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Incorporating Biodiversity Conservation in Peruvian Development - A history with different episodes

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Abstract

Conservation movements in developing countries, such as Peru, arise in relation to predominant perceptions concerning development and progress. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Peruvian government adopted a development vision that promoted the colonisation of the Amazon region, which led to the expansion of agricultural, infrastructural and extractive projects. As a reaction to this development paradigm, citizens formed various conservationist groups to push the protection of biodiversity onto the political agenda. This article analyses how these different groups emerged and started to develop a discourse on biodiversity conservation. After conducting qualitative interviews with stakeholders, discourse groups were identified and described with regard to their historical appearance. For example, in the 1980s, a group of mainly biologists started forming NGOs and supporting projects in and around protected areas. Contrastingly, another group is looking at conservation as a traditional, cultural activity of indigenous people. With the ratification of the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) in the early 1990s, a new political momentum led to important legislative and institutional changes, which stood in contrast to the general development agenda of resource based growth. A new perspective started to enter the discourse with the creation of regional governments in 2002, which led to new practical questions about local biodiversity management. After studies like the Millennium Ecosystem report and the TEEB assessment (The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity), economic approaches to biodiversity conservation initiated a new perspective on biodiversity policy. While those different discourse groups do not automatically contradict or exclude each other, this article sheds light on the different historical situations and motivations underlying these discourses.

1. Introduction

As in many other Latin American countries, Peru's orientation of economic development towards the extraction of primary resources often contrasts with its intention to conserve biodiversity. Although the political system in Peru underwent drastic changes over the past decades, all political episodes shared the economic focus on the exploitation of primary resources which, according to its extent, put increasing pressures on the environment (Bebbington, 2013). As a reaction to environmental degradation, social impact resulting from these economic developments, and demographic expansions and migration, different interest groups who advocated in favour of conservation entered the political stage at different levels and influenced the national conservation discourse. In environmental discourses, meanings and explanations are expressed in story lines that can change with the appearance of new actors and interests (Hajer, 1995). Accordingly, different lines of argumentation for nature conservation appeared in Peru’s history. In order to better understand the motivation and the perspectives towards conservation of the different movement, it is helpful to relate them to general political developments regarding land-use and environmental policy.

Peru already committed to the idea of conserving ecosystems in protected areas in 1940 by signing the American Convention on Flora and Fauna. However, only two protected areas existed in Peru before 1973. The military dictatorship in the 1970s, led by Juan Velasco Alvarado until 1975 and Francisco Morales Bermúdez until 1980, started an agrarian reform that expropriated the farm estates and gave them to community associations to manage. The first legal mechanisms for the designation of protected areas were included in the general forestry law in 1975. The next president, Belaunde Terry again allowed personal land ownership and promoted the colonisation of the Amazon

region at the same time (Belaunde Terry, 1959). Despite these development orientations, 33 protected areas were created between 1973 and 1988. At the end of the 1980s, due to financial crisis, almost no governmental funds remained for park management.

In the 1990s, in the time of the Fujimori regime, the gap between general development and conservation policy was further widened. The legal code for the Environment and Natural Resources (Código del Medio Ambiente y de Recursos Naturales, CMARN) as well as the System for Protected Areas (Sistema Nacional de Areas Protegidas por el Estado, SINANPE) were adopted in 1990. Along with signing the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) after the Earth Summit in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, a number of laws and institutions were created. The agency to manage the protected areas and natural resources, INRENA (Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales), was founded in 1993 as part of the Ministry for Agriculture. It also managed the fund for the management of protected areas (Fondo de Promoción de las Áreas Naturales Protegidas del Perú, Profonanoe), which was established in 1992. The environmental agency CONAM (Consejo Nacional del Medio Ambiente) was founded in 1994 to answer to the international responsibilities that derived from the CBD and the other Rio conventions. In 1997 the Law of Protected Areas, the Law for the Use of Natural Resources, and the law for the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Biological Diversity were adopted in 1997 (see table 1). In contrast to this, the legal decree 757 delegated competencies for environmental policies to the Ministries of the productive sectors, while at the same time demanded elimination of all regulative obstacles to economic activities and private investments (Charpentier and Hidalgo, 2007). The National Planning Organisation (Instituto Nacional de Planificación, INP), which had been responsible for coordinating the sector interests, was suspended alongside the Office of National Assessment of Natural Resources (Oficina Nacional de Evaluación de Recusos Naturales, ONERN). No new protected areas were created during this time.

In the new Millennium, both institutions and policy implementation for conservation were significantly strengthened. The government established the Ministry for the Environment (MINAM) and its subordinate agency for protected area management (Servicio Nacional de Areas Naturales Protegidas por el Estado, SERNANP) to replace the weaker CONAM and INRENA. It also developed new laws and policy plans for their implementation. After the creation of the regional governments in 2002, several competencies for the management of land and natural resources were decentralised, such as land-use planning.

In contrast to capacity building for biodiversity conservation, the ideology of economic growth based on the extraction of primary resources still dominated policy. The expansion of agriculturally harvested area from 2,089,580 hectares in 1995 to 3,113,965 in 2010, and particularly growing investments into mining projects from about a billion US dollars in 2005 to over 8.5 billion dollars in 2012, have sent clear signals of intensified resource extraction.[2] In particular, the intensified extraction of natural oil and gas is increasingly threatening protected areas and other primary forests in the Amazon (Finer and Orta Martinez, 2009). The national organisation Defensoría del Pueblo reports an increase in reported socioecological conflicts from 16 in the beginning of 2006 to 124 by the end of 2009 (Oxfam, 2009).

[2]Numbers taken from the National Institute for Statistics and Information, www.INEI.gob.pe, accessed in November, 2013

Table 1 Overview on important legal and institutional developments concerning conservation policies in Peru (own compilation)

Year	Creation of Institution	Law / Strategy??
1940		• Washington Convention for the Conservation of Flora and Fauna
1974	ONERN	• Law 20588
1975		• Forestry Law, Ley 21147, defines National System for Conservation
1990	CMARN, SINANPE	• Codigo del Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales • Sistema Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas (Sinanpe)
1991		• Legal Decree N° 757 Distribution of Competencies to the political sectors,
1992	PROFONANPE	• Peru signs the CBD, approved with Resolución Legislativa 26181
1993	INRENA	• New Political Constitution with article 68 on natural resources
1994	CONAM	• Law 26410
1997		• Law of protected areas (Ley 268349) implementing regulation in 2001 • Law for the Use of Natural Resources (Ley 26831) • Law on the Conservation and Sustainable use of Biological Diversity (Law 26839), implementing regulation in 2001 • National Plan for the Environment
2000		• New Forestry Law (Law 27308)
2001		• Biodiversity Strategy (Estrategia Nacional sobre Diversidad Biologica), adoption with Decreto Supremo 102-2001-PCM • Plan Director de Areas Nacionales Protegidas (ANPs) -National Plan for the Management of protected areas
2002	Regional Governments	• Law of Decentralisation (Ley 27783)
2004		• Definition of Responsibilities n Environmental Management - Sistema Nacional de Gestión Ambiental (SNGA, Ley 28245), • Regulations that define responsibilities in regional and local Management of the environment (Sistemas regionales y locales para la gestión ambiental)
2005		• General Law for the Environment, Ley 28611, replaces CMARN
2008	MINAM, SERNANP,	• Legal decrees 1013 and 1039, Decreto Supremo 006-2008-MINAM • Designation of protected areas as cultural heritage, decreto 1079
2009		• New Plan Directo de las ANPs, Decreto Supremo 016-2009-MINAM • New Forestry law (Law 29763), implementing regulation not yet approved in august 2014 • General Environmental Policy, Decreto Supremo 012-2009-MINAM
2011		• Strategic Environmental plan 2011-2021 (PlanAA)

Throughout more than 40 years of Peruvian history, conservation movements appeared as a reaction to perceived threats to the environment. In this article, I assume that today's understanding of natural conservation in Peru is a result of the different movements and storylines that influenced the discourse throughout history. I analysed the present conservation narratives based on 72 qualitative interviews with experts who have substantial experience regarding Peruvian conservation policies. Applying Grounded Theory, I identified different storylines for conservation ideologies (for a more detailed presentation of the methodology and the narrative groups, see Zinngrebe, 2016). This article

analyses how those storylines have appeared in Peruvian history and how they relate to political developments of various times.

2. Methodological Approach

The body of empirical information is derived from open qualitative interviews that I conducted in several field studies from 2012 to 2014. Using a snowball approach possible interviewees were identified to ensure the maximum structural variation (Froschauer and Lueger, 2003) starting with members of the commission on biological diversity. After the conduction and analysis of 72 interviews the condition of theoretical saturation was met and interviews only supported existing categories.

Interviewees were asked to describe developments, accomplishments and challenges of conservation policies in relation to their respective experience and responsibilities. All semi-structured interviews dealt with the question of important changes in conservation policies, time and stage of political changes, role and influence of different actors, and the relation to other developments.

The interviews were analysed and grouped using MaxQDA software. The different lines of argumentation were identified and characterised in three coding steps according to Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; for more detail on the methodology, please see Zinngrebe, 2016a).

Below, those different groups are presented with regard to historical references and connection to development issues. In order to connect the movements to historical developments, statistical data from governmental sources and other secondary sources were used.

3. Historical episodes in Peruvian Biodiversity Policy

Looking at political and economic developments on both sides, such as the establishment of protected areas and other conservation policies on the one hand, and deforestation rates and other ecology-threatening developments on the other hand, Peruvian conservation history can be structured around different periods. Protected areas were mainly established in the time frames from 1973 to 1988 and from 2001 to 2012 (see Figure 1).

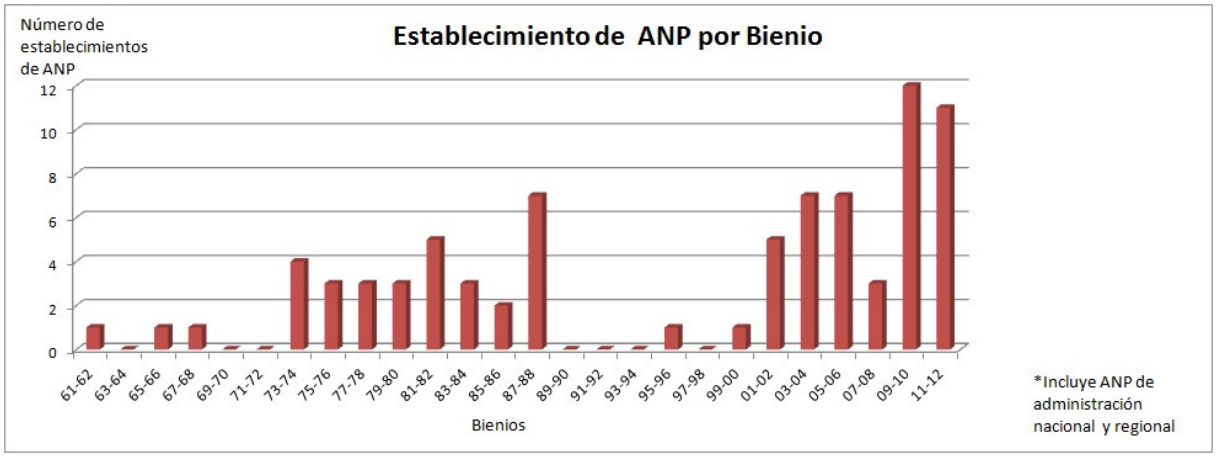

Figure 1 Creation of National Protected Areas in Peru from 1961 to 2012, taken from www.SERNANP.gob.pe, accessed August 2014

3.1 Biodiversity Protectionists in the 80s and 90s

As historical developments demonstrate, conservation policies and instruments started to appear in the 1970s. One of the first conservation projects was the project of the Conservation of the Vicunas (Vicugna vicugna, an Andean camelid mammal), initiated by Felipe Benavides Barreda and executed by Antonio Bragg Egg. As a reaction intensifying natural resource extraction and increasing pressure on the natural ecosystems, a first conservation movement arose in the early 1980s. With the availability of funding from the MacArthur foundation and The Nature Conservancy (TNC), the first NGOs were founded, namely APECO (Asociación Peruana para la Conservación de la Naturaleza), FPCN (Fundación Peruana para la Conservación de la Naturaleza, which in nowadays is known as ProNaturaleza), and the Conservation Data Centre (CDC) at the National University University La Molina. While an economic crisis arose, little governmental money was invested in the management of protected areas. However, the young NGOs focussed their work mainly on protected areas. A founder of APECO remembers:

> *So we started working in 1982 opportunistically with the issue of a road crossing the National Park Manu, which is considered to be global cultural "patrimonio" (!!). At the time, the government had a policy of open spaces in the Amazonia, which should be colonised. And the park was an obstacle (estorbo), they could have constructed the road around it, but there were already oil concessions in that area.*

Several other international and national NGOs started projects in Peru focussing mainly on local projects in and around protected areas instead of confronting macro-developments on the national level. However, some cases of conflict, such as the planned road crossing the protected area of Manu mentioned in the quote above, led to confrontations between the NGO movement and government policies. Governmental projects, such as the special projects ("proyectos especiales") around the rivers Huayaga and Mayo, were initiated to open the Amazonian forest and supported by international funding institutions, such as the World Bank. While the country struggled with an economic crisis, further areas were designated as protected.

In the 1990s, conservation policies and projects were strongly influenced by the political changes at the time. After an economic crisis and increased terrorism in the 1980s, the Peruvians elected Fujimori as their new president, who promised drastic changes. As mentioned in the introduction, Peru signed the CBD in 1992 and initiated a range of institutional and regulatory innovations. INRENA and CONAM were founded, and SINANPE, CMARN and several laws adopted as indicated in table 1. However, interviewees who were professionally active during that time remember that the government gave little importance to conservation policy implementation:

> *CONAM did not have the power of a ministry and only little could be applied or implemented due to a lack of budget and staff. CONAM also prioritised brown topics, no green topics.*[3]

However, partly due to international commitments and funding opportunities, several advances in conservation policy and capacity building were advanced in the shadow of the market liberation policies of the Fujimori government. Examples are the environmental fund "Profonanpe", which was established to channel donations from the World Bank and other international donors to support

[3] „Brown topics“ refer to issues of environmental quality and sanitary services, while “green topics” point to biodiversity and conservation (find more in Glave Testino and Barrantes Cáceres, 2010)

conservation projects in and around protected areas. Together with the Technical German Development Cooperation GTZ, the Plan Director (the General Management plan for the protected area system) was developed in a participative process initiated in 1996. The final plan was passed in 2001.

The principal functions for the regulation and implementation of environmental policies were delegated to the political sectors (Charpentier and Hidrobo, 1999). The government focused its effort on extractive activities. In an interview a Biodiversity Protectionist observes:

> *Obviously the sectors continued to prioritise exploitation activities.*

3.2 A New Millennium and Conservation Pragmatism

After the Fujimori dictatorship, the political atmosphere changed again. However, the neo-liberal economic orientation remained in the administration of the Presidents Valentin Paniagua, Alejandro Toledo Manrique, Alan García Pérez and Ollanta Humala Tasso. As stated by a member of the movement:

> *So this was Fujimori, and the people didn't have anything. We were closed up. And suddenly Fujimori came and we started to open up. And then came the TLC and the promotion of international trade.[4] The ministry for Exportation and Tourism was strengthened with this international trade and the TLC. And with Toledo, this policy was incremented - the investments, the exportation and all that. Toledo practically sold the country. Fujimori started to sell it and Toledo finished selling it.*
>
> *Because the last three governments that we have had, Toledo, Garcia and Humala, they all are lined up in the issue of exploitation of resources.*

The continued exploitation puts growing pressures on the Amazonian rainforest and the Andes. In the Amazon region, 70 % of its surface was covered in 2004 by oil and gas concessions (Pinto, 2004). In 2000, 30-50 % of the surface area of three Andes regions lay inside mining concessions while in seven others, 20-30 % was covered (Bebbington et al, 2008). In the face of this growing demand for land, conservation projects and movements have to increasingly confront these processes. The governmental capacity for the regulation and implementation of conservation policies was significantly strengthened after 2000. The government adopted several new laws and decrees, established protected areas and boosted implementation through the creation of a national Ministry for the Environment and subordinated agencies, such as the protected area agency SERNANP (Servicio Nacional de Areas Naturales Protegidas del Estado). In parallel, the traditional NGOs continue their projects in and around protected areas to reduce pressures on the ecosystems. However they are also increasingly confronted with land-use conflicts. As an example, ProNaturaleza has to deal with the construction of a road and hydroelectric power plants close to Inambari at the Brazilian border, which was estimated to cause around 300.000 hectares deforested rainforest (Serra Vega, 2010).

There are different opinions on how to deal with these conflicts. Several pragmatists in the conservation movement demand a stronger focus on explicit conservation regulations and improved institu-

[4] *TLC stands for Tratado de Libre Comercio and refers here to the Liberal trade agreement with the USA*

tions for implementation. Different biodiversity policies are dominated by other parts of the political sector. For instance, the commission for Biotrade is chaired by the Ministry for Export and Tourism. In the rivalry of political sectors and the competition for funds distributed by the Ministry for Economy and Finance, several conservationists adopted economic approaches and argue for a conservation of biodiversity as natural capital (see section 3.5). The regulatory pragmatists however, criticise this perspective and fear a capitalisation and a sale of the ecological foundation of the country. Instead, they call for stronger regulations. Several pragmatists complain about the institutional weaknesses and lack of instruments for coordination. They regret that coordinating institutions, such as the national planning agency INP and the Office for Evaluation of Natural Resources (ONERN), were disbanded. They criticise the weakness of the new planning organisation, CEPLAN, and intersectoral commissions, such as the commission for Biodiviersity (CONADIB) and Biotrade, in aligning with different political interests. They further criticise that conservation planning remains vague in defining measures for implementation and responsibilities in their execution.

3.2 Indigenous Rights and Biodiversity for the People

The indigenous movement was already starting to form institutional federations in the late 1970s. With the creation of AIDESEP (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva, Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Jungle) in 1979, and CONAP (Confederación de las Nacionalidades Amazonicas del Perú (Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru) in 1987, the indigenous communities started to organise themselves. Especially in the 1990s and early 2000s, when large number of the available mining concessions were distributed, the indigenous community felt excluded from the decision processes that defined what their areas should be used for. Regarding parts of the Amazonian region as their land, they want to take part in the decisions on their land. They traditionally advocate against the external intrusion of their lands by big companies and international organisations and raise campaigns against neo-liberal politics as expressed by a founding member of an indigenous NGO:

> *The state does not consult the indigenous population, even though it has a regulatory framework that requires it to do so. Why doesn't it do it? There are several reasons. But the principal, a structural one, has to do with the role of the state after the Washington consensus. The Washington consensus, in the year 92, has opened a new scenario, a new role of the regulation of the state regarding the entry of companies and multi-national corporations. At the end of the 20th century, the countries in general modify their regulations, which they had before the decade of the 90s regarding the presence of external capital in the territories.*

As shown by the conflict in the gas extraction Camisea, the indigenous movement holds a range of different positions on how to deal with their situation. While the local Counsil Machiguenga of the river Urubamba (COMARU) followed a pragmatic approach of securing local property rights, AIDESEP and its members promoted a position against the intrusion of any international companies, missionaries and also environmental NGOs (Pratt in Bebbington, 2013). In his article, Pratt highlights the importance of understanding local indigenous movements, due to their local perspective on conservation that strongly differs from those of international organisations and NGOs.

The impact and weight of the conflict of the indigenous movement with the contemporary Peruvian growth model can be understood by looking at the violent conflict of Bagua, where an indigenous

protest against a number of neo-liberal, legal changes by the government resulted in a violent escalation in which 5 to 55 people died (the number varies according to source of information) (Svampa, 2009). The government of ex-president Alan Garcia, who ordered the massacre, condemned the protest as following a communist, anti-capitalist position, hidden under an environmentalist appearance (which he called the syndrome of the "perro del hortelano", Svampa, 2009). In recent land-use conflicts and economic developments, organised indigenous communities are increasingly regarded as political actors (Crabtree and Crabtree-Condor in Bebbington 2013).

However, some examples show the possible coordination of interests from indigenous movements and governmental institutions in conservation policies. One such example is the seven community reserves that exist in Peru up to date. The representatives of the indigenous communities in the management process of the protected area "El Sira" described the historical process as follows:

> *The creation of the community reserve "El Sira" is a way of thinking, it's an idea, it is a necessity of the indigenous peoples to create a community reserve here in Peru. Because in EARLIER years there was no category of a community reserve here in Peru. As Indigenous we approached various indigenous organisations through AIDESEP and other organisations, and requested (ASKED FOR?) the creation of the category community reserve". And in 2001, with a new effort of the indigenous communities, we created this community reserve on the 22 of June, already with a governmental decree, which defines the creation of the community reserve "El Sira".Within that document were no norms or definitions of how to manage the community reserve, because as indigenous people we want that this area to be managed by us, the Indigenous. But the state considers it as a national heritage. Thus, we needed to find a consensus with the state to define how we could manage the area together. This process lasted from 2001 to 2004, three years that is. As final output of the process and many discussions, we reached an agreement with INRENA, which was part of the Ministry for Agriculture. The agreement states: "we will create the entity of the contract that will administrate the communal reserve El Sira, which now is ECOSIRA".*

This example shows that processes of negotiation between the interest groups take a long time, but that a consensus can be reached. Another example is the "Community Forest Conservation Programme" (Programa de Conservación de Bosques) by the Ministry for the Environment. Here different funds (including REDD+) are used to provide an economic incentive for indigenous communities to conserve their forests.[5]

3.3 Creation of the Regional Governments and Local Movements

The creation of the regional governments as the administrative level between the national government and the local municipalities implied that some functions and competences had to be transferred. Among these are many responsibilities for implementing conservation policies, that are in the process of being transferred to the regional governments. Examples include land-use management, the creation and management of regional conservation areas ("areas de conservación regional" ACR), the monitoring and control of concessions for conservation and ecotourism, forestry , control of ille-

[5] REDD+ - Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation is a funding scheme initiated by the UN Convention on Climat Change (UNFCC)

gal logging and reforestation projects. Some regions are also managing the responsibility to distribute tenure rights for local citizens.

Eight regional governments already posess an approved Ecological and Economic Zonification (Zonificación Ecologica y Economica, ZEE) which investigates the characteristics of the land and divides the region into sections that define their appropriate use. On the basis of this information, regional governments are supposed to manage their territory (process known as Ordentamiento Territorial, OT). Some regions, such as San Martín and Arequipa, give much importance to the land-use management process and apply them for conservation purposes. This can be illustrated by a quote from a representative from Arequipa:

> *OT is for us not only meant for conservation, but it also gives orientation for investments. In other words, if a company wants to come and invest - it is welcome to do so! But we also have to tell the company: "listen, you can invest here, but not here".*

Based on these new competencies and the creation of some regionally and locally operating NGOs, some regions produced movements that strive for stronger conservation in their areas. Seeing the impact of development projects in their regions, they want to overcome errors that have been committed in the past when trying to tackle a social problem, such as ignoring possible ecological impacts. Accordingly, a regional conservationist described an alternative development programme that aimed at developing alternative cultivations and productions for coca farmers:

> *Let's get back to the coca plantations. The coca agroforestry were strongly developed. They had installed the coca plants inside the forest. They only cleaned the forest and planted coca. But then the antidrug movement came with an absurd message: Instead of having a land-use planning process that includes potentials and limitations of the landscape, they said: "Ok, let's substitute coca for whatever crop you want". And then they selected anything. And I remember there were communities that chose rice. And they cut down all the forest where there was coca and sowed rice in the mountains. That didn't produce anything, they were crazy!*

Many regional and local governments nowadays develop initiatives of technical analyses of territories, or regional, local or private protected areas and conservation projects. However, conflicts between productive economic projects that are often managed by the national government, and regional and local conservation projects arise. When the latter's projects were condemned as selfishly hindering national economic development, the national government abolished the legal basis for local governments to politically install municipal protected areas.

3.4 Economic Perspective on Biological Diversity

In international studies such as the Stern review, the Millenium Ecosystem Assement and the TEEB report (The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity), promoted the appraisal of economic values of ecosystems. This ideology was taken up by a Biodiversity Capitalist movement in Peru. As mentioned above, the Peruvian development model aims towards economic growth, and activities are supported by funding from the Ministry for Economy and Finance if an economic benefit can be demonstrated. Thus, in order to defend biodiversity conservation against economic activities, proponents of this movement argue:

"Well, there is this real value that can be coca, gold, metals or petroleum ". If they exist, and we cannot deny that they do, we cannot cover the sun with one finger. But maybe, what is the value of nature, or let's say, throughout the centuries? If you can define that and say "You know what? If I compare a balance between what has been exploited and served to wash gold in this region and I can value the ecosystemic loss of nature in that period", I don't know, but I would bet that - if you make a good valorisation- ... that the loss of nature would be much higher than the resources that you manage to obtain, the money, the gold, the prosperity etc….

Especially after the creation of the Ministry for the Environment in 2008, more and more political instruments and publications seek to address the economic importance of biodiversity (such as biotrade[6] and payment schemes for ecosystem services). Accordingly, political goals are expressed in economic terms, as can be seen for example in the priority goal of the environmental action plan, PLANAA, for the time frame 2011-2021:

Conservation and sustainable use of the diversity of ecosystems, species and genetic resources in the country; increasing 80% of the surface area used for organic production, 70% of the exportation value from biotrade products, 50% of the investments in ecobusinesses and a 100% of the benefits and/or services generated by natural protected areas (MINAM, 2011).

As such, protected areas are also given economic importance:

An important topic that we leave aside is the economy. Because most of our politicians and civil servants think that protected areas are something passive within the national economy. They are not a part of it, but seen as something passive, that needs to be carried along, right? What we have recovered step by step from representation in international agreements is that protected areas are something active to regional governments and the country and need to be managed as such.

In order to convert the value of ecosystems into real income, proponents call for more economic instruments, such as biotrade and ecological forms of businesses. In order to develop these resources the following steps are required according to the Minister:

The problem for the Amazonia is that you need to know the resources, uncover their potential and generate the conditions for there to be a market. Those for me are the three fundamental elements: Know them, uncover their potential and generate a market. It is not enough to know paiche; it is not enough to identify the potential of paiche, you need to have the capacity to reproduce paiche in breeding stocks for there to be a market, so that it turns in to a viable resource, economically speaking. So these three steps take time, but we have to take them.[7]

4. Discussion

The different approaches and priorities of the movements become visible in the initial motivations and conflicts of the groups of conservationists. The movements presented here encompass very different actors, conservation instruments and sources of funding. However, while the groups have

[6] See UNCTAD 2007 for more information.

[7] Paiche is an Amazonean fish.

played highly differentiated roles in past conflicts on conservation, their efforts do not necessarily contradict each other. Instead, as illustrated in this article, they can lead to a variety of different conservation approaches that expands the spectrum of policy alternatives. It is worthwhile to compare defining characteristics of the movements, such as the role of rural populations, the roles the actors aspire to fulfil, and political strategies, in order to identify how the varying perspectives in fact exclude or complement each other. Such a pragmatic approach might support the development of mechanisms for coordinating different conservation and land-use interests.

It has to be acknowledged that the research approach presented here is not sufficiently elaborated to explain the political changes in the biodiversity sector. Rather, it displays that conservation movements emerged in varying constellations with strongly diverging perceptions and motivations. The clear ideological distinction of the movements causes that interviewed Peruvian conservationists still relate themselves and their narratives to those historical developments. Building on these historical developments that separated Peruvian conservation politics into different episodes, further research is necessary to explore agents of change and factors that caused a reorientation in political discourses.

5. Conclusion

Connecting the argumentations of conservationists with the political developments in Peru since 1973, we can observe that conservation movements entered the political stage in different historical moments and with different priorities. The first conservation movement in the 1970s and 1980s led to the development and implementation of conservation projects, regulation, and the creation of protected areas. Concerned individuals founded NGOs and initiated conservation projects in and around protected areas. Facing little confrontation with other development interests, such groups were able to advance policies and channel international funding into conservation projects. In the 1980s and 1990s, conservation projects were often financed and supported by international funds. Further, international commitments, such as the CBD, led to adaptations in national regulations and institutions. However, conservation politics mainly advanced, where they did not enter confrontations with productive sectors, who maintain, especially since the 1990s, most of the competences for policy implementation.

While in the 1980s and 1990s, extractivism and economic liberalisation and conservation policies were able to advance in parallel – despite their contradictory tendencies – the situation of the new millennium was different. The independent political strategies of the political sectors and weak coordination led to land-use conflicts between protected areas and petroleum or mining concessions and other competing land uses (Finer and Orta Martinez, 2009). An increasing number of socio-ecological conflicts display how this competition of land-use interests can escalate in violent conflict (see Oxfam, 2010). Prominent examples of violent conflict were the protests in Bagua or in Camisea. Analyses of these conflicts shed light on the different motivations and priorities that Protectionist groups pursue.

Indigenous and other rural communities struggle to maintain their autonomy in the land-use decisions on their territory. Convinced of the superior capacity in conserving biodiversity as part of their traditional practises, they call for governmental and non-governmental support in their projects. Experiences and collaborations have led to the creation of communal reserves as alternative conservation mechanism.

Different interests at the national and local level, as well as deficits in transparency and communication, lead to conflicts concerning the implementation of conservation policies and the coordination with other policies. The empowerment of regional and local governments gave rise to a different movement, which aims to coordinate different forms of land-use on the local level in accordance with the principle of sustained ecological quality.

With the Biodiversity Capitalist movement, several instruments based on economic valuation entered the political arena, such as green accounting and compensation mechanisms for ecosystem services. Political actors are becoming aware of the benefits of these instruments when having to demonstrate economic benefits of a project when applying for public funds from the Ministry for Economy and Finance.

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Die Wurzeln der **Fakultät für Agrarwissenschaften** reichen in das 19. Jahrhundert zurück. Mit Ausgang des Wintersemesters 1951/52 wurde sie als siebente Fakultät an der Georgia-Augusta-Universität durch Ausgliederung bereits existierender landwirtschaftlicher Disziplinen aus der Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät etabliert.

1969/70 wurde durch Zusammenschluss mehrerer bis dahin selbständiger Institute das **Institut für Agrarökonomie** gegründet. Im Jahr 2006 wurden das Institut für Agrarökonomie und das Institut für Rurale Entwicklung zum heutigen **Department für Agrarökonomie und Rurale Entwicklung** zusammengeführt.

Das Department für Agrarökonomie und Rurale Entwicklung besteht aus insgesamt neun Lehrstühlen zu den folgenden Themenschwerpunkten:

- Agrarpolitik
- Betriebswirtschaftslehre des Agribusiness
- Internationale Agrarökonomie
- Landwirtschaftliche Betriebslehre
- Landwirtschaftliche Marktlehre
- Marketing für Lebensmittel und Agrarprodukte
- Soziologie Ländlicher Räume
- Umwelt- und Ressourcenökonomik
- Welternährung und rurale Entwicklung

In der Lehre ist das Department für Agrarökonomie und Rurale Entwicklung führend für die Studienrichtung Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften des Landbaus sowie maßgeblich eingebunden in die Studienrichtungen Agribusiness und Ressourcenmanagement. Das Forschungsspektrum des Departments ist breit gefächert. Schwerpunkte liegen sowohl in der Grundlagenforschung als auch in angewandten Forschungsbereichen. Das Department bildet heute eine schlagkräftige Einheit mit international beachteten Forschungsleistungen.

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