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국제학석사 학위논문

Social Movement against Hydroelectric Dam Construction in Chile: Within the Perspective of Collective Action Frame

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Abstract

This paper aims to illuminate one contemporary social movement – Patagonia without Dams (Patagonia Sin Represas ; PSR) within the context of the Collective Action Frame Perspective. As environmental issues are ultimately a part of social justice issues, environmental movement organizations want the public to look at these issues through their frames to obtain social support. In other words, the frame is a cognitive interpretation tool that helps to understand the issue or event and give it its own meaning. Thus, change in the perception can lead to political, institutional, and cultural changes if frame resonance is successful. This study will examine how ‘Patagonia without Dams’ framed this issue and had an edge in the frame competition. By using this particular case, this research will explore how Social Movement Organizations that have different cultures and values are linked through framing processes.

Keywords: Chile, Social Movements Organization, Patagonia Sin Represas (Patagonia without Dams), Collective Action Frame, Frame Resonance, Framing Processes

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1. Study Background

Since the 2000s, large-scale development projects have been carried out in Latin America to directly connect the continent to the world market. Construction of roads, waterways and dams caused environmental change resulting in forcible expropriation and displacement of indigenous peoples' lands, thereby destroying the original cultures and Amazon Forest (Varas, 2013). Thus, hydropower potential is generally located where there are high natural resources and natural wealth, but the construction of mega-size dams inevitably causes flooding as well as other environmental harm.

Until the 1990s, these dams in Latin America were built without substantial social opposition. Scholars argue that the main obstacles to large infrastructure projects used to be scientific or technical flaw. However, now the most important hurdle for such projects has become “almost always social” (McAdam et al., 2010, p. 401). Indeed, public protests against these large infrastructure projects delay the original schedule, and it seems true especially for hydropower plant. (McAdam et al., 2010, p. 402).

Hydropower projects after 2000s faces a growing number of challenges that makes the implementation significantly delayed. Likewise, the difficulties are not technical or economic, rather social. However, economic and social development of the region as well as development of other means of communication has led to an environmentally conscious citizenship to oppose projects. In addition, environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) at the transnational level stimulate and channel public concerns to curb projects. NGOs such as International Rivers, Amazon Watch Sponsor, and Greenpeace, are part of the actions. Even recent international laws and treaties has become another challenge in developing these projects.

Thus, the key to develop these hydroelectric plant projects are the interplay between the national/international communities and developers, regarding the compensation and relocation. This paper is ultimately part of a larger investigation to find out socio-economic influence of hydroelectric dams in Latina America region, but especially looking through the Chilean case. After decades of

interaction between the developer and local communities, both key players have changed their strategy: activists send their message in a professional manner, and developers are trying to engage with civil society.

For this purpose, representative social movement case - Chile's 'Patagonia without Dams (Patagonia Sin Represas; PSR)' - was chosen to analyze the success of social movement against the hydroelectric power plant project. This paper then investigates how the environmental movement combined with civic organizations achieved its intended purpose by framing their issue, thus signaling 'frame resonance,' which means the movement's framing gain credibility by the people (Benford and Snow 2000).

This paper also evaluates this case differentiated with the previous environmental movement of Chile that reveals the self-limitation of the way of organizing, and the way of setting the agenda. At the same time, it will highlight that informatization, which has recently become commonplace, has a significant impact on the movements' framing process.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Social Movement Theories

The concept of social movement has been developed by renowned scholars since the 1960s. This discussion was mainly elaborated by John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, Charles Tilly, Alain Touraine and Alberto Melucci. They represent four main trends of social movement theory, and respectively depends on the extensions of ‘Collective Behavior’ perspective (Turner and Killian). Particularly influential theory is ‘Resource Mobilization Theory’ (RMT) by Zald and MacCarthy; the ‘Political process’ perspective by Tilly; and the ‘New Social Movements’ (NSMs) approach by Touraine and Melucci, associated with European scholars.

Turner and Killian (1987) categorized social movements as an unusual kind of collective behavior, not as an ‘organizational’ and ‘institutional’ behavior (1987:4). They depict social movement as

“a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or organization of which it is part. As a collectivity a movement is a group with indefinite and shifting membership and with leadership whose position is determined more by informal response of adherents than by formal procedures for legitimizing authority” (1987:223).

Resource Mobilization theorists in the mid-1970s, however, paid greater attention to the role of organizational resources to mobilize the movement. This approach argues that social movement effectively draws out the expression of anger by mobilizing available resources. According to them, social movement is

“a set of opinions and beliefs which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society. A countermovement is a set of opinions and beliefs

in a population opposed to a social movement.” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1217-18).

Rather than focusing on organizational factors, Tilly (1978) emphasize on the overall dynamics of a broader ‘political process’. In this process, alienated interests intend to “get access to the established polity” (Diani, 1992). A major difference between specific-interest groups and social movements lies in their actions. Interest groups normally work in the conventional system by lobbying or election campaigning. On the other hand, social movements often lie outside the political system, and their major activities are protest, demonstrations, and sometimes sit-ins. This perspective defines social movements as

“a sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support” (Tilly, 1984:306).

However, both approaches focus on the ‘how’ the social movements are organized and gather the public but made light of ‘why’ social movements came out (Melucci, 1989). Representative perspective is Touraine (1977,1981,1985)’s argument, who identified social movements as

“the organized collective behavior of a class actor struggling against his class adversary for the social control of historicity in a concrete community’ (1981:77). Historicity consists of the ‘overall system of meaning which sets dominant rules in a given society.’” (1981:81)

Overall, the definitions of social movements by several scholars shows at least four characteristics of social movement dynamics: “1) networks of informal interaction; 2) shared beliefs and solidarity; 3) collective action on conflictual issues; 4) action which displays largely outside the institutional sphere and the routine procedures of social life.” (Diani, 1992)

As a comprehensive result, hereafter, social movements are defined as “sustained mobilization of a group of organized people for a common cause and purpose” (Tilly 2008).

To pinpoint the cause of the social movements, relative deprivation was claimed to be the one until the 1960s. Ted R. Gurr argued that relative deprivation increases in the gap between what an individual expects to receive and what he or she receives in society, and this causes aggression and revolutionary anger (Kim Seong-soo 2019; Gurr 1970). In addition to this, Davis saw that people's 'rising expectations' are the main cause of collective action or revolution (Kim Seong-soo 2019 quoted; Davis 1962). In other words, the public's sense of relative deprivation, the gap between expectations and reality, is the cause of political violence or social movements. Another name for relative deprivation, a socio-psychological approach, is socio-economic inequality.

Another driving force behind social movements is ‘different interests and values’ among members of society. Dahrendorf and Coser, who developed the conflict theory, analyzed society by paying attention to social conflict. In other words, social movements are struggles for values and are promoted for the purpose of changing existing norms, institutions, values, and systems. In addition to this, Smelser defined a social movement that pursues a change in a society's value system or basic social order as a concept of 'value-oriented movement'. Socio-economic inequality, starting with ‘relative deprivation’, or ‘different interests and values’ among members of society is a study on the causes of the emergence of social movements, including anti-government protests. In other words, the aforementioned collective behavior approach is well intended to answer the question of 'why' social movements occur. However, this approach has limitations in considering social movements as temporary and unsystematic.

The Resource Mobilization Theory was criticized for their focus on social movement strategies rather than the cause of the movement. This approach makes a premise that the causes of social movements or the psychosocial factors of social movements are historically and spatially uniform (Jung Hyun-joo 2006). The neglect of such psychosocial factors in the Resource Mobilization Theory brought to the fore the need for other approach.

Research in the 1990s has challenged Resource Mobilization Theory's emphasis on material resources to the neglect of other elements of social protest (David N. Pellow, 1999). Several scholars dwell on symbolic, ideational, and social psychological dimensions of collective action into the study of social movements (Benford, 1993; Snow et al., 1986; Stoecker, 1995). Resource mobilization structures remain pivotal to social movement's success and failure; however, it is necessary to fathom how activists articulate meaning, values, and ideology.

One of the principal tools used in this effort has been the collective action frame. Framing processes emerged from Goffman's (1974) work and have been since modified by David Snow and his co-workers. (David N. Pellow, 1999)

2. Framing perspectives on Social Movements

The conceptualization of frames was first attempted by F. C. Bartlett (1932), a cognitive psychologist. Although the concept of frames was used metaphorically by G. Bateson (1972) as well, the actual beginning of frame research was done by E. Goffman (1974). Goffman defined the concept of frame as a basic cognitive structure that guides 'real' representation and cognition.

Despite Goffman's definition, the meaning or type of frame dealt with in each study area is diverse. The concept of frame can be largely divided into three categories according to research perspectives and academic backgrounds: 1) cognitive psychological trends in cognitive psychology, 2) social movement research trends in sociology, and 3) media research trends in journalism and journalism. Among the three research perspectives as mentioned above, this research work is based on the concept in social movement research.

By expanding Goffman's individual-level frame concept into the group-level, which means to into the Social Movement Organization (SMO), frame can function as 1) mobilization of the potential supporters 2) support of the bystander 3) dissolution of the opponent. Therefore, the collective action frame with social movement organization is conceptualized as "an action-oriented set of beliefs and meanings that inspire and justify the actions and movements of SMOs". In a nutshell, focus on frame is paramount because it shapes the understanding of the issue itself. As such, analyzing the information

separate from transmitting and receiving is impossible. This fact is crucial to our analysis and evaluation of the Chilean social movement and its effects. This research depends heavily on Snow and Benford's work to analyze how framing processes help social movements to be organized, maintained and counter against the opponents.

According to Snow and Benford (1992:137), frame is defined as

“an interpretive schema that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment They also function simultaneously as modes of attribution and articulation”

Also, Taylor (2000) defines framing as

“the process by which individuals and groups identify, interpret, and express social and political grievances.”

According to authors, collective action occurs when actors believe that a situation is unjust that it can be changed through their actions. In other words, a series of social movements are the result of the actions of the actors participating in the collective action based on their awareness of the injustice of the situation they are facing. Therefore, the frame approach argues that social movements are social constructs created by actors.

Frames give meaning and function to events that happen, organize experiences, and serve to guide behavior. In particular, the collective action frame performs this interpretive function by summarizing and condensing aspects of the world out there. However collective action frames are intended to mobilize potential supporters and members, secure the support of bystanders, and dissolve

opponents. Thus, collective action frames are action-based collections of beliefs and meanings that inspire and justify the actions of social movement organizations.

The collective action frame is designed to solve problems such as 1) when change is necessary, 2) to differentiate between the subject and the target of criticism 3) to build an alternative to the existing system, and 4) to insist on change-oriented harmonious action. Snow and Benford named these core tasks of framing as 1) diagnostic framing (identification and identification of problems), 2) prognostic framing, and 3) motivational framing. By promoting these core tasks of framing, social movement actors pay attention to the interconnectedness of consensus mobilization and action mobilization. In summary, the former fosters and facilitates consent, while the latter inspires action, moving people from balconies (bystanders) to barricades (participants).

As described above, Snow and Benford expand the individual-level frame concept to the group level and pay attention to the collective action frame. As a result, they classified three types of frames based on the purpose pursued by social movements, and the process in which collective action frames are created based on the viewpoint of organizational operation. The three types of collective action frames are namely 1) diagnostic frame, 2) prognostic frame, 3) motivational frame, and the three processes are 1) discursive processes, 2) Strategic processes 3) competitive processes (contested processes). If these processes succeeded to be aligned with various social movements organization and obtained the consent from potential supporters, ‘frame resonance’ happens.

2.1 Three Types of collective action frame

2.1.1. Diagnostic Frame

The diagnosis frame is related to “identification of an issue by social activists and identification of the cause”. When there is a controversy for a specific issue, activists try to identify a source and cause of the issue. The general aspect of the diagnostic frame in social movements is to select victims of injustice and maximize their victimization. Thus, Gamson and his colleagues also named this diagnostic framing of social movements as ‘injustice frame’.

2.1.2. Prognostic Frame (Counter-Frame)

Prognostic frame can be defined as “theoretical and practical prescriptions for issues by social activists”. This frame is a solution to a specific issue, or an action strategy to focus on the question of what to do. General aspect of this frame in social movements is to shift the responsibility of the issue to the opposing camp and at the same time to develop more elaborate prescriptions than them. Scholars sometimes call this framing trend of social movements as “counter-frame”.

2.1.3. Motivational Frame

Motivational frame is “the construction of rhetorical terms for mobilization and action by social activists” when social movements provide reasons for mass mobilization and collective action. Benford depicted the characteristics of this term as 1) severity, 2) urgency, 3) efficiency, and 4) propriety. The frame is also called as “rhetorical frame”.

2.2. Three processes of Framing

2.2.1. Discursive processes

The discursive processes mainly focus on the words and conversations of social movement participants, that is, speech acts and written communication. Collective action frames are produced by two basic discourse processes: 1) frame articulation and 2) frame amplification or punctuation.

2.2.2. Strategic Processes

Various empirical studies have focused on the strategic processes associated with social movement framing. Frames evolve to achieve specific goals, such as recruiting new members, mobilizing supporters, and acquiring resources. Snow and his colleagues conceptualize the strategic efforts that social movements make to link their interpretive frames with potential member resource providers as “frame alignment processes”. The four basic alignment processes are divided into 1) frame bridging, 2) frame amplification, 3) frame extension, and 4) frame transformation.

First of all, frame bridging is “a process of connecting two or more frames that are ideologically harmonious but structurally unconnected” and is a process of combining several movement organizations divided based on the same ideology into a single movement organization. Frame bridging is the combination of immobilized sentiment pools, public opinion clusters, or across social movements into a single movement organization.

Frame amplification is “the process of elaborating the beliefs and values to be advocated”. If frame amplification in the discourse process is the primary process of creating an external slogan, frame amplification in the strategy process is a secondary process of creating an internal slogan. Regardless of whether or not existing frames are harmonized with potential members, one of the key elements is that the frame is nourished by existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, and myths, that is, the extent of the frame), it is not surprising that most social movements seek to amplify existing beliefs and values. And while frame amplification is seen as necessary for the mobilization of most social movements, in part it negates the core values of social movements that depend on conscientious members who are distinctly distinct from their beneficiaries, and of the cultures whose beliefs and values dominate. Associated with social movements condemned for doing so.

Frame extension Frame extension means extending its main area of interest to an area that includes issues and concerns that potential supporters are presumed to value. Empirical evidence on frame extension points out that although social movements often use this strategy, it entails various risks and limitations. According to McCallion, Maines, and Benford's, frame extension causes increased conflicts within organizations due to the concern regarding ideological purity, efficiency.

Frame transformation focuses on the modification of past understanding and meaning and the production of future understanding and meaning. Explicit studies of this form of frame alignment are rare.

2.2.3. Contested Processes

Contested Processes is “the process in which all actors in a social movement organization struggle within the politics of signification” during the formation of a collective action frame. In other words,

social movement activists cannot arbitrarily interpret the reality as they desire to fit the intended goals. Rather, there are a variety of challenges while framing social movements.

3. Previous literature regarding the Patagonia Without Dams

Borgias and Braun (2017) also highlighted the importance of framing in social movement, but by especially focusing on the 'Frame Bridging Process'. They insisted the frame bridging was a strategic response considering the political structures of Chile and the desire for democracy among the nations. Thus they argue that the Social Movement Organization used a master frame of democracy and bridge other issues and struggles such as student movement and constitutional reform. According to them, 'Frame resonance' was successful after many years of campaigning until the 2014 when the government finally took decision to halt the project. They analyzed framing process of Patagonia Without Dams but just as a byproduct of the political opportunity structure, not as a single variable of the success of the movement.

Park (2022) compared two major environmental movements in Chile and analyzed the reason why PSR could succeed to halt the project by applying theoretical perspective from political opportunity structure. Park insisted that the instability of the elite was a type of political opportunity for the movements while there was no such instability in Ralco Dam Movement.

Pablo Varas et al. (2013) argued that the main dissatisfaction stems from the citizen participation in the final phase of the project. Chilean citizen could participate in the environmental impact assessment phase, which means after the feasibility studies. This signifies that citizen could not take part in an early debate on the nature and consequences of projects. \ More than 50 years ago, time of communities

Durston et al (2016) highlighted the importance accumulated social capital in the civil society of Aysén region, where used to be highly isolated with little presence of the State. With the return to electoral democracy and starting from 2012, the various forms of subsidizing social capital were reactivated by a regional movement. Although the scale of the movement was limited in the first year (Pérez, 2014), grassroots organizations and regional governments kept their demands alive together with the National Congress. The authors argued that lesson from the Aysén is democratization of its

civil society, and strengthening the capital of potential collective actors would be an integral part of decentralization.

Toledo (2014) analyzed the Patagonia without Dams with the perspective of a political ecology. From this perspective, dams have been defined as socio-natural environments that represent the power of the elite to manage not just water but complex social systems. Dams represent symbols of progress and national prestige that require strong degrees of consensus. Large dams are generally justified by their macroeconomic benefits in a regional and national scales. Thus this project has impacts locally, but also can influence political dynamics on a national scale. The author argues that HidroAysén case demonstrates, that there is non-democratic consensus, no spaces for open discussion with the State about the need for better environment laws and a transformation in institutional framework.

Silva (2016) states that political process framework is very much related to this movement, since it helps to find out how it obtained favorable outcomes in the context of Chile's process to gain democracy and fair legal system. Also according to Silva, it has characteristics of well-established organization that built collective power rather than associational power, which makes the movement significantly innovative.

CHAPTER III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The historical narrative of natural resource development in Chile has received a lot of attention from social scientists. Since the fall of the military dictatorship, hydropower development has been important economic and political topics in the country.

This paper adopts a qualitative methodological approach with a case study of one social phenomenon: a Chilean hydroelectric dam opposition movement, Patagonia without Dams (Patagonia Sin Represas; PSR). This analysis includes government documents related to the Patagonia without Dams, statements, press conference materials, and explanations by the Patagonia without Dams organizations. In its natural settings, the paper will illuminate the context and chronology, interactions of the participants with the collected data from multiple sources. The paper aims to analyze the formation and structure of Patagonia without Dam movement to answer the hypotheses with comprehensive and relevant information to enhance consistency of the findings.

The core questions are (1) Which characteristics of the Patagonia without Dams had an appropriate effect on impeding the projects? (2) How have the Patagonia Without Dams challenged the political discourse? With collective action frame approach, this paper will figure out “what political actors are trying to maximize, and why they emphasize certain goals over others” (Steinmo and Thelen 1992), and how the frame resonance made the political actors to be mobilized in the movement.

As a result of examining collective action frames by type, there are 1) Diagnostic frame: Confirmation of issues and identification of causes 2) Prognostic frame: Theoretical and practical prescriptions for issues made by activists” 3) Motivational frame: construction of rhetorical terms for mobilization and action. If categorizing the collective action frame by process, 1) discursive process: the oral and written communication process of members of social movement organizations 2) strategic process: recruitment of members, mobilization of supporters, acquisition of resources that social

movement organizations pursue 3) Contested process: a process in which all actors in social movement organizations struggle in the politics of signification were the mainstream view.

Among the types and processes of such a collective action frame, the prognostic frame, and the strategic process are comprehensive in scope, that is, other types and process eventually converge into the prognostic frame and the strategic process, respectively. Due to the positional superiority and the scope of comprehensiveness, that is, the dual characteristics of prognostic frame and the strategic process being located at the intersection of diagnostic frame and motivational frame and discursive process and contested process, the diagnostic frame that identifies issues and identifies causes converges into a prognostic frame that presents theoretical and practical prescriptions for issues, and prognostic frame uses rhetorical terms for mobilization and action. Similarly, the discursive process, a process of verbal and written communication, is a process of achieving organizational goals converging into a strategic process. Therefore, the prognostic frame and strategic process play a role as a central axis based on the characteristics of positional superiority and scope of inclusiveness. (Choi, 2017)

In this research, among the three types of collective action frames, PWD's prognostic frames also known as counter-frames are to be analyzed. Among the three processes of collective action frames strategic process and within that, 1) Frame bridging: 2) Frame amplification 3) Frame extension 4) Frame transformation will also be analyzed.

CHAPTER IV. CASE STUDY

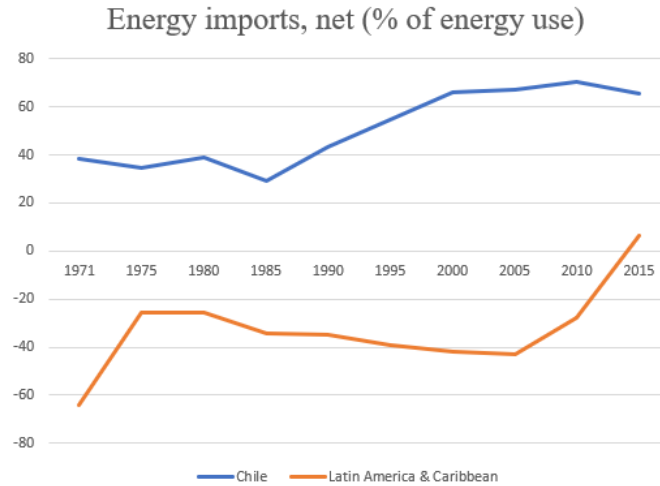
1. Background

1.1 Water Resources Management Plan

Chile is highly dependent on foreign energy sources in Latin America. As of 2015, 65% of its domestic energy consumption came from imported energy. Considering that neighboring countries, Argentina, and Brazil, had respectively only 13% and 11% of imported energy, Chile's dependence on imported energy becomes even more pronounced (World Bank 2022). In particular, the mining-centered economic structure and the increase in electricity consumption due to stable economic growth have led to a sharp increase in electricity demand in Chile (Agostini et. al. 2017, 1073). There were two occasions that Chile could not expect stable energy imports from overseas: The Oil Shock of 1973 and Argentina's domestic turmoil of 2001. Chile, which has experienced difficulties in energy supply and demand due to external factors, has since come to recognize that reducing its dependence on external energy as a top priority for national development (Lee et al. 2022). It was then natural for the Chilean government to make a goal to develop a new southern source of electricity.

Although the copper industry highly supports Chilean economy, it also immensely drains on Chile's energy resources. Copper mining in Chile consumes 39 percent of the country's available energy. Fuel alone can account for up to a fifth of a mine's operational costs (The Economist, 2014). While hydroelectric power was suggested to meet the mining industry's energy needs, the location of the mines was problematic in terms of energy transportation. Chile's mining industry is located in the country's arid north, while the country's largest rivers are located in the fertile south over 2,000 kilometers away (The Economist, 2014).

[Figure 1] Energy imports, net (% of energy use)



Source: World Bank Data (2022)

Note: Net energy imports are estimated as energy use less production, both measured in oil equivalents. A negative value indicates that the country is a net exporter. Energy use refers to use of primary energy before transformation to other end-use fuels, which is equal to indigenous production plus imports and stock changes, minus exports and fuels supplied to ships and aircraft engaged in international transport (IEA Statistics (2014) <https://www.iea.org/t&c/termsandconditions/>).

Since Chile does not have large reserves of fossil fuels such as oil and natural gas compared to its neighboring countries- Argentina, Peru and Bolivia- there was no choice for the Chilean government but to diversify its domestic energy sources until 1995 when stable supply of natural gas was secured through a bilateral agreement with Argentina.

As a result, according to the U.S. Energy Information Agency (EIA), Chile's total power generation in 2012 was 67 billion KWh, including thermal power generation (42 billion KWh (62.68% of total power generation), hydro-power generation 20 billion KWh (29.85%), renewable energy (wind and biomass and waste-based, excluding hydropower) power generation consists of 5.3 billion KWh (7.91%) (Park, 2015).

In particular, the abundant water resources in the central and southern regions south of the capital Santiago have traditionally been a major factor in Chile's concentration of interest and investment in hydroelectric power generation. In 1943, the State Electricity Authority (ENDESA) was

established, after which hydroelectric power took a leading position in the national electricity production. Following national power supply plans, hydroelectric plant construction plans had been promoted for 35 years since 1945. As a result, 14 hydroelectric power plants were constructed and mega-sized dams in the 1960s. Those power plants were able to produce a total of 1,250,000 kW of electricity (Nazer J.R. and Llorca-Jana 2020, 201). Due to the importance of hydroelectric power generation, investment in the construction of large hydroelectric power plants increased in the 1990s.

Also, under the Pinochet (1973-1990) administration, Chile implemented market opening policies through a series of legal system reforms in the 1980 especially in the resources and energy sector. By then Chilean economic policy highlighted privatization of state enterprises and production of natural resources aimed at exportation. By the end of the 1980s privatization was carried out in earnest (Bauer, C., 2009).

Meanwhile in the 1990s, energy consumption was increased thanks to stable economic growth following the market opening policy. This increase in energy demand has provided a reason for private investors to invest in the energy industry more actively.

1.2. Previous Environmental Movement of Chile

Chile's privatized power industry was the start-off for the mega-sized hydroelectric dam construction projects in the 1990s and 2000s. Representative projects were the Pangué Hydroelectric Power Plant project and the Ralco Hydroelectric Plant project on the Bío-Bío River in central Chile. However, after the transition to democracy in the 1990s, large-scale hydroelectric dam projects faced huge social resistance. Due to social and environmental impacts such as submergence, changes in the ecosystem, migrant issues, environmental groups and indigenous groups fiercely resisted against the project. 12 out of the 14 hydroelectric power plants were built on the territory of the Mapuche Indigenous Community, and this plant could generate a large-scale submerged area. Thus, it was natural for the community to resist the governmental decision and the historic conflict between the Mapuche and the Chilean government has amplified these resistances.

Social movement of the Mapuche was outstanding since most of the hydroelectric power plants were built in Mapuche territory, but there existed resistance in areas where there was no direct influence of the projects. The government's unilateral development plan omits the process of converging the opinions of the local population, especially the dissatisfaction of the southerners, who were forced to sacrifice to supply electricity to the Santiago area or the northern mining areas. It led to demands to guarantee local autonomy and respect the environment, easily assimilated with the claims of the environmental movement.

Thus, the Chilean environmental movement against the water resource development plan took the form of a combination of resistance from the indigenous people or local people living in the territory targeted for water resource development. In other words, the indigenous people's demand for the preservation of their culture, land, and nature met the demand of environmental groups' slogan of nature preservation and acted as a driving force for a more powerful movement. Also The demand of residents to protect their livelihood and autonomy against the central government's unilateral development plan for neglected provinces also met well with the environmental groups' demand.

Aforementioned, there are two representative hydroelectric power plant project in until 2000s - Pangu Hydroelectric Power Plant and Ralco Hydroelectric Plant project - and each project had to face environmental movements of combination of indigenous people, residents, and environmental groups.

In 1978, ENDESA announced the development of hydroelectric power plant on the Biobio River. Under the strong resistance of NGOs and environmental activists' campaign, an ENDESA subsidiary, Pangu S.A. with the government, paved the Pan-A Highway into the Upper Biobio escarpment (Nesti, 2002). For the financial support, Pangu S.A., requested IFC (International Finance Corporation, a member of the World Bank Group) to fund the project. In 1993, the IFC and ENDESA signed a 170-million-dollar loan investment agreement for the dam construction, and 28 million dollars was provided by the Swedish Board for Industrial Technical Cooperation, 14 million dollar by the Norwegian Agency Development Co-operation (NORAD) and 100 million dollar from 10 European Banks. IFC also held 2.5 percent of equity interest in the dam (Turner, 1997).

Environment activists and Mapuche indigenous people then sued to prevent the construction of the Panguel hydroelectric power plant, and by this force, World Bank left the project. However, President Eduardo Frei secured outside funding and continue the project, succeeded to make Endesa inaugurated the dam.

The construction of the Ralco dam, however, showed a different trajectory from the Panguel dam. The construction of the 570-megawatt Ralco Dam started shortly after Panguel was completed, since both dams are to function together for the generation of electric energy. ENDESA had disclosed a plan for six dams on the BioBio as early as 1990s to construct as many as five additional dams, one of which was the Ralco dam storage facility. Located around 13 miles upstream of Panguel, ENDESA started construction on Ralco in 1998 amid much controversy (Lee et al., 2022)..

As a matter of fact, the Ralco Dam has been designed to regulate the water flow to the Panguel and the other dams proposed downstream (Lee et al., 2022). This 155-meter-high dam with a 3,400-hectare reservoir, would displace more than 600 people, including 400 indigenous Pehuenches. The dam would flood over 70 km of the river valley, inundating the richly diverse forest and destroying its biodiversity (Lee et al., 2022).

In response, environmental groups in Chile participated the protest by indigenous Pehuenche-Mapuche and created the 'Biobio Action Group'. They exposed problems of development plans and called for extensive environmental investigations (World Rainforest Movement 2001). Eventually, indigenous communities and environmental groups filed a lawsuit based on the Indigenous Peoples Act of 1993.

The Ralco EIA was conducted not regulated by law but passed by CONAMA and ENDESA. In June 1997, indigenous Pehuenches appealed to the civil courts of Santiago to nullify the one that approved the EIA. In 1999, eventually the court ordered to halt the construction but weeks later, ENDESA and CONAMA reversed on appeal. In 2003 the decision by the judge was to nullify and ENDESA could not proceed on filling reservoir as expected, but by then the dam was about 80% completed. ENDESA and CONAMA again appealed, but later withdrew the action.

Although the court ordered ENDESA to build a dam after providing adequate compensation to some residents who refused to relocate, the Ralco Dam was eventually constructed in 2004 (World Rainforest Movement 2001). The environmental movement against the Ralco Dam construction project was able to attract domestic interest and the environmental groups nationwide. It could also file a lawsuit against the ENDESA, however, the campaign failed to achieve its intended purpose.

Therefore, there was a rapid increase in the share of thermal power generation in Chile's energy mix in the 1990s since the social context, such as social movements and resident protests, and bilateral agreements regarding natural gas imports with Argentina. However, in the early 2000s Argentina faced a severe economic crisis, this trend had changed once again. In December 2001, Argentina suffered extreme political chaos in which the president was replaced 5 times within 2 weeks and imposed restrictions on natural gas exports, and Chile faced a crisis in securing a stable energy source. As the stability of thermal power generation in Chile's energy mix has declined, hydropower has begun to attract attention once again as an important alternative for Chile's energy security (Seo, 2020). In particular, a proposed large-scale hydropower dam project in the 2000s did not take place the central region, but in the relatively sparsely populated southern Patagonia region.

A representative project is the HidroAysen project, which will be described in the next chapter. Compared to the campaign against the construction of a hydroelectric dam on the BioBio River in the 1990s that did not lead to the cancellation of the project, the PWD movement was an unprecedented achievement. In addition, the PWD movement became an important turning point in that it not only canceled the project, but also publicized discussions on the transition of Chile's energy composition at the national level and brought about changes at the policy level.

In 2014 after the protest, the Michelle Bachelet government announced <Energy 2050>, presenting the direction of energy transition for sustainable development in Chile. Accordingly, the New and Renewable Energy Act (Ley 20.257) and the Renewable Energy Development Enhancement Act (Ley 20.698) were enacted in 2013. After announcing an increase in the share of new and renewable energy by power plants to 20%, a carbon tax was introduced in October 2014. This series of legal and policy measures reflects the global trend to respond to the climate change crisis, and as well as the

reflection after the domestic and international attention on the government's decision regarding the energy actions.

The next section will look into the case of the anti-HydroAysen project movement – Patagonia Without Dam - in which residents' dissatisfaction and environmental movements combined to exert a strong force. Then the paper will analyze the factors of success with their framing strategy and by its process.

2. Patagonia without Dam (2008-2014): HidroAysén, Chile

2.1 Introduction of Patagonia without Dam Movement

In 2005, Endesa, a Spanish power company, planned the HidroAysén project to be jointly conducted with Colbun (49%). This large-scale project, which was estimated to cost \$3.2 billion in total construction cost, was planned as the largest hydroelectric power project in Chile's history. It involves building five huge hydroelectric dams across the Baker and Pascua rivers in the province of Aysén in Patagonia in southern Chile but could submerge around 6,000 hectares of Patagonia's land if implemented. At the same time, expected production of electricity would reach 2,750 MW, accounting for 80% of the entire Chilean strategic market (Environmental Justice Atlas 2015).

Furthermore, HidroAysén project is about construction of the dams but also about the establishment of high-altitude transmission lines. That is, connecting the power to Chile's mines in the north and the authority expected that the project would provide around 5,000 jobs a year during 10 years until the project ends (The Telegraph, 2011).



Map of Chile, Province of Aysén (Red) Source: Google Map

As the Chilean government finally approved the project, they also predicted the following positive effects of the project in the future. 1) Additional production of 40% (approximately 18,430GWh) of the central and metropolitan power grid (SIC) annual electricity production 2) Lowering the dependence on thermal power generation (64%) and preparing opportunities to diversify energy sources 3) Carbon dioxide emissions approximately 37~39 % reduction 4) About 7~9% reduction in power supply price (about 50% decrease in the case of southern Aysen) (Reuters, 2007)

[Table 2 : HidroAysén Project Plan]

Plant Name	Size (ha)	Generation Capacity (MW)	Annual Power Production (GWh)
Baker 1	710	660	4,420
Baker 2	3,600	360	2,540
Pascua 1	500	460	3,020
Pascua 2.1	990	770	5,110
Pascua 2.2	110	500	3,340
Total	5,910	2,750	18,430

Source: “HydroAysen Project”, Embassy of Republic of Korea in Chile

However, this construction project that penetrates not only the Aysén area but also 16 nationally designated nature reserves and 32 privately designated nature reserves. Thus, it became the object of strong resistance from environmental movements around the world (Reyes 2015, 440-441).

2.2 Political Environment

Chile was well known for its free-market socioeconomic development model implemented by the Pinochet (1973– 1990) administration. The 1980 constitution enshrined private property rights in the region and targeted water governance via privatization, marketization, and commodification of water resources (Harris 2013: 20). In 1981, the Pinochet government created the 1981 Water Code to treat water as private property as well as a marketable commodity (Bauer 2009: 596). The Water Code made the role of government to be reduced under the General Water Directorate (DGA) (Bauer 1997: 641).

Even after democratization in 1990s, center-left government consistently adopted business-friendly pro-growth policies. In addition, Concertación governments also highlights privatization of the energy sector (Borzutzky and Oppenheim, 2006; Borzutzky and Weeks, 2010).

In this manner, HidroAysén project initially conceived by the Frei government of Concertación (Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia)(1994~2000), and the Lagos government(2000~2006), also maintained the argument that the HidroAysén project was necessary to meet Chile's electricity demand. The Lagos president did not change his opinion even after leaving his office, and in 2010, he said, "Chile is in a situation where neither the HidroAysén project, nor nuclear power, nor any energy policy can be rejected. There will only be more fossil power plants while we are wasting time" (la Tercera 2012a). In 2008, President Bachelet(2006~2010, 2014~2018) also insisted through Interior Minister Edmund Pérez Yoma that "we must build all the facilities necessary for the HidroAysén project (Ibid.)".

The Frei government of Concertación's strong support for the HidroAysén project stems from the request to expand hydroelectric power generation in the mining sector, especially the copper sector, which is one of the representative support bases of the Concertación government's economy (Reuters, 2013). Securing sufficient electricity, which is an indispensable infrastructure for the development of the copper industry, has been a requirement not only for the Chilean state-owned copper company but also for the entire mining industry. With the uncertainty of HidroAysén project, Gerardo Joffre, president of National Copper Corporation of Chile Corporación Nacional del Cobre de Chile; CODELCO), openly demanded that "the HidroAysén project is not dead, and we must pursue it" (la Tercera 2012b). The support for the HidroAysén project by the Chilean mining sector is also evident. In other words, HidroAysén project was a national level business that the Concertación government had to pursue to maintain their constituency.

Another significant characteristics of Concertación administration was its policymaking style that underlines close cooperation with the private sector but controlling the channels to the policy process for other actors (Borzutzky and Oppenheim, 2006; Borzutzky and Weeks, 2010). The policy process in the environmental issue area was no different, meaning that it had low priority in relation to other

policy issue areas. Consequently, in the early 1990s new environmental framework law was relatively weak since new development projects must have approval of an environmental impact report (EIR) by CONAMA (Silva 1996–1997) and the review of civil society groups is purely consultative.

Under the unfavorable context, Patagonia Without Dams movement lost early battles with Concertación governments and lost opportunities at the early state in building coalitions with other organizations (Silva 1996–1997, Silva and Rodrigo, 2010).

3. Collective Action Frame Analysis

This chapter will describe the emergence and development of PSR in a chronological order, as well as an analysis of communication and networking strategy within. This will help to clarify the framing process by the actors with different interests, values, and worldviews.

3.1 Frame Bridging

HidroAysén project was a governmental project thus called as a “Proyecto-pais” (country project). Since the government was going through the energy crisis, Ministry of Energy announced that the “construction of consequent dams is of national concern” (Marcelo Tokman, Minister of Energy 2010). Thus there were market-friendly development framing from the state, and Government’s discourse also implies that their action would be one of the future investments for the public (Interview Carlos Garrido 17/8/2012). This political culture and terror campaign discourages the citizens to throw themselves into the collective action. The discourse puts state and market over the citizens, appealing for a common good but eventually kept them silenced.

On January 22, 2006, when magazine Nación published the first planning article on ENDESA's of HidroAysén development plan, the residents started to collectively respond to the issue. Locals wrote columns for local newspapers to inform adverse impact of HidroAysén project and that it would have destroyed the environment as well as their lives.

As a first step, workshops in educational site begun to share the information and analyses the potential harm of the dam construction. During the eight workshops, several more topics were touch

upon, not only the project itself (HidroAysén) but also non-conventional renewable energies, water rights, the Chilean water code, how the environmental impact assessment system works. At the end of the first round of workshops, a coalition of organizations were formed: the Citizen Coalition Aysén Life Reserve Coalición (Ciudadana Aysén Reserva de Vida; ARV), mobilized local organizations and build a national network and insisted that there would be a flooding of 5,900 hectares in the project region (Schaeffer 2017: 15).

After the first round of workshops, there was second round took place in Cochrane, Beltrán, Tortel, , Villa O'Higgins, Valparaíso and Santiago, where local community leaders as well as different NGOs attended. At this point there was no clear between boundary among organizations and local committees (Gherardelli, 2012).

Most important part is that there was a frame bridging process between the two main power, ARV and ADEP. The Association of the Defendants of Patagonia's Spirit (Asociación de los Defensores del Espíritu de la Patagonia; ADEP) was soon established in 2006, in Cochrane and the two new organizations in the South of Chile (ARV and ADEP) and Ecosistemas(NGO) worked together to deal with socio-environmental conflicts. Although the two group has different leader and membership, they shared the same idea that they are the most affected victims of this dam construction. However, those who did not live in these areas did not took part in the movement at the initial stage.

3.2. Frame Amplification

Students from different province in Aysén soon participated actively for the organizations above against the construction of the dams. They were the first source of spreading information to the universities across the country through the establishment of student group 'Jóvenes Tehuelches (JT)'.

Then, in 2007, Advisory Council for the Protection of Patagonia (el Consejo de Defensa de la Patagonia: hereafter; CDP) was formed for a transnational network against HidroAysén project. CDP later became the center of the PSR movement, which organized a fierce resistance to the HidroAysén project. Against the Endesa (originally Spanish company), the Spanish Greenpeace has joined with the organization, and Spanish environmental groups have criticized the environmental destruction of

Endesa's development plans. (Greenpeace Spain 2008). This amplified framing successfully delayed the project for environmental assessment and forced President Michelle Bachelet to withdraw her support (Radovic 2012: 4; Schaeffer 2017: 16).

The CDP had a clear strategy. It was to create a campaign against the environmental destruction of Chilean Patagonia and the country's energy monopoly, and for more eco-friendly energy (Rodrigo, 2015). To achieve those goals, active reaction is required in several interrelated fields, such as technical-environmental, socioeconomic, political-institutional, legal, communications, activism, and international efforts (Rodrigo, 2015).

CDP mobilized people within the diverse spectrum, trying to make their organization more appealing for as many people as possible. In particular, the rhetoric that the CDP used at the beginning was the one of *rectitude*, that helped to call the attention of the citizens, by appealing to ethical and a 'common good' belief (Gheradelli, 2012). Executive Director of CDP, Patricio Rodrigo also mentioned that "The strategic element of the campaign which started in 2007 was an ethical one in order to appeal a wide range of citizens, where the destruction of Patagonia, the electric monopoly and the centralism of the state in the decision-making processes were posed as unethical" (CDP, 2012). These networks of the network coalitions have allowed connecting people with diverse discourses but fit under the one umbrella frame. (Silva, 2009)

CDP also made a symbol that was attractive enough for the whole nation. The chosen image was Torres del Paine that represents Chile's 'country image' within Chile and in the world. This also led to the name of the campaign and its SM i.e., Patagonia Sin Represas and not simply 'Aysén without dams' as it is Patagonia and not only Aysén region.

Despite domestic and international opposition to Endesa's HidroAysén project, President Piñera of Coalición por el Cambio, inaugurated in 2010, pre-approved the project in May 2011. This decision was a critical moment for the start of national protests. On June 10, 2011, more than 40,000 people participated PSR protest held in Santiago and protests the government's and continued the protests in major cities. As a result, President Piñera's approval rating, fell from 41% to 36%, and the result of a public opinion poll that the public opposed the HidroAysén project exceeded 60% (Barrionuevo 2011).

3.3 Frame Extension

In 2012, the “Your problem is my problem (Tu problema es mi problema)” movement emerged within the PSR framework to confront the previous unjust relationship between the central government and the citizens. This civil disobedience fulfilled one of the conditions for a fully democratic decentralization (Durstón et al., 2016).

Pablo Varas et al. (2013) mentioned that PSR was an organization with less leader than the conventional social movement organization, thus various issues came together in one single organization to be showed. Varas (2013) mentioned that environmental related issues, such as genetically modified organism rejection, were the popping demands of these demonstrations. This suggests that social movement against hydroelectric power plant were a part of larger movement against societal dysfunctions and became the catalyst of a systematic change.

In particular, the demand for constitutional amendment by the Patagonia Without Dams movement after the Supreme Court ruling is believed to have provided a political this campaign could align with the political action (Borgias and Braum 2017, 320). In other words, the agenda of social change and constitutional reform raised by the Patagonia movement was consistent with the political message used by Bachelet in the presidential election and accepting the discourse of the Patagonia movement.

3.4 Frame Transformation

Durstón et al. (2016) asserts that the civil society make the foundations of a new state policy for the “isolated zones(zonas extremas)” just like Aysén region. Under a new law for these regions, with respect to the period 2012-2015 the public budget for Aysén increased by 67% (University of Los Lagos / Network Analysis Center Sociales, s/f) at regional level. Although there were organizations in local and regional level, the 2012 movement made a social actor emerge, capable of making their social positions with greater power. This is one of the example of frame transformation, making the original frame that focusing on environmental issue to the regional budget issue.

Anahí Gómez et al. (2014) asserted that this fight is not particularly against the construction of a specific megaproject, but rather it is against a world water policy and against the current water management paradigm, as well as regional projects in Latin America that impact several countries. That is, that the various forms of organization and meeting have arisen of different coordinated action strategies, with the aim of denouncing effects of the neoliberal or neo-developmental paradigm that currently prevails in water management. From this perspective, there are sociopolitical links of a global nature, with inclusive demands, where participation is not limited to those labeled and those traditionally recognized water users.

Thus, these conflicts request reports and intervention from state agencies, pressure legislators to request reports from the Executive Power, and to appeal to international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) or ethical courts. This heterogeneity in its composition is one of their sociopolitical strategies to prevent or modify the realization of megaprojects, but also transform the issue as a future water management system worldwide.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

The HidroAysén project was a controversial project that from the beginning excluded the residents from the decision-making process (Agosti et. al, 2017, 5). The Patagonia without Dams campaign began in 2006 - although Aysén is Chile's third largest region in terms of surface but its population was just around 100,000 and was isolated due to poor infrastructure development. In other words, the area was worth to be protected with parks and wildlife refuges, cover about half of its territory (Biblioteca Nacional del Congreso, 2015). Such dissatisfaction naturally led citizens to organize opposition movements, and local residents and environmental groups formed solidarity to bring public opinion at home and abroad to secure support. In the end, the movement succeeded in completely canceling the Project.

This paper aimed to examine the reasons why Chile's representative environmental movement, the Patagonia Without Dams (Patagonia Sin Represas; PSR), was able to succeed comparing that previous movements failed to halt the construction of dams. The research hypothesized that social movement organizations well-framed their slogan and extended their supporter groups nation and worldwide. Thus, this framing process led to this outcome with 'Frame Resonance' between the framing agent and the receivers.

By looking at the strategic framing process suggested by Snow and Benford (2000), Patagonia Without Dams movement shows similar cycle of the framing process: frame bridging, amplification, extension and transformation. Patagonia Without Dams movement not only dealt with one single theme – environmental justice – but also shed light on the broader aspect of social justice issue. In terms of gathering the participants with their own framing strategy, this research asserts that the framing of the movement was successful to halt the project in the end.

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Abstract in Korean

본 연구는 집단행동 프레임의 맥락에서 현시대 사회운동인 ‘댐 없는 파타고니아’(Patagonia Sin Represas ; PSR) 운동의 성공요인을 조명하는 것을 목표로 한다. 환경운동단체는 자신들이 만든 프레임을 통해 대중들에게 해당 이슈를 이해시키고 그들의 사회적 지지를 얻기를 바란다. 즉, 프레임은 문제나 사건을 이해하고 의미를 부여하는 데 도움을 주는 인지적 해석 도구로 작용한다. 따라서 프레임 공명(Frame Resonance)이 성공한다면 대중의 인식이 변화하고 이는 정치적, 제도적, 문화적 변화로 이어질 수 있다. 본 연구는 칠레의 댐 없는 파타고니아’(Patagonia Sin Represas ; PSR) 어떻게 이 문제를 프레임화하고 프레임 경쟁에서 우위를 점했는지 살펴보고자 한다. 결과적으로 해당 사례를 이용하여 이 연구는 서로 다른 문화와 가치를 가진 여러 사회 운동 조직의 프레임이 프레임링 과정(Framing Processes)을 통해 연결되면서 보다 큰 대항세력이 되었음을 주장한다.

Keyword: 칠레, 환경운동, 사회운동조직, 댐 없는 파타고니아, 집단행동프레임, 프레임

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