollution, politics, and legal repercussions. It goes in depth to describe how murders have been depoliticized. It also shows that the government is at fault for the murders taking place. It argues that mining is not beneficial to San Isidro.		Cyanide will contaminate the Lempa river. Has already resulted in dead livestock.	Already 3 murders. And tensions are rising politically. Government depoliticizes murders. Model fits into the world system approach.
2011 ARENA wins legislative elections in El Salvador. They control what laws are passed, taxes, and budgets.	Valladares, Danilo. 2010 Guatemala-El Salvador: Cross Border Opposition to Mine. <i>Inter Press Service News Agency: Journalism and communication for global change</i> . < http://www.ipsnews.net/2010/04/guatemala-el-salvador-cross-border-opposition-to-mine/ >	This article analyses the Cerro Blanco in Guatemala. It shows that although El Salvador has banned mining, Guatemala has not. Therefore, contamination of the Lempa river could occur from the Guatemalan side of the river. This could be disastrous for central America.		The Lempa river will be contaminated by the Cerro Blanco Gold mine. Right wing governments of Guatemala continue to exploit their people through the world system.	
Canadian government reduces Taxes. 18% to 16% in 2011	Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). 2011 Minister Oda announces initiatives to increase the benefits of natural resource management for people in Africa and South America. < http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida >	Minister Oda presents the argument that the best way to develop impoverished a community of the periphery is to use their natural resources. Therefore, CIDA and the Canadian government have committed to fund development projects inline with this approach.	The best way for a peripheral nation to develop is to use their natural resources. CIDA will now fund mining companies. Canadian		

	cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/CAR-929105317-KGD>	By facilitating mining, material progress can be best achieved.	government will use taxpayer money to fund CIDA.		
* UBC and SFU to open up CSR school in 2011	Coumans, Catherine. 2011 CIDA Subsidizes Mining's Social Responsibility Projects. Mining watch Canada. < http://www.miningwatch.ca/news/cida-subsidizes-mining-social-responsibility-projects >	This article critiques CIDA and the Canadian government. They argue that development cannot be achieved through exploitation of natural resources. Development is only an excuse to exploit the people of San Isidro.			The Canadian government and CIDA create a discourse of mining as development. It hides negative consequences.
	Natural Resources Canada. 2011 Tables on the Structure and Rates of Main Taxes. < http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/minerals-metals/business-market/mining-taxation-regime/3540 >	This document explains the Canadian taxation system for the extractive sector. It presents the changes that have taken place since 2009. The Canadian government has drastically reduced mining taxes.	The best way to assure mining companies stay in Canada is to reduce taxes. 2009=19.5% 2012=15%		
2011 Bill C323 is introduced into the Canadian house of Commons.	Bill C-323. 2011 An Act to amend the Federal Courts Act (international promotion and protection of human rights). <i>House of Commons Canada</i> . First session, Forty-first Parliament.	Bill proposed into the house of commons to allow any foreign person to sue Canadian companies for the abuse of human rights and environmental disasters. Not yet seen if this bill will progress any further.			There is acknowledgement by Canadian politicians that mining corporations are abusing human rights.
*2011 Stephen Harper re-elected Prime Minister.	Open Parliament 2011 Federal Courts Act Routine Proceedings. Bill C-323, an Act to amend the Federal Courts Act (international promotion and protection of human rights). < http://openparliament.ca/bills/41-1/C-323/ >	Speech by MP Peter Julian stating that companies are abusing foreign people's rights. It is the responsibility of the Canadian government to hold those companies accountable. They can do this by allowing international voices to be heard in Canadian courts.			Confirms that politicians are aware of violence caused by mining companies operating abroad.
2011 Canada lends \$700,000 through CIDA.	Zaunbrecher, Katie. 2011 Pac Rim Cayman v. Republic of El Salvador: Confronting Free Trade's Chilling Effect on Environmental Progress in Latin America. <i>Houston Journal of International Law</i> 33(2): 489-502.	This article discusses the CAFTA as a tool for continued domination of the south by the north. CAFTA gives more rights to foreign investors than it does the country it is supposed to economically develop.			Structural violence through the CAFTA. Limits the agency of government and citizens.

	<p>Mining Watch Canada 2011A Urgent Action: Denounce recent wave of death threats and crimes against El Salvadoran anti-mining movement.</p> <p><http://www.miningwatch.ca/get-involved/urgent-action-denounce-recent-wave-death-threats-and-crimes-against-el-salvadoran-anti></p>	<p>This article discusses the growing number of death threats experienced by Radio Victoria. A community based radio station in San Isidro. It also discusses that the “intellectual authors” behind the death threats and murders have yet to be identified, but it is obvious who these people might be.</p>			<p>Demonstrates the human suffering of people. Shows how suffering cannot be reduced to simply mining in the environment but the tensions it brings.</p>
	<p>Mining Watch 2011B Murder in El Salvador calls Canadian mining into question.</p> <p><http://www.miningwatch.ca/news/murder-el-salvador-calls-canadian-mining-interests-question></p>	<p>This article examines the murder of Juan Francisco Duran Ayala. It links the murder directly to the mining companies because the day before he went missing he was hanging poster for anti-mining workshops.</p>			<p>Links the murders of San Isidro to the wider context of the world system. The murders are a result between the struggle for profit vs. the struggle for well-being and life.</p>
<p>*2012 Canadian Federal Tax is reduced to 15%.</p>	<p>CIDA. 2012A United Nations General Assembly side-event on responsible extractive sector development.</p> <p><http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/acdi-cida.nsf/eng/NAT-1015153450-QYB></p>	<p>This document argues that Canada is trying to find the best possible way to advance responsible natural resource development. They claim that transparency and partnerships with developing countries solve these problems.</p>	<p>Directly frames mining as responsible development. Canada’s economic strength is a result of mining. Therefore others can be like Canada if they mine.</p>		
<p>*CIDA to support mining companies in development endeavors.</p>	<p>CIDA. 2012B Natural Resources Management: CIDA’s leadership in natural resources management: Creating jobs and opportunities in developing countries.</p> <p><http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/FRA-102311492-LK7></p>	<p>The main argument is that Canada’s extractive sector is creating jobs and opportunities in developing countries. The Canadian government through CIDA promises transparent, responsible resource extraction. CIDA also claims that it uses new and innovative resource extraction methods and will ultimately result in development.</p>	<p>Mining reduces poverty. Creates jobs. Responsible Build governance Grows business Invests in people Allows communities to maximize benefits. (ECONOMIC TERMS)</p>		

Foreign affairs and international trade minister claims that mining creates high value jobs	FAITC. 2012 Canada's World-Class Mining Sector Creates Jobs and Growth and Shows the Benefits of Trade, Says International Trade Minister.< http://www.international.gc.ca/media_commmerce/comm/newscommuniques/2012/02/05a.aspx?lang=eng&view=d >	Directly indicates that Canada's world-class mining sector creates job and trade. The document links this to the role of the Government in promoting policies for them to operate. The Canadian government is also heavily involved in the new CSR programs that will begin at UBC and SFU in 2011.	Shows that the federal government is only interested in expanding operations. They hide the negative consequences of mining through CSR programs. Present mining as development, creating jobs.		
	Gold Corp 2012 Cerro Blanco-Overview & Development Highlights. < http://www.goldcorp.com/English/Unrivalled-Assets/Mines-and-Projects/Central-and-South-America/Development-Projects/Cerro-Blanco/Overview-and-Development-Highlights/default.aspx >	This site gives an overview of the Cerro Blanco gold mine in Guatemala. It explains the geothermal process that the mine will use and identifies it as safe. It also explains that the mine will use natural power to operate the mine and dump the water into a nearby river, after the process of contamination.		Tries to simplify the process of contamination of the river. Does not say that the mine will dump into the Lake attached to the Lempa river. This could contaminate Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.	
	Government of Canada. 2012 Canada-El Salvador Relations. < http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/el_salvador/rsalvador/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/canada_el_salvador.aspx?view=d >	This government document shows the amount of bi-lateral assistance from the Canadian government to the Salvadorean government. It does not demonstrate what the conditions of lending were.	Tries to show Canada as benevolent country lending money because they care. However, it does not show the agenda behind lending money.		
Mining companies continue to claim a violation of investors rights by the Salvadorean government and support development.	<i>High Stakes Poker</i> . 2012 Documentary Directed by Karin Wells. CBC radio one. < http://www.cbc.ca/player/Radio/The+Sunday+Edition/Full+Episodes/ID/2305660129/ >	This documentary tries to give a two sided argument of the El Dorado mine. On one hand, Pacific Rim's investor rights are being threatened. On the other hand, community rights are not being listened to.	El Salvador is the bad party, because they have unlawfully taken away exploitation permits from mines that have invested millions of dollars.	Mine will destroy the environment, including the Lempa River. The signs of contamination have already been seen.	The murders in San Isidro are a direct result of tensions brought by Pacific Rim.

	International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2012 IMF Stand-By Arrangement. < http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/sba.htm >	Document shows that no lending is done without an external interest. It directly explains how the Salvadorean government was put under IMF pressure.	Borrow = development. Only in line with that of the western world.		
UBC, SFU to support CIDA's CSR by building \$25 million dollar institute.	Lin, Brian. 2012 UBC, SFU to further global sustainable mining practices through \$25M Institute. < http://www.publicaffairs.ubc.ca/2012/11/23/ubc-sfu-to-further-global-sustainable-mining-practices-through-25m-institute/ >	Shows how the university has become a legitimizing agent and producer of knowledge for the Canadian government. If they approve CSR projects and procedures they must work.	Mining will be safe as long as the CSR procedures outlined by the university are followed. Legitimizing procedure.		
2012 Canada has lowest taxes of G7.	Marshall, Brendan 2012 Facts & Figures of the Canadian Mining Industry. <i>The Mining Association of Canada</i> .	Shows that the Canadian government has eased laws, reduced taxes, and created an investment for mining corporations.	Lowest taxes of G7 countries.		
	Pacific Rim 2012A Pacific Rim Mining Corporation Home Page. < http://www.pacrimmining.com/s/Home.asp >	Tries to construct an image of the company as one who provides a much needed commodity to the world at the same time as being responsible. Mostly meant for investors.	Pacific rim is a socially and environmentally friendly exploration company		
2012 Pacific Rim Arbitration to proceed under Salvadorean investment law.	Pacific Rim 2012B Pacific Rim Mining Arbitration Case to Proceed Under El Salvador Foreign Investment Law; CAFTA Portion of Claim Dismissed by ICSID. < http://www.pacrimmining.com/s/News.asp?ReportID=528794 >	This document explains the arbitration procedures and the decision by the ICSID to allow the case to proceed under the Salvadorean investor's law. These laws were put into place when the World Bank lent money to El Salvador in the 1990's.	Policies were constructed by the world bank to change investor's laws in el Salvador. Now these laws are the cause of arbitration		Gives more power to investors then the citizens of San Isidro.
2012 Salvadorean Government reaffirms position to ban mining.	McGee, Theresa. 2012 Canadian Mining on Trial. <i>Briar Patch</i> , 41(4), 10-14.	This Article explains the murders occurring in Cabañas. The author describes the process of depoliticizing the murders and the role of the government and police.			Depoliticizing murders. Shows interests inherent within the world system
	Mining Watch Canada. 2012 Pacific Rim Mining Lawsuit Saga Prolonged; Costs Mount for Company and for	Provides a quick overview about the ICSID decision not to proceed arbitration under the CAFTA agreement.			Structural violence through international organizations.

	People of El Salvador. < http://www.miningwatch.ca/blog/pacific-rim-mining-lawsuit-saga-prolonged-costs-mount-company-and-people-el-salvador >	Instead it will proceed under Investor's right provision of El Salvador.			
	CPP Investment Board. 2013 Canadian Publicly-Traded Equity Holdings. As of March 31, 2012. < http://www.cppib.ca/files/F2012_-_YE/Publicly-Traded_Equity_Holdings_-_CDN_-_March_31_2012_-_Eng.pdf >	The CPP investment board show that the Canadian government invests in human suffering. They invest in about 40 gold mining companies with equities of about 49.7 per cent, or \$84.6 billion, of the investment portfolio.	Development for who? Canadians benefit from the CPP. Canadians also benefit from the taxes through social benefits, education, healthcare, etc...		\$84.6 billion dollars is invested in human suffering. Structural Violence.
Labelling process allows development projects to continue through western design.	World Bank. 2013 El Salvador: Data. < http://data.worldbank.org/country/el-salvador >	This report gives statistics of people in poverty, distribution of wealth, water, housing, income, etc...	World Bank claims development, but contradict their actions.		Almost 50% of El Salvador lacks clean accessible drinking water.
Health is Defined as a physiological process.	World Health Organization 2013 Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19-22 June 1946, and entered into force on 7 April 1948. < http://www.who.int/bulletin/bulletin_board/83/ustun11051/en/ >	This document tries to define Health through western measurements of well-being that can be quantified through numbers. It does not take the experience of human suffering into account. That being said, their definition serves as a good starting point to the definition of health as a complete mental, physical and social well-being.			Health is not merely the absence of disease and infirmity but complete physical, mental and social well-being.