

STAKEHOLDER GROUPS IN CHOCÓ MINING DURING THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

The department of Chocó is the second largest producer of gold, and the first largest producer of alluvial platinum in Colombia. This territory is born of the Spanish explorations whose aim was to increase wealth. Thus began the Real Mines. Furthermore, the highest level of mining technology comes into play during the nineteenth century, generating economic growth and allowing for the diversification of economic activity, regionally.

This paper characterizes four stakeholder groups (i.e., academy, entrepreneurs, government, and society) in order to identify the role that each stakeholder has played in Chocó mining activity. This work is based on a secondary bibliographic review that specializes in mining issues. Moreover, this research is pioneering because it is the only documentation that collects, in a single document, all the published mining history of one of the regions with the highest gold and platinum wealth in all of Colombia.

Ultimately, entrepreneurial stakeholders comprised the group with the greatest power since this group made possible the modernization of mining activity. Civil society established tools for work safety and safety within the territory. The participation of the academy was minimal because there were no institutions execute training. However, the different political-administrative regimes that existed in the territory promoted political-administrative and social conflicts that privileged certain actors.

Key words

Gold, platinum, history, stakeholders; Chocó

INTRODUCTION

The reconstruction of mining in Chocó is based on a bibliographic review from secondary sources, as well as primary sources (i.e., semi-structured interviews). Three sections are addressed: the first develops the context; the second, some general information of mining activity from its origins until years after the completion of mining operations by multinational and national companies; and, finally, the third section explains the characterization of selected stakeholders.

The stakeholders mentioned are the academy, private industry, government and society. These have been carefully selected in order to establish a certain objectivity within the research and to be able to identify all key actors in the development of mining activities. The area of interest is the Chocó department and the San Juan region for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as it is one of the mining regions with the highest incidence mining company operations.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Colombia's Chocó department is located in northwestern South America. It is the only territory with two coasts, the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. It has 30 municipalities grouped into 5 regions (i.e., Atrato, Darien, North Pacific, South Pacific, and San Juan) (Government of Chocó 2017). Chocó is the only department on the western Pacific ocean that forms part of the neo-tropical corridor named biogeographic Chocó (Botero, 2010; Díaz & Gast, 2009; IDEAM, 1959).

Chocó has incredible biological diversity. There are records of 86 types of vegetation, 778 species of birds, 139 species of amphibians, 192 species of mammals, and 188 species of reptiles (Rangel-Ch, 2015). At the same time

Chocó has a cultural richness of ethnic groups (black, indigenous, and mestizo) (Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund, 2005) and is recognized worldwide as a hotspot of high biological biodiversity (Medina et al., 2016; Bertzky et al., 2013). The population for year 2015 was over half-a-million inhabitants, of which 90% was of black ethnicity, 6% mulatto and white, and the remaining 4% indigenous (Asamblea Departamental del Chocó, 2016; DANE, 2015).

The Chocó economy focuses on primary mining activities, forestry, fishing and agriculture (CODECHOCO, 2009; Gobernación del Chocó, 2017; Min Minas; IIAP, 2013; IDRC-IIAP; 2004). For the year 2016 mining contributed 22.5% to departmental GDP (metal ore 22.2% and non-metallic 0.3%); and agricultural activities contributed 15.9% (extraction of wood 7.0%, other agricultural products other than coffee 6.0%, livestock production and hunting 2.4 %, aquaculture 0.4%) (DANE, 2016).

As a note of definition the term stakeholder was used for the first time in the 1970s, but the pioneer of the term is John Freedman in 1984. It is defined as “any group or individual that can be affected by the achievement of business objectives,” or those who can influence directly or indirectly, positively or negatively, within an organization the fulfillment of goals (Freedman, 1984), and it has been approached from the perspective of social responsibility as a tool for the fulfillment of broader objectives (Miguez Gonzales, 2007).

HISTORICAL MINING RECONSTRUCCIÓN

Before the Spanish conquest of America there were native indigenous living the Chocó territory, such as Noanamás, Citará, Tamanaes y Cunas—all belonging ethnically to the Embera (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010a). These groups took their names depending on the place where

they lived: the Noanamáes in Alto and Medio San Juan; the Tamanae over the Tamaaná basin; and the Cunanas in Bajo Atrato (Ulloa, 1992). Other indigenous, such as the Kunas (Cunacunas, Taracunas, Cerracunas), were in the Gulf of Urabá and the region of the Darién. They were considered indomitable groups and warriors, even burning the first towns founded on mainland San Sebastián of Urabá, and then Santa María la Antigua del Darién (Luis; Gonzales, 1997a).

During the time of the conquest they were simply recognized as Choco or Chocoes (Mosquera, 2003), and “they [did not] accept the presence of European invaders in their territories” (V. Restrepo, 1952). These indigenous groups worked mining in jewelry, bracelets, chokers, pectorals that represented power, religiosity, arts, and means of exchange to acquire other items, such as salt, corn, and others (Cordoba & Rovira, 2003; Campuzano, 1994). The pre-Columbian Chocó era had large deposits and non-renewable natural resources. When the Spaniards arrived in Tadó the indigenous were regularly trading with the center and south of the country. Salt was extracted from Mungarrá-Aguasal, as well as silver, platinum and copper (Echavarría, 1986).

The first Spaniards to arrive at Chocó entered the Gulf of Urabá in 1510 and moved along the Atrato River. They were led by Vasco Núñez de Balboa and 180 men (Mosquera, 2003). At the end of September 1510 the first city was founded on the mainland Santa María La Antigua del Darién (Luis Gonzales, 2011). By 1511 Balboa discovers the Atrato River, which was initially called San Juan River. Then the Spaniards named it “río grande del Darién” (Romoli, 1975; Isacson, 1975). Pascual de Andagoya would be the first to explore the Pacific Coast (Tamayo, 1993).

The indigenous were forced to work agriculture and mining in severe ways that decreased the population. This

spurred the colonial slave society led by the Dutch and Portuguese which was based on the violent and massive transfer of African populations from the Coasts of Mauritania, Guinea or Cabo Verde, Coast of Gold and rivers or Sierra Leone, south of Congo River, and the whole region of Angola (Moncada, 1979; Echavarría, 1986; Fernandez, Ramos, Camello, & Gallego, 1989).

In the 17th century the first population centers called Real Mines (Reales de minas) sprang up, as did towns like Novita, which was characterized by being the largest producer of gold over the basin of San Juan and Citará (Quibdó). In fact Novita was the administrative center and headquarters of the Royal Treasury (Luis Gonzales, 1996; Cordoba & Rovira, 2003; Ministerio de Cultura, 2010b). In the century that followed these territories were considered the seats of the Spanish Crown's mining economy, serving the Government of Cauca afterwards (Cano, 2015).

Vicente Restrepo has compiled the existing documentation of 17th and 18th century Colombian mines, namely documents consolidated by travelers. Julián Mellete, a French merchant who traveled the Cauca from Barbacoas to the Gulf of Urabá in 1819, told his lived experience:

[...] ...Novita is a very big city and very famous for the abundance of its gold mines; its wealth attract vast number of merchants. Everything is extremely expensive there (...) El Tadó is very miserable in foodstuffs but very rich for its gold mines of first-rate quality (...) Zitará (Quibdó) is a city very famous for the wealth that facilitated its numerous gold mines. It maintains great commerce within the country, but mainly with Cartagena, and receives merchandise by exchanging gold dust or pieces named 'tejo'; the abundance of its metal, which is top quality, makes everything there excessively priced [...]

Mr. Roberto B. White, in his travels through the territories of Chocó (1870 to 1878) noted:

[...] ...If we wanted to mention all the rivers and streams of Chocó that have gold, we would form a long and tedious list. Let's just call its two large rivers, Atrato and San Juan: the Certegui river, the Quito river, the Andágueda, the Cabí, the Bebaramá, the Murri etc., [and the] tributaries of the Atrato: The rivers Cajón, Sipí, San Agustín, Tamaná, the Condoto, Santa Rita, Iró, tributaries of San Juan [...]

M. Carlos Saffray, upon returning to Paris, published in 1872 on his trip to New Granada in the magazine *Le Tour Du Monde*. He affirmed that:

[...] ...Chocó is the Province of New Granada that has most enjoyed its reputation for the wealth of its gold mines, and Spaniards began to exploit them some time after its establishment and then continued until the abolition of slavery. The gold of Chocó is generally found in powder, or in small plates, or as fine sequins; however, some large granules have been found [...]

Intrigue surrounding Chocó platinum mounted in 1778 and lasted 34 years, during which time Chocó was the unique global source of the metal until the discovery of deposits at the Ural Mountains in Russia, which rendered Colombia the second most important producer of the metal (INGEOMINAS, 1987).

The 1851 abolition of slavery reduced the workforce, and Novita lost economic power due to the subsequent decline in mining activities. Quibdó yet prospered because of its commercial activities (Sharp, 1981). After abolition many black people continued working mining with the same

techniques and artisanal, small-scale mining, which sustained them economically (V. Restrepo, 1952).

In the middle of the 19th century both surface gold and the corresponding workforce diminished. The obsolescence in techniques motivated mine owners and politicians to consider the possibility of foreign investment in capital and technology as a way to boost mining activity (Leal, 2009). At a national level the price of gold decreased (a result of the wars of independence), and the poor capacity to generate investment by the state caused government to precipitate conditions for entry of foreign companies to stimulate economic growth and to reactivate the national economy (Cano, 2015).

In 1889 the first foreign companies from the United States, London, Belgium, Holland, France, entered and explored and exploited the riverbeds of the Atrato, San Juan, Condoto, Opogodó, Tamañá and Neguá rivers (Mosquera, 2003)—characterized by the use of dredges considerably increasing production and exports (Gonzalez, 2003; Bonet, 2007).

In 1916 one of the biggest gold and platinum extraction companies was created. Its structure, its volume of production, its technology, its equipment, its technical and operative capacity all allowed for development and activity for 60 years. It was built from foreign capital associated with the mining company Chocó Pacífico S.A. (CMCHP; Echavarría, 1986), though it mainly monopolized the extraction of platinum via the International Mining Company (IMC) (Luis; Gonzales, 1997b).

The golden age of mining in Chocó ended with the purchase of CMCHP by national investors in 1974 with Colombian miners, or by “nationalization.” This company would operate for a few years and start the process of liquidation on January 13, 1986, or “regionalization,” whereby a new company, Precious Metals of Chocó S.A. was established. It was later liquidated by the national

government. These events secured the disappearance of industrialized mining and made it so that gold and platinum production would decrease (Jimeno, Sotomayor, & Valderrama, 1995).

Large-scale mining activity has not been reactivated, but it has been possible to intensify and scale-up medium-scale mining through backhoes, motor-driven pumps, hydraulic lifts, small suction dredger and fork gold dredge (Quinto, 2013; Min Minas; IIAP, 2013; Mosquera, 2003). Some of the consolidated companies have restarted mining activities through the use of backhoes associated with “Aluviones de Colombia S.A. y Extracon S.A,” which develop their work in Condoto municipality, Condoto (Bustacara, Palomeque, Caicedo, & Hineztroza, 2015; Chocó 7 Días, 2012).

Some of the testimonies that reflect the entrance of backhoes to Chocó get communicated by some of inhabitants:

[...] ... It was there in ‘86 and on. I came to serve in the eighties, and I stayed here, helping my dad in the mine and in agriculture and the route Tadó-Pereira was being built when the misfortune of the entrance backhoe came. They started mining exploiting with backhoes, which—as an equipment that was going to do the work of men with the same function of the arm, the same work does the backhoe, it stretches, grabs and dumps—always gave an impression it could be a much easier work to produce more gold and platinum what we work in Chocó quickly, and on a major scale. At the same time our wealth dried up because, when we work to advance five meters in the mine, the retro advances more in a week, and then it ends up being much faster than manual labor. And the other thing is that when the retro arrived, initially, they rented the land thinking it was like renting a house—that is, renting

it per month. It was two hundred, three hundred, or four hundred thousand pesos. Everybody was excited, and more than one rented the land. Some of us lagged, and a short time later we had the difficulties and needed to lease [...] (Angostura-Tadó, 2017).

[...] ... Here they started working the mines by the '70s. What they did was dismantle at night and by day work mining. He came with a machine and saw good results in fifteen days. He got another machine. Here, the person who leased the mine for two hundred thousand pesos, hoped they would work mining for five months, which was a lot of money then. But miner was so smart. So what they got two and three machines and took out the gold in less time. The problem when the land was leased was that the owner had power when work was going on; one could only take a shower, and we did not have rights for anything. We only got the money that corresponded to the rent. As soon as they washed the ore... No one had rights to anything. We knew nothing. So, we had to think about that, and we decided to charge a percentage because they left, and we got nothing. The fee was the 10% or 15% of the washing for the landowner [...] (Tadó, 2017).

CHARACTERIZACIÓN OF STAKEHOLDERS

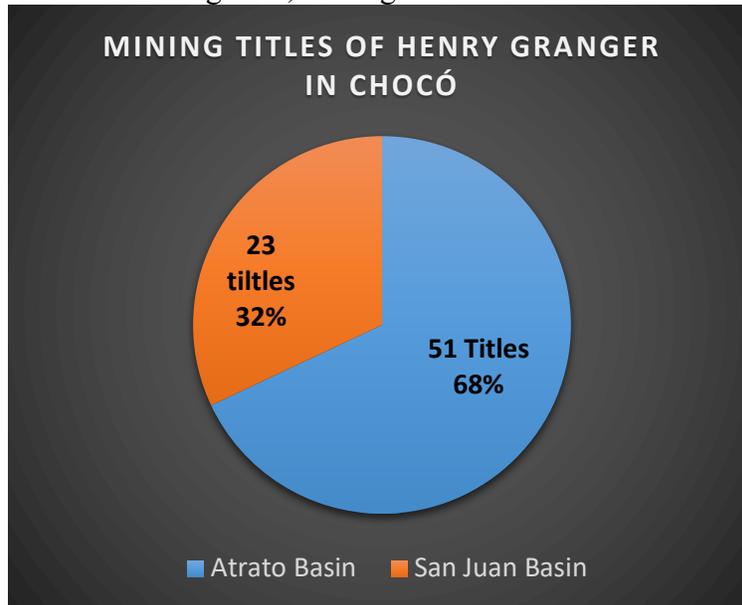
Investors

Members from this group were mostly foreigners who developed the exploration and exploitation/extraction of the riverbeds in Chocó (Atrato, San Juan, Condoto, Río Iró and Quito). Their participation was of great importance since it allowed to create large companies. Nevertheless, due to the constitution of La Lozana, the participation of people from the region was minimal.

Henry Granger

A North American who came Colombia in 1889, Granger became one of the biggest explorers and mining owners in Chocó. He promoted mining in Colombia, and particularly in Chocó, through two publications in the United States mining magazine “The American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers” in 1899 and 1908; he explored and exploited in the riverbeds of the San Juan, the Atrato and some of its tributaries in association with the Leisohn brothers; and he formed the Pacific Metal Co Company (CPM), a subsidiary of the South American Gold and Platinum Company that would eventually become the Chocó Pacifico (Echavarría, 1986). Granger married a woman from Cartagena, María Cercera de Granger, who also gives her mining titles to him (Leal, 2009). The following illustration details the titles granted to Henry and his wife in the territory of Chocó. Figure 1

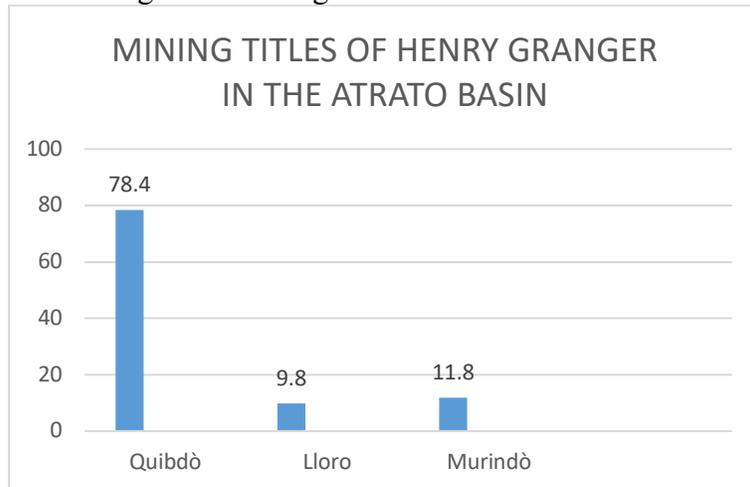
Figure 1, Mining Titles in Chocó



Source: adapted from Lopez Cano (2015)

Henry was considered the largest title holder of department, with 74 mines, most of them located in the Atrato basin. On the San Juan, he owned strategic titles, such as mines (René and Lincoln), which had large deposits of great mining interest (Cano, 2015).

Figure 2: Mining Titles in the Atrato Basin



Source: adapted from López Cano (2015)

Figure 2 details the titles given in jurisdiction of the Atrato basin being the 78.4% in Quibdó and correspond to conceptions about the Neguá, Atrato, Cabí, Ichó, Murri, Tutunendo, Arquía, Samurindó, Bebaramá rivers.

Figure 3: Mining titles of the San Juan River

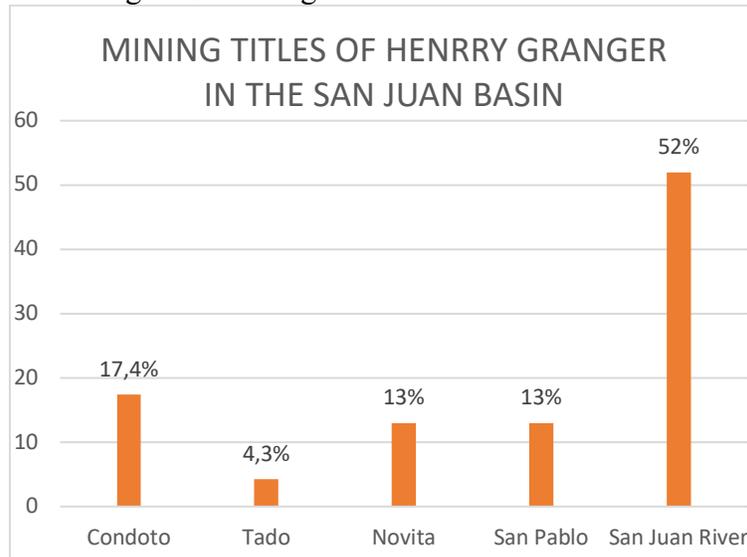


Figure 3 shows all the mining titles Granger had in the San Juan River basin. Despite having only four in Condoto these mines generated more production than those located on the San Juan due to the genesis of sediments.

Between Granger and the Anglo Colombian Development Company (ACDC) there were conflicts of interest originating from the overarching legal regimes that existed above the Rene mine. Litigation lasted approximately one year and ended with the suspension of activities on May 29 of 1916 of the ACDC to be considered “secret possessor.” That same year both parties involved an agreement ending in the constitution of a new company in which both would participate.

Benjamín Pray

Pray was the first foreigner to establish a dredge in Chocó to carry out mining operations in 1880. Along with some partners he formed two companies to carry out mining

operations. In 1883 one of the companies introduced the first dredger, which sunk before arriving. In 1885 the company imported another dredger, but it worked for only a short time. Another company was dedicated to modernizing traditional mining by using high-pressure water to excavate banks, a process called hydraulic mining. By 1889 it was possible to exploit a mine using the hydraulic method. However, due to the lack of planning and studies carried out it was necessary to close operations one month after starting (Leal, 2009).

General José Cicerón Castillo

Cicerón Castillo was a Buenaventura resident who participated in the War of Thousand days. At the end of the war then-president Reyes gave him and other generals riverbeds to work mining operations, and the Ministry of Public Works, by presidential order, grants concessions on November 30, 1907 (Leal, 2009).

General Cicerón formed a company in Bogota with the purpose of making effective the obtained concession that corresponded the entire Condoto Riverbed, operations which consisted of removing by use of dredges the metals present from the headwaters of the river to its mouth in the San Juan. Over the course of 21 years the General performed exploration and exploration work and started hydraulic operations (Echavarría, 1986). However, difficulties forced him in 1911 to offer his concession to the English company Consolidated Gold Field of South Africa Limited. Only until 1912 the transfer was made through a resolution on December 21 was Castillo able to transfer his concession to the Consolidated company through the Anglo-Colombian Development Company Limited, a subsidiary of the Consolidated firm (Cano, 2015).

The Anglo-Colombian Development Company Limited

For two years the Anglo-Colombian Development Company Limited (ACDC) carried out prospecting work with a staff of between 10 and 30 foreigners, and local workers ranging from 150 to 300 people (Leal, 2009). These workers made purchases of properties adjacent to the area granted in the title of General Cicerón and established a camp in Andagoya in 1915 and start mining operations with a steam dredge brought from England (Melo, 1975).

The ACDC was granted 10 kilometers corresponding to the mouth of the Condoto River to San Juan, the same that was authorized to Granger for a period of 15 years. It was necessary to carry out operations in two years or less, otherwise it would be revoked. However, the Government of Cauca never monitored the titles granted in Chocó; only when the ACDC started the exploitation phase did Granger take legal actions causing problems for both parties (Leal, 2009).

The conflict between both parties stemmed from the ACDC's dredging work on the Condoto and San Juan rivers. Since 1914 the Chocó had been under national stewardship, which affirmed the ACDC had the right to dredge the entire Condoto Riverbed, and also because it was part of a concession granted by General Cicerón Castillo. However, it was not like that the judge would determine make such a ruling. According to court order and comparisons of titles the ACDC was only holding the mine, not a regular owner of the mine. In his concession of 1907 the General had declared that "The contractor was committed to respect the rights of third parties" (Cano, 2015).

Chocó Pacifico Mining Company (CMCHP)

This company originated from the legal dispute between CPM and ACDC. It decided to set up a new company called Compañía Minera Chocó Pacifico on June 11, 1916, and as a result of La Vuelta, a hydroelectric plant was built on the Andagueda River, which supplied energy for the dredges of the operation, a mining camp and some mining towns (Echavarría, 1986).

CMCHP made technological investments in prospection studies, sieve analysis, machine imports (e.g., steam and electric dredges) (Moncada, 1979), infrastructure (e.g., laboratories of metal separation and smelting, mechanical and electric workshops). Since the 1916-1974 Colombian constitution the industrial camp and administrative center were located in Andagoya. This crowded center counted on academic services (primary and secondary school) health care, river and air transportation from 1960 (Mandinga Airport), where gold and platinum trading was coordinated as well as necessities and machinery. This company used the implementation of the amalgamation systems with mercury to obtain sought after minerals (Varela, 2013; Escalante, 1975). CMCHP was the largest generator of employment in the region, equivalent to 80% of total wages (Mosquera, 2003).

Some of the reasons that motivated the company's exit were the patriotic pressures based on the exploitation of the resource; the expiration of the concessions and the obligation to pay the fixed assets of the company to the nation; the obsolescence of machinery and equipment; new deposits of gold, platinum and uranium found by International Mining Co., and the evasion of social commitments (Mosquera, 2003).

Due to the company's structuring it operated without informing the Government about the agreements made in the title. Where the Granger coincided with those of ACDC

would be exploited as owners, that is, without having to pay the State rights transference by concession; but in those cases where only the concession was held, 10% of the profits would be paid (Leal, 2009)(Varela, 2013).

The company Chocó Pacifico left the region in 1974 after approximately 60 years of operation as the largest gold and platinum extraction company. They sold goods and titles to an enterprise called Colombian Miners SA (Castillo & Varela, 2013).

La Lozana

The first legal entity formed by natives of the region, “La Lozana mining society” emerged on December 6, 1910. It extended several kilometers along both banks of the Condoto River. In 1911 the Lozano family received the title, and the ACDC bought the actions of the majority of the partners the following year (Leal, 2008; Escalante, 1975).

Colombian Miners S.A.

These Colombian businessmen bought the company Chocó Pacifico, headed by Prieto Ocampo, Michelsen, Uribe and Santamaría. Collectively, they were Colombian Miners SA and had two operation centers active in Antioquia (Zaragoza, Segovia, Remedios through the Nechí river dredging) and Chocó, operating the titles in charge of the CMCHP (INGEOMINAS, 1987; MINEROS, 2004; Mosquera, 2003).

Merchants

The gold and platinum trade was led by Syrian-Lebanese merchants. Among some of the most remembered surnames are: Abdalá, Abuchar, Azar, Bechara, Barchas, Casab, Cook, Curi, Chamat, Halaby, Hid, Juri, Kujar,

Malluk, Marraw, Meluk, Musa, Rumié, Yasabet, Yurgaqui and Zaher. They came to Chocó because of the boom and speculation of minerals, making them a minority whose participation in the economy and politics of the department was great. They were responsible for the marketing of groceries, food, fabrics, fuel, gold, platinum, navigability on the Atrato and direct trade with Cartagena. This was consequential for small-scale mining because these merchants represented the only source of tools, supplies and equipment for mining (Cordoba & Rovira, 2003; Luis; Gonzales, 1997b).

Society

This group is largely characterized by people from Chocó, professionals and social leaders who had an impact on regional politics, and who allowed the living conditions of workers and the defense of the territory to improve.

The inhabitants of the communities of Condoto and Andagoya constantly presented conflicts with the CMCHP because they violated collective rights to access the Condoto River. This includes dredger access to the urban area of Condoto, the segregation and marginality product of apartheid in Andagoya (camp of the CMCHP) and Andagoyita (black population), and lack of access to services and company benefits (Castillo & Varela, 2013).

- Diego Luis Córdoba was one of the most influential people in Chocó. He suppressed “the platinum tax,” or a contribution that the artisanal small miners paid for working in the titles of the mining company that was a duty executed by the staff of private security of CMCH (Mosquera, 2003; Rausch, 2003).
- Ramón Lozano Garcés was a lawyer and a mining law specialist, a political leader and a legal advisor of Company's mining Workers' Union. He was a defender of decent working conditions who managed

to provide the CMCHP staff with protection for mining projects (Varela, 2013).

Academy

The academy participated little, and most of the contributions to the region came from elsewhere. Only in 1975 was the institution of education in Chocó reformulated to include mining programs and the use of technology in mines (Universidad Tecnológica del Chocó, 2017). Antonio de Ulloa was the first metalworker to visit Chocó to record the presence of platinum, which was of considerably greater interest than gold (INGEOMINAS, 1987).

State

In Chocó titles were granted when the region belonged to other provinces. This generated sociopolitical and legal conflicts around old titles of specific properties, including mines and riverbeds, which were areas of public interest.

- In 1594 the Spanish Crown incorporated the Chocó under the Government of Popayán.
- During the 17th and 19th centuries Chocó belonged as an added territory to the ancient Government of Cauca. During this period hundreds of titles were given of ownership over land and subsoil, as well as mining concessions of land and riverbeds to national and foreign companies.
- On September 28, 1726, the royal charter formed the Province of Chocó, designating Novita as its capital.
- By decree 1347 of 1906, Chocó was segregated from the department of Cauca, which belonged according to Law 8 of 1821, thus forming the National Intendancy of Chocó.

- Then in 1908 Chocó rises to the level of Department, which only lasted a year due to law 65 of 1909, which divided the territory again into 10 departments.
- Law 13 of November 3, 1947, also affected the status of the department and Quibdó

During the period of President Rafael Reyes (1904-1909) an economic model was established for the modernization and protection of industry by encouraging investment. The intention was to strengthen the state through fiscal and capital sources from the mining titles and the use of dredging technology in rivers whose dual purpose was to allow the path of vessels of greater capacity (Cano, 2015).

A number of laws and decrees were created at this time which were later derogated after 1909 due to their unconstitutionality. For instance:

- Law 59 of 1909 prohibited the adjudication of gold and platinum mines in the riverbeds of navigable rivers (supplemented by Law 72 of 1910 on the prohibition of the adjudication of mines in riverbeds in Chocó and Darien to foreigners and foreign mining companies). Similarly, the policy generated by President Rafael Reyes to quickly capture fiscal resources and capital for State expansion and modernization increased speculation (Cano, 2015)

At the height of mining development there was no authority in the region that could follow up, monitor and control development and activities in order to avoid environmental impacts and more. Only from the 1970s on did the environmental issue reach critical mass. As result environmental regulations cropped up. For 1993 institutions and responsibilities were defined and disconnected from other national agencies (República, 1993). The only follow-up figure that counted the State, was the "Inspector of Platinum," who by July of 1925 identified the fraud that CMCHP carried out for many years regarding the payment

of the tax for the areas in which they were a concessionaire (Leal, 2009)

Ministry of Public Works

This entity granted concessions for the exploitation of riverbeds. Among its functions was the verification of related operations, which corresponded to a term of more than 2 years, as well as functions that were not developed by the institution due to nullification of the title granted to Granger by expiration of term, who only after 15 years he performs mining work in the area granted. Nor did this institution take a position on conflicts between the ACDC and the PMC (Cano, 2015).

Government of Cauca

This government during the eighteenth century approved the riverbeds in Chocó as private property. So many of the rivers were adjudicated for mining exploitation, and this authority did not follow up to verify compliance, nor did it generate changes that would improve the living conditions of the populations of Chocó (Leal, 2009)

DISCUSSION

Mining is a sector of the extractive industry that impacts the environment and creates social issues. Simultaneously, mining is one of the sectors that can engender greater development because of the infrastructure, supplies and requirements that are necessary for mining labor. However, this is only possible if mining is carried out according to planning and the participation of all stakeholders possibly affected by it. The application of techniques and technologies that promotes a decrease in negative impacts and a constant training of human capital are

some of the prerequisites for mining work. They allow for productive linkages and sustainability over time.

Moreover, mining work is an economic activity that uses non-renewable natural resources to earn some profits produced by extraction. Nevertheless, responsible and sustainable mining must create spaces that diversify production, strengthen articulation among actors, generate strategies of cooperation, improve the living conditions, promote investment in human capital, both physically and socially. It must innovate, educate and technologize in order to take advantages of the conditions in the soil and to establish solutions around to extant dynamics.

Mining activity in Chocó is and will be one of the main lines of the regional economy because of availability and gold-bearing wealth in the region. In addition, cultural awareness of black communities has grown, and so has knowledge of the corresponding heritage. Given that mining is the source of livelihood of many populations, it is important to reestablish mechanisms that permit the materialization of profits earned by mining.

For this reason mining activity during 19th and 20th centuries was kind of responsible, as it created regional development through economic diversification in such sectors as agriculture, forestry, and food (e.g., carbonated beverage factory LUX, sugar factory Sauatá, the agro-industry of rubber in Baudó). These all improved the living conditions of the inhabitants in nearby areas. Similarly, it is imperative to invest in infrastructure of public transport, to create airports, to increase civilian infrastructure (schools, elementary schools, health care center), and more (Bonet, 2007).

All this must be done fairly responsibly because this economic diversification came from the surpluses of individuals—not directly promoted by mining companies. Furthermore, it facilitated living conditions for a population lacking resources and infrastructures for education, health,

transport, energy services. At present some infrastructure endures thanks to adjustments and improvements.

CONCLUSIONS

This research compiles and consolidates in a single, complete document the facts, events and stakeholders involved in the mining history of Chocó. By assembling together all this knowledge it is possible to characterize every stakeholder group and to know the role, work and contribution of each.

Among the main conclusions of the research are the following points:

- The stakeholders of major importance to the mining activity in Chocó are the investors due to their ability to provide technical, financial and technological capital at the outset of mining development. Besides the surplus from mining in Chocó these contributions were not directly reflected in territories hosting mining companies. Profits flowed into government, to the initiation of companies, to the development of materials development, the consumption of private goods and the reinvestment in the region by the laborers who produced the wealth.
- Society was comprised stakeholders, which allowed for improved living conditions in overcrowded areas with dense population centers. Such areas directly influenced the mining companies and their employees, as they made possible the defense of the territory and of the civilian population that depended on them for subsistence.
- Government stakeholders contributed to an increase of social, administrative and environmental conflicts, principally caused by the lack of institutions for the development of controlling, monitoring and auditing this activity.

- The constant variations in jurisdiction applicable to mining issues across several provinces (Popayan-Cauca) was another factor. There were several means of governance (Federal-stately) besides contradictions in the civil and mining codes, which, incidentally reveals the fragility and vulnerability of institutionalism involving the state and multinational companies.
- The poor participation of the academy coincides with the non-existence of academic institutions during the working years of foreign multinational companies and could have influenced its origin.
- It is possible that from mining operations of CMHP the passive mining environment and the problematic use of mercury began.

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