IDEOLOGÍA POLÍTICA Y ACTITUDES HACIA LA MINERÍA EN EL PERÚ: ENTRE EL CRECIMIENTO ECONÓMICO, EL RESPETO POR LAS FORMAS DE VIDA TRADICIONALES Y EL AMBIENTALISMO

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ATTITUDES TOWARD MINING IN PERU: BETWEEN ECONOMIC GROWTH, RESPECT FOR TRADITIONAL MODES OF LIFE AND ENVIRONMENTALISM

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RESUMEN

Este estudio analiza la relación entre la ideología política y las actitudes hacia la minería en una muestra de adultos jóvenes de la ciudad de Lima (N = 144). Se utilizó el modelo conceptual del conservadurismo como cognición social motivada, por lo que la ideología política fue evaluada a través de medidas de autoritarismo (RWA), orientación hacia la dominancia social (SDO), orientación política en términos de izquierda/derecha, intolerancia a la incertidumbre e intolerancia a la ambigüedad. Las actitudes hacia la minería fueron evaluadas a través de un instrumento ad hoc que se divide en tres dimensiones: la minería como sinónimo de progreso y crecimiento económico, el respeto por las formas de vida tradicionales y una tendencia hacia el ambientalismo. El conservadurismo político se asoció directamente con una actitud favorable hacia la minería percibida como causa del progreso y crecimiento económico. Asimismo, el conservadurismo político se asoció inversamente con el respeto por las formas de vida tradicionales y el ambientalismo. Se discute finalmente acerca de la posible relación entre el conservadurismo político y algunas formas de conservadurismo económico.

Palabras clave: Ideología política, conservadurismo, minería, actitudes.

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the relationship between political ideology and attitudes towards mining in a sample of young adults of the city of Lima (N = 144). It was used the conceptual model of conservatism as motivated social cognition. Political ideology was assessed by measures of authoritarianism (RWA), social dominance orientation (SDO), left/right political orientation, intolerance of uncertainty and intolerance of ambiguity. Attitudes toward mining were evaluated by an ad hoc instrument which was divided in three dimensions: mining as synonymous of progress and economic growth, respect for traditional modes of life and a trend toward environmentalism. Political conservatism was directly associated with favorable attitudes towards mining perceived as the cause of progress and economic growth. In addition, political conservatism was inversely associated with respect for traditional life modes and environmentalism. The final discussion suggests a possible link between political conservatism and some forms of economic conservatism.

Key words: Political Ideology, Conservatism, Mining, Attitudes.
Introduction

Mining, economic growth and social conflict

Since the 1990s, at the global level, mining activity has increased considerably over the past decades and Peru has been one of the territories in which more has expanded (De Echave, Diez, Huber, Révéz, Ricard & Tanaka, 2009; Dammert & Molinelli, 2007). In addition, global demand for metals and the international price of them has increased dramatically since the nineties, reaching growth rates of around 180% on average during the 2001-2006 period, where it differs from the copper and zinc cases that came to triple their prices (Dammert & Molinelli, 2007). Faced with this situation, from that same decade, Peruvian Governments have been settling down a legal system mainly aimed to provide a political and favorable policy condition for private and foreign investment in the mining sector, aiming to increase revenues of the country’s exports of minerals and hydrocarbons (Glave & Kuramoto, 2007; Dammert & Molinelli, 2007; Echave, et al., 2009). Some figures are showing that these objectives were met to a large extent: between 2001 and 2006 the revenue collected by Peru as a result of the export of copper was quintupled and, in general, in the case of other metals tripled or doubled (Dammert & Molinelli, 2007). Between 1995 and 2004 the Peruvian economy grew at a 3.5% annual average and mining did a 7.2% annual average. As an effect of this, while in 1995 the mining accounted for 47.6% of the total Peruvian exports, in 2004 it had moved to represent 55%. This last makes it currently the largest generator of foreign exchange for Peru (Glave & Kuramoto, 2007; Dammert & Molinelli, 2007).

His contribution to the generation of the necessary foreign currency to maintain the macroeconomic balance and growth make it so that the mining sector is appreciated and considered positively by the groups of the society that can benefit directly from the income generated by it. These groups are mainly as Glave and Kuramoto (2007) claim, the middle and high urban socioeconomic sectors of the coast and, in particular, of the city of Lima. To Glave and Kuramoto (2007), this favorable attitude towards mining is based on a simplistic conception of development in which the generation of higher income will generate, as a necessary consequence, a higher level of well-being for the citizens of the country. In contrast to this view, in the last decade, the volume and magnitude of social conflicts linked directly or indirectly with the mining activity (De Echave, et al., 2009) show that belief about the mining as an engine for development and the consequent favorable attitude towards her, is not shared by those populations who, located away from the cities, live around mining centers (Glave & Kuramoto, 2007; Echave, et al., 2009; Bebbington & Humphreys, 2009). The discontent of the nuclei of near mining villages is based mainly on two potential consequences of the extractive activity: a) the environmental risks posed by mining and b) modification and up to the destruction of the ways of life and social organization of the rural Andean communities, Amazon and even coastal (Moran, 2001; Echave, et al., 2009; Bebbington & Humphreys, 2009). Outside the Peruvian context, in a study conducted in rural villages of El Salvador, the attitude toward mining residents adjacent to the mining centers was quite negative with respect to their environmental consequences (pollution, damage to the agriculture and fishing), social (destruction of the original forms of life and the emergence of criminal activities) and economic (few expectations of local economic progress) (IIDOP2007). In Peru, as indicated by Tanaka, Huber, Révéz, Diez, Ricard and De Echave (2007), with regard to rural communities either of the Andean, Amazonian and the coastal region, mining projects «(...) they end up altering their lives and committing their future to ways which, in general, had not considered or evaluated previously». (Tanaka, et al., 2007, p. 10). Despite this and the social conflicts that are triggered, the position of the State and of the privileged sectors of the urban population with respect to the socio-environmental conflicts caused by mining, focuses mainly on ensuring or restoring public order so that the protests do not discourage private investment in this sector (De Echave et al., 2009).

As mentioned previously, the urban sectors that can benefit from greater ease of foreign exchange generated by mining, conceive it as a source of development and progress in itself and tend to forget that progress is not automatic, that it does not reduce revenues increased by export and that it must be accompanied by a series of complex strategies of local development. These sectors also (perhaps by its remoteness with regard to holding centers) forget the negative effects that mining can generate, both in the natural environment and the social fabric of adjacent populations (Glave & Kuramoto, 2007; Bebbington & Humphreys, 2009).
In this context, it is important to investigate the relationship between political conservatism and attitudes towards mining, where conservatism, studied political psychology, is associated with the need for simple beliefs about the Organization of the social world and how it works (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski & Sulloway, 2003). In addition, some dimensions of political conservatism as authoritarianism or social dominance orientation, have been consistent relationships with certain economic proposals, either because they are the more conventional or because they are in accordance with the interests of the Group’s membership (Duckitt, 2006; Duriez, Van Hiel & Kossowska, 2005; Sibley, Wilson & Duckitt, 2007; Napier & Jost, 2008).

**The psychological study of political ideology**

Political ideology can be understood as the organized set of beliefs about the way that a person or group of people considered that the social world (Erikson & Tedin, 2003) must be organized. Similarly, Denzau and North (1994) define the ideology as the common frame of reference that is shared and is the basis of mental models that groups built to interpret their surroundings. Understood as General frames of reference, ideologies provide groups of «recipes» about how the environment should be structured (Jost, Federico & Napier, 2009, p. 309). For Jost, et al. (2009) it is reasonable to hold that ideologies are shared belief systems, which help to interpret the social world and that they specify in a normative way «the right way to deal with the problems that life imposes on individuals» (Jost, et al., 2009, p. 309).

Traditionally, it has been proposed that individuals have the freedom to choose the ideology they prefer. From this perspective the political ideologies are that different authors have defined as «elective affinities» (Weber, 1922; Gerth & Mills, 1948/1970; Lewins, 1989; cited in Jost, et al., 2009, p. 308), concept that expresses the collective character («affinity») and free («electives») election that would possess different ideologies. More recently, since the political psychology, this elective conception of ideologies has been challenged. Some authors have warned about two different levels in which the ideology operates: a motivational level (not optional) and other discursive (Jost, Kruglanski, & Simon, 1999; Jost, et al., 2003; Jost, et al., 2009). The motivational level refers to a structure of psychological needs that must be met by individuals depending on their own sensitivity towards them and which have theoretically been grouped into three sets: a) epistemic needs, b) existential needs and c) relational needs (or also known as ideological) (Jost, et al., 2003; Jost et al., 2009). The discursive level operates through language and usually involves the rationalization of these needs in the form of speeches (politicians) that are directed towards the satisfaction of one or more of the above motivational groups.

**Political conservatism and epistemic motivation**

According to the proposal of Jost, et al. (2003) the political conservatism can be understood as a form of motivated social cognition. In this line, it is conceived as a particular way of processing information from the social environment, influenced by the individual sensitivity to the satisfaction of the three aforementioned motivational groups: a) epistemic motivations, b) existential motivations and c) relational or ideological motivations.

Firstly, the existential motivations are related to the need to preserve personal integrity, both physical and symbolic levels, and the need to perceive a little threatening social environment for oneself and for the significant people (Jost, et al., 2003; Jost, et al., 2009). Other concepts related to this motivational group are: the maintenance of a positive self-esteem (individual or collective), prevention and coping with the loss, and the management of fear (Jost et al., 2003). This motivational set is conceptually linked to the integrated Teorra of the Threat (ITT, for its acronym in English) by Stephan and Stephan (2000), which suggests that the interaction with culturally different groups can cause, under certain conditions, psychological anxiety responses as intergroup anxiety, perception of symbolic threat and negative stereotyping, to the extent that the different group is perceived as a potential threat to the lifestyle or social life of the ingroup identity (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Velasco, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008). Second,

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perceived that the social status of the ingroup is high or overbearing. Therefore, concepts related to the ideological motivations are: a) the rationalization of endo-group interests, b) endo-groupal dominance and c) the justification of the system (Jost, et al., 2003). In its relational dimension, these motivations are linked to the psychological need of emotionally meaningful relationships with people of the ingroup and occupy a place of subjective importance inside the same (Jost, et al., 2009). Finally, thirdly, it is important to mention the epistemic needs insofar as they have been evaluated in this study. This type of requirement is linked to the way you prefer to obtain and process the information from the social environment. People with a high sensitivity to the epistemic needs satisfaction, prefer environments that are devoid of ambiguous stimuli, which appear in a clear and structured way, and show lower levels of uncertainty. For this reason, this type of environment is highly predictable, controllable, and little menacing (Jost, et al., 1999; Jost, et al., 2003; Jost, et al., 2009). Intolerance to ambiguity, uncertainty reduction and the need for closure or cognitive structure are some of the psychological needs that encompass this motivational type (Jost, et al., 2003; Jost, et al., 1999).

In its ideological-discursive form, political conservatism is expressed through resistance to abrupt social changes and the justification of social inequality, such as attitudinal strategies to reduce perceived uncertainty and the threat (Jost, et al., 2003; Jost, et al., 2009). For these reasons, it is reasonable to hold, as it will expose later, that psychological-political variables as the Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA, for its acronym in English) and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, for its acronym in English) can be considered expressions of political conservatism.

Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

The RWA was introduced into political psychology by Altemeyer (1981) from conceptual developments on the authoritarian personality of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950, cited in Jost, et al., 2009). Conceptually, the RWA is an ideological form that is comprised of three attitudinal components: a) the submission by authorities perceived as legitimate and the standards that they promote, b) permissiveness of aggression or violence if they are exercised or promoted by the legitimate authorities and c) a high degree of conventionality, which expresses itself in the defense of conventions and socially accepted behavior patterns (Altemeyer 1981, 1998, 2004; Cottam, Dietz-Ihler, Mastors & Preston, 2004). Several studies have shown that people with a greater tendency towards the RWA are more sensitive to the perception of symbolic or real threats to his own vision of the world (Cohrs & Ibler, 2009; McCann, 2008; Duckitt & Fisher, 2003; Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis & Birum, 2002). This sensitivity to the perception of threat originates, under certain conditions, what Oesterreich (2005) has called the «authoritarian response», i.e., attitudes and inflexible and hostile behavior directed mainly toward groups that is perceived, could threaten the established social order. On the other hand, the social dominance orientation (SDO) is related to favorable attitudes toward the hierarchy of the society and the dominance of the Group’s membership (Jost, et al., 2009; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar & Levin, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). Carried to extremes, the SDO predisposes individuals to perceive the world as a «pitiless jungle» (Jost, et al., 2009, p. 313) in which competition and the desire for power are endemic (Sibley, Overall & Duckitt, 2007; Sibley, Wilson & Duckitt, 2007; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). For this reason, individuals with a greater tendency towards the SDO will prefer the existence of social systems highly hierarchical and unequal in which some groups (mainly the ingroup) occupy legitimately, a privileged position (Jost, et al., 2009; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar & Levin, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto, et al., 1994).

On empirical research conducted in several countries including Peru, the SDO and RWA have always presented small or medium scale correlations (Altemeyer, 1998, 2004; Jost, et al., 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Weber & Federico, 2007; Whitley, 1999; Espinosa, Calderon-Prada, Burga & Guimac, 2007; Röttenbacher, Amaya, Lenna & Pulache, 2009; Röttenbacher, 2010). In front of this empirical evidence, the RWA and the SDO can be considered ideological dimensions, but not enough as so they should be understood as «redundant variables» that express the same (Jost, et al., 2009, p. 313). It is important to note also that both the RWA and the SDO can be considered expressions...
of conservatism as motivated social cognition (Jost, et al., 2003), in so far as they predispose towards a resistance to change (especially the RWA) and the justification of social or economic inequality (especially the SDO).

**Political ideology and preferences in economic matters**

According to Jost, et al. (2009), the dimensions of social and economic conservatism must be understood through an orthogonal model of two axes in which one of them is the social pillar and the other economic. According to this scheme it is possible to find socially conservative people (i.e. conventional) but economically leaning towards models associated with the political left (economic populism, statism, etc.). On the other hand, it is possible to find economically conservative people (inclined towards economic liberalism) that are «socially liberal» (little conventional and open to social change) (Jost, et al., 2009; Napier & Jost, 2008). The importance of this proposal is that the neo-liberal economic model is conceived as a form of economic conservatism, meanwhile is currently the most conventional and internationally accepted economic model. On the contrary, economic protectionism and the State of the economy, being regulation associated with left-wing political ideologies, are conceived as not conservative economic options, i.e. unconventional (Napier & Jost, 2008).

In Latin America, since the formulation of the Washington consensus in 1999, different countries have adopted a model economic neo-liberalism and entered an economy of free-market (Casilda, 2004). Peru was no exception, and since the 1990s adopted all or almost all the proposals of the Washington consensus, which proposed an «open policies with respect to foreign direct investment» (Casilda, 2004, p. 22). We hold then, that since the 1990s in Latin America, the free market economy and neo-liberalism is the general economic framework for greater acceptance (i.e. the more conventional or conservative) (Casilda, 2004). Persons, institutions or Governments that accept or promote this economic model can then be considered as economically conservative.

With regard to the relationship between political ideology and preferences in economic matter, Greenberg and Jonas (2003), indicate that conservatives characterized as proposed by Jost, et al. (2003), tend to favor the maintenance of capitalist economies, defend freedom, economic and property, and are in favor of free market economies. This way of conceiving the appropriate way in which the economy must be driven is closely linked to a political ideology «right», while the planning, regulation and State control of economic activities relate a «left» ideology (Duckitt, 2001; Greenberg & Jonas, 2003). Finally, according to the results of other research on political ideology and economics, the SDO would be more closely linked with economic conservatism (i.e. the economic liberalism and free competition), while the RWA is associated more closely with social conservatism (attachment by social conventions and traditions), the evidence on the one hand, the aforementioned relationship between the SDO competitiveness and the pursuit of power, and on the other, the conventionalism and traditionalism associated with the RWA (Duckitt, 2006; Duriez, Van Hiel & Kossowska, 2005; Sibley, Wilson & Duckitt, 2007).

On the basis of the theoretical review, it was considered relevant to analyze the relationship between political conservatism and attitudes towards the mining in Peru, to the extent that this economic activity is visibly the incorporation and application of neo-liberal economic models and free market supporters in Latin American countries since the 1990s. Exploring about these relationships also takes greater importance since, as it has been mentioned, the adoption of this economic model and the activities favored by it are not exempt from social conflicts.

**Method**

**Participants**

A probabilistic-unintended type sampling was used to select the participants. The sample (N = 144) was formed mostly by students (68.1%) and university graduates (18.1%) of the city of Lima. 45.8% Were women and 54.2% were men, and their ages ranged from a minimum of 18 and up to 42 years (ME = 23.3; OF = 4.8). The majority, 88.9%, was unmarried and in general came from 25 districts of the city of Metropolitan Lima and Callao. You can place socio-economic levels, according to the educational level and the districts of residence, between medium and medium to high levels of Metropolitan Lima.
Instruments

a. **Right policy orientation.** To evaluate the ideological position in terms of the continuous left / right, we used a single item, whose response option was a Likert scale of seven points where: 1 = «of left» and 7 = «of right». Participants were asked that they place themselves at some point in this continuous, according to how they consider their political position in those terms.

b. **SDO.** To evaluate the social dominance orientation, the version translated into Spanish by Montes-Berges and Silvan-Ferrero (cited in Moya & Morales-Marente, 2005) the scale of orientation towards Social dominance (SDO of Sidanius and Pratto, 1993) was used. This scale comprises 16 statements referring to hierarchical and asymmetric relations between groups belonging to a society. The items are presented on a scale Likert type of 7 points in which: 1 = «completely disagree» and 7 = «completely in agreement». The level of reliability of this instrument was high in the case of the present study ($\alpha = .83$).

c. **RWA.** The authoritarianism of the right was evaluated through a translated version to Spanish of the reduced version of the Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) of Zakrisson (2005). This scale is made up of 15 items whose choice of response is a Likert scale of 9 points in which: 1 = «totally disagree» and 9 = «totally in agreement». The level of reliability of the scale was appropriate in the case of the present study ($\alpha = .76$).

d. **Intolerance to ambiguity.** Evaluate intolerance towards ambiguity was the version in Spanish language of the level of tolerance to ambiguity (MSTAT-II), of Archer and McLain (2010). This scale is made up of 13 items whose choice of response is a 5-point Likert scale where: 1 = «completely in disagreement» and 5 = «totally in agreement». The scale presented a high level of reliability in the case of the sample ($\alpha = .85$).

e. **Uncertainty intolerance.** For the measurement of this variable it was used the Spanish adaptation of the scale of intolerance to the uncertainty of Gonzalez, Cubas, Rovella and Darias (2006). The scale consists of 27 items whose choice of response is a 5-point Likert scale where: 1 = «Nothing like me» and 5 = «Fully characteristic of me». This scale presented a high level of reliability in the case of the present study ($\alpha = .94$).

f. **Attitudes towards mining in Peru.** To assess this variable it was elaborated an instrumental in ad hoc thirteen items that make mention of various economic, social and environmental aspects associated with mining activity in Peru. The answer is a 6-point Likert scale where: 1 = «totally disagree» and 6 = «totally in agreement». The items were grouped into three areas which were defined, based on the theoretical review, as: a) respect for the traditional forms of life (rural, Andean and Amazonian): dimension consists of five items, which won an adequate level of reliability ($\alpha = .75$); b) environmentalism (environmental and favorable attitudes toward the care of the natural environment): dimension consists of five items, which also won an adequate level of reliability ($\alpha = .75$); and c) mining as a synonym for progress and economic growth: dimension consists of three items, which won an adequate level of reliability ($\alpha = .74$). The complete tool including means and standard deviations obtained for each item and the areas to which they belong, is presented in annex 1.

Procedure

The responsible of picking up of the information were 17 students of the tenth semester of the Especialidad de Psicología Social de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PICP), who were previously trained in the application of questionnaires. Participants were contacted in the University campus of the PICP and through personal contacts. All participants were asked their informed consent and were expressly told that filling in the questionnaires was completely voluntary. At all times the participants had freedom to not complete filling the questionnaire if they so wished. The picking of information was conducted between April and May 2011. Once collected the information, it was centralized and entered by the researchers to the statistical package SPSS 19.

Results

As you can be seen in the table 1, not all variables showed a normal distribution but also they didn’t present very noticeable asymmetry degrees so it has been
considered appropriate to perform parametric correlation analysis, multiple linear regression analysis and t tests of equality of means.

In Table 2 there are correlations obtained between the variables of study. With regard to political conservatism it can be seen that the measures of this correlated each other in a direct and meaningful way, except in the case of the right policy orientation and uncertainty intolerance. The strongest correlation was presented between the intolerance to ambiguity and uncertainty intolerance \( r(138) = .66; p < .001 \) and the less intensity one between the RWA and uncertainty intolerance \( r(132) = .1; p = .042 \). It is also important to mention the correlations between the RWA and intolerance to ambiguity \( r(137) = .42; p < .001 \) and the RWA and the SDO \( r(133) = .35; p < .001 \). On the other hand, regarding correlations between political conservatism and attitudes towards mining, it is important to note that the dimensions called respect for traditional ways of living and environmentalism showed inverse and significant correlations with all variables of political conservatism. Within these correlations, the most intense arose between environmentalism and intolerance to ambiguity \( r(143) = -.44; p < .001 \).

It is also important to note that the dimension called mining as a synonym for progress and economic growth presented direct correlations with the RWA and intolerance to ambiguity, and inverse correlations with the dimensions called respect for traditional ways of living and environmentalism.

Multiple linear regression analysis

An analysis of multiple linear regression to analyze the effect of political conservatism on attitudes towards mining was made. The method to enter the independent variables was by successive steps in order to obtain models that could explain the higher percentage of variance. Three models were proposed in which the dependent variable was each of the scale of attitudes towards the mining areas and in all cases independent variables were: a) the right orientation policy, b) the SDO, c) the RWA, d) intolerance to ambiguity and e) intolerance to uncertainty. The results of the analysis of multiple linear regression by successive steps are presented in the table 3.

As it can be seen in table 3, respect for traditional forms of life is influenced in reverse order by the RWA and the intolerance to ambiguity, whose effects explain altogether 28.6% of this variable. The attitudinal dimension denominated environmentalism (environmental attitudes) is only reverse influenced by intolerance to ambiguity and the model explains the 24.1% of the variance. Thirdly, a favorable attitude towards mining that conceives it as a source of progress and economic growth (Minerra as synonymous with progress and economic growth) receives the direct influence of the RWA and intolerance to ambiguity, and its effects account for 15.9% variance overall.
Table 2
Matriz de correlación paramétrica entre las variables de estudio

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<td>1. Orientación Política de Derecha</td>
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<td>2. SDO</td>
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<td>3. RWA</td>
<td>——-</td>
<td>.42**</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>-.47**</td>
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<td>4. Intolerancia a la Ambigüedad</td>
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<td>.66**</td>
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<td>-.44**</td>
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<td>5. Intolerancia a la Incertidumbre</td>
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<td>-.32**</td>
<td>-.31**</td>
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<td>6. Respeto por las formas de vida tradicionales</td>
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<td>.80**</td>
<td>-.68**</td>
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<td>7. Ambientalismo (actitudes pro-ambientales)</td>
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<td>-.67**</td>
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<td>8. Minería como progreso/crecimiento económico</td>
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* p ≤ .05  
** p ≤ .01

Table 3
Resultados de los análisis de regresión lineal múltiple

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable dependiente</th>
<th>Resultados del modelo</th>
<th>Variables independientes incluidas en el modelo</th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>p</th>
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</table>
| 1. Respeto por las formas de vida tradicionales | $R^2 = .286$  
  $F(1, 123) = 14,104$  
  $p < .001$ | RWA  
  Intolerancia a la Ambigüedad | -.278 | .068 |-.337 | -4.064 | <.001 |
| 2. Ambientalismo (Actitudes pro-ambientales) | $R^2 = .241$  
  $F(1, 124) = 40,616$  
  $p < .001$ | Intolerancia a la Ambigüedad | -.716 | .112 |-.497 | -6.373 | <.001 |
| 3. Minería como sinónimo de progreso y crecimiento económico | $R^2 = .159$  
  $F(1, 123) = 7,361$  
  $p = .008$ | RWA  
  Intolerancia a la Ambigüedad | .245 | .088 | .249 | 2.770 | .006 |

Cluster analysis

An analysis of two clusters (in two phases) was made in order to identify subgroups within the sample which are characterized by varying degrees of conservatism. In this way to identify conglomerates were the variables relating to political conservatism used. There were two conglomerates denominated «More conservative» and «Less Conservatives» and whose description appears in table 4.

As it can be seen in table 4 the conglomerate that was called «More conservative» included participants (64.3% of the total) and scored higher on the SDO, the RWA, intolerance to uncertainty, ambiguity intolerance and leans toward a political position of right. The conglomerate known as «Less conservative», brought together 45 participants (35.7% of the total) and less rate on variables previously mentioned.
**Comparison between conglomerates with respect to attitudes towards mining**

Equality of means $t$ test was used to analyze the differences between the conglomerates with respect to the dimensions of the scale of attitudes towards mining in Peru. The results of this comparison are shown in table 5. You can see that the conglomerate known as «More conservative» scored less in dimensions: respect for traditional ways of living and environmentalism and at the same time, presents higher scores in the dimension mining as a synonym for progress and economic growth.

**Discussion**

This research of an exploratory character has some limitations that should be specified. Firstly, the relatively small size of the sample (N = 144) and non-randomness in the selection of participants reduces the ability to generalize the results to larger populations. Secondly, the instrument ad hoc was developed to assess attitudes towards the mining activity, although it has presented high levels of reliability ($\alpha > .70$ for all its dimensions) and has allowed us to reach interesting results it implies, as any new instrument, methodological limitations insofar as it has not been previously evaluated in other empirical investigations.

Despite these two factors, the results obtained are consistent with theory and with the results of previous empirical research. In addition, these results are relevant as a starting point for future methodologically and more sophisticated research.

It can be propose that the conservative political ideology, understood according to the theoretical proposal of Jost, et al. (2003), is directly associated with positive attitudes towards the mining activity, to the extent that it is conceived as a determining factor for the economic growth of the country. Conversely, political conservatism may predispose toward a lesser concern for the negative
aspects that involves mining: the environmental risk and the destruction of traditional ways of life. Based on these two General statements, it is necessary to specify some more specific relationships between the variables of study.

Contrary to what is assumed according to previous research (Duckitt, 2006; Duriez, et al., 2005; Sibley, et al., 2007), it could not be observed that the SDO influenced significantly the favorable attitudes towards mining as an expression of economic conservatism. However, at a correlation level reverse relations between the SDO were observed and the respect for the traditional ways of life and the SDO and the environmental attitudes. Similar inverse relations could be observed between a right political orientation and the two aforementioned variables: respect for traditional ways of living and environmentalism. In this sense, it is also necessary to point out that respect for traditional ways of living and environmentalism presented together a high-intensity correlation \((r = .80)\), by which we can propose that they expressed a general concern for the care of the natural environment and the preservation of the cultural diversity of the country.

In the light of the results, it seems that the RWA and ambiguity intolerance represent the core of the conservative political ideology. This is consistent with the claims of Jost, et al. (2009) with regards to the relationship between authoritarianism and conservatism. The RWA represent the ideological-discursive form of conservatism and intolerance to ambiguity motivational dimension, insofar as it is conceived as one of the main motivations for epistemic conservatism as motivated social cognition model (Jost, et al., 1999; Jost, et al., 2003; Jost, et al., 2009).

In this sense, it is striking that both the RWA and ambiguity intolerance have exercised direct influence on the three dimensions of attitudes toward the mining activity. Based on the results, we cannot hold that people with a tendency towards conservatism support mining activities as a source for the generation of foreign currency, even if this brings negative consequences on the social and environmental spheres. It can also be sustained that a greater tendency towards the RWA predisposes to a lesser concern for the living conditions of rural Andean and Amazonian populations which are represented from Lima, as they have shown in previous research (Espinosa, et al., 2007), as different, backward and of low status.

Results obtained propose in addition, that the application of the theoretical model is possible of the political conservatism as motivated social cognition proposed by Jost, et al. (2003) in certain sectors of the population of Lima. In addition, this model would understand some collective preferences with respect to various economic and social issues in Peru, as is the case with the present study.

On the other hand, it has been observed that a greater level of intolerance to ambiguity and uncertainty is associated with the RWA and the SDO, but not so with the political orientation of the right, except in cases of intolerance to ambiguity. Based on these results, we cannot hold that in this study, the variables that best evaluated political conservatism are the RWA, intolerance to ambiguity and the SDO. This corroborates in any way the proposal of Jost, et al. (2003) insofar as the need for a simple and unambiguous knowledge about the social environment relates to authoritarianism and the orientation towards social dominance, as ideological-discursive expressions of political conservatism. This simple way to interpret the social world can be expressed, in the case of preferences in the economic sphere, by means of the following pragmatic reasoning: the greater the investment in mining, the greater the volume of exports of minerals, greater currency will enter the country and therefore, higher levels of economic prosperity will be achieved. However, this simple argument does not address the complex and not always successful conciliation between economic growth, care of the environment and respect for traditional customs and social organization, is riddled with ambiguity, uncertainty and in some cases, social conflict.

In general terms, one can propose that in certain sectors of the population of Lima, political conservatism is associated with an economic conservatism (preference for neo-liberalism and free-marketing), a minor concern for the preservation of the environment and less respect for traditional ways of life. Social conservatism (Jost, et al., 2009), expressed through the RWA is associated with, in the case of this study, favorable attitudes toward private
investment, the market economy, the economic liberalism and little or no State intervention in the economy, all manifestations of contemporary economic conservatism (Greenberg & Jonas, 2003; Napier & Jost, 2008).

Apparently, for some politically conservative people of Lima, a simplistic model of the development turns out to be the most acceptable, and in accordance with their ingroup interests. Therefore, activities such as mining will be favorably evaluated while they lead to economic growth, while they can negatively affect other groups and the environment.

References


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**ANNEX 1**

**ESCALA DE ACTITUDES HACIA LA EXPLOTACIÓN MINERA EN EL PERÚ:**
**SUS DIMENSIONES, SU NIVEL DE CONFIABILIDAD Y LOS ÍTÉMS ASOCIADOS A ELLAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensión 1: Respeto por las formas de vida tradicionales</th>
<th>ME</th>
<th>DE</th>
<th>α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La única manera de crecer como país es que las comunidades campesinas o nativas se inserten en la economía de mercado. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>3,69</td>
<td>1,61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es mejor procurar el crecimiento de la economía, en vez de conservar las formas de vida tradicionales, campesinas o nativas. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>2,68</td>
<td>1,49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sólo el progreso que trae la industria minera moderna nos sacará del atraso y subdesarrollo que actualmente tenemos en el Perú. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>2,47</td>
<td>1,32</td>
<td>0,73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La defensa de los derechos de las poblaciones tradicionales andinas y amazónicas, es un impedimento para el desarrollo. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>1,99</td>
<td>1,09</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las formas de vida tradicionales representan el atraso de nuestro país. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>1,97</td>
<td>1,14</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensión 2: Ambientalismo (Actitudes pro-ambientales)</th>
<th>ME</th>
<th>DE</th>
<th>α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estar bien que en el Perú, el control de los recursos naturales sea otorgado a empresas privadas, si esto trae consigo el progreso económico. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>3,69</td>
<td>1,60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La explotación minera es mucho más beneficiosa para el país, en comparación con la agricultura o el turismo. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>2,76</td>
<td>1,40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En países como el Perú, es mejor priorizar el desarrollo económico en vez de defender principios ecologistas. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>2,21</td>
<td>1,17</td>
<td>0,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La defensa del medio ambiente es algo que se puede dejar de lado si lo que interesa es el progreso económico de nuestro país. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>1,92</td>
<td>1,24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estar bien que se exploten los recursos naturales, incluso si eso trae como consecuencia problemas ambientales. (Inverso-recodificado)</td>
<td>1,59</td>
<td>0,93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensión 3: Minería como sinónimo de crecimiento y progreso económico</th>
<th>ME</th>
<th>DE</th>
<th>α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>En el Perú, debemos priorizar el crecimiento de la economía basado en la explotación minera.</td>
<td>3,56</td>
<td>1,34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La minería moderna siempre traerá el progreso. Sólo hay que dejar que se desarrolle cada vez más.</td>
<td>3,31</td>
<td>1,44</td>
<td>0,74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La explotación minera es y seguirá siendo la mejor forma de conseguir ingresos para el Perú.</td>
<td>2,96</td>
<td>1,46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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