



**Power, Rights and Interests—Lessons from the Mesa de Diálogo y  
Consenso CAO-Cajamarca, Peru**

**Presentation Notes**

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**ABSTRACT**

Power, rights and interests are three social responses that shape relations of affected people and their advocates with governments and corporations. But which response results in more positive development impacts for affected communities? The story of the Mesa reveals important lessons about global/local encounters as it traces the challenges and opportunities key stakeholders faced when they came together to resolve conflicts regarding social and environmental impacts of the mine and improve development outcomes for local people.

Using the Mesa as a case study, this presentation will examine broader lessons related to global/local encounters, including:

- How different social responses impact industry-community relations
- Forms of social mobilization and their effectiveness in improving conditions of affected communities

- Issues of representation and legitimacy
- Ethical/political dilemmas raised by transnational advocacy efforts
- Factors that influence the outcomes and sustainability of collaborative initiatives like the *Mesa*

## **INTRODUCTION**

### *Solving problems collaboratively*

Around the world, community groups and government authorities are increasingly entering into dialogue processes with company representatives to identify and resolve social and environmental concerns. These collaborative problem solving processes take a variety of forms, but their overarching purpose is to commit key stakeholders to work together to resolve issues through dialogue. Many believe that dialogue processes can empower communities and help resolve and prevent conflicts.

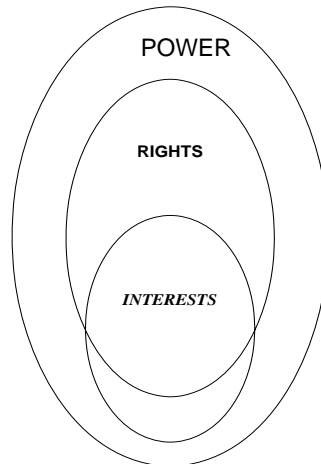
The story of the Mesa de Diálogo y Consenso has shown that a comprehensive dialogue process can generate substantial progress under the right circumstances. These circumstances vary, but at a minimum, they require a company with the will to address community concerns while maintaining economic viability, and a community with sufficient leverage, resources, and skill to move through often long and complex processes. These conditions are almost never fully present at the initiation of a process. Indeed, the road to dialogue often begins with an incident of hazard and outrage followed by ongoing grievances and substantial opposition in the form of demonstrations, direct actions, mobilizations, road blocks, and even violence. These events can spawn

opportunities for problem-solving dialogues and improved company-community relationships. With skillful facilitation and commitment by the parties, such opportunities can be nurtured and developed.

To capture key challenges and lessons from the Mesa de Diálogo, the Compliance Advisor/Ombudsman (CAO), the independent recourse mechanism for the private sector arms of the World Bank Group, prepared a series of 3 monographs that tell the story of the Mesa, including its formation, the collaboratively designed and implemented water study and the participatory water monitoring program (CAO 2007). This presentation summarizes key lessons from the monographs and offers a framework and practical tips for how to help companies and communities move from power and rights-based processes to problem-solving dialogues that address interests, needs and concerns of all sides.

### **POWER, RIGHTS AND INTERESTS—A FRAMEWORK FOR CREATING CHANGE AND ADDRESSING CONFLICT IN EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY DISPUTES**

Before detailing the story of the Mesa de Dialogo, it may be useful to present a framework that offers three different approaches for creating change and addressing conflict in extractive industry-community disputes—power, rights and interests.



### *Power based approaches*

In this first approach, those who have the power to enforce their will or have sufficient vested authority impose a change or a solution on others regardless of their will. Power based approaches are often destructive, sometimes violent and seldom lead to improved relations. However, they are not always harmful. Strikes, public protests, media campaigns, boycotts and efforts to obtain political power may be thought of as legitimized exercises of power that can produce very positive results. Sometimes individuals or groups must develop their potential to exercise power and demonstrate their willingness to use it before less confrontational approaches can be effective. Many social movements in North and South America have begun by promoting their causes through exercise of power including labor, civil rights and environmental movements.

People use power to achieve change for a variety of reasons:

- People don't have much of a relationship and the only way to achieve change is to force someone else to do it.

- Parties may have had a relationship, tried to work something out in a more peaceful manner but that approach was not successful.
- Power is a way of struggling and formalizing a relationship of exchange based on expectations parties have of each other. One party may use power to force the other to recognize they should be paid attention to/are a force to be dealt with.
- Parties feel they have no alternatives and use power out of desperation and deep frustration

### *Rights based approaches*

Rights, in the broadest sense, are a codification of responsibilities, obligations, entitlements and benefits. Rights can be achieved through power, a negotiated agreements, the legislature, a judicial decision, and so forth. In a rights based approach, the parties look to legal, regulatory or contractual rights for definitive guidance about what should be done, how change should happen or how a conflict should be resolved. Because power based approaches are often disruptive, costly and hard on relationships, parties to a conflict may wish to implement alternative strategies, particularly once it becomes clear that power is sufficiently distributed among the contending parties to make the process costly and the outcome doubtful. Creation of rights based frameworks through which disputants can attempt to get their needs met by asserting their privilege or claim under some established structure of law, policy, regulation or procedure provide an alternative to power-based strategies.

The structure of rights based conflicts tends to focus parties less on what they need and more on what they are entitled to. A rights-based process has its advantages and disadvantages. On one hand it discourages destructive power struggles and sets parameters around both the process and potential outcomes of conflict. On the other hand it tends to distract people from considering what their needs really are and can emphasize form over substance. Rights based approaches can be costly, unpredictable and time consuming as well. But they are also fundamental to democracy and the rule of law.

Parties most often employ rights based approaches when it is desirable to formalize rights over time in order to ensure predictability, fairness, justice and a mechanism (rule of law) that is independent of personality. (General managers change but laws do not.).

#### *Interest based approaches*

Interests are the needs, concerns, fears, goals that parties in a conflict have. Often they are dependent on the other person to satisfy their interests. In selecting an interest-based approach to resolve a conflict, parties work together to craft a proposal that meets as many of their needs and interests as possible. The essence of interest based problem solving is not that the disputants are necessarily collaborative or nice but that they try to deal with the conflict by discussing the various needs they have as opposed to trying to impose a solution through the application of power or the assertion of rights.

In summary, parties to a conflict such as a mine and a community, have a choice about what strategies to pursue—negotiating around interests, adjudicating rights, or pursuing

power options (accessing the political process, conducting mobilizations or strikes).

Ideally, many conflicts can be resolved in an equitable manner, at the lowest level through negotiating around interests. Under this approach, the focus is on the desires of the actors in the dispute not what a person can do based on their rights and power, although both rights and power inform their decisions and agreements. Consequently, interests are addressed within the context of rights which take place within the context of power. Often, disputants look to power and rights-based approaches first, and incur significant transaction costs. Generally speaking it is advisable to start with interests and move to rights based and power based strategies as a later recourse rather than at the onset of a problem.

All approaches have costs and benefits. Parties should determine which approach will best help them achieve their goals. For example, sometimes it is the application of power, rights, fairness that is needed. For example, when unempowered disputants engage in an interest-based conflict resolution procedure without having taken steps to develop their power or assert their rights, they are very vulnerable. In other situations, overuse of power and rights can escalate conflict and damage relationships. Other problems also arise if parties use incompatible approaches.

Parties resort to an interest based approach when:

- A power-based strategy achieved the result of getting people to the table to talk/dialogue
- It is desirable to build an effective working relationship to achieve their goals

- The goal is to prevent conflict by addressing concerns from all sides
- They don't have a better alternative. In other words, it is not in either sides interest to pursue an adversarial (rights based) or power based strategy
- Parties require a more customized approach because the problems have more facets than just rights.
- There is a shadow of the future and the possibility for joint gain and benefit exists for both sides. For example, the company needs a relationship with the community to do business and gain/maintain the social license to operate. The community needs the company to gain benefits that will help it establish a more positive future according to its own terms and values

In the context of conflicts between communities and extractive industry projects, a healthy conflict resolution system resolves most disputes at the interest level, fewer at the rights level, and fewest through power options. This is a healthy system for several reasons:

1. Negotiating interests is less expensive than adjudicating rights or pursuing power options.
2. Negotiating interest results in mutually satisfactory solutions while the other two approaches are win-lose.
3. When power-based alternatives are tried, the losing side often is angry and may try to get back at the other side whenever they get the chance.

4. Interest based approaches are usually less time consuming than the other approaches and recommended when preserving relationship is important.

## **THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL CONTEXT IN RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES AND THEIR HOST COMMUNITIES**

The story of the Mesa cannot be measured, appreciated, or understood as an isolated event. It takes place within a complex historical context that dates back 500 years.

Indeed, the arrival of the Yanacocha gold mine in 1993 rekindled collective memory of events surrounding the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro's infamous confrontation with the Inca king Atahualpa, a story of gold, power, exploitation and betrayal that took place in the central plaza of Cajamarca. Then, as now, the conflicts involved asymmetrical power relationships and many people who lacked the skills, knowledge, and voice to engage constructively in decisions that affect their lives and their future.

Similarly the relationship between any company and its host community exists within a historical context. Indeed, many relationships have been difficult, particularly where a negative legacy of mining exists. In Peru relationships were characterized as follows:

1. Community perceptions of high risk and low reward. Although the company may be paying their taxes, the community has no experience of benefit being returned to them.
2. Inherent tension between "our ideas" and "theirs"... ideas from here versus ideas from away.

3. Peru and many places where extractive industries thrive, are power based cultures characterized by small elites who historically controlled and exploited the population. In some places, mining companies are perceived similarly.
4. A vacuum of rights, exacerbated by weak governance, and weak regulatory environments. Rule of law may exist on paper but not on the ground. It is not lived. Although a mine may be from a culture that is more rights based or interest based, the broader culture of how conflict is resolved in its host country is more powerful than the country from which it came.

For a company to be successful at avoiding the trap of predominantly power-based approaches, their leadership must consider alternative strategies up front. If companies want smooth relationships with host communities, they need to decide if the power-based approach to change, relationship and conflict is the most appropriate way to go or if another approach is more appropriate based upon their goals.

Using the Mesa as a case study, the remainder of the presentation will focus on the origins of the conflict in Cajamarca between the community and the mine; development of an approach to help the parties move from power based to interest based strategies; the results of the engagement and key challenges and lessons learned

## **ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT**

Initially many Cajamaricans, particularly those from urban areas, accepted and even welcomed the mine as a source of economic development. Overtime, however, local people began to change their views. In the beginning, discontent was focused primarily in

rural areas closest to the mine. But early January 2000, protest reached Cajamarca when thousands of people filled the main plaza .

Coming largely from rural areas around the city, they converged to express their opposition to the actions of the Yanacocha gold mine, located less than 50 km from where they stood

Numerous community leaders took the podium declaring that the mine posed a threat to the health of the region, that it had unfairly purchased land, that it participated in corrupt activities with the government, and that its planned expansions would only exacerbate these problems. Protesters waived banners proclaiming “Life, Yes. Gold NO”; “No more mine expansions”; Clean water is a right that we demand.”

Despite these protests and others to come, the mine proceeded with expansion, denied allegations of contamination, and attempted to manage conflicts as they arose. The local inhabitants continued to protest, and from time to time erected temporary road blockades restricting access to mine.

Frustrated by their inability to engage with company, some community representatives and advocacy groups brought their concerns to the attention of the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the private lending arm of the World Bank who had an equity share in the mine. Although the bank listened, its responses resulted in little change in the course of community-mine conflicts.

Six months after the Jan 2000 protests, a watershed event occurred that changed the dynamics between community and company. On June 2, 2000 a truck contracted by the

mine spilled 151 kg. of mercury along 40 km of road that passed through three towns.

Believing the mercury to be valuable many local residents collected it from the road.

As a result of exposure to mercury, hundreds of people exhibited various degrees of poisoning. Controversy erupted on a local, national and international scale. Complaints against the mine that had been accumulating over nearly a decade came to the forefront of tense, public debate.

The Compliance Advisor/Ombudsman (CAO), the accountability mechanism of the private sector arms of the World Bank, conducted an independent investigation and early in 2001 a group of people affected by the mercury spill filed a formal complaint with the CAO, alleging a lack of response by the mine to the recommendations of the Independent Commission. Shortly thereafter, the CAO received another complaint from community groups claiming that Yanacocha was adversely impacting the water, air and livelihoods of surrounding villages and that mine development was occurring without adequate community consultation, as required by IFC policies.

The CAO recruited CDR Associates to lead an international team of mediators to conduct an impartial assessment of the conflict. CDR's role was to help the parties find a way forward rather than act as a fact-finder, judge or arbiter in the dispute. In a climate of growing community opposition to company operations characterized by protests, mobilizations and road blockages, the CDR team traveled to Cajamarca, Peru to clarify the issues and concerns raised by the complainants, gather information on how other stakeholders viewed the situation and help the CAO and stakeholders determine whether

and how the parties might resolve the issues raised in the complaint, using a problem-solving approach.

## **RESULTS OF THE MISSION TO CAJAMARCA**

For communities like Cajamarca, large-scale development projects represent forces of dramatic change, putting tradition and development on a collision course.

Admittedly, change leads to opportunity for those able to take advantage of it. But change also puts others at risk. At one level, these risks can be about water quantity and quality, economic development, health concerns, and air pollution. More often they reach much deeper, raising issues of equitable sharing of risks and benefits, trust and respect, dignity and self esteem, and fundamental values around independence and self-reliance, life styles, and the role of government, companies and civil society in determining and contributing to their joint future. The tension between change and tradition extends even further, to the very core of the identity of the domain and its people and has the potential for irreversible harm as well as benefit.

High expectations for employment and economic growth opportunities were quickly dashed and replaced by the headaches of in migration, inflation, haphazard development for urban areas. For rural areas closer to mine, direct impacts included changes in land use and land tenure, alternations to the quality and quantity of some waterways and landscapes, increased traffic and in migration.

The mine was initially projected to have a short life span. As a result, the town did not anticipate the eventual foot print and impact the mine would have. Profound questions began to surface but were met by silence. Local citizens were asking:

- How long will the mine operate
- What will the impact be on quality of life in rural and urban areas
- What will happen to the economy and the environment when the mine leaves
- Who is regulating the mine to ensure human health and environment are protected

The persistence of these preoccupations led to a sense of insecurity and frustration. Louder voices began to ask questions, make demands publically and mobilize in costly protests. At the same time that problems and protests surfaced Minera Yanacocha was discovering vast amounts of gold reserves, exceeding their wildest expectations, throwing them into a continuous state of growing pains that required daunting efforts of catch up.

## **STRATEGY: MOVING FROM POWER AND RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES TO INTEREST BASED SYSTEMS**

In response to interviews with all the key stakeholders, the congressional delegation, community groups, government, academics, IFC, and so forth, we began an intervention which lasted more than five years. CDR's strategy was multi-dimensional, encompassing stakeholder mapping and assessment, the development of a dialogue roundtable known as the Mesa de Dialogo y Consenso CAO Cajamarca (Mesa) and a range of programs and activities initiated by the Mesa. The Mesa's primary objective was to prevent and resolve conflicts between the community of Cajamarca represented by 52 institutions and Minera

Yanacocha. The Mesa served as the centerpiece for a comprehensive dispute resolution system, design of a participatory water study and community water monitoring program as a means to resolve conflict and build trust, and implementation of capacity building in both problem-solving skills and technical issues to prepare all stakeholders for dialogue and engagement.

#### *Stakeholder mapping and assessment*

After holding discussions with more than seventy-five stakeholders from civil society, affected communities, local, national and regional government, academia and the company, CDR concluded there was a compelling need to take a systems approach to the complex set of issues raised during the field visit. Clearly, the two individual complaints filed with the CAO were part of a much broader web of interconnected, community grievances alleging adverse impacts from the mercury spill, environmental impacts, lack of meaningful consultation, corrupt hiring and contracting practices, failure to fulfill promises to communities. Underlying all of these concerns was a profound lack of public trust in the mine and in the government. CDR feared that if the CAO addressed these grievances one complaint at a time, rather than in a more systemic way, it would be faced with a flood of cases from many individual complainants. The company was particularly vulnerable to complaints because of the high probability of ongoing risks and adverse impacts common to many large mining projects. Even if the grievances were based on perceptions, whether justified or not, a meaningful forum was needed to provide a space for dialogue and the resolution of conflicts. On this basis, CDR proposed that the CAO in partnership with the parties, establish a dispute resolution system capable of handling

recurring social and environmental concerns that would inevitably arise over the projected 20-50 year life of the mine.

*Development of a dialogue roundtable...a problem-solving forum for many voices*

With the CAO's assistance, CDR's team convened and facilitated a community-wide Mesa de Diálogo y Consenso CAO-Cajamarca (Mesa) which served as the heart of the dispute resolution system. The Mesa was a roundtable process created to foster productive exchange among diverse voices and prevent, address and resolve the conflicts between the mine and surrounding communities. Discussions took place under a transparent, open, independent and participatory framework. CDR worked with the Mesa to design the roundtable architecture, including the representation structure, goals, scope of issues, process, agendas, operating protocols, and governance structure, with the intent of developing (in partnership with the parties) a collaborative approach to problem solving that was independent, locally owned and locally run. The Mesa's identity was technical rather than political and its motto captured its spirit, -- "*Dialogue means: we are all different, we all have part of the answer, and together we have the solution.*"

More than 52 institutions, including Yanacocha, came together to form the Mesa and committed to work to resolve issues through dialogue. While community concerns were wide ranging, through a series of discussions Mesa participants selected two top priorities: Yanacocha's impact on regional water quality and quantity, and the health of the mercury spill victims.

*Guidance in the development of a participatory water quality and quantity study and community water monitoring program*

The issue of water has the capacity to unite as well as divide project sponsors from their host communities. In the case of Cajamarca, water was a divisive force fueled by multiple and competing sources of information about the state of water quality and quantity.

Technical data, local knowledge and customary experience, rumors and disinformation were pitted against each other, and predictably yielded opposing and confusing conclusions. CDR also recognized that water, a universal issue important to everyone, had the power to connect stakeholder groups, if addressed skillfully and transparently through an inclusive joint fact-finding approach. It quickly became clear that more trusted and scientifically valid information was needed to advance a productive dialogue about water issues and that local people and the mine had to be involved.

The Mesa called for an independent, technically rigorous study conducted by unbiased scientists to create new, trusted knowledge that would contribute substantively to the conflict resolution process between the community and the mine. The Mesa agreed that the water study would be participatory and would examine the broader effects of the mine on local water sources. CDR worked with the CAO, the Mesa and a team of independent scientists contracted by the CAO to design and implement a year-long, technically rigorous water study that included extensive participation in a number of important areas. Stakeholders had a voice in:

- framing the study questions.

- determining the study design—i.e., recommending that surprise sampling visits take place during weekends and in the middle of the night.
- developing a participatory research process or joint fact finding approach that relied upon local community *veedores* (observers) to increase the credibility of the study process and results. The *veedores* were recruited from all parties. They accompanied the technical consultants on field sampling trips where their role was to observe, ask questions, check to make sure that study or monitoring protocols were being followed. They were also tasked with informing their communities and the broader public about what the technical team was doing. While *veedores* did not guarantee the technical quality of the study because they did not have the background for such a role, they participated in a series of technical trainings to prepare them for their role as witnesses and objective communicators.

Community participation in joint fact finding and analysis of technical issues was proposed again when the Mesa decided to sponsor a community water monitoring system, as one of the follow-up activities from the water study.

### *Capacity building*

To facilitate effective engagement in the dialogue process, the CDR team provided joint training for all Mesa members in effective communications, collaborative problem-solving, interest-based negotiation and mediation. These skills were used in plenary group meetings, smaller working groups and

deliberations by the Board of Directors who served as the governance mechanism for the Mesa.

In addition, CDR and the technical consultants made significant efforts to build the technical capacity of members of the Mesa to ensure understanding of the study process, the data, its interpretation and the results. In addition, special presentation procedures were developed where consultants explained complex information in easily understood terms. It was critical to build the capacity of people in both the rural and urban communities

### **RESULTS: THE MESA'S LEGACY**

The Mesa's achievements are many and diverse.

1. A new "culture of dialogue" was created between the community and the mine that enabled the parties to diffuse tensions and raise, discuss and resolve a number of issues in a respectful and tolerant manner.
2. The Mesa pioneered a highly credible, independent, participatory water study that relieved some of the concerns of local people about the quality of their water at least in the short term, and identified areas where future work would need to be done to assure preservation of water quality in the longer term. The Mesa's work in this realm was groundbreaking as it also demonstrated how a joint technical study on water quantity and quality can be used to build trust and relationship between a company and a community as well as address water-related conflicts.

3. The Mesa established an innovative, participatory, water monitoring program that also provided quality assurance for the water monitoring programs conducted by other institutions. The program was designed collaboratively and the joint objective was to “ensure, in a continuous and participatory manner that the quality and quantity of the surface and groundwater of the watershed adjacent to the Yanacocha mine provides water adequate for different uses (human consumption, agriculture, and aquatic life) and to ensure that each institution assumes responsibility.” Particularly noteworthy were the efforts made by the Technical Commission established by the Mesa. This group of local volunteers was selected based upon their technical knowledge and ability to be objective. Their efforts were supported by Mesa technical staff and an independent scientist involved in the initiative. Together they were responsible for interpreting the data, drawing conclusions and reporting back to the public. In addition to disseminating results through the news media, Commission members and Mesa staff personally visited affected communities on a regular basis to discuss the results and their meaning for the community.
  
4. The Mesa influenced environmental and social practices at the Yanacocha mine in several areas including water management, complaints tracking and compliance and transparency.

*a. The Mesa’s landmark technical work was a catalyst for a number of water-quantity projects, including:*

- Enhanced water monitoring and expansion of potable water systems in a number of affected communities
- Establishment of a tripartite partnership composed of the company, a municipality and the Watershed Institute to construct some 200 reservoirs in 18 villages with the goal of maximizing production for farming families during the dry season. Drip irrigation technology was also part of the plan to enhance conservation practices and reduce the risk of impacts from droughts.
- Reservoir construction in a former mining pit, in order to deliver large quantities of treated water to the canals affected by the mine's operations.

*b. The Mesa helped advance compliance with community-mine agreements*

In the past, the mine's perceived lack of follow through with accords it had entered into with local institutions and communities fueled ongoing conflict. The Mesa helped catalyze a complaints tracking mechanism to ensure compliance with agreements made between the company and community.

- The Mesa began tracking agreements with Yanacocha, including recommendations from the water study and water monitoring program as well as specific claims of noncompliance brought by Mesa members.
- An expanded tracking system is now in place and is administered by the local branch of the national government ombudsman office.

*c. The mine improved its performance in the area of disclosure and transparency*

On numerous occasions, the Mesa voiced complaints regarding the mine's apparent lack of transparency. For example, the mine did not readily share plans for future expansion or its environmental monitoring results. The Mesa dialogue process, joint fact finding experience, participatory studies and community monitoring program paved the way for increased disclosure and transparency from the company and improved the way they report on their activities:

- The mine has opened an information center in the city of Cajamarca and has begun producing an annual sustainability report to document expenditures and contributions on social, cultural and environmental themes related to operations.
- Water monitoring results now appear regularly on the company Web site.

5. At a more systemic level, the Mesa has influenced the experience and practice of the IFC independent accountability mechanism, the CAO, providing insight and guidance on how to work more effectively with communities, companies and government. It is also interesting to note that IFC performance standards now require that companies develop a grievance resolution system to address community grievances when they anticipate ongoing risks or adverse impacts to affected communities.

## **CHALLENGES AND LESSONS**

The Mesa's efforts to foster productive dialogue have signified many things to its diverse participants and observers. As a forum for debating environmental and social concerns, conducting a year long participatory water quality and quantity study with a follow up multi year, comprehensive community water monitoring program, training participants in conflict resolution, the Mesa has at once inspired, disappointed, perplexed.

Still the Mesa persevered while some critics hoped and worked to destabilize it. Despite the many challenges and complexities, and a climate of unstable social and political dynamics, we succeeded in bringing parties together, facilitating dialogue, and introducing tools for managing conflict between the community and the mine productively. Along the way we faced many challenges and learned powerful lessons about how to promote interest-based conflict resolution in complex development projects, enhance company performance and accountability, and promote improvements in the lives of project affected people.

Some of the broader lessons related to global/local encounters, revolve around eight challenges:

Challenge 1: Laying a solid foundation for dialogue and establishing institutional standing

Challenge 2: Dealing with hazards and outrage

Challenge 3: Managing dividers and connectors

Challenge 4: Assessing the historical, social and legal context

Challenge 5: Balancing power

Challenge 6: Establishing independence

Challenge 7: Creating leverage

Challenge 8: Managing ethical/political dilemmas raised by transnational advocacy efforts

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, this work demonstrates the power of dialogue and the capacity to develop highly innovative, multistakeholder processes and locally-based dispute resolution systems that prevent and resolve conflicts (whether perceived or actual) between affected communities and companies. CDR in partnership with the CAO were able to establish one of the few viable structures in Cajamarca to successfully engage a cross-section of all parties and reach tangible agreements that have addressed and resolved some of the most contentious issues between the community and the mine.

## **REFERENCES**

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