Transforming Andean Space: Local Experiences of Mining Development in Peru

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BA (Hons.), MSc, MA

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

The University of Queensland in 2015
Sustainable Minerals Institute
ABSTRACT

Mining is a major component of economic growth in many resource-endowed countries. In addition, mining development causes mixed social, cultural, environmental and economic effects in the regions in which it takes place. State agencies, the industry, and civil society groups have implemented a range of social and economic measures in response to these effects. To examine the changes, many researchers use an impact-assessment approach, or social movement theories, which provide several advantages but also significant limitations. The aim of this thesis is to create an understanding of the transformations that rural societies experience in the context of mining development in the Peruvian Andes, using a novel approach taken from geographical theories of the “production of space”. This approach enables analysis of environmental, political, economic, social and symbolic elements within a single frame and across time and spatial scales. This thesis examines transformations related to land access, production, mobility and representations of place from the perspective of local families. The main argument presented in this thesis is that spatial transformations prompted by current mining development in Peru exhibit four central features that depart from conventional accounts of social change in rural Western societies. Firstly, exogenous market integration between rural and urban areas is emerging as a result of increased wage labor in non-farming activities and consumption of external goods, and is not due to a rise in farming productivity. Secondly, the resulting urbanization is not a binary or permanent process from rural to urban locations, but a mixed and fluid process wherein families use their networks to bridge both spaces. Thirdly, social relations have not necessarily become more individualistic and anonymous, yet kinship and social networks remain central to individual lives; however, some social relations and identities are increasingly challenged, especially those in relation to gender. Lastly, gender and age, as well as collective and individual experiences and interests, significantly shape the construction of social representations of the city and the countryside. Grounded in the interpretative tradition, this thesis examines the experiences of 14 families over the past 20 years in the vicinity of the La Granja copper project in Cajamarca, Northern Peru. A comprehensive narrative has been built through diverse voices and perspectives (family heads and their partners, local leaders and qualified informants, company employees and social scientists), sources and techniques (in-depth and multi-site interviews, ethnographic observations, socio-economic secondary data, and local fiction).
DECLARATION BY AUTHOR

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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No publications included.
No contributions by others.
STATEMENT OF PARTS OF THE THESIS SUBMITTED TO QUALIFY FOR THE AWARD OF ANOTHER DEGREE

None.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the end of the process, and as I write these notes of appreciation, it is very rewarding to confirm that all along this journey towards my doctorate degree, I have always been in good company and have found the support of wonderful people.

Firstly, I want to thank David Brereton and Daniel Franks, my advisors. They epitomize the qualities every good advisor should put into practice: dedication and professionalism to guide our progress on a consistent basis, a critical sharpness to challenge any preconceived ideas, and support and respect as they undertake the task of helping us to find our own voice. David and Daniel have also provided prompt assistance at critical times during my doctorate, along with their warm friendship. Thanks to them, I have been able to grow and enrich my life over this period of almost three years, both academically and personally.

Many other people have contributed to this growth in various ways. Deanna Kemp has provided critical and constructive comments to my thesis along its successive stages. Through informal conversations, Deanna has shared her wealth of experience in the extractive sector with me, and she and her family have led me to discover some delightful locations in Brisbane.

At the University of Queensland, Kirsty Gillespie and Jo-Anne Everingham, from the Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining (CSRM), and Sally Babidge, from the School of Social Sciences, made some insightful comments to my work. Kellie Kayser and David Rawland, learning advisors, provided me with a valuable initial guide at the Introductory Academic Program.

Matthew Himley, from the Illinois State University, revised my paper for the Mid-Candidature Review milestone with great commitment as an external reader, and provided me with extensive and extremely useful suggestions for a better analysis of the social processes involved in mining development.

Flavio Figallo, Gerardo Damonte, Norma Fuller, Teófilo Altamirano, all colleagues and friends from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, read several sections of my thesis, during its various phases, and provided me with astute and helpful comments. Bruno Revesz, from CIPCA in Piura, always commented on and encouraged my work, right up until his passing last year. Patricia Fuertes generously helped me to understand the rural economic processes, and recommended relevant
literature. Dominique van der Borght constantly encouraged me; he read my entire thesis with attention and care, and gave me some valuable suggestions for a more comprehensible text.

Grace Corcuera, a social worker from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM), accompanied me as I carried out my fieldwork in La Granja. She collaborated with me by gathering high-quality qualitative material; and, as a result of our long conversations and exchange of opinions, I could better understand the internal dynamics of the locality. Marilyn Ishikawa, a geographer from UNMSM, gathered and processed the quantitative material and prepared most of the graphs that are included in this thesis. I extend my most sincere appreciation to both of them, for their professionalism and friendship.

Various academics, consultants, officials from the Rio Tinto La Granja Mining Company, authorities, local leaders, and local residents, have shared their experiences with me, so that I could better understand the processes I have been studying. Not only were the members of the families in the study, along with the men and women in La Granja, extremely generous in sharing their time and experiences, but they also offered me their friendship. I thank every single one of them, and dedicate this thesis to them. The Segura Guevara family generously took me into their home. I offer my most sincere gratitude to Mr. Julio, Mrs. Clara, Henry, César, and Pía.

My studies were possible thanks to a grant from Australia Awards. Claudia Morales has been a timely and attentive liaison person with the grant program. The extensive fieldwork was largely funded by a grant from the International Mining for Development Centre. Together with Robin Evans, the Interim Deputy Director, I appreciate their assistance.

My special thanks to the Sustainable Mineral Institute (SMI) post-graduate team. To Suzanne Morris, Tess Dobinson, Jacqueline Ross-Hagebaum, Amanda Lambert, Marilyn Wilckens: thank you for your continuous support, concern and friendship throughout my doctorate.

Likewise, I want to thank Jennifer Ebbott, Mali Moazen, and Sarah Knox for their constant and always kind support.

Bec Stafford edited the final text with care and dedication.

To my friends from SMI and CSRM: I want to thank you for the countless good times we shared at the “fishbowl”. In particular, my best wishes to Felipe Saavedra, Geordan Graetz, Isabel Buitrago-Franco, Miguel Molina, Naomi Smith Devetak, Muhammad Makki, and Sadaqat Huda. My special thanks go to Rebekah Ramsay. Her friendship, assistance with the initial editing of my first drafts, and our long conversations on everyday subjects were priceless.
My friends, Diana Arbelaez-Ruiz and Martin Griffith, kindly opened their home to me until I was able to find accommodation in Brisbane.

Filomeno was our loyal friend when my wife and I expended my first year in Highgate Hill.

Not only were Glen McBride, Melody Fabillo, and Flynn great company over the last months, as I wrote my thesis, they also offered me their friendship, and made my stay in Chapel Hill a pleasant one.

My parents and siblings, with all their love, have been a constant support, despite the distance. To them, thank you, always.

Laura Soria has been instrumental in my coming through safely to the end of my doctorate degree. She gave me her support when I had to make the difficult decision to study away from home. I shared many aspects of my thesis with her; her experience in gender-related topics and her understanding of contemporary Peruvian society have been extremely valuable. Her permanent and everyday presence, along with Margaret Mead II, has been my greatest support. To Laura, I give all of my love and gratitude.
KEYWORDS

Social change, rural livelihoods, production of space, mining, Peru, Andes, land access, production, migration, representations.
AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND STANDARD
RESEARCH CLASSIFICATIONS (ANZSRC)

ANZSRC code: 160403, Social and Cultural Geography, 40%

ANZSRC code: 160805, Social Change, 30%

ANZSRC code: 160104, Social and Cultural Anthropology, 30%
FIELDS OF RESEARCH (FOR) CLASSIFICATION

FoR code: 1604, Human Geography, 40%

FoR code: 1608, Sociology, 30%

FoR code: 1601, Anthropology, 30%
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONACAMI</td>
<td>National Confederation of Peruvian Communities Affected by Mining (in Spanish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSRM</td>
<td>Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIA</td>
<td>Environmental Impact Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICMM</td>
<td>International Council on Mining and Metals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFC</td>
<td>International Finance Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM4DC</td>
<td>International Mining for Development Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTC</td>
<td>Ministry of Transportation and Communications (in Spanish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTLG</td>
<td>Rio Tinto La Granja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIA</td>
<td>Social Impact Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNMPE</td>
<td>Peruvian National Society of Mining, Petroleum and Energy (in Spanish)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMI</td>
<td>Sustainable Minerals Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCTAD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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**GLOSSARY**

*Amarillo:* A campesino that supported the landlord in local struggles over the land.

*Arrendatario:* a campesino who rents the land.

*Asociación Señor de los Milagros:* Religious association in La Granja.

*Campesino/a:* a rural farmer.

*Casa hacienda:* manor house of the landlord.

*Compadre:* the father of a godson or goddaughter.

*Granjino/a:* a person (male/female) from La Granja.

*Hacienda:* the property of the landlord. It also implies a labor and socio-economic system characterized by pre-capitalist relations.

*Hacendado:* landlord.

*Inverna:* a piece of land used to cultivate pastures for cattle.

*Mayordomo:* foreman in charge of the daily life activities in the hacienda.

*Mestizo/a:* creole people, who recognize themselves as descendants from different ethnic roots. The official ideology stresses that the country is a *mestiza* nation.

*Rayado:* A campesino that opposed the landlord in local struggles over the land.

*Reforma Agraria:* the agrarian reform implemented by the leftist military regime of Juan Velazco in 1969.

*Ronda campesina:* self-defense organization originally created to fight against rural banditry and cattle-theft. It is composed only of men.

*Ronda de mujeres:* women’s self-defense organization. In the study area, it was created as a specific organization to negotiate job opportunities with the mining company.

*Rontero/a:* A member (male/female) of the ronda campesina.

*Yunta:* pair of oxen that plough land with a hoist.
PART A. STATING THE PROBLEM
1. INTRODUCTION

How can there be fury felt for things that are gone to dust.

Richard Llewellyn, How Green Was My Valley

1.1. RESEARCH PROBLEM

It was in the early hours of July 1997 that Alfredo Granda remembers having left La Granja with his wife, his elderly parents, and his six children, the youngest barely being three weeks old. They did not leave with hope but with resignation. When Alfredo left the village, there were only seven houses still standing, and the approximately sixty remaining houses, had already been knocked down by Cambior, a Canadian mining company that had bought the lands from local families for the purposes of exploiting one of the largest copper fields in the world. As many others had, Alfredo and his wife, Mercedes, resisted selling their land and house for several months. Pressure from the company and the government however, had forced them to sell. Escorting by the security staff and a lawyer, Mr. Melgar, an engineer and the company’s strongman, had threatened them. If they did not sell and leave, the army would evict them with no compensation whatsoever, and, in addition, they would be accused of being terrorists. The state had already closed the village first-aid post and school. Over 250 families sold their land.

In a small second-hand truck bought with money from the sale of his land, Alfredo and his family left behind the green inter-Andean valley located 2,000 m.a.s.l. in the Cajamarca region of northern Peru. Two of his brothers had tried to convince him to move to the jungle, where they could acquire land by falling the forest trees and growing coffee. Drug trafficking and lack of safety discouraged him. He would rather have moved to the coast, near the cities, where his children could study and find jobs. Two months earlier he had gone to Ojo de Toro, a rural area three hours away from Chiclayo, the main city, and the regional trade center where hundreds of migrant families from Cajamarca have settled. There he bought a plot of land and left instructions and money for the construction of a house. They then departed for that semi-arid scenery.

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1 The names of these characters and the brief story of their saga are ficticious. They portray, however, some of the dramas experienced by many families in La Granja.
The reception they received, however, was hostile, and nothing turned out the way they thought it would. They were scammed and the house they had paid to be constructed did not exist; they had to move temporarily into a straw mat shack. In hot weather, the harvest cycle is different. In addition, Alfredo had never grown crops with the use of irrigation. His first corn harvest failed. The little money they still had from the compensation was soon gone, and with neither family nor friends, the Grandas had nothing to eat. Alfredo worked for food on his neighbors’ small farms. The following year, the heavy rains that were caused by the El Niño phenomenon finally ruined the family. The fields flooded and the area was declared an emergency zone. The family was provided with shelter by a religious organization, and for several months they lived in tents that were set up in a public school. The rainfall, the floods, and the lack of potable water brought about the malaria and cholera epidemics. Alfredo’s father and youngest child died. In despair, the family made a decision to go back to La Granja. As they had no land, they felled and squatted in a portion of the nearby forest, where they built an adobe house and grew cassava, potatoes, and corn.

On the other hand, the mining project did not prosper, and Cambior sold its rights and land to BHP Billiton, a multinational company that also eventually chose to drop the project. BHP Billiton returned the mining concession to the state, and, at a reduced price, offered the land for sale back to the original owners. With the help of a brother and a son-in-law, Alfredo was able to buy a portion of his old land. Little by little, other families returned and started to rebuild their old lives.

In 2006, however, the Río Tinto Company received the concession rights from the state and started new exploration works. The company established a program that employs the local population by the dozens, and families started many small businesses to provide services to the company and its workers. Five of Alfredo’s seven siblings have returned. His eldest daughter, Margarita, has opened a laundry. One of his sons has gone into business with a cousin to start a small hotel and a snooker room, where young people from La Granja gather in the evenings to play. They no longer drink cane liquor, like their fathers used to; now they drink beer and listen to reggaeton music rather than the Andean music of the old-fashioned *huaynitos*. As the village now has electric power, the Grandas gather at home every evening to watch soap operas and game shows by satellite signal, and they keep in touch with each other by means of mobile phone. As many other people agree, Alfredo thinks that the company will soon start buying land for the project. That is why he has bought some land from his neighbors and divided it among his children and their families. Each child has built their own house, and replaced donkeys and horses with
motorcycles and pickup trucks. With mixed feelings of nostalgia and optimism, Alfredo and Margarita witness financial effervescence being experienced by the village like no other time in its history. They also feel fear and uncertainty, however, about what the future might bring.

Certainly, mining is a major actor in the transformation of rural societies around the world. Mining significantly contributes to the economic growth of many resource-endowed countries. This is because mineral development provides significant foreign investment and taxation to the state at the national level (e.g. UNCTAD 2007; UNCTAD, WB & ICMM 2008; IIMP 2010; IIMP 2011; Macroconsult 2012; OECD, ECLAC & CIAT 2012). However, well-documented evidence suggests that mining development also causes and contributes to mixed social, cultural, environmental and economic outcomes for local communities (McMahon & Remy 2001; Rosser 2006; Zegarra, Orihuela & Paredes 2007; Damonte 2008; Bainton 2010).

Complex impacts and consequences have fostered the transformation of many rural societies and regions where mining development has taken place. The creation of new and relatively well-paid jobs outside farming activities, the provision of infrastructure, substantial flows of capital, local inflation, immigration and out-migration, imbalances in the women-to-men ratio, changes in land use and ownership, political struggle and fragmentation, and cultural clashes are among the variables that have produced major transformations at the local and regional scale. As some researchers examining development projects and modernization processes have shown (Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995; Coronil 1997), these transformations often lead to uneven and contradictory forms of social and economic development, with gender relations, in particular, being one of the areas in which inequality is most noticeable (World Bank 2001; Castillo & Soria 2011).

Technical literature has attempted to identify and measure those consequences, primarily from an impact assessment perspective (Vanclay 2003; Becker & Vanclay 2006; Vanclay & Esteves 2011). In addition, to manage the effects prompted by mining development, state agencies, the industry, and civil society groups have implemented a range of social and economic measures, such as public consultation, local procurement and the implementation of social management systems. A wide variety of literature addresses the importance of these mechanisms, especially from the corporate social responsibility perspective (Esteves & Barclay 2011; Sagebien & Lindsay 2011; Hilson 2012).
However, some researchers have warned of the narrow limits of the impact assessment approach, both because of the difficulties in predicting complex outcomes within parameters of high uncertainty and active social agency (Franks 2012), and because of the inadequacy of a social environmental model focused on territories, rather than networks, for assessing impacts (Castillo 2013). On the other hand, there have been few empirical investigations where authors have evaluated the effectiveness of the mitigatory and developmental measures (Lemieux 2010; Owen & Kemp 2013).

Academic research analyzing the perspective of the local populations and their experiences and responses to mining activities has been important since the second half of the 20th century (Godoy 1995; Bridge 2004; Damonte & Castillo 2011). In the last decades, however, it has grown rapidly, which parallels the worldwide expansion of mineral development since the 1990s. Current research mainly focuses on the resilience of communities and the strategies employed to resist and confront mineral developments. Often using the methodological and theoretical framework of political ecology, these studies have addressed imbalances of power and examined the multiple political and symbolic resources that local populations use to oppose mining (Castillo 2006; Bebbington 2007; Damonte 2007; De Echave et al. 2009). Authors from this tradition have stressed the threat that mineral development poses to traditional agrarian systems (Bury 2004; Salas 2008; Gil 2009; Torres 2013). Nevertheless, other experiences and practices that local populations deploy in order to deal with mining transformations, which do not necessarily imply resistance and social conflict, have been less explored. A narrow understanding of local responses severely limits our comprehension of the social transformations that may occur because of mining development in rural societies.

This research seeks to contribute new knowledge to fill this gap in the existing literature. Specifically, it aims to build an understanding with regard to the spatial transformations that rural populations currently experience and actively shape in the context of mining development. For that purpose, this thesis examines the experiences and responses of the families near the La Granja copper project in Cajamarca, in the northern Andes of Peru, since mining activities began, around 20 years ago.

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2 See the specialized reviews written by Ballard and Banks (2003), and Damonte and Castillo (2011).
Among other features, the La Granja case exhibits two key specificities that make its comparison with other case studies relevant. The first particularity refers to the fact that, in contrast to other areas in the Peruvian Andes that have been extensively researched, the land regime in La Granja is not collective but individual; the peasant community institution does not exist and land belongs to each individual family. The second characteristic is that since no mine has been built yet, there are no major environmental impacts in the research area. This circumstance facilitates the examination of the significance of socioeconomic factors as drivers for social change.

In order to comprehend the changes that local families experience and shape, this thesis critically reviews and adapts the theory of the “production of space” developed by Henri Lefebvre (1991). This theoretical lens has the advantage of directly addressing the issue of agency in the production of social realms, incorporating both temporal and spatial analysis for the understanding of social phenomena, linking diverse spatial scales, and encompassing symbolic, power, social and economic elements within a single framework.

Aligned with the theoretical approach, this thesis develops a typology of five groups of families following spatial criteria. Those who refused to sell their land comprise the first group (resistant). The second category considers the families who sold their land but returned to La Granja when BHP Billiton offered the land back (returnee). The third type consists of the families who migrated to the village when new economic opportunities emerged with the arrival of Rio Tinto (opportunistic). The families who did not return to the research area form the fourth group (migrant). Finally, the families located in the capital of the district, outside the direct area of influence of the project, are part of the fifth category (regional).

In keeping with what the brief narrative of Alfredo Granda highlights, this thesis centers on the examination of local experiences related to land and housing (access to space), farming and non-farming activities (production in the space), migratory history (spatial mobility) as well as the images of the past, present and future La Granja that women and men construct (spatial representations).

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3 For instance, since the project ownership has changed hands on several occasions over the years, it would be worth exploring the various social corporate strategies and their relationship with international and national political frameworks.
1.2. **Research Objective**

The overarching objective of the research is:

- To understand the spatial transformations that rural populations experience and actively shape in response to mining development in the Peruvian Andes.

This general objective is divided into five specific aims:

1. To analyze the changes in land access within the rural populations surrounding the La Granja mining project over the past 20 years.

2. To analyze the changes in farming and non-farming production within the rural populations surrounding the La Granja mining project over the past 20 years.

3. To analyze the changes in spatial mobility within the rural populations surrounding the La Granja mining project over the past 20 years.

4. To analyze the social representations of place within rural populations surrounding the La Granja mining project.

5. To evaluate the resulting transformations through the lens of the theory of the “production of space” and engage in a debate with current explanations of social change driven by resource development in rural societies.

1.3. **Research Questions**

In line with these objectives, this thesis examines these transformations through the description and analysis of the manifold spatial changes that rural families and individuals – both men and women – have experienced in the context of mining activities around the La Granja copper project in northern Peru, since 1994. After examining these spatial changes, this thesis seeks to examine the particular outcomes resulting from these social and spatial transformations in the rural Peruvian Andes by engaging in a debate involving current explanations of social change in rural societies. The different research questions are structured and hierarchized as shown in the table below.
Table 1. Research aim, and primary and secondary research questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>RESEARCH OBJECTIVE</strong></th>
<th><strong>PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS</strong></th>
<th><strong>SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS</strong></th>
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</table>
| Understand the spatial transformations that rural populations experience and actively shape in response to mining development in the Peruvian Andes | What are the main spatial changes that rural populations experience and shape in response to mining development in the Peruvian Andes? | 1. What are the main changes in land access within the local populations surrounding the La Granja mining project over the past 20 years?  
2. What are the main changes in production within the local populations surrounding the La Granja mining project over the past 20 years?  
3. What are the main changes in mobility within the local populations surrounding the La Granja mining project over the past 20 years?  
4. What are the main spatial representations within the local populations surrounding the La Granja mining project? |
| | What are the implications of the findings for the understanding of current transformations that rural populations experience and shape in response to mining in the Peruvian Andes? | 1. What kind of market integration is occurring in the region?  
2. What kinds of urbanization processes have been fostered?  
3. What kinds of social relations have been transformed?  
4. What kinds of representations of the city and the countryside are being constructed? |

The research explores four dimensions of spatial transformations:

a. **Access to space:** This dimension refers to the access, control and use of the space by different actors.

b. **Production in the space:** This encompasses the way that local actors fulfill their needs of productive and reproductive labor.⁴

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⁴ Reproductive labor refers to the activities needed to reproduce the labor force; this is to say, the day-to-day activities necessary for breeding, feeding, growing, assisting and healing household members. In many societies, reproductive labor is regarded as a female responsibility and confined to the domestic sphere as opposed to the more prestigious public sphere. Often, reproductive labor is underpaid and even not paid at all in a way that female labor subsidizes male labor. As explored in the following sections, mining development and the creation of paid job opportunities could have significant effects on reproductive labor decisions and intra-household gender relations.
c. **Spatial mobility:** Refers to spatial movements that actors make in order to connect diverse aspects of their lives regarding work, reproduction and leisure.

d. **Spatial representations:** This dimension comprises the images and expectations that different actors construct around the social space in which they live and pursue their multiple activities.

This thesis argues that through diverse experiences and practices, local populations are helping to significantly transform the society in which they live. In addition, these transformations are leading to particular kinds of social and spatial configurations of rural Peruvian society, as shown in the figure below.

*Figure 1. Diagram of research focus*

This thesis’s hypothesis states that spatial transformations prompted by current mining development in Peru exhibit central features which depart from conventional accounts of social change in rural Western societies. The first characteristic indicates that there are signs of higher market integration at regional
and national scales between rural and urban areas. However, in contrast to the classic Western experience, farming productivity gains do not accompany this process. The increase of paid labor in non-farming activities and the consumption of external goods are the elements producing this market integration. The second feature is that the resulting urbanization process is not binary or closed from rural to urban lives, but a mixed and fluid one in which families use their networks in order to bridge both spaces. The third consideration is that social relations have not necessarily become more individualistic or anonymous, but that kinship and social networks remain central to individual lives; however, some social relations and identities are increasingly challenged, especially gender ones. The last feature is that gender and age, as well as collective and individual experiences and interests, strongly shape the construction of social representations of the city and the countryside.

The hypothesis suggests that the larger outcomes could be understood as a social transformation process from the bottom where kinship and local networks act as a distribution system and safety net. In other words, an important part of the distribution of goods and services and many of the decisions regarding mining development at a local level are regulated by extended kinship networks and not exclusively by state institutions or company policies. This perspective is consistent, and to some extent complementary to, current approaches that emphasize the fragility of the state and the hybridity of the political order (Boege et al. 2008; Boege & Franks 2012). Therefore, a hybrid political order is more likely to arise in historical formations where the state is fragile. This hybrid order is characterized by its combination of traditional social structures, elements from the Western model of the state, and current organizations and movements originated by and reacting to globalizing forces.

This research proposes that for many rural areas of the Peruvian Andes, mining development is a major driving force of social change, which has not been experienced since the dramatic events of the agrarian land reform of the early 1970s. Indeed, viewed in retrospect, Andean societies have undergone a series of major transformations resulting from way that top-down forces have organized territory, natural

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5 In a fragile state, the institutions are typically weak and have serious difficulties providing services, goods, law and order to populations beyond the central capital. In addition, and partly because of the absence the state in a great part of the territory, citizen participation and representation is inadequate, generating a lack of state legitimacy from the people’s perspective (Boege & Franks 2012).

6 For an example of the clashes produced between Western conceptions of politics and hybrid forms that incorporate the mandates of kinship, see the work of Huber (2008) on corruption and nepotism in present-day Peru.
resources, and people. The transformation propelled by large-scale mining development is the most recent in this series.

This study has not been designed following a gender approach, which would require skills beyond my expertise and the elaboration of a conceptual framework beyond the research aim. Nonetheless, I am aware of the great importance of the analyzed transformations over the reproduction, resistance, and recreation of gender relations in the locality. Certainly, mining activities affect men and women in different ways. For instance, mining operations can adversely affect local access to clean water and food provision, which then negatively affects women’s responsibilities. They can also increase the consumption of alcohol and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, which poses threats to young women, in particular, and exacerbates gender violence (Ward & Strongman 2011). Moreover, since women are excluded from land ownership in many rural and traditional societies (Castillo & Soria 2011), mining companies tend to negotiate solely with men; consequently, women do not fully participate in land agreements or the design, implementation and monitoring of compensation programs (Soria 2012). In addition, to only consider the perspective of adult men as an expression of the whole social realm reality results in a misleading and reductionist reading of social phenomena. As a consequence, while the research is not framed within a gender theoretical corpus, it is informed by a gender sensitivity, which seeks to highlight some of the gender dimensions of the changes experienced by for women and men in the locality.

1.4. Thesis rationale

To some extent, this thesis is the outcome of an ongoing journey that began more than 20 years ago. After finishing secondary school, I enrolled at the Catholic University of Peru with the intention of studying history. In my first two years of general studies in humanities, I actively participated in the Andean History workshop organized by the historian, Juan Dejo. During those sessions, I became familiar with Marc Bloch’s social and economic accounts of French agrarian society, the notion of long-standing structures depicted by the longue durée approach of Fernand Braudel, and the significance of ideas and symbols for mobilizing social action, as portrayed by Alberto Flores Galindo in his innovative
essay, *Buscando un Inca*.7 However, on completion of my general studies, for the first time in my life, I visited an Andean peasant community. As an urban and coastal middle-class young person, this experience opened a new world to me. I decided to continue my studies in anthropology at the School of Social Science.

For my Licentiate’s Degree thesis, 8 I conducted six months of fieldwork in different farming communities in Cusco. My research involved social hierarchies and interpersonal interactions crossed by ethnic, class and gender lines during drinking sessions. Thanks to this extended fieldwork, during which I stayed with a family in the community of Patabamba, I became aware of how crucial social bonds and kinship networks are to the reproduction of the social and economic life of rural Andean families.

After graduating, I worked among Andean communities for a period of four years. During the first year, I was part of a team of researchers from the Archive of Traditional Andean Music (now known as the Institute of Ethnomusicology). Our task was to record music, particularly music styles and instruments that were becoming less commonly played. During this period, I was nonetheless surprised by how Pre-Hispanic cultural and social patterns and elements had endured within contemporary Andean populations. In the three years that followed, I worked for the CEDEP Ayllu, a local NGO which measures and monitors changes in water management and farming production on the quality of life in rural communities surrounding Cusco. Bruno Kervyn, an agrarian economist who introduced the New Institutional Economics framework into the academic debate about the Andean peasant economy in Peru, conducted his research with the same institution. From him I learnt that the persistence of social institutions – the communal assembly, for instance – is due more to the implementation of rational strategies for accessing and controlling key resources (as water or land) than to the mere reproduction of cultural forms.

Through time spent living and working with rural communities, I became conscious of the deep transformations and tensions that these modernization processes also produced concerning gender relations. The construction of irrigation systems allowed a shift in the local agricultural production. From seasonal potato harvest in lands of higher altitude oriented to self-consumption, the families moved to intensive year-round vegetable production in lands of lower altitude and mainly oriented to the market.

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7 *In search of an Inca: identity and utopia in the Andes (new approaches to the Americas).*
8 *Borracheras andinas: acciones dramatúrgicas y rompimiento de jerarquías en los Andes sur del Perú.*
As one of the consequences of the productive shift, previously dispersed families began to reunite and build their houses in the valley. Electrification and running water systems implemented by government agencies benefited the establishment of small urban settlements. More importantly, however, while men were employed in the main cities or on coffee plantations through seasonal migration, women were able to control the production and commercialization of vegetables in the city of Cusco. As such, many women began to earn cash and increase their social and spatial mobility, which included an ability to build their social and educational skills.\(^9\) This was a process of women’s empowerment within their communities and families. However, women also faced significant resistance from men, a situation which, on many occasions, translated into gender violence. The involvement in a research project on masculinity directed by anthropologist Norma Fuller reinforced my awareness of the mingling of power and gender dimensions in Peruvian society and their regional, class and generational particularities.\(^10\)

To consolidate and expand my knowledge of rural development, I pursued a master’s degree in International Development at the University of Bath. With the advice of James Copestake, I compared the research methods and findings that the Manchester School had elaborated on in Zambia to the political implications of significant rural-urban migrations in Peruvian society from the 1950s onwards. Many of these studies were carried out in the Copperbelt region. Thus, examining the ways mining development helped to shape much of the detribalization and urbanization processes as well as the myths of modernization in Africa (Ferguson 1999). My studies concluded around the beginning of the new millennia and I was becoming interested in how mining was contributing to the transformation of rural societies in Peru. The new mining boom in the country had already started and news of social conflicts around gold projects, Yanacocha and Tambogrande, began to emerge.

In 2001, I commenced doctoral studies at the geography department at The University of Oklahoma. During that period, I worked as a research assistant on a comparative study about land ownership and land use changes arising from mining development in Arizona, Canada, Guyana and Peru. The research project, which was directed by economic geographer, Gavin Bridge, helped me to better comprehend the way in which global forces prompt regional and local economic and environmental changes. However, the actions and voices of local people and institutions affected were missing from the study. By then, I

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\(^9\) For example, some women were able to improve their Spanish speaking, literacy and numeracy skills, which assisted them in business and social interactions.

\(^{10}\) *Masculinidades: cambios y permanencias. Varones de Cuzco, Iquitos y Lima.*
became interested in the research possibilities of political ecology. Following classes and conversations with Karl Offen, I came to recognize the explanatory value of linking local outcomes to global and historical processes, in addition to problematizing the notion of a homogenous local society through the examination of internal power dynamics. At the same time, under the guidance of Bob Rundstrom, I immersed myself in the long American tradition of reading the cultural landscape. As Carl Sauer stated, humans have modified the physical environment for centuries – for instance, through slash and burn practices. Thus, it is possible to read these prints and there are different ways of reading them depending on the position, socio-cultural milieu and historical context of the observer (Duncan 1990; Cosgrove 2003). However, as I later came to understand from the seminar on Cultural Marxism with Don Mitchell when I moved to Syracuse University, landscape is not merely the reflection of human actions and political, class, ethnic or gender relations. Social relations produce the landscape as well as help to shape, endure or modify it (Lefebvre 1991; Mitchell 1996); and people care and fight for the memories, representations and future visions they construct about it (Peet 1996). Deeply influenced by Raymond Williams, David Harvey and Neil Smith, Mitchell´s work clearly shows his sympathy for the labor class. This is expressed through his selection of research topics, which is far removed from the elitist work of Cosgrove (1985) or W. J. T. Mitchell (1977), and the emphasis he places on the workers´ agency. They do not passively receive a landscape imposed by dominant classes; instead, workers actively struggle to appropriate it and change it. In examining these works, I became increasingly convinced of the importance of understanding the day-to-day and lived experience of local families, an interest which has carried through to this thesis.

In 2005, I returned to Peru and began working for various consultancy firms in the mining sector. Part of my activities involved the design of social impact assessments (SIAs). I developed a critical view of the standard way they are implemented, mainly because SIAs follow environmental modeling which emphasizes impacts on territories rather than focusing on effects to social relations (Castillo 2013). For that reason, I began to pay attention to the connections and networks that local families create and use in the context of mining development.

One the most interesting cases I was involved in during that period involved research conducted with GRADE, a well-established Peruvian think tank in the outlying communities surrounding the La Granja copper project for Rio Tinto. I found the case extremely compelling because the families possess a long history of engagement with the so-called new mining in Peru (Arellano-Yanguas 2011) and their
experiences cannot be reduced to explanations of conflict and resistance that are so common in current sociological literature of Andean mining development. The generosity and openness of these families was a major factor which influenced my decision to follow their lives and expectations.

This is the personal journey that has led me to attempt to understand current transformations of Andean rural societies from the perspective of local women and men.

1.5. **CHAPTER OUTLINE**

This thesis is organised into three main sections. Part A (Chapters One to Three) introduces the research problem, explains the means by which it may be addressed, and provides a conceptual and theoretical framework. Part B (Chapters Four to Eight) describes and analyzes the spatial transformations that mining development has prompted in the last 20 years around the La Granja project in northern Peru, from the perspective of the local families. Part C (Chapter Nine) engages with the broader literature about social change in the Peruvian Andes in the context of mineral development, and states the contributions and limits of the research and proposes further areas of study.

**Part A. Stating the problem**

**Chapters One** and **Two** introduce the research problem and its significance, explain the methodological approach used, detail the different techniques constructed for the research project, describe the family typology used, enumerate the data gathered, and describe the research area. In addition, section 2.2 briefly summarizes the main characteristics of each interviewed family.

**Chapter Three** presents the conceptual framework through which I read the experiences of the families from La Granja. The theoretical lens is based upon a critical review of the “production of space” theory. Developed by social geographers with the purpose of understanding the relationship between landscape, labor and representations, this theory argues that space is a social product of human activities. In this sense, the diverse practices people perform during their daily life activities and the representations they elaborate produce the social space. As this approach has emerged from urban experiences in late
capitalism, I advance a critique which I adapt for the understanding of developing societies. The chapter also elaborates a historical narrative of the spatial production of the Andes and mining development in Peru through a series of seven periods or transformations: i) the Inca State between the late 15th century and early 16th century; ii) the formative colonial model during the 17th century; iii) the end of the colonial large-state property system in the late 18th century; iv) the process of new indigenous land usurpation and the creation of the hacienda system between the 1840s and 1950s; v) the agrarian reform led by the military leftist government of Juan Velazco in 1969; vi) the campesino uprising and land seizure in the 1970s; and vii) the period which began in the early 1990s with the implementation of liberalizing policies and the beginning of the new mining boom. Finally, the chapter discusses four dimensions of social change in rural societies in the sociological literature, generally, and with particular reference to Peru: market integration or capitalist expansion; urbanization and rural-urban migration; transformation of social relations; and spatial representations of the city and the countryside.

Part B. Findings: a view from the local families

In Chapter Four, I use interviews with elderly residents to construct a narrative of the historical and spatial configuration of La Granja from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day. Using the proposed theoretical frame of the “production of space”, the chapter explains how diverse social, political and economic factors have produced La Granja as a social space over time. Within an evolving process, mining-driven changes are the last in a series of transformations in this rural Andean space. These transformations are better understood in relation to complex connections with diverse localities, which form part of a major region which connects the coastal city of Chiclayo with its hinterland in the Andes and the Amazon basin. Therefore, in a fluid process of incoming and outgoing migration, La Granja is a social space composed of family networks which extend beyond the limits of the locality.

In Chapter Five, I address the dimension of access to space. In La Granja’s case, this dimension comprises the factors of accessing, controlling and owning land for farming (both agricultural and livestock farming) and housing. Although land ownership in the area has changed hands along the years, the total amount of land is limited and local families have already divided it among themselves. In the context of the lack of active and mature land-market mechanisms, the way that newcomers find access to land is through kinship networks. Hence, Granjino’s relatives who moved from La Granja or who
were born in other areas could return to the locality and claim land rights. In addition, outsiders, such as schoolteachers or nurses, can access land resources by marrying local men or women. In addition, since women usually inherit land only when they get married, their ability to access, control and own the land is limited to their status as spouses.

Chapter Six examines the changes of the productive patterns in the area in the last 20 years since the introduction of mining activities. As stated in the historical chapter, after the agrarian reform period of the early 1970s, La Granja’s space has been steadily fragmented owing to the continuous division of familiar land. Together with a lack of investment, this situation led to a major decline in farming production and productivity. Mining development has not reversed this process but has accelerated it through different means. When the Canadian mining company, Cambior, forced a resettlement process, few families remained in the area and, consequently, farming production collapsed. A decade later, when BHP Billiton sold the land back to many families and a significant number of them returned to the area, farming production grew, but not productivity. The limited inputs devoted to farming activities (for instance, mechanization, fertilizers, pesticides, or technology) mainly explain this situation. In addition, according to local people, mining works conducted on their plots compacted the soil and made cultivation difficult. More recently, the job opportunities created with the arrival of Rio Tinto to the area have constrained farming production. Mining-related activities implemented by the local procurement programs pay significantly higher salaries than farming day-wages, a situation which has contributed to a shift in the allocation of labor and time from farming to non-farming activities, with a consequent reduction in farming production and productivity. This finding is consistent with approaches of the so-called New rurality literature in Latin America, which indicates that rural localities can no longer be equated with agrarian societies. In other words, rural localities have a diversified economy where farming activities are not always the most important in terms of income. Accordingly, there is an increase in consumption because there are more people in the area (including non-local workers and consultants) and the increased purchasing power of families that have benefited from mining development. In addition, changes in consumption habits are occurring and people are opting for coastal products, such as rice, instead of local staples. The combination of these factors has resulted in increased trade with coastal cities but also a rise in local prices. Otherwise, there is an increment of the amount of work or women, who are in charge of domestic tasks and, increasingly, the farming duties left by men. In addition, women’s involvement in paid mining-related jobs increases gender tensions in different ways. First, it
challenges male supremacy in the mining working area; it is not surprising, for example, to hear widespread rumors and accusations about women’s sexual behavior in the workplace. Second, the opportunity to access and control cash enhances women’s positions of power within their families, a situation that many men resist. Third, the new opportunities created by mining exacerbate the unequal distribution of work at the domestic level.

In Chapter Seven I analyze issues regarding spatial mobility. Over more than 40 years, anthropological studies on rural-urban migration in Peru have formed a well-established research area and have explored, among other issues, the effects of migratory flows, both in the localities of departure and the receiving cities. However, some current studies tend to construct an image of stable and more-or-less self-sufficient farming localities which mining development abruptly transforms. In some cases, the lack of historical depth and temporal dynamic analysis may be explained by the employment of a logic grounded in social baselines. In other cases, the reason relies more on a research political agenda which seeks to emphasize the deleterious effects of mining on rural populations.

The examination of the La Granja case reveals that the families in the locality have a long-standing experience of emigration and immigration movements. During the years prior to the commencement of mining activities in the early 1990s, many families were obliged to expel some of their members from the locality due to a lack of paid jobs and the difficulty of continually sub-dividing the already small farming units. With the arrival of Rio Tinto in 2006, employment and small-business opportunities have created large incentives, prompting the arrival of a significant number of immigrants to the area. The majority of the newcomers, however, are not completely outsiders to the locals. Families from La Granja use kinship networks to promote and regulate these flows. In this way, when job opportunities decline in the locality many family members move to cities on the coast or to the more productive farming areas in the lowlands. Some members remain in the locality, however, in order to secure the land and the properties. These members tend to be the elders. When opportunities for jobs and better salaries arise in the locality members of extended family networks move back temporarily. This complex process creates a fluid and dense network that connects individuals and families in the broader region. At the same time, owing to the employment of this strategy, families are able to maximize economic benefits, retain strategic decisions, and nurture personal bonds of trust. In addition, families use marriage and symbolic kinship (namely, godfathership) as strategies to incorporate external members into their networks. Within this process of increased mobility, young women are experiencing degrees of liberty for spatial and social
mobility not seen before. Furthermore, in many instances a growing economic independence accompanies this spatial mobility for women.

**Chapter Eight** explores the representations that men and women construct regarding the social space of La Granja. The analysis of the material reveals that representations of the space mainly vary according to sex and age. And it is particularly the older men who thus tend to idealize the space of La Granja as being a rural arcadia of peace, bucolic agrarian life, abundant production, social bonds and closeness to pristine nature. This account, which depicts La Granja’s past as a heroic fight against the hacendado and a vision of a peaceful, patriarchal society, conceals social conflicts, cattle rustling, and, more significantly, domestic violence. It is not surprising that women construct a markedly different vision of the past. For many elderly women interviewed, La Granja’s past represents a closed space, where their movements were severely restricted to their homes. For these women, La Granja’s old days are depicted as a space of male fights, heavy alcohol consumption, jealousy and insecurity. In addition, age is another major element in shaping representations of social space. Thus, for instance, adult women tend to portray the city (namely, Chiclayo) as a space of danger and insecurity which subsequently restrains their physical mobility. These women perceive the city as a sort of maze, a labyrinth where it is difficult to read its signs. On the contrary, although young women recognize the lack of security in the city, they place an emphasis on the range of choices it offers, including the possibility to find paid work, make friends, establish relationships and stroll around the streets and shopping malls without the family constraints imposed on them in La Granja. Younger generations tend to perceive rural localities as backward places, in which there is nothing to do but work. Whereas other studies emphasize the importance of remittance flows from urban centers to rural localities, in the case examined resources are extracted from the rural areas and transferred to the cities. The city is the location where future expectations are projected.

**Part C. By way of conclusion**

In **Chapter Nine** I situate the conclusions of the thesis within current explanations of social change in rural societies regarding four dimensions: market integration, urbanization, social relations, and social representations of the city and countryside. In the case explored, contrary to classic literature on rural modernization phenomena in Western Europe and USA, the families of La Granja increase their income, but not through an increase in farming production and productivity. In this sense, market integration is
fostered through an increase in paid labor and the consumption of externally produced goods (e.g. rice or mobile phones) and not through farming productivity gains. In addition, the resulting urbanization is not a binary or closed process from rural to urban lives but a mixed and fluid one where families use their networks in order to bridge both spaces. In this fluid process, the strategy of double-residency is central, so the families are able to secure their rural properties and avoid becoming fully proletarian.

Amid these transformations, the Ganjinos are not becoming more individualistic and entering into anonymous relations (and, of course, not falling into anomia). For the Granjinos, kinship and other forms of social networks and membership (for instance, the regional and local bonds or the membership into the rondas campesinas) continue to play a central role in their economic, social and cultural lives. Furthermore, the sense of belonging to La Granja persists, which the migrants in the city reproduce through diverse cultural and sport activities, creating their own festivities and patterns of social differentiation. Nevertheless, other social relations and identities are changing. Certainly, new generations of women are increasingly challenging existing gender relations and roles in La Granja, especially on issues regarding paid working opportunities and spatial mobility. Finally, in the context of rapid change and anxiety about the future, many people develop a sense of nostalgia and construct an imagined rural arcadia. However, the creation of this idealized past must also be understood as symbolic, or as being one of the ideational resources that diverse groups use in opposing, or negotiating with, mining development. In addition, these constructions of social representations of the city and the countryside are significantly shaped by factors of gender and age as well as collective and individual experiences.

A major conclusion of the examination of the La Granja case is that social and spatial transformations prompted by mining development in rural societies cannot be understood as merely the mechanical result of an unleashing of global forces. People’s agency and processes originating from the bottom are crucial for comprehending the outcomes. In this case, kinship and local networks act as a safety net and a distribution system of economic benefits. Therefore, with the use of extended kinship networks, the local families, and not exclusively state institutions or company policies, are able to regulate a significant proportion of the distribution of goods and services as well as many of the decisions dealing with mining development at a local level.

Additionally, the chapter summarizes the different contributions of this thesis. The contributions include: i) the exploration of new thematic issues for the specialized literature and monographic material for
regional studies and history; ii) the discussion of theoretical insights for the application of the “production of space” theory in rural areas; iii) the application of methodological innovations for evaluating the value of social and kinship networks in the analysis of mining-driven transformations; and, iv) the formulation of public policy recommendations in the context of rural and regional development, as well as corporate development practices. Finally, the chapter identifies key areas for future research.
2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The following section outlines the research design, including: i) methodological approach, ii) research techniques and data-gathering tools, and iii) research area.

2.1. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This research seeks to analyze major social transformations from the perspective of local actors. For this reason, it focuses on the reconstruction and understanding of narratives and practices produced and experienced by local families and individuals.

This approach has the theoretical advantage of conceiving of local populations as active agents able to interact with broader economic, social and political processes in a bilateral way and according to their capabilities and personal and collective experiences (Swidler 1986; Giddens 1993).

In addition, this methodological perspective serves to describe social change not solely as a top-down process, but also as a social construction from local actors. In this way, it is possible to better understand the complex linkages between different layers (cultural, ethnic, political, social, or economic) and between different scales (local, regional, national, and global) (Bebbington et al., 1993; Swyngedouw 1997).

In order to build a deeper understanding of the local experiences, the research is grounded in the interpretative tradition, which states that for the comprehension of social phenomena it is necessary to consider discourses and practices, as well as the broader contexts in which the phenomena take place. As Victor Turner (1972) has explained in his work about the ritual system of the Ndembu people of North-Western Province, Zambia:

The structure and properties of ritual symbols may be inferred from three classes of data: (1) external form and observable characteristics; (2) interpretations offered by specialists and by laymen; (3) significant contexts largely worked out by the anthropologist. (p. 20).

In other words, the methodological challenge of the research is to establish a connection between what the people do, what the people explain that they do, and the social, political, cultural and economic trends that shape, and which are in turn shaped by, people´s actions and beliefs.
The methodological approach is designed to clarify the understanding of four dimensions of spatial production and transformation of rural Andes in the context of mining development: access to space, production in the space, spatial mobility, and spatial representations. The research explores these dimensions through different voices and perspectives (family heads and their partners with different spatial experiences, local leaders and qualified informants, company employees and social scientists) and makes use of different sources (in-depth interviews, ethnographic observations, socio-economic secondary data, and local fiction).\textsuperscript{11}

For the purposes of the research, I place strong emphasis on the experiences of adult family members, both male family heads\textsuperscript{12} and their partners, establishing an interplay between collective and individual actors. Therefore, although privileging a focus on nuclear families, I depart from other researchers\textsuperscript{13} that regard the peasant or campesino community (comunidad campesina) as being the center of the analysis.

Anthropological research in the Andes (e.g. Altamirano 1977; Dale, Gastellu & Valer 1990; Mayer 2002) has made clear the importance of extended family networks for individuals and has shown the usefulness of a family analysis.\textsuperscript{14} Not only are individual behaviors and actions strongly shaped by kinship relations, but also the production and circulation of goods and services take place in the space of the household, which mediate other levels of collective action (Kervyn and Equipo del CEDEP AYLLU 1989: Kervyn

\textsuperscript{11} See Table 4 for a summary of research topics, variables and tools.
\textsuperscript{12} I use the term “male family head” for two reasons. First, the continuity of a patriarchal system permeates the fabric of the society in the research region (Deere 1990) as much as other rural Andean areas (De la Cadena 1991; Hamilton 1998). Though increasingly challenged, a patriarchal system is still present on issues surrounding access to the land, productive and reproductive labor, social and geographical mobility, representations of space and society, and so on. Thus, the term attempts to reflect an emic or inner perspective of intra-household power relations. Second, and even more importantly, when I asked who the appropriate person was to talk about the different issues of the research, I was generally directed to an adult male. Conscious of my position as adult, male and outsider, I did not presume to question these gender relations. Only after becoming acquainted, did I begin to converse with women. My prolonged stay in the research area, living with a well-known local family, facilitated the process. The conversations were conducted in both public spaces and their houses, usually without the company of their partners, which allowed the female informants more freedom to share their views and experiences. Naturally, these considerations are part of the research limits.

\textsuperscript{13} For instance, the excellent analysis of household strategies in the Bolivian Andes made by Zoomers (1999).

\textsuperscript{14} Usual economic surveys, especially in developing countries, define a household as “a group of people who live together, pool their money, and eat at least one meal together per day” (United Nations cited in World Bank 2001, p. 150). However, especially due to conditions of fluid migration, I prefer the use of ‘nuclear family’ as unit of analysis. For the purposes of this research I define nuclear family as a group of people who recognize themselves as bonded through kinship – one generation before and one after the male family head – and do not necessarily live in the same place. Thus, for instance, a girl living in Chiclayo, and her parents, who live in La Granja and send her money for her studies, are part of the same nuclear family. Nuclear families are the units of analysis. In brief, in a single house, different nuclear families could cohabit and, in addition, a single nuclear family may occupy different houses. Adopted children are included within the concept of nuclear family.
1996; Mayer 1996). Thus, despite the fact that for many Andean populations the campesino community is the formal space of collective decision-making and the legal owner of the land, in practice the nuclear family has become the central unit of production and the recognized holder of the land (Kervyn and Equipo del CEDEP AYLLU 1989). In brief, though the campesino community possesses the legal titles as a collective owner, private property exists and each family appropriates the benefits of the farming activities of their own land.

The latter is specially the case for rural society in Cajamarca, the research area in the northern Peruvian Andes. Due to particular historical reasons, rural populations in Cajamarca have not organized themselves through the institution of the campesino community (Taylor 1983; Taylor 1986; Deere 1990; Taylor 1994). Instead, they have mainly organized around relatively independent families grouped in villages (caserios) and are part of community-protection organizations (rondas campesinas). These community-protection organizations first emerged in the 1970s to fight against cattle rustling, and evolved in the 1990s to successfully resist the incursions of the Maoist group, Shining Path (Taylor 1993; Taylor 1997).

Nowadays, the rondas campesinas are significant actors in the regional political scenario and are a powerful mediator between families and external actors, including mining companies and the state. However, by no means does the ronda campesina replace families in making the most important decisions regarding livelihoods (for instance, farming management, migration, investments, and so on).

For these reasons, nuclear families are one of the privileged research units. However, as emphasized by current trends in anthropology and political ecology (Robbins 1998; Castillo 2001a), it is misleading to consider families as homogenous entities. They not only greatly differ among one another, but also internally. Certainly, capacities, expectations and power are unequally distributed along lines of gender, age, or ethnicity. Thus, for instance, the work of Ward with Strongman (2011) demonstrates that mining activities affect men and women differently and, in turn, these differentiated effects have a strong influence on coping with poverty. In addition, distribution of the benefits within the household is differentiated at the expense of the women (Reeves & Baden 2000, pp. 26-27).

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15 See the section ‘Research area’ for a brief description of this.

16 As Himley (2010) notes, “a variety of settlement types exist in rural Andean Peru, each of which may entail a distinct form of social and political organization” (5). In the research area around La Granja, these types include caserios, centros poblados menores, and distritos, which, following Himley’s translation, I name, respectively, as villages, towns, and districts.
Therefore, the gendered approach, with its emphasis on taking account of the diverse relations beyond those centered on adult males, provides a powerful lens through which to elucidate how social transformations affect people in different ways, according to gender, age or vulnerability and how diverse populations employ diverse strategies.

In brief, my analysis focuses on the interplay between family and individual experiences and links them to broader social-economic conditions and the institutional settings that have evolved over time\textsuperscript{17}. The research will identify, describe, and analyze local population experiences in the last 25 years, beginning in 1994 with the arrival of Cambior’s copper mining project in the study area (see Research area for a brief chronology of the project).

It is worth noting two of the methodological limits of the research. First, in its focus on people’s agency, the thesis risks concealing the action of other main actors and the power relations they generate. Certainly, people do not freely act in a social vacuum; rather, complex relations and structures make possible –as well as limit– their actions (Giddens 1993). People take decisions in their lives based on their experiences (previous individual or collective knowledge), material possibilities (assets such as land or property), capabilities (for instance, education) and rights (for example, women’s ownership). Nevertheless, they must negotiate their entitlements within a context; an evolving set of institutional, cultural, political and economic relations and structures that facilitate or constrain their decisions and the outcomes (Sen 1981). This thesis pays special attention to people’s agency, but it recognizes the importance of other actors in shaping social outcomes.

Second, family experiences, obviously, are not static but adapt and evolve with circumstances; hence, it would be illuminating to follow the family members for long periods in order to appreciate future temporal changes.\textsuperscript{18} This study highlights temporal changes in retrospect, but it will not follow future transformations. Further research, using a longitudinal approach, would be necessary.

\textsuperscript{17} This methodological approach shares many common features with research in political ecology. In his introduction to historical political ecology, Offen (2004) summarizes the core of this approach indicating five elements:

\textsuperscript{18} As Zoomers recognizes in the case of Bolivian farmers:
2.2. TECHNIQUES AND DATA-GATHERING TOOLS

In order to collect the primary data for this research, I conducted extensive fieldwork in Peru. The activities completed during the fieldwork stage included:

- Review of methodological framework and elaboration of research tools.
- Participatory ethnographic observations conducted during three main field trips to the research area in May, July-September, and November-December, which totalled an approximate number of 85 days.
- In-depth extended interview sessions with 14 families: 7 in La Granja, 4 in Querocoto, 2 in Chiclayo, and 1 in Ojo de Toro (see Figure 2). The length of the total process for each family varied from a minimum of 8 to a maximum of 40 hours, with an average of 20 hours. This totalled a number of 280 hours of conversation.
- Interviews with 24 qualified informants in Lima, Chiclayo and La Granja: 15 local informants, 5 academics and social consultants, and 4 employees of the Rio Tinto La Granja project.

...in the course of their lives farmers with varying success seek to improve their standard of living (accumulation strategies), to maintain and perpetuate their current situation (stabilization and consolidation strategies), to survive (compensatory and survival strategies) and to spread their risks (security and risk-reducing strategies). (1999, p. 2).

Following the recommendations expressed during the Confirmation defense of the research, especially those suggested by Dr. Jo-Anne Everingham, I modified the conceptual framework with the purpose of using theories of “production of the space” in a more direct way. This modification implied, among other issues, a restructing of the methodological design. Therefore, the research abandoned the use of household strategies as methodological entry to concentrate in spatial dimensions of access to space, production in the space, spatial mobility and spatial representations experienced by nuclear families.

Economists have further developed the use of household strategies, and the concept depends on changes of two factors. The first is a set of assets or entitlements (i.e. land or properties) and capabilities (i.e. education) from which a group starts. Both elements are what Amartya Sen calls entitlements. The second is the context and its evolution. Hence, if one of these factors changes, the strategies may change. A strategy would be the way that a household secures its reproduction; and, while household refers to the group that shares a shelter and a common budget (assets) over which the group can decide, family refers to the link through kinship. In addition, studies about changes in household strategies generally tend to use quantitative data. I thank the economist Patricia Fuertes for her comments and clarification on these issues.

Initially, I selected and obtained permission from eight families. However, one family decided to withdraw from the research project because of lack of time. In addition, because of her multiple trips and high mobility, it was not possible to conclude the interview process of the partner of one male family head.
Gathering of secondary data from public sources and creation of a database in Excel (see Appendices for a list of the socio-economic data collected).

As is the case for any research that involves social interactions, some ethical issues emerged during the fieldwork. Obtaining local trust and maintaining independence is the first of the issues. Amid ongoing negotiation processes with Rio Tinto, from land access to development and temporary employment programs, I was initially associated with the company or some of the various contracting firms working in the project. In order to overcome their initial mistrust, I presented the research information sheet and my academic credentials and explained the nature of the research project as frequently, and in as much detail as was necessary. In addition, I did not use any of the company facilities (for instance, computer room or trucks), enter the company’s camp, or interview company employees in the research area. The sensitivity of the data is the second ethical issue. As stated in my ethical clearance, I did not share any of the personal information obtained and all of the data has been codified in order to protect the anonymity of the informants.

In addition, during the fieldwork process, the research faced the following obstacles:

- **Excess of social studies in the research area:** local families were bothered with diverse social studies and surveys deployed by Rio Tinto La Granja through different consultancy firms. For instance, at one time, eight consultancy firms simultaneously developed activities in the area and around 120 social specialists were implementing an exhaustive household census. This situation not only affected the access to the few lodging facilities existing in the area, but also the willingness of the local people to participate in another research project.

- **Lack of free time for the local families:** the local people’s lack of time to participate in relatively extensive interview sessions was not only due to their involvement in paid activities (for instance, local employment or small-business programs) but also because of the existing pressure to build new houses and infrastructure before the beginning of the negotiation process for the resettlement. In addition, during October, the families were heavily involved with the celebration of the major festivity of La Granja. Finally, since November, although many of the local working programs offered by the company declined, many families returned to farming activities before the rainy season. Other eventualities hindering the fieldwork were two major local strikes against the company and some of its sub-contractors.
Deficient logistic facilities in the research area: the deficient facilities were notorious in terms of accommodation, communications, access to drinking water, and safe transportation, especially during bad weather conditions.

Deficient reliability of secondary data: access to reliable secondary socio-economic data for the research area has been limited. Public data presents significant inadequacies in terms of periodicity, scale of the desired population, methodology, and quality. Otherwise, it has not been possible to access data belonging to Rio Tinto La Granja despite the various attempts made by me and my advisory committee.

Despite these difficulties, it was possible to secure appropriate data for continuing the research project.

As stated above, in order to capture different spatial dimensions from different actors the research made use of a variety of techniques, including:

a. In-depth, extended, semi-structured interviews of family heads and their partners

In-depth, extended, semi-structured interviews have been the main tool used in tracking the experiences that local populations have produced since the beginning of mining development in the area. For this reason, the design of the interviews has been adapted to the social and spatial experiences that families have faced in the context of the transformations that have taken place since the 1990s. In this way, I have constructed a family typology, based on the family’s relationship with the space and comprising five categories:

1. Resistant: those families from La Granja that did not sell their property and did not resettle during the Cambior period.

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21 Generally, data is available only up to district level and not to towns and villages, as in the case of La Granja.

22 I acknowledge the anthropologist Gerardo Damonte. Dr. Damonte is senior researcher of the Peruvian think tank GRADE and has coordinated the elaboration of La Granja Project Social Baseline Survey in 2006. His insights were of valuable help for constructing the proposed typology. Interviewed 12 June 2013.

23 For the purposes of the present typology, the term resistant does not refer to the broad existing literature on resistance (i.e. Scott 1985). It simply refers to the fact that, for different reasons, some families did not sell their land to Cambior’s project. Some reasons were related to opposition to mining development, other reasons were the reluctance to leave the place and way of living, and other ones were a strategy to wait in order to obtain higher prices from the company, something that did not happen. The analysis of these strategies and their implications is explored in following chapters.
2. **Returnee:** those families from La Granja that sold their land but returned during the BHP Billiton period.

3. **Opportunistic:** those families that migrated to La Granja with the job opportunities created during the Rio Tinto period.

4. **Migrant:** those families from La Granja that moved away and did not return.

5. **Regional:** those families located in Querocoto, a town outside the direct area of influence of the mining project but center of the economic and political life of the district.²⁴

The families of the first three categories primarily reside in La Granja. For those families, and following the research design, extended interviews and participatory ethnographic observations were conducted that covered five topics: i) general family data; ii) access to space; iii) production in the space; iv) spatial mobility; and iv) spatial representations (see the Appendices for the Interview guide to family head and partner).

It is worth nothing that the research does not compare different types of families in order to identify commonalities and differences of patterns and practices among and within them; the number of families for each type is too small to meet that objective. Nonetheless, when appropriate and possible, I have noted some shared strategies of different types of families in the finding chapters (4-8).

The interviews were undertaken with family heads and with some questions asked of their partners with the aim to apprehend and better understand gender relations. The interviews took the form of dialogues, some of them very informal, in the context of participatory ethnographic observations. Thus, these dialogues were held during different sessions of variable time and in different settings, adapting to the availability and requirements of the participants. The length of the total process for each family varied from a minimum of 8 to a maximum of 40 hours, with an average of 20 hours. This totalled 280 hours of conversation.

In order to avoid generating mistrust, which has been exacerbated by the beginning of a negotiation process between the local population and the mining company, I did not record the interviews but instead

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²⁴ For instance, as capital of the district, the Local Government of Querocoto manage the use of the social trust of La Granja copper project.
took detailed notes. I reviewed and expanded those notes and saved them in a word-processing software for further analysis.

In selecting the families for the study, I considered the following criteria:

- That at least one member of the nuclear family was involved with mining-related activities (i.e. programs of local employment or local businesses, or renting of land to the company). \(^\text{25}\)
- That both the male family head and his partner agreed to participate in the study and showed a willingness to talk about their experiences.

With one exemption, the families of these categories (resistant, returnee and opportunistic) reside in the urban sector of the village of La Granja, where I stayed during the major part of the fieldwork. This was the case partly because I did not have access to a vehicle to cover long distances and, more importantly, because families in the township generally exhibit a more complex history in terms of property ownership, which is a central component of the research project. My first approach to Granjino families started with a family I met in 2007, in previous consultancy work conducted in the area with Peruvian think tank GRADE for RTLG. With the assistance of this family, I began a list of potential participant families whom I contacted and initiated preliminary conversations with to evaluate if they met the criteria of selection and were willing to participate in the study. Through the snowball sampling technique, I expanded and refined the list. Following introductory conversations with men and women of more than 20 families, 8 of them met the desired criteria, with a minimum of 2 families for each category. These 8 families expressed their willingness to participate in the research project. However, as mentioned above, regarding the obstacles experienced during the fieldwork, time was a major concern and one family and the partner of a male family head withdrew from the study because their schedule made it difficult to continue the interview process.

\(^{25}\) It could be argued that the second condition excludes an important sector of the local population, namely, immigrant families. However, it should be noted that immigration into the villages is heavily restricted for people outside of kinship networks. This is the case for two main reasons. First, farming land is already occupied and divided among different family owners. Therefore, the options for an outsider family to gain access to land are through renting or the purchase of existing plots. However, land-market transactions are very restricted and there is no evidence of significant newcomers to the area. Second, in order to gain access to the local job programs implemented by the mining company, a person must be a legal member of the local *ronda campesina*, and the way to be incorporated into the community-protection organization is through kinship bonds. Thus, again, for an outsider individual it is hard to settle down in the localities and be part of the local mining programs. In terms of accessing mining benefits, La Granja is a relatively closed space.
For migrants, I designed and applied an abbreviated interview guide, which focuses on the migration process, and the representations of space (see Appendices for the Interview guide to migrants).

In addition, male family heads of Querocoto, the district capital, were interviewed with the purpose of obtaining a regional vision of the transformations experienced there. As in the case of migrants, an abbreviated interview guide was applied.

In accordance with the proposed typology, the research comprises extended interview sessions and ethnographic observations with 14 families: 3 resistant, 2 returnee, 2 opportunistic, 4 migrant (1 in urban Andes, 2 on urban coast and 1 on the rural coast locations), and 3 regional. The spatial distribution of the interviews was: 7 in La Granja, 4 in Querocoto, 2 in Chiclayo (major coastal city), and 1 in Ojo de Toro (rural coastal area 2 hours away from Chiclayo). The following figure shows the different locations.

Figure 2. Location of interviewed families
Following ethical research procedures, the real names of the interviewed family members are not disclosed. The table below shows the codes for naming each family, its type, location and brief profile.

**Table 2. Interviewed families**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Brief profile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Resistant_1_LG</td>
<td>Resistant</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Young family. The male informant is from La Granja and did not sell the land to Cambior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Resistant_2_LG</td>
<td>Resistant</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Middle-aged family. Both informants are from La Granja and did not sell the land to Cambior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Resistant_3_LG</td>
<td>Resistant</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Mature family. The female informant is from La Granja and did not sell the land to Cambior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Returnee_1_LG</td>
<td>Returnee</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Middle-aged family. The male informant is from La Granja. They sold their land to Cambior and returned to the locality at the time of BHP Billiton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Returnee_2_LG</td>
<td>Returnee</td>
<td>La Granja / La Lima</td>
<td>Mature family. Both family heads are from La Granja, in the La Lima sector. They sold their land to Cambior and returned at the time of BHP Billiton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Opportunistic_1_LG</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Mature family. They are from neighboring localities and arrived in La Granja at the time of BHP Billiton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Opportunistic_2_LG</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Young family. The male informant is from Chota but moved to La Granja and married a woman of the area with the arrival of Rio Tinto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Migrant_1_Q</td>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>Querocoto</td>
<td>Mature family. They sold their land to Cambior and established in Querocoto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Migrant_2_Ch</td>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>Chiclayo</td>
<td>Mature family. They migrated to Chiclayo before Cambior. The male informant trades between Chiclayo and La Granja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Migrant_3_Ch</td>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>Chiclayo</td>
<td>Young family. The female informant is from Pariamarca and her partner is from La Granja. She lives and works in Chiclayo, where she takes care of her baby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Migrant_4_OT</td>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>Ojo de Toro</td>
<td>Middle-aged family from Paraguay. They moved to Ojo, a rural coastal area close to Chiclayo in 2000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Regional_1_Q</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Querocoto</td>
<td>Mature family from Querocoto. They own a small hardware store.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Brief profile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Regional_2_</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Querocoto</td>
<td>Middle-aged family from Querocoto. They own a mixed business of hardware, convenience store and bakery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Regional_3_</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Querocoto</td>
<td>Young family from Querocoto. They own a small convenience store.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A brief description of the interviewed families, whose stories form the basis of the research, is provided below. This summarizes the socio-demographic characteristics of each family and their strategies regarding the four examined thematic areas (access to land, production, mobility and representations of space). The information provided should also help readers to avoid being confused by the use of codes, instead of real names, to protect anonymity.

- **Resistant family 1**

A middle-aged couple. The male informant is the sixth of eight siblings. He is 34 years old and his parents did not sell their land during Cambior’s time. His partner is from Pariamarca, a neighboring locality. They have two children, one 8-year-old boy and one 6-month-old girl. He lives in La Granja and the rest of his family lives in Chiclayo. The last three mining companies in the area have temporarily employed him. In addition, he works in the building sector and has created a small firm. The male informant has inherited land and properties in La Granja. In the family’s productive strategy, he has shifted from agriculture to direct employment with the mining companies or works in building activities taking advantage of the mining boom, while his partner works in Chiclayo. In addition, they rent a property in the township for a small business and a rural plot for pastures. They have established a fluid migratory pattern between La Granja and Chiclayo. With two small children, their expectations are located in the city and they see La Granja as a backward rural place.

- **Resistant family 2**

The male informant of the Resistant family number 2 is the sixth of 12 siblings. He is 53 years old and he did not sell his house during Cambior’s time. He and his partner are from La Granja. They have 6 children: 3 men and 3 women (a 30-year-old man, a 27-year-old woman, a 25-year-old man, a 23-year-old man, a 21-year-old woman, and a 13-year-old man). The last son and daughter live in Chiclayo. He is a schoolteacher in La Granja and he does some farming on their land. She is in charge of the domestic
tasks and husbandry of minor animals (chickens, guinea pigs, pigs). The male informant tried unsuccessfully to sell his land to Cambior and, thus, he became resistant as a result of these circumstances. Despite that the family owns a small piece of farming land, their economy is well-diversified and relatively prosperous due to a combination of receiving a State salary as a schoolteacher and the rent of rooms for mining consultants. The children have studied and work in Chiclayo; for that reason the couple envision living in the city and buying farming and irrigated land in the coast.

### Resistant family 3

The male informant is the sixth of 12 siblings. He is 60 years old and did not sell his house and land during Cambior’s time. He is from Cutervo, another province of Cajamarca, and his partner is from La Granja. They met in Nueva Cajamarca, in the Amazon region of San Martín, and in 1992 moved to La Granja. The male informant has three children (1 son and 2 daughters) from a previous relationship. The couple has four children: 3 men (30 years old, 27 years old and 25 years old) and 1 woman (21 years old). The eldest son lives in Puerto Maldonado, an Amazon city; the second son lives in Cajamarca city; the third resides in La Granja (and has formed a separated household), and the daughter lives in La Granja (she has more recently moved to Chiclayo where she gave birth to a girl). The couple exhibits strong opposition to mining and openly states that they received nothing from the mining project. However, the family economy is strongly linked to mining activities: the couple provides lodging to mining consultants and contractors in La Granja; the second son works for a mining project in Cajamarca and during his vacations sells vegetables and fish from Chiclayo in La Granja and along the route; the third son works for Sodexo, a contracting firm that provides alimentation to the mining camp; the daughter’s partner drives a rural van with daily connections between Chiclayo and La Granja, and their first son is planning to move from Puerto Maldonado to La Granja in seek of employment or small business opportunities. Potentially as the result of their open opposition to mining development in the area, the couple have a strongly idealized view of rural life and their life expectations are anchored in farming activities.

### Returnee family 1

A middle-aged family with three children, all men, aged 21, 16 and 7 years. The first two live in Chiclayo while the last stays with his mother in La Granja. The male informant is from La Granja (46 years old) and is the sixth of 12 siblings. He married a schoolteacher (48 years old) from the province of Chota. In 1994, he and his brothers inherited a piece of land each one in order to negotiate with Cambior. He sold
his land and moved to Chiclayo with his family where they bought a house. In 2000, the family returned to La Granja with the incentives offered by BHP. He bought an urban terrain from a cousin that he did not sell to Cambior. In addition, he bought three farming properties close to the village of La Pampa. The family economy is a combination of: a wage salary of the female informant, who is a schoolteacher; rent from the three farming plots (2 under the share-cropping system and 1 for pastures or *inverna*); commerce relating to farming products and transportation from La Granja to Chiclayo; rent from one house; renting of rooms to mining workers; a grocery store; and, more recently, the provision of transport services to the Rio Tinto mining project. The couple regards La Granja’s past as a place of hard life and poor connectivity. They see their future as being in the city, Chiclayo, because of better housing and education options, although they continue renting machinery to the mining company.

- **Returnee family 2**

This is a mature couple that lives in La Lima, a sector which, in 2011, separated from La Granja. The male informant is 63 years old and the female informant is 57. They have 10 children (first daughter 42, first son 40, second son 35, second daughter 33, third daughter 32, fourth daughter 23, third son 20, fourth son 18, fifth daughter 16, and sixth daughter 13). The male informant (and his father) sold his land to Cambior and moved to a rural coastal area in the Lambayeque Region (Batán Grande) where they faced significant challenges (the spread of cholera disease, the El Niño natural disaster of 1997, different agricultural forms, and a lack of social bonds). Using different kinship mechanisms, the male informant bought back part of his land and has returned to farming activities with the social closure process of BHP. Despite the family having an extended migration experience, currently only one of the children lives outside the village (in Chiclayo). The family’s economic strategy is that the couple has returned to farming activities while the children and their new families have settled down in the area and are employed in mining-related activities and businesses. In addition, the male informant has divided his farming land as inheritance among his children so they can build their own houses and directly negotiate with the mining company for a compensation package in case of resettlement. In this way, land is secured as an asset with which to negotiate with the mining company and not for farming purposes. While the male informant idealizes La Granja’s past as a place where he could drink and talk with his friends, for his partner La Granja was a place of violence and male dominance. For their future, the couple would like to live in the city and maintain strong ties with rural areas and farming activities.

- **Opportunistic family 1**
The couple is from another village outside the district of Querocoto and the province of Chota. They are from Querocotillo in the province of Cutervo. The couple has never been fully engaged in farming activities but they have mainly been dedicated to trade in the larger northern region of Peru. The initial reason for their decision to move to La Granja was to trade merchandise between Chiclayo and the locality. The recent union of one of their daughters with a Granjino reinforced that decision. Otherwise, they have had an important migration experience in Chiclayo. Perhaps for this reason they do not exhibit a strong sense of nostalgia for rural places or a country lifestyle. The male informant is 66 years old and his partner is 72 years old. They have 8 children (the youngest is the child of the male informant with another partner): (daughter 42, daughter 40, daughter 37, son 36, daughter 34, son 32, son 28, and son 18). The family has developed a strategy for securing employment and providing services around mining-related activities. Therefore, 5 of the 8 children live in La Granja; four reside in their parent’s house and 3 have formed their own household. The other 3 live in Querocotillo, Chiclayo and Lima with their own families. In addition, at least 5 of the 8 siblings work in mining-related activities, and 4 are linked to the La Granja mining project. Despite the couple are concerned with safety conditions in some parts of Chiclayo, they consider their future is in the city.

- **Opportunistic family 2**

The family is formed by a male (38 years old) from the province of Chota who migrated to La Pampa as schoolteacher and married a local woman (23 years old); and the couple has two boys (4 years old and 6 months old). Through living and working in the area, the male informant has been able to be part of the local *ronda campesina*; he became of one its authorities and gained access to the temporary employment program implemented by the Rio Tinto La Granja project. In addition, through marrying a local woman he has been able to access farming land and an urban plot on which to build his house in La Granja. Nowadays, the family economy is based upon a combination of wage employment in the mining project, the trade of pigs, farming for self-consumption and commercialization in the local market. The male informant has elaborated upon a very romantized image of rural life and envisions to life in a rural region if the mining project is developed.

- **Migrant family 1**

The male informant (81 years old) arrived in La Granja when it was a hacienda as he was a cousin of the *hacendados*. Later, he bought 17 ha of land from the *hacendado*. He settled in the sector of La Lima and
was a member of one of the last families who sold their land to the mining company Cambior. With the compensation package, he bought four plots on the outskirts of Querocoto, the capital of the district, where he built a house and kept the rest for farming. Years later, when BHP Billiton implemented its social closure strategy, his sons and daughters bought the original land (17 ha) in La Lima in the name of their father and divided the area among themselves. Nowadays, of six siblings, two live in Chiclayo, 2 live in La Granja, 2 live in Querocoto (where they have built their houses next to their father’s), 3 have houses in La Granja and 2 work in La Granja. His partner died many years ago, when they were already living in Querocoto. Potentially as a result of living in a small rural town which benefits from mining development without the risk of being resettled, the male informant has a positive view of La Granja’s present and he plans to continue living in Querocoto.

- Migrant family 2

The male informant (55 years old) lived with his wife and seven children in Checos, a sector of La Granja, where he had inherited land from his father. In 1997, he sold his land to Cambior and moved to the outskirts of Chiclayo, where he bought a house. In addition, he bought a farming area in a semi-rural district close to Chiclayo which he began to cultivate. However, due to a lack of social support and technical knowledge, the early years were hard for the family and the harvest was poor. For that reason, the male informant began to buy cheese from the highlands and sell it in the city. When BHP initiated its social closure process, he bought back his original land. However, he later sold it again to a farmer family. Currently, he trades between La Granja and Chiclayo and one of his sons work in La Granja. Through the *ronda campesina*, he has bought a urban plot in La Pampa with the intention of selling it to the La Granja project. He continues to live in Chiclayo. For this couple, the city represents a modern life and is the place where they wish to live.

- Migrant family 3

The female informant (30 years old) is from Pariamarca, a village close to La Granja. She comes from a poor family with many children (8 boys and 5 girls), which made it difficult to subdivide their land. Their parents gave them little access to education (only primary school) and encouraged them to work in farming activities from an early age. For that reason, she moved alone to Chiclayo when she was 15 years old. In the city, she worked in a garment workshop and made a living. Years later, began living with a male from La Granja, with whom she has a daughter (1 year old). She prefers to stay in the city and work,
because that allows her to maintain her independence. In the future, she would like to open a restaurant in Pariamarca, a village within the area of influence of the mining project. A project of road improvement implemented with the mining social fund (Fondo Social Rio Tinto) would benefit the village. The female informant has not developed any nostalgia for rural life, which she regards as hard and boring. Instead, she prefers the urban life.

- **Migrant family 4**

The male informant (43 years old) is originally from Paraguay, a town close to La Granja that belongs to the Querocoto district. In 2000, he migrated with his wife and eldest son to the coast. The couple now has three boys. They decided to migrate to the coast due to poverty. They have only small pieces of land. Thus, they sold those pieces of land and their small animals (such as chickens) to move to Ojo de Toro, a rural area close to Chiclayo. In recent times, the male informant has developed a mixed economy which combines wage farming work for landowners on the coast and the trade of farming and grocery products between Ojo de Toro and Chiclayo. In addition, he has maintained family and social networks in Paraguay, and he still belongs to the *ronda campesina*. Thanks to these networks, he goes returns to Paraguay when mining-related employment opportunities are open and returns to the coast when they decline. The couple consider rural areas in the highlands as places of poverty and limited economic opportunities; they image their future in the coast, with strong links to the city.

- **Regional family 1**

The male informant is 64 years old and was born in Querocoto. In 1970, before mining activities commenced in the area, he migrated to the Amazon region in search of employment opportunities. He married in the region and after 16 years, he returned to Querocoto with his family to work as schoolteacher in the public sector. In the last seven years, taking advantage of the increase of the economic activities due to the presence of the mining project, the couple has initiated some businesses: first a restaurant and, in the last two years, a hardware store. More recently, he has set up a small logging store. The couple has six children (son 41, daughter 39, daughter 36, daughter 36, daughter 32, and son 17). One child lives in Querocoto, one in another province of the same region (Cutervo), and four in Chiclayo, a city of another region (Lambayeque). For them, the past of the region provided little economic opportunity and they see their future in a coastal city.

- **Regional family 2**
The male informant was born in a small village close to the town of Querocoto. His family moved to the town in search of better economic opportunities. His father left agriculture and opened a bakery and a grocery store in the town. The male informant and his partner have continued the business and expanded with a grocery store and a hardware store in the context of mining investment in the area. The older sons (24 and 20 years old) study in Chiclayo and the younger son (9 years old) and daughter (14 years old) stay with their parents in Querocoto. Like many other residents of Querocoto, the couple share a dull image of the local past. Although not without some fears, they are optimistic of the future linked to mining development.

- **Regional family 3**

This is a young family from Querocoto. The female informant (26 years old) and her partner (28 years old) have a son (6 years old). They have opened a grocery store in the town, where she serves the public while he travels to Chiclayo in order to buy the products. The female informant’s aspiration is to move to Lima in order to obtain a better education and improved living conditions. They consider that living conditions have improved in the locality; there are more job opportunities and less criminality. Despite local improvements, they would like to move to Lima because of better education standards.

**b. Participatory ethnographic observations**

To some extent, I have followed in general lines of what George Marcus (1995) calls “multi-site ethnography”. The term describes emergent trends in anthropology that attempt to overcome long-standing ethnographical practices. Certainly, capitalist expansion, globalization, and geographical mobility are processes that challenge conventional modes of ethnography restricted to single-site locations. Thus, in order to capture the fluidity of these current social phenomena, social scientists have to be able to locate themselves in different sites.

In the research, the extended interviews with family members were conducted in the context of participatory ethnographic activities. Therefore, the completion of the interview guides was reached through multiple conversations in different informal settings, all familiar to the local people. As explained above, I took detailed field notes and did not record any conversations. This process avoided the disruption of the dialogues but also provided a better tool to ease the general mistrust that exists in the context of an ongoing negotiation process between the local population and the mining company.
These observations were part of fieldwork I conducted in the research area. The fieldwork was split into three phases and involved an approximate number of 85 days.

The participatory and ethnographic observations in multiple settings allowed me to develop a better understanding of the social and spatial dynamics of the families in a broader regional area.

c. **Semi-structured interviews of qualified informants**

Semi-structured interviews of qualified informants were held as a tool for constructing the historical and socio-economic context of La Granja. These qualified informants were selected on the basis of their knowledge and experience of the local history. Thus, 24 qualified informants were interviewed in Lima, Chiclayo, and La Granja via Skype: 15 local informants, 26 academics and social consultants, and 4 employees of Rio Tinto La Granja.

**Table 3. Qualified informants interviewed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Institution / Location</th>
<th>Brief profile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Local informant_1</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Male local leader of La Granja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Local informant_2</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Female local leader of La Granja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Local informant_3</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Female local leader and ex-nurse of the health center of La Granja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Local informant_4</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Elderly male from La Granja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Local informant_5</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Male regional merchant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Local informant_6</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Male bus driver on the Chiclayo – La Granja route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Local informant_7</td>
<td>La Pampa</td>
<td>Elderly male from La Pampa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Local informant_8</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>Vice President of the rondas campesina in Paraguay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Local informant_9</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Male local informant and merchant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Local informant_10</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Local representative of the central government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Local informant_11</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>President of the rondas campesina in La Granja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Local informant_12</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Female immigrant and street food vendor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 Which include local leaders (e.g. leaders of the local rondas campesinas), local merchants, bus drivers, and experienced adults from the La Granja area.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Institution / Location</th>
<th>Brief profile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Local informant_13</td>
<td>Querocoto</td>
<td>Male historical leader of La Granja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Local informant_14</td>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>Male migrant from La Granja, who has written poetry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Local informant_15</td>
<td>La Uñiga</td>
<td>Local authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Consultant informant_1</td>
<td>Both Sides Now Consulting</td>
<td>Leader of the social team when Billiton acquired the project in 2000 and conducted the social closure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Consultant informant_2</td>
<td>ERM</td>
<td>Social coordinator of the La Granja Environmental Impact Assessment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Academic informant_1</td>
<td>GRADE</td>
<td>Senior economist who has conducted various studies around the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Academic informant_2</td>
<td>GRADE</td>
<td>Senior anthropologist who has conducted various studies around the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Academic informant_3</td>
<td>Societas Consultora de Análisis Social</td>
<td>Senior economist and specialist in gender and rural livelihoods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Company informant_1</td>
<td>Rio Tinto La Granja</td>
<td>Senior Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Company informant_2</td>
<td>Rio Tinto</td>
<td>Member of the initial team when Rio Tinto obtained the project in 2006.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Company informant_3</td>
<td>Rio Tinto La Granja</td>
<td>Senior Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Company informant_4</td>
<td>Rio Tinto La Granja</td>
<td>Manager who has worked in the project since 2001.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**d. Analysis of local fictional work**

The research also involved the analysis of fictional work written about the area by José Guevara. Guevara is an engineer from La Granja who writes poetry. Much of his work is compiled in the unpublished issue *Añoranzas de mi tierra* (Longings for my homeland). Guevara’s poetry provides evocative representations of La Granja, in terms of both its society and its landscape. As a cultural product, these poems crystalize imaginings and visions that confront past representations with current transformations. As much of people’s experiences are inspired by memories and imagination, I have elected to include literary work in the analysis of La Granja’s social and spatial representations. Certainly, it is an approach
that some other researches have followed. For instance, Elmore (1993) has explored canonic Peruvian writers and their depiction of Lima, Green (2009) examines how women writers have constructed a gendered landscape of Oklahoma, and the classic work of Williams (1973) analyzes the depiction of the tensions between the city and the country in British literature. In a more complex study, Harvey (2003) consults diverse sources, including economic statistical data, political documents, local newspapers, and the work of writers and artists, such as Balzac or Daumier, to construct a rich account of Paris as the axis of the different facets of modernity.

e. Analysis of secondary local and regional data

Secondary data has been collected with the purpose of creating the socio-economic context of the research area, constructing a comparative framework with regional and national averages, and highlighting some possible trends (see Appendices for the complete list of collected indicators).

When possible, the data has been analysed at the following levels: country, region, district, and towns (Querocoto, La Iraca, La Pampa, La Granja, El Sauce and Paraguay).

The secondary data was obtained from public sources, especially the National Census conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Information (INEI) in the years 1981, 1993, 2007 and 2013. Other sources include the Agrarian Census of 1994 and 2012, information from the Ministry of Health and information from the Ministry of Education.

The diverse research techniques and tools for data gathering are directly derived from the methodological design. The following table summarizes the link between research topics and techniques.

Table 4. Research topics, variables and tools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial transformations</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Tools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Historical configuration of the local space | ▪ Temporal transformation of the local space  
▪ Socio-economic features of the research area | ▪ Secondary data  
▪ Interviews of qualified informants |

27 The information from this year is very limited due to weak methodology and poor implementation of the surveys, especially in the rural areas. For this reason, the reliability of the data needs to be evaluated.
The material from the selected families has formed the basis of much of the analysis, with this information being collected through interviews. Once ordered and refined, the information was codified in order to protect anonymity. In a second stage, the data for each family was organized into the four main topics of the research: access to land, production, mobility and representations. The analysis was applied to the material, ordered thematically and by families, and was enriched with context data from the other sources.

Finally, I have translated into English all of the quotes that were originally in Spanish. To enable other researchers and readers in comparing the texts, the original material in Spanish is in the appendices, which is ordered with a parallel note system in Roman numbers (see Appendix 4).
2.3. **RESEARCH AREA**

The research area is situated in the Cajamarca region of Peru. In political and administrative terms, the country is divided into regions, provinces and districts. Cajamarca hosts many large-scale mining projects and in the last two decades has received significant investment for mineral development. This study will particularly focus on the La Granja project, owned and operated by Rio Tinto. The La Granja project is located on the Western side of the sub-tropical Andes in northern Peru, in the District of Querocoto, Province of Chota (see Figure 3).

*Figure 3. Map of research area*

![Map of research area](image)

Societas Consultora de Análisis Social 2014.

La Granja is the ninth largest undeveloped copper project in the world (Rio Tinto 2013). The site comprises 7400 hectares and is situated 2,000 meters above sea level with an average temperature of 17° C. (Rio Tinto La Granja 2013b).
The main localities or *caseríos* in the direct area of influence of the project are: La Granja, La Iraca, La Pampa, El Sauce, Paraguay, Cundín, La Fila, El Verde, and La Palma. All of them belong to the district of Querocoto.

The *caserío* of La Granja is the nearest locality to the mining site and is which takes its name from. La Granja is nearly 1,000 km from Lima. Although La Granja is located in the region of Cajamarca, its main connection is not with the city of Cajamarca but with Chiclayo, a major commercial city on the northern coast of the country and located in the region of Lambayeque. After infrastructure improvements to the road surface for the mining project a bus journey from Chiclayo to La Granja could take between 14 and 16 hours.

The copper reserves at La Granja have been subjected to different assessments since the late 1970s. In 1994, the Canadian company, Cambior, obtained from the Peruvian state a five-year contract and by 1997, it completed mapping, drilling and underground exploration, and prepared for conducting a feasibility study and an Environmental Impact Assessment of an open pit mine. In addition, the company purchased land and displaced and resettled nearly 350 families of La Granja, La Iraca and La Pampa. In 2001, Cambior sold the project to Billiton Plc. and the new operator completed a small metallurgic drilling program, revised the mine’s resource estimates, prepared a feasibility study and an environmental baseline, and conducted further impact assessment analysis. Following its merger with BHP in 2001, the newly created company, BHP Billiton, decided not to continue with the development of the project and instead returned it to the state. The company prepared and implemented a social closure plan, which included returning the land to the displaced families.

In 2006, through a public bidding process, Rio Tinto obtained the lease to explore and develop the project. Further feasibility studies are being conducted in order to make the decision of constructing and operating the mine (Rio Tinto La Granja 2013a).

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28 Very recently, the localities of La Lima, La Uñiga and Checos have been separated from La Granja. For purposes of this research, they continue to form a geographical and social unit.

29 As in the case of La Granja, Paraguay has been split into two localities with the emergence of La Poza.

30 By automobile, the journey could be reduced to 6 hours.

31 The following information and chronology has been obtained through personal communication with the anthropologist Gerardo Damonte. Interviewed 7 January, 2013.
Since this research is interested in evaluating transformations of rural society and families, it could be argued that because the La Granja project is in the stages of exploration and feasibility, it would be difficult to examine major changes. While this is an issue worthy of consideration, it should be noted that although the mine has not been yet constructed, local families have experienced more than a decade of effects and engagement with mineral development, when the project was owned by other companies. In addition, although researchers evaluating mining impacts mainly focus on the construction or operation phases, many of the social changes and perceptions are shaped by early experiences with mining development. I consider that a careful examination of the local social situation in its early stages provides powerful insights for better understanding the change induced by resource development.
3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. SPATIAL PRODUCTION OF THE SPACE

This research seeks to make an original contribution to the understanding of social transformations propelled in the context of natural resource development; namely, the critical use of the theoretical framework of “production of space”, developed by the French geographer, Henri Lefebvre (1991).

The “production of space” is a powerful concept developed within the Marxist tradition of social geography. Originally developed by Lefebvre, the concept stresses the idea that space is not merely a natural realm where human activities take place but that these activities produce it in a dialectic process. In this sense, each society or, more precisely, each way to organize production in human history – “mode of production” in Marxist terminology – creates its own space. Therefore, space is deeply embedded in the social realm and encompasses material as well as social and ideological elements. In other words, space is a social production and, therefore, historical processes shape it.

32 To be precise, somehow constrained by a Marxist orthodoxy, Lefebvre states that each “mode of production” produces a specific space. Thus, for instance, it would be primitive, ancient, feudalist and capitalist spaces. I prefer to stress that each society produces particular spatial arrangements of practices and representations. The differences are twofold. First, I use the concept of society in the following sense:

…an identifiable cluster of socially constructed individuals, institutions, relationships, forms of conduct, material and social practices and DISCOURSES that are reproduced and reconstituted across time and space… (Johnston et al. 2000, p. 764. Capitals in the original).

Second, “an identifiable cluster” is not a fixed, universal, external or prior category (such as primitive, ancient, feudal and capitalist) but a contingent and evolving category – as well as a methodological tool for the researcher – which needs to be defined case-by-case. The term “social formations” better captures the notion that society is an ever-changing process. Thus, for instance, it makes sense to speak about “virtual society”, “the Andean societies”, “a post-Agrarian reform society” or “the Granjina society”, as far as these formations assemble particular individuals, institutions, relations, forms of conduct, social practices and discourses.
Following the Marxist distinction between first\textsuperscript{33} and second nature\textsuperscript{34} and the theorization of the commodification process of nature, Lefebvre stated that space is not only composed of physical attributes. Space is mainly a social product that different actors experience, perceive and imagine in conflicting and contested ways. Thus, Lefebvre considers three dimensions of social space: spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces. The first refers to the circulation of people, goods, services, and capital, the social networks and daily routines, and the creation of spatial zones (i.e. private or community property). The second relates to the vision that the producers of space have of it (maps, spatial hierarchies, borders, or forbidden spaces). The final dimension describes the way that the users of space and artists imagine and propose alternative visions and symbols for the use of space (through pop culture and media, popular spectacles and graffiti, or creation of symbolic and contra-hegemonic capital). In addition, these spatial dimensions evolve along capitalist expansion. In other words, the expansion of capital sets into motion different arrangements regarding how space is produced, experienced, ordered, measured, conceived, imagined and contested.

Capitalism, with its inherent need for incessant expansion, is one of the major forces of spatial production in modern times in a continuous process of “creative destruction” (Harvey 1989; Harvey 1999). Capitalism produces social and spatial patterns of “uneven development” (Smith 1984) and these processes of spatial arrangement create discourses, visions or ideologies that mask, legitimize or challenge them (Mitchell 1996).

The proposed theoretical framework is a powerful one and, for instance, David Harvey (1985) has used it and further develops it – crossed with considerations of ethnicity – for the comprehension of urban patterns of American cities.

However, through the critical reading of his work, I consider there are some limitations in Lefebvre’s framework for the understanding of spatial transformations out of urban capitalist societies. Lefebvre’s theory has been produced in the context of the second half of 20\textsuperscript{th}-century French urban development; that is, in a highly industrialized, state-centered and regulated setting. In this context, the state and urban development firms are considered the producers of space par excellence, exercising great power over

\textsuperscript{33} A pristine nature not touched by humans.

\textsuperscript{34} The nature resulting from human activities and control. For instance, gardens, enclosure forests, national parks, or slash-and-burn farming systems. In his time, Marx did not envision genetic modification, which is nowadays understood as a third nature.
citizens or users of space. Nevertheless, in the context of weak state institutions and regulations and incipient capitalist development, lay people and civil groups also become key producers of space. This is the case, for instance, of the urban growth of Lima conducted by millions of migrants from the 1940s to the 1990s (Calderón 2005; Rodríguez, Riofrío & Welsh 1971).

Therefore, I prefer to avoid the sharp distinction between producers and users of space proposed by Lefebvre. Instead, following the insights provided by political ecology, I distinguish between state agencies, the private sector, and local populations, organized or otherwise and crossed by different categories of class, gender, age, or ethnicity. Thus, for this research I focus on the space practices and discourses produced by different actors, and specifically by local populations in the context of mining development. As I explain in the following section of this literature review (Spatial production of the Andes and mining historical development in Peru), many of the accounts of social transformations in Peruvian Andes overlook the perspective of the local populations. This research seeks to provide a voice to local populations for the explanation of social change.

From the diverse possible spatial practices and discourses, I have selected a set of four dimensions: i) access to space; ii) production in the space; iii) spatial mobility, and, iv) spatial representations. In turn, and in the last section of the thesis, I ask what these spatial changes tell us about larger social transformations in the country. Thus, after reviewing different accounts and theories, I have built a comprehensive framework by which to understand social transformations in rural areas. This framework encompasses a set of four major phenomena: urbanization, market integration, migration, and social representations of place.\(^{35}\)

In brief, through the conceptual lens of the “production of space” I describe and analyze local practices and experiences in the context of mining development. Then, I compare these practices and experiences with accounts and theories of social change\(^{36}\) in order to establish a debate about the particularities of the social transformations of rural societies that resource development prompt.

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\(^{35}\) Of course, this is not an exhaustive framework that claims to cover all dimensions of social change. Thus, for instance, cultural and aesthetic dimensions (central in Marshal Berman’s account of the different types and phases of modernity) or political formations (which are key in the discussion about democratic transition) are not considered.

\(^{36}\) In particular, market integration, urbanization, spatial mobility, and spatial representations.
3.2. **Spatial Production of the Andes and Mining**  
**Historical Development in Peru**

Not since the arrival of the Spaniards have outsiders shown so much interest in Andean rocks.

*The Economist*, ‘The new El Dorado: South American mining’

Using the theoretical lens of the space production and capitalist expansion, I enquire about how the Andean space has been produced in terms of social practices, spatial arrangements, and discourses. The Andes is one of the largest mountainous ecosystems in the world and goes from Patagonia (Argentina and Chile) in the south to the Caribbean Sea (Colombia) in the north. The Andes has been the cradle of major civilizations and settlements in the continent and they have shaped, and in turn, been transformed and managed by human activities (Dollfus 1981). For the purposes of this research, I will focus on the Central Andes, the area that more or less comprises the current borders of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. Six major periods over the last 600 years can summarize the transformations in the spatial production of the Central Andes.  

The Inca State conducted the first spatial transformation between the late 15th century and early 16th century. In the Andean region altitude is the most significant variable that explains variation in farming production and access to natural resources. Therefore, within a range of relatively few kilometers, populations could access seafood, beans, corn, potatoes and other Andean tubers, and pastures for camelids, as the altitude increases from the sea level to the high peaks. In addition, the eastern slopes of the mountains lead into the Amazon basin where fruits, coca and other tropical products and animals are found. In a pioneering and influential work, John Murra (1975) postulates that within that ecological

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37 The Peruvian sociologist Flavio Figallo suggested to me the following historical chronology. Personal communication, 18 October 2012.

38 Murra introduced diverse variations along the time and perhaps its more conclusive version is contained in the compilation of his work published by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (2002). Thus, Murra admits variations from the archetypical model, including the thesis of María Rostworosky which suggest the existence of a horizontal model of territorial control in the coastal areas. However, and for the purpose of this general depiction, the
setting, which provides both severe constraints and opportunities, the best strategy that Pre-Hispanic populations deployed in order to maximize their access to natural resources and micro-climates was the so-called “Andean ideal of vertical control of ecological niches”. The implementation of this ideal means that through the use of kinship bonds, ethnic groups allocate different household units at different ecological niches in order to access different products. This ethnic archipelago, as shown in the figure below, did not imply the exclusive control of the territory but the co-existence of diverse groups in a shared space.

*Figure 4. Pre-Hispanic political and spatial control of the Andes*

Diagram created by the author based on Murra (1975).

In the same work, Murra explains that the Inca State used, adapted and enhanced previous kinship strategies of spatial production and control for its own purposes of expansion. Therefore, the Inca State, central idea of his thesis is contained in his seminal work. In addition to critically reviewing his work, I had the benefit of attending a workshop on Andean ethnology conducted by Murra, himself, in Lima in 1990.
which extended from the northern part of the current borders of Argentina and Chile to Ecuador, gained direct control over large farming lands and obliged the population to work in them. In addition, the Inca State implemented a policy of forcing specific groups\textsuperscript{39} to abandon their places of origin to be allocated in remote areas with the purpose of fulfilling production and political needs. The population mostly cultivated potatoes, the main staple and core of the daily diet, and the Inca’s bureaucracy strictly controlled the farming of maize\textsuperscript{40} as an exclusive crop within the State’s lands. Hence, the Inca State functioned as an enormous octopus that controlled and centralized farming products to then distribute them for public (e.g. maintenance of a large army and bureaucracy) and caste (\textit{panacas}) purposes.\textsuperscript{41}

The second transformation of Andean space took place during the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Originating in the colonial experience, it signified a dramatic change for the native Andean people and has had enduring consequences that still shape social and economic conditions today.

Prior to the Spanish conquest, the number of people inhabiting contemporary Peru has been estimated at between 9 and 15 million (Cook 2010). However, following the Conquest years of war, famine, social disintegration and, more importantly, the spread of new diseases (namely, flu, measles and smallpox) the population shrunk to just 1 million (Wachtel 1976; Cook 2010).

The Spanish colonization of America (over the Andean and Aztec societies) radically differs from other experiences (i.e. the British colonization in North America) in at least two key aspects. First, the newcomers were not settlers specifically looking to farm their own land. Embedded within the social relations of feudal Spain, they performed as conquerors seeking to obtain noble titles over the land and secure servants to work it for them. Second, the ecological conditions the Spanish found were very different from the peninsular ones so, instead of merely importing techniques and species from Europe they had to adopt native production systems.

Thus, for the Spanish colonial enterprise the control of scattered indigenous labor was crucial for redirecting it to the functioning of the farming, textile and mining industries. Hence, under the rule of

\textsuperscript{39} This is the case of the \textit{mitmakuna} or “scattered people”.

\textsuperscript{40} Maize was the most prestigious crop since it is the base for the \textit{chicha}, a widespread Andean beer.

\textsuperscript{41} Murra uses insights from Karl Polanyi (Polanyi, Arensberg & Pearson 1971) to explain the functioning of ancient empires without markets.
Viceroy Toledo, the colonial system created a division between the Republic of Indians and the Republic of Spaniards. This division implied a reorganization of the population, the territory and the social relations in two different though connected entities: the indigenous community (comunidad de indios or reducciones) and the large-state property (corregimiento) (Spalding 1974). The inhabitants of the newly created comunidad de indios were evangelized into Catholicism, schooled in Quechua, and dressed according to rural Castilian customs; thus, the cultural landscape became homogenized. Marginal and scarce lands were collectively secured for the comunidad de indios with the purpose of enabling the physical reproduction of the indigenous people (as a labor force assigned to specific Spanish corregimientos or mines) and the payment of taxes to the Crown (Fuenzalida 1970a).

The third milestone signified the end of the corregimiento system in the aftermath of the Túpac Amaru rebellion in the late 18th century. The uprising led by indigenous noble and entrepreneur, Túpac Amaru, was the most important indigenous revolt in the Peruvian Viceroyalty and was prompted by the attempts to implement the Bourbon reforms in the Spanish colonies (Fisher 1971). Two major consequences of the rebellion were the limitation of the most oppressive features of the corregimiento system (and with that, some weakening of the regional landlords) and the disappearance of the indigenous leaders (caciques) and nobility (O’Phelan 2012).

The fourth period was one of reappropriation and expansion of the large-state property system (hacienda). This period began after the Independence Wars, around the 1840s, and lasted until the 1950s. This process of property expansion was driven by capitalist production and signaled the dominance of English and American interests in the country. Thus, for instance, in the Southern Andes a productive and commercial circuit connecting peasants, criollo landowners, and British traders was established for the provision of wool to textile factories in England (Flores Galindo 1977). Manrique (1987) describes the growth of cattle enterprises in the Central Andes and the absorption of small and mid-sized Peruvian owners by the cattle division of the Southern Copper Corporation, one of the first transnational American mining companies. Klarén (1976) analyzes a similar process among the rich sugar plantations of the

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42 From 1569 to 1581.

43 Criollo is the name given to Spanish descendants born in the American colonies. Because of their higher levels of education, social ranking and wealth — as well as freedom from legal restrictions — the criollos were able to maintain the highest power and economic positions after independence from the metropolis.
northern coast, and Deere (1990) focuses on the class and gender transformations in the Northern Andes with the establishment of the milk industry.

Of course, this capitalist expansion at the cost of communal lands was not without resistance. Peasant resistance was relatively successful where the state and regional elites were weak (Mallon 1983) and by the late 1950s, it became evident that there were limits to that kind of modernization. During the 1960s, the campesino movement became acquainted with leftist ideologies and leaders, from which discursive and organizational tactics were borrowed. A major campesino revolt and appropriation of lands in the coffee plantations of Quillabamba, on the eastern slopes of Cusco (Hobsbawn 1974), demonstrated the need for land redistribution.

Consequently, the fifth transformation was conducted by the military leftist government of Juan Velasco and began in 1969. Though short in duration, it led to one of the most radical agrarian reforms in Latin America and implied the destruction of the hacienda system, both on the rich export-oriented cotton and sugar plantations of the coast and the semi-feudal haciendas of the highlands (Matos Mar & Mejía 1984; Eguren 2006;). Under the slogan of “campesino, el patrón ya no comerá más de tu pobreza” (“campesino, the landlord will not feed from your poverty any longer”), this reform not only destroyed the prevailing land property system of the time, but also attempted to create communal forms of property – Cooperativas Agrarias de Producción (Agrarian Production Co-Ops) and Sociedades Agrarias de Interés Social (Social Interest Agrarian Societies). The latter was heavily resisted by the campesinos who sought to control the land by their own and not through the state bureaucracy.

Thus, backed by an uncommon alliance of leftist political parties, Vanguardia Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Vanguard) and Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Communist Party), the social democrats (Acción Popular) and the liberals, the campesinos took the land by the force and divided it up into individual plots for each family (Rénique 2004). This was the sixth major transformation of the Andean space and marked the end of decades of struggle over the land for agrarian purposes.

The 1980s were marked by dramatic economic and political phenomena for the country. Significantly, Peruvians suffered the insurgence of Shining Path, a radical Maoist group which prompted a war with the state, social movements and civilians at the cost of close to 70,000 deaths (Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación 2004) and the second highest inflation record in world history, which devastated the
economy. Despite the magnitude of these phenomena, land use and land ownership remained relatively stable for around two decades.

More recently, the scenario has begun to change after the liberalizing policies implemented in the early 1990s. These policies have been instrumental in the emergence of a large mining boom in the country that has lasted more than 20 years and, as stated in this research, are producing a cycle of major transformations in Andean societies. With these historical cycles in mind, what has been the role that mining development has played in the production and transformation of Andean space?

From being a marginal activity during Pre-Hispanic times, mining development has been of central importance in Peruvian society over the last five centuries. However, this centrality has completely shifted from being an agent of economic integration to a major source of social conflict. Certainly, mining has been crucial to the Peruvian economy and society since colonial times. As Assadourian (1982) has shown, the exploitation and the commercialization of silver from the large deposits of Potosí organized and integrated a regional market which now includes Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and northern Argentina. The decline of Potosí’s production and the Independence Wars of the late 18th century seriously affected mineral production. However, as Contreras (1995) has argued, mining continued to be an important agent in regional economies with the opening of new mine sites in the territory. For instance, some authors (e.g. Manrique 1987; Deustua 1994) have explained how mining activities have provided economic surplus for the recovery of cattle and farming activities following the Pacific War in the 1890s.

Nevertheless, the advent of the 20th century was a turning point which heralded the emergence of modern mining. As Brundenius (1972) and Manrique (1987) describe, modern mining implied three major changes: the shift from a labor-intensive to a capital-intensive industry; the entrance of foreign interests into the sector and the decline of Peruvian capitals in large-scale mining projects; and the establishment of the enclave scheme. These combined factors produced a new system in which mineral development was directly linked to international markets without the necessity for local/regional products or workers. In other words, mining ceased to be an important agent in the integration of regional goods and labor, and instead became a disruptive actor among local populations. For the case of mining in the Central Peruvian Andes, Helfgott’s detailed work (2013) illuminates the profound and devastating consequences, for the local rural communities, of the major shift in the labor, production and housing regime of mining operations. Workers, traditionally recruited from the surrounding rural villages in a seasonal cycle that created what was called the peasant-miner (Long & Roberts 1984; DeWind 1987), became redundant as
a capital-intensive regime produced a labor surplus from a previous labor shortage. In addition, the
industry has responded to these challenges and new social and political challenges through the formation
of corporate social responsibility programs and a novel discourse of modern mining (Salas 2007).

Since the 1990s, the mining boom has contributed greatly to the sustained growth of the Peruvian
economy (UNCTAD, WB & ICMM 2008). Thus, for instance, minerals account for around 60% of the
country’s total exports, which surpassed the US$ 46000 million mark (Castilla 2012). This mining
expansion has been supported by international financial institutions, namely, the World Bank and its
private sector arm, the International Financial Corporation. In what was regarded as a new era for the
mining sector, these institutions promoted the design and implementation of the so-called New Extractive
aimed to foster social development through two measures: First, the distribution of significant state tax
revenues into mining regions; and, second, the promotion of more active participation of mining firms in
social development initiatives following the practices of corporate social responsibility. The results,
however, have not met the state’s goals and, currently, mining expansion is a major source of social
conflict in the country.

Much of the social conflict is triggered by the negative socio-economic consequences that mining
operations create at the local level. Perhaps the most notorious impact is the – factual or perceived –
environmental degradation, specifically the effects on the quantity of available water and its quality. The
need of large-scale mining operations for water directly collides with local farmers’ interests and fears.
In the context of poor environmental standards and weak state surveillance mechanisms and institutions,
water is one of the most contested issues of mining operations (Bebbington & Williams 2008; Himley
2014a). In addition, land is also significantly affected; not only the quality of the soil in areas directly
adjacent to the mine sites, but more importantly, because of the changes in use and ownership in larger
areas that are fostered by the development of the mineral operations (Bury 2004). In some cases, changes
in land-use and land-ownership have resulted in processes of migration or involuntary displacement
(Szablowski 2002).

Additionally, the creation of mining-related jobs and the injection of relatively significant amounts of
money into local economies have generated two unforeseen effects: inflation and the shortage of workers
for farming activities (Viale & Monge 2012). These effects especially hurt vulnerable families who are
not engaged in mining activities. The combination of these and other factors has fostered deep
transformation in the livelihoods of many rural families, particularly those living in mining regions (Bury & Kolff 2002), and has in turn led to distress and social tension.

The mining-induced production of space in the Andes differs from previous transformations in at least one central issue: it does not necessarily involve the control of farming activities or the use/control of local labor. The focus of this spatial configuration is the control of land and water for mineral resource extraction.

The series of interrelated factors described above has contributed to major social, economic, political as well as cultural (in terms of collective identities) change. This research argues that these social transformations could be understood as a new and particular process of modernization in Andean societies. The following section explores theoretical approaches to social change and modernization patterns of rural societies and establishes a dialogue with the sociological literature relevant to the Peruvian context.

3.3. SOCIAL CHANGE AND RURAL SOCIETIES

The discussion around social change in rural societies is one of the foundational and more significant debates in sociological thought. Thus, the central work of Marx, Weber and Durkheim was exclusively devoted to comprehending the impressive transformations that modernization and industrialization brought to Western societies during the 19th century (Aron 1965). After World War II, many of the studies on social change focused on understanding the changes taking place outside Europe and North America. Certainly, independence movements in India, South-East Asia and Africa, the breaking of tribal and rural structures in Africa, peasant revolutions in Cuba and China, and accelerated urbanization in Latin America, were all fertile areas for testing the theory and practice of modernization and development (Holmberg 1971; Fergusson 1990). After a decline in studies on modernization and social change, there has been a resurgence of interest in literature on globalization (Featherston, Lash & Robertson 1995; Castells 1996; Massey 2007) and post-modernity (Lyotard 1984; Harvey 1985).

For the purposes of this thesis, social change will be analyzed with respect to four interrelated dimensions: market integration; urbanization and migration; social relations, and representations of the city and the countryside.
The first dimension is market integration or capitalist expansion. The extensive work of Inmanuel Wallerstein (1979) was devoted to explaining how since the early European colonial endeavors of the 16th century and through a series of long-term waves, the capitalist mode created a world-system. This world-system connects the different societies in a hierarchical order and allows the production and circulation of market-oriented goods, services and ideas. Thus, capitalist expansion often leads to productive and/or commercial integration; in other words, the formation of markets (Polanyi 1957) through the circulation of commodities and images (Tsing 2000b).

As mentioned in the previous section, different sectors of Peruvian economy and society were integrated into circuits of international markets at different moments of their history. Silver mining during colonial times (Assadourian 1982), wool for the British textiles in first half of the 20th century in the Southern Andes (Flores Galindo 1977), sugar on the coastal plantations (Klarén 1976), or oil in the fields of the northern coast since late 1880s, are just some examples of this integration which connected populations from different parts of the world not only with different social and cultural practices but also under different labor regimes. Hence, the assembly line production of Ford’s automobile industry in Detroit coexisted with the slave system of the rubber gum exploitation in the Amazon basin (Santos & Barclay 2002).

In consequence, a central question of the research on social transformation became what kind of integration was derived from such disparate modernization processes. The answers were mixed and depended not only on the theoretical lens of the researcher but also on their specific experiences. Thus, for instance, while Mallon (1983) interprets the productive shift of peasant families in the Central Andes to Lima’s market as a process of capital accumulation, Jacobsen (1993) doubts the existence of a transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production in the impoverished communities of the south. More recently, while exploring the new face of Peruvian cities, Rolando Arellano (2004; 2010) argues that contemporary social differences are due less to economic disparities than to diverse consumption and living styles. In his reading, Peruvian society is becoming more egalitarian and more integrated into a modern economy.

44 For an historical and ethnographic account of how local cultures have been shaped by these global forces since early times see the work of Eric Wolf (1982).
Nevertheless, we must be cautious about this optimist vision of social change, modernity and market integration, especially in rural areas beyond the range of public policy programs. Neil Smith (1984) has coined the term “uneven development” to specifically describe those patterns of disinvestment and disintegration produced by capitalist forces. Thus, for example, Carlos Iván Degregori (2011) analyzes how the fragmentation and later disconnection of the Andean regions of Ayacucho and Huancavelica were the fertile soil in which the insurgent movement, Shining Path, emerged and grew.

Urbanization and rural-urban migration is the second dimension of social change considered. Indeed, a classic model of social transformation and modernization, such as that exhibited in England, was characterized by a reinforced circle of agricultural intensification, land appropriation, massive rural-urban migration and industrialization. This process, which resulted in an impressive urbanization of the country, should be understood not only as the mere growth of cities but also as the shift in power, economic, and demographic relations between rural and urban areas. Thus, the characteristics of the economic shift from domination by the farming sector to domination by the industry and the service sector produced a revolution in communications and the density of information networks (Castells 1996). In this process of urbanization, mining has been an important force and a rich body of anthropological literature has been devoted to examine the effects of urbanization over rural populations in mining regions and to describe the new urban life in mining towns (Godoy 1995; Ferguson 1999; Castillo 2000; Bridge 2004; Damonte & Castillo 2011).

Studies after World War II have cast shadows over this epic modernist narrative and have pointed out the growth of shanty towns in Africa and Latin America (Roberts 1978) and the dehumanizing effects of the modernist architecture over lay men and women in cities such as Brasilia or New York (Berman 1982).

There are important academic works examining rural-urban migration and urbanization in Peru (Wallace 1984; Sandoval 2000; Vega-Centeno 2006). For instance, Altamirano (1977) explores, in detail, the way that migrants use local bonds and create regional associations in the city with the aim to construct a supporting network; Golte and Adams (1987) analyze family strategies of survival deployed by migrants amid crisis and an informal economy; and, Degregori, Lynch and Blondet (1986) study the political dimensions of massive migratory processes and the struggle over citizenship. More recently, studies framed within the so-called “new rurality” (Giarraca 2002; Grammont de 2004; Cetraro, Castro & Chávez 2007) have blurred opposition between the countryside and the city arguing that due to intense
connection and communication, rural localities have become urbanized (i.e. services, consumption patterns and economic activities) and cities have become ruralized (i.e. cultural traits and social relations).

The third dimension refers to the transformation of social relations. These impressive forces of industrialization and urbanization radically altered the quality of social relations between different groups. Since the pioneering essay of Louis Wirth (1938), different social scientists have thought of the city as a new space that shaped new personalities and personal relations. For instance, Wirth defined the city as “…a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals.” (8) These conditions – density, large number of people, and heterogeneity – make it unfeasible for any member of the community to meet the other members. The general situation where people interact without the possibility of knowing each other as people produces a fragmentation of human relations. The schizoid feature of the urban personality also arises from these conditions.

Characteristically, urban settlers have encounters between themselves in segmented ways. They become more dependent on other people than their rural pairs for the satisfaction of their needs and tend to associate with a larger number of organized groups. But their dependence is limited to very narrow and fragmented aspects of life. The modern city is characterized not by primary contacts but secondary ones. Encounters in the city can be face-to-face but they are superficial, impersonal, transitory and segmented. Discretion, anonymity, the transitory nature of social relations, indifference, and the self-sufficient appearance of city dwellers can be considered as a means to immunize oneself against expectations and the requests of other people. Thus, in opposition to a way of life of personal and reciprocal services and relations stands an impersonal system of contractual relations. The metropolis is the realm of anonymity, which is the essence of the public space (Delgado 2002) – an impersonal commercial and financial development, where a new form of highly impersonal subjectivity is forged; this is what Georg Simmel (1997) calls the blase attitude. This is a disposition or emotional attitude of indifference based on boredom, which results from the vast, ever-changing and contrasting stimulus of urban life, the flourishing of intellectual activity, as well as an unlimited search for pleasure.

Personalities and personal interactions are not the only things modified; the whole universe of social relations changes. As Marx and Engels (1998) proclaimed, when peasants were liberated from the

45 This is what Norbert Elias (2000) calls the densification of the chains of dependency.
conditions of serfdom they were free to sell their labor, thus, becoming a class of paid workers. In his long-standing meditation about modernity, Anthony Giddens (1990) argues that in pre-modern societies the destiny of the individual was greatly determined by their birth within a kinship structure. That structure would sign her/his future occupation and matrimony. With modernity, however, the individual has the possibility – and also responsibility, which could generate anxiety – to recreate one’s own identity. Thus, modernity is an open space where personal identities, including the gendered ones (Giddens 1991; 1992), and aesthetic values (Berman 1982; Harvey 1989) are constantly redefined.

In Peru, the Vicos project was one of the first and most ambitious plans of applied anthropology to induce social change and a modernization process in pre-capitalist societies.46 Led by Cornell University with financial support from the American government, the project was conceived in the context of the Cold War as a liberal effort to modernize and democratize peasant societies in order to avoid Communist radicalism, and was part of a larger effort implemented in Peru, Thailand, India, and among the Inuit of Canada and the Navaho of the USA (Cornell University n.d.). Settled in Ancash, in Northern Peruvian Andes, the “goal of the project was to bring the indigenous population into the 20th century and integrate them into the market economy and Peruvian society.” (Cornell University n.d.). The results of the project were mixed and while the comuneros (members of a peasant or campesino community) were liberated from servile forms of living and farming conditions did increase, a large number of them migrated to the coastal cities. These changes were framed within a larger process of dismantling the traditional hacienda system and the transformation of rural Andean identities from indio47 to campesino48 (Spalding 1974), representing a transition from a colonial order of ethnic strata to a more modern society with class or occupational divisions.

More recently, I (1998) have analyzed the possibilities and limits of modernization processes among rural farmers in Cuzco. Due to an irrigation project, rural families changed their annual potato production designed for self-consumption to multiple crops of onion for the market. In addition, they concentrated their settlements in the lower parts of their lands, where they were able to claim electricity from the state, and initiated a slight process of urbanization. As an unforeseen impact, however, the prevalent gender relations were challenged. Since the onion plantations were close to the new houses and the work required

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46 For a description and evaluation of the project see Doughty (2004); Holmberg (1971); and Lynch (1981).

47 Indigenous. The term goes back to colonial times and has a derogative connotation in the Peruvian context.

48 Farmer.
was more constant but less intensive, women were able to control their production but also the
commercialization of the crops in the city of Cuzco, thus, now controlling the money received. Women
began to gain more spatial and social mobility, including an improvement in their literacy and numeracy
skills, and also more bargaining power with their partners in their daily lives.

Nevertheless, we should be cautious to avoid constructing an image of a complete break with the past.
Indeed, as there are changes, there are also resistances and continuities. For example, examining the
strategies of rural families in the Mantaro Valley around mining operations in the Central Andes of the
1970s, Long and Roberts (1984) first and DeWind later (1987) found that instead of becoming full
proletarians, farmers seasonally working in the mines adopted the hybrid identity of the *peasant-miner*,
thus, accessing cash without losing their land. A darker aspect of these continuities is the persistence of
racial discrimination in the daily interactions of many Peruvians who aim to maintain a hierarchical and
exclusive society and devalue others as non-equal citizens (Bruce 2007).

Precisely, the examination of representations of the past and present, of tradition and modernity,
whichever depiction of the countryside and the city it expresses, is the last dimension in the present
analysis. Certainly, representation of social change is one the most central and enduring topics in social
science as well as in humanities and artistic movements, which have flourished along the 19th and 20th
centuries. From the German Romantic movement to Italian Futurism, artists and thinkers have reflected
on the loss of contact with nature and community bonds, and the dehumanizing effects of rapid
urbanization as masterfully portrayed, for instance, in Charles Dickens’ stories of London, or Charlie
Chaplin’s *City Lights*, to the countless opportunities that the city and the liberation from traditional
constrains offer for social and individual development (Giddens 1990; 1991).

Cultural geographers have shown that the representation of place is never a politically neutral exercise
since these representations express the perspective of the observer, which emerges from the complex
combination of class (Cosgrove 1985), gender (Massey 1994; Rocheleau, Slayter-Thomas & Edmunds
1995), racial (Poole 2000), and other social markers. For example, examining gentle representations of
the Californian landscape, Mitchell (1996) argues that they arise from a class and race perspective, which
conceals the working conditions and ethnic origins of the laborers that have produced the bucolic
landscape of orange fields. In this sense, representations of place – and the way they are memorialized
and marked in the landscape – are part of current and ongoing struggles over the meanings of social
events (Peet 1996).
Certainly, ideas and representations are some of the most powerful elements in mobilizing social action and are frequently a source of social identity. Current struggles over territory and natural resources, which are central in Latin American peasant and indigenous movements from Chile to Mexico (Alvarez, Dagnino & Escobar 1998), recreate past memories of the landscape in order to mobilize ideational resources and reinforce group cohesion and identity (Offen 2003). Indeed, the landscape itself becomes a symbol – of resistance, for instance – and as any symbol it has the capacity to amalgamate different and sometimes opposing poles of meaning and feeling (Tuner 1972).

In Peru, one of the most prominent and prevalent spatial symbols is the opposition between the Andes and the coastal region, an opposition that follows a series of binary categories: countryside / city, poor / rich, indigenous / mestizo, Quechua speakers / Spanish speakers, and, as a set of categories that summarizes all of the previous oppositions, backwardness / modernity. In other words, since colonial times, many Peruvians – from José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma’s Paisajes peruanos (Peruvian landscapes) to Alan García’s “Dog in the Manger” syndrome – have inscribed their racialized and moral categories in the landscape becoming, then, racial and social differences naturalized (Orlove 1993).

In the context of Peruvian mining history, Himley’s work (2014b) explores the means by which mining proponents naturalize today’s mining expansion, locating it within a national history of extraction and the creation of the “Peru, mining country” discourse. Of course, diverse actors, including local populations affected by mining development, resist that discourse and challenge the idea and practices of the new mining. I examine (2006) the opposing ways that pro-business groups, anti-mining activists, and local populations represent the location of a proposed gold project on the Peruvian coast.

Processes of social change and modernization have a history themselves, and create and re-create their own traditions (Berman 1982). In the context of mining development, for instance, what was once proclaimed as modern mining in the Peru of the 1920s (for example, the development of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation), is now portrayed by SNMPE as “traditional mining” in an attempt to differentiate it and to exorcise the country’s mining past. Therefore, as previously stated, a main objective of this research is to critically examine the appropriateness of social change theories in order to make sense of the different dimensions and contemporary transformations of rural Andean societies in the context of mining development. In turn, this examination will allow us a better understanding of the processes of social and spatial transformations unleashed by global forces of mineral consumption and exploitation, which are not directly related to farming intensification.
PART B. FINDINGS: A VIEW FROM THE LOCAL FAMILIES
4. Spatial history

Diverse social, political and economic factors have produced La Granja as a social space over time. Within this evolving process, mining-driven changes are the last in a series of transformations in this rural Andean space. These transformations are better understood in relation to complex connections with diverse localities, which are part of a major region that connects the coastal city of Chiclayo with its hinterland in the Andes and the Amazon basin. Therefore, in a fluid process of incoming and outgoing migration, La Granja is a social space composed of family networks that extend beyond the limits of the locality. What follows is an analysis of these spatial transformations in the last century. The section draws on interviews held with elder local informants.

La Granja began as a large hacienda in the early part of the 20th century, although the lack of official historical records and the limits of local collective memory make it difficult to establish with accuracy its precise origin. The area was previously known as Paltic, the name of the river that waters those lands and forms part of the Amazon Basin which flows into the Atlantic Ocean. Around 1920, Cecilio Montoya, the first hacendado [landlord], changed the area’s name to that which is used today, La Granja [The Farm]. The extension of the original hacienda, approximately 200 km², was significantly bigger than the current territory and occupied around one seventh of the total area of the district of Querocoto.49

The La Granja hacienda system made use of pre-capitalist labor and social relations. Thus, the hacendado kept the best farming lands and pastures for himself and rented plots to landless campesinos from the region who, with their families, migrated to establish lives in the hacienda. These campesinos (known as arrendatarios) and their families become personally bonded to the hacendado. In La Granja’s case, the immigrants came from populous Cajamarca provinces, such as Hualgayoc, Chota and Cutervo (see Figure 5). In exchange for land, the hacendado received payment both in cash and farming products from the campesinos. In addition, the hacendado requested personal services of men and women for farming (i.e. cultivating the land or feed cattle) or domestic activities (i.e. housekeeping of the casa hacienda or manor house, or weaving of textiles for commercialization in regional markets). These services were not

49 The approximate limits were: Quipayuc and Pariamarca to the North; Cundín (including current Paraguay) to the West, Cerro Negro (in the district of Llama) and Chilanlán to the South; and Jalca (the upper lands of Pariamarca) and El Cucho to the East.
only unpaid and represented a great burden of time, but they were also based on an arbitrary system of immediate demand. In extreme but not unusual cases, as some elder villagers remember, the *hacendado* forced the *arrendatarios* to hand over their young daughters for sexual favors under the threat of expulsion from the hacienda. In addition, the *arrendatarios* were not allowed to construct their houses with brick and cement but only of mud and straw, so these constructions could be easily removed or burnt down. The *hacendado* provided basic primary education to the *arrendatario’s* children but further education was forbidden. In this labor and social system, the *hacendado* used *mayordomos* [foremen] as intermediaries. Thus, the *mayordomos* were in charge of the daily work in the hacienda, benefitting from a space of relative freedom but also exercising and reproducing the oppressive conditions for the *arrendatarios*.

Of course, this was an oppressive and servile system. However, in a context of insecurity, extreme rural poverty, and total absence of the central state, the hacienda system provided protection from banditry and social violence and a patch of land in which to work and make a living. Thus, the hacienda became the space for a paternalistic and patriarchal system of economic exploitation and social protection.

*Figure 5. La Granja original large hacienda*

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50 Land scarcity, due to large-scale distribution among a few wealthy families, partly explains the pervasive rural poverty of the time. This concentration of land has its origins in colonial times but was expanded with the implementation of liberal policies after the country’s independence (Deere 1990).
Around 1940, Cecilio Montoya died; and, after a decade, his daughters sold the hacienda to the Arrascue, three brothers from the province of Chota in the Cajamarca Region: Alejandro, Gilberto and Wenceslao. The original estate was divided into three parts and Alejadro took possession of La Pampa, Gilberto of Paraguay, and Wenceslao (colloquially known as Don Uva) of La Granja (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. First fragmentation of the La Granja space

This period in La Granja’s evolution lasted for more than two decades and because of pervasive poverty in the region, there were similar flows of immigration as in the previous age. However, political, social and economic processes produced dramatic changes that signified the collapse of the hacienda system. These processes lead to the agrarian reform initiated by the leftist military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1969, which radically transformed the rural landscape of Peruvian society. Around the end of the 1960s, the signs of social change were evident and, like many other hacendados in the country, the Arrascue brothers began to sell part of their marginal lands to their arrendatarios. This measure prompted a struggle over access to and ownership of the land and two sides were formed: the amarillos (the yellow side) and the rayados (the striped side). The amarillos were arrendatarios who had had already bought their plots and who, backed by the hacendado, the mayordomos and armed guards, had tried to defend their freshly conquered lands. The rayados were arrendatarios who wanted to take possession of their plots by force, and were newcomers who saw the possibility to acquire land.
before the state could intervene and expropriate the property. The result was the end of La Granja’s hacienda system and its spatial fragmentation into dozens of small farming areas owned by independent rural families (see Figure 7). The new owners began to build their houses with more solid materials (mainly adobe and wood), generally next to their farming plots. However, it was also the beginning of the formation of the town in the area where the *casa hacienda* used to be located.⁵¹

*Figure 7. The end of the hacienda system*

What followed was the formation of a small rural town. Poorly connected with major regional markets and with small-scale agriculture for self-consumption, La Granja was a space that barely grew. Because of the limited size of their plots – making subdivision difficult – and scarce job opportunities, a significant proportion of the youth had little choice but to migrate to cities on the coast (i.e. Chiclayo or Trujillo) or in the Amazon basin (i.e. Nueva Cajamarca, Bagua or Tarapoto).

⁵¹ The *casa hacienda* was destroyed during the struggles. Today, a first-aid center occupies part of the location.
In the early 1980s, however, mining exploration began in the area and a combined effort between Centromin, the Peruvian State mining company, and the German company, Sondi, identified a major copper deposit. Subsequently, Sondi constructed a mining camp and the narrow unpaved road which today still connects La Granja with Querocoto, the capital of the district. Mining works were abandoned until 1994, when, through a privatization process, the Central Government granted a Canadian company, Cambior, a five-year option to explore and develop the project. Cambior initiated new exploration activities that provided jobs and income opportunities for the local population. At the same time, the company began purchasing land and implemented a poorly planned resettlement process. Using different strategies, including legal and physical threats, Cambior pressured local families to sell their land and displaced them into different areas. The Central Government, under the authoritarian regime of Alberto Fujimori, was eager to attract foreign investment and demonstrate the pacification of the country after the political and social violence and unrest caused by the Maoist group, Shining Path, a decade before. Thus, for instance, the Central Government closed local schools and health centers as a way to force the population to move from the area. In addition, government officials accused many of the local leaders opposed to the resettlement process of terrorism and initiated judiciary processes against them. As a
result, of approximately 250 families that lived in the area (including current La Pampa, La Iraca and La Granja), 150 sold their land and migrated, mainly to Lambayeque (see Figure 8). In the village of La Granja itself, only seven families refused to move and the company demolished the remaining houses.

This period marked the diaspora of Granjinos and converted La Granja into a derelict space. Among many Granjinos, the displacement was experienced as the end of a way of life they once knew: productive activities, labor conditions, social relations, spatial mobility, social landscape, sense of place, trust and vicinity were all disrupted. Without any support or an assistance program from the company, a large number of the displaced families struggled to survive in the new setting and their living conditions dramatically declined. Confronted with new and challenging social, cultural, economic and physical conditions, some Granjinos began to develop a sense of nostalgia and constructed an idealized and bucolic image of the La Granja of the past. The displaced Granjinos constructed a sort of rural arcadia where La Granja appears as a green space of abundance and social safety. As one elder villager who returned to La Granja expressed:

> Nowadays there are not as many custard apples as before. Now, they are infected with “racha” [a disease that attacks the leaves] and grow very little. This could be because there is pollution – the chemicals of the mining company contaminated and affected the soil, the vegetation. Before there were many products: sugar cane, green beans, manioc, “arracacha” (an Andean tuber), pastures for the cattle, everything was natural, without chemicals. Not like in the coast, where you have to give everything to the plants, pure chemicals; and there is a lot of crime on the coast.\(^1\)

It is not surprising, then, that many leftist and environmentalist groups opposed to mining activities use similar discourses which question experiences of social change. Against a triumphal and hegemonic vision of modernity developed by representatives of the industry and central government bureaucrats, these groups support a conservative recreation of an agrarian arcadia, a lost rural Eden.\(^52\) The discourse developed by Marco Arana – a well-known regional leader opposed to mining activities in Cajamarca, especially against the presence of Newmont’s Yanacocha gold project – is an example of this nostalgic recreation of a past social landscape:

> Our city began to grow exponentially and was packed with foreign people, the doors of our houses would not stay open anymore and the bikes of the kids would never be safe on the sidewalks again. The beautiful valley began to disappear to give way to mega warehouses, business that range from the sale of heavy machinery to the illegal brothel; the rivers where we use to splash

\(^{52}\) For an examination of how Peruvian state agencies and pro-business private organizations deploy discursive tools in order to attract foreign investors in the mining sector, see Castillo (2006).
when we were kids and where we ended the day catching *charcoquitas* [small river fish] and catfishes no longer exist. This is not only because the mine has ran out the natural sources and left the Mashcón and Chonta rivers dying, but also because the gas stations, the *mototaxis* [tuk tuks or cabs propelled by a motorbike], and the local government, which do not adequately manage the sewage. All of them have contributed to provide everyday a new *coup de grâce* to the little water left in those rivers. And if you are in a hurry, don't even think about going into the downtown of the still small city during the rush hour or rather go at that time [if you want] to breathe your dose of modernity, of polluted air in the style of Lima´s Parque Universitario [a popular and crowed park in Lima´s downtown] (translated from Arana 2011).\(^{11}\)

This discourse emphasizes and idealizes dimensions of social cohesion, familiarity, solidarity, closeness to nature, and abundance. However, it hides other aspects, such as poverty, gender violence, patriarchy, low social mobility, and lack of job opportunities, among others. I am not suggesting that transformations brought about through mining development have solved these problems but they have altered established ways of representing society. The insight I would like to emphasize is that representations of past social landscapes cannot be taken for granted but constitute symbolic resources of present struggles for the access and control of natural resources as well as the definition of mining development and appropriation of its benefits.

*Figure 9. The returning process to La Granja*
Since the 1990s, changes have accelerated. In 2000, Cambior sold its mining and surface rights to Billiton, which later merged with BHP. After technical and financial studies, the Anglo-Australian multinational company concluded that the project was not feasible. Not without resistance and intense internal and external consultations and discussions, BHP Billiton decided to implement a program to remedy the environmental and social legacies left by the previous company.

At the internal level local managers on the frontline had to overcome the reluctance of the company’s central management in London to invest in such a program. The local managers made the case that activist groups against the company could use the situation of the displaced families to cause major reputational damage to BHP Billiton. In that time, the company was finishing a long and sensitive agreement with local communities in Papua New Guinea as consequence of its operations at the Ok Tedi Mine and management decided that the risk of becoming involved in another major controversy was too great. The acceptance to implement a remediation action plan was facilitated by the fact that as part of the contract with the state, the company agreed to invest a minimum of three million US dollars regardless of its final decision about the project.

On the external front, the company had to persuade state functionaries of the social convenience of returning the land to the affected families. The Central Government feared that the devolution of land rights to the local population would pose significant obstacles to future attempts to develop the project. Although this situation would prove to be true from a pro-business perspective, it is important to note that, de facto, securing surface rights would be a difficult task with high social and political costs. That would be the case because of population pressure over the land (especially from poor rural families).

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53 The information in the following paragraphs describing the inner politics around the mining project during the Billiton BHP operation is based upon the analysis of an interview held with the project manager at the time. (Consultant informant 1, 11 August 2014, author interview).

54 Billiton, which at the time did not have base metals (such as copper) in its product portfolio, was the only company interested in the project. This was not the case for other mining companies that were operating other large copper deposits in the country; for instance, Rio Algom Mining in Antamina or BHP in Tintaya. It was not surprising, then, that after the merge of Billiton with BHP, the new management dismissed the project.

55 It is also worth noting that a growing concern around resettlement processes and the performance of mining companies and international lending institutions was emerging in those years. In Peru, for instance, researchers began to analyze the legacies of the land purchase and resettlement plans implemented around large-scale projects, such as Yanacocha and Antamina (Pasco-Font et al. 2001; Szablowski 2002; Szablowski 2007).

56 Indeed, some displaced families were already returning to the area, illegally occupying their former land or opening the forest for farming and housing.
general discontent and lack of legitimacy of the previous displacement process, and state agencies with weak capacities and little political willingness to enforce the law.

Beyond the corporate strategies and decisions implemented regarding the project, what is important for the purposes of this study is that the presence of a major mineral deposit alters the intensity and the quality of transformations, negotiations and resistance over the space. In the context of increasing spatial fluidity (in terms of people and capital flows), mineral development introduces a fixity that will permanently shape the political ecologies of the subsoil in the region (Bebbington & Bury 2013).

As part of its social program, the company offered the land back to the displaced families. Therefore, many families returned to La Granja (see Figure 9) and bought the land under quite advantageous conditions. However, this situation created an enduring conflict over the space between those who stayed in the area and did not sell their land to Cambior and those who returned. The first claimed that La Granja survived because of their struggle and, thus, that they should reap more benefits. The discourse and perception of the people who did not sell their land regarding those who sold and moved from the area dramatically shifted, from regarding these families as: “…poor people abandoned by Cambior [to] devious people that benefited twice”. The tension that arose between the resistant families and the returnee ones was especially bitter concerning the ownership of the lots in the urbanized part of La Granja, and still shapes much of the local politics in the village. Trapped amid local pressures, the company transferred the urban terrain’s titles to the Asociación del Señor de los Milagros (Lord of the Miracles Association) which, in turn, would distribute the properties. Dominated by the local families, the association agreed to give priority to the children of the resistant families in the allocation of the urban properties. Therefore, the association transformed from a religious organization into an important player in the local control for land access.

According to the estimates of one of the company’s most experienced employees, (who began working on the project in 2001 with BHP Billiton), around 75% of the families that sold their land decided to buy their land back. The new price that BHP Billiton established was less than half of the original amount

57 See the section on techniques and data-gathering tools for a description of the family typology used in the research.

58 The association was created before the arrival of Cambior and it owned and managed some pieces of land which were sold to the company in order to cover its religious-related expenses. In addition to the urban terrains, the association received the non-claimed farming lands, the local community center, and heavy machinery left by Cambior.

59 Company informant 4, 24 October 2013, author interview.
that people received from Cambior. In addition, BHP Billiton designed a credit system without an initial purchasing quota and with a period of ten years to pay (the first five years without interest and the remaining five at low interest rates). The funds raised would be deposited into a social fund – Fundación Paltic – for the development of the affected localities. However, many families accused the president of the foundation of misappropriation of the resources. After the president moved out of the region, the majority of the families stopped paying their debts. Nowadays, these families possess the land but do not yet possess legal property rights. The Rio Tinto La Granja project has started a program to aid these families with the purpose of clearing the path in the case of an eventual land purchasing and resettlement process.

Of the total number of families that bought back land, between 20 and 30% returned to the area as complete households, between 50 and 60% had only some members return (for instance, the elders, or some of the sons or daughters after the inheritance was divided up), and the remainder regained ownership of the property but did not return to the area. These families received logistical support to return and initial capital in materials and farming seeds with the purpose of helping them to restart their lives.

The approximately 25% of families that did not choose to buy their land back requested compensation in cash. BHP Billiton agreed to give them the monetary equivalent of what the other families had received in materials.

In 2006, Rio Tinto obtained mining rights from the Central Government and initiated exploration activities. As Cambior had before, Rio Tinto established programs for local employment. The relatively well-paid jobs (with salaries three times higher than those offered in the farming sector), opportunities for small businesses, and expectations for negotiating resettlement compensation and the sale of land to the mining company have prompted an enormous influx of returnees – relatives of Granjinos who had left the locality along different migratory processes. After years of decline, La Granja has become a burgeoning space of attraction and its Sunday market competes with the one in the district capital, Querocoto, as the main trading center for surrounding villages.
In addition, families in La Granja are building new houses, expanding their old ones, and requesting social and recreational infrastructure for the village. This is a strategy that was implemented with the purpose of obtaining better compensation packages if the resettlement process takes place. With the implementation of the copper project and the construction of the open pit and other facilities, that infrastructure would be destroyed in another example of what Harvey (1989; 1999) – as well as Joseph Schumpeter (2010) – calls creative destruction. The original Marxist concept refers to the ability and need of capitalism to tear down everything it creates, in order to replace these with new products, buildings and spaces at an increasingly frenzied pace. With his well-known assertion that “all that is solid melts into air” – a metaphor extracted from The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels – Marshal Berman (1982) emphasizes the condition and sense of fragility and evanescence present in a capitalist society. This ephemeral condition of capitalism imprints its hallmark in the materiality of society and it’s people´s experience.

To date, employment, small businesses and other benefit programs have been negotiated between the mining company and La Granja´s leaders, who generally belong to the same family and live in the central part of the village. Families living on the outskirts of the village who also want to negotiate directly with the company have questioned this process. Consequently, families from different sectors outside the
center are creating autonomous localities with their own authorities. This is the case of the newly formed villages of La Lima, Checos and La Uñiga (see Figure 3, Map of research area). In this way, the physical and social space of La Granja continues a process of fragmentation (see Figure 10). Mining development is accelerating and deepening a phenomenon started many decades ago.

The described process of La Granja exemplifies how global flows and external trends are increasingly becoming more prominent in the configuration of different mining spaces to the advantage of local and regional forces. Since the 1990s, the mining development, with all its effects on land ownership and people’s lives, has been shaped by liberalizing policies, the global financial crisis (first in 1998 and then in 2008), and periods of international economic growth and high demand for commodities. These trends have led to the construction of roads, public infrastructure, mining camps, and houses, as well as the establishment of temporary jobs, the opening of small businesses, and – in general – the creation of a burgeoning place. However, as the previous shutdowns of the project have made clear, the link between global flows and mineral cycles has also produced a sense of this being an ephemeral place, which has generated stress, anxiety and uncertainty in the lives of local people. As one male local villager expressed:

…I just want Rio Tinto to come and give me a price for my land… to give me an option… that [Rio Tinto] tell me ‘here is the money and the new place where you will go’. I don’t want them to tell me that they don’t know if they are going to stay or go. I want them to tell me something and I will take it or leave it for my family.60

As depicted in Figure 11, global trends in mining development form part of a larger series of social and spatial transformations for La Granja; and they significantly contribute to the destruction or transformation of what is being called a sense of place (Feld & Basso 1996; Tuan 2001). In this context, new senses of place are in a process of being elaborated. Complex and often contradictory senses of place are crossed by age, gender, wealth, family as well as individual experiences, as the following chapters explore. In the next four chapters, I examine space access, production, mobility and spatial representations among people from La Granja. Each chapter begins with a theoretical overview, followed by an examination of the material collected (following temporal cycles and establishing commonalities and differences among the proposed family types), and finally, an analysis of spatial dynamics and gender implications.

60 “…yo solo quiero que Rio Tinto venga y me dé un precio por mi tierra; que me dé una opción, que me diga ‘este el dinero y el nuevo lugar a donde vas a ir’. Ya no quiero que me digan que no saben si van a quedarse o van a irse. Que me digan algo y yo lo tomo o lo dejo para mi familia”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1_LG).
Figure 11. Spatial transformations of La Granja
We come and go,  
but the land is always here.  
And the people who love it  
and understand it are the people  
who own it—for a little while.  

Willa Cather, *O Pioneers!*

Access to space is vital for any social group, as it makes it possible for people to develop their essential economic, social, cultural and recreational activities. In many senses, the history of humankind is one of defining, appropriating, limiting, evolving and resisting – both *de jure* and *de facto* – control over space. Thus, for instance, the definition of terms for accessing space is constitutive of the evolution of property rights, the creation of modern statehood, the use, appropriation and benefit of natural resources, and the formation of cultural landmarks. In all of these processes, the exercise of power is critical as it defines who can access specific spaces and under which conditions. Certainly, as discussed in Chapter 3, Lefebvre (1991) stresses the centrality of the power dimension when he shifts his attention from space itself to the social production of space. Understood as a social product, space has less to do with a universal context, in which events take place, than with the practices, uses, regulations, representations and imaginary worlds that produce particular spaces. To the degree that these practices and representations are historical and dependent upon the specified societies that produce them, space is also a historical and contingent product.

Land is one of the fundamental components in the historical process of production of space. Over time, capitalist forces have appropriated and transformed land in a similar way to nature in a broader sense (Smith 1984; Castillo 2003). In order to proceed with its appropriation and transformation, land has to be cleared, measured, confined, titled, valued, and imagined; in other words, materially and discursively created as a commodity. Much of Marx’s work was specifically devoted to the historical analysis of how the expansion of a rural aristocracy – through the creation of enclosures – initiated a process of

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61 David Harvey (1989, pp. 219-223) considers four interrelated aspects of spatial practices: accessibility and distance, appropriation and use of the space, domination and control, and production of space.
dispossession of the British peasantry, which culminated in the formation of a massive, landless urban proletariat, the human capital that fueled the rapid industrialization of England. At the same time, processes of land appropriation and land use create particular landscapes, aesthetic representations and labor regimes (Cosgrove 1985; Mitchell 1996).

Of recent decades in Latin America, the control over territory has been at the center of social struggles and movements for the control over access to natural resources and the defense of livelihoods (Bury & Kolff 2002; Bebbington 2007). This has particularly been the case for mineral, oil and gas exploitation, foresting, and land claim for agro-export crops, such as soya or sugar cane and canola for the production of biofuels. For this reason, territory is understood as a reality beyond its physical aspects and provides ideational resources (Offen 2003) in these struggles. Territory has become the locus for the politics of identity of diverse groups in the region seeking higher levels of political, economic and cultural autonomy (Hale 1997).

In Chapter 3, and in the section on spatial production of the Andes in particular, I have highlighted the enormous importance of land access for the survival of the comunidades campesinas. For around five centuries, land issues have dominated not only public policies and ideological and academic debates, but also many of the struggles over appropriation and resistance in the country. La Granja, of course, is no exception. Access to land is central to the village’s contemporary history and shapes much of its local politics and the identity of its people vis-à-vis cycles of mining development.

In La Granja’s recent history, the dimension of access to space comprises the factors of accessing, controlling and owning land for farming and housing. Unlike other regions in the Andes, the comunidad campesina62 is absent in this zone. In the research area, the land belongs to the families and they are the units for economic and productive decisions.

La Granja comprises around 1,200 hectares of land. Of the total, about 40% is natural pasture, 20% is composed of resting lands, farming lands occupies 15%, another 15% corresponds to unproductive lands,  

62 The comunidad campesina (farming community or peasant community) is one of the most pervasive and lasting social, economic and political institutions in Peruvian rural Andes. It is a collective organization, with its origins in early colonial times, that groups rural households and is the legal owner of the land. However, in practice, each family works, benefits, inherits and trades its own land. The number of comunidades campesinas borders on 6000 and, although it represents less than 1% of agrarian units, it holds more than 40% of the total farming land in the country, primarily pastures. Since this land is mainly located in the highlands, it is not surprising that the conflict between mining companies and comunidades campesinas has increased. For legal, historical and anthropological accounts of this institution see Castillo et al. 2007 and Laos 2004.
5% is cultivated pasture, and another 5% is forest.\textsuperscript{63} According to the latest agrarian census, there were 125 farming producers in La Granja in 2012 and, taking the average of the whole district of Querocoto, around 70% own between half and 5 hectares of land (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2012a).

In addition, the major proportion of the crops depends on the seasonal rains and only a small part of the parcels is irrigated through water channels. The main crops in the area are corn, beans, manioc, green beans and coffee. Traditional extensive livestock farming comprises small numbers of cows, pigs and horses. In brief, the agrarian system in La Granja is composed of smallholders practicing subsistence farming with low levels of technical input.

As discussed in the previous chapter, past decades have shown a constant reduction in the size of the families in the research area. However, their migratory accounts point to the fact that they have been compelled to expel some of their members, due to the impossibility of continuing land division, and also the lack of employment in the region.

In this context, it is interesting to observe that despite some families’ access to very small pieces of farming land (this is the case, for instance, for resistant family 1, resistant family 2, opportunistic family 1 and opportunistic family 2), the economy is well-diversified and relatively prosperous. Certainly, as will be examined in detail in the following chapter on production, this situation correlates with recent research which argues that rural and campesino economies are less dependent on farming activities than is commonly thought (Velazco 1998; Escobar 2001).

The historical account of La Granja’s space shows that land ownership in the area has changed hands on several occasions over the years, from one hacendado to another, from local families to a mining company, and then back to local families. However, the total amount of farming land is relatively fixed and hundreds of local families have already divided and appropriated that land. Indeed, forest clearance is one of the few ways to expand the area of farming land. The local forest is a natural protected area and the state forbids its cutting. However, many families undertake slash-and-burn practices in order to obtain wood and, more importantly, to access new farming land. Later, these families will seek the formalization of land titles from state agencies. As an elder from La Granja explains:

\textsuperscript{63} Consultant informant 2, 3 May 2013, author interview.
…after I sold my land to Cambior, I bought a terrain in the coast, in Ojo de Toro, near Chiclayo, but there everything was different. The first harvest was great, good-size maniocds, but the following year was the El Niño heavy rains, and the crop failed. I had bought a second-hand truck, but everybody had trucks and then mine broke down. We have nothing to eat and no money, nobody to help us. Therefore, I told my family, ‘let’s go back to La Granja’. We went to the forest; no one can force us to move out from there. I cut the forest, began to cultivate and built a house. Nowadays the mining company wants to buy my land so I have asked for their help with PETT (the land titling program implemented by the state) in order to get our titles. iv

Of course, the destruction of the forest has its limits and the total area cannot be further expanded. The notion that land is not an entity that can be endlessly increased is similar to the concept of “limited good” developed by George Foster (1965). He argues that many traditional rural societies believe that the amount of any good (such as land or money) is finite and that, consequently, every time a person profits, another loses. These types of societies tend to exhibit high levels of equality among members but also significant degrees of distrust and envy, fragile and constantly shifting patterns of political alignment and strong resistance to social change. I will not discuss here the problems and limitations of Foster’s theory, but rather, I will illustrate the fact that, in a context where it is difficult to expand the available land which has already been allocated, the mechanisms and barriers of access are crucial to the political economy strategies of the local families. Certainly, the aforementioned account from the local villager is not merely about conducting illegal activities in the forest for survival. What it mainly highlights are some of the complexities involving accessing land. The following section describes and analyzes the forms that the local families of La Granja have adopted in order to secure access to the land.

5.1. FORMS OF LAND ACCESS

The forms of land access in the research area have evolved over time but have also changed in terms of the actor who – legally and in practice – controls the access. As explained in Chapter 3, Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (1985) privilege the state and the market – which the figure of the urban developer incarnates – in their accounts of space producers in modern, urban and industrial societies. However, in cases of the fragile state and hybrid political order that the Peruvian society exemplifies, kinship networks and local

64 For a critique to Foster’s formulation, see Kennedy 1966.
social organizations may play an important, though informal, role in facilitating or inhibiting mechanisms of spatial access. The accounts of the examined families convey complex and changing processes of land access where four central producers of space are included: the *hacendado* (which represents the old regime), the state, the kinship network, and diverse market mechanisms. For purposes of clarity, the latter mechanisms are split into two: mining companies and individual families.

### 5.1.1. The old regime

Before the agrarian reform initiated in the late 1960s, the whole land of La Granja belonged to one person, the *hacendado*. The *hacendado* then distributed small parcels within his property, generally in marginal sectors, to farmers while he kept the best areas for his own farming and for pastures for his cattle. These farmers, known as *arrendatarios*, paid the hacendado in cash, goods, and personal services. Amid the social and political turbulence that ultimately led to the reform, the local *hacendados* began to distribute part of the marginal lands of their properties. In the case of this study, it was three of the eleven families of the local area – this is, excluding the three regional families – whom accessed land from the Arrascue brothers.

Thus, for instance, the father of the male informant of the Resistant family 2 bought the farming land he was working from the *hacendado* and for many years paid for it with *yuntas* (two oxen that plough land with a hoist). In a different situation, the male informant of the returnee family 2 mentions that after the agrarian reform, the state allocated vast farming terrain to the ex-*hacendado* in La Granja. However, when the Arrascue family moved out of the village, the *rayados* occupied the land. In this context, and because he was living in extreme poverty, the informant invaded part of the area. In the early 1990s, the mining company, Cambior, initiated a land-purchasing program which required the regularization of land titles. Thus, backed by the company, the ex-*hacendado* returned to the village to sell their land to the current tenants, who in turn were able to sell the titled land to Cambior. The informant paid one head of cattle

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65 For a characterization of the form of authority that the *hacendado* (also known as *gamonal*) represented, and which has been introduced into the everyday life of Peruvian society even after the sociological actor has disappeared, see the work of Guillermo Nugent (2010). In particular, note the chapter ‘El orden tutelar: un discurso sobre la autoridad’. The *hacendado*, as actor, has disappeared but the hierarchical social forms that dictate social interaction among people in Peruvian society have lasted and continue to be recreated.
for the land. In another case, the male informant of the migrant family 1 mentioned that at the beginning he worked on leased parcels, but that he was later able to buy 17 hectares of land in the La Lima sector:

I am from Olmos, in the district of Lajas, province of Chota (in the Cajamarca Region). I came to the area because the Arrascue brothers were my cousins. I paid for the land with a yunta. I bought my whole land little by little, given the *hacendado* my cattle. Later I got the public deed.\(^v\)

It is interesting to note the existing family networks between *hacendados* and *campesinos*. Indeed, both actors used kinship relations to build a system for exchanging goods, services and favors in the absence of market mechanisms. The system was definitely unequal and oppressive but it provided a shared world of cultural values and a natural order, with the patriarchal family as an ideal model.\(^66\) In this paternalistic world, the *hacendado* represented a father who sought the best for the *campesinos*, his children.\(^67\) It is unsurprising, then, to find among villagers feelings and memories of gratitude and loyalty towards the *hacendado*.

The case of an old villager from La Pampa reveals many of these features. The informant was born in Cutervo, a province of the Cajamarca Region, and his parents migrated to the La Granja hacienda to become *arrendatarios* of the former *hacendado*, Cecilio Montoya. Soon after the family migrated, he became an orphan at a very early age. He began to work for the *hacendado*. When the owners of the hacienda changed, he became an *arrendatario* for one of the Arrascue brothers. He was one of the few people who defended the *hacendado* during the struggles of the agrarian reform. In the area, two factions were formed: the *amarillos*, who were renters that had already bought land and supported the *hacendado*, and the *rayados*, who promoted the occupation of land. In this confrontation, the *rayados* killed the *hacendado*'s cattle, or took them to other places. Several times, he went to take the cattle back and despite the danger and tension, nobody attacked him. He said, “I am not afraid, the Lord will decide”.\(^vi\) During this period of social convulsion, the *hacendado* Alejandro Arrascue proposed to sell him part of the land he was farming. The informant selected a good place next to the Paltic River and agreed to make monthly payments. However, after the second instalment, the state granted him the land title. The farmer showed the title to the *hacendado* and told him that he had not taken any steps to receive the deed. Alejandro Arrascue replied, “You have given me good support, now I will help you”.\(^vii\) Thus, the *hacendado* did

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\(^{66}\) For an analysis of a shared social and cultural world between *hacendados* and *campesinos* in a rural Andean setting before the agrarian reform see, for instance, Castillo 2009.

\(^{67}\) In many parts of the Andes, the *campesinos* called the *hacendado* – or any powerful actor – “tayta”, which in Quechua means “father”.

83
not accept any other payment and gave him the title. For the old villager, the *hacendado* represented a good person for whom he had happily risked his life.

In addition, it is worth noting that many of these changes have occurred over the span of one generation and that many *campesinos* have shifted from being *arrendatarios* to owners and are, therefore, conscious of the experience of social mobility.

5.1.2. The state

As in the case of the old villager from La Pampa quoted above (Local informant 7), many local families received land from the state during the agrarian reform. To be sure, in the collective memory of many *Granjinos*, especially among the elders, social identity is tied to the shift in the socio-economic and legal property regime – from the *hacienda* to the smallholding system (i.e. when La Granja’s families were recognized as owners of the land after their struggles with the *hacendado*). The opening paragraph of the program of the main religious festivity vividly captures this collective memory:

"[In the day of] “…the *Granjina* identity, we honor the fight for the independence from the *hacendado* yoke as a way to rescue customs from our ancestors and strengthen them…”". viii

In *Añoranzas de mi tierra* (Longings for my Homeland), the poetry book of José Guevara, there are some verses that depict this period of struggles over accessing the land in La Granja. Thus, for instance, in the poem “Los que llegaron” (Those who Arrived) Guevara remarks:

![Verse](https://example.com/verse.png)

68 *El Señor de los Milagros* (the Lord of the Miracles) is the major saint and patron of the village. Every October a festival is celebrated in his honor, and it is the most important celebration in La Granja.

84
The poem “Hitos relevantes de mi Granja” (Relevant Milestones of my Granja) highlights even more the tension between an exploitative space and a space of liberation:

Powerful landlords
Imposed their arrogance,
The Montoya and the Arrascue
That raise their earnings.

Humble and Andean family
Worked in its leased land,
And two days per week
Were devoted to the landlord.

The agrarian reform attempts
To give land to the campesino,
Around the 1960s
This great good fortune came to us.

The battle had a conquest
At the vanguard was a Granjino,
Godofredo Guevara was
At the front of the campesino.⁶⁹

The fields were cultivated
With dedication and humility
New life began
With pride and freedom.

With own and modest houses
The village began to grow
Never despicable masters
La Granja has had again.

Among other issues, these lines demonstrate the agency and will of the Granjinos to make the land reform happen. It is true that the state intervened, and that this was perceived as being a “great good fortune”. Nevertheless, the Granjinos had to fight to conquer the land. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this is the only moment when the state explicitly took part in La Granja´s history according to this long poem of relevant milestones of the village. Indeed, the state is perceived, in the best case, as absent in the zone and, at worst, as actively supporting foreign and private interests. Hence, during Alberto Fujimori´s

⁶⁹ Godofredo Guevara was the historical leader of La Granja in the struggles for land. However, he has later accused of illegally selling the terrain of the school to Cambior and was expelled from the village. The author of the poem is the nephew of Godofredo Guevara. It is clear that he attempts to depict the family as being heroic in this narrative of the village´s saga. The landscape is read in kinship code (Rumsey & Weiner 2004) and the narrative serves the local “politics of place” (Moore 1998).
regime, the Central Government closed the public schools and the medical centers of La Pampa, La Iraca and La Granja as a measure to press local people to sell their land to Cambior: “There was no school for two years and many students were deprived of primary education”.\textsuperscript{xi}

In addition, according to an ex-manager of the La Granja BHP Billiton project (Consultant informant 1), the Central Government opposed the land return program proposed by the company. Nowadays, the government enthusiastically seeks to title local families’ land as a way to facilitate the development of the mining project by Rio Tinto. To be sure, since the early 1990s, the influence of liberalizing policies and neoliberal discourse in Peru has been hegemonic. In 2007, the then president, Alan García, published a series of three opinion columns in a major conservative newspaper in the country under the title, “The Dog in the Manger Syndrome”. In his opinion, a large extension of land – as in the case of other natural resources – is not a tradable commodity, does not receive investment and does not generate employment in the country. The consequence is the persistence of poverty: “And all because the taboo of superseded ideologies, idleness, indolence, or the orchard dog law, which says: ‘if I not do it, that nobody do it then’”.\textsuperscript{70}

With the state playing an ambivalent and somehow contradictory role, which swings between eagerly promoting private investment and fulfilling its duties to warrant citizens’ rights, it is not surprising that the most used and trusted links in order to gain access to land are the family networks.

5.1.3. Descent groups and marriage alliance

In anthropological literature, kinship is one of the most important webs of social relations that organizes human lives in many societies (Schusky 1965; Rivers 1968). Kinship systems include people related by both descent and marriage (Fox 1967; Dumont 2006). That is to say, kinship integrates members of one ancestry or lineage – that could be patrilineal, matrilineal or bilateral – and extends this network to other groups through a marriage alliance (Lévi-Strauss 1969). For Andean societies, the use of extended family

\textsuperscript{70} “Y todo ello por el tabú de ideologías superadas, por ociosidad, por indolencia o por la ley del perro del hortelano que reza: ‘Si no lo hago yo que no lo haga nadie’” (García 2007, p. 1). Bebbington (2009) argues that García’s statement is an expression of a broader push in Latin America “to open up frontiers for extracting hydrocarbons, mining, producing biofuels, harvesting timber, and investing in agroindustry” (p. 13). What is surprising is that this expansion is occurring in vastly different political regimes, from Peruvian and Colombian neo-liberal ones to Brazilian, Ecuadorian and Bolivian, allegedly progressive, regimes. One of the many reasons for this convergence is the need for resources to finance social programs that are essential for the functioning of those regimes (Bebbington & Humphreys Bebbington 2011).
networks is one of the most common and important strategies to access, produce, allocate and consume goods and services (Alberti & Mayer 1974; Mayer & Bolton 1980; Ossio 1981). Land is not the exception and it is transmitted within the same lineage through a descent system; or; it may be obtained from another group through marital alliances.

In this research area, people use a combination of both systems. Hence, for instance, the male informant of the Returnee family 1 inherited some farming land from his father. In 1994, the mining company, Cambior, was pushing local families to sell their land. The informant’s father decided to sell but, beforehand, he divided the land, kept one parcel for himself and distributed the rest among his children. With this strategy, each child was able to sell their parcel to the mining company and move out of La Granja to live with their own family. In 2002, amid the returning process promoted by BHP Billiton, the male informant bought back the parcels of land that had belonged to him and his siblings. Nowadays, he rents the whole land to his father, who uses it to cultivate pastures for cattle.

The male informant of the Returnee family 2 has developed a similar strategy. As in the previous case, in 1994, Cambior was seeking land and many owners did not have legal titles. For this reason, the company sponsored an arrangement between the ex-landlord of La Lima, Wenceslao Arrascue, and some local families in order to proceed with the legal purchase agreement of the land they were occupying. After the titles were obtained, the male informant and his father sold their land and migrated to the coast, where they bought a piece of land in Batán Grande, a rural locality in Lambayeque Region. In the new area they faced strong challenges, such as the spread of cholera, the El Niño natural disaster of 1997, different agricultural practices and technologies, and a lack of extended family networks and social bonds. When in 2001 BHP established a social mitigation program, the male informant took the immediate action of selling his land in Batán Grande, buying back his original land from BHP Billiton and returning to La Lima. In addition, his first son bought the other piece of land that had originally belonged to the extended family and then sold that piece to him. By this means, the male informant accessed more land than he was allowed. In 2011, the male informant divided his ten hectares of land among his eight children and gave it to them as inheritance. The children will be then able to build houses in that terrain to negotiate with the mining project for compensation benefits. The third and fourth daughters and their partners have already built their houses next to their parents’ house.

Inheriting land is not only employed as a mechanism to negotiate with the mining company. Local people use this mechanism for different purposes. The female informant of the Opportunistic family 1, for
example, inherited a piece of farming land in the neighboring district of Querecotillo from her parents. Years later, she sold half of the land and gave the money to her first daughter, who had suffered an automobile accident. She then gave the other half of the land to the same daughter, who moved with her family to live there. This family then divided their house in La Granja into two sections and gave one part to their fourth daughter, who, after separating from her husband, moved to the village with her daughter in 2008. Thereby, the land transfer was used to support four generations.

Hence, inheritance provides a flexible structure that local people employ to create complex arrangements among the members of the family network, depending on specific circumstances. It is an asset that can be used in moments of crisis or for taking advantage of opportunities when they arise. The male informant of the Resistant family 1, for example, received one hectare of farming land in a sector called El Ingenio, and the house where he currently lives in La Granja, as part of an agreement with his father’s siblings in 2011. His relatives offered him these properties as compensation for the years he took care of his grandmother. The house he received was on one level. Between 2011 and 2012 he redesigned the house and built a second level. He has rented the first level to a sub-contractor of RTLG who provides construction services.

Marital alliance is the other general strategy that allows people to enhance family networks and to access goods and services beyond their own original kin. Thus, outsiders – such as schoolteachers or nurses – can access land by marrying local men or women. For instance, the male informant of the Resistant family 3 is from Cutervo, in the same region of Cajamarca, but in a different province. He married a woman from La Granja in San Martín, in the Eastern lowlands of the country; and, in 1992, the couple moved to La Granja. Because they arrived during a cholera epidemic and both were health workers, the local villagers invited them to stay. However, they accessed land only when the female informant inherited two pieces of land from her father: first, in 1994, an urban plot near the Checos River, where the family had built a house for renting and for their third son, then, in 1997, a piece of farming land in the Checos sector. Years later, in the context of mining development, the couple has bought another plot in the township and built three houses.

The male informant of the Opportunistic family 2 has also used marital alliances to access land. A former schoolteacher from Chota, in the Cajamarca Region, the male informant moved to La Pampa in 2006; and, after living in the village for two years, he became a member of the ronda campesina. As part of the ronda he was able to secure employment at the temporary program established by RTLG. However, it
was only after he married a local woman that he was able to access land. His mother-in-law divided and sold a large piece of land among her male children and the male informant, who is now a landowner. His mother-in-law divided the land with the intention that each child would eventually be able to negotiate with the mining project.

Indeed, in the context of an immature land-market mechanism, newcomers find a way to access land through kinship networks. Hence, Granjinos who moved out of the area, or relatives who were born in other localities, could return to the village and claim land rights. Nevertheless, along with kinship relations, people have used monetary transactions since the years of the agrarian reform. Moreover, the growing interest for land and the arrival of a significant number of newcomers in the area now limits the use of kinship as a mechanism to control land access and land distribution and to better exploit economic benefits. Consequently, local people are increasingly using market mechanisms to access and allocate key resources and to maximize their individual and family benefits.

5.1.4. Mining companies

Only after the agrarian reform, properly land purchases among individual and free owners began in the area. Nevertheless, because of the small size of the plots and poor farming outputs, transactions were scarce. It is with the arrival of mining development in the zone that land began to increase in value and the acquisitions increased.

The first land sales took place with Cambior. After winning the option to explore and develop the copper project from the Central Government in 1994, the Canadian company began an aggressive program of land acquisition. Many of the land transactions go back to these years. The male informant of the Resistant family 2 narrates that his father owned 60 hectares of land and that Cambior had made an offer on them. However, before signing the contract, the male informant intervened and negotiated a significantly higher price with the company representatives – 200% higher than the original offer. After the sale, the male informant accompanied his father to buy land and settle in Chepén, a small coastal town in a fertile and productive valley. His father began to cultivate sugar cane and rice and raise livestock. This is the case of a relatively successful migrant during the diaspora created by Cambior. One of the reasons for his success was the initial large extension of land sold and the decision to invest in a profitable coastal farming area, which is well connected to main cities. In addition, the advice and support
of his son made a substantial difference. When Cambior arrived in the area, the male informant only owned a house in La Ganja. In 1995, his father gave him and his younger son two hectares of land each as inheritance. His father transferred these properties with the aim that his sons would be able to negotiate a better compensation agreement with the company. However, when the informant returned from Chepén, the company did not make an offer for his land:

[The project representatives] ...told me that I had already secured a good price with the sale of my father’s land and that they had no more money to buy my property.\textsuperscript{xii}

The male informant was never able to sell his property to Cambior and by default he became resistant to the mining project.

Many other families, however, sold their land under the pressure exerted by Cambior and suffered very poor outcomes. This was the case of the male informant of the Returnee family 2 and his father, who sold 60 hectares to the company and moved to Batán Grande, a coastal area in the Lambayeque Region. The Migrant family 2 had a similar experience. The male informant sold the land inherited from his father and bought a house in a peripheral neighborhood of Chiclayo and some farming land in the province of Ferreñafe, two hours by bus from the city.

In 2001, after conducting technical and financial feasibility studies, BHP Billiton found the project to be unviable and implemented environmental and social closure plans. As explained in the previous chapter on the historical and spatial configuration of La Granja, many families decided to buy back the land from the company, although not all of them returned to the village to live. This period was also a time of complex arrangements in land ownership among local families. For instance, the father of the male informant of the Resistant family 2 purchased the land from BHP Billiton through one of his sons and, later, the son transferred the terrain to his father. At that time, the company offered two options, the opportunity to buy back the land at a reduced price with soft loan conditions or to receive one single payment.\textsuperscript{71} Therefore, using his son as an intermediary, the male informant’s father obtained both the land and the cash bonus. His father now hires workers to cultivate the land and enjoys a relatively easy live.

\textsuperscript{71} A cash payment of 10,000 Nuevos Soles, roughly US$ 3,600 at current exchange rate. This amount was similar to the package that the company provided in building materials and logistics to the families that decided to move back to the village.
The male informant of the Returnee family 2 indicates that he did not have enough money to buy back the land offered by BHP Billiton. From the original 60 hectares he sold to Cambior, his niece bought 50 and his eldest son bought the remaining 10 hectares. Years later, he repurchased the 10 hectares from his son.

The male informant of the Migrant family 1 explains that he and his wife did not want to buy their former land and return to La Granja despite the insistence of his sons and daughter. Finally, the children purchased the 17 hectares of farming land, which is currently being leased to cultivate pastures for cattle raising.

This case illustrates the fact that not all of the families were interested in moving back to their former villages. As outlined some paragraphs above, this was the situation of the male informant of the Migrant family 2, who sold the land he had recovered from BHP Billiton, unaware of the arrival of Rio Tinto years later. Nowadays, he has started to buy land in the area. In addition, the male informant of the Migrant family 4 explains that during the displacement process of the 1990s, his father sold his three-hectare terrain to Cambior. When BHP Billiton implemented the social closure plan, he wanted to purchase that land. However, he had no money and his siblings were not interested in the investment. The male informant has since bought some small plots in El Verde, a village close to Paraguay, and his eldest son works the land alternating with temporary jobs at the mining camp. Many of the decisions about whether or not to return to the villages of origin have been influenced by a combination of access to capital to invest in the land purchase, social and economic situation of the family in the resettled area, and future expectations. Indeed, expectations of future economic benefits shape many of the strategies concerning how the local families perform with the mining companies.

5.1.5. Families
As it has been noted in the section on descent groups and marriage alliance, many of the land transactions are arranged within family networks. For example, in 2001, the male informant of the Returnee family 1 bought some terrain in the urban sector of La Granja from a cousin who had not sold his land to Cambior. The same year, the male informant built a house. This was the first house the family had occupied after returning to the village from Chiclayo. Two years later, the informant built a second house, where he and his family moved and in which they currently reside. From 2002 to 2005, he handed over the house to
his cousin who was in charge of maintenance and the payment of utilities. In 2005, the informant leased
the house to his father and two of his sisters until 2012, when he began to rent the place to an outsider
family.

The female informant of Opportunistic family 1 states that in 2002, when the husband of her second
eldest daughter passed away, she sold part of a property she owned in La Granja to one of her sisters, in
order to bear the costs. She then gave the other part of the property to her widowed daughter. On this
property, the daughter opened a laundry that provides services to the workers of the mining camp.
However, more recently, the widow has sold the house to one of her sisters, the third daughter of the
interviewed family.

Another case was when, in 2010, the Opportunistic family 2 acquired a piece of farming land from a
relative of the female informant, who in turn had bought back the land from BHP Billiton. The couple
leased the land to the former owner for two years in order to complete the payment of the property. In
2013, they started to cultivate the area.

Land transactions in La Granja, of course, extend beyond own family networks. This situation is
becoming more common when the interest in land evolves more dynamically. Generally, a market
becomes more dynamic because the number of players increases, the players´ wealth grows, or a
combination of both factors. Both elements are present in La Granja; there are more newcomers –relatives
of Granjino residents in the village or outsiders without local family networks – willing to access land
and the local families enjoy greater purchasing power.

Some of these transactions were made before the arrival of mining companies in the zone. For example,
the Resistant family 3 bought a piece of land from a local family when they arrived into the village in
1992. The following year the family built their house in the terrain and started to rent rooms for
schoolteachers, who were mainly from Chota.

In a different situation, the male informant of the Migrant family 4 moved out from Paraguay to Ojo de
Toro, a semi-arid, rural area in the coast, and four hours from Chiclayo. In 2000, when the male informant
and his family decided to migrate, there were no signs that another mining company would arrive in the
region. He owned very small plots of land to cultivate and lived in extreme poverty. He sold the land and
the few animals he had and migrated to the coast in search of better living opportunities.
Other interviewed families also bought land from local villagers during some of the mining downturns. The Returnee family 1 bought two pieces of farming land along the road that connects La Granja with La Pampa in the year 2000. They purchased two hectares from one family and four from another, which had already been bought back from BHP Billiton; however, this family was not interested in returning to the region. In that time, nobody thought that a new mining company would arrive until years later. As the male informant of the Migrant family 2 explains:

In 2000 I bought back my original farming land from BHP Billiton but then I sold it to other people. I did not know that another company would come to purchase the land again, otherwise I would have kept it. Now, I have bought an urban plot in La Pampa through the ronda campesina.xiii

The Opportunistic family 1 bought a terrain in the urban sector of La Granja, directly from a local villager in 2003. The villager had subdivided its land, which was dedicated to agriculture, and turned it into urban plots for sale.

Until 2006, pressure over land was not excessive. The arrival of Rio Tinto, however, changed the situation. The male informant of the Resistant family 1 indicates that in 2009 they bought a piece of land close to the mining camp and, in 2010, another in La Iraca. They are currently renting these properties to other families, who farm the land (but not intensively, due to of the lack of labor). Certainly, the family bought these properties not for farming, but as an investment for possible future negotiations with the mining company.

The Opportunistic family 2 has bought three plots for housing purposes over some years. In 2007, they bought a plot in the urban sector of La Granja from a local family and built their house. In 2009, they bought a second terrain in an area close to the mining camp. The plot was part of a bigger land property that belonged to the male informant’s brother-in-law, who subdivided the land and sold the plots to newcomers interested in building houses with the intention of eventually selling them to the mining company. In 2011, the family bought a plot located next to their house and expanded the property. It is interesting to note that the male informant redirects the income he obtains from working in the RTLG’s employment program into the acquisition of other properties, with the ultimate objective of selling these properties to the company.

These cases illustrate the way in which some local families can mobilize and direct resources obtained from their strategic position in the control of the space – and thus benefiting from the development of
mining activities – into the acquisition of more land and properties in the area surrounding the mining project or in the neighboring villages. It is also interesting to note the extent of inequality and power imbalance the temporary land acquisition and ongoing land renting of the company has created, particularly within La Iraca, where many families have benefited from significant payments.\textsuperscript{72}

The land market in La Granja is turning into a more active one because the exchange value of the land has sharply risen. With the exemption of current urban development in the village, this increase has little to do with the rise of current land-use value. Indeed, as will be discussed in the following chapter about production in the space, the use of land for farming purposes has declined. Land prices are rising, owing to the dynamics of land speculation resulting from the prospect of the copper project development. In this context, direct land transactions with the different mining companies that have been exploring in the area are certainly important.

One of the strategies that the examined families has developed is to acquire as much land as possible and distribute it among their family members with a double purpose: as a unit, the family receives a higher monetary compensation; and, individually, each member can share part of those benefits. Thus, for example, the father of the male informant of the Resistant family 2 has recently bought land in La Granja. The informant and his brother are farming that land; however, if RTLG buys the land, the money would be distributed among the twelve siblings.

Another strategy that local families employ in order to increase the benefits they can possibly obtain from mining development is to improve current houses or purchase additional urban property. Certainly, all of the interviewed families currently living in the area have used variations of this strategy. They embark on these investments seeking immediate returns – for instance, renting rooms to newcomers, or expecting higher future benefits in the event of a negotiation agreement if the mining project is developed. In the latter scenario, the families will have made improvements to their current property (for example, building additional levels and replacing old materials such as mud, wood or straw with modern ones, such as brick, concrete and glass), or seek to obtain another property. The Resistant family 2, for instance, built their house in 1981 on a terrain of approximately 300 square meters in La Granja. In 1998, the family constructed a second level to accommodate seven rooms. The following year they began to lease the rooms to schoolteachers and personnel of the health center. In 1994 they started to offer

\textsuperscript{72} Rebekah Ramsay, personal communication, 18 February 2015.
accommodation to Cambior´s workers and built a small house at the back of the terrain with the objective of adding value to the property in anticipation of a negotiation process with the mining company.

Although the provision of housing to outsiders has been one of the family’s economic strategies for a long time, the arrival of mining companies has substantially amplified the dynamics. In this line, the Resistant family 3 represents one of the most notable examples. The family derives its wealth not from farming activities but from the provision of services linked to the mining development in the area. The couple runs a small grocery store and a restaurant in the village. The second son works for an engineering company that provides services to mining operations in Cajamarca City, and, during his time off work, he hires a truck to transport food between La Granja and Chiclayo. The third son works for Sodexo, a sub-contractor of RTLG that offers the catering service to the camp. Their daughter’s partner is a bus driver who works for a family-owned business that covers the route between La Granja and Chiclayo. In addition, one of their most important sources of income is the lease of houses to outsiders, schoolteachers, health workers and, more recently, to employees of consulting companies linked to the mining project. For this reason, it is critical for the family to acquire terrains and houses in the urban sector of the village.

Nowadays, in addition to some farming land in La Granja, the family owns four houses in the village, three urban plots in La Pampa, and one terrain in Picsi, a town near Chiclayo.73 In 1991, when they arrived in the village, the family lived for two years in a house leased from a female informant’s cousin. In 1992, the couple bought a terrain from the female informant’s father.74 They paid in a combination of cash and farming products and the next year built their first house.75 With some improvements made in 1998, the house now boasts three levels and fourteen rooms, which the family rents out. In 1994, the female informant inherited a terrain near the Checos River from her father that was used to raise pigs.76 On that terrain, they built a second house comprising two levels and four rooms. Currently, the family rents the first level to an engineer, a relative of the female informant, and the third son and his partner

73 The family have an additional terrain in La Granja. When BHP Billiton opened the urban plots of the village for sale, one of the children sent a request to the Asociación Señor de los Milagros for a terrain that was used as garbage dump. Although the association rejected the application, the family has fenced and filled the area. Because the terrain is involved in a legal dispute, the family does not consider it a part of their property yet. See the previous chapter on the historical and spatial configuration of La Granja for a description of the association.
74 The original terrain belonged to a female informant’s brother, who exchanged it to his father for a piece of farming land.
75 Four sacks of rice and 100 Nuevos Soles (approximately US$ 30).
76 The female informant indicated that she received this terrain as inheritance from his father. However, in order to avoid distributing his other properties among the rest of his siblings, the father gave her a deed of sale before a notary public.
uses the second. In 1997, the female informant received some inheritance from her father, a piece of farming land in Checos. In 2005, the couple acquired a terrain, next to their second house along the Checos River. They bought the terrain from a female informant’s sister and although the couple is the owner, the title is in name of their first son. In the terrain, the family built a third house between 2008 and 2012. It has better internal finishing, which is part of a strategy to obtain a better price from the company if the resettlement process goes ahead. The house has three levels and six rooms, which they lease to senior personnel of consultancy firms working on the mining project. In the near future, the couple plan to open a restaurant in the house. This plan seems to be consistent with a strategy to try to obtain the most possible benefits from mining activities in the locality without selling the land and moving out of the area. Indeed, at least discursively, the couple is among the main opponents to the development of the mining project. However, this opposition should be understood as a strategy that assists the couple in securing benefits from the mining project without losing land rights.

In addition, in 2007, the couple bought three adjacent plots in the nearby village of La Pampa. The terrains belonged to the female informant’s relatives, who were in a health emergency, and the couple made cash payments for the purchase. They registered the plots in the names of their children. The male informant was advised that for negotiating with the mining company, instead of concentrating properties in the name of one person it would be better to distribute them among different adults, who could then try to be considered as different families. Currently, the couple is receiving proposals to sell their terrains but they are asking for a high price as the land is within the area of a possible resettlement. Finally, in 2012, the couple bought a fourth house in La Granja. At the moment, they are leasing it to a mining worker but their daughter and her partner are planning to move there.

The trajectory of land sale, acquisition and division of Resistant family 3 shows a complex strategy based on investing the income generated through mining-related activities – direct employment in temporary job programs offered by the company or small-businesses supplying goods and services to the company and its sub-contractors – into more land, urban plots or new houses in the area. The objective is far from increasing farming production or satisfying housing needs of the family members. Instead, the aim is to enhance the opportunities for a better compensatory negotiation with the mining company in the event of a resettlement process.

Through the analysis of these families’ stories, it may be observed that the increasing importance of housing and urban plots is a significant factor regarding transactions for accessing land in the research
area. It is worth remembering that until the 1970s the manor house was the only major building in what is now the urban sector of La Granja. The farmers were not allowed to build houses of brick and concrete; the urban landscape was composed of small and scattered huts next to the farming plots. After the agrarian reform, some of the newly free farmers began to build their houses around the manor house – which was destroyed during the struggles – initiating the creation of the urban sector of the village. In the aftermath of the displacement caused by Cambior, La Granja was transformed into a derelict space. As one local villager remembers, “when I left the place in 1998, only seven houses remained in the village, the other were destroyed, it was very sad to see La Granja”. The returning process promoted by BHP Billiton in 2001 initiated the resurgence of the small village. Nevertheless, the majority of the houses were still located next to the farming areas of each family. This situation has dramatically changed within the context of recent mining development. As a consequence, according to a local leader, the number of houses in La Granja has grown from 7 or 9 in 1994, to around 30 in 2004, and between 140 and 180 in 2013. (Local informant 1, 28 May 2013, author interview).

The general urbanization process of the country, and the need for its inhabitants to group in more dense settlements in order to access public services, such as electricity, partly explains the rapid growth of the village. The local expectation to negotiate higher compensation packages in case of a new resettlement process is, however, the main reason for the frantic construction of new houses.

A related process is the acquisition of land and houses outside the region. In this sense, it is symptomatic that six of the seven families living in La Granja – the resistant, returnee and opportunistic families – have another property in Chiclayo. For some families, the property they own in the city is considered their main residence and the place where they would go if the mining project is developed. The male informant of the Returnee family 1 explains:

We bought a house in Chiclayo in 1996, during the resettlement process of Cambior. We went there thinking of the education of our children and because as a merchant, I established my working center there. My two oldest boys live there although my family live alternately in both places. At the moment, our main residence is here in La Granja, because the business is good and

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77 For instance, in 1940, the total population of the country was 6,207,967 people, of which 35.4 percent lived in urban areas. In 1972, amid the large transformations unleashed by the agrarian reform, the total population reached 13,538,208 people, with 59.5 percent living in urban places. For 2013, the country’s population is estimated in 30,475,144 people, where the 75.6 percent is urban (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2014).

78 The state, with support of RTLG, provided with electricity the villages of the area in 2008.
because our children can stay here during their holidays. In the future, our main residence would be in Chiclayo though. Everything depends on the negotiations with the mining company.\textsuperscript{xv}

This phenomenon has created a patron of double residence: families with properties in the city but who do not lose control of their assets in the country. This pattern produces and is maintained through complex and seasonal flows of people, goods and money between urban and rural areas. Decisions about who goes where, when and for what reasons depend on family calculations in terms of job opportunities, economic benefits or future education goals, which are in turn underpinned by age and gender considerations. Far from static rural populations, what we observe is a fluid landscape that connects the country with the city. By means of the use of diverse spatial practices, such as kinship or gender relations, local families blur the boundary between city/country and create more comprehensive spaces to live.

\textbf{5.2. Spatial practices}

Social practices mediate and mingle with the forms for accessing land described above to produce particular spatial arrangements. In fact, actors and the strategies they implement do not act in a social vacuum. They act using and actualizing the guiding principles – institutional, material and symbolic – that the social fabric and practices where they are embedded offer. Kinship is part of the foundation of Granjina society. Certainly, the analyzed accounts show not only the importance of family networks for accessing and using land but also some of the complexities of the strategies. Land is not automatically inherited and the rights over it are not defined in a permanent way. People deploy strategies that allow a relatively fluid circulation of land among different family members, following specific circumstances and arrangements of need, position, and money, among other factors.

In the different gathered narratives, the use of family networks for the transmission and allocation of land is clearly a central strategy. Nevertheless, there are two current processes which, to some extent, are in tension with kinship relations for defining the rules for space access. The first one is the co-existence of general formal norms (e.g., the national legal laws that regulate the transmission of property rights) with a parallel set of regulations dictated by the ronda campesina, norms that are not necessarily decided within the family units. Although the ronda campesina cannot oppose a family’s decision to sell part of its land, it can, to some extent, regulate who is included in the list for negotiating with the mining
company employment opportunities and other benefits. The second process is the increasing arrival of outsiders, such as schoolteachers, health workers, technicians, farmers from surrounding villages, and city fellows. These newcomers are not necessarily related to the local families and through marriage alliance seek to obtain full rights for accessing land and other benefits. Both processes could expand kinship boundaries but also mark the limits of family networks for the control of the space. The presence of the mining project, and the market forces that usually accompany it, fosters the expansion of both processes. For instance, we have examined in detail how the Resistant family 3 has combined kinship networks with market forms to control a significant number of properties in the context of mining development. As in the other cases, kinship strategies go beyond the inheritance system with their own kin. Following the original ideas of Lévi-Strauss (1969), kinship fundamentally means alliance, an extended system of exchanging people, goods and services, which requires deference, kindnesses, relationships and expectations in order to be maintained.

Kinship, however, is a regulatory system that governs over specific persons and not upon abstract individuals. Opposite to the principles of universal rights – which assume equal and general entitlements for all the citizens despite any consideration of race, age, faith or gender – kinship requires the particularization of the individual into his/her personal attributes. A specific person is entitled to specific rights and duties owing to their position in a specific arrangement of sex, age and kin. It is quite common, then, for kinship principles to be involved in conflict with universal categories, such as gender.

In La Granja, as in many other Andean societies where kinship plays a central role in the organization of economic, social and symbolic relations, women are on the margins of the land ownership system (Deere 1976; Bourque & Warren 1981; Deere & León de Leal 1981; Babb 1998; Hamilton 1998). In contrast to men, women do not usually inherit land if they are single. They only do so once they get married and, as a consequence, their ability to access, control and own land is limited to their civil status as spouses. In the fourteen analyzed families, only two females accessed a property while single. One is the case of the

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79 The comunidad campesina, described in the classic literature on Andean organization, derives part of its power from the control it exercises over the collective use of irrigation infrastructure, pastures and the coordination of farming times (Kervin & CEDEP AYLLU 1989). That is not the case of the ronda campesina, in an area where there is no collective infrastructure and all farming decisions are made by individual households.

80 In a canonical article, and constructing upon Lévi-Strauss´ work, Gayle Rubin (1975) explains that historical and cross-cultural analysis confirms an imbalance against women in the gender relations. This is because, she argues, men manage to control the reproductive capacity of women – which is crucial for the group’s survival – and exchange them with other groups for the creation and maintenance of alliances. In other words, men trade women.
female informant of the Resistant family 3. The female informant is an unusual case because she moved from the village when she was young and enjoyed relative freedom. With her own savings, she bought a house in Chiclayo. Nevertheless, an uncle sold the property without her acknowledgment and she preferred not to confront him. The female informant of the Returnee family 2 is the other case. After the agrarian reform, Godofredo Guevara, the most prominent local leader in the struggles against the *hacendado*, transferred some land to her. However, she did not own the land but only used it in exchange for animals. The *hacendado* was replaced by another patriarch.

Women did not usually own land when single. They were considered dependents of other men, first of their fathers and then of their husbands. Only after getting married would women leave their parents’ household. The exceptions were single mothers or widowers, who had the chance to secure land rights on their own. As an older woman explains:

> If a woman wanted to buy a farming land, her father would take it as lack of respect, because it would be perceived that she was wanting to abandon her parents’ house. He would give her a reprimand and a physical punishment.\textsuperscript{xvi}

Women were confined to the domestic sphere, where they were “…in charge of domestic tasks and had to spin to produce clothes and blankets”\textsuperscript{xvii} It is clear that the access to land leads to more possibilities for women to access economic autonomy, together with physical and political autonomy.\textsuperscript{81}

More recently, the local informants consider that women can buy land or properties directly from their owners. However, it is worth mentioning that because they have fewer income opportunities, their capacity for saving is limited. Therefore, despite the fact that there are no legal restrictions for acquiring land and properties, structural and cultural barriers prevent them from accessing land in the same proportion to men. Nowadays, the opportunities for inhering land are also restricted. Two reasons could explain this situation. First, the enormous fragmentation of holdings makes it difficult to continue subdividing the land.\textsuperscript{82} Second, farming activities are declining in importance, in comparison to non-

\textsuperscript{81} The United Nations considers women’s autonomy as one of the essential pillars in reaching the millennium development goals and defines it as the degree of freedom that a woman enjoys in order to act following her own choices and not others’ choices (United Nations 2010). This level of women’s freedom implies physical autonomy –liberation from the exclusive responsibility in reproductive and caring tasks, exercise of reproductive rights, and the end of gender violence; political autonomy – participation in decision-making processes in equal conditions; and economic autonomy –capacity to generate their own income and control of assets and resources.

\textsuperscript{82} As we have described in the previous section, in some of the cases examined, a couple registers the new properties bought in the name of their children, but only the male ones.
farming activities for the households´ economy. In this sense, farming is increasingly becoming a female responsibility, in what is called the “feminization of the country” (Remy 2014), although men still control land ownership. And this ownership allows men to negotiate with the mining project.

Despite these difficulties, younger women are experiencing more freedom to own land without being engaged in a marital relationship. Market relations, part of the processes of modernity (Giddens 1991), could imply liberating forces from the kinship yoke and the opening of spaces for the redefinition of gender relations and identities of the self. In doing this, nevertheless, they also unleash anxieties and fears that could result in friction and violence.

This chapter has shown how land has been the *locus* of La Granja´s social history over the last four decades. The struggles over its access and ownership have involved a series of actors, from the *hacendado* and the state, to international mining companies, as well as a network of relatives. Indeed, kinship is at the center of *Granjinos*´ strategies for accessing and transferring land rights. Traditionally, women have had limited access to land and they were able to inherit only when they married. Nevertheless, the mining project has unleashed social and economic dynamics that are allowing women to access land and, thus, defying existing patriarchal tenure patterns. Finally, in the context of mining development, land has redoubled in its centrality; however, this is not because of the land´s farming value but because its surface value will be important in a potential negotiation with the mining project. Certainly, as the following chapter examines, La Granja´s economy has diversified and is less dependent upon farming activities.
6. PRODUCTION

Through work men grow rich in flocks and substance, and working they are much better loved by the immortals.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*

Much of the literature from the social sciences – and, it must be added, from fiction too – on the Andes has depicted a social and economic landscape that equates rural societies with agrarian ones. Many Andean cultures, of course, have been great agrarian civilizations. In Chapter 3, it has been indicated that the Inca State controlled a vast territory and a large population through the appropriation and distribution of agricultural surplus for its own political purposes. Despite the enormous break that the colonial order met with previous social, economic and cultural orders, agriculture continued to play a major role. Indeed, after the reorganization of the colonial space, agrarian production was placed at the service of mining development needs. Assadourian (1982) argues that the silver production of Potosí mines created a large circuit of goods and services that connected a space which nowadays includes Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the northern parts of Chile and Argentina. However, it is also true that since early colonial years rural populations have actively engaged in activities outside agriculture. The flow of workers to urban and mining centers – at various compulsory levels – (Fisher 1977; Assadourian 1982) or the blossoming of obrajes or garment textile workshops (Escandell-Tur, N 1997; Salas 1998) are just two samples of these activities.

It would be misleading, nevertheless, to consider these two sets of economic activities as discrete and exclusive units where rural families move in a linear evolution from agriculture to manufacturing. Certainly, in many accounts, this has been the explanatory model for the European industrialization and urbanization process. Jürgen Golte (1980) has argued that Andean and European societies have developed different social and technological responses to their ecological milieu. According to Golte, the ecological environment of the Northern hemisphere exhibits two essential features. First, the availability of extended plain terrains makes possible the mechanization of agriculture. Second, sharp and annual seasonal differences set the times of the water regime and, thus, the farming cycle, configuring an agriculture system of low and high peaks in the use of the labor force. The social response to these
ecological conditions was intensification of farming production during a few months – based on monoculture, such as wheat or corn, to supply the cities – and allocation of time in non-farming activities during the season of low-intensive labor use. The ecological setting in the Andes is quite different, where the altitudinal gradient is the most prominent characteristic. This sharp gradient significantly limits the size of continuous and plain arable land and, more importantly, the temperature and, thus, the vegetative cycle of the crops. The response of Andean societies has been the cultivation of different crops at different altitudinal niches and different times. In order to manage that agrarian regime, they have developed a complex social system of exchange, which facilitates each household’s access to different products (from coca and fruits at lower levels to corn, potatoes, Andean tubers, and pastures and cattle as the altitude increases). Because of this adaptive vertical management of ecological niches, Andean households access different products, diversify their diet, minimize environmental and economic risk (for example, if one crop fails, at a different altitude and with a different harvest cycle would succeed) and maximize the use of labor. However, this alternative does not fit with monoculture or free labor from farming activities. As a consequence, the Andean technological strategy turns to inner social arrangements and not necessarily to external institutions as labor and goods markets.

To the previous ecological factors, it must be added that, as any other, rural Andean populations act within the possibilities and constrains of political, economic and historical forces. Hence, rural households’ decisions regarding the allocation of labor are taken within broader contexts of economic integration between international markets and regional economies. In the case of Peru, for the last five centuries, the particularities of economic integration have been strongly linked to commodity-export booms: silver, sugar cane, cotton, oil, copper, and gold, among others (Thorp & Bertram 1978). Therefore, the shift from farming and non-farming activities is not a lineal and unavoidable movement. The specific allocation of time for family members to engage in these activities is part of the households’ decision to maximize and complement their benefits, and minimize their risks according to the resources (namely, land, labor and capital) they hold and the priorities they define in the context of external opportunities and limitations (Zoomers 1999). In this sense, rural households will tend to allocate more labor and time to non-farming activities if their agrarian assets (land, water, forest, pastures and technology) are too scarce to generate enough income for the survival of the group (Velazco 1998), or when stronger market integration provides incentives to obtain higher income (Escobal 2001; Escobal &
Ponce 2002). In the case of the latter strategy, household members will return to farming activities when economic dynamism decreases.

Following this logic, Long and Roberts (1984) and DeWind (1987) interpret the formation of the figure of the peasant-miner as coinciding with the emergence of large-scale mining in the central Andes at the beginning of the 20th century. Typically, the peasant-miner was a male from the comunidades campesinas, surrounding the operations of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, who worked in the mining operations but returned to his community to cultivate the land during labor peaks of sowing and harvesting. Although peasant-miners developed a class-consciousness vis-à-vis their relationship with mining companies and state representatives (Flores Galindo 1993), they did not lose their campesino identity and land-based economy. Indeed, until the last century, there were very fluid communication channels between rural communities and mining locations, because of the need for labor, services and goods (Bonilla 1974; Contreras 1988) as well as the transference of capital between farming and mining sectors (Manrique 1987). However, the arrival of large-scale mining – with its capital-intensive and enclave features– totally disrupted previous regional circuits. Local communities suffered, then, from a lack of benefits and environmental damage (Helfgott 2013). The new mining, nevertheless, exhibits different characteristics and presents different challenges in the country. Through its corporate responsibility programs and policies, which have designed local procurement and local investment programs, and through the system of income tax distribution, which has allocated millions of dollars to mining regions, mining development has unleashed extraordinary economic and political dynamics (Arellano 2011). In addition, the “mining town” model, epitomized by cities like La Oroya and Cerro de Pasco, has given way to new patterns, wherein large mining operations have not created ad hoc urban settlements but instead make use of nearby cities for their housing needs – as is the case of the Yanacocha and Antamina mines in the cities of Cajamarca and Huaraz, respectively (Vega-Centeno 2011).

Failure to recognize the complex interplay between farming and non-farming activities and the rationale behind rural household decisions obscures an understanding of the degree to which particular patterns of mining development helps to shape regional dynamics of production. There follows an account of the changes in farming and non-farming activities along the different stages of mining activity in La Granja.
6.1. Farming Activities

La Granja is a rural area where economic life and collective identity are strongly associated with farming over time, from the hacienda era to the present day. To be sure, before the arrival of mining projects in the area, farming was the main activity, in terms of income and allocated labor, for the local families. Corn, potato, manioc, sweet potato, arracacha, sugar cane, beans and pumpkin were the main crops. According to the interviewed local informants, there were no plagues in the area and the farmers did not use pesticides or fertilizers. Because the families dedicated more time, effort and labor to agriculture, the total production and productivity were higher than that of current times. Even for some informants, it was possible to obtain two harvests per year because people used water channels\(^{83}\) to irrigate their lands, while now, the majority of crops depend on the rains (male informant, Resistant family 1). However, a large proportion of the crops depended on seasonal rains: “The work on the farming plot was done following the rainy season ‘upon weather conditions’. For that reason, it was not necessary to construct irrigation channels.”\(^{xviii}\)

Unlike other Andean regions, in the research area there is no collective land use (for instance, pastures) or water.\(^{84}\) As it has been previously noted, land is owned by individual families and there is no collective organization, such as the comunidad campesina (peasant community), with authority over land-access and land-production. Nevertheless, much of the farming work, especially during the peak times of sowing and harvesting, was undertaken with the reciprocal help of relatives and neighbors:

> In the past, we used collective work to farm the plots. All the work was done through the ‘assistance with assistance’ system, where you returned with labor the received assistance. The family that received the assistance provided food and drinks to everybody. For that reason, farming was profitable. The community assistance avoided the use of money in order to farm the plot.\(^{xix}\)

Therefore, in the research area, the use of a “symmetric reciprocal system” (Alberti & Mayer 1974) was less of an expression of a collective organization than a strategy to access manpower in a context of

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\(^{83}\) There are some short water channels in the area. They are directly dug in the soil and are not covered with cement. Consequently, water loss due to infiltration and evaporation is significant. In addition, these channels are family-managed and not part of a large system requiring collective action.

\(^{84}\) For an analysis of the implications of collective management of land and water on the social organization, see Kervyn and Equipo del CEDEP AYLLU (1989).
limited monetary resources. Local farming production was and still is labor intensive and employed the majority of the population. A local woman describes the prevailing production arrangements of the time:

All the people used to work on agriculture and cattle raising. When the family wanted to go to Chiclayo to visit and buy clothes, they sold an animal. The harvest was stored in a barn and then consumed throughout the year. The family surplus was exchanged with the neighbors for other farming products and thus the family obtained the products they did not cultivate.xx

Although the majority of the family’s production was consumed within the same unit, a portion of the surpluses was exchanged in a symmetrical relation within the village, and some was sold in local and regional markets. Until the 1980s, Chongoyape, a crossroads on the route to Chiclayo, was the most important regional market. Over a three-day journey on foot, the Granjinos travelled there to sell their agriculture surpluses and cattle and buy other products such as salt, kerosene, detergent, etc. (Male informant, Regional family 2).

Under this inefficient agrarian regime, and in the absence of public services and a welfare system, families and people with insufficient land lived in poverty; and many of them had little choice but to migrate, especially to the coast. This is the case of the female informant of the Migrant family 3. The female informant was the daughter of a family with scarce land who had 13 children. When she was 15 years of age, she went to work on the coffee plantations in Jaén, in the lowlands. After contracting yellow fever, she moved alone to the outskirts of Chiclayo to work in the rice fields under extreme conditions: “it was very hard, to work in the water, I had colds constantly and had lower-back pain from bending down for many hours.”xxi

The experience of the Migrant family 4 was similar. The male informant was a farmer in Paraguay but owned small plots of land and lived in poverty. He sold those portions of land and the few animals he had and moved with his family to Ojo de Toro, a rural, semi-arid coastal area four hours away from Chiclayo. He migrated without a support network and the first years were particularly stressful for the family:

I arrived in the area and knew nobody. The beginning was very hard. There were mosquitoes, the weather was very hot, I had no job, the farming employs other techniques and my house was just a small shack. The first month was very hard and we barely had anything to eat. I begged for food from my neighbors and began working for them. Later, a man from Chugur and his wife from Querocoto (the same district where the informant is from) become my compadres (godparents of the child of a man). They were the godfather and godmother of my oldest son. Thanks to my compadres I was introduced to the local families and started to work on their farms.xxii
Nowadays, the male informant combines wage farming employment for small landowners with the trade of farming products in Chiclayo and the selling of manufactured and farming products in the small grocery store that his family has opened in Ojo de Toro.

In brief, before the arrival of the first mining developments, a subsistence farming system prevailed in La Granja. Limited inputs, low productivity, low levels of connectivity and high transportation costs characterized the system. In addition, the families used non-wage employment, dedicated the major part of their production for on-farm production and sold the scant surplus to local markets. Compared with current farming practices, this productive system is thought of as being closer to nature, based on solidarity rather than profitability and selfish individualism, and in association with a patriarchal extended-family model. In addition, agriculture involved the majority of the population and working-time, and was the axis of the local identity. The name of the place literally translates to “The Farm”.

Nevertheless, in the late 1970s mining works began in the area, which altered production patterns. Certainly, the German company, Sondi, built a camp next to the La Granja village and, in 1982, constructed the dirt road that connects La Granja with the highway to Chiclayo. The road allowed the arrival of the first vehicles to the village. Because of the persistent conflicts between the Granjinos and the allies of the hacendado, the Granjinos were not allowed to trade in the market of Querocoto. Given these circumstances, the Granjinos bought a truck with the purpose of directly trading their products in Chiclayo (Local informant 11). At the same time, a cattle road that connects La Granja with Maichil –en route to Chiclayo – was built. The later road was shorter than any previous route to reach Chiclayo, and the families began to use it to send their children to school in the city and to sell their cattle (Local informant 11).

The construction of these roads contributed to a shift in the local and regional centers. With a faster and more direct connection to Chiclayo, Chongoyape consequently declined as a regional market. In addition, despite some nearby villages, such as La Iraca, having more families, farming land and greater agricultural production, La Granja began to situate itself as a local center because that is where the road ends and is the final stop for trucks and buses. La Granja’s positioning as a collection center for agrarian production was reinforced when, in the early 1990s, the Sunday market was established in the village.

Nowadays, La Granja continues to be the local center for trade, even competing with Querocoto, the district capital. Nonetheless, from being a farming producer, La Granja has transformed into a consumer
of farming products. Needless to say, the poorly planned resettlement scheme implemented by Cambior destroyed any farming production in the area. It was only after the return of some of the displaced families under BHP’s social closure that farming activities began to recover. With the arrival of Rio Tinto in the area and the implementation of an exploration and feasibility program, however, farming production has sharply declined again. Some explanations point toward the negative influence of environmental effects. Thus, a few informants note that the mining works executed by Cambior have affected agriculture, mainly because the entrance of heavy trucks into the farming plots has compacted the soil (male informant of Returnee family 1, male informant of Returnee family 2, female informant of Opportunistic family 2, and male informant of Opportunistic family 2). Nevertheless, they indicate that after cultivating pastures, the soil is recovering to its original quality. Indeed, after a stabilizing process, agriculture regained previous production levels and, in some cases, even showed improvements thanks to the new techniques that some families brought back with them from their experience in coastal areas.

In a similar vein, there is a perception among several people in the area that nowadays there is less rain, the temperature is warmer, there are more pests and plagues, and that the land produces less. And they believe that this situation is somehow caused by mining activities. As a local villager declares, “Before the arrival of Cambior there were a lot of rains, a lot of sweet potatoes grew free in the scrubland”. Another farmer adds: “plagues did not exist because the rains controlled them. Now there are no rains, just sunny days”. Other villager states, “Nowadays there is less farming production because of the effects of mining; communication lines affect the soil. I do not know what it is but the land does not want to produce anymore”.

Current researches (Bury & Kolff 2002; Bebbington & Williams 2008; Himley 2014a) examining the changes that mining activities bring into agrarian economies, have tended to focus on the deleterious impacts to the natural environment, especially over the quantity and quality of available water. Following this logic, mining activities would produce a deteriorated environment, which leads to declining farming production and, in turn, would prompt social conflict. In the Cajamarca Region, where water is one of the most significant elements in the longstanding and highly visible conflict that opposes local population with Newmont, it is not surprising that environmental concerns around mining operations are ever-
present. Framed within a political ecology analysis, these researches have the virtue to highlight how environmental arguments become tools for social and political struggle. However, they have more limited value for the understanding of the causes of productive variations. As this thesis states, an important part of the changes driven by mining activities is not necessarily related to environmental linkages and could have been initiated long before any significant physical operation had been conducted.

A household’s decision to redirect the amount and intensity of labor from agriculture to non-farming activities is the most significant factor in explaining the acute decline in agrarian production in the research area. The arrival of Rio Tinto, and the implementation of local employment and local business programs as part of the company’s social management strategy created unprecedented opportunities for local families to substantially increase their income.\footnote{86} For instance, while the daily wage in agriculture was 7 Soles in the temporary-employment scheme it is 35 Soles.\footnote{87} Under these circumstances, local families seek to invest the majority of their time in mining-related activities. Therefore, farming receives a considerably lower number of working hours. In addition, since adult men tend to receive the majority of mining-related job opportunities,\footnote{88} there is an increase in the share of farming work for women and old people.\footnote{89} As a villager explains, “People prefer to work in the mine. Farming work has decreased from five to one and there are less cultivated plots now. After Rio Tinto arrived less land was cultivated. The farming daily-wage has grown from 7 to 25 Soles.”\textsuperscript{xxvi} And a local woman adds, “Half of the Granjina families continue cultivating the plots but in a less intensive way. This is because farming workers ask for higher salaries, which is not possible to pay because then the farming production would not be profitable.”\textsuperscript{xxvii} A local villager reinforces this assertion:

\footnote{85} The American mining company, Newmont, together with the Peruvian group, Benavides, controls Yanacocha, one of the largest gold operations in the world. Since its arrival in the region in the early 1990s, Newmont has faced strong opposition to its controversial expansion plans in a series of episodes –Expansión Oeste, Cerro Quillish and, more recently, Conga.\footnote{86} Rio Tinto won the public bid for the La Granja project in 2005 and the following year began exploration works in the area and implemented local procurement programs (rotatory employment and small businesses). In addition, as part of its contract with the state, the company established a fund for social investment in the area. In 2008, however, the global financial crisis seriously affected the project, and the workforce dropped from approximately 1,800 people to fewer than 450. The following year the project was put on hold and employment numbers were kept to a minimum. In 2011 the project resumed operations and with them, the local programs (Flynn 2014).\footnote{87} Roughly a difference of 400\%, US$ 2.5 and US$ 12.5 respectively.\footnote{88} Though RTLG has opened employment opportunities for women, and the \textit{ronda de mujeres} negotiates with the company a certain number of temporary employment positions, the percentage of men working in the project is considerably higher.\footnote{89} This situation is consistent with what is called the “feminization of agriculture”, a broader phenomenon in the country (Remy 2014).
Nowadays everybody cultivates their lands but in less quantity, because the seven rest days that people have when working at the mine are not enough for the whole extension of the land. While for farming the land, rural workers want to earn wages as high as those paid by the mining company.\textsuperscript{xviii}

Farming production has drastically decreased. Farming is conducted using the labor within the family network and/or the hiring of a few workers. As a local woman declares, “We work the farm with our relatives and the people we know using the ‘assistance with assistance’ system because there are few people that want to work in agriculture. Likewise, we temporarily hire some people for weeding and harvest.”\textsuperscript{xxix} In their choices to cut farming production, families tend to limit the production of staples, such as potato, corn or manioc, just to satisfy the needs of direct consumption within the household unit, while keeping the most profitable and market-oriented crops, such as granadilla or coffee, which have benefited from the improved transport conditions to Chiclayo. The other crops are not prioritized, mainly because they cannot compete in price with products from the coast; as a female villager explains: “there is less work in the plots because people have cash to buy products from the coast in the Sunday market; manioc, corn, beans, and sweet potato are coming from Chiclayo or Quipayuc.”\textsuperscript{xxx}

In addition, the increase in local wages and the shift in the allocation of labor have gone hand in hand with changes in consumption patterns. After all, “the act of production is, therefore, in all its aspects an act of consumption as well” (Marx cited in Descola 2012, p. 457). Therefore, many local families have increased their overall food consumption, opted for better-quality products (in the case of oil, tuna or butter), and their consumption of non-local products, such as rice, bread, fish and manufactured edibles, has risen. Local families are directing their temporarily higher income to increase their general consumption,\textsuperscript{90} savings, the acquisition of assets (such as vehicles, land or properties), and more and better formal education for their children.\textsuperscript{91} What the local families are not doing, however, is investing

\textsuperscript{90} Of course, the levels and the patterns of consumption are quite different between and within families. There are also significant gender and age differences in these patterns. While adult women tend to invest their money in clothing and food for the family, young men will prioritize prestigious goods, such as clothing, mobile phones, motorbikes and beer, which is replacing the traditional and cheap sugar cane liquor.

\textsuperscript{91} The number of children that complete their primary and secondary level has substantially increased in the area, and many of them follow their secondary studies in Chiclayo, where there are higher qualitative levels. In addition, there is a significant group of youth that has followed technical and university studies, the majority of whom study in private institutions in Chiclayo. A group of these young professionals has formed GRAPAMI, an NGO that has implemented leadership and education programs among teenagers in the area.
in farming production in the area. In a situation of high expectations for being resettled, local families are directing much of their efforts and hopes outside farming activities.

Even many of the landless farmers from surrounding localities – El Palmo, Pariamarca, El Cucho, Maray, and Quipayuc, among others – prefer to press the mining company in order to be included in the project’s area of influence; and, consequently, they benefit from the local procurement programs instead of renting fallow land. Indeed, in a context of decades of decline of the traditional farming sector, farmers would avoid long-term investments in agriculture. Analyzing the data of the last national agrarian census of 2012, Pintado (2014) finds that the farming sector is losing its share of weight in the country’s economy. To be sure, farming incomes are by far the lowest for farming and non-farming households and, as is to be expected, members of farming households are increasingly working in non-farming activities. Indeed, the increase of non-farming activities of rural households, together with illegal economy, explains much of the current reduction of rural poverty in the country, which is falling even faster than urban poverty. In La Granja’s case, changes in the productive system – which involve a displacement from farming activities to non-farming activities fostered by mining development –, have significantly increased the local income, although this is temporary. However, the displacement of labor outside of agriculture, the lack of technological inputs to increase productivity, and the increase of local consumption has led to a sharp increase in local prices. This situation especially disadvantages vulnerable families and those who do not benefit from mining-related opportunities. These effects, together with the perception that the productive transformation has altered a social system of solidarity and a collective sense of place, are some of the elements that fuel local discontent.

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92 RTLG, as part of a social fund agreement signed with the local communities, has implemented a pilot program of agrarian improvement (which includes the use of certified seeds, fertilizers and irrigation technology). Beyond some punctual cases, families do not engage in farming initiatives.

93 Thus, for instance, the monthly national average income in farming activities for farming households was 285 Soles or US$ 102 in 2013. For trade, transport and communications, construction, services, and mining activities, the average incomes are: US$ 160, US$ 255, US$ 293, US$ 334, US$ 359 respectively (Pintado 2014, p. 4).

94 For instance, in La Granja, the average monthly income increased by 120%, from around 770 Soles in 2010, a year before RTLG reassumed the temporary employment program, to 1700 Soles in 2013, or US$ 265 and US$ 610 respectively. (Consultant informant 2).
6.2. NON-FARMING ACTIVITIES

In a study conducted in the mid-1970s in the province of Cajamarca, another district of the Cajamarca Region, Deere and De Janvry (cited in Velazco 1998) found that almost 55% of rural families’ total income was derived from handicrafts, wage-employment, trade and remittances. Indeed, non-farming activities in the region had been important before the analyzed changes. However, the attempts to develop the mining project have created large opportunities outside farming occupations in two principal ways: i) direct employment in the project, ii) creation of small businesses to provide services to the mining project (for instance, transportation, engineering and construction, or the lease of heavy machinery) or goods and services to the local families and newcomers (lodging, grocery stores, sale of oil and gas, restaurants and canteens, drugstores, billiards, among others). While the first option is linked to local procurement programs implemented by the mining company, the last is in response to rapid population growth in the area and the average increased purchasing power of the families. In any case, the families draw upon mixed strategies in order to benefit from the diverse opened opportunities. Therefore, it is not surprising that in all of the seven examined families living in La Granja, at least one family member is directly employed, temporarily or permanently, by RTLG or by one of the many contracting firms. In addition, in three of the four interviewed migrant families, some of their members have returned to the area and been incorporated into the temporary employment program.

The labor history of the male informant of the Resistant family 1 is a good indicator of the strategies surrounding direct employment. During the time of Cambior, he worked as an assistant in the material depot. When Cambior left the project, he returned to agriculture. However, when BHP arrived in La Granja, he assisted in the exploration works. Later, with the gained experienced he began to work as a master builder to construct houses for the returnee families. In 2006, when Rio Tinto took over the project, the male informant began to work as an assistant in the crusher unit. In 2009, through the *ronda campesina*, he was employed for eight months in the installation of the sewer system, a project implemented by the Social Fund La Granja. From 2010 to 2013, with an interruption in 2011 due to the financial crisis, he worked as a drilling assistant within the temporal employment program. This totalled two years and eight months of employment. After his work with RTLG finished, he returned to building houses, although he now hires personnel. Despite a rise in the demand for housing, he prefers working at the mining project because it provides a higher and fixed salary while in the construction business he has to share the benefits. In addition, the male informant and his wife opened a restaurant in 2003 in their
first house. They ran the restaurant for one year, after which they opened it only seasonally during the local festivities until 2011. The business was an initiative of the female partner as an additional income for the family. However, it demanded much work and she was alone. Nowadays, the female informant lives in Chiclayo and is an independent worker in informal activities. With this history of longstanding and relatively successful engagement in non-farming activities, it is not surprising that the male informant does not wish to return to work in agriculture: “the worst think that could happen to me is that the project would leave La Granja and I must return to the farming fields.”

Certainly, the access to direct employment around the project activities is the most significant concern for the local population. The most important demand in the strikes of 2008 and 2011 in Querocoto, the capital of the district, organized by the directives of some of the ronda campesina’s zones, was the provision of more employment opportunities for the entire population. In 2013, there was another strike against the company, which blocked the entrance road to the project in La Granja village. This time, a significant portion of the local population asked the company for higher salaries and better working conditions with Sodexo, a contracting firm in charge of providing catering to the mining camp. Indeed, there are two main issues regarding local employment: who is eligible and under which conditions.

The first issue has, in turn, an external and an internal facet. At the external face, it opposes localities that are inside the “core area” – which has been defined following environmental principles as the “direct impact area” – with those outside. Unsurprisingly, localities outside the “core area” claim that they experience substantial negative consequences and pressure the company to be included in the local programs. These localities were the main supporters of the strikes in 2008 and 2009 in Querocoto, as mentioned above. To manage this pressure, the company has used the Social Fund as a tool to provide infrastructure, development programs and local employment to the outside localities. In addition, families at the “core area” would attempt to monopolize all of the available employment opportunities at the project. For instance, they complain that foreigners are being hired despite the fact that they themselves are not skilled workers. Any job that is taken by a foreigner represents a lost opportunity for a local person. Within the company, there is tension between the company’s employability standards and local expectations of including the greatest possible percentage of the population. For instance, while the

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95 Ten localities compose the “core area”. This definition goes back to Cambior’s management of the project and has been later validated by the state. First, with the Social Fund agreement signed with Rio Tinto and later, with the preparation of the Environmental Impact Assessment of the project. (Company informant 2).
company has set a minimum and maximum age of 18 and 55 years respectively, much of the local working force lies outside those age ranges. Likewise, for legal purposes, the company demands that each worker holds a national identification card. In a rural area with little presence of the state, undocumented people have to go to the district in order to register themselves; this is especially the case for women, who are less likely to hold identification. Other requirements, such as the completion of secondary studies, or the obtaining of a professional driver’s license, in the case of truck drivers, have provided incentives for people to finish their studies in non-formal programs for adults or enroll in training courses. Perhaps the most contentious requirement is the health evaluation. Many people consider it unfair and discriminatory. Certainly, in poor, rural areas lacking effective public health services and existing under difficult working conditions, health issues are the most frequent reasons to exclude people from the employment programs.96

Regarding the condition of employment, the contractor and the duration of the engagement are the two main considerations. The temporary local program set by RTLG provides job opportunities with the company itself and, mainly, the diverse sub-contracting firms that provide services to the project. The local population, as much as possible, prefers to work directly for RTLG because they consider that the mining company provides a better working environment. The 2013 strike in La Granja was specifically targeted at one of the project’s contracting firms. In addition, jobs at the mining project could be temporary or more permanent ones. Temporary jobs, which are part of the rotatory system, are offered to non-skilled workers and are managed through the *ronda campesina*.97 More permanent jobs are directly negotiated with the company and require higher qualifications.

For many of the local families, permanent and inheritable employment is perceived as a right for giving up their lands. They expect that mining benefits (namely, employment) will last throughout their lifetime and would be inherited. In other words, the families expect to exchange an asset, which lasts for life (land) for another asset (permanent employment) for life. As it has been argued in the previous chapter, despite low productivity and poor yields, land access and land ownership have become key assets to negotiate. In a sort of parallel, whereas for junior companies the value of undersurface rights does not

96 From relatively minor problems, such as dental care or short-sightedness to more chronic conditions including tuberculosis, malnutrition or spinal deformity, which is very common among farmers owing to prolonged use of plows.

97 At the beginning of the program, the positions offered were for a one-month period. Years later, through a negotiation with the *rondas campesinas*, this was extended to a period of three months, so that the worker would be able to access health insurance.
reside on the project development itself but in their ability to sell a dream of future vast yields (Tsing 2000a), for the local families the value of the land lies not in its farming use but in its exchange value to negotiate benefits.

The case of the male informant of the Returnee family 1 illustrates many of the complexities surrounding the creation of businesses around the mining project. For most of his life, the male informant has been a merchant. Before the arrival of Cambior, he farmed in the fields and traded cattle. He bought local cattle and then sold them at Chiclayo’s slaughterhouses each week using his father’s truck. When the exploration works began in the area, he worked as a truck driver for the company from 1994 to 1996, the year the family sold their land to Cambior and moved to Chiclayo. In the city, he continued with the business, feeding cattle to sell in Lima. In 2002, the family moved back to La Granja. In addition to cattle trading, he began to buy and sell granadilla and coffee. With a well-established business, he bought his own truck to avoid freight costs. When Rio Tinto arrived in the area in 2006, he bought a small truck from his father and, as part of a local business called Greenkart, he transported solid waste from the mining camp. From 2008 to 2010, when RTLG reduced its operations due to the financial crisis, he transported construction materials in Cutervo, another province of the Cajamarca Region. In 2010, RTLG reassumed operations and he decided to buy a water tank truck to provide services to the mining company. In addition, he formed his own business to directly engage with RTLG. In 2011, the male informant bought a light truck to be used as an escort in the daily convoys from the camp to Chiclayo. In 2012, he bought a heavy truck to transport material from the mining camp to Lima. Nowadays, he manages the business and hires three drivers and one administrative assistant. Through his business, he provides services to the mining company, transports products from La Granja to Chiclayo (and vice versa, charging freight), and leases trucks to other people. Via this strategy, he obtains a regular monthly payment plus extra revenue from the leases and freights. The male informant claims that one of the disadvantages of owning a formal business is the payment of taxes, the accountable audits and fines from the state tax agency. Indeed, as in the case of the local employment program examined above, the working scheme implemented by the mining company – which is based on a technocratic view of social, health, and environmental standards (Himley 2014a) – frequently collides with local practices and expectations. One of these practices is the resistance of paying taxes to the state. Another point of tension is the company’s reluctance to take people on the roads in the back of the trucks; while for the mining company,
this is an issue of health and security, for the local people this expresses a lack of commitment and generosity on the part of the company.

The male informant provides these services to the mining company through one of two local transport associations. The association, which split from a previous one, comprises 20 transporters from La Granja and Querocoto. With its headquarters in Chiclayo, the association was created in 2010 to ensure that larger transport companies from Cajamarca city and Lima would not provide services to the RTLG.98

These associations mediate between individual providers and the mining company and seek to prevent non-locals entering into the contracting system. For its local supplier program, RTLG requires contractors to obtain a one-year warranty of functioning although three months is the maximum of the service. In addition, the contractors must employ local people and provide them with the legal social benefits. With the purpose to be part of the local suppliers, some families have sold their houses in the coast to acquire machinery and to implement the business accordingly the company’s rules. However, many of them have not been called to provide services. In a context where many local families do not have enough capital and the difficulties to fulfill these requirements, some foreigners provide the capital and machinery under the name of a local person in exchange for a monthly payment. This is one of the forms to evade the monopolistic arrangement of the local supplier program. Otherwise, RTLG forbids that a person employed in the mining project could be a local supplier. In a similar strategy as the one used by non-local firms, some local people open their businesses using the name of others so they can continue working in the local employment program. This is the case of the first son of the Returnee family 2. Since the beginning of the company operations, he began to work as the personal driver of one of the managers and he has been able to keep the position permanently. Recently, he bought a truck and registered it with the name of another person in order to lease it to the mining project. These accounts illustrate the interaction between social forces and family strategies, which in their aim to maximize their benefits are changing the productive landscape of La Granja.

As noted in the introductory section of this chapter, agrarian economists investigating income strategies of Andean rural households find that when the farming land is too small – and other agrarian assets such as pastures, forest or water are scarce – and households cannot generate enough income to cover their

98 The other association comprises 36 members, has similar objectives and is also based in Chiclayo. The high number of members of the original association slowed returns for each supplier. Together with conflicts over control of the board, this situation prompted the division of the association (Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).
expenses, they employ two main strategies (Figueroa 1981; Gonzales de Olarte 1984; Kervyn 1996). One is the use of seasonal migration – following economic cycles – seeking wage-employment in the city or more productive agriculture areas (for instance, areas of coca or coffee cultivation). The other is a greater involvement in non-farming activities within the agrarian unit. It must be noted that diversification, with different levels of intensity of economic activities and income sources is a long-standing subsistence strategy implemented by rural Andean families. As a means of managing ecological niches to control ecological variation, rural families use economic diversification to reduce the strong externalities and risks that agriculture faces. With the increased development of rural markets and the more fluid interaction between rural and urban economies that the country has experienced over the last two decades, the importance of non-farming activities – both in terms of income and allocation of labor force – has increased. In some regions and among some households, the importance of non-farming activities is even higher than the weight of farming ones (Escobal 2001; Escobal & Ponce 2002).

The cases examined by this research do not contradict previous findings. They provide evidence and a nuanced insight into the complex and flexible arrangements made by local families in the context of mining development. For instance, the case of the male informant´s father of the Resistant family 2 exemplifies a situation where the control of significant agrarian assets (he owned 60 hectares of land in a district where around 70% of farming producers only possesses between half to 5 acres) provided the conditions for a further investment in farming activities. In other example, the children of the Migrant family 1 purchased the 17 hectares of land that belonged to their father. In this case, they have decided to lease the land to a family that cultivates pastures for cattle raising, while they are employed in non-farming activities linked to the mining project. In the majority of cases, however, local families in La Granja access very limited agrarian assets and are forced to implement migratory and income-diversification strategies. This is the case for Resistant family 1, Resistant family 2, Resistant family 3, Returnee family 1, Opportunistic family 1, Opportunistic family 2, Migrant family 1 and Migrant family 4. For some local families, mining development in the area has created opportunities for greater income diversification and monetary benefits through the allocation of time and resources in non-farming activities. If the mining cycle declines, many families will return to farming activities as they have in the past. In brief, the movement between farming and non-farming activities is very fluid. Part of the local families’ strategy is to maximize employment opportunities in the context of subsistence farming economies.
If we agree with David Harvey’s statement that “capitalism creates a physical landscape [...] in its own image” (1985, p. xvii), then the double-residence pattern – analyzed in the earlier chapter on access – that many families from La Granja have developed could be understood as being the result of mirroring the particular productive configuration of the region. The residence in the city provides a beachhead from which to take advantage of urban and improved employment opportunities; however, its location on the city’s outskirts and the housing and neighborhood, with their undesirable features, indicate the poor quality of the accessed employment. The residence in the country secures a safe base to which they may return in cycles of economic slowdown. In addition, their status as “locals” allows the families to access preferred employment and business opportunities associated with mining development. The recent construction of multi-level houses of brick, concrete and glass reflects the extraordinary influx of capital into rural areas as a product of mining development. Moreover, not only does the physical landscape replicate the circulation of capital, but people also migrate as a result of this movement.

6.3. SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

Unlike the case of land access, which depends more on individual family decisions, the way to access local employment at the mining project is often mediated by the collective space of the ronda campesina. As it has been explained in the section on methodological design, the ronda campesinas emerged in Cajamarca in the 1970s as a mechanism to deal with banditry and cattle rustling (Taylor 1993). In a situation where the state is absent and there is a lack of strong social organizations, the rondas have become significant actors in the local and regional political scenario and mediate between families and external actors, such as mining companies or state representatives. The rondas have formed a dense structure that goes from bases at village level to regional committees. In Cajamarca, the rondas have split into two different entities – the ‘central of rondas’ and the ‘federation of rondas’; and, although they are autonomous from political parties, the influence of Patria Roja (Red Fatherland) – a radical leftist party with a stronghold is found among public schoolteacher unions – over them is notorious. In the region, the major part of the ronda bases tend to oppose mining development, especially in the Bambamarca province around the Newmont Conga project. The villages involved with La Granja project are grouped
within zones 2 and 3 of the *ronda* federation, and their bases play a more tolerant role in mining development than their counterparts in other provinces.

When Cambior arrived in the area, the company hired local personnel through the *ronda*. Nonetheless, because of the low and inconsistent company social standards and the weak organization of the *ronda*, company managers frequently bypassed the mediating mechanism. The company representatives preferred to develop a personal and patron-client relation with the population: “During Cambior’s time, the work was for short periods of one week or fifteen days, but if you got on well with the engineers then you would stay longer.” After purchasing the project, BHP Billiton also engaged with the *ronda campesina* as the main collective representative body. The general manager of the project explains, “The experience in Antamina mine suggested to me that the *ronda campesina* had a similar role to the peasant community and it articulated the social and political relations in the villages.”

Rio Tinto’s managers opted for a similar approach when they began to implement the project. As a senior manager explains, RTLG decided to engage with the local *ronda campesina* bases from the early stages of the project. Although with different powers of authority, the situation of the local *rondas* was not of institutional weakness at the time of RTLG’s arrival. However, the reactivation of the project impelled the *rondas* to assume new and diverse tasks which resulted in their revitalization. They shifted from acting as patrol organizations to playing a central role in the agreement negotiations concerning employment, local supply, development projects, and resource allocation. In this sense, they have become a parallel power to the local government. The increasing legal and organizational flexibility that the *rondas* enjoy, compared to that of the local governments, has allowed them to grow and transform into a major organization in the channeling of economic and political resources for the development of their areas of influence.

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99 Interview with Company informant 2.

100 This decision responded to the need for establishing an interlocutor with whom to negotiate, but also to limit the social commitment as much as possible to answer the criteria of environmental direct affected area. Therefore, the project did not initially engage with the municipality of the Querocoto District. Nevertheless, a major strike and road blockage in 2008 forced the company to include the local government in its social programs.

101 Local governments are constrained by legal and administrative rules and, in mining areas, have been overwhelmed by exponentially higher financial resources without additional and more efficient human resources. On the contrary, organizations like the *rondas campesinas* operate at the margins of legality; they do not pay taxes, are not audited and the projects they manage are free of the state procurement regulations.
Consequently, in La Granja the *ronda* organization is the main filter for the recruitment of local people in the temporary employment program. RTLG presents its job requirements to the *ronda* and the steering committee select, from its register, suitable applicants who meet the requirements in order to fill the available positions. It is not surprising, then, that the number of members of the *ronda* bases in zone 2 – where the localities of the “core area” are located – has grown by 242%, from 190 in 2001 to 650 in 2013. By contrast, the number of *ronderos* in zone 3 – out of the eventual resettlement area, but still in the project’s direct area of influence – has grown only 36%, from 377 to 513 in the same period. In addition, the seven interviewed families living in La Granja, and three of the four migrant families have at least one member employed in the project through the *ronda*.

The company’s strategy of engaging with the *ronda* has certainly affected its functioning, and some researchers (Damonte 2012) argue that the presence of multinational mining corporations in the rural scenario has the potential to deeply alter existing local social and political organizations:

> …the presence of large-scale extractive companies produces three local phenomena regarding the forms of local representation […]. Firstly, it causes that the communities or the peasant *rondas*, generally marginalized, acquire higher visibility and prominence in the district and province political milieu. In the second place, it exacerbates the competence and fragmentation among the communities or *rondas* and within them; the position with regards to the mining operation is the cause of conflict and sometimes even fragmentation of the local rural organizations. Finally, the introduction of corporate regimes transforms the nature of the organizations and the forms of local representation, because they became inserted into the logic of the extractive project. (p. 112. Author’s translation. Italics added).

Damonte’s arguments highlight the enormous capacity of large-scale projects to alter the social and political dynamics of small rural localities. However, it is worth noting that mining investments could also strengthen local institutions that have had a poor performance and minimal relevance before their presence. Before the development of mining activities in the area, the *rondas* were almost inactive in some villages and active in others. In addition, there are two competing structures, each with different interests, capacities and functioning. Certainly, as a result of the lack of presence of State and Central Government institutions, the extractive project needs to engage with local institutions; and, by this process, it shapes their function (for instance, from patrol to recruitment agency) and internal dynamics (for instance, increasing fragmentation and conflict). In the language of corporate social responsibility, the project has used and reinforced the existing social capital (Castillo 2001b). However, as I have argued in the case of indigenous organizations in the context of land-titling policies and programs promoted by the World Bank in Latin American countries in the 1900s (Castillo 2002), local forms of organization
could potentially benefit from external forces and institutions. As an unintended consequence, these organizations could increase their own demands and interests and become accredited interlocutor face-to-face state agencies and extractive companies. In Peru, for instance, the passing of the Prior Consultation Law in 2012 by Congress has reinforced a process that requires the identification of legitimate social and political indigenous representations. In brief, the performance of the rondas campesinas – as for any other local social or political organization – is less the automatic result of the external intervention of a mining project than the complex intertwine with local dynamics of power.

The issue of gender relations is another power dimension that is being transformed by ongoing mining development. As will be explained in the proceeding chapter on access, in La Granja’s agrarian society before its current transformation, women were excluded from land ownership and lived in a patriarchal system – first under the authority of their fathers and then of their partners. From childhood, they were involved in labor activities, both on the farm (especially to graze the flock) and at the house (to undertake domestic duties). These productive and reproductive tasks, however, were not socially recognized, and in the main, they were unpaid. Through different mechanisms – not necessarily designed with a gender-sensitive approach – mining development is altering local gender arrangements.

First, because of the economic bonanza, men are more prone to leave farming activities in search of higher salaries in other productive sectors. Factors including higher education and training levels or the migratory experience of men partially account for their increasing participation in non-farming activities. Power relations, nevertheless, better explain why men tend to reap the economic benefits and wage employment opportunities. Similar to what has been found in other parts of the world (Farrell et al. 2004), women have received fewer economic benefits from the last three mining companies that have operated in the research area as the majority of them are not legal landowners; and, thus, the firms have tended to directly negotiate with men. In addition, the collective interlocutor – the ronda campesina – has for a long time been an exclusively male-dominated organization. In many places, this situation has led to an increase in women’s economic dependence on their partners. In a research project about the effects of the tax revenue distribution system in the eastern province of La Convencion in Cusco, where the Camisea gas project is located, Viale and Monge (2012) found that, with the declared purpose to avoid a labor shortage on the regional coffee plantations, the local government excluded women from the temporary employment program that the municipality had implemented. Nevertheless, the “feminization
of the agriculture” (Remy 2014) is challenging some of the power structures of gender relations. Although women’s work in farming activities is viewed as complimenting the family economy, women are increasingly appropriating part of the farming gains and raising their voices for collective representation in the locality. Partly because of the policies and practices of anti-discrimination implemented by RTLG, women are included in the temporary employment program, and they have formed a women’s *ronda campesina* with the purpose of managing their recruitment process. Consequently, (and this is the second mechanism), women are gradually accessing wage employment opportunities presented by the mining project. Women, who are mainly employed in cleaning and cooking tasks, comprise around a quarter of the local workers at the RTLG project. In addition, a significant part of this percentage is represented by single mothers or single women. This situation is not necessarily owing to a special focus on vulnerable individuals through the employment approach, but because child care and domestic tasks severely reduce women’s possibilities for accessing and securing a wage job. As a local woman explains: “Work in the mine is for single women, when women have family they neglect their duties at home and the care of their children. I had to resign to take care of my family.” These conditions show the reproduction of expected labor roles for women and the hidden barriers – which tend to be naturalized – they must face for accessing a wage employment. Certainly, the unequal distribution of work at the domestic level has not been challenged. In some cases, the family hires a person to assist with domestic tasks, generally a teenager or an old woman from neighboring localities or areas considered more rural. The latter situation would tend to perpetuate and exacerbate relations of poverty, age and ethnicity among women (De la Cadena 1991). The other option is that women working outside the household bear a labor overload or transfer part of these duties to their daughters.

In addition, women are increasingly participating in local business. The majority of these businesses (including restaurants, grocery stores, canteens, and laundries) are regarded as an extension of domestic duties, which implies restricted mobility outside the village. Despite these limitations, women are

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102 To some extent, this process of increasing female participation in productive sectors was similar to the one which emerged in diverse countries during World War II, when women, en masse, joined the labor force in factories. Daniel Franks, personal communication, 9 March 2015.

103 Rio Tinto is one of the few extractive companies in the world that explicitly considers the gender effects of its operations and which has developed policies and protocols. See, for instance, Rio Tinto 2009.

104 RTLG has developed an aid program focused on vulnerable people through INDES, a local NGO.
attaining better education levels and greater economic, physical and political autonomy. Without a doubt, local ongoing progress in terms of women’s autonomy is met with great resistance and results in an increase in gender tensions. Perhaps the most vivid examples of these tensions are the accusations of infidelity, divorce and family separation, by men and women alike, levelled against employed women. For example, a mature local woman declares, with indignation:

Women that have a wage employment or a business earn more money. This situation has meant that women are more liberal now, so they are unfaithful to their partners and then get divorced. Because there are so many newcomers, women regard their husbands of little worth.xxxvi

The explicit link between women’s economic autonomy and their sexual liberty and free circulation among men reveals the challenges that women must confront in a transforming society. From the age of 15, the female informant of the Migrant family 3 had to leave her hometown because of the difficult economic conditions experienced by her family. She went to Chiclayo where she got a job and made her life as an independent woman with her own friends. Some years later, she became engaged to a man from La Granja and they conceived a daughter. The man has occasional jobs in the city, drinks heavily, does not help her with childcare and tries to control her life. For these reasons, she wants to return to work and separate from him. Because of its greater job opportunities, local businesses, and better transport facilities, she prefers to live in present-day La Granja, explaining that, “only old people like how La Granja was before” 105

This chapter has examined the shift in La Granja’s productive system, from an almost exclusive farming economy – based on a combination of subsistence agriculture and extensive livestock – to a more diversified economy, based on services. This diversification, nevertheless, is fragile as far as it is heavily dependent on the development of the mining project. The opportunities presented by the mining project have created room for increasing women’s physical and economic autonomy, especially for those of later generations. The latter process, which parallels broader ongoing changes in the country, does not advance without men’s resistance, which may translate into physical violence. In addition, the shift to a more diversified economy should not be seen as a linear and progressive movement of agrarian societies integrating into urban economies. La Granja’s productive shift is certainly very unstable, owing to the country’s productive weakness and lack of industrialization as well as the cyclical nature of mining itself. In this context, local families have adapted long-standing Andean practices involving the vertical control

105 “Solo a los viejitos les gusta cómo era antes La Granja”. (Female informant, Migrant family 3).
of ecological niches. Consequently, members of these families move to the cities when the country’s economy expands; when the economy slows down or if, as in the examined case, there are significant business or employment opportunities in the village presented by the mining project, they return to the village. In the execution of this strategy, the Granjinos have created extensive and mobile kinship networks over large territories, which are explored in the following chapter.
7. Mobility

The cars of the migrant people crawled out of the side roads onto the great cross-country highway, and then took the migrant way to the West. In the daylight they scuttled like bugs to the westward; and as the dark caught them, they clustered like bugs near to shelter and to water.

John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*

As it has been summarized in the section on social change and rural societies in the literature review and conceptual framework chapter, since early sociological works in the late 19th century, migration has been regarded as being at the core of the transformation of rural societies. To be more precise, reflecting upon the West European and North American experiences, social scientists regarded migration as a unidirectional movement of people leaving rural areas to settle down in the newly industrialized cities. Anthropological research prior to World War II, analyzing cases from non-Western societies, did not challenge the basic scheme. Given this, the research conducted by American anthropologist Robert Redfield (1941) in the Yucatan peninsula is remarkable. Redfield constructed the folk-urban continuum, a model of transition from small, isolated and homogenous rural villages to larger and heterogeneous societies in Mexico, which involves progressive stages of social transformation and cultural disorganization, a transition movement from anomia to adaptation. Nevertheless, the post-colonial experiences in Africa and South East Asia and the large urbanization processes, which unfolded in Latin America after World War II, questioned the necessary link between rural-urban migration and industrialization. The growth of large shantytowns and the persistence of high rates of unemployment and sub-employment (Roberts 1978) are the most notorious examples of processes of urbanization without industrialization. In other words, many societies become urbanized without transforming their economic structure, which continues to be heavily dependent on the primary sector, especially agriculture. Interestingly, social studies concerning mining areas in Africa and Latin America were more sensitive to the complex and fluid directions of rural-urban migratory flows. They analyzed, for instance, seasonal migration, complementary household economies between farming and mining activities, and
the gender imbalances and consequences of male movement to mining towns (Godoy 1995; Ferguson 1999; Castillo 2000; Bridge 2004; Damonte & Castillo 2011).

In Peru, social studies on rural-urban migration date back over more than 40 years and have formed a well-established research area. From historical standpoints, these studies have explored the formation of regional circuits (Bonilla 1974; Assadourian 1982; Contreras 1988; Contreras 1995), the establishment of seasonal migration patterns in regional economies (Long & Roberts 1984; DeWind 1987), as well as the dislocation of economic spaces (Manrique 1987; Helfgott 2013). From anthropological perspectives, the first research studies coincided with the first waves of massive migrations of farmers to the cities in the coast, particularly Lima, in the late 1950s. They primarily focused on adaptive strategies of “peasants in the city” and cultural reproduction (Altamirano 1977; Wallace 1984). Influenced by the work of Oscar Lewis, these studies were followed by an emphasis on the “culture of poverty” and the examination of the deleterious effects of displacement, in terms of social anomia and cultural loss (Sandoval 2000; Vega-Centeno 2006). In the 1970s, after two decades of campesino immigrant struggles for appropriating and building their own space in the hostile cities, the research attention shifted to the scrutiny of the reproduction and activation of social networks in the urban spaces (Rodríguez, A; Riofrío, G & Welsh, 1973; Altamirano 1977) and the effects of migratory flows, both in the localities of departure and the receiving cities (Fuenzalida et al. 1982; Alber 1999). With the return to the democracy in the early 1980s, various studies highlighted the emergence of political consciousness and citizenship building among former immigrants (Degregori, Lynch & Blondet 1986). At the turn of the century, researchers have broadened their scope to include transnational migration of Peruvians in the United States, Europe, Argentina and Chile (Altamirano 2000; Berg & Paerregaard 2005), where they explore issues of cultural reproduction and the activation of social networks versus cultural change and anomia, loss of human capital versus remittances, or changes in the localities of origin. Considering a third generation of people born in Lima of immigrant parents, current researchers concentrate their efforts on the identification and analysis of segmented cultural patterns of consumption among diverse city dwellers (Arellano 2004; Arellano 2010), the formation of popular culture styles (Huerta-Mercado 2006), or the persistence and reproduction of segregation using racial (Bruce 2007) and socio-cultural codes (Nugent 2012).

More significant for the purposes of the present research, however, has been the development of a series of works under the loose framework of the “new rurality” (Giarraca 2002; Grammont de 2004, Cetraro, Castro & Chávez 2007). These studies, which began in contemporary European rural areas and were later
applied in the Latin American context, state that rural economies are no longer exclusively or mainly associated with farming production. The separation of the agriculture and rural settings is mainly due to the increasing importance of services (including tourism) and the formation of an interconnected society. Indeed, vast improvements in communication networks – which allow a more fluid flow of information, goods and people – have made it possible to narrow the distance between rural settlements and urban areas. Thus, it makes little sense to think of rural spaces as autonomous physical, social, productive and conceptual entities separated from the cities. Actually, they are part of larger spaces that connect metropolises, intermediate cities and local places in networks of different scales (Allen, Massey & Cochrane 1998; Hurtado 2000).

Despite the rich theoretical and empirical background summarized above, some current studies tend to create an image of stable and more or less self-sufficient farming localities whose populations mining development abruptly transforms (Aste 2001; Aste 2003; Gil 2009; Bury 2011). A deeper understanding of the historical trends of seasonal and permanent migratory dynamics enhances our ability to comprehend the family strategies in the context of extractive development. What follows is an analysis of the mobility processes through which the Granjinos have created a dense spatial network over time.

7.1. MIGRATORY EXPERIENCES

The examination of La Granja’s case shows that the families in the locality have a long-standing experience of emigration and immigration processes. Members of diverse local families have moved outside the area in different moments for different reasons, and many of them have also returned to the locality. In the contemporary local history, it is possible to identify three major migratory cycles.

The first cycle goes back to the years prior to the development of mining activities in the early 1990s. Because of the pervasive lack of paid jobs, the low returns of subsistence farming and the difficulty for continuing sub-dividing their already small farming units, many families opted to send some of their members from the locality, especially young people. Men tended to migrate to coffee and coca plantations in the lowlands, or to the coast to work in agriculture or to seek temporary employment in the construction and service sectors. Women mostly migrated to the lowlands to work in the farming
sector and to coastal cities, where they became domestic workers. As has been described in the previous chapters, this has been the case of Migrant family 4. Holding very few properties, the family sold their scant belongings and moved from Paraguay to Ojo de Toro, a rural area on the coast. Indeed, as this family did, thousands more from the Cajamarca Region migrated to the coastal regions of Lambayeque and La Libertad, trying to escape from poverty.\textsuperscript{106} According to the last national census taken in 2007, Cajamarca ranked as the fourth most populated region in the country with 1,387,809 inhabitants, of which 67.3\% lived in rural localities; this was slightly behind Cusco as the region with the highest portion of rural population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2007). Poverty levels in the region remain among the highest in the country, ranking 7\textsuperscript{th} in 26 regions, with 32\% of Cajamarca’s population living in poverty (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2012b). Given this situation, it is little wonder that Cajamarca ranks as the region with the second-highest negative migration flows in the country, just behind Huancavelica, the poorest region in Peru. During the period between 2002 and 2007 the region exhibited a negative net migratory balance of 86,804 people, which represented a net migration rate of -13.6 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2007). It is worth noting that this trend is almost identical to that of the period between 1988 and 1993, before the mining boom in the region (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 1993). In addition, the average annual population growth rate of Cajamarca for the years between 1993 and 2007 is only 0.7 percent, the second lowest in the country, slightly higher than Apurímac (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2007). In brief, historically Cajamarca is a relatively well-populated region, heavily rural, with high rates of poverty and significant levels of emigration. The pace of emigration increased after the agrarian reform of the late 1960s, partly because of the collapse of the hacienda regime and the acceleration of the agricultural smallholding system (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2009). Current mining development in Cajamarca, which began with Newmont’s gold project, Yanacocha, in the early 1990s, has not reversed these trends but has shaped specific local processes.

A second critical moment in La Granja’s migratory history was the massive displacement, a product of the implementation of Cambior’s land purchasing plan of the mid-1990s. Unlike previous migratory movements, on this occasion there was a lack of free will. Local families had very little option but to sell their land and settle elsewhere. The move was not part of a well-planned family strategy, but was a

\textsuperscript{106} For an analysis of the conditioning factors that explain internal migrations in Peru, including poverty levels, size of the land tenure and political violence, see Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2009.
compulsory event forced by many legal and intimidating mechanisms implemented by the mining company and the state, under the authoritarian Fujimori regime.

Similar to many others, the case of the Returnee family 2 illustrates many of the stressful components that accompanied the displacement experience. After selling their land in the La Lima sector, the family moved to Batán Grande, a semi-arid area in the Lambayeque Region, three hours from the city of Chiclayo. Prior to moving, the family made arrangements to build a house in the new area. However, they were cheated and when they arrived, there was nothing in the terrain. As the male family head narrates: “…it was pretty sad, there wasn’t any house, we had to build a provisional hut”.xxxvii The heavy rains of the El Niño phenomenon of 1997 severely affected the area and the family lost their crops and their precarious house. The female informant recalls that “it was a nightmare, thousands of mosquitoes, we had never experienced something similar in La Granja”.xxxviii The family received social support from a religious organization and was temporarily hosted in the local school. In the aftermath of the rains, a cholera epidemic spread throughout the region, infecting two of the family’s children and killing the female informant’s mother. In addition, the farming system on the coast is different from the one practiced in Andean regions: it needs irrigation mechanisms, uses another type of plow or tractor, requires pesticides, fertilizers, hybrid seeds and other inputs, its crops exhibit different vegetative cycles, are market-oriented (i.e. corn for chicken factories) and are not necessarily suitable for direct consumption. Until the family learnt and adapted to the new productive system, they faced hunger. Moreover, the family felt the lack of social bonds and the hostility of a different culture, which they regarded as being more individualistic and competitive: “We had cattle but the people were envious and they spoilt the udders of the cows. And people are selfish, they could eat in front of you and offer you nothing.”xxxix

An engineer advised the family of the great risk of the La Leche river overflowing, and they decided to sell their land. After nine years on the coast, the family returned to La Granja by their own means; they did not receive the support of the BHP returning plan. The family has restarted its life in La Lima and many of the family members have reunited again in the area. However, the displacement was a disruptive event that dislocated the family. The male informant’s mother-in-law and father died in Batán Grande, two of his brothers remained there, while some of his sisters moved to the lowlands in the eastern part of the country.

The third migratory wave has been prompted by a new cycle of mining development in the area with the arrival of Rio Tinto in 2006. The implementation of temporary employment and procurement programs,
the creation of a developmental social fund and the opening of small-business opportunities have created great incentives for the arrival of a significant number of immigrants to the area. Certainly, from only 9 or 12 houses that remained in La Granja after the displacement caused by Cambior’s land acquisition plan, there are now between 140 and 180 houses. Schoolteachers, health workers, consultants, merchants, landless farmers from diverse rural localities in the region and unemployed people from urban places have migrated, alone or with their families, to the area seeking higher incomes.

Nonetheless, the majority of newcomers are not completely foreign to the locals. On the contrary, most of the immigrants are relatives of the local families. As an old local villager points out: “these people, the others, are relatives of the original settlers of La Granja, they come from the country.” It is worth highlighting the set of associations and/or oppositions that the local informant describes. In his arrangement, the local resident (who, interestingly, is himself an immigrant who married a local woman and established himself in the village more than two decades ago) constructs an “other” in opposition to the category of “us”. While the “others” – the newcomers – are more rural, the “us” – the old settlers – are more urbanized, civilized and entitled to more rights to the land and benefits from the mining project. Such definitions and positioning over place identities is a phenomenon noted by the literature on migratory phenomena and may be read as being part of the transformations and tensions in the local identities that arise from significant migratory flows. Thus, for instance, while some local residents emphasize the notion of being traditional owners, some newcomers underscore their vulnerable situations (for instance, of not belonging to the *ronda campesina*), which creates a complex process of positioning using discursive and political claims of “strategic authenticity” versus “strategic marginality” (Mallon 1996). Furthermore, as the literature review describes and the conclusions will further examine, Peruvians often inscribe binary oppositions of race in the landscape to categorize people in a hierarchical order (Fuenzalida 1970b; Nugent 2012).

Amid the changes prompted by mining development, families from La Granja use kinship networks to promote but also regulate migratory flows. In this way, when job opportunities decline in the locality, many of the family members migrate to urban centers on the coast or move to more productive farming areas in the eastern lowlands. Nevertheless, some members remain in the locality with the purpose of securing land and properties. These latter members tend to be the elders. When opportunities for jobs and better salaries arise in the locality, members of the extended family networks move back temporarily. The case of the Resistant family 2 provides some examples of this strategy of spatial and temporal
mobility. The male informant and his 10 siblings are originally from La Granja. Of those 11, one (the informant himself) has remained in the village, 2 of his have sisters married men from the nearby village of La Pampa and settled there, and 8 have migrated to Chiclayo or other coastal cities. In addition, the Resistant family 2 has 6 children. The youngest 2 live in Chiclayo, where they undertake tertiary studies. The other 4 also lived in Chiclayo, 3 undertook technical studies there and the other enlisted in the police department. However, all of them have since returned to La Granja and are employed at the RTLG project. The female informant travels every 15 days to visit their youngest children in the city and the male informant makes regular trips to Chiclayo because of his business activities.

The migratory network built by the siblings of the male informant of the Returnee family 1 is similar. The 12 siblings left La Granja with the displacement prompted by Cambior. Of those, 5 have returned to the village, 4 of whom work directly at the RTLG project and one who has established a local business. These returnee siblings have moved into the village with the partners, whom are originally from other areas. The other 7 siblings live in other places in Cajamarca, such as Mitobamba, or cities on the coast.

These complex processes and movements have created a fluid and dense network that connects individuals and families in the broader space. As a consequence, Cajamarca’s families have created concentrated pockets of fellow immigrants in the bordering regions. In Ojo de Toro, for instance, the families from Cajamarca have by far outnumbered the native population and they have recreated their own cultural (for example, religious festivals), social (godfathership, for instance) and political (namely, the *ronda campesina*) practices. The map below seeks to illustrate the spread of the migratory grid developed by the examined families from La Granja over time. The grid runs from localities in the vicinity, such as Pariamarca, Querocotillo, Pagaibamba, Mitobamba and Querocoto, to the regional scale, from the city of Chiclayo on the coast to Tarapoto in the eastern lowlands; and it even extends to international places, with Quito, Cuenca and Loja in Ecuador, and Buenos Aires in Argentina as the main destinations.
Thanks to the employment of this strategy of high spatial mobility, families are able to maximize economic benefits, retain strategic decisions inside them, and nurture personal bonds of trust. In addition, families use marital alliances and symbolic kinship (namely, godfathership) as strategies to incorporate external members into their networks. It must be noted that in order to participate in the temporary employment program established by RTLG, which is one of the main reasons for migration to the area, people must belong to the *ronda campesina*. The *ronda* assembly is the body that confers membership, and to become a *rondero*, a person must be part of one of the local families.

The migratory record of the Opportunistic family 1 highlights some of the complexities involved in the decision for a non-local family to migrate to the area. The couple is originally from Querocotillo, a district capital in the province of Cutervo, in the Cajamarca Region. Because of limited employment opportunities in the rural district, the female informant migrated to Chiclayo in 1965, when she was 23 years old, and become a domestic worker. The male informant followed a similar path and moved to Chiclayo, where he started to work as informal merchant between different towns of Cutervo and Chota, in the highlands, and Chiclayo, on the coast. In 1969 the couple got married and that same year, their first daughter was born. In the early 1970s, the male informant included La Granja in his trading route.
and began to make regular trips to the village. By that time, the family had already moved back to Querocotillo, where the female informant inherited a small piece of farming land in the locality. From 1983 to 1991, the couple embarked on a small and seasonal business in La Granja, selling food in the streets during public and religious holidays. However, business was low and in 1992, the family decided to sell their properties in Querocotillo and move back to Chiclayo, where they bought a house. The same year, a son of the couple moved to La Granja and bought a house, which he sold to Cambior during the displacement process, and migrated to Chiclayo. In 2001, the second daughter married a Granjino and moved to the area. With these already established connections and the familiarity they gained with the area, the couple decided to buy an urban plot in La Granja and build a house. In 2003 they moved to the village. According to the male informant:

…we decided to move to La Granja because there were not many working opportunities in Chiclayo and crime was high. In addition, there were rumors of the arrival of a mining company in the area; so we ventured to buy an urban plot, it was an opportunity to get jobs for our children.xli

Nowadays, five of the eight children live in La Granja; four live in their parent’s house and three have their own places. The remaining three children live in Querocotillo, Chiclayo and Lima, respectively, with their own families. In addition, the five children living in La Granja work in mining-related activities, four are directly employed at the RTLG project and one has opened a transport business with his father which provides services to the project. The couple has never been fully engaged in farming activities; they are mainly dedicated to trade in the bigger northern region of Peru. Otherwise, they have an important migration experience in Chiclayo. It is perhaps for this reason that they do not exhibit a strong sense of nostalgia for rural places or country lifestyle.

7.2. Spatial Dynamics

The experiences of these diverse families examined suggest that migratory practice is not an automatic and direct consequence of mining development in the region as some authors suggest (Bury 2011). From a family perspective and from a historical standpoint, migratory practices are better understood as an extended strategy of regional dispersion/connection which seeks to enhance family economic advantages in the context of high risk and vulnerability – both in ecological (for instance, droughts) and socio-
economic terms (for example, a fall in the relative prices of agrarian products). In this sense, the economic and social rationale of migratory patterns mimics the strategy of vertical control of ecological niches that households and larger social units (namely, comunidades campesinas or ethnic groups) practice in the Andes.

In addition, migratory experiences cannot be reduced to economic and livelihood strategies. They also involve the reshaping of collective and personal identities in interplay between what is regarded as rural and urban, traditional and modern. Furthermore, local expectations for the future are strategically elaborated in relation to the specific process that families from La Granja are experiencing with the last cycle of mining development. In this respect, in the period between 2006 and 2013, during the peaks of local employment and economic opportunities that the mining project development triggered, many members of local families have had the opportunity to reunite back in La Granja. Therefore, claims made by some local people that the development of the mine will destroy family unity would be better comprehended in the context of this period of immigration and family reunion in the area. Certainly, in a phenomenon not seen since times of the hacienda and in a significant larger scale, La Granja has turned from a place of expulsion to a place of reception, which brings new opportunities, fresh ideas and diverse worldviews but which also entails resistance and new types of tensions. Indeed, the fast demographic transformation of the village has brought many young people and newcomers with different ideas, values and lifestyles; and they are not necessarily part of the local kinship networks. These migratory flows and social changes create a sense of mistrust among some local villagers, a situation which is exacerbated by the uncertainty of the mining project and, therefore, the uncertainty that local families display about their lives. And an uncertain future tends to create anxiety. Like other mining regions, in La Granja the volatility of spaces of capital extraction is vividly manifest, both in terms of social bonds and physical materiality. Marshall Berman´s famous use of Marx´s phrase, “all that is solid melts into air” becomes dramatically real.

In this sense, the concept of diaspora might be useful for a better understanding of some of the features of people´s mobility in the context of mining development. Originally, the term was used to describe the Jewish expulsion from Palestine following the Roman conquest in AD 70 (Cohen 2008). Currently, the term has flourished among human geographers, cultural anthropologists and scholars from cultural studies. In its most general form, diaspora refers to ethnic populations living in places other than their historic homelands and with different collective practices, a situation which challenges the traditional
boundaries of the nation-state (Lovell 2010). In La Granja´s case, ethnicity and transnational migration are missing elements from the diaspora framework. Nevertheless, there are other features that shed light on some of the processes experienced by many Granjinos. For instance, for James Clifford, oppression and the trauma of departure is a defining feature of the concept of diaspora: “…without oppression to propel people to leave a place and to disperse there would be no diaspora.” (cited in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994, 342). Certainly, the displacement during Cambior’s era was forced and traumatic for most families and it is perceived with a sense of injustice, especially considering the performance of a state enthusiastically supporting the company´s actions.

Another component is the tension and interplay between “roots” and “routes” that the immigrants establish (Clifford 1994). This is to say, on the one hand, the tension between a sense of belonging and the need to travel, and, on the other hand, the continuous connections with a physical and imagined homeland. These provide the material for the development of nostalgia and an exercise of memory recreation – through diverse, fluid and changing flows of people and ideas, in other words, the “…wax and wane in diasporism, depending on changing possibilities -obstacles, openings, antagonisms, and connections-” (Clifford 1994, p. 306). This fluid movement created the possibility that “separate places become effectively a single community through the continuous circulation of people, money, goods and information” (Clifford 1994, p. 303). Certainly, the Granjino families that migrated to different places on the coast have reconstructed a social and imagined community despite the territorial discontinuity. Of course, the routes and connections are not without contradictions and resistances. For example, there are tensions between the reproduction of former social relations and cultural values and the desire for adopting the new social and cultural styles from the receptive society. This tension is often perceived and experienced as a clash between generations but also as a case of “divided loyalties” (Mitchell 1997, p. 534) between those who seek to maintain the traditions and those who pursue becoming modern. In the context of mining development in Peru, public demonstrations of “authenticity” and “tradition” become central elements in the political struggle for accessing benefits and compensations. Hence, individual immigrants will seek to show that they belong to the traditional culture and society with the purpose of being accepted as members of the recognized local organizations (namely, the ronda campesina and the comunidad campesina). Collective organizations will pursue proof that they are traditional and native organizations in order to be included within the official list of indigenous organizations and, therefore, to be able to claim the right of free prior consultation.
In a similar vein, experiences of displacement and resettlement provide a fertile field for the examination of the loss and remembering of social practices and cultural meanings, for instance, the recreation of social institutions, such as godfathership and the *ronda campesina* in different geographical settings. In addition, the notion of diaspora reveals the ambivalent space that displaced people occupy as cultural minority groups. In this sense, it offers a theoretical tool with which to explore the social and cultural frictions between host coastal populations and immigrants from the highlands. As will be discussed in the chapter on conclusions, many of these tensions are read and performed through a racialized lens.

Furthermore, there is an acknowledgement among researchers examining the diasporic phenomena of “the symbolic as well material interchanges among places” (Lovell 210, p. 735). These symbolic features include the emotional and psychological dimensions of the dislocation, a central element of mining-induced displacement and resettlement processes.

Gender dimensions also play a substantial role in shaping spatial dynamics. Certainly, within this process of increased mobility, young women are experiencing levels of liberty for spatial and social mobility not seen before, although it is true that men still enjoy a higher spatial mobility than women do. Many of the analyzed narratives of spatial mobility emphasize the fact that while male partners often travel around different localities at both the local and regional level, female partners find it more difficult to leave the village. Consequently, the trips that women make tend to be shorter in distance and duration, while men´s journeys include regional and national locations and are of a longer duration. Of course, this pattern significantly limits women’s migratory experience, in particular, and a broader social involvement, in general. As discussed in the chapter on production, the prevalent sexual division of labor – which makes women responsible for the majority of reproductive work – is the main barrier for women´s mobility. Therefore, interviewed female informants declare that it is difficult for them to stay away from the village for many days because they have to take care of the children or the elderly and fulfill domestic tasks, including care of the small livestock and the family gardens. Furthermore, men continue to dominate access to local public spaces. The examination of the local spatial routines indicates that for many women, their daily mobility is still confined to their homes, family gardens, areas for grazing the flock, or their small grocery shops and restaurants, which are perceived as an extension of their domestic duties and a physical appendix to their homes. On the contrary, the spatial mobility of men is broader and includes their homes, the mining camp, the farming fields, the roads and – more significantly– the street and the sports field, which is located in the central part of the village. These routines not only reveal that
women have more limited spatial mobility in their daily lives but also that the quality of those routines are more confined to social interaction among peers of the same age and gender.

Of course, women have their own spaces for socialization, such as volleyball games, church gatherings and ronda de mujeres meetings. Moreover, as this thesis argues, women’s rights and voice over the access to public space are becoming stronger. Nevertheless, those spaces are more limited and enjoy less prestige and power than the male spaces do. For instance, women play volleyball and use the village’s sport field at marginal times, when men are working, and usually not during the weekends. In addition, soccer –which is played by men – is more prestigious than volleyball. For instance, during the saint festival of the Lord of the Miracles – the major festivity in La Granja –, a soccer contest was organized, which gathered around 12 teams (some arriving from other Cajamarca´s provinces and from Lambayeque), and offered 4000 Nuevos Soles for the winner and 2000 for the second place. Women participated in the volleyball contest, which gathered no more than 4 teams from the village and neighbor localities and provided prizes of 300 and 200 Nuevos Soles, respectively (La Granja 2013). Women also gather around church activities, mainly for praying and decorating the chapel with flowers, which are activities that men do not consider particularly important. Moreover, a man presides over the Asociación Señor de los Milagros, a central organization because in addition to its religious activities, it still owns diverse plots in the township. Finally, the ronda campesina – composed exclusively by men – have far more members and power than the ronda de mujeres. This is partly explained by the fact that the ronda de mujeres is a sort of artificial organization created by the initiative of RTLG with the purpose of organizing and selecting women for its local employment program. According to some informants, more men than women work in the RTLG local programs, at a rate of seven to three. The latter situation is not only caused by the company offering fewer jobs to women. It is mainly due to the fact that women face more difficulties in managing a wage employment while still being responsible for their families’ reproductive duties. Thus, it is no surprise that the majority of the outsiders seeking jobs in La

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107 US$ 1,333 and US$ 667 respectively.
108 US$ 100 and US$ 67 respectively.
109 While the ronda campesina of La Granja comprises around 230 men, the ronda de mujeres constitutes no more than a third.
110 Male informant of Regional family 2 and male informant of Returnee family 2.
Granja and trying to become members of the *ronda campesina* are men. Women, and especially single women, are more restricted in their physical and social mobility.

Within this context, many adult women tend to interact mostly with their children and other family members on a daily basis, which may foster a sense of isolation and reduce their chances of developing strong peer solidarity. Men, on the other hand, develop much of their interactions with other men at work and in recreational spaces. It tends to be around drinking alcohol, playing soccer, gambling on cockfighting, listening to music or gathering in the streets, that men generate strong gender solidarity. The street symbolizes the space for the formation and reproduction of the male brotherhood and it is the place where men are able to accumulate substantial social capital and prestige (Fuller 2001). Furthermore, men’s appropriation of the public space leads to the reproduction of a binary opposition between a feminine home and a masculine street / working space, as Da Matta (1991) has analyzed in the case of some sectors of contemporary Latin American societies.

Despite these considerable and enduring limitations, women are currently experiencing higher spatial mobility than some decades ago. As a local woman narrates:

> In the old times, young women did not travel alone but always in the company of someone. In the case of many young women, they moved out from the village to work as housekeepers in cities in the coast, and they went to the houses of close relatives. To travel alone, they had to ask permission of their parents, because even though they were adults they were still living at their parent’s home. In some cases, where women had started living together they sought permission from their partners.xlii

An elderly female interviewee, for instance, moved from Querecotillo to Chiclayo when she was 22 years of age to work as a housekeeper in the home of one of her cousins. Nowadays, she prefers to live in Chiclayo instead of La Granja. This is not only because she receives regular medical treatment in the city but also because: “La Granja is boring; I have nothing to do here. When I am in Chiclayo I can stroll by the streets with my daughter and son, I can go to parks and do shopping. I get amused in the city.”xliii

Nowadays, women have more opportunities and fewer constraints in terms of moving out of the village and going to different localities in the region. Some of them have even developed a substantial migratory record, which include cities outside the region – such as Lima or Cañete – and even other countries, Buenos Aires for instance, following the experience of thousands of Peruvian immigrants seeking better job opportunities.
In addition, today women face fewer risks and resistances when freely moving within and using the public space and streets of La Granja than in previous generations. As one local woman declares: “...nowadays, women freely walk in La Granja, the place is safer than it was before. There are less fights and drunk men.” Indeed, these days it is not a surprise to see groups of girls hanging around the streets of La Granja or to find women occupying the sport field in the center of the village to play volleyball.

Furthermore, among some of the interviewed women, it has been found that higher spatial mobility is associated with growing economic independence. Comparing the data of the national household surveys carried out by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics in 1999 and 2009, Fuertes and Velazco (2013) analyze the changes in the households’ composition in the context of a decade of economic expansion in the country. Among other findings, the authors observe that the increase in households with a female head has been notable, moving from 23,3% in 1993 to 28,5% in 2007. The authors associate this feature of the households’ transformation in the country with high female autonomy and empowerment, as a result of the effects of the internal war and migration processes that pulled men out of the homes. But they also relate the changes to greater access for women to education and labor markets. Certainly, more educated women and with higher employment opportunities are more economically capable of coping with separation or to decide to stay single.

Although it would have future consequences for them, the aforementioned increase in physical and economic autonomy seems more a result of enhanced economic opportunities than changes in the social and cultural configuration of gender relations and male hegemony in the country. In keeping with this idea, a comparative analysis conducted by the Pan American Health organization among 12 countries – 10 of Latin America and 2 of the Caribbean – revealed that 40% of women in Peru declared that, at some point in their lives, they had suffered physical or sexual violence from their partners or ex-partners. Tied with Colombia, Peru had the second highest percentage in the list (CEPAL 2014, p. 40). In addition, the country exhibits some of the highest numbers of female homicides in the region; of the 7 countries in Latin America with available data, Peru was first, with 83 cases of women murdered by their partners or ex-partners (CEPAL 2014, p. 40). Among the studied families, it is important to note that two women who exhibit relatively high levels of physical and economic autonomy experience a tense relationship with their partners (Resistant family 1 and Migrant family 3). During the fieldwork, a young woman who was born in the village but grew up on the coast (and has later returned to La Granja to work in the restaurant of a relative), stated that: “I do not like to hang around with boys from La Granja, they are
very male chauvinist and they like to hit women”.

Mining development in La Granja, with the opening up of employment and economic channels, has considerably increased social and spatial mobility for many women. This higher mobility for women challenges existing arrangements of relations between genders and hegemonic practices and discourses of male control over women’s lives and autonomy; a challenge that on many occasions is met with resistance and open gender violence.

Finally, it is worth noting that women’s higher mobility and freedom is associated with stronger city connections and urban life. In this sense, representations and expectations of place play an important role in shaping behavior and individual and collective action. For example, the majority of the capital that local families accumulate in the rural areas from economic opportunities created by the mining project is not consumed locally but directed and invested into the cities. Hence, the direction of the capital flows is different from that stated in the standard literature on remittances (Altamirano 2010). The capital follows the desires, expectations and plans of the local families and representations play a major role in shaping their desires and actions.

This chapter has examined the significant mobility experience of La Granja’s families along different migratory cycles. Economic opportunities and constrains are the main factors that have prompted the migratory flows. In order to maximize economic benefits and job opportunities, local families have developed strategies of seasonal migratory patterns following economic and productive cycles and have established a dense network along the region, connecting the country and the city in a fluid manner. Current mining development has presented new opportunities in the local area, has turned La Granja into a place of reception and has altered regional productive and trading nodes. In addition, along with broader national changes in the average family size and urbanization rates, these processes are fostering higher female mobility. Higher levels of female autonomy are altering the previous patriarchal system of male dominance; nevertheless, on many occasions this challenge is met with resistance and gender violence.

Although it does not exactly fit with the main features of the examined case, the concept of diaspora encapsulates the dimensions of coercion, unfairness, nostalgia, and the formation of senses of belonging and uprooting, which are substantial components of the history of mining-induced mobility processes. The symbolic elements are central in the formation of different and contested representations of place, which are crossed by age and gender considerations. These representations of place are further explored in the following chapter.
8. REPRESENTATIONS

I’ve already told you that this is an ordinary city. There are maps of it and lights to show us when to walk, where to turn. What I want you to know is that it isn't enough.

Bronwen Wallace, *Full Moon*.

In geography, in general, and cultural geography, in particular, there is a long-standing and rich debate about the differences and the relationship between space and place, both as realities and concepts. In a broad sense, space refers to an abstract realm, a politically neutral container of all human and non-human activities. On the other hand, place signifies a concrete and particular location in space and the meaning people ascribe to it. In other words, place is space appropriated by people though their actions and imagination.

The theoretical framework I have borrowed and adapted from Henri Lefebvre avoids the somewhat artificial and confusing distinction between space and place. Since for Lefebvre space is socially produced, there is nothing like an abstract and timeless entity. Social space plays a similar role to place and it includes the representations that local people or users create (representational spaces). Representations – different from what some early and simplistic versions of Marxism stated – are not mere imaginary depictions (superstructure) that arise from real materiality (infrastructure). In a double-relation process, they emerge from particular social conditions, but, at the same time, they help to shape these social structures (Lefebvre 1991; Mitchell 1996).

As far as space is a social product, cultural geographers have noted that dominant groups look to impose their particular representations over space – including their aesthetic taste – in alignment with their

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111 Tim Creswell’s book (2004) is a comprehensive, though very readable, study of the genealogy of the concept of place in human geography and its diverse uses. Reflecting on the work of cultural, Marxist and feminist geography over the last two decades, Massey (2005) provides a powerful analysis of space and the implications that new economic and cultural orders have for the connections between everyday lives and global trends.

112 For instance, John Agnew (1987) considers that three elements compose a place: *location* (the fixed coordinates of a specific place on the Earth’s surface), *locale* (the material setting where people conduct their activities) and *sense of place* (the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place).
particular class, ethnic, religious or gender interests (Cosgrove 1985). However, it would be misleading to assume that the elites are the only groups seeking to consecrate their spatial reading, that their representations are met without resistance or that they always succeed. Indeed, various classes and groups compete to impose their views. Richard Peet (1996), for instance, has analyzed how diverse allies in contemporary Massachusetts dispute representations of the local past in relation to their current political, class and racial struggles. In addition, although dominant classes construct hegemonic representations, subaltern representations are always present and the later resist as well as accept, adapt and modify the dominant ones (Lefebvre 1991). Moreover, as Offen (2003) has argued in the case of the Miskitu of Nicaragua, indigenous groups have turned representations of space and landscape into ideational resources in their fight against transnational firms over the control of territory and the exploitation of natural resources. In the context of a proposed gold mining project in the Peruvian coastal valley of Tambogrande, farmers contrasted large-scale images of homogenous and normalized environments without people with local representations that dramatize daily life (Castillo 2006). Indeed, representations of daily life have become the locus of many of current struggles against the colonization of space in late capitalism (Lefebvre 2002; Massey 2005).

In the examined case, people´s representations of space include the productive landscape but also their appropriation through daily life routines. In this regard, gender and age are central components in the construction of La Granja´s spatial representations. In addition, people´s representations of the past are elaborated vis-à-vis current tensions and negotiations with the mining project. In parallel, their representations of the future express their desires as well as much of their current anxieties over La Granja as a social space.

8.1. THE PAST

For most of the local people, the beginning of mining development in the region is an essential milestone that marks their reading of La Granja´s past. Certainly, past representations of La Granja´s social space are arranged between the time before the arrival of Cambior in the area and after it. The establishment of this watershed in the locality´s history is perfectly understandable due to the great and traumatic effects that Cambior´s displacement caused for the majority of the families. However, there must be an
appreciation of how current processes in La Granja are experienced and narrated, with Rio Tinto’s mining development project as background. In this regard, it is interesting to note that, in a general sense, there are two major narratives depicting La Granja in the years prior to the arrival of Cambior, the Canadian company.

One of the narratives represents La Granja as a backward space, a sort of sad and isolated place with few opportunities for individual development. For instance, a middle-aged local villager describes his life in the locality before the arrival of Cambior:

At the time I was a student, the houses were scattered and untidy. The only street was unpaved, there was only one small health center and there was no sports field. The children walked barefoot while the adults just wanted to have animals to sell and to buy more. They did not invest in their children; they just wanted to be millionaires. Many times, I left the school to graze the cattle; my parents did not really push me to study. My brothers, sisters and I were single, worked for our father. Everybody worked in the farm; the people sold granadilla, coffee, eggfruit, potato, oranges, cheese, hens, etc. People used horses to transport the products to Querocoto.\textsuperscript{xlvi}

The villager’s representation is of La Granja as an agrarian space, relatively isolated with minor urban and economic development. In addition, it highlights the family-oriented and patriarchal traits of La Granja’s society as well as the secondary importance that education played among family’s priorities.

Another middle-aged villager, who returned to La Granja with the BHP Billiton social closure program, elaborates on a similar representation of the locality before mining development in the area:

The families worked in agriculture and cattle raising, and production was mainly for their own consumption. The houses were built of adobe and education was quite limited; the young people had to go Chiclayo to continue their studies. My family was the only one that traded cattle but there very few businesses in the town. Women had no opportunities for wage jobs. The selling of granadilla and beans was the main business and the people sold them in Querocoto. There was not transportation so the people had to go by horse to Querocoto. It was very difficult to travel; one spent the whole day travelling.\textsuperscript{xlvii}

Once more, La Granja is represented as an agrarian space lacking communications. Limited employment and educational opportunities forced the young people to migrate to coastal cities. It is an image of hard work and little future expectation of change, especially for young women. It is worth noting that both narratives come from relatively young adults, who are currently engaged in local businesses providing services to the mining project. For them, amidst rumors that the company will suspend the project because of financial considerations, La Granja’s past does not represent a desirable future. A member of an opportunistic family that has opened various mining-related businesses in the locality adds another
negative characteristic to his already gloomy depiction of La Granja: “Men always fought on Sundays; they got intoxicated and killed each other”.\textsuperscript{xlviii}

In addition, it is no surprise that those people who left the area years before mining operations offer a somber representation of their locality. This dull picture of scarcity works as the background against which their tough decisions become meaningful. A middle-age farmer born in El Verde (an annex of Paraguay) who migrated with his family to Ojo de Toro, on the coast of the Lambayeque Region, explains that:

Ten years ago, El Verde was very poor and there was only maize for personal consumption. There was not enough land to sell in the markets. The sow was between October and November and the harvest between June and July. However, the production was not enough for the whole year, it finished in December. After December, we suffered from hunger; there was much poverty.\textsuperscript{xl}

Many of the residents in Querocoto share a similar vision. After all, they are more likely to reap the benefits of mining development without suffering its negative effects. A merchant, born in a rural village who then later moved to the locality, explains that:

Querocoto, despite being the district capital, was a small place; the houses were not built of brick and cement. The transport was difficult and slow, there was only one bus company and there were many risks on the highway because there was no road maintenance. To bring basic goods and to sell farming products from the area, the merchants had to go to Yanacuna, a stop in the highway between Chota and Cutervo, and then take a bus or a truck to Chiclayo. The people here had no vision for advancement in education and very few people came out from Querocoto to study in Chiclayo or Trujillo. […] Between 1988 and 1992, there was an increase in cattle thefts and robberies to homes. The cattle rustlers went to the farmers´ house and asked them for their plow. Crime was unstoppable; people were afraid, it was a big threat. After this, people organized themselves to create rondas campesinas following the example of Chota. (Male informant, Regional family 2).\textsuperscript{1}

However, many other villagers create different images and contest representations of La Granja as a backward space. Among the interviewed people, it is the seniors and members of the resistant families who create a more positive representation of La Granja´s past. For instance, one of the oldest interviewed villagers states that:

In the time of the hacendados, they organized celebrations where there were bullfights. They were good people. The hacendado “Uvita” Arrascue treated us well and he sold us the part of his land that was not affected by the agrarian reform, so we obtained the titles to sell them to Cambior. […] Before, there were trees full of fruits at the border of the road and you could go with a basket to pick them up. I had granadilla trees, the harvests were abundant and I sold them in La Granja. People from different localities, from Pariamarca and Quipayuc, arrived to La Granja´s Sunday
market. There people wholesaled hens, oranges, limes, coffee to be transported to Chiclayo. People also sold cows and pigs for the slaughterhouse in the city. (In La Granja) there were many people; there were more houses than nowadays because many people have not returned. In those years, people trusted each other, there was more peace in the village, and the cattle were never stolen. I liked to drink, talk and smoke with my friends.

This narrative idealizes the hacienda times, through images of a bucolic farming life and the portrayal of a particular sense of social peace and male socialization. This representation, however, conceals certain forms of violence. In addition, as another elder interviewee adds, the past farming system is perceived as having been very productive:

In La Granja, the lands were fertile and they produced corn, beans, wheat and manioc. The people used the ‘assistance with assistance’ system among the neighbors but it was not necessary much effort due to the good quality of the soil. The women cooked for the laborers and the later were paid daily, but the salaries were cheap. The land was productive, everything that we planted we ate, and we lived from that.

The interviewed members of the resistant families share similar representations of La Granja’s past, which emphasize features of good weather, familiarity and comradeship, shared culture, collective work and solidarity. One local resident expresses that:

The weather, the soil was very productive, fertilizers were not necessary. In addition, there were bigger plots of land where the cattle grazed in an open way. The road ended in Huambos, where the people had to go to get basic goods from the coast; nevertheless not much was needed because people did not consume rice but manioc, nor refined sugar, people had their own sugar mills, prepared sugar-cane liquor and dark brown sugar. [...] In the village, all of us were family related and thus we knew our traditions. I liked that time because a cooperative system existed and we worked in a communal way. When we had to build something, we immediately started to work without waiting for a salary. There was more peace in those years; the people left the working tools in the fields and nobody took them.

A woman from one of the resistant families describes that long ago: “…there were justice and union in La Granja; the people worked together as volunteers; men and women worked in the road maintenance. Everything changed with Cambior.” Another member of a resistant family constructs his memories in a similar way:

Many people lived in La Granja. The mining company Sondi had already made the road and despite few automobiles came, the village was connected to Querocoto, Chota, Cutervo and Chiclayo. The bus company Superman transported the staff of the health center and the schoolteachers. In La Granja, there was a good weather; there was clean water from a spring, the water was not ‘handled’ (meaning it was pure and clean water); there was good land for farming
and cattle grazing. People were supportive and had good manners; it was peaceful to stroll along the streets.\textsuperscript{lv}

Different from the elders’ depictions, for the resistant villagers the construction of idealized representations of La Granja’s past is central to their identity. Their actions during Cambior’s land-acquisition processes take on a meaning when contrasted with a peaceful and copious previous agrarian life. Their decision not to sell their land to Cambior – which in some cases was the result of a delaying strategy for seeking a higher price that was never ultimately offered – could thus be reinterpreted as a heroic resistance to a mining company; a resistance that enabled the survival of the village. In this narrative, the resistant farmers regard those who sold their land as traitors. As a villager that moved away from La Granja recalls: “…the people who stayed in the locality ignored the ones that moved, they thought that we had betrayed them”.\textsuperscript{lvii}

Of course, these opposing representations are a generalization I have created to offer sharper contrasts. The reality is more complex and nuanced; and somehow, contradictory views tint individual and collective representations of La Granja. Therefore, on the one hand, members of the resistant families also mention some negative features of the village before the beginning of the mining project development. For instance, one of the interviewed resistant villagers declares that:

\begin{quote}
We lived a bit away from the culture, without roads and without fast communication. People easily died because there was not a health center in the village and it took too long to get to the city.\textsuperscript{lviii}
\end{quote}

Another resistant villager complains that in the past, the local families: “…raised pigs within their homes, sharing the living space. That was not good for their health.”\textsuperscript{lviii}

On the other hand, even though a middle-aged resident describes La Granja’s past as a place of lacking opportunities and says that he does not want to return to farming activities, he concedes that “…the people were more united, everybody fought the hacienda”.\textsuperscript{lx} It is interesting to note that this type of narrative depicts a social landscape with clear positions against which to take a stand; and, therefore, it allows the emergence of a strong sense of solidarity and collective action. Nowadays, the situation is more complex and the frontier between “enemies” and “allies” are blurred. Certainly, mining development has created opportunities for some families; nevertheless, others have been excluded from those benefits. To some extent, therefore, this situation has fragmented the collectivity. Certainly, some researchers (Damonte 2012) have pointed out the political effects of large-scale mining projects on local
institutions. Because local actors will tend to fight over the resources offered by the mining projects and because the latter will tend to privilege and engage with some groups at the expense of other ones, mining development will exacerbate fragmentation and social conflict – among the localities and within them. Reading the data from La Granja’s case, however, this statement needs to be nuanced. First, because current mining development has strengthened the *ronda campesina* – the most important institution for local governance – instead of weakening it. Second, the mechanisms for accessing economic benefits do not necessarily imply an individual atomization. The access to the temporary employment program is mediated through the collective action of the *ronda campesina* and, maybe more significantly, the creation and implementation of local businesses implies the bolstering of large family networks.

Moreover, representations of the past as a time of solidarity and abundant farming production should be understood in the context of present-day tensions over mining development. In this way, the same villagers that draw a picture of La Granja’s past as being a backward place, when confronted with the changes prompted by the mining project, point out two issues: the loss of cultural identity and social bonds due to the arrival of outsiders, and land and water contamination. A local resident states that because of the arrival of new people in the locality, “…customs, saint festivals, religious celebrations and baptism ceremonies are being lost.”\textsuperscript{xix} In addition, an immigrant residing many years in La Granja indicates:

> The land was very productive, you sow something and everything was harvested, there were large variety of products. Likewise, people were nice, they invite you to have some meals anytime, they never sold you food, and it was given for free. The mines have spoiled everything and the land has lost productivity because of the pollution.\textsuperscript{xi}

As described in the historical chapter, although mining exploration began in the early part of the 1980s with a joint venture between the state and a German company, it was not until 1984 – after Cambior won the option to explore and develop the mineral deposit – that external forces brought major changes to the area. Initially, the mining project created jobs and some economic benefits. However, guided by low standards and barely acceptable practices, the project management promoted local corruption, patron-client and arbitrary relations, and operated in a context of poor safety and working condition, rise of alcohol consumption, and direct threat and violence. Later, educational and health public services were closed, the *ronda campesina* deactivated and the houses demolished. The social space was disarticulated and the physical landscape obliterated. It is against these legacies and contradictory past experiences of
rural life and mining disruption, that local residents construct representations of present-day social space in La Granja.

8.2. THE PRESENT

As previously mentioned, in a double-movement relation, present-day interests shape the construction of past narratives as well, and later influence current representations. In this sense, people directly engaged with mining-related activities and benefiting from the project, those who migrated out of the region fleeing poverty conditions, recent immigrants that have arrived seeking job opportunities and young people, will tend to develop more optimistic visions of the present and will contrast them with relatively harsh representations of the past.

For instance, the male informant of the Resistant family 1 had temporarily worked at the mining project with Cambior, BHP Billiton and, at different times, with Rio Tinto. In addition, as a builder, he had benefited from recent housing demand in the village. He expresses an optimistic view of present-day life in the locality. As a result, he highlights positive performance and effects of current mining development around environmental aspects:

Rio Tinto demands many local workers and provides high safety conditions. Any accident would generate discontent within the village, for that reason the company train local people; the company seeks to avoid accidents. In addition, the company seeks environmental safety and, thus, it builds pits to deposit polluted water.\textsuperscript{lxii}

And especially on economic and social issues:

Nowadays the houses are increasingly tidy. There is higher economic activity in the village because the demand has increased as people have a fixed income, subsequently; there are more local businesses and stores. The surrounding localities bring more farming products to the Sunday market. Now, the major part of the members of the \textit{ronda campesina} do not make their mandatory patrolling because they are working at the project. […] These days, parents think in investing in their children’s education, they have realized that when the company arrives they do not have enough training to get a better salary.\textsuperscript{lxiii}

To the new economic and employment opportunities, a member of one of the returnee families adds positive improvements in housing, public infrastructure and public services as well as general safety:
Nowadays the houses are more modern; they are made of brick and cement and are more in number. We have water service at our homes over the past ten years and sewage system for four years. The roads are in good condition. There are schoolteachers for the three levels (initial, primary and secondary); before there wasn’t, the students entered older at the school because there was neither kindergarten nor an initial level. There is a health center now, before one had to travel to Querocoto to get attention. [...] The village keeps safe and quiet; we have organized the *ronda campesina* and it patrols at night.\textsuperscript{lxiv}

It is no surprise that members of opportunistic families, those who arrived in the locality in search of employment and economic opportunities, narrate visions of confidence of present La Granja. One of these residents considers that the village is now a better place to live than it was before because:

Due to the mine, everybody has a job and you can sell what you have, that is the reason of the street market. There is the Sunday market, when people from Vista Alegre, Querocoto, Mitobamba come to buy and sell. There are restaurants, convenient stores, billiard rooms and cockfights on Sundays. Moreover, with the night patrolling, there are no robberies and one can walk even late at night.\textsuperscript{lxv}

Another immigrant clarifies why he and his family stays in La Granja:

There are more working opportunities and direct employment, such is the case of bricklaying for housing maintenance or the supply of farming and small animals for the local restaurants. I like the opportunities to create businesses. We are a family and we need to raise our income. As long as the opportunities continue, we will stay in the locality.\textsuperscript{lxvi}

Those who have moved out of the village also create positive representations of La Granja. Some indicate environmental concerns, especially around the quality of the river water because “…the mine has polluted the river and it is not possible to swim in it; you get a skin rash”.\textsuperscript{lxvii} In general, however, they construct images of progress linked to economic growth and material improvement, which lead to better living: “La Granja is a better place because everybody has good houses, not like before when the houses were built of mud and straw; people are wise and build pretty houses to get a better price from the mining company.”\textsuperscript{lxviii} Or, as another emigrant states:

Everything has changed, young people are calm, happy because there are jobs, and the mood has changed. There are more houses in the town, more people, more happiness and the youth practice sports. There are restaurants, more cars, there is electricity and television. There are more businesses and if there are more people, everything is better.\textsuperscript{lxix}

Some immigrants even consider the physical environment to be improving. The male informant of the Migrant family 1 expressses: “there are many trees now because people are reforesting.”\textsuperscript{lxx} Indeed, there
is currently less of a threat to the forests from farming activities because of the availability of non-farming paid options.

Nevertheless, many of these immigrants have moved to coastal regions and, although they maintain strong local networks, they prefer to continue their lives there. This may be because coastal cities represent a modern lifestyle. The male informant of the Migrant family 2 explains: “I have furniture and electrical appliances for my house in Chiclayo; here [in Chiclayo] you get more variety at a cheaper price”\textsuperscript{lxxi} or because the cities are better linked to markets, as the male informant of the Migrant family 4:

On the coast, if you don’t have lands you can buy products from other farmers. I usually go to the Mochoqueque market, in Chiclayo, in my own motorbike equipped with a hopper. The trip takes me one day, but when I was [living] in El Verde it took me three days.\textsuperscript{lxii}

As might be expected, members of the regional families – namely, those living in Querocoto – consider the town to be experiencing largely positive changes due to the mining project. There are better roads and a significant improvement in transport facilities, which makes it faster and cheaper to trade products between the village and the coast. The arrival of newcomers and the implementation of project-related investments have fostered a sharp increase in local businesses – mainly in lodging, construction, rental of light trucks, gas stations, and restaurants – and higher competence has produced better services. With more working opportunities, including those for women, and a reduction in unemployment, criminality has decreased. The economic prosperity of the town has translated into more and renewed houses as well as better education, health and sanitation conditions. In addition, some farmers have introduced technological improvements in their practices, such as the adoption of spray irrigation, crop intensification and new techniques for growing coffee, and they have been able to break seasonality of some products in order to avoid overflooding of the market. Activities of the development programs implemented by Rio Tinto’s social fund partly explain these farming improvements. However, in contrast to what occurs in the intended area of resettlement, these programs are relatively successful because the people from Querocoto expect to continue living in the locality. In this sense, their investments in productive activities in the area are linked to their present and future representations of the place.

To some extent, as previously stated, these groups of villagers express their perceptions of a frantic and progressive present against a narrative of economic stagnation and physical isolation in the past. Thus, for instance, a local resident observes that nowadays, “there is work for everybody, while in the past people used to steal the cattle and small animals of their neighbors.”\textsuperscript{lxiii} A merchant from Querocoto is
more direct and claims that, “in the past, this place was dead”. This break with the past would have even produced changes in people’s mentality, especially among young people. The male informant of the Resistant family 1 declares: “With the existence of roads, young people become more active, when you have more money your desire to move out of the village increases.” Another villager comments, “People are friendly but now they do not give you a service for free as before, for any job [they do] they expect a payment.

However, the elderly and members of the resistant families tend to construct representations that challenge the previous images of present-day La Granja. Although they acknowledge some positive aspects of current mining development, such as the opening of local business and employment opportunities, the rise of economic dynamism and the provision of better public services, they are more likely to highlight the negative factors that the project is imprinting in La Granja’s social space. A local resident depicts the changes experienced in the village, explaining that:

Nowadays, we have the provision of basic services; the village looks more like a formal city where we live in a different way. Job opportunities have increased, especially for men. Nevertheless, these opportunities are only for skilled labor because Rio Tinto makes a selection. Thus, the people that work in the project are mainly from Chiclayo and not from here. With so many outsiders, the trust of old times is lacking, now we have to be careful. In addition, the major part of the people only think about personal benefit, people are used to charity and hope to receive everything from the company. This is because when people ask a request to the local government and the company, the latter answers in a more effective way. The authorities neglect the locality because they consider we have enough support from the mining company.

Another member of a resistant family supports these representations of current times in La Granja, stating that:

The population has doubled. Many people have come to work and others have come to make money, they build houses with the purpose to sell them to the mining company. Many people are relatives of La Granja’s families and other ones are totally outsiders who come from regions as Lambayeque and San Martín and cities like Chiclayo, Tarapoto, Jaén, Bagua and Nueva Cajamarca. The increase of outsiders arriving into the area turns difficult the panorama to Rio Tinto because it will extend the negotiation process. The company suggests to the local villagers not to sell their land because people subdivide their land for housing purposes and sell those plots to outsiders. This situation is not beneficial for us, the residents, because the negotiations will extend. The arrival of many outsiders has increased the price of street food: there are two laundry services that employ women and there are two businesses that lease water tanker trucks to the mining project. These businesses provide employment, but mainly to outsiders. In addition, the people do not want to grass their cattle and cultivate the land because they see that business is easier and more profitable. [In addition,] …the authorities do not fulfill their roles as leaders to
ensure the welfare of the population; quite to the contrary, they take care of their own interests. For instance, a local authority has sold stones from the river creating a flooding risk.

A relatively old villager, who sold his land to Cambior and returned to the area with the social closure program implemented by BHP Billiton, complains that nowadays:

The day´s wage for the laborers has increased; they want to earn the same as the mining company´s wage. The people that work for the mining project could go out and travel, they earn enough money while for us, the ones that work in the farm, our land is only to provide us with food. [...] In addition, the water is polluted, it is not suitable for drinking and neither is it good to swim in the river because the mining company´s sewage system goes directly to the river. I do not like the noise that now exists in La Granja and it is not possible to raise animals anymore because they could mix with the neighbors´ ones and face problems. Now there is mistrust among us, the water hoses get lost”.

The above representations of La Granja today raise questions about some of the stated benefits of the project for the local population. These representations indicate major social issues in current debates about the consequences of mining development in rural regions of the country. First, there are the different interests as well the different evaluations by people who have engaged in mining-related activities and those who still mainly depend on agriculture. In a scenario of sharply increasing local prices (Viale & Monge 2012), mining development could seriously affect diverse groups, especially in housing and food provision, and they would raise their voices of discontentment (Vega-Centeno 2011).

The second consideration is the clash between local expectancies of massive and permanent employment and specialized needs of the company and relatively short periods of the labor peaks. The divergence arises from the limited capacities of local economies to provide labor and services to a highly specialized and capital intensive industry (Mendoza 2011) and the difficulties of building regional productive clusters (Kuramoto 1999). The management of these expectations is central to the adequate development of the project and is often at the core of the social responsibility programs (ProDiálogo n.d.).

The third issue to note is the marked shift in local migratory and demographic dynamics. In terms of representations, one of the most remarkable consequences is that the localities have moved from places of expulsion to places of reception. Perceptions of mistrust, insecurity and a dislike of outsiders, and a general sense of a loss of community, are better understood in terms of these changes. There is a sense of fluidity, change and instability that significantly modifies the quality of the social capital (McLean, Schultz & Steger 2002). This is to say, there has been a move from “bridging” social capital – which
links people to social networks and markets – to “bonding” capital, which leads to more insular behavior as expressed in the hostility of outsiders.\textsuperscript{113}

The fourth issue is the political tension between the local governments and the populations within the area of influence of mining projects. One of the points of tension emerges from the provision of public services to the population within the direct influence area of the mining project. People and authorities from surrounding areas consider that the areas adjacent to the project receive large benefits from the company’s CSR programs, so those populations would not need more attention and the diversion of public funds. As a local villager, a schoolteacher in La Granja, indicates, “We do not have the support of the district municipality; the authorities think we have enough financial resources because this is a mining zone and there are other areas with more urgent needs”.\textsuperscript{113} Generally, populations within the direct areas of mining project’s influence are rural and relatively small in number; therefore, their political ability to influence the local government’s decisions around the allocation of public services and resources is limited (Soria 2014). Abandoned by their local and regional authorities – and often by the central government too – these populations will turn to the mining company for the solution to their demands. The lack of attention of local and regional authorities to the local populations, then, reinforces the formation of the patron-client system between the latter and the mining project, a dependency process that Salas (2010) has acutely analyzed for the case of the San Marcos district, under the area of influence of Antamina’s copper project in northern Peruvian Andes. Therefore, a political dependency is created in addition to an economic one.\textsuperscript{114} Furthermore, as Soria (2014) has examined for the case of the province of Espinar, Cusco – where a Glencore copper project operates – while transparency efforts from civil society groups have mostly centered their attention upon the company’s CSR programs, it is the local governments who manage the greater proportion of the financial resources in the territory. The abundance of these resources has fueled significant cases of corruption as well as conflict over the political control of the local governments (Arellano-Yanguas 2011).\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{113} David Brereton, personal communication, 13 July 2014.
\textsuperscript{114} “People have been merely satisfied working in the mine and have stopped farming. Everybody has wasted their income consuming unimportant things, there are not savings.” (“La gente se ha conformado con el trabajo de la mina y ha dejado de sembrar. Todos han invertido y malgastado en el consumo, no hay capacidad de ahorro”. Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).
\textsuperscript{115} The majority of these resources comes from the distribution at regional and local level of 50% of the income taxes paid by mining companies to the central government, a system designed under the New Extractive Industry Strategy (Arellano-
Despite these different and sometimes opposing representations of La Granja, the local people are aware that the economic prosperity they are experiencing depends on the mining project. As a local resident wonders, “La Granja now has roads to bring in trade products because of the mining project, but if the company leaves the area, who will keep up maintenance?” Another resident fears the abandonment of the mining project because it “…provides us with employment and we have got used to this kind of work”. An emigrant who left the area almost 15 years ago and now lives in a rural area in the coast of Lambayeque expresses an even grimmer vision: “El Verde is a bit better now, but this is just a temporal relief due to the mining-related employment. Agriculture continues in the same bad situation. The highlands have no alternatives; it is a very poor region.” Indeed, the whole transformation of the space is linked to mining development; when it stops, it will repeat the cycles of creation and destruction, which are characteristic of capitalist development. Of course, these uncertainties are the main sources of anxiety about the individual and collective future of the Granjinos.

8.3. THE FUTURE

To some extent different from the representations of the past and present, the representations that people present about La Granja’s future are less aligned with individual and family interests and positions. In other words, although young people and returnee, opportunistic and migrant family members emphasize some different aspects from elders and resistant family members, there is a shared sense of uncertainty and anxiety about the future. In addition, also different from the previous representations, people construct less elaborate narratives, maybe precisely as a result of the uncertainty and the difficulty to foresee the future.

Of course, many Granjinos imagine a better future life outside the village and on various occasions, their desired future place to live is a relatively calm town in the highlands, in the Cajamarca region. The local villager states: “I would like to live in Chota; it is quiet and looks like La Granja. There I would have a good house, better than the one I have now.” Another resident declares:

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Yanguas 2011). For a comparative examination of the political implications of the distribution system of extractive revenues in the Andean countries, see Arellano-Yanguas & Mejía-Acosta (2014).
I imagine myself living in Chota; it is a strategic place, quiet, with good security and good relation among the neighbors. People are progressive, with future alternatives to start a business. In addition, I am from Chota, I have friends and relatives there, I know the situation of my town, and there is not so much selfishness. I am willing to go because of my kids. I want to buy a computer for them and a car to move my brother [who is physically handicapped]. In the future, I would like to have an excursion house in the country, not built of brick and cement, a house where I could have my own world, with a children’s playground, a little lake where I can raise ducks, with trees, cattle and big enough to bring the family together. My dad had a project like that. I also want to improve pastures and crops and to reactivate beekeeping and the breeding of small animals; it is a profitable business. I would die on the farm.\textsuperscript{lxxxv}

Nevertheless, not everybody agrees with these images of a romanticized rural landscape untouched by modernity. As a male migrant informant from La Granja who currently lives in Querocoto explains, “Sometimes I think to sell everything and move back to Chota, my hometown. However, everything has also changed there; the town has grown.”\textsuperscript{lxxxvi}

Indeed, for a good number of the \textit{Granjinos}, migration to a coastal city – mainly Chiclayo – is the preferred and envisioned future, even if the mining company does not go ahead with the project:

Because of my children, I would like to live in Chiclayo, whether the project is being done or not. I would like to have a spacious house because I have many children, and close to an educational institution, not in the slums. I want to buy non-saline lands on the coast with technical irrigation system; I would work managing the crops then.\textsuperscript{lxxxvii}

Similarly, another resident indicates that:

In the future, I imagine that we will be living in Chiclayo because of the education of our children. A good zone would be Pimentel or suburbs like La Victoria or Primavera; they have paved roads and walkways, they are not slums, and we can save on transportation costs because they are close to the universities. I would like a two-story house, with patio, carpark and all the services. I would like to have a refrigerator and a car. We would like to buy farming land to cultivate rice or maize. In addition, if the project continues I would lease heavy machinery to the company.\textsuperscript{lxxxviii}

Somewhat different from the rural ideals of the previous informants, the latter narratives emphasize the perceived benefits of the urban life: higher education opportunities, better public services and expectations of urban and modern comforts. Nonetheless, these residents also wish to keep ties with farming activities – as it is the case of the male informants of the Resistant family 2, Returnee family 2, Migrant family 1 and Opportunistic family 1. These representations do not imply a sharp break between country and the city, but a continuition of their previous lives and in complement to them. Read in the context of the large urban-country inequalities existing in the country, the statements are an argument for continuing with a farming lifestyle without suffering the lack of opportunities. In addition, there is also
no break between the present and the future in many of the local narratives. People not only want to continue with some forms of improved agriculture, but also want to continue the link with the mining project for the rest of their lives. A male informant for the Resistant family 1 argues: “The solution is that Rio Tinto supports us to build local businesses to continue servicing the project. I want the project to give me work until I die or until I can no longer work.” In this sense, the expectation is that in exchange for a permanent asset—land—the mining project should provide permanent benefits to the local population, not just discrete compensation packages. They expect, in other words, one livelihood in exchange for another.

Once again, the residents of Querocoto construct the most optimistic image:

There will be large benefits if the mine is constructed. Just the work of the Social Fund will last two years; it is not good to oppose the mine. Querocoto will be a strategic economic center and we need to be prepared. Investors will come to open businesses and hostels. For that reason, I have planned to buy a terrain on the outskirts to build a hostel. Previously there was no economic movement. The local people know how to use a shovel, unskilled people will be unemployed. Construction will increase in Querocoto because people from far away will arrive to buy and sell products; there will be more houses; a peripheral road is already under construction in an area without houses and the town will grow. I would like that those who have not had opportunities now have a chance to get a house and educate their children, so the children could have different jobs from their parents. The company could stop operations but if the children are educated, they can work anywhere.

A local woman, who owns a small business in Querocoto, declares that if the project continues: “the work for women will increase because they are more skillful than men. Furthermore, there would be less crime because people are making a great effort in training themselves in order to access the employment opportunities.”

Along with these promising views of their own future, people imagine somber representations of La Granja as space:

If the mining project is developed, La Granja will be a desert because of the construction of an open pit and the removal of land. This land will belong to nobody in the next forty years of exploitation. La Granja will disappear.

It is interesting to note that many interviewed people imagine La Granja’s future as a desert, an empty place without life, or, even worse, a polluted place of desolation:

I don’t know what a project looks like; I have never been in a mine, but certainly, there will be no plants, the mine destroys everything; copper damages the land. The wind will be more
polluted. People will move out and will have to eat another kind of food. The houses will disappear. xciii

Moreover, social relations will be disrupted; foreign people will arrive, the local ones will be displaced and families and family units will be split and moved to different places. It is a general sense of loss of place, a lifestyle and social bonds:

When the machinery enters and the land movement starts, the place will be devastated. A large camp full of foreign people will be installed. There will be environmental contamination, with noise and smoke, there will no longer be water and vegetation. It will be sad to see the place where my son was born. The school will be buried. I will see La Granja as the end of what it was. xciv

An immigrant who has established himself in La Granja more than a decade ago mentions:

If the project goes ahead, the company will expulse the people, only the company’s people will remain to do whatever they want. The village will disappear and foreign people will arrive, we will never come back. There will be nothing here; it will be just a desert. I would not like to move because I am fond of this place. I will not find in other places the same that exists here in La Granja. xcv

Among local people, there is uncertainty about the future of the project and their own lives, which is a source of sadness and nostalgia. One local merchant from Querocoto mentioned that with the project operating: “Many investors will arrive; there will be more competence and they could take our clients away. This is a fear we have. There will also be an increase in the population and sexual freedom; that is scarier.” xcvi Indeed, many people perceive the possibility of moving, especially to a big city on the coast, as an opportunity, but also a risk:

We are afraid to be robbed when moving to the coast. Our fellows know us, and they can spread the news that we are arriving to the city with money from the sale of our properties to the mine. In addition, people in Chiclayo are not welcoming. xcvii

Furthermore, some people are wary of the mining company’s promises of future support and fairness. A local villager is worried about being abandoned by the company and declares: “The company mentions that we will be supported for one and half years; but that time is short, considering there are elderly people. The mining company will expulse us in different places.” xcviii Another villager reinforces this distrust:

I don’t think Rio Tinto will fulfill its promises to support the resettled families. The company will not be interested in them when they have already moved. Even now, when we are in the zone, if you made a request the company takes ages in answering. xcix
The combination of these factors – reluctance, uncertainty and mistrust – causes some people to doubt the feasibility of the project itself. For example, a local resident believes that the mining project will not continue because: “…according to the company’s policy it is enough that someone is not in agreement with the project [and therefore the company must] abandon it. This seems unbelievable but they [Rio Tinto’s employees] say that in their meetings.”c Other villagers consider that they will not move and they will resist the implementation of the project; they want to continue living in La Granja:

I would like to live in peace. In the coast, life is too busy and people age fast. I will continue with my same business [lodging and catering] and foresting. I also would like to implement a coffee and granadilla project. I do not have an ideal place where to live; I want to continue living here in La Granja and I will not sell my properties to the mine.cii

A local woman from a resistant family depicts one of the darkest scenes:

It will be a disaster if the company develops its project, the lands will be spoiled, the water will be polluted. We see how the mining companies do that. Nevertheless, nobody wants to sell their land; for that reason the company has called the police; perhaps they will kill us. The company has lost all the trust we gave it with its response in the last strike; nobody believes them. There will not be working opportunities, because they want professionals. What they promise it a trick until they expulse us from here. They will not consider the local suppliers. If they are doing awful things now, could you imagine what they will do later when they become the owners?ciii

In this context, some people have developed a strategy for benefiting from the mining project without selling the land and, thereby allowing the project to be developed. As a local resident explains, “the people say ‘let them [the employees from the mining project] come here to provide jobs until they get tired.’”ciii

8.4. REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE AND CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE

As presented in the theoretical discussion, through their representations and memories – which include the use of sensorial and effective attributes (Creswell 2004; Tuan 2001) – people appropriate otherwise anonymous space and convert it into their own vivid and unique place. However, the appropriation of space and construction of place is not a mere act of individual memory. This process of remembrance is anchored in the collective struggles over place and territory, which, in La Granja’s case, have moved
from being a struggle against the hacendado to a conflict relationship with the mining project and its different operators. Certainly, the mining project works as both a temporal and geographical landmark from which local people produce their representations of the past, present and future of the village. In La Granja, mining is a central element of the ‘sedimentary landscape’ (Moore 1998) and the recreation of its historical legacy is central to current local micropolitics.

For many local people, the changes brought about by the mining project are represented and experienced as a tension between, on the one hand, future economic and education opportunities and social and spatial mobility and, on the other hand, the destruction of place. The destruction of La Granja as a place is conceptualized in three dimensions. The first one highlights environmental aspects related to perceptions of contamination of the soil, water and air. The second is a social dimension that points out the breaking of social bonds, the separation of families, the loss of solidarity and cultural traditions and the relaxation of morals (especially in terms of the women’s sexual behavior). In brief, this is a dimension that stresses social anomia, which is produced by the changes in lifestyles from the country to the city (Harvey 1985). The third feature comprises symbolic elements as far it refers to the vanishing images of homeland.

Along the two axes – economic benefits and social and physical mobility, and loss of place – people position themselves in complex, fluid and sometimes contradictory ways according to factors of family and personal history of engagement with the mining project, age and sex. Therefore, older people, men and those positioning themselves as resistant to the mining project will be likely to produce a past rural arcadia of peace and harmony, bucolic agrarian life, abundant production, solid social bonds, solidarity, shared values, and closeness to a pristine nature. They will use these representations as a background against which to contrast what they regard as an unruly present. At the same time, when imagining places for future living, they will create spatial utopias, a recreation of the desired La Granja in other locations. Places such as Chota emerge as idealized rural landscapes of bucolic relations of communal work and solidarity. It is worth noting that in the case of the male informant’s narrative of the opportunistic family 2, the landscape is linked to the figure and memories of his father. As it has been noted in the chapter on La Granja’s history, Chota is the place of origin of many Granjinos, and moving back to that warm and fertile Andean province is not merely an individual return to the homeland. It is the symbolic return to a rural place where there is no mining development, a return to the lost arcadia of solidarity, selflessness and contact with nature. Certainly, it is a sort of recreation of “the land without evil” that many indigenous populations sought in their desperate escape from the ethnocidal effects of the colonial orders in South
America (Clastres 1989). In any case, the constant moving back and forward of the mining project has also produced uncertainty and anxiety about their future lives for many Granjinos. Albrecht (2005) has coined the neologism solastalgia to refer to the stress that environmental change, such as the one produced by large-scale mining operations, causes people, and the sense of a lack of control over global and external forces. In the examined case, despite there being no significant environmental changes, given that the project has not been developed yet, people are likely to manifest their social distress using an environmental reading. In other words, the environment becomes the arena for social struggles over space and economic benefits.

Other members of La Granja’s society, however, contest the previous representations. Women, especially, refuse to accept the narrative of La Granja’s past as a heroic fight, first against the hacendado, and then against Cambior. They reject a vision of a peaceful patriarchal society, which hides social conflicts, hustling, heavy drinking and, more significantly, domestic violence. Therefore, for some elderly female interviewees, La Granja’s past represents a closed space where their movements were strictly limited to their homes. For these women, La Granja’s old days depict a space of male fights, heavy alcohol consumption, jealousy and insecurity:

In the parties, men got drunk; they fought and killed each other. I did not like to go out of my home in La Lima; I saw the fights from far away and I was scared of the killing. My husband was always watching over me when he was drunk. Another woman, who migrated to La Granja in the mid-1990s, expresses a similar perspective: “When drank, people fought and killed each other. I was afraid to come to La Granja during festivities. There were no authorities, only when Cambior arrived was a police station established.”

Furthermore, many women have struggled for the breaking of social barriers and salaried work. In this sense, the mining project has meant an opportunity for change from which many women have directly benefited. Therefore, it is little wonder that women construct less idealized images of the past and view current conditions in the village in a more positive light. In addition, significantly more often than men, women tend to link their demands to the benefit of their children and family – for instance, employment opportunities or better health and education services instead of cash compensation or productive projects – rather than to themselves. Similarly, a local woman indicates that she likes more present-day La Granja more than before because: “there are jobs for our children, otherwise they would have to move out to other places and the family would break”. This situation is consistent with findings in other mining
regions (Soria 2012). Maybe because women’s political participation in the research area is notably limited, they tend to support or oppose the development of the mining project due to interests directly related to their livelihoods and less to ideological positions.

Along with sex, age also shapes representations of social space. Thus, for instance, adult women tend to portray the city – namely Chiclayo – as a space of danger and insecurity that restrains their physical mobility. These women perceive the city as being a sort of maze, a labyrinth where it is difficult to read its signs. On the contrary, although young women recognize the city’s lack of security, they emphasize the different choices it offers, the possibility of finding paid work, making friends, establishing relationships among peers and strolling around the streets and shopping malls without the family constraints they experience in La Granja. Younger generations mostly perceive rural localities as being backward places, where there is nothing to do except work around the mining project:

I did not like Chiclayo at the beginning; the streets seemed all the same to me and I would get lost. Then I made friends at work and we strolled along the streets. I do not miss La Granja; every time I go, I get bored. I like how it is now more though; before there was nothing, not even jobs. Only old people miss farming, only old people like how La Granja was in the past.\textsuperscript{cvii}

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to think there is a sharp and clear distinction between men and women’s representations of La Granja. Not all men idealize the past and not all women contest the hegemonic vision of La Granja’s past. Certainly, some women do not even question the old patriarchal system, but miss the stability it provided. For them, the changes that mining development has brought into the area have created social disorder, which is verbalized in terms of fears arising from untamed sexual behavior: prostitution, licentious lifestyles, marital infidelity or separation and divorce. A migrant who keeps strong ties with La Granja mentions that there is “more prostitution and licentiousness among men and women, the latter are prostituting in a hidden way.”\textsuperscript{cviii} A local woman describes a direct link between the mining project, access to money and marital disruption: “Women leave their husbands, they are dirty women; I do not like that. With the arrival of the company, men from other places come; women then establish relationships with married men; they are lovers for money”.\textsuperscript{cix}

Indeed, this is not necessarily an opposition between men and women; it is about how gender relations – which include practices, roles and discourses – are conceived and about the moral statements that local people express regarding how these relations should work. Therefore, in some cases, both men and women assume strong positions against what they perceive to be an attack on the established social and
moral order. In this sense, representing the spearhead of modernizing processes in the local area, some people consider that mining development does not only destroy the material landscape, but that it also erases the prevailing social relations among villagers, and among men and women; it is “…the end of what it was”, as expressed by a male resident.\textsuperscript{cx} For this reason, the conservative agrarian utopias that some people create reflect a desire to return to an idealized place prior to mining development, not merely in the sense of contact with nature but also in the sense of a patriarchal society of collective work, solidarity, benevolent authority and family-oriented values.

In a provocative and incisive essay, Guillermo Nugent (2012) analyses the distinction between ‘destiny’ and ‘project’ in the context of the exclusive and hierarchical class and ethnic order of Lima’s society in the 1960s. While, from the perspective of the privileged white minority, subaltern groups (Indigenous, African descendants and mestizos) should simply follow their ‘destiny’ and become farmers, bus drivers or minor public servants, for instance, without questioning the status quo, the members of the fortunate class should follow their own personal ‘project’ and, for instance, become writers, artists or whatever they choose. Through their future dreams – whether to become professionals or merchants and live in modern houses in the city, or practice technical farming in pleasant rural communities – and their everyday actions, the men and women from La Granja build projects and refuse to be categorized in terms of an expected shared destiny.

This chapter has explored the representations that men and women construct regarding the social space of La Granja. The analysis of the material reveals that mining development is the landmark from which the local history and landscape is read. There is a ‘before’ and ‘after’ of the beginning of mining operations in the village. Therefore, representations of the past, present and future of the place are read in relation to mining development. Consequently, these representations vary according to how people position themselves in relation to the mining project. Family history, current economic interests, age and sex – and the combination of these – are the main variables that help to explain variations in the representations of La Granja.
PART C. BY WAY OF CONCLUSION
9. Conclusions, contributions and further research

9.1. Spatial transformations of the rural Peruvian Andes and mining development

Although the material analyzed is taken from one specific case, it is possible to draw conclusions at a higher explanatory level and throw new light on current explanations about social change in Peruvian rural societies.

It is important to emphasize the factors and particularities of the selected case, stated in the Research Problem section. The first is that the project exhibits a long history of more than four decades of mining activities in the area, implemented by diverse mining companies under diverse international, national and corporate governance regimes. In this sense, the case is different to those of other investigations which focus upon the changes a single mining project has brought to local families in a relatively short period (Bury 2004; Salas 2008; Gil 2009; Himley 2010; Li 2015). The selected case allows the comprehension of cyclic dynamics of household strategies in the long-term. It also facilitates the appreciation of the importance of corporate standards and practices in shaping social outcomes. The fact that a mine has not been yet constructed is a second feature of La Granja case. While other studies stress environmental drivers (Bury 2004; Bebbington & Williams 2008; Bury 2011; Himley 2014a, Li 2015), this thesis shows that significant local social and economic change can occur even in the absence of major environmental actions. There is a vast literature on current Peruvian mining centered on conflictive situations (Bury, J & Kolff 2002; Bebbington 2007; De Echave et al. 2009; Li 2015), but what also makes this case distinctive is the absence of considerable and open conflict between local populations and the mining company. This has facilitated the examination of local strategies other than resistance and violence. Finally, the selected case is distinctive from many other Andean communities that have been studied in the country (Salas 2008; Gil 2009; Himley 2010; Burneo & Chaparro 2011), in that it does not involve a
campesino community, with the collective forms of land ownership and land governance that characterize much of Peru. The La Granja case exhibits a land ownership regime individually managed by each family, and highlights the speed and ease of land transactions in the context of mining development.

These factors do not turn La Granja into an exceptional situation that could not be compared with other cases. Instead, they challenge some of the current accounts of the social effects of mining development in Peru and provide a more complex and contradictory picture of the resulting processes. Taking into account the particularities detailed above, this research produces five major conclusions that concern access to space and the value of land, mobility between rural and urban areas, the importance of social networks in the context of weak institutions, the creation of new social identities, and of representations of social change.

9.1.1. Changes over land access and land value

A main feature in the case of La Granja is the persistence of land access as a central locus in the village’s contemporary history. Far from being a homogenous community enjoying stable livelihoods, suddenly interrupted by the arrival of a mining project, one of the most salient continuities in La Granja’s history is the cycle of struggle which different actors have engaged in concerning land: landlords, tenants, the state, mining companies, local families with diverse interests and socioeconomic conditions, and outsiders. In this sense, mining development is just the most recent of these cycles of struggle over the appropriation for accessing space in the research area, and will probably not be the last. In this process, mining development has created dispossession (during Cambior’s land acquisition plan) and high levels of uncertainty (with the ups and downs of the project during Rio Tinto’s management). However, it has also created some forms of security by pressuring state agencies to accelerate land titling within the local families. It is paradoxical, therefore, that farmers secure land titles only to make them available to global forces for accessing and exploiting natural resources.

On the other hand, it is also true that there are discontinuities. A central novelty is that once the large mineral deposit is identified, it will remain a fixed asset waiting to be realized as capital. In other words, the value of land has changed from a production factor (to farm or raise livestock, for instance) to a “deposit of value” (Glave 2008). The shift in the source of value for land has diverse implications. One
of the implications is that mining development is promoting the formation of a land market in the research area. However, this is not only due to direct transactions between mining companies and local families. In La Granja, a large number of land purchases have occurred among families in the context of high expectations of economic benefit in potential negotiations with mining companies. This is a prominent phenomenon in various mining areas in the country which, nevertheless, is under-researched. Furthermore, land market formation in the examined rural Andean region is not tied to increases in farming production and productivity. Indeed, Granjino families have seen a rise in their incomes, not because of farming activities but due to non-farming activities. In this sense, and contrary to what the classic literature on rural modernization phenomena in Western Europe and the United States has stated, local market integration is not homegrown, as agrarian production rises and the surplus is sent to satisfy a growing demand in industrialized cities. In the examined case, mining development is producing an exogenous form of market integration through the increase of wage income linked to non-farming activities and the rise in the consumption of external goods.

Certainly, the Peruvian rural world is less dependent on agriculture and is becoming more diversified (Escobal 2001). Mining development is a very important factor explaining this shift in many rural areas. This is not necessarily because of environmental impacts that would negatively affect rural livelihoods. For the local families of the examined case, socioeconomic factors have been the major drivers for economic change and diversification. Wage-employment, local business opportunities and the construction of the road that connects La Granja with Querocoto and the city of Chiclayo on the coast – a road that altered much of the previous trading system – have been instrumental in the transformation of the local economy and the redefinition of La Granja from a place of expulsion to a place of reception. Indeed, mining development is shaping a reconfiguration of regional axes with the displacement of previous farming and trading centers to new nodes of capital accumulation.

In addition, the experience of La Granja is an example of how transnational companies and national institutions prompt transformations within regional and local spaces. However, the examined material indicates that the transformations brought about are not an automatic outcome mechanically derived from global forces. Quite the contrary, the diverse set of sophisticated strategies deployed by the local families reveals a large amount of local agency. Local organizations (like the peasant patrols or rondas campesinas) and households mediate global processes and they have been able to significantly the speed and direction of the changes.
9.1.2. Fluidity of rural-urban mobility

Some of the current literature exploring the effects of large-scale mining on rural societies considers that it is causing major emigration flows, as mining operations seriously affect local livelihoods (Bury 2011). The examination of the La Granja case suggests a more complex panorama. First, there have been many migratory waves throughout the region’s history and poverty has been a major factor in the emigration of some members of the families, particularly young people. Mining development is certainly a new explanatory factor in the migratory processes. However, because of employment and business opportunities, it is reversing the flow and more people are arriving in the area rather than leaving, although it may be only a temporary phenomenon. Second, and perhaps more importantly, migratory flows are neither unidirectional – from the country to the cities – nor permanent. They are part of elaborate strategies of double-residence, which allows households to access the housing and education advantages of the cities while retaining rights in the country. The members of the households move back and forth following economic cycles. In the context of mining development, people employ these strategies more often and use extended kinship to claim local benefits. Consequently, local families have developed flexible productive and mobile strategies in a broader area that blurs the distinction between the country and the city. The social and economic reproduction of the locality thus goes beyond the limits of La Granja to create a social and productive space that connects broader areas and locations in a dense network. Indeed, as much as the rural areas become more urbanized (with the spread of television or the consumption of urban styles and goods, for instance) there is also a ruralization of the city. Certainly, in their occupation of areas outside the region, the Granjino immigrants take with them their social and cultural capital and adapt it to the new areas (for instance, the creation of urban patrols or rondas and associations of fellow villagers in the city). In consequence, rural Andean families reproduce social and cultural strategies in the new urban context, a process that early anthropologists have studied in depth.

Therefore, unlike the classic rural-urban migration in the West, this case suggests the configuration of an urbanization that is not a binary or closed process from rural to urban lives. The emerging pattern is a mixed and fluid one where families use their networks to bridge both spaces. In addition, the strategy of double-residency permits the local families not only to secure their rural properties but also to avoid becoming fully proletarian. In this sense, mining development is contributing to a major trend in the country where people from rural areas are leaving farming activities and farming identity but are not
necessarily becoming proletarians, this is to say, workers in industrial cities that do not own anything but their labor. For instance, the practice and expectations of some local villagers— and not only the elderly— of buying farming lands on the coast and continuing to work in agriculture although living in the city, must not be regarded simply as the product of nostalgia for the lost rural world. It is also a statement against the separation between working place and living place, which is characteristic of industrial conditions and people perceive as alienating.

As in many other rural areas in the country, many Granjinos have placed their living expectations in the city. That explains, for instance, the direction of the remittance flows from the country to the cities, where families invest in education and housing. However, the situation of many immigrants in the city is far from ideal. The failed industrialization of the country\footnote{The military government of Juan Velazco attempted to industrialize the country in the early 1970s following the import-substitution prevailing at the time. The process failed and ended with an enormous economic crisis during the first government of Alan García in the mid-1980s. The informal economy then grew exponentially. The implementation of liberal reforms in the 1990s, the opening of the country to free-trade policies and the consolidation of an economy based on the export of natural resources has proved to be ineffective for significantly reducing the informal sector.} has led to the growth of the informal sector. In a context of pervasive and long-standing gaps between rural and urban living standards in the country, it is no surprise that young people seek to migrate to the cities despite the high levels of crime there. Although people see the city as a place of risk as well as opportunity—a place of change and mobility—the lack of security of informal jobs and the poor quality of education demonstrate the strict limits of the urban myth in the country.

The interpretation of the migratory processes has been highly political. In the 1990s, while left-wing researchers\footnote{Linked to the NGOs Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) and DESCO.} regarded the rural-urban immigrants as the builders of a more democratic society amid class and ethnic barriers of discrimination, liberal thinkers\footnote{In the Instituto Libertad y Democracia (ILD).} considered the same political subjects as the creators of a popular capitalism (Castillo 2000). More recently, the enormous expansion of the extractive industry has further polarized the positions. On the one hand, right-wing personalities consider rural settlers as backward and selfish populations who oppose modernizing projects in favor of the whole nation (García 2007; Bebbington & Humphreys Bebbington 2011). On the other, progressive academics regret the weakening of traditional social organizations and the de-ruralization and de-peasantization of the country (Arana 2011; Burneo 2014) or interpret local opposition to extractive projects as proof of
“ecologism of the poor” (Martínez Alier 2008). Meanwhile, the Granjino families, for whom the labelling of rural or urban makes little sense, use any strategy – through formal or informal means – to build a better life.

9.1.3. Weak institutions, strong social networks

The historical account of La Granja indicates that a legitimate democratic system with efficient institutions did not replace the collapse of the hacienda regime. During the 1980s, with the profound economic crisis and the civil war, the state retreated from vast parts of the country’s territory, economy and society. Informal organizations and activities – such as informal and micro businesses, self-defense committees and independent political movements – partly filled the political, economic and social vacuum. The neoliberal reforms implemented in the early 1990s, with the deregulation of the economy and further reduction of the state apparatus, accentuated the informality of Peruvian society. Moreover, after Fujimori’s coup d’état and the dissolution of parliament, the government co-opted the judicial system and mounted extended mechanisms of corruption and a patron-client system to obtain political control. In the research area, local families experienced how the central government backed the mining project and put pressure on them to sell their lands. The state closed education and health public services in the localities and accused some of their leaders of terrorism.

Amid this panorama of institutional weakness and lack of state legitimacy, local social organizations and networks are the main structures that mediate between the mining companies and the households. Moreover, because of the inexistence of any other institution with whom to negotiate, the last two mining companies have preferred to negotiate with the ronda campesina. At variance with some arguments (Damonte 2012), mining development does not necessarily lead to institutional weakening and fragmentation. In the case examined, and perhaps as an intended consequence, it has strengthened a key local organization.

Despite the ongoing transformations, Granjinos are becoming neither more individualistic nor entering into anonymous relations. For the Granjinos, kinship and other forms of social networks and membership (for instance, regional and local bonds and the membership of the rondas campesinas) play a central role in their economic, social and cultural lives. Even more, a sense of belonging and place attachment
continues and the migrants in the city reproduce them through diverse cultural and sport activities, the maintenance of religious festivities and the recreation of patterns of social differentiation.

Nevertheless, the transformations that mining development prompts alter other aspects of the local social order. Gender relations are perhaps the most notorious and important of those changes. New generations of women are increasingly challenging existing gender relations and roles in La Granja. This is particularly true of issues regarding economic autonomy and spatial mobility. Therefore, there is a clash between traditional forms of social organization (namely, the patriarchal order, system of land inheritance and land ownership, and sexual division of labor) and imperatives of gender equality. Mining development – with the opening of employment and economic opportunities for women and the support for the creation of the women’s patrols or ronda de mujeres – has created new avenues for female autonomy. Of course, the new opportunities find resistance, from both men and women, and this sometimes leads to gender violence.

9.1.4. Hybrid identities and social positioning

The examination of La Granja’s process suggests that ongoing social and economic transformations are helping to shape complex changes in collective and individual identities. In Peruvian society, groups and individuals tend to construct their social identities in relation to the position of other individuals and they do that within a hierarchical structure of labor, which values literacy and intellectual work over physical labor (Fuller 2001). Racial considerations overlap with a system of classification and rate of labor and create a hierarchical world, which hegemonic perceptions see as a natural order (Nugent 2012). In this order, for instance, a company manager is “naturally” classified as blanquilloso (white) and is superior to a bus driver who is “naturally” classified as zambo (African descendant), who, in turn, is above a rural

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119 The access to formal education in Spanish – the hegemonic language in the country over against native languages – and the mastering of literacy – in contrast to oral forms – are central components in the construction of the power structure of Peruvian social exclusion. The school system endlessly recounts and reinforces the story of the last Inca, Atahualpa, in his encounter with the Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizarro in the moment before he was captured in Cajamarca. The mythology indicates that Atahualpa threw aside the Bible preached from by a Catholic priest because he was not able to hear the word of God from the book. It is the foundational image in the discourse of the superiority of the Spanish and literate world over the indigenous and oral one (Nugent 2010). It is not for nothing that after the fight for land, access to education has been the most important struggle that Andean campesinos in Peru have embraced (Degregori 1986).

120 Gender lines also take part in the construction of this hierarchical order: rural, indigenous women occupy the lowest positions (De la Cadena 1991).
farmer or campesino, who is “naturally” described as indio (indigenous person from the Andes). However, unlike the apartheid system of the United States and South Africa – in which the “color line” marks two clearly defined and separate groups with its own distinctive social and phenotypical features, the racial class system in Peru is relational (Fuenzalida 1970). A person is defined as white only in relation to another and he or she could be considered more indigenous in relation to another. For instance, a Granjino could be considered as serrano (indigenous) by a middle-class, white-collar employee of Cajamarca city, who in turn would be a serrano for a Limenian. In addition, any Limenian is classified as less white than a Western foreigner. Moreover, as Nugent suggests (2012), from the perspective of the elite only their members are allowed to develop their life projects; to become what they want and fulfil their individual dreams. This perspective denies individuality to members of subalterns groups, who are condemned to reproduce their collective destiny. In this vision, the children of subaltern groups should reproduce the labor positions of their parents like, for instance, bus drivers or campesinos (Hopkins, van der Borght & Cavassa 1990).

Against this general background, it could be asked what happens when farming no longer defines the identities of many rural people, as is the case of the Granjinos. As has been said, land continues to be central to the economic life of the local families, not because of farming – this is to say, a labor relation – but because it allows the families to negotiate benefits with the mining company. In other words, many Granjinos are becoming less campesinos in relation to their position within the labor system. In consequence, what kind of identities can the Granjinos build if their socioeconomic position is less linked to productive relations?

The call for an ethnic identity is an option. Certainly, ethnicity crosses occupation and class distinctions and it has attracted diverse groups in Bolivia and Ecuador. This is especially true in current circumstances where the development of international and national legal frameworks provides incentives for ethnic formation, as in the case of the implementation of ILO Convention 169 (Castillo 2002a). In the context of the rapid change unleashed by the development of the Tintaya mining project in Cusco, in the Peruvian southern Andes, Eduardo Cáceres (2014) finds a similar process of de-peasantization and the emergence of an ethnic discourse. An ethnic discourse, expressed in the construction of a K´ana identity (Cáceres
that becomes part of the material for political struggles for the control of the local government and significant resources from the mining project among different groups.

A location-based identity is another option. Indeed, a sense of belonging to localized spaces has shaped rural identities and it has contributed to the fragmentation that makes difficult the creation of broader alliances. In this sense, the Granjinos would develop new identities not as campesinos but as people linked to their place of origin. The creation of the Association of Granjinos in Chiclayo points in that direction. In addition to considerations of place – such as, for instance, those born in the village of La Granja and those who have migrated from other rural areas – the Granjinos use occupation criteria, such as empresario or entrepreneur, to identify themselves and to distinguish themselves from others.

The case examined suggests that mining development can trigger struggles over personal positioning in a hierarchical system where the ethnic component could play an important role. However, the plea to ethnic considerations is not an automatic and necessary strategy. The Granjinos have developed different strategies, such as positioning themselves in relation to other members of the locality – for instance, opposing “traditional landowners” versus newcomers – and vis-à-vis the company – playing the role of “strategic marginality” (Mallon 1996). In other words, the Granjinos do not have one static identity but use different ones in a fluid manner according to the interlocutor and the circumstances. This “strategic multiplicity” – to use Charles Hale’s (1996) concept developed in his study among the Nicaraguan Miskitu and as opposed to “strategic essentialism” – is not exclusive to the Granjinos. In her study on gender and migratory strategies around a copper mining project in Apurimac in the Southern Andes, Laura Soria has found that local people have created a complex system to define themselves in relation to their position within the locality and their kinship network. For instance, to the traditional categories of comunero, comunera, and arrendatario, people have added the categories of comunero retornante.

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121 The ethnic group than formed the Pre-Hispanic chiefdoms of Canas and Canches in the region.
122 Fernando Fuenzalida (1970) argued that this fragmentation is product of the spatial, economic and political configuration of the comunidad de indígenas during Colonial times. Because taxes were applied collectively, the system promoted solidarity within each community but competition among them for accessing key natural resources.
123 Personal communication, 26 September 2014.
comunera retornante,

A returnee comunero or a yerna could wait years living in the village with the purpose of being recognized as proper comunero or comunera with full rights over land, employment, other benefits and vote in the communal assemblies. Hence, the strategies of identity are not only relational because they are played out in relation to specific persons in specific settings, but also because the validation of other people is necessary to make possible the efficiency of the strategy.

In brief, instead of using essential and fixed categories, local people perform relational categories and navigate within hybrid systems to define themselves; they play the game of “identity politics” (Hale 1997). In any case, the Granjino families do not accept being labelled as campesinos in a derogative manner. The statement that a social worker from Cambior made to a female villager was not simply about the urban comfort but about changing their identities from campesinos to people “owning a place that you deserve”. Certainly, through their actions and strategies, the Granjinos are defying their destiny and are constructing collective and individual life projects. As shown in the case of La Granja, mining development can prompt substantial transformations of the rural landscape, fostering an increase of spatial mobility and, more significant, social mobility. In a hierarchical social environment where acknowledgment of equal and universal citizenship is weak and resisted, people take on different identities to climb up in the social ladder.

9.1.5. Representations of social change

For many Granjinos, their representations of current transformations in the village are aligned in a two-pole axis. One axis embodies social communion and stability; the other signifies economic development and individual progress. Each man and woman will position himself or herself between these two poles according to socioeconomic factors – for instance, if their household economy mainly relies on farming

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124 The comunero or comunera retornante is a man or woman who has returned to his or her own community to claim rights and benefits from the mining project. Interestingly, most returnees are men, who bring wives from outside. This may be because it is easier for men to claim rights over the land than it is for women. A few of the women who have returned are single mothers or old women.

125 Yerna is the daughter-in-law of qualified comuneros. The yerna generally is from outside the community. However, there are differences related to the place of origin and it is not the same to be from a city – like Abancay – as it is to be from another community. The yernas from the city own more symbolic capital, have higher education levels, speak better Spanish and are more used to speaking in public. The yernas enjoy more freedom within the community – for instance, they might not be obliged to wear traditional clothing daily – but they have fewer rights and do not need to negotiate them constantly.

126 “…con el lugar que usted se merece”. Local informant 2, 19 September 2013, author interview.
or non-farming activities linked to mining development, or if they are in vulnerable situation with few assets – family history – for instance, if the family is resistant, returnee, migrant or opportunistic, and their ideological vision. In addition, for many Granjinos, these poles of meaning are experienced as irreconcilable. For them, the decision of changing a lifestyle and leaving a place for a promise of better employment and educational future is a bittersweet trade-off.

The polarization is not a unique experience limited to La Granja. Indeed, many other rural populations near extractive projects face similar dilemmas when confronted with seemingly opposite futures between short-term economic gains and long-term social and environmental losses. The dilemma is similar to what critics of extractive resource exploitation argue about the limited options for sustainable development that mining has. The kind of development that extractive projects deliver would be trapped in the Faustian pact that Marshall Berman (1982) depicts in his examination of modernity. In his incessant search for power and material wealth, the developer surrenders his own soul and destroys what his loves most. Maybe, following Turner (1972), it would be necessary to construct myths and symbols that condense diverse poles for collective and individual meaningful futures. Beyond material outcomes, this is a challenge for the mining industry in the country.

In the context of rapid change and anxiety about the future, many people develop a sense of nostalgia and build a sort of rural arcadia. Certainly, the creation of idealized landscapes is part of the symbolic resources that diverse groups use to oppose or negotiate with mining development. Other people produce very different representations and imagine the city as a space of freedom and personal and family fulfilment. It is young people and women, seeking to run away from poverty and gender constraints, who in particular place their hopes and expectations in the city.

A final conclusion of the examination of La Granja´s experience is that social and spatial transformations prompted by mining development in rural societies cannot be merely understood as the mechanical result of the effect of global forces. People’s resourcefulness and bottom-up processes are crucial for comprehending the outcomes. In the case analyzed, kinship and local networks act as a safety net and a distribution system of economic benefits. In consequence, with the use of extended kinship networks, the local families – and not exclusively state agencies and company policies – make up a significant portion of the distribution of goods and services as well as some of the decisions dealing with the development of the project at local scale.
As Massey (1997) argues in her example on Sao Paulo’s favelas, the families of La Granja are contributing to construct a global sense of place. Their actions could be physically limited to a regional territory; however, their actions are performed vis-à-vis actions that have repercussions at a global level. Rio Tinto’s final decision to go ahead with the plans for exploiting one of the biggest copper ore deposits in the world may be closely linked to China’s mineral appetite; but the Granjinos are the ones that experience and make sense of those global decisions on the ground.

To my knowledge, when writing this dissertation, Rio Tinto’s managers in their London headquarters took the decision to put the mining project on hold. The EIA was not delivered to the appropriate state agencies, many of the operations were suspended, the labor force reduced again, and the community relations area began to inform the local population of the decision and that the land purchase and subsequent resettlement may not take place. The decision could be attributed to expectances of lower global growth or to financial constraints of the corporation. However, for the local families of La Granja, this cycle would be just a chapter in their longer history of spatial transformation.

9.2. CONTRIBUTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

9.2.1. Contributions

This research study contributes to the current state of knowledge in five major areas:

**Thematic**

Providing an account of La Granja history, this research follows the path that some historians and anthropologists, such as Mallon (1983), Manrique (1987), Deere (1990), Taylor (1994), Contreras (1995), Flores Galindo (1997), and, more recently, Helfgott (2013), have established. Their detailed narratives do not only contribute to a better comprehension of scarcely investigated regional histories in the country. They have also been able to connect the functioning of economic circuits and social orders with global demand for commodities. This thesis contributes to the construction of a more complete landscape of contemporary history of Peruvian northern Andes.

In addition, amid a growing academic production on extractive industries, in Latin America in general, and Peru, in particular, this thesis explores other facets. Many current researchers have privileged the
identification and evaluation of the environmental, economic and social effects of mining activities and the examination of emerging social conflict. Besides traditional topics such as land access and production, this thesis considers issues of regional configuration, spatial and social mobility and representations of place, and adds a gender sensibility and a temporal dimension.

Indeed, as I have argued above, the thesis provides a new angle from which to examine the complex social transformations that the expansion of mining activities has promted in the country. The thesis departs from other studies that, to some extent, follow a simplistic causal logic: large-scale mining activities cause major adverse impacts on the local environment—mainly on water quality and water access and land access; the negative effects in turn produce a degraded environment; and result in the impoverishment of local livelihoods, which is the main factor explaining social conflict. The thesis challenges much of this literature and opens new windows for the understanding of social transformation—including social conflict— that extractive projects prompt through social and economic factors. In addition, moving away from a long and hegemonic tradition that obsessively focuses on the campesino and indigenous community as the unique social form of rural Peru, the thesis makes an important contribution to the analysis of social transformations among other land and social regimes and to examining the fluid connection between urban and rural lives.

In line with the previous issue, Jürgen Golte provocatively (2015) argues that there is backward movement in the comprehension of rural populations among some current Peruvianist scholars. In the fifties and sixties, a first wave of social scientists examining Peruvian rural societies, sought to find the essence of Indianess among closed and isolated campesino and indigenous communities in the highlands and the Amazon basin. A decade later, mainly in response to the dramatic changes that massive rural-urban migrations produced in the national society and economy, social scientists began to analyze rural communities and cities as part of the same unit. Since the decade of the 1990s, however, urban intellectuals have created an image of rural people as groups separated from social, political and economic dinamics of the rest of the country. They have created this image under the influence of a neo-indigenism that emerged in the aftermath of the 500 years anniversary of the European presence in the Americas and an environmentalism positioned against transnational capital, particularly related to the extraction of natural resources as oil, gas and minerals. In this image, that seeks the return of an ethnic and peasant identification of rural populations, the unity of the country and the city disappears. These intellectuas look for “indigenous communities” in the coast, highlands and forest in no way imbricated
with the cities. The ILO Convention 169 has reinforced this position. As in ir earlier decades, urban thinkers are depicting rural populations as a function of their ideological agendas (Castillo 2000). Opposite to essentialist positions, this thesis explicitely examines the economic, social and identity relations that local families build between rural and urban worlds.

In brief, the present thesis brings a substantial contribution to the study of Peruvian mining development and social change thanks to the particularies of the selected case, the novelty of the theoretical lens and the combination of a historical perspective, a kinship and network analysis, and gender sensibility.

**Theoretical**

This research also contributes to overarching theoretical debates. On the one hand, the thesis has critically reviewed theories of social change among rural populations. It departs from a state-centered approach to benefit bottom-up processes and highlights some of the differences between traditional accounts of modernization in Western societies and the transformations that rural societies in developing countries are currently experiencing in the context of global resource consumption.

In general, conventional accounts of modernizing experiences in Western societies (Aron 1965) stated that technological and economic changes brought about by the industrial revolution led to an accelerated urbanization process. Two interrelated phenomena accompanied this process. First, technological innovations allowed the intensification of farming production to supply urban demand, creating, thus, a strong market integration at the national level. Second, was mass migration from the country to the cities; in becoming proletarians, people lost a good part of their social bonds and resulting in a more individualistic society. Following the findings of social scientists working in developing societies since the decade of the 1970s (Altamirano 1977; Roberts 1978; Fuenzalida et al 1982; Golte & Adams 1987; Jacobsen 1993), this thesis argues that the modernization process that current mining development is promoting among rural societies in the country presents some particularities. First, rural families have not increased their farming production, quite the contrary. The greater economic interaction between rural and urban spaces is due to the increase of paid labor in non-farming activities and the consumption of external goods. Because the latter is a short-term and exogenous factor, the resulting market integration is weak. In this process, local families have not moved to cities in a permanent form to be incorporated in the industrial sector. As a result of the strategy of double-residence, some members of extended
families live in the city seeking education and temporal employment in the service and informal sectors. In the context of mining development and economic growth, local families extract resources from rural areas to the cities. When mining activities and national growth declines, many members of the families return to farming activities, which act as a refuge sector. Using these social and productive strategies along economic cycles, local families have established fluid relations between urban and rural spaces. In addition, their social relations have not become more individualistic or anonymous. Kinship and other social networks remain central to individual lives; although some social relations and identities are increasingly challenged, especially in terms of gender.

In circumstances of weak state institutions and corporate voluntary regimes to provide goods and services and order within local populations, kinship and local networks act as a distribution system and safety net and significantly shape the outcome of mining development at the local level. Mining is a major driving force of social change in the Peruvian Andes, which perhaps has not been experienced since the dramatic events of the agrarian land reform of the early 1970s. As detailed in the literature review section, the changes propelled by large-scale mining development are the most recent in a series of major transformations where top-down forces have organized territory, natural resources, and people in the Andes. As a distinctive contribution, this thesis offers a view from the bottom.

On the other hand, this thesis adapts geographical theory of the “production of space”, which originally emerged from urban experiences in industrial countries, for the explanation of social change in rural societies triggered by mining development. The examination of the case shows the relevance of spatial dimensions. The access and appropriation of land, the fluid movement of people and goods, the shift in productive spaces and the construction of place-based Arcadias and utopias are crucial for the understanding of regional histories and the central focus of many local struggles. Moreover, as Himley (2010) notes, mining development implies a spatial fix in two senses. It has to transform a resource, which is fixed in the subsoil, into capital and, in that attempt, has to fix technological and social arrangements on land and water. Integrating geographical and historical aspects into the same analysis, the framework of “production of space” enables a rich understanding of some of the contradictions of capital in its ceaseless spatial movement between fixity and fluidity. It allows the link between global and structural processes (such as commodity consumption, cycles of mining expansion, and implementation of free-trade policies) with collective and personal experiences (including displacement, social mobility, and sense marginality and isolation in urban settings) and strategies (for instance, land
sub-division, use of kinship, temporary migration, and double-residence). The reading through the lens of the theory of the “production of space” facilitates connecting social actions with territory in a fluid movement; what Arturo Escobar (2011) would call “sitting culture in places”. The theory of “production of space” is an alternative to the narrow causal approach of the social impact assessment methodology and the emphasis on conflict of social movement theories.

Methodological
Despite the fact that many anthropologists have stressed the importance of kinship and social networks in their examination of Andean societies (Alberti & Mayer 1974; Mayer & Bolton 1980; Ossio 1981; Mayer 2002), much current examination of the social effects of mining development has adopted a standard approach of social impact assessment (SIA). The methodology of this thesis is centered on nuclear families and their social networks, which offers a variety of advantages. Firstly, it departs from a company-centered and top-down approach to emphasize local perspectives and highlight local actors’ agency. Secondly, typically, (SIA) assigns positive or negative attributes to the impacts from an external perspective when changes are generally complex and ambivalent and depend on particular circumstances of the individuals and families. Thirdly, although conventional SIAs investigate impacts over territories, following environmental frameworks of direct and indirect areas of influence, social changes affect people and networks rather than geographical units. Fourthly, the use of the nuclear family as unit of analysis allows the examination of the interrelations between individual and collective forces that shape social and economic decisions. Fifthly, the focus on family networks allows observation of the intersection of different layers – of power, gender, symbolic and economic relations – with agents that operate at different spatial scales. Finally, the close examination of family networks is a technique especially fruitful in cases that exhibit high spatial mobility and informal activities that are difficult to capture through static census.

On the other hand, much of the anthropological literature on Andean societies has given precedence to the comunidad campesina as the social, political, legal and economic organization that frames the social action of households and individuals. In the context of mining development, many research studies have pointed to its effects on the collective organization (Salas 2008; Gil 2009; Damonte 2012). This thesis examines a situation with a different land regime and political order where there is no comunidad campesina and each household makes their own decisions regarding land ownership and land use.
In addition, a historical view allows for the evaluation of the degree to which change occurs from the beginning of mining activities: for instance, what people anticipate and their expectations, how they negotiate with different companies and with newcomers, the empowerment of some institutions as the rondas campesinas, the inconsistent actions of the State, and how different owners of the mining concession have engaged differently with the same local families. One of the most significant areas of change has been in regard to gender relations. Indeed, a significant contribution of the thesis is the systematic application of a gender lens to examine the complex and differentiated effects of mining development on women and men. This is perhaps of one the few studies conducted on contemporary Peruvian mining case that explicitly includes such a perspective.

Public policies
Although not directly addressed in this research study, public policies are an important underlying theme. Certainly, inadequate central government actions, such as its unconditional support of the mining project during Cambior’s period, and the lack of effective presence of the state have influenced local outcomes, perceptions and experiences. One the one side, there is a claim for a more effective and legitimate state action to mediate between mining corporations and local populations. This mediation should consider issues of power imbalance, vulnerable conditions, age, and gender relations.

One the other side, a finer understanding of family experiences and practices in the context of mining development in rural areas provides valuable insights for the design and implementation of better public policies on poverty reduction, rural and regional socioeconomic development, more equitable distribution of wealth, and land-use planning, among other aspects.

Sustainable corporate development policies and practices
Not least important are the thesis contributions for the design and implementation of more sustainable corporate development policies, programs and practices. One consideration is that mining companies need to move from an exclusive focus on territories to an identification, comprehension and evaluation of the social networks their operations alter. Indeed, mining projects require a better comprehension of their effects – direct, indirect, or as unintended consequence. Moreover, mining companies must realize that although environmental issues are usually at the center of the declared concerns on social protest
against mining projects, socioeconomic factors are main drivers for social change. Linked to the emphasis on the social networks is the appreciation of the capabilities of state institutions and local organizations prior to mining development and the need to support these along the complete mining cycle.

In addition, mining companies need to address the perceived dilemma among the local families between short-term economic gains and long-term social and environmental losses. In other words, they must be able to build – in a participatory form – a credible better future for the local populations. Mobility, from displacement and sense of a loss of place to enhanced opportunities, is central to this tension. To transform mobility from an experience of disfranchisement, impoverishment and alienation to one of empowerment and improvement in individual and collective life quality is a major challenge for mining projects.

Accessing and securing land without fostering social unrest, impoverishment and economic inequality is another of the challenges that mining projects face. As this thesis has explained, many local families expect that in exchange for a permanent asset – land – the mining companies should provide permanent benefits – such as employment – not just discrete compensation packages. Put simply, they seek one livelihood in exchange for another. The characteristics of the imagined livelihoods would vary according diverse socioeconomic conditions and personal experiences, and the mining project must be responsive to those variations.

This thesis has detailed how gender conditions and gender experiences are among the most important factors that diversify social response. Mining projects not only affect men and women differently, but the strategies and expectances that men and women develop differ too. Mining companies should identify and evaluate those differences for the design and implementation of gender sensible impact assessments and social management plans, including procurement and local employment programs. Beyond state regulations, the incorporation of a gender approach into the management systems creates value for the mining project. It allows the alignment of the project with international principles, standards and codes for safeguarding human rights, promoting social and gender equality and observing diversity in its various dimensions. In addition, a clear identification of differentiate consequences facilitates the management of the project’s social risks. This contributes to the reduction of negative effects on vulnerable groups due to sex, ethnicity, kinship and socioeconomic considerations and promotes the establishment of the required social license for the proper operation of the project. In brief, a well-
managed gender approach enhances local opportunities for a more equitable development among local populations and also provides stronger bases for a sustainable business.

9.2.2. Further research

The thesis opens manifold research topics to enquire further and diverse modes to explore them. As a way of illustrating this, I would mention some highly relevant and interrelated issues emerging from the present work.

Following the families

Cross-temporal studies that follow local families in the context of mining development are extremely useful. These studies may track changes over land ownership, land value and the dynamics of regional land markets. In addition, it is crucial to monitor household income, not only in absolute terms but also in the relative weight of farming and non-farming activities. The combination and complementarity of qualitative and quantitative studies is valuable. Therefore, for instance, quantitative analysis could measure average variations in land size and land value among households over time, or determine the fluctuations and distribution of household income. Qualitative studies could examine the household strategies involved on those changes, including the insertion of women into the labor market or the local institutional constrains for the formation of land markets.

Gender

A detailed examination of the implications for gender relations of the transformations that mining development fosters in each major area of the local social life should appear in the research agenda. I have already mentioned the political opportunities and challenges that women face with the arrival of mining projects in their localities. This thesis has also shed some light on the changes and continuities of gender roles in productive and reproductive labor. However, more specific and detailed research studies are required. Gender violence also requires urgent analysis, for academic and public policy purposes. For instance, Matos and Sultmont’s (2009) analysis of census data in the country suggests that the household economic condition is not a significant variable to explain gender violence. For them, the persistence of a patriarchal system and a macho culture better explains the incidence and acceptance of different forms
of gender violence in contemporary Peruvian society. In this sense, specific processes of mining
development could exacerbate gender tensions among local families and within households. This is not
necessarily due to the fluctuation in the economic wellbeing of the families. The generally unforeseen
ability of the project to affect the pillars of the patriarchal and macho systems (for instance, control over
women’s physical mobility or relatively rigorous sexual labor division), is more important for the
emergence of drivers of social and cultural change, which may in turn lead to tensions in the local system
of gender relations. In brief, in the context of the rapid and profound transformations that mining
development is creating in the country, explanatory models of the relation between demographics,markets and social structures are needed.

**Mobility**

This thesis has demonstrated the centrality of mobility among the strategies that local families deploy.
Following this line of thought, there would be potentially valuable opportunities for study that consider
migratory flows in the measuring of poverty levels and living standards of populations around mining
projects. Indeed, a whole set of research studies on mobility around mining regions is needed. For
instance, the establishment of migratory networks, the roots and routes of the emigrants, the direction
and weight of remittances, practices of double residence, migratory family strategies and their links to
economic and employment cycles, the gender implications of higher social and spatial mobility, the
discourses and imaginaries of the migrants and about them, among other topics.

**Identities**

The conclusions of this thesis offer clues for new directions in the study of the transformation of rural
identities. Gender and age are major variables to explore in the configuration of new collective and
individual identities. The emergence or the strengthening of female organizations (such as the *ronda de
mujeres* and the *club de madres* or mothers’ association) provides a space for collective action and
political learning. Moreover, as Agüero and Barreto (2012) claim, future life expectancies and
socioeconomic profiles of young rural girls are changing dramatically and they appear to be more similar
to their urban pairs than to their mothers. On the other side, the implications for social and place-based
identities of the change in rural production and land ownership need to be analyzed (in other words, an
exploration of the specific, complex and relational meaning of being a campesino or campesina in the context of large-scale mining development). This task, for example, would require unpacking the material and symbolic elements present in the tensions between farmers and non-farmers, landowners and landless people, locals and outsiders, and rural dwellers and urban settlers.
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11. APPENDICES

11.1. INTERVIEW GUIDE TO FAMILY HEAD AND PARTNER

Code: _ _ / _ _
Locality:       01 = La Granja
                 02 = Querocoto
Family: 01, 02, 03…

**Instructions:** This file summarizes the information pertaining to each selected family\(^{127}\). The information will be obtained through a series of interviews conducted to family heads and their partners. Five sections comprise this file: (i) Family general data; (ii) Access to space; (iii) Production in the space; (iv) Space mobility; and (v) Spatial representations.

Date of interviews:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>6th</th>
<th>7th</th>
<th>8th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male family head</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Partner</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. General data


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\(^{127}\) Nuclear families will be the unit of analysis. A nuclear family is related through direct kinship bonds a generation before, the own generation and the generation after. Many families may live together in a single home and, in addition, a single family may occupy various homes. Adopted children are included within the concept of nuclear family.
Material of walls:
Material of floor:
Material of ceiling:
Number of levels:
Number or rooms:
Access to drinking water and sewage system:
Access to electricity:
Approximate area:
Year of construction/extension:

1.2. Family timeline

Build with family landmarks such as:
Year the male family head was born
Year the partner was born
Year the family head arrived in the locality (in case he has born outside)
Year the partner arrived in the locality (in case he has born outside)
Year of marital union
Year of establishment in current home
Year of birth of first son / daughter
Year of birth of second son / daughter…
Year that the family left the locality (in case of resettlement with Cambior)
Year of return to the locality
### Other important events for the family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landmark 1</th>
<th>Landmark 2</th>
<th>Landmark 3…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1.3. Members of the nuclear family residing in the house:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names and surnames</th>
<th>Position within the family</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4. Members of the nuclear family residing outside the house. Specify residency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names and surnames</th>
<th>Position within the family</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of residency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1.5. Kinship tree (ego-centered from the male family head)
1.6. Employment of male family head and his partner. Show existence of paid job during the last month, employer and place of employment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Paid job</th>
<th>Employer and place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male family head</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Access to space

2.1. **Access to the land by the family head.** Describe the access to the land by the male family head with the guidance of the following questions:

**Access:**

Does your family have land (for farming or ranching) in the locality (is owner, rent, work for others, etc.)? How did you get this land (Agrarian Reform, inheritance, buy, rent, marriage, taken from the forest, etc.)? How long have you held this land?
Negotiation:

In order to get the land, with which persons or institutions did you have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, ronda campesina, district municipality, dependences from the Central Government, with nobody in specific, etc.)?

2.2. **Access to the land by the partner.** Describe the access to the land by the partner, using the following questions as a guide:

Access:

Before getting married, did you own land (for farming or ranching)? In the locality, can women own land? How? Why?, What difficulties (within their homes and the locality) do women have to overcome in order to own land?
Negotiation:

In order that women can own land, with which persons or institutions do they have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, *ronda campesina*, district municipality, representatives from the Central Government, with nobody in specific anybody, etc.)?

2.3. **Control of the land by male family head.** Describe the control of the land by the male family head, using the following questions as a guide:

**Control of the land in the locality:**

Did you have to buy the land (total or part) your family currently owns? Why? From whom?
Did you sell part of the family land? Why? To whom?

Did you rent part of the family land? Why? To whom?

Have you granted, given for free, or lent part of the family land? Why? To whom?

2.4. Control of the land outside the locality:
In addition, does the family own other lands outside the locality? Where? Since when? Why did your family decide to own other lands? Who works that land? In which periods? Which lands do you consider are more important? Why? In the future, which ones do you think will be the most important lands for you?

2.5. Control of house in the locality:
Does your family have a house in the locality (is owner, rents, lives in house of a relative, etc.)? How did your family got the house (inherited it, build it, bought it, etc.)? Since when?

Has your family bought another house in the locality? Why? From whom?
Has your family sold a house in the locality? Why? To whom?

Has your family rented a house in the locality? Why? To whom?

Has your family granted, given for free, lent a house in the locality? Why? To whom?

2.6. Control of home outside the locality:

In addition, does your family have another house outside the locality? Where? Since when? Why did your family decide to have another house? Who lives there? In which periods? Which one do you consider is the main house? Why? In the future, which one do you think will be the most important house for you?

Negotiation:

In order to get the house, with which persons or institutions did you have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, ronda campesina, district municipality, representatives from the Central Government, nobody in specific, etc.)?
2.7. **Control of home by the partner.** For the partner:

Before getting married, did you have your own house? In the locality, can women get their own houses? How? Why? Which difficulties (within their homes and the locality) do women have to overcome in order to get their own houses?

**Negotiation:**

In order that women could have their own houses, with which persons or institutions do they have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, *ronda campesina*, district municipality, representatives from the Central Government, nobody in specific, etc.)?
2.8. **Land use by male family head.** Describe the use of land by the male family head, using the following questions as guidance:

Which are the main land use changes in the last 19 years (since the arrival of Cambior in the area)? For example, there are more/less cultivated areas, the farming areas have been abandoned, the crops have shifted, there are new farming technologies, there are new working farms, there is less labor for farming activities, etc.

2.9. **Land use by partner.** How have these changes affected you? For instance, more/less work, different type of work, sons and daughters must work now, other people are contracted to work the farm, other people are contracted to work in domestic duties, etc.
3. Production in the space

3.1. Productive labor in the family. A set of questions to be answered by the male family head:
Does any member of the family have access to a paid job? Who has a paid job? What are those jobs? Since when have they has those jobs? For how long were they employed? How has employment changed since the arrival of Cambior in the area (there are more/less opportunities, more/less salaries)?

In order to get these jobs, with which persons or institutions do they have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, ronda campesina, district municipality, representatives from the Central Government, nobody in specific, etc.)?
Has your family or a family member created a small business? What kind? With whom? How and why was it created? Since when? What were the advantages? What were the difficulties faced? How have local businesses changed since the arrival of Cambior (have increased/decreased, more/less opportunities, more/less competition)?

In order to build these businesses, with which persons or institutions do you have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, *ronda campesina*, district municipality, representatives from the Central Government, nobody in specific, etc.)?

3.2. **Productive labor of the partner.** For the partner:
Have you had/do you have a paid job? What is/what have your jobs been? Since when have you had this/these jobs? How long have you been employed? How has employment changed since the arrival of Cambior to the area (there are more/less opportunities, more/less salaries)?

In order to get these jobs, with which persons or institutions did you have to talk (own family, other families, mining company, ronda campesina, district municipality, representatives from the Central Government, nobody in specific, etc.)?

What difficulties (within their homes and the locality) do women face in order to get paid jobs? What changes are produced within the home when women work for a paid job (i.e., domestic activities are neglected, there are more fights, there is more money, etc.)? When a woman works in a paid job, who is in charge of the domestic activities (the woman herself, the daughters/sons, other relatives, another person is hired, etc.)?
Have you have created a micro business in the locality? What kind? How? Why? Since when? What advantages do you find with it? What difficulties do you find in your business? Which difficulties (within their homes and the locality) do the women have in order to get their own businesses?

3.3. Reproductive labor in the family. Similar set of questions for men and women.

In your family, who is in charge in of domestic duties (childcare, meal preparation, cleaning, etc.)? Do they receive a payment for that labor? Which activities do they do? How, if at all, have these activities changed since the arrival of Cambior in the area?

Male family head:
4. **Spatial mobility**

4.1. **Family regional mobility.** Questions for the male family head.

Which members of the family (follow kinship map) have moved out of the locality for 3 month or more?
Where did they go? For how long? For which reasons?
Which members of the family (follow kinship map) have returned to the locality? From where? After how long? For which reasons?

What are the main places that the family members have moved to? From what date? At what time of the year did they go/how many times in the year did they go? Who went? For which reasons did they go?
Do you ever travel to other localities/cities? Which ones? How? Why? For how long?

4.2. **Regional mobility of partner.** Questions for the partner.

Do you ever travel to other localities/cities? Which ones? How? Why? For how long? In general, and in your opinion, what are the main difficulties for a woman (within the family and the locality) in travelling to other localities for long periods (more than three months)?
4.3 **Spatial routine.** Similar set of questions for men and women.

**For male family head:**

Describe the “agenda” of a “typical” day, from when you wake up until you go to bed. Specify activities and places.

Drawing of daily movements around: home, workplace (farming/ranching, mining-related activities, business, nearby localities), community assemblies, and street. Who? When? Why (work, pleasure, social interaction)?
For partner:

Describe the “agenda” of a “typical” day, from when she wakes up until she goes to bed. Specify activities and places.

Drawing of daily movement around: home, working place (farming/ranching, mining-related activities, business, nearby localities), community assemblies, and street. Who? When? Why (work, pleasure, social reproduction)? Which are the dangers/limitations (within the family and the locality) for women in moving around these places?
5. Spatial representations

5.1. Spatial representations and construction of place. Similar set of questions for men and women.

For the male family head:

What was the locality like before the arrival of mining activities? What did you like more? What did you like less?

How is the locality nowadays? What do you most like? What do you least like?

How do you imagine the locality after the development of the mining project? What would you like most? What would you like least?

Life expectations: After 5 years, in which place do you imagine you will be living? How would it be your home? Which things would you own (car, motorbike, vegetable garden, computer, TV, etc.), which work/ work activities would you be doing? If you had the option to choose, in which place would you like to live? Why?
For the partner:

How was the locality before the arrival of mining activities? What did you like most? What did you like least?

How is the locality nowadays? What you like most? What you like least?

How do you imagine the locality after the development of the mining project? What would you like most? What would you like least?

Life expectations: After 5 years, in which place do you imagine you will be living? How will your home look? Which things would you own (car, motorbike, vegetable garden, computer, TV, etc.), which work/work activities would you be doing? If you would have the option to choose, in which place would you like to live? Why?
For you, as a woman, is your present-day locality a better/same/worse place to live in? Explain.
11.2. INTERVIEW GUIDE TO MIGRANTS

A. Migration
- When you left La Granja?
- For which reasons?
- With whom did you leave?
- Where did you go?
- How was the process? Describe it.
- How were the first years? (Problems, advantages, things that were different, who helped you and your family?)

B. Adaptation
- In which area did you start working?
- How do you feel in your new life/locality? Make a balance or comparison.
- Which things do you like / dislike about your new locality?
- How do you stay in contact with people from La Granja? (i.e. trips, neighbors/relatives, Club La Granja in Chiclayo, etc).

C. Imaginary
- How was La Granja when you left the locality? What did you like most about it? What did you like least about it?
- How is La Granja now? What do you like most? What do you like least?
- How do you imagine La Granja in the next 5 years?
- Would you like to go back to live in La Granja or would you prefer to stay where you currently live? Why?
11.3. **Socio-economic indicators collected**

With the purpose of constructing a socio-economic context of the research area, a series of indicators have been collected from public records. The following table summarizes the indicators collected and their geographical level.

*Table 5. List of socio-economic indicators collected*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Geographical level</th>
<th>Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Cajamarca Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants by age and sex</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of masculinity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Household</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of houses</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of houses made of brick or adobe</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of houses with dirt floors</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of houses with access to drinking water</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of houses with access to treated sewage service</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of houses with access to electric lighting</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land-based phone service</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobile phone service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internet service</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cable TV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy rate by sex</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender gap</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of population over 25 years with completed secondary level</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of population over 25 years with completed secondary level by sex</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender gap in basic education</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School services by level</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of service</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Health</strong></td>
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<td>Mortality rate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infant mortality rate</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average of children per woman</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant chronic malnutrition (under 5 years)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First aid post</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health center</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health center with admission service</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of service</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population economically active by sex</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate of activity by sex</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>Geographical level</td>
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<td>Peru</td>
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<td>La Granja</td>
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<td>El Sauce</td>
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<td>Paraguay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type of activity by sex</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of immigrant population</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Agrarian production</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of land</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of agrarian growers (1)</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Land extension</td>
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<tr>
<td>Growers by size of farming unit by sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>Main crops by family</td>
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<td>Destination of production</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type of irrigation system</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cattle population</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of growers owning cattle</td>
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(1) Split by sex only for the district level.
11.4. ORIGINAL QUOTES IN SPANISH

Chapter 4. Spatial history

i “Ahora no hay tantas chirimoyas como antes. Ahora les ataca la “rancha” [plaga que ataca las hojas] y crecen poco. Esto será porque hay contaminación, los químicos de la minera que contaminan y dañan la tierra, las plantas. Antes había de todo, azúcar, frutas, arvejas, yuca, arracacha, pastos para ganado, de todo y natural, sin químicos. No como en la costa, donde todo hay que echar, puro químico, pura delincuencia es no más la costa” (Elder villager from La Granja, Local informant 4; 11 August 2013; author interview).

ii Nuestra ciudad comenzó a crecer vertiginosamente y a llenarse de gente extraña, las puertas de nuestras casas ya no podían permanecer abiertas y las bicis de los niños nunca más volverían a quedar seguras en la vereda; el hermoso valle fue comenzando a desaparecer para dar paso a mega almacenes, negocios que van desde la venta de maquinaria pesada hasta el prostíbulo clandestino; los ríos en los que chapoteábamos cuando niños y en los que terminábamos pescando charcoquitas y bagrecitos no existen más, y no solo porque la mina terminó con las fuentes naturales que dejaron agónicos los ríos Mashcón y Chonta, sino porque la poco agua que queda, entre los grifos, las mototaxis y la propia municipalidad que hasta ahora no trata bien las aguas servidas les dan, cada día, un nuevo tiro de gracia. Y si tienes prisa, en la aún pequeña ciudad, no se te ocurra entrar en horario punta al centro histórico o, mejor dicho, anda en esa hora para respirar tu dosis de modernidad de aire contaminado al estilo Parque Universitario de Lima. (Arana 2011).

iii “…pobrecitos abandonados por Cambior [a] vivos que se beneficiaron doble”. (Company informant 4, 24 October 3013, author interview).

Chapter 5. Access

iv “…después de vender mis tierras a Cambior, compré en la costa, cerca de Chiclayo, en Ojo de Toro, pero ahí todo era diferente. La primera cosecha fue grande, buenas yucas, de ahí vino El Niño y fracasamos. Había comprado un camión de segunda para hacer negocio pero todos teníamos camiones, y luego se malogró. No teníamos para comer, no tenía dinero y nadie que nos ayude. Así que le dije a mi familia, regresemos a La Granja. Nos fuimos al bosque, de ahí no nos podían botar. Así tale los árboles, empecé a sembrar y construí una casa. Ahora que la empresa quiere comprar,
le hemos pedido que interceda con el PETT para que nos den títulos”. (Villager from La Granja, Local informant_4, 11 August 2013, author interview).

“… yo soy de la zona de Olmos, el distrito de Lajas, provincia de Chota. Llegué La Granja cuando era joven porque los señores Arrascue eran mis primos hermanos. Ellos me trajeron a la zona. Al inicio contaba solo con tierras arrendadas. Las pagué con una yunta y las fui comprando de a pocos con la entrega de mi ganado. Después ya saqué una escritura pública.” (Male informant, Migrant family 1).

“…no tengo miedo a morir, el Señor dispondrá”. (Local informant_7; 26 October 2013; author interview).

“…tú me has servido bien, yo también te serviré.” (Local informant_7; 26 October 2013; author interview).

“Día de la identidad Granjina rendimos honores a la lucha por la independencia del yugo del hacendado como una manera de rescatar costumbres de nuestros antepasados para fortalecerlas…” (La Granja 2013, p. 4).

“Llegaron hacendados, imponiendo / Las leyes que favorecían al patrón, / Dieron las tierras a todos en arriendo / Cada granjino se convirtió en vil peón.

Y al esplendor de tanta explotación / La ley de reforma agraria llegó, / De las tierras hicieron parcelación / La tierra cual propio se sembró.” (Guevara n.d., p. 8).

“Hacendados prepotentes / Impusieron su arrogancia, / Los Montoya y los Arrascue / Que alzaron su ganancia.

Familia humilde y serrana / En su arriendo trabajaba, / Y dos días por semana / Para el patrón dedicaba.

La Reforma Agraria intenta / Darle tierra al campesino, / Allí por los años setenta / Esta gran suerte nos vino.

La batalla conquista tuvo / Estando al frente un granjino, / Godofredo Guevara estuvo / Al frente del campesino.
Los campos se sembraron / Con empeño y humildad, / Nueva vida empezaron / Con orgullo y libertad.

Con casas propias y humildes / El pueblo empezó a crecer, / Nunca más patrones viles / La Granja volvió a tener.” (Guevara n.d., p. 10).

“Por dos años no hubo colegio y muchos alumnos se quedaron sin educación primaria”. (Villager from La Granja, Local informant_1, 10 August 2013, author interview).

“[Los representantes de la empresa] …me dijeron que ya había conseguido un buen precio con la venta de las tierras de su padre y que a ellos ya nos les alcanzaba la plata para comprarme”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“En el año 2000 le compré a BHP mis tierras agrícolas pero se las vendí a otras personas. Si hubiera sabido que vendría otra empresa para hacer recompra, hubiera conservado las tierras. Ahora he comprado un solar en La Pampa a través de la ronda”.

“Cuando me retiré de la zona en el año 1998, todas las casas estaban demolidas, solo siete casas quedaron, era bien triste ver así La Granja”. (Male informant, Migrant family 1).

“Con la reubicación de Cambior compramos una casa en Chiclayo en el año 1996. Lo hicimos pensando en la educación de nuestros hijos y porque ahí establecí mi centro de trabajo como comerciante. En esa casa viven mis hijos varones mayores pero mi familia se encuentra viviendo en las dos casas. Por ahora, nuestra vivienda principal es aquí en La Granja porque existe más movimiento por el negocio y nuestros hijos permanecen en esta casa durante las vacaciones. Pero en el futuro, nuestra la vivienda principal estará en Chiclayo, todo depende de las negociaciones con la mina” (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“Si una mujer quería comprar un terreno agrícola su padre lo tomaba como una falta de respeto, porque se entendía que quería abandonar la casa. La daba una reprimenda y les daba su maja.” (Female informant, Resistant family 3).

“La mujer se dedicaba a las labores de la casa, al hilado para elaborar ropa, frazadas.” (Female informant, Resistant family 2).
“El trabajo en la chacra se realizaba según la temporada de la lluvia ‘a base del tiempo’, es decir que las personas esperan el tiempo de la lluvia. Por ello, para cultivar no era necesario realizar canales de irrigación.” (Male informant, Resistant family 3).

“Anteriormente se realizaba un trabajo colectivo para cultivar las chacras. Todo el trabajo era realizado con el sistema de ‘ayuda con ayuda’, donde el apoyo recibido lo devolvías con trabajo. La familia que recibía la ayuda le daba a todos su comida y bebidas. Por ello el trabajo agrícola era rentable. Esta ayuda comunitaria evitaba utilizar el dinero para poder trabajar la chacra.” (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“Toda la población se dedicaba a la agricultura y a la ganadería, cuando la familia quería irse a Chiclayo para pasear y comprarse ropa, vendían a un ganado y con el dinero se podían costear el viaje. La cosecha que se obtenía era guardada en almacenes para ser consumida en todo el año, mientras que los productos que se tenía como excedente, se realizaba un trueque con los vecinos, para obtener productos agrícolas que no se habían cosechado.” (Female informant, Resistant family 2).

“..fue muy duro, tener que trabajar en el agua, me resfriaba y tenía dolor de cintura por estar agachada tantas horas.” (Female informant, Migrant family 3).

“Llegué a la zona y no conocía a nadie. El inicio fue muy duro. Habían zancudos, mucho calor, no tenía trabajo, la agricultura tiene otras técnicas y mi casita era solo de esteras. El primer mes fue muy duro y apenas teníamos qué comer. Les pedía comida a mis vecinos y empecé a trabajar para ellos. Después me hice compadre de un señor de Chugur y su esposa de Querocoto; ellos fueron los padrinos de mi hijo mayor. Gracias a mi compadre fui presentado en la localidad y así empecé a conseguir trabajo en las chacras de los propietarios de aquí de la zona.” (Male informant, Migrant family 4).

“Antes que llegue Cambior, lluvía bastante, sobre el monte salía bastante camote.” (Male informant, Returnee family 2).

“…no existían las plagas porque las lluvias las controlaban. Ahora no hay lluvias, puro sol no más.” (Male informant, Resistant family 1).
xxv  “Ahora existe menos producción porque la mina perjudica; los cables de comunicación afectan a las tierras. No sé qué será, pero la tierra no quiere producir.” (Male informant, Opportunistic family 1).

xxvi  “Las personas prefieren trabajar en la mina. Ha bajado de cinco a uno el trabajo y ello lleva a que pocas chacras sean cultivadas. Cuando ingresa Rio Tinto se cultiva menos, el precio del jornal se ha triplicado de 7 a 25 soles.” (Male informant, Returnee family 1).

xxvii  “La mitad de las familias granjinas se dedican al trabajo en la chacra pero lo realizan de una forma menos intensa. Uno de los motivos es que los peones te piden un mayor monto de pago para su jornal diario, el cual no es posible darles porque no saldría rentable lo que genera las tierras.” (Female informant, Resistant family 2).

xxviii  “En la actualidad todos cultivan en sus tierras, pero en menos cantidad, porque los siete días de descanso que tienen por la mina no les es suficiente para trabajar toda la extensión de la tierra. Mientras que los peones para trabajar en la agricultura quieren ganar como si trabajaran en la empresa minera.” (Male informant, Resistant family 3).

xxix  “Trabajamos la tierra con el sistema a medias, con gente nuestra familia y conocida, debido a que no hay personas que quieren trabajar la tierra. Además contratamos a peones de forma temporal para deshierbar y cosechar.” (Female informant, Opportunistic family 2).

xxx  “…como la gente tiene dinero para comprar productos de la costa en la feria de los domingos, ha disminuido el trabajo en la chacra y se compra la yuca, el maíz, las menestras y el camote de Chiclayo o Quipayuc.” (Female informant, Resistant family 3).

xxxi  “Lo peor que me podría pasar es que el proyecto se vaya y tenga que volver al campo”. (Male informant, Resistant family1).

xxxii  “En la época de Cambior les daban trabajo pero por periodos cortos de una semana o quince días, mientras que si simpatizabas con los ingenieros podías estar más tiempo.” (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

xxxiii  “…la experiencia ganada en Antamina me sugirió que la ronda campesina tenía un papel similar a la comunidad campesina y era ella la que articulaba las relaciones sociales y políticas en las localidades.” (Consultant informant 1).
“…la presencia de empresas extractivas a gran escala produce tres fenómenos locales referentes a las formas de representación local […]. En primer lugar, genera que las comunidades o rondas campesinas, generalmente marginadas, adquieran una visibilidad y el protagonismo mayor en la política distrital y provincial. En segundo lugar, exacerba la competencia y el fraccionamiento tanto entre comunidades o rondas como al interior de las mismas; la posición frente a la operación es causa de conflictos y en algunos casos hasta de la fragmentación de las organizaciones rurales locales. Por último, la implantación de regímenes corporativos transforma la naturaleza de las organizaciones y las formas de representación locales, al insertarlas en la lógica del proyecto extractivo.” (Damonte 2012, p. 112).

“El trabajo que la mina tiene es para las mujeres solteras, cuando las mujeres con familia laboran en la mina descuidan sus labores del hogar y el cuidado de sus hijos. Yo tuve que renunciar para ocuparme de mi familia.” (Female informant, Resistant family 2).

“Las mujeres que tienen un sueldo o negocio propio ganan más dinero, ello ha provocado que sean más liberales, porque son infieles a sus parejas y se divorcian. Como viene tanta gente de afuera, a las mujeres les parece poca cosa sus maridos, los desvalorizan”. (Female informant Resistant family 3).

Chapter 7. Mobility

“…fue muy triste, no había casa, tuvimos que levantar una chocita de esteras.” (Male informant, Returnee family 2).

“…era una pesadilla, miles de zancudos, nunca habíamos pasado algo así en La Granja.” (Female informant, Returnee family 2).

“En la zona teníamos ganado pero la gente era envidiosa y malograron las ubres de las vacas. Y la gente es egoísta, pueden estar comiendo delante tuyo sin invitarte”. (Male informant, Returnee family 2).

“Estas personas, los otros, son familia de los pobladores originarios de La Granja, provienen del campo”. (Local informant 1, 28 May 2013, author interview).

“…decidimos migrar a La Granja porque en Chiclayo no había mucho trabajo y la delincuencia aumentaba. Además existían rumores de que iba a llegar una empresa minera, así que nos
animamos a comprar un solar, era una oportunidad para que nuestros hijos puedan trabajar”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 1).

“En épocas anteriores las mujeres jóvenes no salían solas de viaje sino que viajaban acompañadas. En caso de las jóvenes, ellas salían a trabajar como empleadas domésticas a la costa, iban a hogares de sus parientes cercanos. Cuando viajaban solas, las mujeres tenían que solicitar autorización a sus padres, así la mujer fuera una persona mayor, porque se encontraba aun viviendo en la casa paterna. En caso que la mujer iniciara una convivencia, entonces tenía solicitar permiso a su pareja.” (Female informant, Resistant family 3).

“La Granja es aburrida; no tengo nada que hacer aquí. Cuando estoy en Chiclayo puedo pasear por las calles con mi hija y mi hijo, puedo estar en los parques e ir de compras. En la ciudad me entretengo.” (Female informant, Opportunistic family 1).

“…ahora en La Granja las mujeres salen con libertad a caminar, es más tranquilo que antes. Hay menos peleas, menos borrachos.” (Female informant of the Returnee family 2).

“…no me gusta salir con muchachos de La Granja, son muy machistas y les gusta pegar a las mujeres” (Author fieldnotes).

Chapter 8. Representations

Cuando era estudiante las casas se encontraban dispersas y estaban sin arreglar. La calle era solo pasto, había solo un camino, solo existía la posta de salud y no había la loza deportiva. Los niños andaban “piecalá”, mientras que los adultos solo querían tener animales para venderlos y comprar más animales, pero no invertían en sus hijos, ellos pensaban en ser millonarios. Muchas veces dejaba de ir a la escuela para cuidar a los animales, mis padres no me exigían estudiar. Todos mis hermanos y yo éramos solteros y trabajábamos para mi padre. Todos se dedicaban a la agricultura, las personas comercializaban granadillas, café, lúcuma, papa, naranjas, quesillo, gallinas criolla. La gente lo transportaba por caballo hasta Querocoto. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

Las familias trabajaban en la agricultura y su ganado, todo era para su autoconsumo. Las casas eran de adobe y la educación era limitada, los jóvenes tenían que ir a Chiclayo a estudiar. Mi familia era la única que comercializaba ganado pero había pocos negocios. Las mujeres no tenían oportunidades de encontrar un trabajo. El negocio principal era la venta de granadilla y menestras
que tenían que ser llevados en caballo hasta Querocoto pues no existía movilidad por la carretera. Viajar era difícil, todo el día lo perdías en viajar. (Male informant, Returnee family 1).

“Los domingos los hombres se peleaban, se emborrachaban y se mataban entre ellos” (Male informant, Opportunistic family 1).

…hace 10 años El Verde era muy pobre y solo se sembraba maíz para el autoconsumo. No había tierras suficientes para para vender al mercado. Así, entre octubre y noviembre se realiza la siembra, entre junio y julio la siembra pero la producción no alcanza para todo el año y se acaba en diciembre. Después pasábamos hambre, había mucha pobreza (Male informant, Migrant family 4).

Querocoto, a pesar de ser capital del distrito, era un lugar pequeño; las casas no eran de material noble. El transporte era lento la primera empresa de transporte que ingreso a la zona fueron los buses Alvarado, anteriormente no existían otros buses. El acceso por la carretera era riesgoso pues no se realizaba mantenimiento. Para traer los artículos de primera necesidad y sacar productos de la zona, los negociantes se trasladaban hasta Yanacuna, un cruce que pasa por la carretera Chota – Cutervo, y de ahí tomaban un bus o camión hasta Chiclayo. La gente de acá no tenía la visión de estudiar, no había nadie quien incentive para realizar estudios y por ello muy pocos salían a estudiar a Chiclayo o Trujillo. [...] Entre los años 1988 y 1992 aumentó los casos de robos de ganado y de casas; los abigeos llegaban donde el agricultor y le pedían su yunta. La delincuencia era algo incontrolable, la gente tenía miedo, era una amenaza. Después de ello, la gente se organizó para tener ronda campesina siguiendo el ejemplo de Chota. (Male informant, Regional family 2).

“En la época de los hacendados, ellos daban fiestas, peleaban los toros. Ellos eran buenas personas. El hacendado ‘Uvita’ Arrascue se portó bien y nos vendió sus tierras que no fueron afectadas por la reforma agraria cuando llegó Cambior. [...] Antes existían árboles llenos de frutas, ibas con canastas a recogerlo al borde del camino. Yo tenía árboles de granadilla y la cosecha era abundante, la vendía en La Granja. A la feria de La Granja llegaba gente de varias localidades, de Pariamarca y Quipayuc. Ahí se vendía al por mayor gallinas, naranja, lima, café para enviarlo a Chiclayo. También se vendía ganado y chanchos para el camalero. [En La Granja] había gentío, había más viviendas, ahora hay varios que no han regresado. Antes se tenía confianza, era más tranquilo, no
se perdían las cosas, no había robo de ganado. [...] A mí me gustaba tomar, conversar y fumar con los amigos”. (Male informant, Returnee family 2).

iii “En La Granja había tierras fértiles y daba maíz, frijol, trigo, cebada y yuca. Se trabajaba con ayuda con ayuda con los vecinos, no se necesitaba mucho esfuerzo porque la tierra era buena. Las mujeres cocinaban para los peones, a ellos se les pagaba su diario pero el monto era barato. La tierra era productiva, todo lo que se sembraba se comía, de eso vivíamos”. (Male informant, Migrant family1).

iii “El clima, los suelos eran bastante productivos, no se necesitaba fertilizantes. Además había mayores extensiones de tierra donde se criaba el ganado de forma más abierta. La carretera llegaba solo hasta Huambos, de donde se traían los artículos de primera necesidad de la costa pero no se necesitaba mucho porque no se consumía arroz sino yuca, tampoco azúcar, la gente tenía sus trapiches y elaboraba huarapo y chancaca. […] En la localidad todos teníamos algún vínculo familiar, por ello conocíamos nuestras costumbres. Me gustaba porque existía un sistema cooperativo en donde trabajábamos de forma comunitaria. Cuando se trataba de construir, todos nos poníamos a trabajar sin esperar ningún sueldo. Había más tranquilidad que ahora; se dejaban las herramientas en la chacra y se mantenían en el mismo lugar, nadie cogía las pertenencias del vecino”. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

liv “Antes en La Granja había justicia y unión; el pueblo se ponía de acuerdo; en las obras todos trabajaban de forma voluntaria, realizábamos la limpieza del camino hombres y mujeres. Todo cambió con Cambior”. (Female informant, Resistant family 3).

lv “En La Granja vivía bastante gente. La empresa Sondi había hecho la carretera y aunque ingresaba poca movilidad había conexión con Querocoto, Chota, Cutervo y Chiclayo. La empresa Superman transportaba al personal de salud y a los docentes. Acá en La Granja existía un buen clima, agua limpia de manantial, no eran aguas ‘manoseadas’, había buenas tierras para el cultivo y criar ganado. La gente era solidaria, de buen trato, era tranquilo transitar por las calles”. (Male informant, Resistant family 3).

lvi “…los que se quedaron, desconocían a los que se habían ido, los ignoraban, porque pensaban que los habíamos traicionado” (Male informant, Migrant family 2).
“Vivíamos un poco alejados de la cultura, sin vías de comunicación, no teníamos carreteras ni acceso a una comunicación rápida. La gente moría fácilmente porque no había una posta de salud y se tomaba mucho tiempo llegar a la ciudad para ser atendido”. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“…criaban cerdos en sus casas, compartiendo el mismo espacio donde vivían. Eso no era bueno para la salud”. (Male informant, Resistant family 3).

“…la gente era más unida, todos luchaban contra el hacendado”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

Ahora han llegado gente de afuera y se pierden las costumbres, fiestas patronales, el corte de cabello, bautizo. (Male informant, Returnee family 1).

“Las chacras eran productivas, porque se sembraba y todo cosechaba, daba variedad de productos. Además la gente era buena, donde sea te llevaba a comer, regalaban productos agrícolas, nadie te vendía comida. Lo que malogran son las minas. Ahora las chacras no dan mucho, por la contaminación.” (Male informant, Opportunistic family 1).

“La empresa Rio Tinto demanda mayor mano de obra y da mayor seguridad al personal de la localidad. Cualquier accidente puede generar un malestar al interior de la población, por ello capacitan a la gente, Rio Tinto busca que no haya accidentes. Además, la empresa busca garantizar la seguridad con el medio ambiente, para ello se construyen pozos para depositar el agua contaminada”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“Ahora hay más casas y están más arregladas. Existe mayor movimiento económico porque hay más demanda debido a que las personas cuentan con un ingreso fijo, por ello en la localidad ha aumentado el número de negocios. En la feria dominical traen más productos agrícolas de las poblaciones colindantes. En la actualidad la mayoría de los integrantes de la Ronda Campesina no realiza ronda porque se encuentra trabajando en el proyecto. […] Ahora los padres piensan en invertir en la educación de sus hijos para que sean mejores, porque cuando llega la empresa se dan cuenta que les hace falta una mayor preparación académica para ganar un mejor sueldo”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).
“Ahora las casas son más modernas, existe más construcciones de material noble y ha crecido la cantidad de casas. Desde hace diez años tenemos servicio de agua y hace cuatro tenemos desagüe. Las carreteras se encuentran en buen estado. En los colegios hay una plana docente para todos los niveles [inicial, primaria y secundaria]; antes no existía, los alumnos llegaban grandes a la escuela porque no había jardín ni inicial. Existe una posta de salud, antes para atenderse se tenía que viajar a Querocoto. [...] La localidad se mantiene sana y tranquila, se organiza la ronda campesina que cuida en las noches”. (Male informant, Returnee family 1).

“Por motivo de la mina, todos trabajan y lo que usted tiene lo puede vender, por eso existen las paraditas. Los domingos hay feria, vienen de Vista Alegre, Querocoto, Mitobamba a comprar y vender. Hay restaurantes, bodegas, billas y los domingos hay juegos de gallos. Además, con la ronda de noche, no hay robos y se puede caminar hasta altas horas”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 1).

“Ahora existen más oportunidades de trabajo y se ha generado empleo indirecto, como es el trabajo de albañilería para el arreglo de casas o en el abastecimiento de productos agrícolas y de animales menores para los restaurantes de la localidad. Me gusta que se pueda generar cualquier negocio. Somos una familia y necesitamos incrementar nuestros ingresos. Mientras haya oportunidades nos quedamos acá”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).

“…la mina ha contaminado y ya no se puede utilizar el rio para bañarse porque te salen granos”. (Male informant, Migrant family 2).

“La Granja está mejor porque cada uno tiene sus buenas casas, a comparación de las casas que existían antes de paja y quincha, las personas construyen sus casas bonitas, porque la gente se aviva para poder venderlo a un mejor precio a la empresa minera”. (Male informant, Migrant family 1).

“Todo ha cambiado, los jóvenes están tranquilos, contentos porque hay trabajo, los ánimos cambian. En el pueblo hay más casas, más gente, más alegría, los jóvenes realizan deportes. Existen restaurantes, más vehículos, hay luz, televisión. Existe más comercio, si hay más gente todo es mejor”. (Male informant, Migrant family 2).

“Existen muchos árboles, se está reforestando”. (Male informant, Migrant family 1).
“Para mi casa de Chiclayo he comprado muebles y artefactos, aquí encuentras más variedad y a menor precio”. (Male informant, Migrant family 2).

“En la costa, si no tienes tierras puedes comprar los productos que otros siembran. Yo voy a Chiclayo, al mercado de Mochoqueque, en mi propia moto con tolva. Me demoro solo un día mientras que desde El Verde perdía tres días”. (Male informant, Migrant family 4).

“…existe trabajo para todos, antes robaban el ganado y animales de sus vecinos”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“El lugar antes era muerto” (Male informant, Regional family 2).

“Los jóvenes se activan cuando hay carretera, cuando tienes más dinero tienes más ganas de salir”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“La gente es servicial pero ya no te brinda servicios de manera gratuita, por cualquier trabajo las personas esperan recibir un pago”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).

“En la actualidad contamos con todos los servicios básicos, ya nos hemos convertido en una ciudad más formalizada donde se vive de una forma diferente. Las oportunidades de trabajo han aumentado, sobre todo para los varones. Pero estas oportunidades son solo para la mano de obra calificada, porque Rio Tinto hace una pre-selección. Así la gente que viene a trabajar es en su mayoría de Chiclayo, no es de acá. Con tantos foráneos ya no existe la confianza de épocas anteriores, ahora tenemos que cuidarnos. Además la mayoría de la población piensa en el beneficio individual, se ha acostumbrado al asistencialismo, donde espera recibir todo de la empresa minera. Ello se debe a que cualquier solicitud que la población realiza al gobierno local y a Rio Tinto, esta última responde de forma más efectiva. Mientras que las autoridades locales dejan de lado esta zona porque consideran que tenemos suficiente apoyo de la minera. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“La población ha crecido el doble. Mucha gente ha venido por trabajo y otras con fines de lucro, quienes construyen sus casas con el propósito de venderlas a la mina. Muchos son parientes de las familias granjinas y otros son totalmente foráneos que provienen de regiones como Lambayeque y San Martín y ciudades como Chiclayo, Tarapoto, Jaén, Bagua y Nueva Cajamarca. El aumento de personas que llegan a residir a la zona pone difícil el panorama para Rio Tinto porque va a
prolongarse el proceso de negociación con las familias. Por ello la empresa recomienda que no realicen la venta de sus tierras, puesto que los pobladores lotizan sus terrenos en solares y los venden a personas foráneas. A los resistentes no nos conviene esta situación porque las negociaciones se van a prolongar. Debido a la mayor presencia de personas foráneas ha aumentado la venta de comida en la calle, existen dos lavanderías que dan empleo a las mujeres y se han creado empresas de camiones cisternas. Son negocios que dan trabajo a la gente, pero en su mayoría a gente de fuera. Además, la gente no quiere tener su ganado y cultivar en su chacra, porque ven mucho más fácil y rentable los negocios. [De otro lado,] …las autoridades no cumplen su rol como líderes de velar por el bienestar de la población, sino que al contrario velan por sus propios intereses. Por ejemplo, una autoridad ha vendido las piedras del río y ha dejado en peligro de que el río pueda salirse”. (Male informant, Resistant family 3).

“El jornal del peón ha subido, quiere un pago igual que el que reciben de la compañía. Los que trabajan en la mina si salen de viaje, el dinero les aguanta, mientras que uno que trabaja en la chacra y tiene terrenos solo para alimentarse. […] Además, las aguas que están contaminadas, no sirven para ser tomadas ni bañarse en el río, porque la compañía las ensucia con sus desagües que van directo al río. Tampoco me gusta la bulla que hay y ya no se puede criar animales en el pueblo porque se pueden mezclar con los del vecino y generar problemas. Ahora existe desconfianza, se pierden las mangueras”. (Male informant, Returnee family 2).

“…no tenemos apoyo de la municipalidad distrital; piensan que tenemos suficientes recursos por ser una zona minera y que existen otras zonas donde tienen más necesidades”. (Second daughter, Migrant family 1).

“Por el proyecto minero en La Granja existen carreteras para sacar y traer productos, pero si se retira el proyecto ¿quién les darán mantenimiento?” (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“…nos da trabajo y ya nos hemos acostumbrado a este tipo de trabajo. (Male informant, Returnee family 1).

“El Verde se encuentra un poco mejor, pero es solo temporal por el empleo generado por la minería. La agricultura sigue igual de mal. La sierra no tiene alternativas, es muy pobre”. (Migrant family number 4).
“Yo quisiera ir a vivir a Chota, es más tranquilo y se parece a La Granja. Ahí tendría una buena casa, mejor implementada que la que tengo ahora”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“Me imagino viviendo en Chota, en un lugar estratégico, tranquilo, con buena seguridad ciudadana y buena relación con los vecinos. La gente es progresista, con alternativas de futuro para formar un negocio. Además, yo soy de Chota, tengo amigos y familiares, conozco la realidad de mi pueblo, no existe tanto egoísmo. Pienso en ir por mis hijos. Quisiera comprar una computadora para ellos y tener una movilidad para poder trasladar a mi hermano [quien es discapacitado]. En el futuro quiero tener una casa-recreo campesina, que no sea de material noble, una casa donde tenga mi mundo, con juegos recreativos, una laguna para criar patos, árboles, vacas y que sea grande para reunir a la familia. Mi papá tenía un proyecto así. Además, quiero tener pastos y cultivos mejorados, reactivar la crianza de abejas y animales menores, es rentable. Yo voy a morir en la agricultura”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).

“A veces pienso en vender todo y regresar a Chota, mi ciudad natal. Pero allá todo también ha cambiado, ha crecido”. (Male informant, Migrant family 1).

“Por mis hijos me establecería en Chiclayo, se realice o no el proyecto minero o no. Me gustaría tener una casa amplia, porque tengo varios hijos, cerca de una institución educativa y que no esté en las barriadas. Quiero comprar terrenos de riego tecnificado en la costa, con acceso a agua y que las tierras no sean salitrosas; me dedicaría a administrar mis tierras”. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“En el futuro me imagino que estaremos viviendo en Chiclayo, ello por la educación de mis hijos. Una zona buena sería Pimentel o una urbanización como La Victoria o Primavera, porque tienen pistas y veredas, no son barriadas y están cerca de las universidades, por nuestros hijos, así ahorramos en la movilidad. Me gustaría que nuestra casa tenga dos pisos, con patio, cochera y todos los servicios. También me gustaría tener refrigeradora y auto. Comprariamos un terreno agrícola para cultivar arroz o maíz. Además, si se da la mina, le alquilaría maquinaria pesada al proyecto”. (Male informant, Returnee family 1).

“La solución es que Rio Tinto nos apoye en crear un negocio, queremos que den trabajo a las empresas locales. Yo quisiera que me den trabajo hasta que me muera o hasta donde podamos trabajar”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).
“Si la mina sale va a traer grandes beneficios. Solo el trabajo que va a realizar el Fondo Social va a durar dos años; está mal oponerse a la mina. Querocoto se va convertir en un centro de negocio estratégico, es bueno irse preparando desde ahora. Vendrán otros inversionistas a poner sus negocios y hospedajes. Por eso tengo pensado comprar un terreno en las afueras del pueblo para hacer un hospedaje. Antes no había nada de movimiento económico. Como la gente solo sabe jalar lampa, va a ver desocupación para la gente que no sabe otra cosa. La construcción va aumentar en Querocoto porque va a ser un centro donde va llegar gente de lejos, va a ver compra y venta de productos y va aumentar el número de viviendas; ya se está construyendo la vía de evitamiento en una zona donde no hay casas, el pueblo se va a descentralizar y crecer. Me gustaría que los que no han tenido oportunidades ahora tengan, así puedan tener una casa y puedan hacer estudiar a sus hijos, así ya no tienen que tener los mismos trabajos; la empresa puede dejar de operar pero si los hijos son profesionales pueden trabajar”. (Male informant, Regional family 2).

“...va a aumentar el trabajo para las mujeres porque ellas son más hábiles que los varones. Además, no existiría mucha delincuencia porque la gente ahora está poniendo más empeño en capacitarse para poder acceder a las oportunidades laborales”. (Female informant Regional family 3).

“En caso el proyecto minero se realice, La Granja será un desierto porque la mina se va a explotar a tajo abierto, se va a remover la tierra. Esta tierra será de nadie en los cuarenta años de explotación. La Granja va a desaparecer”. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“No sé bien cómo sería si el proyecto se realiza, nunca he estado en una mina, pero seguro que no se produciría nada de plantas, la mina extermina todo, el cobre daña el terreno. El aire que corre estará más contaminado. Las personas saldrán y van a comer otro tipo de comidas. Las casas van a desaparecer”. (Male informant, Migrant family 1).

“Cuando entre la maquinaria y haya movimiento de tierras, el lugar va estar desolado. Se instalará un campamento grande con gente foránea. Existirá contaminación ambiental con el ruido, el humo, sus aguas y su vegetación ya no van a existir. Va a ser triste ver el lugar donde ha nacido mi hijo. Además de ver la escuela enterrada. Verá La Granja como algo que ya fue”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).

“Si sale el proyecto, la empresa sacará a la gente, quedaran solo ellos para hacer lo que quieran. Desaparecerá el pueblo y vendrá gente extranjera, nosotros no vamos a regresar nunca más. No va
a ver nada, todo será un desierto. No me gustaría irme porque me he acostumbrado. En otro lugar no voy a encontrar lo mismo que existe en La Granja”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 1).

“Se va a incrementar la competencia con la llegada de inversionistas y nos quitan los clientes. Es un temor que tenemos. También va aumentar la población y el libertinaje, eso da más miedo”. (Male informant, Regional family 2).

“Tenemos temor de que cuando uno vaya a la costa, como los paisanos nos conocen pueden pasarse la voz para que cuando lleguemos a la ciudad nos roben el dinero que obtengamos de la venta de nuestras propiedades a la mina. Además, la gente que vive en Chiclayo no es acogedora”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“No quisiera que nos dejen abandonados. La empresa menciona que darán un acompañamiento de un año y medio, pero el tiempo es poco considerando que existen personas mayores. La empresa minera nos van a botar a otros sitios”. (Male informant, Resistant family 1).

“Yo creo que es difícil que Rio Tinto cumpla con el acompañamiento que ofrece a las familias en el reasentamiento. Cuando salgan las personas a la empresa le va a interesar poco. Si estando en la zona, cuando se le realiza alguna solicitud te la hacen larga”. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“…según la política de la empresa es que si una persona no está de acuerdo es suficiente para dejar el proyecto. Aunque eso no parece creíble, ellos lo manifiestan en sus reuniones”. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

“Yo quisiera vivir tranquilamente. En la costa se lleva una vida acelerada y las personas envejecen rápido. Me dedicaría al mismo negocio que tengo ahora [de hospedaje y alimentación] y me gustaría realizar un proyecto de café y granadilla y continuar con la plantación de árboles en La Granja. Yo no tengo un lugar ideal donde me gustaría vivir, yo quiero seguir viviendo aquí en La Granja y no voy a vender mis propiedades a la mina”. (Male informant, Resistant family 3).

“Si la empresa realiza su proyecto va a ser una desgracia, se van a malograr las tierras, el agua se contamina porque se ve que las mineras hacen ello. Pero aquí nadie quiere vender sus tierras, por lo que la compañía ha puesto policías, fácil nos manda a matar. La empresa ha perdido toda la confianza ganada con la respuesta que han tenido frente al último paro, ya nadie les cree. No se va a tener oportunidades de trabajo porque van a querer profesionales. Lo que prometen es un engaño
hasta que logren botarnos. A los proveedores locales ya no tomarán en cuenta. Si ahora la empresa está haciendo barbaridades, imagínese como serán cuando ellos sean los dueños”. (Female informant, Resistant family 3).

ciii “La gente dice, ‘que vengan a dar trabajo hasta que se cansen’. (Male informant, Resistant family 2).

civ “En las fiestas los hombres tomaban, se peleaban y se mataban. A mí no gustaba salir de mi casa en La Lima, veía desde lejos las peleas y me daba miedo porque se mataban peleando. Mi marido me celaba cuando estaba mareado”. (Female informant, Returnee family 2).

cv “Cuando estaba alcoholizada, la gente se peleaba y mataban. Me daba miedo venir a La Granja cuando había fiestas porque las personas eran muy conflictivas. No había autoridades, recién con Cambior trajeron un puesto de policía”. (Female informant, Opportunistic family 1).

cvi “…porque existe trabajo para nuestros hijos, de lo contrario se tendrían que ir a sitios diferentes y la familia comienza a separarse.. (Female informant, Resistant family 2).

cvii “Al inicio no me gustaba Chiclayo, todas las calles me parecían igualitas y me perdía. Pero después hice amigas en el trabajo, salía de la casa e íbamos a pasear. No extraño nada La Granja, cuando voy me aburro. Ahora La Granja me gusta más porque hay más movimiento, antes nada, ni trabajo. Solo los viejitos añoran la agricultura, solo a los viejitos les gusta cómo era antes La Granja”. (Female informant, Migrant family 3).

cviii “Hay más prostitución y libertinaje de parte de los hombres y las mujeres, ellas han empezado a ejercer la prostitución de forma oculta”. (Male informant, Migrant family 2).

cix “Las mujeres dejan a sus maridos, son mujeres cochinas, esto no me gusta. Cuando vino la empresa, como vienen hombres de otros sitios, las mujeres se meten con hombres ajenos, son amantes por el dinero.” (Female informant, Returnee family 2).

cx “…algo que ya fue”. (Male informant, Opportunistic family 2).