



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Contested Discourses and Collective Action Frames:  
The Case of Patagonia Sin Represas**

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# Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	III
LIST OF TABLES .....	V
LIST OF FIGURES .....	V
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	VI
ABSTRACT .....	VII
<b>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. SILENCED FOR YEARS, BUT NOT FOREVER.....	1
1.2 HIDROAYSÉN, THE ‘SYMBOL CHILD’ OF CHILE’S EVILS.....	2
1.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, WHY? .....	3
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS .....	4
1.5 METHODOLOGY .....	5
1.6 INFORMATION SOURCES .....	6
1.7 LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE OF RESEARCH.....	7
1.8 ARGUMENTS AND CHAPTERS OVERVIEW.....	7
<b>CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.....	9
2.2 DISCOURSE AND LANGUAGE .....	10
2.3 COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES.....	13
<b>CHAPTER 3 CHILE - ITS HISTORY AND DISCOURSES .....</b>	<b>17</b>
3.1 DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF CHILE’S HISTORY FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY .....	17
3.2 CHILEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS .....	19
3.3 RATIONAL AND ECONOMIC DISCOURSES WITHIN THE CHILEAN CONTEXT.....	21
3.4 FRAMING THE GOVERNMENT’S ATTITUDE TOWARD HIDROAYSÉN .....	25
3.5 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS .....	28
<b>CHAPTER 4 PATAGONIA SIN REPRESAS – CHRONOLOGY, ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND FACTORS OF MOBILIZATION .....</b>	<b>29</b>
4.1 CHRONOLOGY OF PATAGONIA SIN REPRESAS .....	29
4.2 OPERATION EFFERVESCENCE .....	35
4.3 STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS OF THE NETWORKS .....	36
4.4 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS .....	40
<b>CHAPTER 5 FRAMING THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT .....</b>	<b>41</b>
5.1 DIAGNOSTIC FRAMING OF PATAGONIA SIN REPRESAS.....	41
5.2 PROGNOSTIC FRAMING AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY OF PSR.....	45
5.3 DISCOURSE AND MOTIVATIONAL FRAMING OF PSR.....	47
5.5 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS .....	48
<b>CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS .....</b>	<b>50</b>
REFERENCES .....	52
APPENDICES .....	55

**List of Tables**

Table 1: Composition and Perspectives of the participant organizations in CDP .....37

**List of Figures**

Figure 2: SIC and SING Demand 2000 - 2030 .....26

Figure 3: Photomontage Torres del Paine.....33

## List of Acronyms

ADEP:	Asociación de los Defensores del Espíritu de la Patagonia
ARV:	Coalición Aysén Reserva de Vida
CDP:	Consejo de Defensa de la Patagonia
CONAMA:	Corporación Nacional del Medio Ambiente
COREMA:	Corporación Regional del Medio Ambiente
EIA:	Environmental Impact Assessment
HA:	HidroAysén
JT:	Jóvenes Tehuelches
NGO:	Non-governmental Organization
PSR:	Patagonia Sin Represas
SM:	Social Movement
SMO:	Social Movement Organization
FDI:	Foreign Direct Investment

## **Abstract**

The resurgence of social movements in Chile is something relatively new, especially when the claims of the movement are interconnected with environmental demands.

Patagonia sin Represas, a social movement against the construction of 5 dams in the South of Chile has been able to mobilize the entire Chile from North to South, which creates surprise in a country that during the last years has great political apathy. The main question of this research and by using the Chilean movement as a case study, is How do social movements such as Patagonia Sin Represas, contest state and market discourses through the development of collective action frames?

The research has shown that success in mobilization responds to a varied set of factors, such as cultural resonance, structure of the networks their ability to generate and extended and inclusive frame.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Social movements have strongly emerged around the world during the last two decades as expressions of contextual and structural grievances. These structural grievances are not given, but are culturally, economically and environmentally mediated and depend on how social movements and the networks they are inserted create meanings and significations to explain *reality*.

By understanding how social movements generate discourses, how they interpret the problems and how they create collective identities vis-à-vis antagonistic discourses, we will be able to comprehend the deeper causes that drive social mobilization and therefore generate more appropriated and culturally sound processes which are more appropriated in culturally sound development social, economic and environmental processes.

## **Keywords**

Framing – Discourse – Social Movements – Chile – Environmental Justice – Collective Action Frames – Dams





# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. Silenced for Years, but not Forever

May 9<sup>th</sup> 2011 was the day the Chilean citizens raised their voice and told their authorities they were no longer going to be silenced. In Santiago more than 67.000 people gathered downtown and in other 16 cities around the country people marched and manifested on the streets, holding posters with the phrase 'Chile No Se Vende!' (Chile is not for sale) and yelling in unison "Patagonia Sin Represas!" (Patagonia without dams').

There was something going on in Chile that was able to move everyone from his or her couch, leave the remote control and raise the voice. But what was it? What caused the outrage of hundreds of thousand of Chilean citizens and woke them up from their lethargy? It was HidroAysén –project in the Southern Chilean Patagonia that plans to build five mega-dams– what people were fighting against and what was able to unify more than half of the nation under a single battle flag. But occasioned this resurgence of mobilizations, what generated the social movement 'Patagonia Sin Represas' (Patagonia without dams)?

Chile is usually set in national and international policy circles as an example of the triumph of the neoliberal democracy as economic development model. However, since the return to democracy the Chilean people had been mostly passive actors of their lives, living in a country governed by a social and economic development model that has let little space for citizen participation outside the market. During four decades the Chilean citizens saw the sale and privatization of all their natural resources to transnational corporations, but when the Chilean government decided to sell the Patagonia, which is the imaginary of Chilean identity<sup>1</sup> people said Stop!

Starting 2008 "the word 'abuse' was being repeated incessantly to refer to the Chilean businessman and authorities in their relationship with the citizens. However

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<sup>1</sup> Information based on a poll made by Fundación Imagen País in 2010

this abuse did not have an object, had not anchored yet in something that had materiality and name” (Mayol 2012:22). Clearly something had been brewing within Chilean society and the reject toward HidroAysén was able to anchor it.

## **1.2 HidroAysén, the ‘Symbol Child’ of Chile’s Evils**

Chile is a country full of inequalities and contradictions. In international rankings, it is within the three wealthiest ones in the region, with 16.000 USD GDP per capita, and with a Gini coefficient of 0,55. The objective data put Chile in a bad position, however citizen inequality perception worse<sup>2</sup> (Corporación Latinobarómetro 2011, as cited in Mayol 2012:17). Anger, frustration, disappointment and mistrust are feelings that most Chilean citizens share. There is a sense of hopelessness, which cannot be located in a particular place; not the market, politics or institutions, which makes it difficult for common Chilean citizens to visualize where the problems lie and therefore how to attack the core of the issues that are making their lives more miserable day a day.

Many other projects during the last 20 years, with similar damaging characteristics for the environment and local population have been rejected by Chilean society, i.e. the construction of three dams in Alto Bío-Bío (1990-1996), the development of a cellulose plant in Valdivia, (1992-1998), and the opening of a gold mine in Pascua Lama (2006-2012) are only few of the most emblematic examples where there was a common understanding from the citizens that there was something wrong going on, however they were not able to mobilize masses.

In the last decade “symbol cases” related with corruption within the state and retail companies’ scams have created the outrage of Chilean citizens. Those were moments in which Chilean citizens were able to see the ‘devil’s face’, a moment where the problems and struggles they had been living were visible and tangible. HidroAysén (HA) and the 5 mega-dams the project intends to build in the Chilean Southern Patagonia together with the more than 2.300 km of transmission towers and power grid from the South to the North of the country, has become in the last six years the ‘Symbol Child’ of all we do not want, the ‘Symbol Child’ of evil.

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<sup>2</sup> Refer to Appendix A

### ***HidroAysén, the project***

The project proposed by Endesa (Spanish-Italian company) plans the construction of five hydroelectric plants in the Baker and Pascua rivers in the Region of Aysén, located in the Chilean Patagonia. The total surface to be flooded comprehends 5.910 hectares and the plants will be completed with the installation of more than 2.300<sup>3</sup> kilometers of cables and the construction of 6.000 transmission towers to the North of Chile, being the longest transmission grid ever built in the world. This project has been labelled by the state as a 'proyecto país' (country project), underlining the importance of secure and sovereign energy for the development of the nation.

It has been only with HidroAysén (HA) that the popular discontent could not be silenced and the only project that was able to create a social movement (SM) big enough to mobilize the entire country, namely *Patagonia Sin Represas* (PSR). What once started as a local struggle has now become of national and international interest, involving a variety of actors with particular interests and agendas in the fight against HA. Much has been said about the energetic and the political-economic model driving the development of these dams (Bauer 2009, Mayol 2012, Sohr 2012) and independent studies led by Universidad Diego Portales, Universidad de Chile, Rivers International, Michigan University and Ecosistemas, have discussed the *necessity* of the dams however little has been said about the reasons behind this amazing opposition.

### **1.3 Social Movements, why?**

Social conflicts arising from energy projects and natural resource extraction are not uncommon in Latin America. These SMs as Stahler-Sholk et al. argue (2007:5) "contest political and economic systems and challenge traditional definitions of citizenship, democracy, and participation. As they contest power and policy, they challenge traditional rule by the dominant economic classes and the politicians who enable it". Social movements are an expression of popular discontent, a reflection of the existing inequalities in the region, and a struggle against the system and the economic and

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<sup>3</sup> Refer to Appendix B and C for an overview of where the dams would be built and where the transmission grid would go through

political elites that create and perpetuate them. Diagnostics of Latin America SMs shed light on *why* there has been an eruption of mobilizations around the continent. They help us to understand the common struggles and the structural components within Latin American societies that render these struggles (Escobar et al. 1998, Escobar 2004, Bebbington et al. 2005, Cockcroft 2006, Stahler-Sholk et al. 2007, Muradian et al. 2012).

Yet, these diagnoses only attend to the *why* regarding structural conditions, but do not attend the question of *how* even when having dissimilar values, cultures, worldviews and/or identities, these SMs are able to share common ground? How social movement organizations (SMOs) in a culturally, socio-economically, environmental and geographically diverse context are able to build frames that make sense for the whole population.

## 1.4 Research Questions

Anger, frustration and structural conditions that create unequal and unfair societies do not necessarily lead to mobilization; even when such a context might be a necessary precondition for the emergence of SMs.

By using the particular case of *Patagonia Sin Represas*, this research aims to:

- Explore how Social Movement Organizations with different values, worldviews, geographies and cultures are linked through discursive and framing processes
- Analyse how state and market discourses are able to create adversarial framings -reflected in social movement organizations-

In order to achieve these objectives the guiding question throughout this research is:  
*How do social movements such as Patagonia Sin Represas, contest state and market discourses through the development of collective action frames?*

To answer this question, it will be necessary to understand how the strategic, discursive and framing processes have been generated and elaborated and which ones

these are, as well as what are the discourses the movement is contesting. The sub-questions are as follows:

- What are the discourses that have guided Chile's development for the last four decades and how to these discourses reflect in the social, cultural and economic reality of the country?
- How have the prevailing state and market discourses framed HidroAysén
- How did this *Patagonia Sin Represas* emerge and develop, both in strategy and discourse?
- How does the movement articulate actors with different interests, values and worldviews?
- How has Patagonia Sin Represas interpreted the project of HidroAysén and which are the consequent solutions it proposes?
- Through which mechanisms has Patagonia Sin Represas constructed a collective identity?
- What understanding of development does *Patagonia Sin Represas* construct through its discourse and overall frame?
- How does this social movement contest the meaning of development modelled by the Chilean state?

An objective that goes beyond the scope of this research but might be partially revealed by it, refers to understand *why* such a strong movement based on the protection of the environment –at least in its origins–was able to create such a strong collective identity. Since reality and meaning are socially constructed, if I am able to elucidate how coalitions come to be under a frame and discourse I would grasp the deeper why of the grievances of the involved social actors and of the Chilean society.

## 1.5 Methodology

The two main methodological tools adopted throughout this research, namely discourse analysis and frame analysis, assume a social constructivist perspective of reality, whereby *reality* and the meaning of physical and imaginary artefacts is socially constructed through the interactions and experiences of the actors. These interactions

occur through discourse, which according to Hajer (1995:44) is “a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities”. Discourses give meaning to reality, whereas frames help to organize through a set of practices the bewildering existence of contentious discourses. The frame analysis utilized herein corresponds to collective action frames based extensively on the work of Benford and Snow (2000). Collective action frames “locate, perceive and label occurrences within life, by rendering events and occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action (Goffman 1974, as cited in in Benford and Snow 2006:614).

How social movements generate discourses, rhetoric and collective action frames is what is going to be analyzed here, through the particular case of Patagonia Sin Represas.

## **1.6 Information Sources**

### **1.6.1 Primary Sources:<sup>4</sup>**

The main primary source of data were interviews held in Santiago and the region of Aysén, with representatives of organizations adhered to Patagonia Sin Represas, inhabitants of Aysén’s region and activists supporting the campaign. Furthermore participant observation was carried out in one meeting of the leaders of the social movement and during workshops with the local communities.

A lot is based as well on personal experience and therefore in subjective meanings that I as an individual give to experiences and practices within the Chilean society.

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to Appendices D and E for view of the conducted interviews and participatory observation

### **1.6.2 Secondary Sources**

The sources of secondary data are historical papers and articles, which have given a contextual ground to interpret Chile and Patagonia Sin Represas as social movement. Furthermore discursive analysis of inserts printed in newspapers between the years 2007 and 2012 was carried out in order to assert the discourses and rhetorics utilized by the movement.

## **1.7 Limitations and Scope of Research**

The analysis of Patagonia Sin Represas was done at macro-level, this because the research aims to explain social processes that go beyond particular small organizations within the social movement. However, by proceeding this way I have not made any distinction between organizations and actors from the region of Aysén and from Santiago. Not making a distinction between organizations from the South and from Santiago might cause a loss of nuances in the generation of the discourses, the collective action, since I neglect the contestation process within the social movement. Furthermore, not analyzing the micro-level and the specific dynamics in Aysén,

The main limitation is that I as an agent also elaborate my own meanings and significations as a tool to comprehend reality. Therefore my own subjectivity is heavily represented throughout this research.

## **1.8 Arguments and Chapters Overview**

The following paper will argue that collective action frames help to

Chapter 2 will provide the main analytical tools, which will be employed throughout this research and introduce the reader the concepts of discourse, collective action frames and environmental frames. Chapter 3 will contextualize the reader within Chilean history, economic and political processes and how these have influenced the emergence of social movements, and will shed light on the socio-cultural values embedded in the discourse of the Chilean state. Chapter 4 will make a descriptive

account of the emergence and development of PSR as well as the communicative strategy of the network coalitions within. The aim of chapter 5 is to comprehend the particular collective action frame developed, whereby the meanings of development, constructs through its discourse and overall frame will be revealed. Furthermore this chapter will aims to understand how this particular signification of development means for the future development of the country. Chapter 6 will link the main elements discussed in the previous chapters and broaden the discussion in order to elucidate how collective action frames developed by social movements may attract citizen support and how social movements through its discourses are able to create new meanings within the cultural imaginary and change the development of the context they raise from.



## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the analytical tools that have been employed throughout this research. Three key conceptual elements are presented over here. Firstly discourse and language through which meaning is given to *reality* will be discussed as well as the particular rhetoric of environmental movements, after which collective actions frames, their tasks and processes will be presented.

#### 2.1 Perspectives on Social Movements

Social Movements have been incessantly studied and written about for the last three decades. Studies about, political opportunity processes, positioning within network coalitions, individual and collective identity, resource mobilization, framing and discursive processes are the central dynamics in order to understand the character and course of social movements.

The theoretical approach employed throughout this research will focus on resource mobilization and particularly on the discursive processes that allow the creation of collective action frames. This theory adopts a social constructivist perspective whereby problems and their definitions are socially constructed claims defined through collective processes, embedded in cultural, economic, ecological, historical and political *reality*. From this perspective and given that ‘problems’ are socially constructed they have contested meanings and definitions and therefore they are neither static nor easily identifiable (Taylor 2000:508).

Given the contested nature of social movements (SM) there is not one definition to satisfy all the audiences and/or theoretical approaches. Hereafter I will use a rather loose definition of social movement –based on a definition presented by Della Porta and Diani (1999:21)- , which can also be applied to social networks (throughout this research I will use interchangeably social movements, network coalitions and social networks), namely social movements “are spaces where individuals, groups and organisations engage in sustained exchanges of resources in pursuit of common goals”. Resources in this context refers to time, money, space, knowledge and work between

others, and the exchanges can be done both in formal and informal settings. Common goals on the other hand refers to shared ideas based on beliefs and values, based on paradigms, frames and discursive processes embedded and created and reproduced within society. It is important to note that the resource exchanges between individuals, groups and organizations are never unilateral, but they are rather contesting processes.

Social movements are heterogeneous entities and given their contentious nature it is not likely they will ever reach the necessary degree of consensus in order to have one single identity among all the participants. Participants from SMOs share similar worldviews or values but this does not necessarily mean they share a collective identity. This rather means that, in spite the fact they do not share an identity, they do share a common discourse and language that is able to surpass their particularities and differences. SMs posses a common understanding and a common consciousness of a specific problem, which is able to transcend the class, gender, socio-economic, cultural and geographical differences. (Rootes 1997, Hajer 2005, Staher-Sholk et al. 2007, Saunders 2008, Di Gregorio 2012).

However, this common understanding of a 'problem' might create collective identities, based on a 'we' against 'them' (Gamson 1992, Benford and Snow 2000). The process of collective identities formation will be addressed later on as part of the framing process.

## **2.2 Discourse and Language**

According to Taylor (2000:510) rhetoric refers to "the deliberate use of language to persuade others". Therefore, rhetoric is not blunt language use, but in its moral claims meaning and significance are embedded. Language can be understood as the political medium whereby these claims are made, whereas, discourse is (Hajer 1995:44, Hajer and Versteeg 2006:175) a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical realities, and which is produced, reproduced and transformed through a particular set of practices. From this

perspective and as Magnuson (2005) understands them, discourses can also be seen as cultural symbolic representations.

Discourse theory takes a social constructivist ontological stand, since it assumes the existence of multiple social realities, which are constructed through communications in which knowledge is generated and exchanged. Hence what is important is not the phenomenon per se –economic, historic, cultural or environmental- but how society makes sense out of it through network communications, a certain discourse and ultimately the creation of certain frames that are able both to explain the problem and link organizations with dissimilar values or identities. This ontological position does not deny the existence of structures, however they are not given but are always socially constructed through discourse and practices. From this perspective nature even when it is *real* (its reality out there is not denied), it is an interpreted reality, and therefore it is constantly invented and reinvented. What a ‘problems is’, is not a given or an objective issue, its definition is rather a continuous struggle about the meaning of the problem itself (Hajer 1995:14, Gamson 1992), hence “the terms according to which issues are discussed, define the way the topic is experienced and thereby also the perceived possibilities to act” (Hajer and Versteeg 2006:180).

Argumentative interaction is a key moment in discourse, because both speaker and listener are involved in the production and transformation of discourse. Politics cannot be simply reduced to strategic behaviour or to power struggles of certain agents over others, since this would deny the conversational and contentious character of discourse and subject’s agency. “This mutual claim-making and conversation reproduce actors interests and therefore both overlap within the one of contentious conversations” (Tilly 1998:495). The conversational process between adversarial actors is extremely relevant within the discourse production of SM, because “to understand the meaning of a sentence or whole discourse in an argumentative context, one should not examine merely the words within that discourse or the images in the speaker’s mind at the moment of utterance. One should also consider the positions which are being criticized, or against which a justification is being mounted. Without knowing

these counter-positions, the argumentative meaning will be lost” (Billig 1989:91, as cited in Hajer 1995:53).

“When faced with counterclaims made by antagonists, movements will key such counterclaims by appropriating language or ideas and use them to make their own points. (...) Movement organizations, then, can draw on a frame to establish their connection to other movements and key that frame to establish boundaries” (Gongaware 2012:43).

## About Environmental Discourses

Ecological and environmental campaigns utilize a particular language and rhetoric to create consciousness. Socio-environmental conflicts in particular have tendency to utilize a language of contestation and constitute a form of resistance (Muradian et al. 2012:6). “Activists usually employ a *rhetoric of rectitude* (which calls on our values, morals, and desire to good) to bring an issue to attention and to motivate potential supporters to act. Over time, activists shift their focus and begin using a *rhetoric of rationality*, that is, developing means of ratifying their claims by proposing specific policy alternatives” (Taylor, 2000:510).

According to Taylor (Loc. cit.), there are several kinds of environmental rhetoric that activist employ to attract attention of the audiences, i.e., a rhetoric of loss of nature, culture, and/or innocence; a rhetoric of unreason which invokes images of manipulation, discrimination, and/or conspiracy; a rhetoric of calamity which invokes images of environmental degradation or catastrophe; a rhetoric of entitlement that demands justice or fair play; and a rhetoric of endangerment, which specifies intolerable risks or hazards. Each actor within a SM may interpret the meaning of these multiple discourses and rhetorics in its own particular way and from the perspective of its own interests. However, story lines are able to unite these coalitions throughout the practices in which this discursive activity is based (Hajer 1995). Story-lines, help to construct a problem by providing the narrative within which actors identify their influence in knowledge and they also influence the actors own production of knowledge, social and moral order (Hajer 1995:64-67). Story lines (Hajer 1995:56) “are

a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena. The key function of story-lines is that they suggest unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive component parts of the problem". These story-lines assist in the construction of an overall frame which gives meaning to the otherwise unconnected variety of discourses within a SM.

## **2.3 Collective Action Frames**

Benford and Snow (2006:614) state that framing is meaning and reality construction. Framing is an active and dynamic process, which involves organizational agency, and it is contentious because it involves "the generation of interpretative frames that not only differ from existing ones but that may also challenge them. The resultant products of this framing activity are referred as *collective action frames*".

Collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings. Schemata of interpretation, which allow individuals and organizations to "locate, perceive and label occurrences within the life space. (...) Frames help to render events and occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action (Goffman 1974, as cited in in Benford and Snow 2006:614). These frames are the outcome of negotiated meaning among the network coalitions and legitimize their activities and campaigns.

Collective action frames have two features, which relate to their action-oriented function. "The first one refers the framing tasks and the second to interactive and discursive processes that attend to the framing tasks and thus are generative of collective action frames" (Gamson 1992, Benford and Snow 2000:615).

### **2.3.1 Discursive Processes and Frame Alignment**

Frame development and elaboration are interactive and discursive processes are, which serve to generate collective action frames, by aligning motivations and discourses of individual and collective actors.

Frame elaboration arises from **Discursive Processes** occurring during movement activities and is generated by two interactive processes, namely frame articulation and frame punctuation, where the first refers to the way in which *reality* is portrayed throughout discourse and the later highlights some issues, as being more salient than others, where campaign slogans usually comply this function.

Frame elaboration arises from a second process, namely **Frame Alignment**, which refers to “the process of linking the individual’s interpretative framework with that of the social movement’s. This is accomplished by expanding the personal identities of a constituency or group to include the collective identity of larger segments of society as a part of the way they define themselves” (Benford and Snow 2000:623). The four basic elements of frame alignment are *frame bridging*, which entails to linking two unconnected but compatible frames; *frame amplification*, which refers to the intensification of values; *frame extension*, which involves extending the SM frame to include issues that are presumably relevant for potential adherents; and *frame transformation*, which refers the generation of new meanings within the SM (Gamson 1992, Benford and Snow 2000:623-625, Taylor 2000).

### 2.3.2 Framing Tasks

Benford and Snow (Ibid.:615) have identified three framing tasks that SMOs must fulfil; i.e. diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing and each of these tasks can be linked to three components of collective action frames, i.e. injustice, agency, and identity.

**Diagnostic Framing** involves the identification of the problem and who is to blame for it. “Since social movements seek to remedy or alter some problematic situation or issues, it follows that directed action is contingent on identification of the source(s) of causality, blame and/or culpable agents” (Benford and Snow 2006:616). However, agreement on the nature of the problem and its definition are continuously contested and not readily agreed on by the network coalitions (Benford and Snow 2006, Hajer and Versteeg 2007, Di Gregorio 2012).

Within diagnostic framing there is an injustice component, which refers to “the moral outrage activists expound through their cognitive or intellectual judgement

about equity or justice” (Taylor 2000:511). Even though not all collective frames can be considered injustice frames, social movements engaging with socio-environmental conflicts always emphasize the injustice component within their frames. According to Gamson (1992:32) injustice frames are elaborated vis-à-vis those who are found responsible or who are to blame for the unjust situation. This moral judgement has an attributional component and relates to what people believe the problem is and therefore the source of their grievances.

***Prognostic Framing*** “involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan” (Benford and Snow 2000:617). There usually tends to be a correspondence between diagnostic and prognostic framing, where prognoses is done based on what is considered to be the problem. This process is contested because it takes place among organizations with different discourses, beliefs, identities and goals. Therefore it might include incongruences within its own logic, usually forcing the movement to elaborate a more refined and clear prognoses in order to arrive to a common understanding of what needs to be done. “Although factions still interact, recognizing one another’s indispensability, they differ in terms of their prognostic framings and the techniques they advocate and employ” (Loc. cit.).

There is an identity element within this process, which refers to defining the ‘we’ in opposition to ‘they’ (Benford and Snow 2000, Taylor 2000). As stated before there is not one identity, however a sort of collective identity can be created in opposition to those who are blamed for the problem. This attributional element helps to create the ‘they’ and hence the ‘we’, opposing the frame of the movement against the ‘injustice frames’ that are established by the SM and which have created the problematical circumstances. “Identity requires difference; building collective identities requires not simply pointing out commonalties but also marking off who we are not; (...) movement actors solidify their boundaries by defining themselves against those they agree are enemies” (Gamson 1997:181-182).

Since collective frames identify ‘someone’ to blame, there is a risk of them understating the importance that structural factors play within the overall picture.

Successful collective action frames (injustice frames) direct blame to both individual actors and structural conditions (Benford and Snow 2000:616).

***Motivational Framing*** “provides a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action, including the construction of appropriate vocabularies of motive” (Loc. cit.). This element refers both to agency and the use of discourse, this because it addresses the individual beliefs and moral of citizens and how they understand their positionality within society, linking these with vocabularies and discourses of duty, urgency or severity (Gamson 1992, Benford and Snow 2000:617).

Agents are usually constrained by sociocultural discourses –embedded in every day practices, and a hierarchical and centralized state and its institutions-, which usually encourage passivity. Therefore agents see themselves as subjects of this invisible force “that systematically removes any sense that collectively they can alter the conditions and terms of their daily lives” (Gamson 1992:59).



## **Chapter 3**

### **Chile - its History and Discourses**

The following chapter intends to contextualize the reader within Chilean history, economic and political processes and how these have influenced the emergence of social movements. This chapter will shed some light on the socio-cultural values embedded in the Chilean state and market through analyzing the discourse, practices and institutions of the state utilizing mainly Dryzek's discourse analysis. By doing so I aim to address how the Chilean government in discursive terms interprets development and in which terms -given its particular discourse- it has framed HidroAysén. This particular contextualization and analysis will serve as a tool to understand what is being contested by social movements in Chile and particularly by PSR.

The fact that HidroAysén receives attention at this specific place and time "cannot be deduced from a natural-scientific analysis of its urgency, but from the symbols and experiences that govern the way people think and act" (Hajer 1995, as cited in Hajer and Versteeg 2006:175) and since the phenomenon is socially constructed it is also important to pay attention to the historical, cultural context where it arises.

### **3.1 Descriptive account of Chile's History From Dictatorship to Democracy**

#### **3.1.1 Pinochet and the neoliberal agenda**

Starting in 1973 Chile adopted a neoliberal policy framework –supported by a new Constitution- based on the liberalization of the market, investment and trade flows, elimination of subsidies to domestic enterprises, deregulation and privatization of the most important national companies and businesses (copper being the only exception) (Schurman 1996, Latta and Aguayo 2012). Everything was "converted into a market. Education, health, energy, water, telecommunications and pensions are the epitome of this. During twenty years Chileans witnessed the conversion of every single public

good into a private one” (Mayol 2012:58). As a consequence during this period there was a concentration of private property rights in both land and water rights, the transnationalization of the energy and resource sectors, and an increasing dependence on primary exports for the country’s economic growth.

Even when the history of Chilean economy has been profoundly affected by regimes of natural resource extraction, this new economic model “set the stage for an ‘open-season’ in Chile’s natural wealth, giving rise to a host of ecological impacts” (Latta and Aguayo, 2012:3)

### **3.1.2 The Era of the Concertación: the continuation of the model**

The return to democracy brought with it hope of a more equitable distribution, however, as Gabriel Salazar, Professor of History of the Universidad de Chile, points out, the Concertación (left-wing parties) *betrayed the country*. After 16 years of being the opposition during the dictatorship, the free-market and neoliberal policies that were implemented then, are the ones that have directed Chile’s social and economic agenda for the past 20 years. Everything the economic model has touched has been transformed into market. In this way, the Chilean economy is not only defined by liberalization and deregulation, but also by the omnipresence of the markets (Mayol 2012). Furthermore, a series of negotiated pacts between the opposition and Pinochet’s regime resulted in a democracy largely structured by the former dictatorship. Due to these agreements, many issues -such as the previous non-transparent privatization of national companies- were not open to democratic debate (Paley, 2001:122).

More concerned with rebuilding social cohesion, the Concertación did not seek significant alteration of Chile’s course of development. The path of the center-left governments was marked by a clear prioritization of economic development and growth based on the unsustainable exploitation of the country’s natural resources, dismissing in practice their ecological rhetoric (Carruthers and Rodriguez 2009, Latta and Aguayo 2012:2-4, Mayol 2012:35).

### 3.2 Chilean Social Movements

The story of Chile and social movements (SM) or resistance movements is long and intricate. However a good point of departure for the new era of mobilizations is 1988, when masses of citizens who had been silenced for 16 years came to the streets to demand the return to democracy. This was also the first great victory from the citizens' perspective that it had been witnessed in decades, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people into the streets to claim for their constitutional rights. It was the first time in almost two decades that Chilean citizens acted collectively in order to create social change. This process of mobilization was led by opposition leaders who had an extensive network of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and links with international agencies and "although grassroots politics survived and challenged the repression of the dictatorship, centralized parties led to the democratic restoration, and social movements suffered subsequent decline" (Carruthers and Rodríguez 2009:744). Usually, as Paley (2001) argues, the restructuring to democratic transition calls for political openness, participation and dialogue. However, as Escobar et al. (1998) indicate most liberation movements that become a government result in a vacuum in civil society, as those who represented the movement are absorbed into state institutions and political positions. Furthermore the quietening of social movements is a natural response to the allegedly 'inevitable' logic imposed by the processes of economic globalization, where neoliberal policies, such as the ones implanted in Chile, have introduced a new kind of relationship between the state and civil society and advanced a distinctive definition of the political domain and its participants – based on a minimalist conception of both state and democracy.

The neoliberal democracy implanted in Chile, has led to citizens who understand themselves and are viewed by the state not as subjects of right in a democratic regime, but increasingly equated with individual integration into the market, leading to an understanding of people first as consumer and participant in the market and secondly as citizen (Escobar 1998, Maniates 2001, Paley 2001). Examples of this are the social programs during the decade of the 90s which reduced protests against the structural adjustment program and the continuity of the neoliberal agenda, by soliciting citizens'

and organizations to invest in policies, by helping the poor accessing the market through micro-financing, seeking in this way the political support for economic reforms. In this sense, citizens would volunteer in the name of democracy and citizenship, but not challenge the state and its policies (Paley 2001). Furthermore, collective action was challenged with the loss of a strong and visible antagonistic opposition and if and when there were demonstrations, these were held back, by alleging them to be disloyal to the new government and to the new democracy, which reduced citizen participation in decision-making processes and in a certain way led to an authoritarian way of governing, leaving little room for debate about the quality and the characteristics of democracy and development itself (Latta 2007, Paley 2001).

Since the late 1990s and early 2000s there has been a resurgence of civil society activism in Chile. With an already stable democracy, the claims for social justice could no longer be silenced by appealing to the reconstruction of the country or to the regained democracy (Carruthers and Rodríguez 2009, Latta and Aguayo 2012). As Randall (2011) argues, rancour and mistrust are certainly an element that somehow characterizes Chile. Collective memory, norms and values are important factors that give cohesion to societies and in many ways this collective memory has been the great divisor of Chilean society. This because left and right wing adherents have created during the last 40 years discourses that have divided Chileans and shaped collective identities embedded in the socio-political conflicts that arose in 1973.

However, the new generation of socio-political leaders, is embedded in different kinds of social struggles. The deepening of the neoliberal agenda, and the continuous setting of inequality and environmental issues at the core of social demands, have created new collective identities that go beyond the division left/right (Interview Patricio Segura 12/8/2012). The recent protests have originated mostly independently of the political parties, in a relatively spontaneous and grassroots fashion. The issues are being framed in ways that are able to appeal the whole citizenship, and both, left and right wing adherents have been able to find a discourse that emphasizes their grievances (Randall 2011). These new struggles –which are visible in SMOs- are a representation of the meaning citizens are giving to social conflict, how they define injustice and whom they blame for it.

“What people feel is anger! It is an anger that has been developing for a long time and all the social expressions that you perceive in society are inheritors of it. The development strategy the state has been following is basically we prefer industries to persons. This anger goes beyond political colours because everyone has been abused”.

(Interview Matías Asún 2/8/2012)

### **3.2.1 Environment and Social Movements in Chile**

Environmental concerns at the core of SMOs are something relatively new in Chilean history. In the early 90s Chile was a country more concerned with rebuilding itself, than about the effects of human action on nature and/or the relationship between inequality, discrimination and environment. Discussing environmental issues was out of the question, when what the nation was fighting for were human rights. “To be what was called an ‘environmentalist’ was the same as being crazy” (Interview Juan Pablo Orrego 4/9/2012). Only in 1992 were some actors paying attention to the detrimental consequences that the fast economic growth and development was having on rivers, woods, bio-diversity, lands, and sea among others and even fewer were able to see the connection between the deterioration of the environment and the dispossession and loss of thousands from their livelihoods. The emergence of PSR as an environmental movement that links claims of environmental degradation; justice and environmental rights; right of self-determination; policy, politics, and economic processes -which defies the discourses of the Chilean state- has its precedent in the fight against the dams constructed in Bío-Bío, however the strength of PSR has is completely new within the Chilean context (Ibid.).

### **3.3 Rational and Economic Discourses within the Chilean Context**

The discourses, rationales and frames that have been ushering Chile’s development for the last three decades, is what is being contested by the SMOs against the construction of HA. This is what the SMOs are counter-framing and as such, before

moving to the descriptive account of PSR itself and the analysis of its rhetoric and frame, it is necessary to understand what they are 'fighting against'.

### **3.3.1 Institutions, Policies and Practices**

According to Dryzek (2005) administrative rationalism is a problem-solving discourse, which understands the state as a monolith directed by managerial experts, who 'know better' and act in the name of the public interest, and when in liberal democratic governments, the state takes the status quo of liberal capitalism as a given. In this sense administrative rationalism views governing as rational management, and not as democracy, which can be better seen in its institutions, policy instruments and practices. As Torgerson states (1990:120-121, as cited in Dryzek 2005:88) "The image of the administrative mind is one of an impartial reason exercising unquestionable authority for universal wellbeing; it is an image which projects an aura of certain knowledge and benign power".

With the return to democracy the Chilean legal framework up to a certain degree was altered, "The removal of a non-democratic system leads to changes in institutional structures, shaping the systemic framework conditions through the creation and/or reform of environmental agencies" (O'Brien 2001:51). However, the systemic framework was not, since the institutions and big part of the policies that crafted the country's development did not have any substantial change and some of them were deepened, such as the ones concerning privatizations and market liberalization. If and where new institutions and policy instruments were created this was to insert the population to the market. In this context the state has been a mere 'referee' setting the rules for the market to work (Paley 2001, Mayol 2012).

It cannot be denied that some exceptions to the rule exist; nevertheless most of these changes were only 'in the paper' and did not translate into political practices. This is because the newly created institutions fell under the Ministry of the Interior (or other) and lacked authority to address or solve any real issues (Carruthers and Rodríguez 2009). In terms of the environmental legal framework, the creation of the Corporación Nacional del Medio Ambiente (CONAMA; National Corporation of the Environment) and its respective Corporación Regional del Medio Ambiente (COREMA; Regional Corporation of the Environment), were created to safeguard the

environment. In 2010 a Ministry of Environment replaced CONAMA and new policies were set in place, such as the implementation of a thorough EIA.

Regarding the particular case of HidroAysén, more than 20.000 objections on the side of the popular resistance have been made to the EIA presented by HA, where most of them have not received an answer or have been dismissed by regional and national authorities. The authorities have stated that HA is being done in the name of Chile's greater good and that citizens who have no technical expertise cannot understand the real implications that the non-construction of these 5 mega-dams would have.

The EIA, an apparently democratic tool, has shown little or no effectiveness when it comes to take seriously the demands of the citizens and this new change within the legal framework has proven once again to be insufficient to alter the overall frame within which the Chilean state works. "New mechanisms of political access for civil society actors have mostly only created the appearance of political voice, while political decisions have favoured corporate, industrial and development interests over grassroots and community concerns" (Carruthers and Rodríguez 2009:757).

As it can be seen the changes in discourse of the authorities, from one based solely on development towards one based on development and sustainability does not necessarily translate into practices that lead to better environmental assessments, greater popular participation in decision-making processes and/or translate in more sound and appropriate cultural practices in what development concerns.

### **3.3.2 Let the Market Solve it All!**

"The heart of the Chilean economic model is based in an activity that produces few employment, big investment, big utilities, huge GDP participation and very significant negative externalities regarding social and environmental consequences"

(Mayol 2012:32).

The perspective of a regulatory market, which is able to solve all the issues, comes from the days when Pinochet was in power, and the rules of the game have seen little change in the last two decades. Regulation was the antithesis of the market and

“regulatory politics were anathema to Pinochet’s market fundamentalism” (Carruthers and Rodríguez 2009:746). Not only was everything privatized, but also everything received a price tag. The market became responsible for assessing the monetary value of goods, as well as of their distribution and even those goods that previously had no price (or ownership) were priced tagged and sold –or granted for free- such as the Chilean rivers. This dynamic cannot only be seen in issues related to natural resources -which in the last few years has become bluntly evident- but it can also be viewed in issues related to education, because schools and universities, same as rivers, land and forests, were privatized and set free to the market rules.

The main way to assess the appropriateness and feasibility of large scale projects in the country has been the economic rationale, where the main role of the state is to secure a calm macro-economic environment for the investors and as “long as the status quo of the capitalist market economy is taken as a given, business has a ‘privileged’ position in policy making” (Dryzek 2005:118, Mayol 2012). The fear of what disinvestment from large international corporations might mean to the country’s economic growth has led to the ‘relaxation of the law’, in relation to social and environmental protection concerns. This is because in a country where ‘everything’ – from education to pensions and energy- has been privatized the role of investors is essential for the government itself to achieve its own goals.

Therefore even when the economic discourse recognizes the market as the only allocator of resources –not recognizing any kind of politics-, “in practice it is highly distorted by the exercise of power and strategy, and by the overarching need of the government to maintain business confidence” (Dryzek 2005:118).

Even when market fundamentalism and administrative rationalism have directed Chile’s government policies and practices, the role that civil society and SMs have played in the last few years cannot be dismissed. On the contrary, these networks of citizens are the ones that have shaken the ground and sought for better and more transparent and democratic practices, because “although the state may possess the formal capacity to address environmental issues, it will not necessarily do so in the absence of sufficient incentives. This is particularly difficult in a period of



democratization where the fluidity of the contest presents many competing claims from actors for influence and pressure to prioritize issues” (O’Brien 2011:51).

The way that SMOs have developed is intrinsically related to the historical, material and cultural *reality* of the country, and this is how their evolution needs to be understood; from silenced citizens for almost two decades, to a country in which reconstruction was led by mistrust and rancour, and towards citizens fighting for a real participatory democracy and a fair development model in a united way.

### **3.4 Framing the Government’s Attitude Toward HidroAysén**

Since the reestablishment of democracy the Chilean Government has categorised itself as a ‘Social Market Democracy’. However as previously shown, the state machinery has had little of social and democratic and a lot of market. The discourses pertaining to the administrative and economic rationales and the knowledge they create, helps to understand how the government has framed the ‘problem’ of HidroAysén and how from this conception and interpretation of reality, a frame is developed where the *necessity* of the dams is validated.

“The future is knocking on our doors and that future is generous to who embraces it and indifferent to who lets it go by. The time is now”.

(Sebastián Piñera, Presidential Speech, 21/5/10)

#### **3.4.1 The Political Discourse of “Proyecto-País” Framed in a National Security and Energy Sovereignty Rhetoric**

In 1997, the first energy crisis struck Chile. If the economy were to continue to grow as it had done thus, it would need to highly increase its energetic matrix. With this in mind Chilean authorities, began a rush on finding foreign investors to bring their dollars to Chile to start financing its future.

Starting from 1997, the foreign direct investment (FDI) in electricity and water, passed from representing zero percent to a dramatic 23% of the FDI for the years between

1997 and 2011, being in the second place after mining (Foreign Investments Committee of Chile 2011).

At the beginning of 2012 it was estimated that Chile would need to double its energetic resources by 2025 (National Energy Strategy 2012-2030 2012).

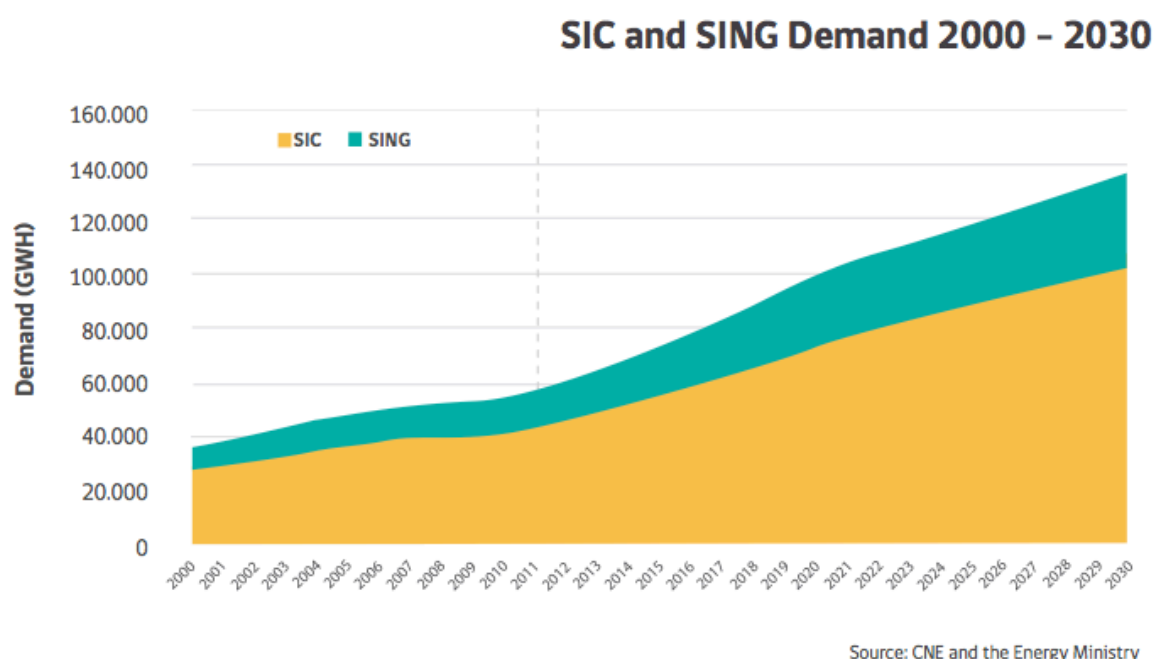


Figure 1: SIC and SING Demand 2000 - 2030

In the last few years, dams –in the name of nation’s development and economic growth- have been built in the rivers of the South of Chile, with Bío-Bío and Maule being the most controversial ones because of the level of mobilization the resistance was able to generate.

The construction of HidroAysén is being supported by the Chilean Government and it has been called a “Proyecto-País” (country-project), due to the risk of an energy crisis that Chile is going through. This energy crisis is responsibility of all Chileans to take a stand on and to cope with. The promotion and construction of new energy sources, among others hydroelectric centres is therefore of national concern (Marcelo Tokman, Minister of Energy 2010).

In policy circles it has been common for debates over hydroelectricity to be framed in terms of energy sovereignty and national security, particularly as imports of natural gas from Argentina became an insecure form of energy dependence (Latta and Aguayo 2012:14). As Latta (2007:233) points out, this discourse of energy scarcity is often compounded by concerns for national security, where the tendency of the plenty/scarcity discourse is used to develop an 'energetic nationalism'. As further explained "drawing hydroelectric energy into the ideological space of developmentalism and national security is the self-evidence of an appeal to the common good" (Loc. cit.).

### **3.4.2 Fleet of Foreign Investors - Becoming a Developed Country by 2020**

The market-friendly and pro-industrial development framing of the Chilean state has been embellished with rhetorics concerning the importance of the creation of energy sources in order to become a developed country and to overcome inequality.

This particular discourse has been twofold. On the one hand it elaborates on the advantages HA would bring to the region in respect to what economic and infrastructural development regards and on the other hand the state and Endesa have done what the media and PSR has called a *campaign of terror*. This campaign has highlighted the fact that international corporations might leave the country if the atmosphere is not good, by which they mean if people keeps on protesting on the streets and opposing a project of national concern, which will bring investment and development. Only in September 2012, a thermoelectric project in the North of Chile was suspended, which led to declarations by the company's representatives saying they would no longer invest in Chile. This particular episode only came to reinforce the discourse the government had been repeating for the last years i.e., if HidroAysén does not go through Enel-Italy and other investors might perceive this as a bad sign and a weakness of the state. They might flee the country and leave Chile without energy and without development.

This *terror campaign* has been particularly concerning in the region of Aysén, because HA as company has been leading many social projects in Cochrane and Villa O'higgins (towns which would be the most affected ones by the dams) that originally are duty of the state. Many have called this a simple way of buying consciences,

however the government's discourse implies that this actions are a duty private companies have with the people that would be affected and with the country they invest in (Interview Carlos Garrido 17/8/2012).

### **3.5 Concluding Thoughts**

The economic development model Chile has been following since the 1980s and the particular discourse used by the state, has led to a shrunk democracy and an entitlement of goods and services based on consumption and not on basic constitutional rights. The political culture of Chile systematically discourages the belief that common citizens can alter their reality threw collective action. These 'advertisements of authority' are surrounded by discourses that carry fearful images of a shrinking economy and therefore poverty and economic insecurity. "Such images reinforce public support for political authorities who promise order, security, and responsive political solutions" (Gamson 1992:60)

As shown the frame in which the Chilean government is addressing HA is one led by the market and administrative rationales. The discourse puts firstly humans over nature and understands nature as a medium to satisfy human necessities, and secondly puts state and market over the citizens, appealing to a discourse of common good, but actually seeking to create fear among citizens and to keep them silenced, as it they have been for many years.

This particular frame has internal incongruences because on the one side claims energy's national sovereignty and security, but on the other hand openly admits the fact that this energy and all the Chilean natural resources do not belong to Chile, but to transnational corporations. These incongruences have perhaps led many 'common citizens' to open their eyes and to stop being afraid of rising their voices for what they do believe in, because they can see in a clear and visible icon –the destruction of the Chilean Patagonia- how the Chilean state has systematically privileged the interests of private companies over the common good of the nation.

## Chapter 4

### Patagonia Sin Represas – Chronology, Organizational Structure and Factors of Mobilization

Chapter 3 has analyzed the Chilean context, the central discourses of the Chilean state and therefore the discourses PSR is contesting. Chapter 4 will make a descriptive account of the emergence and development of PSR as well as an analysis of the communicative strategy of the network coalitions within. This will help to clarify how the movement works and articulates actors with different interests, values and worldviews through a discursive and rhetoric strategy.

*“In April of 2007 we began the design and implementation of what we consider it is the most ambitious and relevant public education campaign that has ever been launched in Chile. With more creativity than resources, and with the participation and commitment of hundred of collaborators, we began this crusade to educate the public opinion about the project (HidroAysén), create consciousness around it, illustrate the available and sustainable options, make known the institutional and procedural failures in what the EIA concerns, rise lobbying awareness by highlighting the political and economic pressures, keeping at all times the public opinion informed about an unnecessary project for our country”.*

*(Patagonia ¡Sin Represas! Campaña de Educación Pública Booklet 2010)*

#### 4.1 Chronology of Patagonia Sin Represas

On 9 of April 2005 it was published in La Tercera –a Chilean newspaper- that Endesa was going to restart their project of building mega-dams in the Southern Patagonia. Coincidentally, this occurred at the same time that people were celebrating the fall of a the Alumysa mega project, involving a Canadian company that intended to build an aluminum plant in the same area where Endesa was now planning to build the dams.

At that moment, those who had been working together against Alumysa, leaders of social committees and organizations of the region and others that had been working for years on issues related to water rights and dams, got together to understand what

this would mean for the region. As Patricio Segura says “I had a notion that this was not a good idea, but not all of us had a real understanding of the impact dams have, so the first step was to get informed about the project itself and about other cases of dams in Chile and around the world” (Interview Patricio Segura 12/8/2012).

After this first step, educational workshops started, inviting neighbourhood committees of Coyhaique, capital of the region, in order to share the information and analyses that had been made of the potential harm the dams could cause. The main subjects that were addressed during the eight workshops touched upon several topics, such as non-conventional renewable energies, the project itself (HidroAysén), water rights, the Chilean water code, how the environmental impact assessment system works and the national electric system. At the end of the first round of workshops the first public declaration against Endesa was emitted, announcing the formation of the Coalición Aysén Reserva de Vida (ARV).

In January 2006, and after gathering the information collected in the first workshops, new ones were held in Tortel, Cochrane, Villa O’Higgins, Beltrán, Valparaíso and Santiago, where leaders of the local communities attended as well as leaders of different organizations and NGOs. At this point the workshops were intended to inform people, but there was no articulation between organizations, neighbourhood committees and other kind of groupings.

After few months, in 2006, the Asociación de los Defensores del Espíritu de la Patagonia (ADEP; Association of the Defendants of Patagonia’s Spirit) was born in Cochrane, the city which would be most affected by the construction of the dams. This is how the coordination process started; the two new organizations in the South of Chile (ARV and ADEP) and Ecosistemas – NGO led by Juan Pablo Orrego, which had worked in previous years against the construction of the dams in Bío-Bío. Awareness was rising within NGO circles that dealt with socio-environmental conflicts. However citizens, especially those who did not live in the affected area had little idea of what was going on in the South of the country.

Students from different localities in Aysén soon became a very important ally for the three organizations working against the construction of the dams and started spreading information in their universities across the country, holding several

workshops and creating a blog for people to give their opinions and spread the information even further; this is how Jóvenes Tehuelches (JT) was born.

“These students got together because they care! A few years ago young people wanted to leave Aysén, but nowadays they are beginning to appreciate what the region has to offer. They go to the cities to study engineering in new energy technologies, tourism and agronomy. They are studying and fighting to come back and to develop their region in a sustainable and equitable way because they have witnessed what the centralized way of development and the benefit of big corporations over common people does to society”

(In conversation with Hipólito Medina 2012).

The work of JT -especially at the beginning- was crucial to spread the information among and within their universities and student bodies. On their side ARV and ADEP did work with communities by doing workshops, which resulted in more organizations and NGOs joining the cause. With already over 30 organizations working together, between which there were also international ones such as International Rivers, Greenpeace Spain and Forest Ethics, it was decided to create the Consejo de Defensa de la Patagonia (CDP; Council of Patagonia’s Defense), whose creation was launched with the publishing of the book *Patagonia Sin Represas*.

CDP was born as a transversal organization without legal status, meaning that it does not exist on paper. It was framed in these terms, to avoid any kind of vertical structure, which could be potentially damaging for the cause and to avoid being held down by bureaucratic rules that could potentially impede them from taking certain actions. The idea behind CDP has always been to mobilize people from the whole political spectrum, trying to keep it outside the realm of political parties, to make it transparent and appealing for everyone.

Particularly at the beginning the rhetoric used by the CDP was the one of *rectitude*, which was able to call the attention of the citizens, by appealing to moral and a ‘common good’ belief. Only after the first year the campaign moved toward *rhetoric of rationality*. “The strategic element of the campaign which started in 2007 was an ethical one in order to appeal a wide range of citizens, where the destruction of

Patagonia, the electric monopoly and the centralism of the state in the decision-making processes were posed as unethical” (Patricio Rodrigo 10/8/2012).

Between 2007 and 2012 the opposition against HA has been slowly growing. During the first years citizens and communities of the affected area led most of the actions and even when some demonstrations and protests were held, most of the complaints went through legal channels and the main purpose of those opposing the project (besides stopping it) was to create awareness among the citizens. Hence countless informative rounds, as well as documentaries and studies of the project were carried out, such as the studies made by the universities Federico Santa María and University of Chile in 2008 regarding the *necessity* of the dams. Objections to the performance/corruption of the competent authorities at local level, as well as the deficient assessment of the environmental and social impacts of the project were raised, the socio-environmental impacts the dams would have become evident for the general public and what became increasingly evident was that the state and its development model were the responsible ones (in conversation with Hipólito Medina 2012).

#### **4.1.1 Communicational Strategy of Patagonia Sin Represas**

The communication channels that PSR has utilized are many and the list would be too long to mention them all, however hereafter, the most relevant ones will be mentioned.

As stated before the first rhetoric of CDP working as a network coalition was the one of rectitude, appealing to common beliefs and a Chilean moral conscience. In 2006, when the campaign was launched, they identified a symbol that was attractive enough for the whole country. The chosen image was Torres del Paine, because it represents Chile’s ‘country image’ within Chile and in the world. This also led to the name of the campaign and its SM i.e. *Patagonia Sin Represas* and not simply ‘Aysén without dams’ as it is Patagonia and not Aysén in particular what is engraved in the cultural imaginary of the Chilean society as a ‘save haven’ as the only place that has not yet been destroyed. Even when the project would be hundreds of kilometres away



from Torres del Paine, the goal of this image was to transmit to the public the absurdity and unacceptability of the project. A Photomontage of Torres del Paine with 70 meters high transmission towers and its electric grid was printed in newspapers. Big graphics were set in Santiago's metro stations and airports around the country, with the message 'here it would unacceptable, in Aysén as well, Patagonia ¡without dams!'.

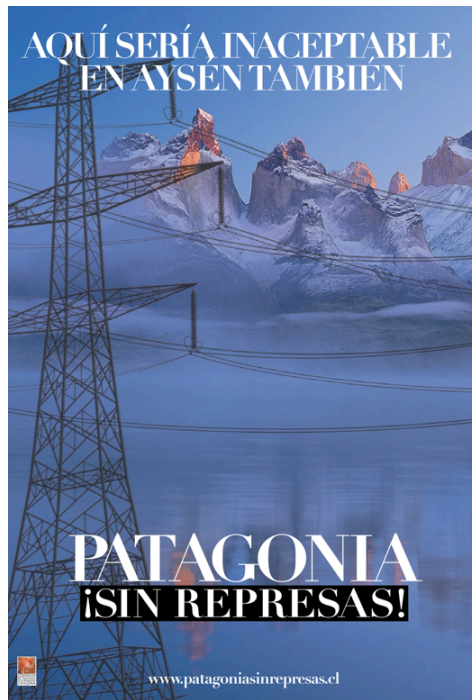


Figure 2: Photomontage Torres del Paine

This picture and slogan, and the image and discourse they represent in the mind of Chilean citizens, were utilized to accentuate the atrocity the construction of the dams would cause to the environment and the irreversible loss of one of the most 'natural' places in Chile. This coincides with what Taylor (2000) states, namely SMS with environmental concerns utilize rhetorics of loss of nature and of calamity to trigger a moral conscience from the citizens and to attract audiences and supporters to the cause.

A second and third graphic stage were to make illustrations of the towers and transmission grid in Aysén and in emblematic landscapes of the country, such as Easter Island and known National Parks, using the same slogan used with Torres del Paine. Even when the utilized photos and slogan changed –Our Rivers are more than energy- and –Destruction is not Solution-, the message and the rhetoric used to bring out the

message kept on being the same. Furthermore, from a framing perspective, these slogan serve as frame articulation and frame punctuation (Benford and Snow 2000: 623-625), as they portray a certain *reality* of nature, dams' impact and development and highlights some issues, these particular issues as being more salient.

The controversy these images generated, resulted in the campaign being banned from public spaces such as the subway and Santiago's International airport. The authorities did not give a clear reason as why this was being done, however this was evidently not good for a project called 'Proyecto País' which is trying to 'be sold' to the Chilean citizens as the panacea. The campaign was starting to gather activists and citizens were becoming aware of how once again the Chilean state was responding only to the private interests and that the discourse of clean and sustainable energy and development was just another lie (Interview Patricio Segura 12/8/2012). .

From 2007 inserts have been printed in Chilean newspapers appealing to reasons why HA was a bad idea from different perspectives; economic, social, cultural, environmental and others. This stage within the communicational strategy kept on having a high component of *rhetoric of rectitude*, but the discourses did evolve. Now the messages did not only appeal to nature as a 'wholly grail' and to the irreversible environmental degradation the dams would cause. Other issues begun to be highlighted and demands for more transparency in the decision-making processes, for respect of people's rights, for impartiality from the competent authorities to evaluate policies and projects such as HA, and overall for a real democracy and an economic development model that does not perpetuate the unequal socio-economic conditions within the country, were claimed. These discourses reflect what Taylor (2000) has called *rhetorics of unreason* and *rhetorics of entitlement*, because they highlight the manipulation and injustices committed by state representatives and the company and are a call for the citizens to claim their rights and fight for justice. This stage also saw a progression towards *rhetoric of rationality*, where also solutions to the problem were being proposed and discussed.

Citizen support grew increasingly, insofar information was made available, and people started to know about the negative effects HA would produce, the improper pressures to support its approval and the existence of sustainable alternatives. Articles were published showing the protests around the country, in order to display the disapproval HA had amongst civil society, which at the same time generated a greater discontent among people, producing a snowball effect among the Chilean population (Interview Patricio Segura 12/8/2012).

## **4.2 Operation effervescence**

Even when the objections against HA have always been supported through legal channels, beginning in 2009 more mobilizations and protests all throughout the country emerged. In 2007-2008 only few demonstrations were held outside the offices of the regional authorities, and between 2009 and 2010 the issues became of national interest, mainly thanks to the effort of the network coalitions to inform the public about the project.

May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2011 is the day in which HA project was approved and massive protests in 16 different cities of the country were held, where citizens walked on the streets to manifest their disagreement with the mega-dams and in Santiago a crowd of over the 67.000 gathered downtown to protest against HA. The levels of rejection, protests and mobilizations, HA had that day (and has had during time) are only comparable with those that drove out of La Moneda the ex-dictator Augusto Pinochet in 1989 (Randall 2011, Latta and Aguayo 2012).

This mass mobilization did not 'just happen', the CDP and its allies had been working on it for several months, because "the worst that could have happened to us, is that the project was approved and people begin to know about it two or three days later"(Interview Patricio Segura 12/8/2012). Therefore a process was generated with which people would be expecting the news about what was going to happen. The strategy was to send letters to the most important newspapers for a period of two weeks, afterwards all the institutional emails, phone numbers and twitter accounts of

all the senators and state representatives were published on PSR's website. Afterwards the same was done with all the regional ministerial officers that were going to vote if the project had complied with the technical and environmental criteria. Furthermore the same information was printed in big canvases and posted in the central square of Coyhaique, so that everybody could see it, which created even more expectation and more attention and publicity from different media at national level.

An important precedent for 'Operation effervescence' is that, the month before HA was approved the construction of a thermoelectric in the North of Chile was suddenly suspended, by the unilateral decision of the president. Many celebrated this decision, however it showed once again the centralized and non-democratic way in which Chile is governed. Given the fact that at that time the president had very low support among the citizens, CDP's communicational strategy was to protest not only against the dams and the transmission line, but also against the president himself, as the personification of the illnesses of the Chilean system (interview Matías Asún 2/8/2012). This strategic discursive process can be considered a way of align and extend the particular frame of PSR, by engaging with other issues outside the scope of this specific social movement, but that are nevertheless compatible with the frame PSR has been generating so far.

### **4.3 Structure and Organizational Process of the Networks**

This section will describe which actors engaged with the campaign of PSR and how the different SMOs were able to bridge their differences. Afterwards it will be seen how these actors were mobilized and coordinated. In conclusion this section will emphasize which factors outside communicational strategy led to a successful mobilization of the masses.

### 4.3.1 SMOs and their Mobilizing Potential

CDP today constitutes the adherence and support of over 80 organizations and groupings at national and international level<sup>5</sup>. Given that the list is too extended, in the following table an account of the particular perspectives of each aggrupation, divided as well by their composition is done.

Composition Perspective	Aysén	Santiago	Other Regions of Chile	Young	Intl.	Total
Socio-environmental	19	12	3	1	16	51
Ecological	4	6	1	-	15	26
Transparency and education	-	-	-	-	3	3
Alternative energies	-	2	-	1	-	3
Total	23	20	4	2	34	83

Table 1: Composition and Perspectives of the participant organizations in CDP

Organizations with a 'socio-environmental perspective' comprise the largest group. These organizations are in general concerned with broader issues and see a direct connection between ecological devastation and social injustice, and have an overall concern with the development policies and model that guide the plundering of nature in the benefit of few and the suffering of many. This group is mostly formed by organizations and groupings of the region of Aysén, which implies first the micro-mobilization strategies led by CDP have been successful (as many of these organizations did not exist previously) and secondly it implies that those who are going to be directly affected by the dams are the ones who have been most engaged during the campaign, which has given legitimacy to it.

The group I have labeled 'ecological perspective' refers to all those organizations that have an ecological perspective towards the impact the dams and the electric grid would cause. Between their concerns the loss of endemic species, biodiversity, forests and clean water are the most relevant ones. Humans do not play an important role within this perspective, which empathizes with a romantic view of

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<sup>5</sup> Refer to Appendix F

environmentalism, where nature is 'out there', and is wilderness that needs to be protected from the evils of human kind.

'Transparency and education' groupings are concerned with the lack of transparency development processes are led, which implicitly has a justice element. However these organizations do not concern themselves directly with environmental issues, but rather with policies regarding better governmental and administrative practices and education as a tool for development. The group 'alternative energies' on the other hand is concerned with the development of cleaner and more sustainable energies. This perspective engages with the market rationalism of the Chilean government and even when it does not attack directly the development model, it does question its rationality in what energy respects.

In summary it can be said that CDP is supported and comprised by a wide range of political, humanitarian, ecological, and cultural groups where each perspective has been able to find its way within the overall frame of the campaign and therefore the movement against the dams has been able to mobilize so many people. Each kind of organizations belonging to a specific perspective uses different kind of rhetorics, which while being structurally different are ideologically compatible "Part of the virtue of CDP is that we are extremely diverse and even though this element creates issues among us, specially with the people from Aysén, we are always able to settle them. It is this transversality the one that makes us very potent" (Interview Juan Pablo Orrego 4/10/2012).

#### **4.3.2 Factors for Successful Mobilization at Macro-level**

In analyzing which factors have been relevant in order to create a successful macro-mobilization across the country which has not only involved organizations within CDP, but of the whole citizenship, I have identified four factors.

As afore mentioned, the *perspectives' pluralism within CDP* has been a key element. Since everyone is organized along the basic idea of 'let's defend Patagonia', this allows for many definitions of what the actual problem is and how it should be attacked. Even when it creates issues among the network coalitions, it is a strength because by being pluralist appeals to a wide range of individual and collective agents in civil society which also have different discourses and understandings of the problem,

which facilitates flexibility and a wide scope. It is an inclusive network with an inherent openness to all groups who want to participate, but each group at the same time keeps their autonomy to decide when and where to participate.

On the other hand, the SMOs which began the whole process of articulation and the ones that are most engaged in the fight against the dams, had a *previous link*. Many of them worked together against Alumysa, and others had worked together in the fight against the construction of the Bío-Bío dams in the 1990s. The network had previously carried activities that were similar to those of the PSR campaign. This shows continuity and suggests there is a causal relationship between the number of pre-existing contacts, and the success of the SMOs in mobilizing new actors. This factor relates to the fact that these are *experienced organizers and there is division of labour* within CDP, which has facilitated the internal organizations and the efficient communication with actors inside and outside CDP. Because CDP attacks several fronts at the same time, the planning has been crucial; its structure has been divided in subgroups, where each has different tasks and engages with different organizations within CDP, media and social actors outside the direct scope of the movement. The committees are divided in technical, legal, international, communicational, economic and social, participation, and politico-institutional area.

The work of the network coalitions has also been facilitated and fuelled by a *momentum in Chile's atmosphere*. As Mayol (2012) explains the legitimacy of the economic and social model of Chile has been crumbling down, because in the background the model is edified on injustice. The injustice is the betrayal and the absence of truth in a society that had decided that any fiction was useful. Therefore in the year 2011, a year of unprecedented economic growth, the Chileans were opened to say the country was not progressing. The idea of abuse had installed itself to signal the powerful ones attacking the weakest. The neutral and alleged objective laws began to be seen as functional mechanisms of the big corporate and political powers and the arrival of a right-wing businessman to La Moneda became the vivid image of all that is wrong in the country, regarding social and economic inequalities. Having a 'real adversary' to fight against facilitated the articulation of the different actors and interests within and among network coalitions (Mayol 2012).

## 4.4 Concluding Thoughts

During the past six years, the discourse utilized by PSR has developed from rhetorics that underline the loss of nature and environmental degradation, to 'more political' rhetorics that accentuate injustice and discrimination, and in a later stage the rhetoric has moved towards one that not only appeals to emotionality, but also to rationality.

The momentum the country is in, has largely fuelled the success of PSR. The resonance (accomplished so far) of the communicational strategy of PSR, and perhaps one of the reasons why its discourse has been able to soak through people's minds, is because PSR and its campaign have been able to give empirical credibility and experiential commensurability to the grievances of the citizens, and connect cultural meanings with moral values and beliefs (Taylor 2000, Hajer 1995:95).

Macro-level factors of the SMOs such as the pluralism of perspectives and discourses, the professional organizational structure, and the experience also help to explain the success the SM has had in activating the masses. These particularities of the network coalitions, have allowed for frame bridging, by connecting social organizations with different discourses but that are able to fit under the umbrella of one single frame. Furthermore the transversality and plurality of the movement has aided into extending the frame and include issues that were not within the scope of the original frame.

However, as Gerhards and Dieters state (1992:572) these factors "only provide the structural basis for mobilization. A second task for a successful mobilization is an adequate framing of the issues".



## **Chapter 5**

### **Framing the Social Movement**

The analysis of chapter 5 is based on interviews, participatory observation and in the analysis of the inserts printed in newspapers during the past six years. The aim is to understand the meanings of development that Patagonia Sin Represas constructs through its discourse and overall frame. In order to achieve this goal, the theoretical framework of Benford and Snow (2000) will be used.

#### **5.1 Diagnostic Framing of Patagonia Sin Represas**

As in every SM, the definition of the 'problem' has been a contention point between the involved actors in PSR. There is not one point that becomes more relevant than the other and instead of this being an issue that might break the SM, PSR has been able to use it as a strength in order to bridge actors with different views, interests, individual identities and discourses under a single frame.

Participatory, and culturally appropriate regional development together with the devastating socio-economic and socio-environmental consequences for the region have been strongly highlighted during the past six years. The region has in a participatory fashion developed tools and mechanisms of territorial regulation that guarantee its harmonic development with citizens and nature. The centralized posture of the government violates everything the region has been developing for the last 20 years and it is prove of how things are done in Chile; with a top-down perspective and without taking in consideration the territorial, geographical, social and cultural differences of the country. Furthermore new laws -less democratic and less participatory- intend to shrink citizen participation in decision-making processes of electric projects as well as shrink the definition of who is considered to be affected by these projects. This new set of laws would 'oblige' citizens to give up their land to private companies in the name of a project of 'national concern' such as HA.

This point has been able to soak through the minds of every Chilean citizen from North to South, because even when it is not their land the one that is being

affected, they are able to understand the frame in which the problem is being explained, as they have had or they might have in the future the same issues with the central government and its authorities. “The other regions in Chile saw themselves identified and reflected with the problems and demands of Aysén, because the injustices committed here are the same as anywhere else in the country” (interview Silvia Sandoval 22/8/012). Aysén stands as an icon of what the centralized system of the country does to regions and its population.

The government has called HA a ‘Proyecto País’, however the only ones who would benefit from it would be the big mining companies in the North of the country, the industrial interests and the international corporations, whereas the population in the South of Chile would have to suffer the devastating consequences that this would signify for their jobs, lifestyles, and all the associated social impacts. There is a sense of despair and a deep understanding that what is being committed is an injustice.

“I would still be against the dams, even if I was not affected. At least we (*the ones who must be relocated due to flooding*) have the possibility to escape, but the people of Cochrane and the other towns are going to receive all the social impact and they have to stay there. Criminality is going to increase as well as alcoholism and violence, there are going to be severe changes in the family and cultural structure from one day to the other and nor the state or the company care”

(Interview Elisabeth Schindele 18/8/2012)

The intrinsic value of nature –not in monetary or productive terms- has also been one of the main rhetorics the SM has utilized to win sympathy. ‘Our rivers are much more than electric energy’ is one of the first statements published in the national media, highlighting with this the importance of biodiversity, species conservation, natural landscapes and Patagonia as a world heritage. “PSR, is an excuse and battle flag, because people is tired of being lied to. Besides there is an idealization of Patagonia; a deeply rooted nationalism. It is the only thing left untouched, which has not been fully privatized and which belongs to all the Chileans” (Interview Carlos Garrido 17/8/2012).

The commodification and monetary value that is added to every single item has been mostly associated to the kind of economic system that Chile has had since the retreat of the state from the market and the privatization of ‘absolutely everything’

starting the 1980s. The issue of everything being commodified and privatized relates to a further way in which the problem has been stated, meaning a wrong energetic model. Energetic policy has been left in the market hands of a 'selected group of people', which only seeks for maximum profit, without favouring the development of more sustainable and clean energies for the country.

The electric monopoly of Endesa has been catalogued by the PSR as 'business for few and ruin for many'. This because it impulses obsolete technologies such as mega-dams, which have high revenues for its investors. During construction, towns around building areas must assume the social impact of the outside labourers, which is particularly damaging for small communities, such as the ones in the South. Moreover in the long-term dams become obsolete, and have negative social and environmental impacts which citizenship as a whole must assume, increasing the levels of existing inequality in the country. Furthermore HA increases the insecurity of the electric system, because dams and electric grid are planned to be built in highly seismic and volcanic areas (proof of this is the eruption of Vulcan Chaitén in 2008, which forced to change the original route of the transmission grid). Moreover with the construction of HA Endesa would have the monopoly (90%) of the energy generation in the country which will lead to corporate control over prices.

Everything started with the Constitution of 1980, which consecrates the private property of water rights. In 1981 the Chilean Water Code is promulgated, which allows registering the waters in perpetuity, for free and without the need of justifying its eventual use. The year after the General Law of Electric Services is enacted, giving excessive authority to the private companies. This system has been seconded and reaffirmed during the last governments and national authorities have done nothing to stop the inequalities it creates, but rather have supported the electric market being in the hands of few actors. A common resource of all the Chileans has been given for free and forever to international companies that then charge thousands in order to drink the clean water that emanates from our rivers and glaciers. The Chilean state and its citizens subsidize the wealth and development of private international corporations and mortgage the country's future (Interview Juan Pablo Orrego 4/9/2012).

Water monopoly, is the other side of the coin, it is not only electric monopoly. This is not only an issue of how the Chilean policies and economic model allow the unjust and inequitable distribution of goods and services, but this matter is about how a system and a development model allow the intrinsic violation of human rights and dignity.

The preceding are the main avenues PSR has utilized to explain the problem, but as Gamson (1992) states how resonant a collective frame is, is not just about the amount of 'problems' that the SMOs are able to enumerate, but also how they connect and result meaningful for different social groups within society. So how is able to connect PSR all these problems within one single collective action frame?

The underlying explanation and meaning that has been given to all the problems have one common denominator, namely the model of development Chile has pursued for the last three decades. This model has led to the commodification and privatization of every single good -including rivers and water- that allowed the existence of a reduced group of economic and political elites holding the power in detriment of the Chilean present and future generations. The critic to profit has been at the core of the claims, which surprises in a country that in many circles seemed as a success in legitimizing the neoliberal model. "The market scenario that for many decades was space of analgesia and de-politicized, is transformed in a scenario of conflict" (Mayol 2012:23).

The kind of development Chile has followed neglects participation, territorial, regional, and cultural differences understanding everything through the value sign of money and leaving no space for other interpretations or ways to develop. Furthermore structural problems such as corruption, inefficiency, and greed within the political system have fuelled citizen claims. The analysis PSR makes underlays how the political and economic powers within the Chilean strategy of development are being put first and it is evidence of the illnesses of the Chilean model, which causes injustices. "What Chile needs and what we fight for is not a brand new economic model, but a human one" (Interview Renato Flores 20/8/2012).

## 5.2 Prognostic Framing and Collective Identity of PSR

Who to blame for the continuous pushing forward of a project that is rejected by three quarters of the Chilean population, has evolved during time. However, during the past six years, PSR has systematically targeted politic and economic elites that have either accepted or supported HA in pursue of their own interests, neglecting the collective interests of Chile's present and future generations.

As mentioned before, according to Benford and Snow (2000), there is a structural relationship between the actors that allow the injustices and the underlying structures and systems in which these injustices are anchored. It is this relationship – between the political and economic elites and the model of development the one that has enabled PSR to frame the identity issue of 'us' and 'them'. Furthermore, PSR when utilizing a *rational rhetoric* has utilized the frame and discourse of the authorities and those interested in developing the project and contested their ideas, and therefore has been not only able to assert what the adversarial framing is but also and consequently create a boundary relational frame among the 'we'.

This 'we' identity does not appeal to what Diani and Bison (2004) understand as a shared monolith, but it rather means that, in spite the fact SMOs do not share an *identity* (in singular), they do share a common frame that is able to transcend their particularities and differences. SMOs posses a common understanding and a common consciousness of a specific problem, which is able to transcend the class, gender, socio-economic, cultural and geographical differences.

Therefore the enemy or the 'other' is framed as the institutions that have shown to be vulnerable to the economic and political pressures and the political and economic elites that sustain an unjust and unfair development model across the country. "There is a stock of parasite politicians within the state machinery. This was born when the Concertación came to power. The politicians have cheated the people and came to power to keep on exploiting them. The consequence of this is that all the economic powers of few were settled in the 1990s and all the government says is that since it follows the law there is nothing to be done" (Interview Renato Flores 20/8/2012). The 'other' is embodied in particular actors, however and more

importantly the 'other' is structural, "the discontent is not against the government but against the state as entity and the development model" (Interview Silvia Sandoval 2012). An explanation of the 'other' as such goes beyond the particular positionalities of the individuals, and therefore is able to resolve the contention of socio-economic barriers, assert our rights as individuals and deny the relevance of social location and group differences (Gamson 1992:87).

The prognoses the networks coalitions have made relate directly to both what is considered to be the source of injustices and who or what is to be blamed for them. On the 'first level' what is asked for is to save Patagonia from destruction and to stop HidroAysén. On the 'second level' the solution is posed as having more democratic, transparent and participatory decision-making processes –in particular a referendum regarding the dams construction-, harmonic development between human and nature prioritizing this relationship over profit maximization of the companies, the development of other sources of energy to supply the country's energetic demand, the end of the electric monopoly, the re-nationalization of the water and energy security and sovereignty. This is a profound critique that relates to the energetic model of the country and how this can be fixed.

However, on a deeper analysis of what is being asked for, one necessarily goes back to the structural abuses of the Chilean economic model of development. Therefore the proposed solution to the core problem -discussed not only within PSR, but also with other SMs around Chile, such as the students and the sexual minorities- is to change the development model of the country. Since this model is sustained and legitimized on what many call an illegitimate Constitution, during the last months the idea of a Constituency Assembly has been at the center of the debate.

"What we are asking for is not a new agrarian reform or the equal distribution of goods.

What we are asking for is distribution of power!"

(Interview Patricio Segura 12/8/2012)

The first two levels of prognoses are where the majority of citizens stay. Not everyone sees the deeper roots of the problem; not everyone comprehends the relationship

between the destruction of Patagonia, the energetic model and the overall model of development (Interview Juan Pablo Orrego 4/9/2012).

### **5.3 Discourse and Motivational Framing of PSR**

“Simply having an injustice frame is not enough to mobilize people. There is a weak link between attitude and participation in movement activities. That is factors like frustration and alienation do not necessarily lead to activism. People are aware of many injustices and grievances in their lives, yet they do not organize movements. Thus, other factors must come into play to help account for activism”. The construction of appropriate vocabularies It is consequently necessary that citizens align their individual motivations and values with the overall frame of the movement and this is done through the construction of specific rhetorics, vocabularies and discourses that result attractive and compelling for the individual citizens are crucial in the diffusion of the message and in the spread of social movements. (Hajer 1995, Benford and Snow 2000, Taylor 2000).

As stated in the previous chapter, PSR with the creation of slogans and vocabularies emphasizes the adverse effects of the dams and the transmission grid, stresses the importance of nature as more than a productive resource and attacks the governmental answer to the increasing energy demand. The use of these idioms creates a sense of ‘urgency’ and ‘severity’ and the idea that this cannot wait any longer or in the future we will have nothing. As argued by Hajer (1995: 16) “this particular component of environmental discourses has dominated environmental politics over the last 40 years, with the threaten of global warming, making this scenario more likely”. Citizens take this issue as a ‘real’ one, and not one created by discourse (not to deny the real existence of environmental and ecological concerns). However, we must not forget that “environmental discourse is time- and space-specific and is governed by a specific modelling of nature, which reflect our past experience and present preoccupation” (Hajer 1995:17).

Because as Gamson states (1992) agents are usually constrained by sociocultural discourses, which encourage passivity the motivational component

becomes even more relevant. The discourse and motivational framing of PSR must not only been able to attract adherents and activists, but also fight against the antagonistic discourse and framing of the state and the company. Inserts in newspapers with phrases such as 'Do you think the Santiaguinos care about your future?' were able to fractionate Aysén with Santiago and the other regions of the country, because the phrase appeals to one of the contention points within the movement. To counteract this, other discursive tools were generated, such as 'My problem is your problem'. This phrase can be seen as having a double function. On the one hand attacks the state's discourse by appropriating its vocabularies and on the other hand it accentuates that collective action is possible and that there is a sense of 'duty' towards the citizens from the South that are suffering. It accentuates the collective potential citizens have and implicitly denies the sociocultural discourses from the state that inspire inactiveness.

During the last six years, a big part of the discourses, which have served to the motivational framing process refer to 'duty'. There is a constant use of the words 'abuse', 'injustice' and 'inequality', which appeal to an idea of common responsibility and because they are culturally resonant given the particular historical and material *reality* of the Chilean society they have been able to generate a motivational frame that is congruent with most of the meanings citizens attach to their experiences.

"People are complaining not only on the streets; claims have augmented through all the legal channels in all the areas, and hopelessness is changing toward an attitude of resolution to fight for one's rights. In complaining there is society, in the uncritical silence towards what bothers, there is a victimized individual".

(Mayol 2012: 24-25).

## 5.5 Concluding Thoughts

How the problem has been given meaning to, has evolved in the minds of the Chileans. At the beginning the issues were related to ecological, socio-environmental impacts and the centralized perspective of the state. However, in time through frame bridging and frame extension the frame has been transformed and new meanings and definitions of the problem have been generated.



Nowadays the problem is not 'just' the construction of the dams, but the problem is defined as the water monopoly, the electric monopoly, and overall the model of development Chile has been following for the last 30 years which is backed up in an illegitimate Constitution. As Mayol states, the issue is that the political elites have understood the problem of injustice is situated in inequality, and they have systematically fought to eradicate poverty. But they never understood that what is missing in poverty is food, whereas what is missing when there is inequality is society (Mayol 2012:22).

The avenues to solve the problem overlap with the way the problems have been defined, since the main way that is being presented now to solve the root causes all the Chilean society afflictions is a Constituency Assembly. This overlaps again with who the movement attributes blame to, meaning the model of development Chile has been following and the authorities that guarantee it.

Of great importance as well, has been the role of vocabularies and idioms of 'urgency', 'severity' and 'duty', because they have been able to resonate in the minds of the Chilean citizens. These motivational recourses have together with the aforementioned processes awakened the Chilean people.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusions and Discussions

Patagonia Sin Represas has contested the state and market discourses of the Chilean government by developing an inclusive and extended collective frame, which is culturally resonant within the minds of the citizens.

The state and market discourse belonging to the particular kind development model Chile has been following for the past 30 years have shrunken the notion of citizen and participation and has led to exclusion, anger and frustration from the Chilean citizens. Furthermore the political culture of the country has sought systematically reinforced the support for political authorities that promise order and security.

The frame in which HA has been set in, overlaps with the discourses of the market and the state, however it possesses internal incongruences, which Patagonia Sin Represas has utilized to weaken the citizen support toward the government and to show how the Chilean model of development has systematically privileged the private interests of few over the public interest of the nation.

The factors for successful mobilization need to be dissected; First Macro-level factors of the SMOs such as the pluralism of perspectives and discourses, the professional organizational structure, and the experience also help to explain the success the SM has had in activating the masses have been key elements for the successful work of the network coalitions. However, the momentum Chile is going through responds to structural conditions of the system, which implies that if the same communicational strategies, discourses and rhetorics had been carried out ten years ago, the result would not have been the same. Since reality is socially constructed it is not possible to assert what fuelled what; was it the movement the only that fuelled the social momentum, or was it the momentum the one that fuelled the movement?

The movement against HidroAysén, started mainly describing the conflict as one of ecological and socio-environmental damage. Due to this and strategic decisions

its rhetorics were at the begging ones of rectitude and only in time and when all the citizens were beginning to see the relationship between the destruction of Patagonia and the model of development, stronger rhetorics of 'abuse', and 'injustice' started. Nowadays the problem is stated as citizens against those who have power, citizens against the discourse of the market and the state. Patagonia Sin Represas blames the powerful, the greedy, and the corrupt that allow and support an economic model that creates and recreates social and economic inequalities and therefore the only avenue to rescue us all, is to fix the problem from the root and change the Constitutions that allows all these evils.

What does this contestation mean for the future development of a country like Chile? Nothing has been said yet and the possibilities are infinite, however, the one thing that is sure is that the contestation between social actors and the discourses of the market and the state and those who support them will continue, until one side falls defeated.

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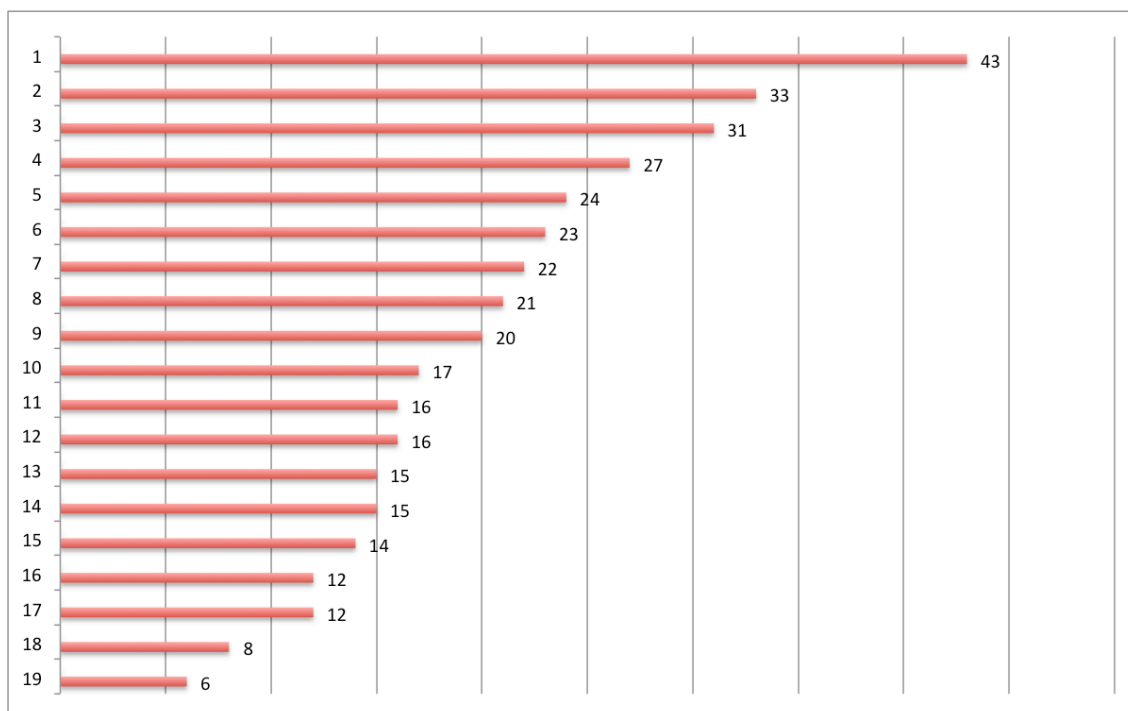
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## Appendices

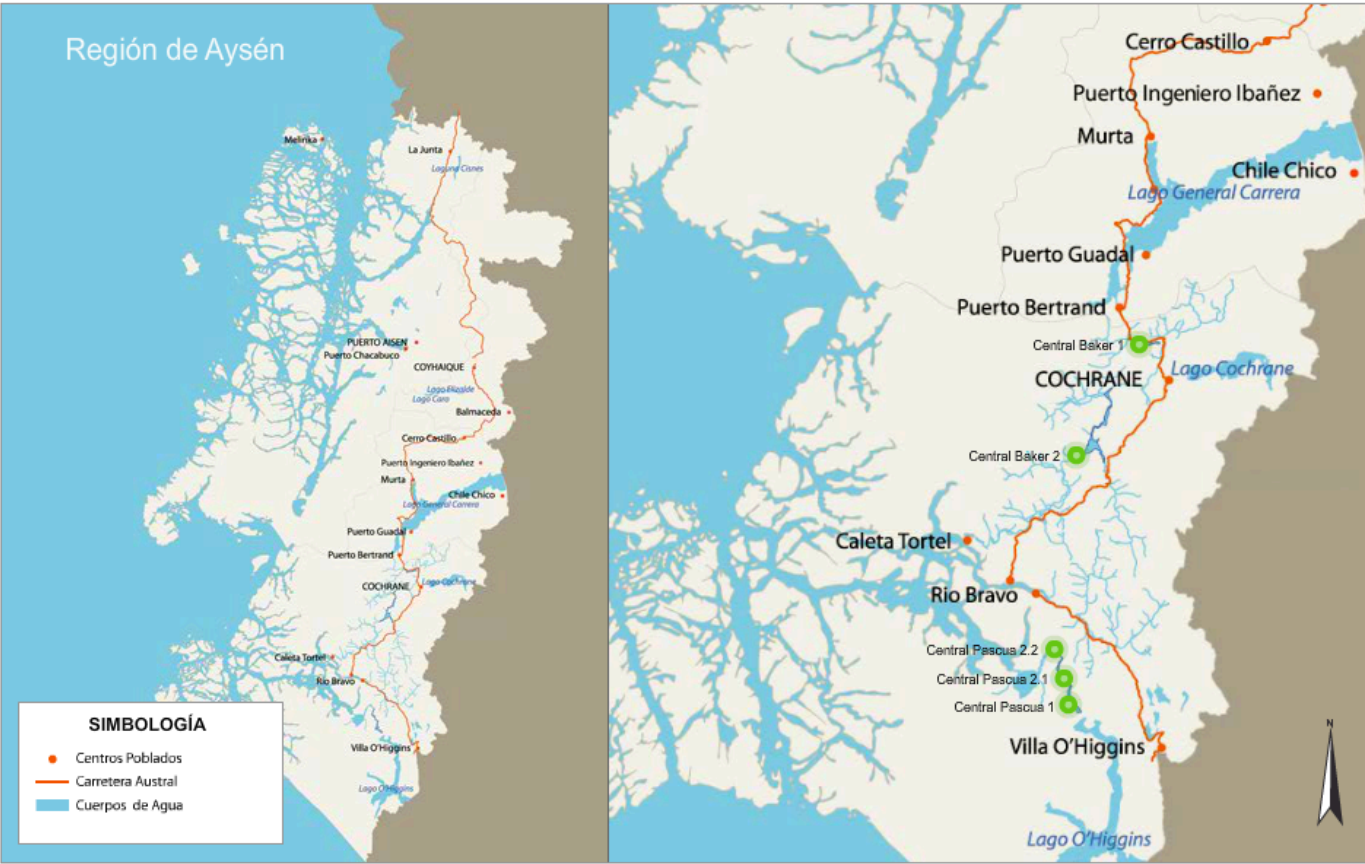
### Appendix A: How fair do you the income distribution is (in your country) (% of answers “very fair” and “fair”)

Ranking	Country	%
1	Ecuador	43
2	Panama	33
3	Venezuela	31
4	Uruguay	27
5	Costa Rica	24
6	Nicaragua	23
7	Paraguay	22
8	Bolivia	21
9	Latin America	20
10	Salvador	17

Ranking	Country	%
11	Guatemala	16
12	Argentina	16
13	Brazil	15
14	Mexico	15
15	Peru	14
16	Colombia	12
17	Honduras	12
18	Dominican Republik	8
19	Chile	6



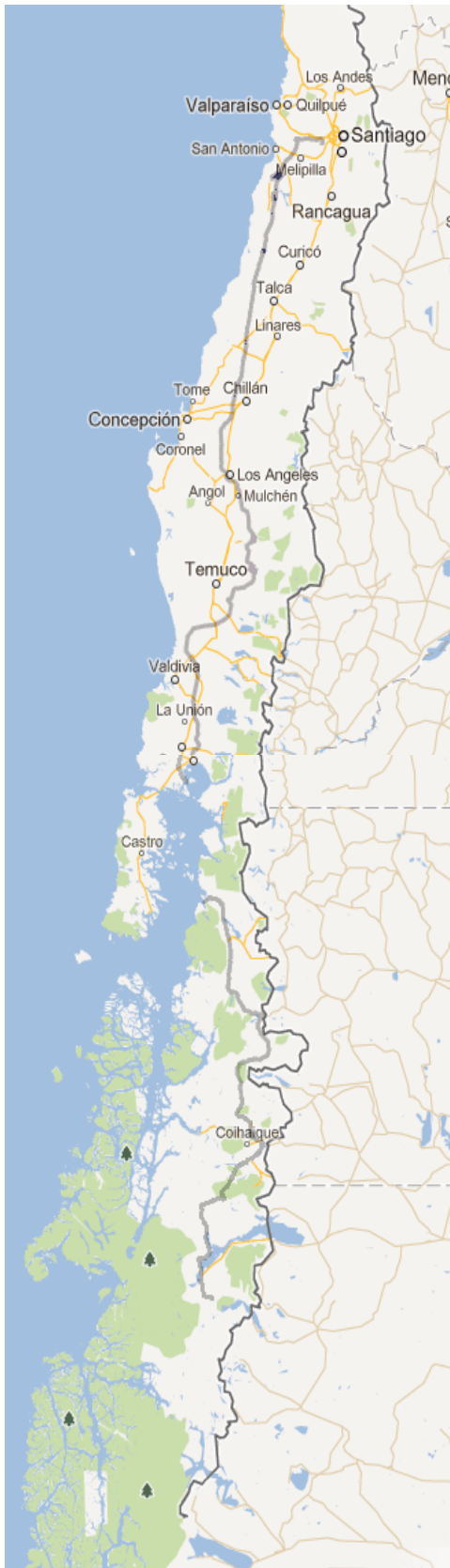
Appendix B: Location of the dams



Source: [www.hidroaysen.cl](http://www.hidroaysen.cl)



## Appendix C: Trajectory of the transmission grid



Filtered information from HidroAysén project:

Anonymous source. Available at

<http://maps.google.com/maps/ms?ie=UTF&andmsa=0&msid=211489359439477341417.0004a7bf8dcbe3acb38b7>

## Appendix D: Conducted Interviews

<b>Name</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Date and Place</b>
Matías Asún	Director of Greenpeace Chile and Greenpeace South Cone	2 August 2012, Santiago
Patricio Segura	Journalist of CDP	12 August 2012, Santiago
Patricio Rodrigo	Executive Director of Chile Ambiente and Executive Secretary of CDP	10 August 2012, Santiago
Ingrid Cordano	Businesswoman and activist from Lago Cisnes	15 August 2012, Coyhaique
José Asencio	Artisanal fisherman and activist	15 August 2012, Coyhaique
Carlos Garrido	Member of Aysén Reserva de Vida	17 August 2012, Cochrane
Elisabeth Schindele	Secretary Defendants of Neighbourhood los Ñadis	18 August 2012, Los Ñadis
Renato Flores	Artisanal fisherman and activist	20 August 2012, Puerto Aysén
Silvia Sandoval	Presenter Radio Mañihuales	22 August 2012, Mañihuales
Juan Pablo Orrego	President of Ecosistemas and Secretary of International Area in CDP	4 September 2012, Santiago

## Appendix E: Participatory Observation

Name	Description	Date and Place
CDP Quarterly meeting	Main representatives of the PSR were present to assess the progress of the SM, to make available new information regarding changes in the electric and concession laws and to strategize the next steps to follow in 2012-2013	9 August 2012, Santiago
Informative meeting		22 August 2012, Mañihuales
Informative workshop		23 August 2012, La Junta
Informative workshop		25 August 2012, Lago Verde

## **Appendix F: List of Organizations participating in CDP**

1. A Sud Italia
2. Agrupación de Defensores del Espíritu de la Patagonia
3. Agrupación Jóvenes Tehuelches
4. Ancient Forest International
5. Asociación Cultural Agraria de España
6. Asociación Defensora de los Animales y la Naturaleza ADAN
7. Asociación Medio Ambiental y Cultural Chonkes
8. Associazione Studi America Latina Italia
9. Blueditorial
10. Cámara de Turismo de Río Tranquilo
11. Campagna per la Riforma della Banca Mondiale, Italy
12. Centro de Documentación e Información Bolivia
13. Centro de Estudiantes Universidad Pedro de Valdivia
14. Chile Sustentable
15. Club CicloRecreo Vía
16. COAGRET España
17. Coalición Ciudadana de Aysén Reserva de Vida
18. Coalición del Agua
19. CODEFF
20. Comité Pro Defensa de la Flora y fauna de Cochrane
21. Comité Pro Defensa de la Patagonia Espíritu Cochrane
22. Consejo de Todas las Tierras
23. Conservación Patagónica
24. Corporación Chile Ambiente
25. Corporación Costa Carrera
26. Corporación de Desarrollo de Aysén
27. Corporación Kairos
28. Defendamos la Ciudad
29. Defensa Patagonia
30. Defensores del Bosque Chileno

31. Diálogo Sustentable
32. Ecoclubes
33. Ecologistas en Acción, Spain
34. Ecosistemas
35. Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide USA
36. Escuela Agroecológica de Pirque
37. Escuela de Guías de la Patagonia
38. Escuela NOLS.
39. Ética de los Bosques
40. Fiscalía del Medio Ambiente
41. Free Flowing Rivers USA
42. Fundación Greenpeace Pacífico Sur
43. Fundación Melimoyu
44. Fundación Oceana
45. Fundación para la Tierra
46. Fundación Pumalín
47. Fundación Semilla
48. Fundación Sociedades Sustentables
49. Fundación Terram
50. Fundación Vaino Auer
51. Fundación Yendegaia
52. FutaFriends USA
53. Generando
54. Geoaustral
55. Global Response
56. Greenpeace International
57. Greenpeace, Spain
58. Ingeniería sin Fronteras
59. Innovación Eólica Cabrera
60. Instituto de Ecología Política
61. Instituto del Patrimonio Natural y Cultural
62. International Rivers Network USA

63. IPADE
64. Justicia Chile
65. Mani Tese, Italy
66. Natural Resources Defense Council USA
67. Obispado de Aysén
68. Observatorio de Multinacional en América Latina – Paz con Dignidad, Spain
69. Observatorio de Responsabilidad Social Cooperative
70. Para el Desarrollo, Corporación Privada de Aysén
71. Patagonia without Dams, Italy
72. Paz con Dignidad Madrid y País Vasco
73. Probe International, Canada
74. Radio Encuentro
75. RENACE
76. SEO / BirdLife
77. Servicio Paz
78. Servizio Civile Internazionale, Italy
79. SETEM, Spain
80. Viuda de la Tierra
81. WWF Spain
82. WWF, Programa Ecoregión Valdiviana
83. Xarxa per un Nova Culture del' Aigua, Spain