

WATER, NOT GOLD

Campesinos defining and acting citizenship in the context of mining projects in rural Cajamarca, Peru

Jenni Viitala

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School of Social Sciences and Humanities

University of Tampere

ABSTRACT

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE – School of Social Sciences and Humanities

JENNI VIITALA:

WATER, NOT GOLD. Campesinos defining and acting citizenship in the context of mining projects in rural Cajamarca, Peru.

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This thesis is an ethnographic study of the political agency of *campesinos*, rural inhabitants, who live in the area of many large mining projects in the Andean region of Cajamarca, Peru. The main focus is on gold mining projects called Yanacocha and Conga. Yanacocha is currently the largest gold producer in South America, and Conga is a proposed offshoot of the current mine. The Conga project was halted, yet not cancelled in 2011 partly due to local resistance. Since the locals were able to affect halting the project, Cajamarca has become an ideal context to study the strategies of social movements. Also, there is a need for a study that draws attention to the still ongoing conflict and the violations of political rights of the local campesinos. Their experiences are of central importance, because the locals bear the immediate effects of a global mineral trade in their natural and social surroundings. Basing on material collected with a local campesino during two months of ethnographic fieldwork, this study intends to capture those experiences surrounding the gold mining projects.

Using the ethnographic material, I analyse the views of the local campesinos on their political agency. I also investigate how these views are reflected and turned into action in the social movement against Conga and other mining projects. As a theoretical framework, I use conceptions of citizenship, understood as political agency that encompasses local, regional, national and international levels (Lazar 2013). I will also connect citizenship with social movement studies, because social movements, especially in Latin America, are at the global forefront in questioning and shaping understandings of citizenship (Roniger & Sznajder 2012). In short, I analyse, *How do the campesinos construct and negotiate citizenship in the context of mining projects in Cajamarca, Northern Peru?* This question is further clarified by two sub-questions: *How do the locals understand their citizen position in relation to the mining activities? How do they act and use citizenship in the social movement against mining?*

The study results in findings of local understandings of citizenship that are deeply rooted in the local bioregion (Nixon 2011), local customs and communality. However, these understandings are processual (Werbner 1998) and imperfect (Clarke et al 2014), and also conflicting ideas were found among the locals. Nevertheless, the social movement against mining in the area has been able to take on these local citizenship imaginaries and bring people together through actions that challenge the economy-based discourse of the mining company and the state. Combining the strengths of already existing local citizen practices, on the one hand, and some tools that the national citizen status provides, on the other, enables social movements to grow stronger in their pursuits.

Key words: Peru, Cajamarca, mining, citizenship, social movements, agrarian movements, campesino

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Picture 1: Mountain scenery near the village of Sorochuco. Photo: JV



Picture 2: Street art in the town Celendín. The campesinos shout "Conga will not go". Note that someone has scribbled "Sí" on top of the "No". Photo: JV

1 INTRODUCTION

This study is an ethnographic inquiry into the Andean region of Cajamarca, Peru, where *campesinos*, small-scale farmers, live around the areas designated to multiple large-scale mining projects. This study focuses on the district of Sorochuco, which is an area influenced by a large gold and copper mine project called Minas Conga. Originally, the Conga mine was supposed to begin extraction in 2015, but in 2011, the project was halted due to local resistance. In addition to protests, road blocks and marches, some specific local customs like cattle surveillance groups and the community police have been employed in the social movement against mining. Today, the future of the Conga project remains unresolved.

Project Conga is accompanied by a complex historical context: there are already large mines in the area, and these mines have had major impacts on the environmental and social landscapes. The largest of the current mines is an open-pit gold mine called Yanacocha, which is the largest gold mine in South America and the sixth largest gold producer in the world (Mining.com 3.6.2016). The Conga project would be an offshoot of Yanacocha mine, and it would be even larger than the current mine. Despite its enormous capacities in gold production, Yanacocha, as well as other mines in the area, have also failed to bring economic benefits to the local communities. Over 50 % of the population of Cajamarca lives in poverty, and the region has been the poorest of Peru since 2013 (INEI 2016, 50).

The aim of this study is to examine the political position of the local *campesinos* and their experiences in relation to the mining projects in the area, especially Yanacocha and Conga. Their experiences are important on a global scale because the locals are the ones bearing the immediate effects of a global trade of minerals. Any extracted material is highly socialized product, because its extraction always happens in a certain cultural, political and ecological context (EASA 2016). The origins of these minerals concern all of us who use products such as electronics, building materials, transportation equipment, jewellery, and various consumer products. Furthermore, mining has been increasingly associated with permanent environmental damage. Mining requires removal of the vegetation cover, and both the mining products themselves and the chemical compounds used to separate them from waste rock can cause serious harm the environment, if not stored and treated properly (Dougherty 2016, 8).

The mining industry has boomed in the Global South during the last two decades, with the growth most pronounced in Latin America. Mining investment increased more than 100 per cent in Latin America between 2002 and 2012, a boom that is a result of several factors. In the 1990s, the metal prices started to rise, the new technological innovations allowed for more efficient mining, and many “easy” reserves in the Global North had started to decline. Furthermore, many countries in the Global South, including Peru, introduced liberal policy changes in order to favour direct foreign investment during the 1990s. This new wave of mining projects has brought about much controversy and conflict. (Dougherty 2016.)

In Peru, mining products currently account for over sixty per cent of the state's exports, and mining takes place in 23 of the 25 regions of Peru (Ministerio de Energía y Minas del Perú 2015). Since the early 2000s, the number of social movements against mining has also increased rapidly in Peru (Ponce & McClintock 2014, 119). Some of the opposition against the mining projects have succeeded in halting the project, despite heavy oppression and the introduction stricter laws to limit social movements. Conga is an example of a project that was halted due to successful opposition, and because of this, it is a prime context to study movement strategies and spaces for political action.

While also research on mining and mining conflicts has increased in recent years (Triscritti 2013), the anthropology of mining remains rather under-established as a field of research (EASA 2016). Anthropology is, however, well situated to understand mining and the social conflicts around it. Especially ethnographic approach can be used to reach a thick understanding of the realities of the people living in remote areas designated to mining projects. The material for this study was collected during two months of ethnographic fieldwork in January-March 2015. Most of the data collected during the field period took the form of ethnographic interviews, which were conducted in 18 different villages and hamlets mostly around the district of Sorochuco. Most of the interviewees were local campesinos, but interviews with local leaders, university professors, a mine worker and NGO workers are also included. I was accompanied by a local "guide" during all the interviews trips, and also one branch of the Rondas organisation, the nation-wide community police movement, was of great help in conducting this research. I wish to express my gratitude to all these people, especially to my "guide", Hugo. This research would not have been possible without their help.

As a theoretical framework for this study, I am employing anthropological perspectives on citizenship. Defined broadly, the concept of citizenship can be used to describe belonging to any political community, be it local, national or global (Lazar 2013). Citizenship is both defined top-down in official requirements of the citizen status, and constructed by the citizens themselves in their daily political actions. Social movements are often the ones challenging notions of citizenship, and especially the Latin American social movements have been in the global forefront in the debates and shifts in the understanding of citizenship (Roniger & Sznajder 2012, 1). For social movements, the discourse on citizenship opens spaces and tools for action. However, until recent years, the links between social movements and citizenship research have remained few (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, xii).

The main focus of this thesis is on the question, *How do the campesinos construct and negotiate citizenship in the context of mining projects in Cajamarca, Northern Peru?* This question is further clarified by two sub-questions: *How do the locals understand their citizen position in relation to the mining activities? How do they act and use citizenship in the social movement against mining?* The intention is not only to understand the views of the local campesinos, but also find practical links between the discourses of citizenship and the actions of social movements. With this study, I also wish

to contribute to activist ethnography (Scheper-Hughes 1995) and resistance anthropology (Ortner 2016). In this case, such an approach is reflected in the intention to take a stance in defending the perspective of local campesinos, and to give value to locally produced knowledge. In specific research contexts, not taking a stance would be unethical (Scheper-Hughes 1995). I consider the context of this research one that requires taking a stance due to the exclusion of the locals and the deeply unbalanced power relations between the locals, a multi-national mining company and the state.

In the next chapter of this thesis, I will start with an introduction to the field site. I will describe the rural areas and people of Cajamarca, introduce the Yanacocha and Conga mining projects with more detail, and discuss the events that have led to the current situation in Cajamarca. In chapter 3, I will discuss ethnography as a method, focusing especially on ethnographic interviews and activist ethnography. Descriptions and critical evaluations of the methods and data used in this research will also be provided. In chapter 4, I will introduce the theoretical perspectives used in this research. The chapter is divided into two sections. First, I will discuss various multi-disciplinary and diverse understandings on citizenship, starting from T.H. Marshall's definitions from 1950 and comparing them with more recent ones. Second, I will discuss how citizenship is shaped and redefined by various different types of social movements. Due to the data of my own research, I will mostly focus on agrarian and environmental movements, and anti-mining movements in Latin America.

Chapter 5, the analysis, is also divided into two sections. In each section, I will discuss the two sub-questions introduced above separately. In chapter 5.1 I will seek to answer the question *how do the locals understand their citizen position in relation to the mining activities*. I approach the question by examining how the local views on environment, land ownership, employment, development and politics reflect their understandings of their own political agency. In chapter 5.2 I move on to a more action-oriented level of the views presented in chapter 5.1, asking, *how do the campesinos act and use citizenship in the social movement against mining*. I discuss their strategies in the movement as reflections of understandings of citizenship and the ways they construct alternative citizen practices to contest the oppressive ones. I will also briefly discuss how the legal system, which at least in theory is a very important body in securing citizen rights, does or does not work for the local benefit in the context of a mining conflict. Lastly, in chapter 6, I will draw some overall conclusions and discuss perspectives for future research. I will conclude with a short review of what has happened in Cajamarca after my fieldwork period, and what could be expected in the future.



Picture 3: The village of Sorochuco. Photo: JV



Picture 4: The city of Cajamarca during carnival. Photo: JV

2 MOUNTAINS AND PEOPLE IN MOVEMENT

2.1 CAJAMARCA, THE REGION OF MOUNTAINS AND CAMPESINOS¹

The region (*departamento*) of Cajamarca is located in Northern Peru, covering an area of 33 318 km². In the North, the region reaches the border with Ecuador; in the West and South, it aligns with the coastal regions of Piura, Lambayeque and La Libertad; and in the East, it descends into the rainforests of Amazonas. Cajamarca also has thickly forested lowlands inside its regional borders, but the landscape is mainly dominated by the Andean mountains cutting across the region from North to South. The altitudes of Cajamarca range from 400 meters to 3 550 meters above the sea level. (Sucursal Trujillo del Banco Central de Reserva del Perú [BCRP] 2015, 1.)

In the mountain areas, the lower altitudes of 2 500 – 3 300 meters are known as the *Quechua* region or “*parte baja*”, the lower part. This area has a mild and dry climate, and it is rather lush with plants and trees. Most of the agricultural activity of Cajamarca is concentrated in the Quechua areas. There, the temperatures vary between 8.5 and 19 °C. In the higher altitudes of 3 300 – 4 000 meters, the area is known as *Jalca* or “*parte alta*”. The Jalca is cooler than Quechua regions, and it rains more in the Jalca, although both regions experience heavy rains in the rainy season. The Jalca is characterized by grasslands and pasture lands for the cattle. In the areas of Jalca bordering Quechua areas, various agricultural products can also be grown, and people have settled in some small villages. Especially in the Jalca, the biodiversity is exceptional when compared to other similar circumstances on a global scale. However, these ecosystems are considered fragile and highly vulnerable. The Jalca is also very important for a reason that will be constantly raised throughout this study: the water. The lakes and wetlands of the high mountains are the birthplace of long rivers that run down the mountainside, form more lakes, and provide the water for all the people, animal and plant species in the region. (Torres & Castillo 2012.)

In these mountains, an estimate of 1 529 755 *cajamarquinos* live. Politically, the region is divided into 13 provinces and 127 districts. The capital of the region is the city of Cajamarca with around 388 000 inhabitants, and the rest of the population is spread around smaller towns, villages and hamlets. (Sucursal Trujillo/BCRP 2015, 1-3.) The fieldwork for this thesis happened mainly in the province of Celendín, in the district of Sorochuco. I was mainly situated in the village of Sorochuco, the capital of the district bearing the same name. From there, my “guide” and I travelled to various other villages and

¹ The descriptions of the local lifestyle are mainly based on the observations I made during two months of fieldwork. There is very little documented information available about the lifestyle of the people in this area.

hamlets in the district. Some interviews and participant-observation were also conducted in the district of Encañada, in the town of Celendín, and in the city of Cajamarca.

The people in Sorochuco are predominantly small-scale farmers, *campesinos*, who live partly or mostly off their lands. In English, the term “campesino” could be translated as “peasant” or “farmer”, but both of these translations fail to grasp the meaning of the Spanish term. Campesino is a term that the locals use with pride to describe themselves, and it is also a term employed in the Peruvian Constitution to describe the people living in rural areas (Constitución Política del Perú 1993, Article 89). Mainly, the campesinos in Cajamarca are farmers who live on their own lands, although the term is used also for farmers who do not own the lands they cultivate. To respect and reflect the way the locals call themselves, I have chosen to use the original Spanish term to describe them in this study. Alternatively, I will use the term “local” to describe the interviewees living in the rural areas, or the word “cajamarquino” to refer to all the people living in the rural and urban locations within the region of Cajamarca.

The fields of the campesinos are filled with potatoes, different types of corn and beans, yucca, wheat and various types of vegetables. Raising livestock and fishing from the rivers are also very important means of self-sustaining. In their backyards in the Quechua region, and up in the grazing lands of the Jalca, the locals breed cows, pigs, chicken, ducks, rabbits and guinea pigs. Mostly, the rabbits and guinea pigs are a special treat. They are eaten on special occasions, such as during birthday celebrations. Daily diets of the campesinos are dominated by potatoes and rice, which are eaten virtually on every meal and supplemented with some vegetables, beans, eggs, cheese and the occasional fish or meat. Once an animal is killed or dies accidentally, it is eaten fast, as the locals have limited possibilities to store the meat. The slaughtered animals are used very thoroughly, with some special delicacies prepared from the intestines, and often shared with friends and neighbours. All the food is prepared over an open fire. The firewood often comes from eucalyptus trees that grow tall all around the area.

The campesinos of the Sorochuco district mainly live in simple adobe houses with earth floors. Many houses do have electric lighting and a tap on the back yard that provides them with running water. The bathrooms are usually small outhouses with walls made from corrugated iron, and some people also have toilet seats and showers. Many locals have little stores on the ground floor of their houses, where they sell sodas, fruits, bread, sweets, and an odd cheese or other fresh product produced in the house. These types of shops also sell coca leaves and *cañazo*, a sugar cane liquor that can be bought from big containers straight into your own plastic bottles. Most of the time, morning or evening, there are some local men on the streets of Sorochuco, taking a break from their work to share some drinks and coca leaves to chew.

The campesinos mostly do not have televisions or computers, but there is a small internet “café” in the town of Sorochuco. The radio, however, is a far more widely used source of information for the campesinos. Radio channels are rather easy to set up, and in their own channels the locals play folklores and speak their minds rather freely. What became evident during the course of investigation is that the radio is actually an important space to express political views of the locals. It spreads the words across the villages that are sometimes rather challenging to reach by road. Moving around Sorochuco happens mostly on foot or by horseback, which are the most useful means of transport in the nearby mountain areas. Some locals have pick-up trucks and old motor bikes that they can use to move from one village to another, but most locals use the minibuses that go regularly towards Cajamarca and some bigger towns in the area. The dirt roads meander around the mountain sides, and during the rainy season, roads collapse almost on a weekly basis.

In 2013, Cajamarca became the poorest region in Peru (INEI 2013). Today an estimate of 16.6 – 23.9 % of the population live in extreme poverty, and over 50 % in poverty (INEI 2016, 50). The poverty levels differ dramatically on the national level, between people living on the coast, in the mountains and in the jungle areas. Of Peruvians living in extreme poverty, 69.1 per cent live in the mountains (INEI 2016, 62). Also, the differences between cities and rural areas are quite wide on the national level, with the poverty centring in rural spaces (INEI 2016, 23–24). In Cajamarca, the deepening poverty can be attributed to a lack of state resources directed to the region, a lack of paid labour and the vulnerability of the agricultural productions under the harsh climate conditions. Furthermore, as will be illustrated in the course of this thesis, many locals blame the mining activities in the area for contaminating their surroundings and harming the local agriculture.

In the times of the Inca, however, Cajamarca was an important and wealthy centre. On the spot where the capital of Cajamarca is now located, the Incas also had their regional capital. In 1533, the last Inca emperor Atahualpa was captured in Cajamarca by Francisco Pizarro. The legend goes that as a ransom in exchange for his release, the Atahualpa promised to deliver the Spanish so much gold that it would fill a room until arms-length. The Spanish did receive gold, but stories on whether or not he was able to fill the room are varied. Nevertheless, Atahualpa was still executed by the Spanish. (Identidad Perú 2013.) The Inca history of the area, and especially legends about Atahualpa’s death, are very important for many locals. Some locals around Cajamarca have Inca objects, such as bronze shoes, statues and small skulls they tell they have found in their area. Despite this, most locals around Sorochuco identify themselves as *campesinos*, not indigenous. An important issue to consider in this context is the fact that the indigenous are still subject to exclusion and discrimination in Peru (see Valdivia, Benavides & Torero 2007; Barron 2008). However, the campesino and indigenous populations are sometimes equated in Peru. In the constitution of 1993, these two groups are discussed jointly (Constitución Política del Perú

1993, Article 89). Around Sorochuco, the locals speak Spanish as their first language, although some words, expressions and names of locations have been derived from Quechua.

The local community police, the Rondas Campesinas, claims to have its origins in the Inca traditions as well. The Rondas movement began in 1976 in Cuyumalca, in the province of Chota in Cajamarca, to “ensure the safety of goods and the integrity of its members” because they considered that the national police was not helping the local community (Defensoría del Pueblo 2002, 11). The movement has since spread around Northern Peru, and divided into various types of branches, such as the women’s Rondas and the Rondas of indigenous groups. In the district of Sorochuco, nearly every village has its Rondas president. These presidents help solve various kinds of issues in the community, from violence crimes and thefts to marriage problems and disputes between neighbours. In some locations, the Rondas use whips and other rather violent means to punish criminals. Their actions have been criticized, and the Inca roots of such community authority questioned (Van Eerten 2016). Still, the Rondas have widespread support from the locals, also in the mountains of Sorochuco. The movement also holds some political and legal power: they are acknowledged by a law, which gives them a right to find peaceful solutions to problems within their communities, “in use of their customs” (Ley de Rondas Campesinas 1987/24571, article 7). As will be discussed in this thesis, the Rondas have also been important actors in the anti-mining movements in the region. One of the branches of Rondas also helped me to plan and initiate the fieldwork for this thesis, for which I am very grateful.

Across the country, Cajamarca is known as the “capital of carnival”. Once a year in February, the city streets become filled with people from within the region and other parts of Peru. During carnival, one can spot the odd foreign tourist as well; other times of the year Cajamarca is not a major tourist attraction point. For months after the carnival, the buildings and moto-taxis might still be covered with stains from a carnival paint war, and people sign and create humorous songs that always follow the same carnival tune. As will be discussed later in this thesis, carnival songs have been also employed for the purposes of the social movement.

Besides carnivals, the Inca, Rondas and mountain sceneries, the region of Cajamarca has become known for its mines – and the social movements against mining projects. Nationwide, mining is central to Peru’s economy. Mining projects spot the Andean mountain range across the whole country: mining takes place in 23 of the 25 regions of Peru (Ministerio de Energía y Minas del Perú 2015). Peru opened to foreign mining investment during the authoritarian president Alberto Fujimori², who made neoliberal reforms in the state legislation the 1990s. Basing his policies in the inefficiency of the state and the need to invoke

² Alberto Fujimori was a controversial leader. He gained support because he was able to capture Abimael Guzmán, the leader of the feared guerrilla group Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*). However, Fujimori’s regime also became known for clandestine military units, which engaged in targeted killings and forced disappearances, as well as massive arbitrary detentions and the creation of rights-violating military tribunals. In 2009, Fujimori was sentenced to 25 years in prison for these human rights violations. (Burt 2009.)

private foreign investment, Fujimori privatized national phone, gas, iron and electricity companies, among others (Martínez 2009, 68). Also the World Bank played an important role in pushing these reforms (De Echave 2005, 118). These policies under Fujimori practically eliminated all subsidies of the Peruvian companies, rural development and the sectors with the lowest incomes (Martínez 2009, 69). Foreign mining investment increased dramatically since this: between 1993 and 2003, foreign mining companies invested about US \$6.7 billion in mines in Peru (World Resources Institute 2007). Reforms aimed at increasing investment have been introduced even after Fujimori. For example, in 2014, the government of Ollanta Humala introduced a new law that weakens the environmental protections, providing mining incentives that beat even those of mining-friendly Chile and Mexico (CNS News 20.7.2014).

In recent years, Peru has been one of the world leaders in the production of silver, copper, zinc, tin, lead and gold. More than 95 % of the mining products are exported, and in 2015, mineral exports accounted for 62 % of all of Peru's exports (Ministerio de Energía y Minas del Perú 2015). Despite the dropping metal prices, mining is expected to boost Peru's GDP also in 2016, currently accounting for 12 % of Peru's total GDP (Mining.com 4.3.2016). However, the economic benefits of such large mining investments have not been distributed well. Fujimori's democratically elected follower, Alejandro Toledo, introduced the generous "canon policy" or mining royalty law in 2006 to improve the situation. According to this policy, 50 per cent of the taxes paid by mining companies should be transferred to the regions and municipalities where the extractive operations take place (Ley de Canon, 2006/27506). However, in practice, the policy has not worked as planned. The enactment of this law has been called unfair, and rural governments often lack the institutional capacities to allocate the funds. Furthermore, there are restrictions on where the canon funds can be allocated. The canon funds have been dedicated to projects of infrastructure, municipality buildings and even public pools where they would have been needed for improving health care and education. (Council on Hemispheric Affairs 2013.) I will return to discuss the canon law in chapter 5.2.3.

The mines have also caused many environmental and health problems in Peru, as well as all over the world. Mining requires removal of the vegetation cover, and both the mining products themselves and the chemical compounds used to separate them from waste rock can cause serious harm the environment, if not stored and treated properly (Dougherty 2016, 8). In Peru, much of the environmental damage is attributed to the illegal gold mines that thrive in the rainforests of Peru. The illegal mines produce an estimate of 20 % of all the gold Peru produces, and have caused, for example, devastating mercury contamination in the South-eastern region of Madre de Dios (Mining.com 24.5.2016). In this thesis, however, I will focus on the most important legal gold mine of Peru, Yanacocha, and its planned offshoot project, Conga, located in the mountains of Cajamarca. Yanacocha is an example of the socio-economic and environmental problems that even legal and surveyed mines cause.

2.2 THE YANACOCHA MINE

The Yanacocha gold mine project, consisting of five open pit mines, is currently the largest gold mine in South America and the sixth biggest gold producer in the world (Mining.com 3.6.2016). Yanacocha is owned by a Minera Yanacocha S.R.L., which is comprised by three actors: US-based Newmont Mining Corporation (51.35 % share of the coalition), Peru-based Compañía de Minas Buenaventura (43.65 % share) and a World Bank³ treaty International Financial Corporation, IFC (5 % share) (Newmont Mining Corporation 2016). The mine was opened in 1993, and in its peak year 2005, it produced 3.3 million ounces (INEI 2009). As of 2015, the mine produced about 471 000 attributable ounces of gold and employed 5600 employees and contractors (Newmont Mining Corporation 2016). The mine is now nearing the end of its life-span, and is expected to run dry by 2019 (BN Americas 22.7.2016).

Yanacocha uses a process called “cyanide heap leaching” to extract gold from heaps of ore. In this process, the ore heaps are sprayed with dilute cyanide solution. Cyanide heap leaching is a cheap and effective way to extract minute amounts of gold from low-grade ore, but it carries a high risk of contaminating nearby water sources with cyanide by-products and other toxic chemicals. (World Resources Institute 2007.) Leakages from toxic tailing dams are not infrequent around the world (Hallman & Olivera 2015). In addition to this, the mines keep requiring a large amount of water for their operations. Even a medium size gold operation requires on average 32000 cubic meters of water a day, a volume that can serve to irrigate on average 800 hectares of agricultural production a day (Vela Almeida 2013). The locals have reported that their wells have gone dry, and the access to water has reduced to a few hours a day in many areas of the Cajamarca city after opening the Yanacocha mine (Weinberg 2012, 23). Important lakes up in the Jalca also had to be dried out of the way of the mining area, thus contributing to the shortage of water for the thousands of campesinos, their livestock and all the other animals and plants that live down the hill from the mining areas. The name Yanacocha (“black lake” in Quechua) actually comes from a large lake that was located in the area before the open pits. To replace the natural waters, Yanacocha built an artificial reservoir that was meant to provide water for human and animal consumption. However, by the end of 2011, the reservoir was dry – something the company did not announce until March 2012 (La República 6.7.2012). According to the company, the reservoir is now working again, but the quality of the water is reduced to level 3: it is not suitable for human consumption.⁴

In Cajamarca, the local NGO Gruffides has documented dozens of occasions of dead river trout in various parts of Cajamarca, as well as other contamination attributed to the Yanacocha mines (Gruffides 2015).

³ The World Bank, which is profiled as a supporter of sustainable projects, has been criticized for supporting Yanacocha (Hallman & Olivera 2015).

⁴ <http://www.yanacocha.com/reservorio-san-jose-2/>, viewed on 25.8.2016

Many residents near the mining area have reported about their livestock and themselves getting sick after drinking the local water, and even deaths of their animals (Earthworks 2016; Hallman & Olivera 2015). Some studies have been conducted on the contamination, also by OEFA, a body of the Environmental Ministry (Organismo de Evaluación y Fiscalización Ambiental 2014; Grufides 2.10.2015; Bernard & Cupolo 2012). The most known contamination study is from 2014, when a group of researchers from the University of Barcelona and the National University of Cajamarca conducted a study on the levels of heavy metals in the diets of people living close to the Yanacocha mine (Barenys et al 2014). The study found alarming levels of cadmium, arsenic and lead in the food and water consumed by people of Cajamarca. However, in June 2015, a critique of this diet study was published in Food and Chemical Toxicology journal (Krieger and Kester 2015). In their response, Gary Krieger and Janet Kester blame the study of Barenys et al for “critical flaws in the data and methodology”, arguing that the research group failed to show evidence that the metals would originate in the mines, and that the dietary samples of the people living close to the mines actually have “no greater dietary exposure to these metals and are at no greater resultant risk of toxicity than are average European consumers” (Krieger and Kester 2015, 346). On the next page of the same issue of Food and Chemical Toxicology, Marta Barenys and Joan M. Llobet from the original research team replied to the criticism with a short letter. The letter rejects some of the criticism, but also aims to soften the tone of their original research, and is careful of making any direct accusations over whether or not the metals actually originated from mining activities (Barenys & Llobet 2015, 349). Both the criticism of Krieger and Kester and the response letter of Barenys and Llobet can be found on the web page of Newmont⁵.

The most known and reported individual contamination case associated with Yanacocha happened in June 2000, when 151 kilos of liquid mercury, a by-product of the Yanacocha mine, was accidentally spilled on the streets of the village of Choropampa by a truck on its way to Lima. Many villagers of Choropampa went on collecting the unknown matter, using their spoons and cups or even bare hands. Children played with the mercury and even tasted it. Some adults heated the mercury in their kitchens, thinking they could extract gold from it. At least 750 villagers suffered from a mercury poisoning, and 40 per cent of them were children. Several people were hospitalized up to months after the incident. (El Comercio 22.5.2011 & 3.6.2015; SF Gate 14.3.2005.) In 2008, 8 years after the accident, a health survey was conducted in Choropampa by Dirección Regional de Salud de Cajamarca, a body of the Health Ministry. The survey found that 7 out of the 18 households evaluated were still contaminated with mercury. The people reported still suffering from stabbing headaches, dizziness, nausea and paraesthesia, and the children were reported having learning difficulties. (Dirección General de Salud Ambiental 2008.) However, according to Yanacocha, all of the persons exposed to mercury poisoning in

⁵ <http://www.newmont.com/operations-and-projects/south-america/yanacocha-peru/reports/default.aspx>, Viewed 24.8.2016.

June 2000 had normal mercury levels by the same year. Yanacocha was never legally condemned for the incident, although lawsuits were filed against it by hundreds of villagers both in Peru and in the US. Yanacocha did, however, pay compensations to individual villagers, and reports having contributed to development works in the area. (Minera Yanacocha S.R.L. 2013.)

Seeking to improve its negative image through such work on sustainability and community development, Yanacocha has created two foundations: Asociación Los Andes de Cajamarca (ALAC) and FONCREAGRO. ALAC is an organisation that “promotes sustainable human development in the region in line with the principles of social responsibility of Yanacocha”, and that has, according to the website, created 17 698 new jobs by June 2009⁶. FONCREAGRO is a foundation meant to promote and improve livestock management in the region, and according to the website, it had 12 “principal projects” around the region in 2009⁷. According to Yanacocha, by 2015 the company had also contributed some \$2.75 billion in tax revenue and royalties since operations began (Hallman & Olivera 2015). Still, during the years Yanacocha has operated in the area, the poverty of the campesinos has deepened. As mentioned earlier, Cajamarca became the poorest region of Peru in 2013 (INEI 2013). In 2014, a study by journalist Raúl Wiener and accountant Juan Torres found that Yanacocha has avoided about \$1.8 billion of taxes by exaggerating their expenses and declaring less profits than they have actually made (Wiener & Torres 2014). The company, of course, has denied such accusations (Yanacocha Communications Office 2014).

Another problem attributed to Yanacocha is the way the company acquired the lands. The lands that now house the mines were owned by communities and campesino families who were pushed to sell them, or were convinced to do so without sufficient information about the wealth beneath the soil (Wiener & Torres 2014, 72). Many people have been forced to move into the city of Cajamarca, which has grown rather chaotically after the opening of the mine and attracting the mine workers from various parts of Peru. In 1993, the city had 90 000 inhabitants, and by 2011 the number had grown to around 250 000 (INEI 2013). This rapid growth has brought social changes, which have been criticized by many cajamarquinos. Negative changes include the appearance of prostitution on the city streets and an increase in crime levels, as well as problems in traffic. Some locals, however, have also welcomed changes such as better access to internet and the introduction of new stores (La República 3.1.2012).

Despite these negative things attributed to Yanacocha, the company keeps operating in the area with a reasonable success. As the current mine is expected to be closed in 2019 (BN Americas 22.7.2016), Yanacocha has had several plans to expand its mining activities to new sources near the current mine. I will discuss some previous expansion attempts in chapter 2.4, but first, I will introduce the most recent and most ambitious plan of the company. Moving 24 kilometres northeast from Yanacocha mine,

⁶ <http://www.yanacocha.com/asociacion-los-andes/>, Viewed 8.8.2016.

⁷ <http://www.yanacocha.com/foncreagro/>, Viewed 8.8.2016

approximately 73 km northeast of the city of Cajamarca, the Yanacocha coalition has been acquiring lands to start a new gold and copper project called Minas Conga.

2.3 THE CONGA PROJECT

The Conga project spans across an area of approximately 2 000 hectares in the districts of Sorochuco and Huasmín in the Province of Celendín, and in the district of Encañada in the Province of Cajamarca. The area attributed to the mining project is located at an altitude ranging between 3,700 to 4,262 meters. The Conga mine would be an open-pit gold and copper mine, processing copper, gold and also silver-bearing ores through crushing, milling, and flotation methods at the plant. In the approved environmental impact assessment from 2010 it was estimated that the mine would have a nominal capacity of 92,000 tons per day, which will allow processing the mineral content of 3.1 billion pounds of copper and 11.6 million ounces of gold. The total life-span of the mine would be about 19 years. (Knight Piésold Consultores S.A. 2010, 1-1.)

Yanacocha estimates that Conga would create 5 000 to 7 000 construction jobs, and about 1 600 jobs during the operations. The company states that preference would be given to local residents for employment and contracted services. In 2013, the company estimated that during the life-course of the mine, the royalties would be greater than 680 million US dollars and income tax greater than 2 billion US dollars at the metal prices of 2013⁸. The company has also stated that the Conga project includes plans to “improve year-round water availability to downstream communities”. (Newmont Mining Corporation 2013, 1-2.)

Water availability and quality are indeed important issues when discussing Conga, and this theme was repeatedly raised during my own fieldwork and interviews with the locals. The core problem is that the new Conga mine would call for a destruction of four alpine lakes: two of the lakes, Perol and Chailhuagón, would have to be dried out of the way of the two open pits, and lakes Azul and Chica would be turned into waste deposits (Knight Piésold Consultores S.A. 2010). These lakes are connected to various rivers and other lakes that would also dry out (Grufides 2012). Furthermore, the area entails rich groundwater resources, and the fragile ecosystems in the area work as natural water filters (Torres & Castillo 2012). Overall, then, the Conga project would destroy a considerable amount of natural water sources used by the locals, their livestock and cultivations, not to mention other species living in the area of fragile

⁸ Yanacocha calculated these numbers with the 2013 metal prices of \$1,500 per gold ounce and \$3.50 per copper pound (Newmont Newmont Mining Corporation 2013, 2). As of August 2016, these prices have come down, now standing at \$1,338 per gold ounce and \$2.17 per copper pound (<http://www.infomine.com/investment/>, viewed 5.8.2016).

ecosystems. To replace the natural waters, Yanacocha has planned to build artificial reservoirs similar to the reservoir of Yanacocha. They would be larger than the current four natural lakes and, according to Yanacocha, would supply more water than the natural lakes (Knight Piésold Consultores S.A. 2010).

Conga's water solution plan is described in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) study, which was originally approved in 2010 (Knight Piésold Consultores S.A. 2010). However, the EIA and its approval have raised much criticism. The EIA was criticized for not providing sufficient information, making it difficult to evaluate the possible impacts of the plans, and providing little ground to link the mine to contamination should it occur after opening the mine. The EIA also focuses only on the short-term effects, leaving out the long-term effects. It uses water standards that actually are reported to be adequate for irrigation and livestock, not for human consumption, thus leaving the possibility that the people would have to start buying water from external sources. However, the EIA was accepted very quickly. Furthermore, the team accepting the document was led by Felipe Ramirez de Pino, who is a former high official of Yanacocha. (Gruffides 2012; Moran 2012.) The course of events resulted in the withdrawal of some government officials, including the Vice Minister of Environment, José de Echave. De Echave later criticized the actions of the government in relation to the Conga project, and said the EIA of the project is insufficient (interview in La República 10.4.2013).

Also the regional government of Cajamarca, led by the regional president Gregorio Santos, criticized the EIA of Conga. Drawing from law N° 27867, which gives the regional governments autonomy over issues in its competence (Ley Orgánica de Gobiernos Regionales 2002/27867), the regional government went on to declare the project Conga inviable (Gobierno Regional Cajamarca 2012). The Constitutional Court, however, considered this declaration unconstitutional, stating that the government of Santos was exceeding its regional competence when trying to decide over such a large national mining project (Tribunal Constitucional 2012). Nevertheless, Santos, a former Rondas leader, kept on resisting the project. He has become one of the key public figures in the struggle against Conga, earning an affectionate nickname "Goya". Also in my interviews with the locals, his name was mentioned quite frequently.

Ollanta Humala, the National President of 2011-2016, also was against the Conga project during his presidential campaign. While giving his speeches in Bambamarca and San Marcos, Humala wore a typical campesino poncho. He animated the audience by asking them which one is more important to them, the gold or the water, and if the people want to "sell their water". Humala also emphasised that if he gets elected, he will respect the local opinion in relation to the mines. (Candidato Humala contra minería en lagunas (Proyecto Conga), video, 2011.) After being elected, however, Humala changed his approach and announced that he is not against mining. He stated: "The Conga project is an important project for Peru, because it will allow making the great transformation [...] We reject extreme positions: the water or the gold. We propose a sensible position: the water and the gold." (La República

16.11.2011.) Gregorio Santos, the regional president, later said that this was the moment when the locals “lost the faith in national support and knew that this would be a struggle of Cajamarca against the supposed ‘national interests’” (Lucio 2013).

2.4 FORMING RESISTANCE

Peru, as well as many other Latin American countries, has a colourful history of mining conflicts. Around the continent, studies have been conducted on the community movements against mining. Leire Urkidi, for example, has studied the strategies of opposition against Pascua-Lama gold mine project in Chile (Urkidi 2010). Mariana Walter and Joan Martinez-Alier (2010) have analysed the mining conflicts in Argentina from the point of view of local perspectives on development, which often differ from that of the mining companies and the state. In Mexico, researchers such as José Vargas-Hernandez (2007) have studied the relationships between mining companies and locals, and in Guatemala, Elisabet Rasch (2012) has studied the movement strategies of an indigenous group living in the area of influence of a proposed mining project.

In Peru, the first mining-related movements in the country were focused on demanding rights for the mine workers, but in the 1990s, movements resisting mining projects altogether started to emerge in various locations. After President Fujimori was replaced in 2000, and the political system gave at least some room for social mobilization, the number of social protests in Peru rose significantly. (Ponce & McClintock 2014, 119.) As of August 2016, Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros de América Latina has registered 38 mining conflicts around Peru, including the ones in Tambogrande and in Cajamarca (OCMAL 2016).

One of the most known and studied examples of mining conflicts in Peru is the Tambogrande case in the early 2000s. Near the village of Tambogrande, a Canadian mining company Manhattan Minerals was planning on starting a mining project called Tambo Grande. The locals, worried about the environmental effects of the project, blocked roads and organized to demand referendum on whether or not the project should be carried on. The referendum was eventually held and resulted in an overwhelming amount of votes against the mine. Manhattan Minerals pulled out of Peru a few years after the referendum. The case of Tambogrande witnessed the first direct confrontation between agricultural and mining development in Peru. (De Echave 2005; Moran 2001.)

The first open confrontation between Yanacocha and the campesinos of Cajamarca took place in 2004, when Yanacocha planned on expanding its operations to a mountain called Cerro Quilish. The mountain is an important water supply, providing water for the city of Cajamarca and other parts of the valley

underneath it. Many locals also consider it to be a sacred place. Campesinos opposed to mining their mountain organised themselves in resistance, blocking the road that leads to the mountain. Several weeks of violent conflict between the campesinos and the police followed. Finally, the company withdrew its mining plans. The locals, with the help of some organisations, advocated for the mountain to be declared a protected place. (Oxfam 2009.) However, a CEO from Buenaventura, the Peruvian mining company that owns a minority share of the Yanacocha coalition, declared in 2014 that Yanacocha has not completely given up the plan to exploit Quilish at a later date (BN Americas 18.3.2014).

In 2006, protests rose again as Yanacocha planned to expand its operations in mountain Carachugo, near the village (*centro poblado*) called Combayo. Again, the campesinos blocked roads. On August 2nd, 2006, some locals were about to go see the lakes on top of the mountain, when they were blocked by police and told that the area is private. A conflict broke out and one of the campesinos, 58-year-old Isidro Llanos, was shot dead by the police. Nobody was ever found guilty for the death, as in 2010, the Court in Cajamarca decided to drop the charges against the three policemen supposedly involved in the case. (Hiruelas 2015.) Also in 2006, Esmundo Becerra Cotrina, who was “the first opponent of the abuse of Yanacocha in the community of Yanacanchilla”, was shot dead by the police with 17 bullets (Gruffides 1.11.2008).

The former negative experiences with Yanacocha, the questionable plans of the EIA, and actions of Ollanta Humala all worked as incentives for protests against the Conga project. Resistance has united all kinds of local people: young and older, female and male, indigenous families, farmers and city-dwellers from the region’s capital city, Cajamarca. The protests have included public gatherings, protest marches, road blocks, and 24-hour surveillance shifts by local cattle-herders on the threatened lakes (called “Guardians of the lakes” [Guardianes de las lagunas]). Hundreds of cajamarquinos also took part in the “Grand march for water” from Cajamarca all the way to Lima (La República 2.2.2012). The experiences from these protests were raised repeatedly in the interviews, and therefore, I will discuss them in more detail in chapter 5.2.

As a result of the protests and the criticism of the EIA, the Conga project was postponed in 2011 in order to conduct more environmental impact studies. The mining company did still keep on making preparations for starting the project, and improved its security plan to protect its operations. On March 31st 2011, Yanacocha signed an agreement with the national police to hire members of the police for their own security keeping missions. A copy of the agreement is available on the Newmont website⁹. The goal of the agreement is stated to be to “prevent, detect and neutralize risks that are directed at the personnel, installations, machinery and equipment of MINERA YANACocha and contractors, guaranteeing the normal development of the mining activities and other technical aspects typical of this

⁹ <http://www.newmont.com/operations-and-projects/south-america/yanacocha-peru/reports/default.aspx>, viewed 22.8.2016

activity” (Convenio de Prestación de Servicios 2011, 3.1). The agreement only concerns personnel that are on vacation, off, or “have participated in meritorious deeds on duty” (Convenio de Prestación de Servicios 2011, 4.1.3). In addition to a daily salary for each officer, Yanacocha commits to cover the maintenance of weapons and accessories, and provide an insurance and legal assistance for the officers (Convenio de Prestación de Servicios 2011, 4.2). The agreement between Yanacocha and the national police is not a unique case in Peru. Various mining companies have sub-contracted national security forces around the country (Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos et al 2013).

A family named Chaupe, and especially a woman called Máxima Acuña Chaupe, has become a symbol of resistance against the Conga project. Living close to the project area but refusing to sell their lands to the mines, the family has made several reclaims for the actions of the mining company and the national police subcontracted by them. The family says they have been violently attacked several times, beaten by the police, and their house and plantations destroyed. The family was sued by Newmont, who claimed that the family lands had been sold to the company and that the family was squatting the land. After deemed guilty in 2011, Máxima went to seek help from the local organisation Gruffides, and finally won the case in December 2014 (Gruffides 18.12.2014). The intrusions on the family lands, however, have continued. The family has made complaints about the police entering their lands, hurting their animals, and destroying their plantations (Gruffides 3.2.2016).

In April 2012, President Humala stated that the Conga project will go on, but the technical solutions need re-evaluation (La República 20.4.2012). This announcement was again met with protests, which were more intense than before. On 3rd of July 2012, hundreds of people gathered to protest against Conga at the town square of Celendín. It was the 34th day of an indefinite strike, and many similar protests had taken place at the square during the strike. The police responded with violence, leaving four people dead – not all of whom were even taking part in the protest itself but were hit by stray bullets. 26 people were also injured in this protest, seven of them members of the security forces. A day after, another person was killed in Bambamarca. Although investigations were supposedly started on both cases, they have not moved forward, and nobody has been prosecuted. Altogether in 2011 and in 2012, 154 persons were injured in the protests against Conga, and five people died, all presumably by the police and army forces. (Hiruelas 2015; Sánchez 2014.)

On July 4th 2012, a day after the incident in Celendín, the national government declared a state of emergency to calm the situation in three provinces of Cajamarca: Celendín, Hualgayoc and Cajamarca (La República 4.7.2012). The government had declared such a state also in December 2011 to tame the protests against Conga (The Guardian 5.12.2011). Declaring a state of emergency allows for restricting or suspending constitutional rights, such as the freedom of movement and public gathering, and allows arrests without warrants (Constitución política del Peru 1993, Article 137). The state of emergency declared in July 2012 was extended next month, and finally ended in the beginning of September (Peru

This Week 2.9.2012). The state of emergency has been used many times by the Humala government to stop protests, for example, in Apurimac in September 2015 (BBC News 30.9.2015).

Besides declaring states of emergency, another tool to end the protests has been modifying or interpreting legislation with the intention to make protesting practically criminalized. For example, in 2002 and 2006, the penalties for “hindering the functions of public services” and “disturbing means of communication” were raised, and the definitions of such crimes were broadened. In 2007, the Armed Forces were permitted to use fire arms in controlling the internal order. (Vásquez Chuquilín 2013.) In 2014, law number 30151 was passed, which exempts from criminal responsibility the members of the national police and the army who, “in fulfilment of their duties and using their weapons or other means of defence, cause injury or death” (Ley N° 30151, 2014/30151, Article 20). I will discuss these laws, as well as others, and their relations to the local citizen rights in chapter 5.2.3.

The stricter legislation has led to denouncing various locals for “leading” the protests. Also Gregorio Santos, the regional president, received denouncements for his actions in resisting Conga. However, his denouncements also extended to accusations of corruption, and because of these accusations, he was sentenced to 14 months in preventive prison in 2014 (La República 28.11.2014). In 2015, the sentence for preventive prison was extended by another 18 months, because there were “difficulties in the investigation for the number of processes and because important errands have not been made” (Perú21 17.8.2015). The accusations, however, were not able to prevent Santos from being elected for a second term as a regional president in October 2014 (Reuters 10.10.2014). After Santos’s re-election, Yanacocha said it would keep on working to improve the EIA and to acquire the social acceptance to be able to continue with Conga (Reuters 10.10.2014). The situation was of such uncertainty as I travelled to Cajamarca for a field work period in January 2015.

My own personal interest in Peru and the Conga project started in 2013 as I was doing education-related volunteer work in the coastal areas of Peru. Back home in Finland in the autumn of 2014, right before Santos’s re-election as the local president, I started to do more research on the topic. Primarily, I was interested in the ways the locals had organized themselves against the project, and what kinds of violations they had experienced with the previous mining activities in the area. Since the locals had been able to resist a powerful multi-national corporation and halt its mega-project, I considered this to be a prime context to study anti-mining movement strategies. In Peru, I found out that numerous scholars had analysed the effects of natural resource extraction on the national level, but only few have explored it on the local level (Ponce and McClintock 2014). Studies specifically on Yanacocha and Conga were very few, and apparently no ethnographic inquiries had yet been conducted in the Conga project area. There was obviously a need to study the position of the locals, especially since the conflict is not fully over until the future of the Conga project is finally determined.



Picture 5: A local child dressed in an Inca costume during the carnival in Cajamarca. Photo: JV



Picture 6: The town square of Celendín, where protests against Conga took place in July 2012. Photo: JV

3 ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AND ACTIVE KNOWLEDGE-PRODUCTION

Jeffrey Sluka and Antonius Robben argue that in recent decades, one of the main developments in cultural and social anthropology has been the readiness of anthropologists to talk about their experiences in the field and the contexts where they gathered their material. Earlier, this would have been dismissed as unnecessary self-indulgency, but nowadays it is generally considered important for the reader to be able to evaluate the research. Furthermore, this kind of self-reflection is important for the researcher to be able to address the possible contextual and personal biases that could have an effect on the study. (Sluka & Robben 2007, 2.) In this section, I will discuss the methods used in collecting the data used for this study, as well as some questions related to representing the data.

3.1 FINDING THE FIELD

In November 2014, by a lucky coincidence, I managed to get in contact with a local organisation in Cajamarca via email. This organisation is one of the numerous branches of the Rondas Campesinas movement, introduced in chapter 2.1. The representatives of this branch of Rondas were very positive about my research proposal, saying they happily welcome students to witness the reality they live in with the mining project. The necessity for research and publicity for their case was reflected in this first contact with the locals. We discussed the situation and the thesis project briefly via email before my arrival in Peru.

Once I got to Cajamarca in late January 2015, the members of the Rondas helped me to find accommodation with a local family in Sorochuco, and had even assigned me a “guide” to help me during the whole two months of fieldwork. Hereafter, I will refer to this “guide” by the name Hugo¹⁰. On my first evening in Cajamarca, I sat down with Hugo and another member of the organisation, “Oscar”, planning the upcoming research together with them. That night, as every other night to follow, I was in awe by the hospitality and warmth of these locals who had chosen to welcome me in their surroundings. I was also quite surprised by how easy finding the field had been. One thing was clear, then, right from the beginning: the locals are very eager to talk about the mines.

¹⁰ Hugo is not the real name of my guide. All the names of the informants, the people from the Rondas that helped me with this research, and the members of the family I was living with, have been changed in order to protect their identity. I will discuss the reasons for such anonymizing later in this chapter.

3.2 PRODUCING THE DATA

3.2.1 Ethnography

Ethnographic fieldwork, based on participant observation, remains a central method for social anthropology. Anthropologists originally pioneered in this method (Keesing 1981, 5), but ethnography has been employed in a number of other disciplines as well. In sociology, ethnographic methods have been used for decades, mostly to study various phenomenon “at home” (Rastas 2010, 65). As a student of social anthropology, ethnography was a natural choice for me when planning this research. Having studied the method and read several ethnographies during my studies, I considered this method to be fruitful in trying to reach a thorough, “thick” description (Geertz 1973) of the situation of the campesinos in Cajamarca. I think it would have been very difficult to speak to the locals and try to understand their experiences without spending time living with them on the field.

The “field”, site of the research, is a central concept in ethnography. Roger M. Keesing explains the distinction between ethnography and fieldwork:

*“For most anthropologists, the immediate problems of understanding and the sources of data come from what has come to be known as **fieldwork**: intimate participation in a community and observation of modes of behavior and the organisation of social life. The process of recording and interpreting another people’s way of life is called **ethnography**”.*

(Keesing 1981, 5)

For the anthropologists in the 1920s and 1930s, the “field” was usually an isolated tribal society (Keesing 1981, 5). Jeffrey Sluka and Antonius Robben argue that more recently, a “field” can be considered to exist anywhere where there are human beings. Sluka and Robben name war zones, hospitals, athletes, and new religious movements as examples of modern anthropological field sites. (Sluka & Robben 2007, 2.) Also, multi-sited fieldwork has become more common in anthropology since the 1980s, allowing for the researcher to engage in multiple locations during one ethnographic study (Hannerz 2003). The “field” can also be defined though a phenomenon, and can thus be understood as a social space instead of a tangible place (Huttunen 2010, 39-40). This allows, for example, a virtual space to be defined as a field (Isabella 2007).

Ethnography as a method covers more than participant observation. It can be considered as type of a strategy: ethnography is a genre of writing and a practice of representation (Malkki 2007, 164). An ethnographic approach can be applied not only to participant observation, but also to collecting and analysing other types of research data (Huttunen 2010, 39). Sluka & Robben place ethnography and

fieldwork as parts of a larger anthropological paradigm. Other such core elements of anthropology include a holistic, humanistic and cross-cultural perspective, with a scientific and eclectic approach¹¹. All of these elements are interrelated and shape the way fieldwork and other methods of knowledge-production are conducted. (Sluka & Robben 2007, 4-5.) Together, all the elements aim to produce, as Clifford Geertz has put it (1973), a “thick description” of the studied phenomenon or people.

Liisa Malkki defines ethnographic field research as a complex process entailing at least three types of simultaneous practices: it is a critical theoretical practice, a quotidian ethical practice, and an improvisational practice. By critical theoretical practice, Malkki refers to ethnography’s capacities in producing knowledge that is deeply rooted in empirical notions, and that can critically evaluate the ways facts and data are *made*; they cannot be merely “discovered” in the material and social reality. A quotidian ethical practice refers to the way the fieldworker has to solve small ethical problems in her daily work on the field, which are often derived from the differences in personal backgrounds. For example, different ideas on friendship might bring about ethical confusions while on the field. Closely related to these ethical problems is the idea that “ethnography is, and always has been, an improvisational practice” (Malkki 2007, 179). In this improvisation, the ethnographer has to balance with and take advantage of his senses and feelings. Since the ethnographer is on the field also through her physical body, the role of the senses and feelings in guiding attention should not be overlooked and under-estimated. (Malkki 2007, 164-186.) The reactions and emotions of both the ethnographer himself and the others around him help identifying important details on the field (Emerson et al 2011, 24–29).

Malkki’s conception of the fieldwork as a critical, ethical and improvisational process resonates with Sluka & Robben’s view of fieldwork both as a scientific method and as a form of art. Fieldwork is both scientific and humanistic, objective and subjective, and observing and participating. It requires both well-developed research skills and interpersonal relations skills. (Sluka & Robben 2007, 5-6.) Combining the perspectives of Malkki and Sluka & Robben, it can be said that ethnography is artistic improvisation that can make use of the researcher’s subjective senses, personal skills and qualities, but this improvisation must take place within the scientific framework. To be scientific, the ethnographer must use a critical and analytical approach, guided by ethical norms such as the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association (2009).

Ethics is an important theme in contexts of conflicts and human rights violations, where the researcher might have an ethical obligation to take a clear stance in relation to the studied theme. I would emphasise that on such occasions, ethnographic fieldwork needs to have a third dimension in addition to the scientific and artist approach described by Sluka & Robben. The fieldwork can also be a form of activism, where the researcher forms detailed opinions on specific topics. These opinions are then

¹¹ Eclectic means “to pick and choose”, and in this context, Sluka and Robben refer to picking and choosing topics and theories from a wide variety of anthropological approaches (Sluka & Robben 2007, 5).

followed by some kind of action during and/or after the fieldwork period in order to have an impact on the current order. Especially among social movement studies, a methodology called “activist” or “militant” ethnography has gained increasing attention in recent years (Sutherland 2012).

3.2.2 Activist ethnography

The term “activist research” (also referred to as militant research, radical research, action-oriented research) is an umbrella term that gathers together many different fields, research methods and traditions. What brings all of them together is the idea that the researcher should actively bring about his or her opinion and take part in changing things instead of just observing and analysing. Activist research also emphasises doing research *with*, not *of* the people that are in the centre of the study, promoting the importance of their knowledge and research. (Suoranta & Rynänen 2013; Ross 2013.) The roots of activist research can be traced down to the working class movements of 1800s and Karl Marx, and to feminist, anarchist, and anti-colonialist movements of the same century. The origins of these ideas come mostly outside of academic circles, and also today a major part of activist research happens outside universities. (Suoranta & Rynänen 2014, 47-85.)

It can be questioned whether the activist nature weakens the scientific value of the research by reducing its objectiveness. Also, actively participating in supporting the cause of some actors might weaken the ability to analyse the possible opposite views. It is worth noticing, however, that taking a strong position does not mean that the researcher would give up being critical and reflexive. The same criteria concerning systematic recording and thorough, context-specific evaluation applies to activist research as well as any other type of research (Suoranta & Rynänen 2014, 21). Furthermore, all research and all researchers have their own backgrounds and perceptions, and openly bringing out and analysing these aspects makes the research more transparent. The feminist researcher Sandra Harding refers to this as “strong objectivity”, claiming that research is most objective when the researcher brings about his or her own connections and perceptions (Harding 1995).

In anthropology, Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1995) raised a demand for more militant research in 1995. The ethical understanding dominant in earlier anthropological work highlighted preserving a respectful distance to the informants and communities. While Scheper-Hughes saw this approach as partly understandable, she blamed it for being “radically ‘conservative’” in respect to its suspiciousness of change, development, and modernisation. She considered anthropologists to be in a position to take a different type of stance:

“Anthropologists who are privileged to witness human events close up and over time, who are privy to community secrets that are generally hidden from the view of outsiders

or from historical scrutiny until much later – after the collective graves have been discovered and the body counts made – have, I believe, an ethical obligation to identify the ills in a spirit of solidarity and to follow what Gilligan (1982) has called a "womanly" ethic of care and responsibility. If anthropologists deny themselves the power (because it implies a privileged position) to identify an ill or a wrong and choose to ignore (because it is not pretty) the extent to which dominated people sometimes play the role of their own executioners, they collaborate with the relations of power and silence that allow the destruction to continue."

(Scheper-Hughes 1995, 418-419)

Scheper-Hughes's proposals, as well as the realisation of these proposals in her own research, have been criticised. Susan R. Trencher, for example, has accused Scheper-Hughes for "maternal colonialism which slid from intervention to interference", referring to Scheper-Hughes's ethnographic work in South Africa (Trencher 1998, 124). Trencher questions the anthropologists' ability to ever be able to fully grasp the whole world of "the other" and take into account all the voices and opinions in the community. She also considers that the militant approach proposed by Scheper-Hughes contradicts cultural relativism, claiming that her understanding of an "ethical behaviour" was "recognizably American, if not reliably 'pre-cultural'" (Trencher 1998, 124). However, Trencher notes that the reality of the dilemmas and the quandaries of anthropological fieldwork that Scheper-Hughes pointed out cannot be denied. (Trencher 1998.)

Despite the criticism, many later anthropologists have continued to apply the activist perspective in their ethnographic inquiries. Jeffrey S. Juris, for example, highlights the potential of what he calls "militant ethnography" in overcoming the problematic relation between research and social movements. He considers that "the classical objectivist paradigms fail to grasp the concrete logic of activist practice, leading to accounts and models that are not only inadequate, but are of little use to activists themselves" (Juris 2007, 164). In order to overcome such "objectivist shortcomings", Juris suggests that the researchers have to become active practitioners, through participating in organizing actions, workshops, meetings and strategical debates, as well as "putting one's body on the line" during direct actions. Juris argues that such involvement also helps generate better interpretations and analysis, thus contributing to both the academic and activist spheres. (Juris 2007.) Neil Sutherland defines this as the "dual commitment" of activist ethnographers:

"On one hand, activist ethnographies have the potential to bring otherwise hidden information to public attention and to contribute to social science research agendas. However, on the other hand, researchers undertaking this kind of research have a commitment and responsibility to also bring value to activists and to address practical issues, whether that is at individual, group or movement levels."

(Sutherland 2012, 633-634)

While all these arguments raised by the researchers advocating activist research are relevant, I would argue that they risk romanticising the role of an activist ethnographer or the social movements studied. The chances are that either the social movements or the activist researchers are portrayed as heroic actors who have nothing to do with the “traditional” oppressive research methods. Furthermore, no matter how good the intentions, activist research might end up harming the group or worsening the problem being studied. This might be the case in all research, but it is highlighted in activist research that deals with debated and difficult issues.

Finally, though, I think that Stuart Kirsch’s work serves as a good argument for why the activist approach remains important in anthropology, specifically when studying contexts with considerably unequal power relations. Kirsch has studied an indigenous campaign against a gold and copper mine in Papua New Guinea. He wrote a critical article in an anthropological magazine, describing the lessons that could be learnt by anthropologists about the political campaign and legal action against the mine. However, prior to publishing, Kirsch’s article had been sent to the mining company without his consent. The company was given a chance to review the article and declare whether or not it objected to its publication. The article was eventually published as Kirsch had submitted it, but five footnotes attributed to the mining company had been added. Kirsch was, unsurprisingly, very discontented with this course of events. He asks why a powerful mining company would be granted a right to vet or to veto a publication, when anthropologists rarely grant that even to their own informants. Kirsch considers that the events highlight the controversial status of advocacy within anthropology. He writes:

“I argue that neutrality may not be possible in disputes between transnational corporations and indigenous communities because of structural inequalities that make it easier for corporations to take advantage of anthropological expertise and silence opposing voices.”

(Kirsch 2002, 175)

In the case of this study, I consider that it is ethically imperative to take a clear stance to defend the actions, rights and knowledge of the local campesinos. They are in a clearly weaker position in comparison to the powerful multi-national mining company and the oppressive state. Also, I found that accessing the field and gaining the trust of the locals would have been difficult, or perhaps impossible, if I had not made clear from the beginning that I am supporting them in their opposition to the mines. However, it is worth noticing that my own position might have had an impact on which locals were not as keen on discussing with me. I will return to these points in chapter 3.3 when discussing how the interviews and other data was collected.

3.2.3 Ethnographic interviews

In ethnography, there is often no major difference between an interview and an informal conversation. The interviews are usually unstructured discussions on a specific topic, and the field diary might include notions of conversations that can be treated as interviews. (Huttunen 2010, 41.) It depends on each case how and why certain conversations are defined as “interviews” and others not, and if such a distinction is even necessary (Rastas 2010, 67-68). The way the interviews are conducted and saved – from formal, recorded interviews to informal, spontaneous conversations – affects the possible ways of analysing them. Recorded interviews allow for a more detailed analysis of words and ways of speaking than quick remarks in the field diary. Also, the written notes have already gone through a stage of evaluation and preliminary analysis, as the researcher has made her choices about what and how to write them down. (Huttunen 2010, 41.) In activist ethnographies, where the role of the informants in taking part in all stages of knowledge-production is often highlighted, the means of conducting interviews is different compared to interviews where the informants’ task is only to answer questions and describe experiences (Rastas 2010, 66).

In this study, the data consists mostly of informal interviews, which were conducted in various villages and hamlets around Cajamarca during the two months of field work. The role of Hugo, my “guide”, in facilitating the interviews cannot be underestimated. Together with him, we made plans on which hamlets to go to and when, and who to talk to. Mostly, though, we spoke with anyone who we came across while walking or riding along the dirt-roads or hillsides of the Sorochuco district. We interviewed people in their back yards, on the side of the road, or while they were working in their fields or construction sites. Usually, the conversation was started by Hugo or myself introducing me and the research project, and asking if the person or persons could contribute by taking part in a small interview. Therefore, these rather informal conversations were defined as interviews. I did not ask for written consents from any of my interviewees, but deemed the oral consent to be enough. If the interviewees were interested in knowing more about the interview (and were able to read), I would give them a short info sheet with my email address written in Spanish (see Attachment 1).

Almost without exceptions, the people we met said yes to an interview. Some interviewees with a more special relation to the mining conflict asked for a more official document from my university, but agreed to an interview after receiving one (see Attachment 2). Usually, Hugo and I did not have to do much in order for the interviewees to start talking about their experiences and views on the mines. I would let the informants talk freely about the theme, but would also make additional questions so that at least most of the interviews would cover the same topics. Most of the interviews conducted this way were not recorded. In the beginning, I asked some people if they mind the recorder, but they would seem rather uncomfortable with the idea. The use of a recorder also seemed too formal in the relaxed ambience of

the interviews. Therefore, I travelled with a notebook, which I used to record notes of the interviews. Many of these interviews were conducted with more than one person, up to seven interviewees at a time. The locals interviewed varied in age from 16 to about 80 years¹² and included both males and females.¹³ Mostly, the locals interviewed are small-scale family farmers, but we also discussed with people holding other occupations such as small shop owners, teachers, electricians, veterinaries, radio owners and hamlet leaders (*teniente*).

Through such informal and unrecorded interviews, Hugo and I collected testimonies from around 117 villagers mainly in the district of Sorochuco. Within this district, we visited 18 different villages and hamlets (locally called *centros poblados* and *caserios*), including the small town of Sorochuco, where I mostly stayed living in a family setting. In addition, we visited Combayo, one near-by village (*centro poblado*) in the district of Encañada, where we interviewed people from 8 different hamlets of Encañada. All the villages and hamlets we visited are located in the lower parts (*parte baja*), also called the Quechua region of the mountains (see chapter 2.1). Originally, Hugo and I planned on visiting some higher villages as well, but were unable to do so due to weather conditions and other practical issues. The fieldwork took place during the rainy season, and on some days, heavy rains forced us to stay inside or made the roads collapse in the higher parts of the mountains. Also, I could not enter one of the villages close to the Conga project area, because due to my foreign status, the mining company would not let me use their road as the locals were allowed to.¹⁴

In addition to the unrecorded interviews collected during our walks and rides around villages and hamlets, we collected recorded interviews in more formal settings in the city of Cajamarca, the small town of Celendín, and with two mayors (*alcalde*) and some hamlet leaders (*teniente*) in the district of Sorochuco. These “formal” recorded interviews were mainly conducted with people who have a different position in relation to the mines: they are local leaders; they have been active in the social

¹² I often asked the age of the person, but many elder informants do not know their exact age.

¹³ There are somewhat more males than females in among the interviewees. In public locations, we generally came across more males than females. The females were also sometimes more hesitant to speak about the mines, saying they do not know enough about the topic, and that we should rather ask their husbands. Mostly, the females would take part in the conversation more if they were interviewed together with their husbands or other females. However, we came across various females who were very strong in their opinions and open to discuss them.

¹⁴ Towards the end of my field period, we took a minibus one day in order to reach one of the villages in the higher part of the mountain, closed to the Conga project area. The day was rainy, however, and on the way the bus came across a collapsed part of the road. The bus driver turned around to take another route that goes through the property of Yanacocha. We came across two entrance points to the area. The first guard did not let the bus through, but the second one was more positive – until he saw me, a foreigner, through the bus window. After passport checks, various questions about my intentions, and a series of radiophone calls, the guard finally ordered me and Hugo to get down from the bus. He said the reason for such action was “the social conflict” and temporary restrictions of movement for foreigners. The other people in the minibus were allowed to continue the journey, but Hugo and I were left on our own in the altitude of over 4000 meters on a late afternoon. The last bus of the day had passed, and there area was almost deserted all the way until the city of Cajamarca, three hours’ drive away. Luckily, we found some maintenance workers who let us sleep overnight in their windy shed.

movements and organisations against the mines; they are university professors who have studied the mining cases in one way or another; they work for the mines or in the health centre; or they have been directly affected by the protests through wounding or losing a family member. These people were mostly not unfamiliar with the recorder, and the interview setting (usually sitting down by a desk in an office) allowed for a more formal and lengthy interview. These interviews usually went into much more detail than the informal interviews amidst people going about their daily chores, and the use of a recorder was essential in order to make sure that all the details were correctly recorded. In total, we recorded 19 interviews, a few of which were group interviews. The recordings vary in length from only five minutes to over an hour.

Counting all the recorded and unrecorded interviews, Hugo and I interviewed approximately 145 people in 21 locations. I count in this number all the conversations that Hugo and I started by calling them “interviews”, and that were accompanied with either writing notes in my notebook, or the tape recorder. However, some of the “interviews” were very short, only few minutes long, and not very informative. Perhaps they could be better described as “fractions of knowledge” than proper interviews. All the interviews were conducted in Spanish, which is the first language of all the informants, and which I speak fluently enough not to need a translator. However, in a rush to write down as much as I could of what the informant was speaking, I often wrote notes and keywords in Finnish as well as in Spanish. At the time this made writing easier and faster. However, I also wrote many direct quotes down in Spanish, and marked the direct quotes clearly separated from the other notes. After each day of interviews, I would sit down on my computer to write clean all the interviews as well as I could. I would also describe the contexts of the interviews and record any additional remarks related to the interviews in the field diary.

3.2.4 The field diary and other data

“There is a food and livestock market in Rejopampa today. On the way we meet many people who are heading that way. Also x, who we interviewed last week, drives by with his old motorcycle. He stops to say hello and to tell us that he has been by the Conga lakes lately. He says the pumps are already operating.

We go see the livestock market on a field. [...] People seem busy, occupied, so first we just observe the event. Later we find some people to interview along the roadsides. One man tells us about his acquaintances and relatives who have sold lands to the mining company, and phones up one of them to come be interviewed. Shortly, a young man comes by in rather presentable clothes with his friends. He seems to find the idea of an interview rather amusing, and leaves with his friends without giving any comments. The older man says, that’s how the rich are, they don’t care about the problems of the poor.

I see many 'Conga' caps around, worn by even the ones who talk negatively about the mines. Again we come across a woman who doesn't want to comment on the topic, because she 'doesn't know' and cannot read."

(Field diary 26.2.2015)

In order to reach a thick description of the phenomenon or people studied, it is important to cross-read different types of materials (Rastas 2010). Notions on the field diary provide useful contextual information to the interviews, as well as other data. During the fieldwork, I wrote notes from every day on the field. Mostly, the field diary consists of descriptions of events, environments, people and moods, with varying amount of attention paid to detail. It includes descriptions of interview settings, the moods of the interviewees, and sometimes what they said or did before and after an interview. Also, I wrote notions on informal discussions in the field diary, especially those with Hugo and the members of the family I lived with. Some days I did not have the time to write down all the remarks right away. Those days, I tried "jotting" the events into few simple keywords (Emerson et al 2011, 29-41) that would describe the events, conversations and atmosphere. Later, I would use the keywords to memorize and write down the events.

The notions recorded in the field diary can be very useful material for analysis. Although writing a detailed description of events can be very time-consuming, it is essential in analysing the events later. When writing down the events, the writer is also already doing pre-analysis of them, by choosing what and how to write and adding comments; writing a field diary is constructing the reality in researcher's words (Emerson 2011, 79-86). Also, the field diary is a good tool in the ethnographical improvisation process. By writing the field diary the researcher can evaluate the quotidian ethical dilemmas and break down the embodied experiences on the field (Malkki 2007). In my own case, I wrote down in the field diary about daily things that interested and worried me while on the field, most of which were not directly related to my research focus. The field diary was, then, a tool to help me reflect and learn about the ethnographic experience and about the field site in a more general sense than can be captured in the limited research focus of a thesis.

In addition to the interviews and the field diary, I collected some leaflets, local newspapers and photos that I will use as an additional material for the analysis. Furthermore, after the field period I went through some legal documents to better understand the concerns of some interviewees, and the legal position of the locals. These materials are not in an important role in the thesis as a whole, but will be used to provide further perspective to the information gained through interviews and observations.

3.3 NOTES ON THE DATA AND ITS COLLECTION

Contextualizing the interviews is a very important aspect of their analysis. In addition to language and instrumental aspects, things to consider include the researchers' impact on the interview, possible other factors that have an effect on the interview setting, and how the interview relates to the whole research site (Huttunen 2010, 40). In this study, I think the most important things to consider when evaluating the means of data production are language, the ways of recording the interviews, and the impact of both my own and Hugo's personalities. It would have been impossible to find most of the hamlets and villages without the help of a local like Hugo, and he was important in finding the interviewees as well. During our long walks around the area, Hugo also explained me many things about the context and events that had taken place in relation to the mines. I cannot thank Hugo enough for the time and energy he devoted for this study.

The first people we interviewed were acquaintances and even relatives of Hugo, and when I learned about specific leaders and university professors that I wanted to interview, Hugo, and the members of the family I was living with, were of great help in finding these people. Also the campesinos that did not know Hugo personally, which were the vast majority of the interviewees, were probably more positive towards me because I was with a local. In general, people were very welcoming towards us and the study. Very few people were suspicious about me, and those that initially were, usually seemed to relax after they were convinced that I do not represent the mining company. Sometimes, however, the interviewees seemed to have high hopes about the possibilities of the study in spreading the word about the situation. I was asked if I would talk about the situation of the campesinos in the national television in Finland, or discuss it with the president of Finland. I tried to explain my status as a student, but the inability to meet their expectations always left a feeling of inadequacy.

Hugo's presence might have had some influence on the selection of people we interviewed, at least in his home village where people would have been aware of his opinions on the mining. However, we interviewed people we met very randomly on the streets, and not once did it seem like the people we met would have been unwilling to talk to Hugo. One thing that Hugo definitely did have an influence on was the choice of villages: if he had been from a village from the upper part of the Jalca, we would surely have concentrated our interviews on that part of the region. In the beginning, Hugo would also bring his own opinions across in the interviews. He would not participate in asking questions from the interviewees, but he would comment on the topics from his own point of view. When the interviewees agreed with him, Hugo's presence was clearly helping to create a more trustful ambience and ease the conversation. When the interviewees expressed uncertain or even cautiously positive opinions about the mining projects, however, Hugo would initially make persuasive comments in order to impact the opinions of the interviewees. We discussed this with Hugo, and I proposed that we would give space for

the interviewee to express their views before expressing ours. Hugo agreed, and changed his strategy. Throughout the field period, I wrote down whenever I considered that Hugo's comments, or my own, might have had an impact on the views expressed by the interviewees.

Although the language did not present many problems on the field, it might still have had impacts on the study in many ways. First, on those occasions when I was jotting quick notes in Finnish, I have risked choosing words that are not fully equivalent with the Spanish ones. The translation presents itself as a problem again when translating the Spanish or Finnish words into English. Something is always lost in translation, although the losses might often not be severe enough to prevent the original message from coming through. Also, my imperfect language skills might have had an effect on how and to what extent the interviewees wanted to go into detail about the topic. Again, Hugo's contribution was important: he would often facilitate the conversation, and if I was unsure about whether I had understood something correctly, he could usually help me verify the information afterwards. Also, I think that any possible language problems in this study are minor compared to what they could have been if I had been relying on a translator.

Following ideas presented by activist researchers, my intention was to include the locals in the research process as much as possible from the beginning to the end. To some extent, this inclusion did take place: especially Hugo, Oscar and others associated with the Rondas did make important contributions to planning and undertaking the research. Partly due to the contributions of Hugo and others, the number of people interviewed grew so immense. Hugo and Oscar seemed to have a different perspective on how many interviews were needed, and in the end even expressed slight disappointment since we could not cover more villages and hamlets in the research.

What comes to my own participation, I tried to participate in the everyday life of the locals as much as I could, by taking part in daily chores and participating in family and public celebrations. In relation to the mining theme, I could not take part in demonstrations or other such activities due to the lack of them during the field period. The only small demonstration planned during the time failed, because another road collapse caused by heavy rains prevented us from proceeding to the demonstration site. Therefore, the "activism" of this study did not take the form of direct action on the field, but became evident in the stance taken, and through some practical assistance after the field period.

3.4 REPRESENTING THE DATA

Unfortunately, including Hugo and others in the process of research after leaving the site was quite problematic. Although some connection remains via email, this connection is too unreliable and distant

to establish truly cooperative connections, especially since most of my informants rarely use the internet, if at all. In addition, language issues limit the possibilities for such cooperation. I am writing the thesis in English, because writing in Spanish would have been technically impossible. All the direct quotes in this thesis have been translated by myself, and the original Spanish quotes are not generally provided due to a large number of them.

I entered the field with the idea to leave it for each interviewee to decide whether or not they want to be anonymised. However, with most of the informants I did not directly discuss the topic of representation. Afterwards, I criticised myself for not doing so, as the interviewees' own opinions on this topic are important, and asking for their own opinion on the matter would have been one of the ways to make the informants more strongly a part of the research. The interviewees that we did discuss anonymising with, however, left the decision for me to make. This was the case with Hugo and Oscar as well, who said they will leave the decision for me to make.

Finally, I decided to anonymise all the informants. I reached this conclusion in order to avoid creating any further risks to people who are already in a vulnerable position in relation to the mining company and the state. When quoting a specific individual, I will mostly use only the gender, age and home village of the interviewee. In the case of Hugo, Oscar and the interviewees that, in one way or another, have a different position or perspective than that of the rest of the informants, I will use pseudonyms. When necessary, I will also alter other personal data in order to protect their identity. The names of some organisations, such as Gruffdes, will be kept as they are, because these organisations are well known and have publicly stated their stance in relation to mining issues.

Hiding the identity of Hugo and Oscar and the family I lived with is the most difficult decision, as it seems to underestimate their important contributions to this study. At the same time, however, I know that Hugo and Oscar would not be looking for personal prestige from an academic study. Their safety, as well as that of the other informants, is more important.



Picture 7: In the field. Photo: JV

4 CITIZENSHIP AND MOVEMENTS FOR POLITICAL SPACE

Citizenship has long been one of the most debated concepts in moral philosophy and social sciences (Werbner 1998, 5). In recent years, it has been the focus of an increasing number of books, articles and conferences (Clarke, Coll, Dagnino & Neveu 2014). Pnina Werbner (1998) explained the rising interest in citizenship by geopolitical events in the late 20th century, such as the global spread of neoliberal policies, increasing numbers of migrants and refugees, the creation of many supranational entities and human rights charters, and the emergence of global terrorism. In the past decades, the concept of citizenship has been employed in describing and understanding a very broad range of contexts, movements and social changes (Clarke et al 2014).

In this section, I will first introduce various definitions on citizenship, drawing from T.H. Marshall (1983 [1950]) and more recent conceptions. I will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of citizenship as an analytical tool, and briefly consider anthropology's role in the study of citizenship. In section 4.2, I will move on to study the role of social movements in defining and constructing ideas of citizenship, with an emphasis on Latin America. I will also discuss how different types of movements can take on the discourse on citizenship as a strategical tool, with an emphasis on the types of movements that are relevant in relation to the field site of this study. I will conclude the section with a summary of what citizenship means in the context of my own study, and how it could help in describing the situation of the campesinos in Cajamarca.

4.1 DEFINING CITIZENSHIP

"Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed."

(T.H. Marshall 1983 [1950], 253)

This definition of citizenship by T.H. Marshall has been widely referred to by researchers of citizenship, including anthropologists. Sixty-six years after Marshall's original definition, it can be used to reflect how the discourse on citizenship has changed over the years, and how the term "citizen" is being used in current theoretical debates.

Marshall (1983 [1950]) saw citizenship as a status, membership of a "political community". He equated this political community as the state, describing national laws and state bodies in his discussion on

citizenship and citizen rights. The concept of citizenship that we have "inherited" today actually did not originally emerge in such nation-state contexts, but in the city-states of ancient Greece (Reiter 2013, 43–65). Later on, however, the idea of national citizenship has become so dominant that what is now termed a "conventional" understanding of citizenship is a definition that closely connects citizenship to the state. In recent years, again, the discourse on citizenship has become more attentive to its socio-historical variation, as various scholars are breaking the assumptions of citizenship being connected to a national level. (Clarke et al 2014, 10.) For example, Engin Isin (2002) suggests that being a citizen simply means "being political". Following a similar idea, Sian Lazar (2013) defines citizenship as belonging to *any* political community, be it local, national, or global. Also, even if citizenship is viewed on a state level, in many cases it encompasses multiple states instead of describing a relation between an individual or a community and one state. For example, citizenship can describe the political belonging of people living in transnational settings, such as in diaspora (Bokser Liwerant 2012).

Extending the concept of citizenship to describe belonging to various political communities makes it possible to reach a more comprehensive understanding of what it means to be political in a specific context (Isin 2002), and how individuals and communities are balancing in between various different political communities on different levels. Still, the importance of the state to citizenship cannot be underestimated. Although conceptions of national citizenship might be context-specific and transforming, everywhere in the world, nations create material boundaries and define their citizens (Sassen 2002, 7). By establishing borders, providing passports and other documents, controlling land use, and creating obligations (such as schooling), the states can control their citizens – often very much so even the ones who set up their autonomous communities within the area controlled by a nation-state. Of course, national control can also bring things that are seen positive for the citizens, such as providing health care, education and security. Furthermore, despite the often dominating position of the nation-state, its citizens are not just passive receivers of its citizenship models (Lazar 2013). Citizens actively participate in renewing or questioning these models, either within the frame of national citizenship, or creating their own citizenship ideas in local, regional and glocal spheres.

Besides the national context, T.H. Marshall (1983 [1950]) emphasised rights and duties as central to a citizen status. He did not claim there to be any universal origin for determining those rights and duties, but noted that in a political community, these rights and duties are created to form an ideal of citizenship (Marshall 1983 [1950], 253–254). Writing around the same time as Marshall, Hannah Arendt went as far as defining citizenship as the "right to have rights", a right to belong to some kind of organized community. She argued that a condition of "complete rightlessness" means that one is excluded from the rights altogether, not just of certain citizen rights. According to Arendt, the plight of the excluded (non-citizens) "is not that they are not equal before the law, but that no law exists for them; not that they are oppressed but that nobody wants even to oppress them". (Arendt 2013 [1951], 38–39.)

Marshall divided the rights of a citizen into three parts: civil, political and social rights. Of these, civil rights have the longest stance in history. Civil rights are the rights essential to individual freedom, such as the liberty of the person, freedom of speech and thought, right to justice and right to property. Political rights are, quite simply, the rights to participate in political action by voting and getting involved with political institutions. Social rights, then, cover a wide range of rights: the right to security, right to education, right to healthcare, and the right to work, among others. (Marshall 1983 [1950], 249-253.) Decades after Marshall's categories, as the ideas about what constitutes citizenship have proliferated, new sets of rights have been considered part of citizenship. Much has been written about, for example, environmental rights (see Smith & Pangsapa 2008), women's rights (see Lebon 2010 and Zarembek 2012), cultural rights (see Kymlicka and Norman 2000), and the rights of the displaced (see Mehta & Napier-Moore 2010). Also, as the concept of citizenship has been broadened to encompass a broader, more global level, human rights can be considered as part of the debate on citizen rights (Werbner 1998). They entail an idea of an equal status of all humans, as they can be considered to be equal members of the same global (political) community.

Marshall considered social duties to be an inseparable part of individual rights. As an example, he discussed compulsory education, which he saw as social duty, because "the social health of the society depends upon the civilization of its members" (Marshall 1983 [1950], 253). In recent decades, however, citizen duties have received much less attention than citizen rights. Mark Smith and Piya Pangsapa (2008, 9) argue that for over two centuries, "citizenship has been fixated upon rights and entitlements, glossing over duties and obligations". They emphasise that citizens should contribute to their community in some way, or at least avoid creating harm for other citizens and the environment (Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 9). There is also a need to make connections between individual and group duties and their functions in the society at large, as Marshall did when discussing the duty to "civilize oneself" (Marshall 1983 [1950], 253).

Marshall's ideas of rights had quite an individualistic tone, as he focused on rights to private property, individual freedom and so on. Later studies have challenged the individualistic, liberal tone of citizenship, calling for a more communitarian perspective. In fact, the debate on individual or communitarian subjectivity has been one of the most contested issues in recent studies of citizenship, as well as in political theory in general (Lazar 2013, 8). Those with a communitarian perspective stress the naturalness and importance of community belonging (Arendt 2013 [1951]). They point out that in many communities, the communal belonging is much stronger than the importance of the status of an individual, as the individual is first and foremost a part of a larger entity. Others, however, regard this perspective as idealistic and unrealistic, claiming it does not take into account individual variation and power structures within a given community (Young 2013 [1986]). Sian Lazar suggests (2013, 9-10) that the best approach can be found somewhere in between the liberal and communitarian perspectives. The

communitarian approach allows for identifying different citizenship statuses of certain groups of people, such as indigenous peoples, compared to other citizens. However, individual differences and power relations within these groups cannot be overlooked. An individual and her reference group(s) can be citizen subjects at the same time, with partly overlapping and conflicting imaginaries. This subjectivity also can change over time and in different contexts.

T.H. Marshall also defined citizenship to be an ideal, “against which achievements can be measured and towards which aspirations can be directed” (Marshall 1983 [1950], 254). Clarke et al (2014, 11-12) consider that although Marshall’s view might be useful to understand where certain citizen claims derive from, it fails to recognize the multiplicity of these “ideals” in a specific context. Also, they see that Marshall does not provide explanation to why and how these ideals are contested. Clarke et al quote Balibar (2001), who talks about “imperfect citizenship”, referring to how citizenship is a practice that is always “in the making”, questioned and improvised in different contexts and times. According to Clarke et al, Balibar’s view to be more suitable to describe the proliferation of citizenship imaginaries and struggles. (Clarke et al 2014, 11-12.)

Pnina Werbner’s (1998) discussion can be seen as bridging the gap between Clarke et al and Marshall. She emphasised the processual and dialogical nature of citizenship, and the varied institutional arrangements and sets of practice the negotiation on citizenship creates in different contexts. For her, citizenship was a “pragmatic, commonsense moral discourse” that is “necessarily replete with unmarked inconsistencies and contradictions, precisely because it is embedded in everyday power relations and particularist ideologies” (1998, 4). However, Werbner also points out that this discourse is specifically sparked by the ideal nature of citizenship. Citizenship discourse, as it is oriented towards the future, constructs possible imaginaries of what the movements aim for. It provides a reference point to evaluate the current order: “Citizenship is the gold standard against which the negotiated order is measured and, inevitably, found wanting.” (Werbner 1998, 5.) In other words, then, the ideals of citizenship spark action; but this citizen process always remains unfinished and imperfect.

The multiply of ideas and definitions on citizenship might seem to make it very difficult to grasp the contents of the whole concept. Philip Oxhorn (2012) discusses whether the concept has become so fragmented that it is impossible to talk about citizenship. As a solution, however, Oxhorn notes that there is still more similarities than differences between different concepts of citizenship; for example, he considers that all plausible models of citizenship still hold the fundamental distinction between citizens and non-citizens. (Oxhorn 2012.) Some scholars have responded to the difficulty in defining citizenship by rejecting the need for such definition altogether. For example, Clarke et al. resist any search for “the proper, correct or real definition of citizenship” (Clarke et al 2014, 13). Instead, they take on Raymond Williams’ idea (Williams 1983 [1976]) of some “keywords” which cannot and should not be defined. Clarke et al suggest that citizenship should be treated as such keyword that can direct us to

“meanings-in-use – the meanings that are used, invented and contested in specific settings” (Clarke et al 2014, 13). Also Beyers (2008) states that the problems of citizenship cannot be resolved theoretically or normatively: the multiply of citizenship discourses can only be understood context-specifically.

It is also worth noticing that there are studies on citizenship conducted on various languages, and some of the meanings of the citizenship discourse might be lost in translation. Clarke et al describe (2014, 6) how even the word “citizenship” itself might hold slightly differing meanings in French, for example (*citoyenneté*). Also in Finnish, the term “citizenship” (*kansalaisuus*) has the same etymological origin as the term “nationality” (*kansallisuus*) and is connected to the membership in a state (Kielitoimiston sanakirja 2016). Clarke et al suggest that these kinds of language issues make working in only one “international” language, English, problematic. These problems might be impossible to overcome completely, but the above mentioned way of treating citizenship as a “keyword” opens up possibilities for analysing how the term unseals in different language contexts as well. (Clarke et al 2014, 6.) The translation difficulties also highlight the point emphasised by Lazar (2013, 15), as she calls for a need to problematise not only the qualifying adjective – biological, agrarian, urban, and so on – but also the noun “citizenship” as well. Here is where anthropology has its special advantage: through ethnographic encounters, anthropologists can contest the classic and other theoretical notions on citizenship, and provide “thick description” (Geertz 1973) on how citizenship is constructed by different subjects and in different social, political, historical and spatial contexts. With its focus on cultural and social contexts, anthropology is well situated to explore cultural and power structures behind these different ideas and practices of citizenship.

4.1.1 Citizenship in anthropology

Sian Lazar (2013, 10–17) divides the anthropological studies on citizenship roughly into three categories: studying citizenship as subject-formation, studying different scales of citizenship, and studying citizenship as a type of membership. Naturally, these approaches also overlap in many research projects. Anthropological studies on citizenship are often connected to studies on democratic political regimes, but many researchers use the perspective of citizenship to study non-democratic societies as well (Lazar 2013, 4).

Citizenship as subject-formation bases on the idea of citizenship as process of “self-making and being made” (Lazar 2013, 11; Ong 1996). Citizenship is something that is constructed through various legal, bureaucratic, ideological and material frameworks, especially schools. Through mainly ethnographic encounters, anthropologists can explore the means and consequences of this citizenship construction. Anthropologists have also made important contributions in analysing how these citizen processes are

embodied, often gendered and ethnicised. (Lazar 2013, 10-11; Benei 2013 [2008].) However, citizen-construction is not just a top-down process. Anthropological work has also shown how citizens themselves construct citizenship by making claims for rights, and articulate obligations they consider part of a citizen status (Lazar 2013, 12). Also, I would argue that constructing and articulating ideas on development (or against development) is an essential part of self-creating citizenship. Most pronounced, perhaps, this is in the work of social movements, which I will discuss in section 4.2.

Anthropologists have also made important contributions to studying different scales of citizenship. Some anthropological studies have taken the citizenship discourse back to the community and city level, studying local citizenship in rural and urban contexts. Also, anthropologists explore and describe the global and transnational levels of citizenship. “Transnational citizenship” can be used to describe transborder citizenship, which refers to dual citizenship and other forms of participation in the political practices, institutional and legal systems of two or more states simultaneously (Glick Schiller 2013 [2005], 196). The discourse on human rights, on the other hand, can be seen as an example of another conception of transnational citizenship. The idea of some universal citizen status, “global” or “world citizenship” move the concept of political and cultural belonging beyond the national scale. Transnational citizenship can, then, refer to diasporic, religious, activist and other networks that form transnational political communities and belonging. (Lazar 2013, 12-13; Bokser Liwerant 2012.)

Lastly, many anthropological studies on citizenship focus on exploring citizenship as a status and membership. Ethnographic encounters provide valuable information about the construction of “non-citizens” and “second-class citizens”, even when the citizen status is formally equal. Many anthropologists have looked into the exclusion of migrants, indigenous groups and women from political participation. Also, citizenship status might be partial for certain groups. For example, immigrants in the United States might have civil rights but lack political rights. (Lazar 2013, 13-15; see also Sassen 2002; and Aptekar 2015.) This brings us back to the remarks Hannah Arendt already made in 1951 on the exclusion from citizenship as the “complete rightlessness” (Arendt 2013 [1951]).

Lazar expects that in the future, the anthropological perspectives on citizenship are likely to proliferate even further. She emphasises that ethnography will continue to be the key method in understanding citizenship in different contexts, and that questioning the normative assumptions on citizenship needs to be on the agenda on anthropological inquiry. However, Lazar also points out the need for the researcher to take a stance in order to reach some conclusions:

“[...] anthropologists will need to bear in mind two important questions. First, although it is important to take a critical position to those understandings of citizenship perceived as normative, we do risk ending up in an enclave of cultural relativism where the only argument we can make is that citizenship there is different from citizenship here. While this is undoubtedly an important argument, anthropology has significantly more to contribute to our understanding of citizenship. Second, it will be important not

to lose sight of the political implications of such a strategy. Studying citizenship as political practice often obliges us to take a political stand, perhaps alongside those advocating for rights at individual or group level, or critical of main-stream or counter-hegemonic notions of citizenship.”

(Lazar 2013, 16)

Lazar’s important remarks reflect the challenges of anthropological research more broadly. Taking a stand is morally imperative for researchers studying people in vulnerable situations (see also chapter 3.2.2 in this study). However, in order to do so, the researcher needs to take into account the possible shortcomings and contradictions in the theoretical tools that are being used. Next, I will mention some of such fallacies within the citizenship framework.

4.1.2 Citizenship and patterns of inequality

Already Marshall wrote about citizenship as a concept that challenges social injustice, because its equalitarian ideas contradict social class systems. Still, it is notable that the discourse on citizenship started to grow and spread around the same time as capitalism, an ideology that is based on inequality and hierarchies. Marshall found connections between these two seemingly contradicting ideologies: he claimed that the egalitarian movement works partly through citizen discourse and partly through the economic system. Citizenship is only used to tackle social injustice that is not seen as economically legitimate or necessary. Therefore, Marshall did not expect the discourse on citizenship to eradicate social classes or capitalism all together, although it has done a great deal in “altering” the patterns of social inequality. Furthermore, Marshall noted that even if citizen rights would be helpful in economic equalization, they might still be accompanied with psychological class discrimination, for example, by stigmatising those who depend on state benefits. (Marshall 1983 [1950].)

Marshall’s sharp remarks on the connections between struggles for rights and supporting the unequal economic system remain very relevant today. Some researchers write about “market citizenship” and transforming “citizens into consumers” (Clarke et al 2014, 21). Evelina Dagnino suggests that in the 21st century, the domination of the neoliberal model has even led to a “practical abandonment” of Marshall’s idea of rights, particularly the social rights. She explains:

“This practical abandonment is evident when what counts as social rights becomes understood as benefits and services to be looked for in the market. For example, in the neoliberal model, this can be seen in social organisations motivated by moral duties towards solidarity with the poor or by plain traditional charity, or in governmental emergency programmes to distribute food to the needy poorest. Such a reconfiguration cannot be understood if it is not placed within the more general framework that

expresses the distinctive and novel character of what has been called neoliberalism. Thus, the redefinition of citizenship is intimately connected to a new phase of capitalist accumulation and its requirements, the excessive growth of the space of the market, the new structuring of labour, the reduction of the state with respect to its social responsibilities and the correlating new responsibilities of civil society. In addition, it also responds to the need to reduce the scope and significance of politics itself, in order to ensure the conditions for the implementation of those requirements."

(Dagnino 2005, 18)

Besides potentially supporting consumerism and private ownership, the discourse on citizenship holds other fallacies that risk supporting global inequality. Clarke et al note that citizenship is a "traveling idea: it has been exported, sometimes through colonial missions of governing and improving colonial subjects" (Clarke et al 2014, 14). Citizenship was not originally a status given to *all* people; but merely to "civilized" white men, and this status was slowly "gained" by other groups of people (Mamdani 1996 in Clarke et al 2014, 14). Still today, Western ideas on citizenship dominate the discussion, also among the academic studies on citizenship. Also the researchers and social movements coming from the global south still sometimes face prejudice and credibility problems (see Nixon 2011). Thompson & Tapscott (2010) argue that while some of the Western criteria might hold universal analytical strength, a good deal does not. They conclude that some research, lacking empirical evaluation, "denies the complexity of social formations in the South, and, ignoring any prospect of agency, portrays their members as the hapless victims of tyrannical rulers and traditional culture or the passive recipients of Northern-led actions" (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, xii).

Werbner calls for a theory of citizenship that recognizes the multiplicity and complexity of (post-colonial) contexts for citizenship discourses, and helps to fight against certain global problems, such as gender inequalities, state terror, ethnic cleansing and various human rights abuses. According to Werbner, discussing citizenship is pointing out and challenging these assumptions and abuses, and re-negotiating the limits of state powers, civil society, groups and individuals. (Werbner 1998, 3-5). When research on citizenship manages to identify more voices on citizenship, it can contribute to helping these voices to be heard in other spaces as well. Here, the more flexible and processual understanding of citizenship proves its usefulness, as it allows for better identifying of different perspectives. The "conventional" Western concepts of citizenship need not be discarded simply because of their origin, but this origin must be acknowledged when studying different contexts. Careful ethnographic analysis allows for a detailed description of if and how the conceptions work in the global south, and what other alternatives are. In challenging our understandings of political participation and citizenship, social movements play an important role. Already in the 1990s, Pnina Werbner (1998, 6) considered social movements as the ones who, above all, have generated the new discourse on global citizenship.

4.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CONSTRUCTING AND CHALLENGING CITIZENSHIP

4.2.1 Defining social movements

Social movements have been rather extensively studied by social and political scientists, especially during the last forty years. After the end of 1960s, the Western world experienced a rise in environmental, feminist, pacifist, sexual rights and civil rights movements, among others. Despite the obvious differences in demands and organisational strategies, in sociology these movements have been joined together in a group called “new social movements”. (Goirand 2009, 7–8.) The “old” movements, especially the labour movements of 1920s-1950s, mainly used the existing political arenas and demanded political integration and economic rights, whereas the diverse “new” movements from 1960s onwards would be more located in the civil society, pursuing autonomy, new values and lifestyles (Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 107–109). However, the division between “old” and “new” movements and their different actions is not always very clear, and the “newness” of the strategies and concerns of the “new social movements” has been questioned (Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 107–109; Goirand 2009, 7–8). Instead, the socio-cultural and spatial context of the movements might often provide better explanations for the choice arenas and the political aspirations of the movements. In Latin America, for example, the social movements and other sectors of civil society have been long been active in confronting “the existing boundaries of what is defined as the political arena: its participants, its institutions, its processes, its agenda and its scope” (Dagnino 2005, 1; Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar 1998).

Various researchers name the struggle against “colonisation” an important aspect of the activities of social movements in the global south. Following this vein, movements emerge to defend certain territories, lifestyles and social formations from external invasion. In former colonies of South America, movements against resource extraction often use discourse affected by colonial experiences. (Bebbington et al 2008, 2890; Thompson and Tapscott 2010, 16; Rasch 2012, 161.) In addition to these kinds of movements, Thompson & Tapscott discuss two other types of the main goals of the social movements in the south: social movements as the creators of new political spaces and actors, and as constructors of new imaginaries of desirable societies (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 16).

Social movements have sometimes been equated with social movement organisations, thus emphasising their bureaucratic form. This notion has been challenged, as influential movements often arise in rather unorganised forms. However, distinguishing between an unorganised social movement and collective action often poses itself as an analytical problem. According to Thompson & Tapscott (2010, 15) the question to be posed in the context of more unorganized forms of collective action is, “how many people does it take to make a movement?” (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 15). Also, the question of representativeness remains whether or not the movement has taken an organisational form. The

legitimacy of formal social movement organisations has been questioned in different contexts in the North and the South, but the same goes for any individual or unorganised group assuming the role of a representative. (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 14–17.)

In contrast, Bebbington et al define social movements as “processes of collective action that are sustained across space and time, that reflect grievances around perceived injustices, and that constitute a pursuit of alternative agendas” (Bebbington et al 2008, 2892; see also Escobar & Alvarez, 1992 and Escobar, 1995). Thus, a movement is defined primarily through “shared grievances and discourses”, not through organisational structures. However, Bebbington et al note that organisations are an important part of social movements, as the movements often depend on the financial, informational, social and other resources of organisations. (Bebbington et al 2008, 2892.)

Thompson and Tapscott divide the research on social movements around three central questions: what motivates groups and communities to take action, how these movements use different forms of action, and who are the people that mobilize in the movements (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 12). The studies on Western social movements have often focused on structural aspects of the movements, such as economic resources, political structures and formal organisations as the principle explanations to when and where social movements arise (Goodwin & Jasper 2004, vii–4). On the contrary, social movement studies within Latin America have been more grounded in studying the cultural aspects, such as identities and meanings behind collective action (Goirand 2009). Latin American research on social movements has also been rather fragmented, and it has largely stayed aside from the theoretical debates within the Western world. According to Camille Goirand, questions about the strategies and resources, organisational structures, and the social and political spaces taken up by the movements are now especially important in the research of Latin American social movements. (Goirand 2009.)

4.2.2 Social movements and citizenship

Evelina Dagnino states that the liberal concept of citizenship, paradigmatically described by Marshall, was dominant “until social movements began to appropriate it” (Dagnino 2005, 1). Drawing both from the local and the global levels, indigenous, women’s, environmental, and other movements have challenged state-driven ideas of citizenship. They are looking for ways to construct alternative ideologies of national, local and global citizenship. Especially the movements in Latin American countries have been in the “global forefront of remarkable confrontations, debates and shifts in the understanding of citizenship” in recent years (Roniger & Sznajder 2012, 1). Until recent years, however, links between citizenship and social movement research have remained few. Thompson & Tapscott state that bridging this research gap is essential because “citizenship without the social movements which undergird it [...] risks becoming reduced to weak forms of participation, in arenas and through

channels in which citizens have little control, and with little ability to raise new issues or challenge dominant discourses” (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, xii).

Using existing definitions on citizenship to claim certain rights can be a strategic tool for social movements and other actors. For example, in various countries of Latin America, the connection between human rights and citizenship was important for the very emergence of the discourse on citizenship, as the movements began to refer to human rights to base their claims (Dagnino 2005, 12). However, social movements are not only making claims. Evelina Dagnino views citizenship as “a crucial weapon not only in the struggle against social and economic exclusion and inequality, but – most importantly – in the widening of dominant conceptions of politics itself” (Dagnino 2005, 1). Social movements are constructing their own ideas about social responsibility and social duties (Clarke et al 2014, 28-29). These duties might be directed towards the other people in the political community, or towards the environment or even future generations (see chapter 4.2.3 on environmental citizenship).

Kabeer (2005, 23; in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3) uses the terms “horizontal” and “vertical” to describe different arenas of participation for individual and collective citizen subjects. “Horizontal” spaces are self-created local, national or global arenas, where subjects themselves define their actions and interactions with other subjects. “Vertical” spaces, then, are the arenas and action models provided for by the state – or, extending Kabeer’s original definition, other local, regional, national or global institutions. Combining this with Lazar’s terms (2013), creating horizontal spaces can be seen as the self-created arenas of subjects self-creating their own citizenship. There, they challenge and extend notions of sites of politics, and reveal other possible political choices (see Clarke et al 2014, 22–23). Self-creating the conceptions of citizenship can also happen in vertical spaces when, for example, people vote for politicians who support alternative ideas on development or citizenship. In vertical spaces, however, the citizen status is often “being made” (Lazar 2013) for the citizens as the state (or other political community) “invites” its citizens to participate in political action (Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 4).

Social movements can use both horizontal and vertical spaces for their purposes, as they work both through established political institutions and outside them. Smith & Pangsapa articulate the capacities of social movements:

“Sometimes they promote interests or causes that have been marginalized or neglected by mainstream forms of political representation. Since they have oppositional origins, their organisational character is shaped through their struggles to ensure that their concerns are recognized. For example, they may bring together consumers against producers, local residents against a company responsible for some pollutant, disabled or ethnic communities against discrimination and prejudice, feminist movements against sexism, so they are as diverse as the citizens they mobilize. Since many such movements have operated outside the usual ways of exerting political influence, their strategies are more likely to include direct action, such as demonstrations, strikes and civil disobedience, and as a form of collective action they bring the concerns of everyday

life into touch with the formal institutions of government, not only to make a difference in policy-making but also to change the cultural attitudes and values we hold.”

(Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 107)

To a rather vast extent, this type of challenging and changing of political order and cultural attitudes has been done by social movements in Latin America (Roniger & Sznajder 2012, 4). There, the discourse on citizenship can be linked to the democratization processes in the 1980s after authoritarian governments in various countries, and the spread of human rights discourse. The term citizenship first entered the academic and political debate in Brazil in the beginning of 1980s, followed by Peru and Colombia. The discourse on citizenship provided a common ground for social movements and other actors to express their claims and escape fragmentation and isolation, although the rights seen most important did (and do) differ in each national and local context. Success in gaining specific rights, related to housing, education, health, ethnicity, gender and sexuality, among others, has been seen essential in deepening the democracy in the society. (Dagnino 2005.)

The Latin American movements have also made significant contributions in questioning and redefining the democratic model (Dagnino 2005). They have often taken a more radical approach to criticizing the citizenship practices than the European and North American social movements; many Latin American movements have attacked the whole format of representative democracy, exploring alternative means to organize their communities (Roniger & Sznajder 2012, 2-4). S.N. Eisenstadt goes as far as to consider Latin America to be one of the first departures from the European models of modernity (Eisenstadt 1998, 6). Robert Albro highlights the plurality of citizen discourses in each movement, but sees that in its various forms, “citizenship has quickly become a key common cause among the many local social movements in Latin America and global activism” (Albro 2005, 265). Viewing citizenship as a keyword (Clarke et al 2014), then, enables analysing various aspirations of Latin American social movements.

The most known example of a Latin American social movement are perhaps the Zapatistas in Mexico. This indigenous movement originated in 1994 in Chiapas, to demand improvements in the position of the indigenous people in Mexico. The Zapatistas, as many others they have inspired to follow, challenge the state models on development, promoting more local and communitarian views on citizenship (see Cortez Ruiz 2010). In addition to Mexico, strong indigenous movements have emerged, for example, in Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. In some nations the indigenous have even reached important political positions, such as naming the indigenous coca leaf farmer Evo Morales as the President of Bolivia. Social movements against various extracting projects and privatization of public resources and services have also been very strong in various parts of Latin America. The “Water Wars” against the privatization of the water in Cochabamba, Bolivia, is one of the most famous example of mobilisation against

privatisation (see Albro 2005). For many of these movements, questioning agrarian exclusion and claiming and re-framing environmental rights is increasingly important.

4.2.3 Agrarian and environmental citizenship

In Latin America, as in many other parts of the world, ideas of citizenship are conventionally rooted in urban spaces, which have also traditionally been the main centres of political and economic power. Historically, rural actors and spaces have been marginalized to the periphery of political articulation. Still today, rural populations in different parts of the world might have the technical rights to citizenship, but lack the substantial rights to participation and the power to govern the development of landed resources. As traditional liberal conceptions of citizenship positioned material possession and production as the basis of rights, rural citizenship was traditionally been rooted in land ownership. In other words, a rural person was considered a (national) citizen because of his or her relation to the land. (Wittman 2013 [2009], 149-150.)

Hannah Wittman (2013 [2009]) suggests that rural social movements have been the ones challenging these ownership-based notions of citizenship, shifting the idea of land as a *condition* of citizenship to land as a *right* of the rural citizen. For the nearly half of the global population still living and working in rural areas, the discourse on agrarian citizenship can be seen as an increasingly popular tool to claim land and fight against oppression. Farmer-based movements worldwide are redefining their physical and political relevance and demanding new political rights and guarantees. In addition to material aims, such as claims for land, the rural actors are redefining and expanding the ideas of democratic citizenship. This is being done through mobilization and political education, often using a well-developed discourse based on citizenship and rural rights. In these actions Wittman places the self-construction of modern agrarian citizenship. (Wittman 2013 [2009], 149-152.)

Leandro Vergara-Camus emphasises the importance of agrarian movements also outside the rural spaces in Latin America:

“Over the past two decades, rural social movements have been the lifeline of the Latin American Left and have thus been in the eye of the political storm that has shaken certain countries of the continent. They have been at the forefront of social mobilization against neoliberalism; brought down governments; provided support to left-wing nationalist/populist governments; and have been deeply involved in the global struggle against transnational agribusiness through Vía Campesina or the Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (Latin American Coordinator of Rural Organisations, CLOC).”

(Vergara-Camus 2013, 590)

Vergara-Camus claims that in many parts of the region, rural movements have reached strong levels of unity and cohesion, due to their common ground in opposing neoliberalism. Although their relations to the state and politicians might differ, many rural movements also share similar forms of mobilization, from marches and occupations to legal challenges over government decisions. Their success in bringing about policy changes, or the actual benefit of such policy changes to the rural movements themselves, depends on the context and might often be quite difficult to evaluate. However, Vergara-Camus points out that even if the movements do succeed in bringing through desired national policy changes, their aspirations often do not stop at the national level; the movements ably take on local, national and global levels simultaneously in order to gain wanted levels of both autonomy and global networking. (Vergara-Camus 2013.)

For the Brazilian rural movements studied by Wittman, agrarian citizenship is based on collectivism and sustainability. They emphasise the social function of land as a provider of food for collective local consumption, and the responsibility of a person to act in support of the collective good. These movements view centred political power and damaging environmental practices as the key problems imposed on the rural societies from the outside. Through systematic political education, the Brazilian movements are seeking ways to unite the rural people and claim recognition for the rural citizens, their lifestyles and the environment. Of course, there are always some internal disagreements about goals and the means to achieve them. However, these movements have managed to not only claim pieces of land, but also to develop a diverse set of political voices and broaden the horizons of action for rural citizens. Their concept of agrarian citizenship challenges the passive and hierarchical relationships between citizens and the state, and transforms relations also between rural and urban individuals and communities. (Wittman 2013 [2009], 152-160).

Wittman has also studied (2010) how landless peasant movements shape conceptions of environmental or ecological citizenship in Brazil. Through social mobilization for an ecological land reform, agrarian settlers challenge the structures of environmental injustice. Wittman describes how the individual and collective actions of these settlers reflect their values and a sense of obligation towards future generations and the nature. Through their actions, the rural settlers actively participate in finding solutions to social and environmental problems in Brazil. (Wittman 2010.) This is an example of how agrarian and environmental movements are connected through similar concerns and discourse. In addition to proposing that humans have environmental rights, environmental movements on a global scale suggest that nature, animals and plants have rights too, and that these rights create obligations for humans. As the agrarian movements in Brazil, environmental movements discuss moral obligations towards future generations, habitats and even some mystical conceptions of the globe. Therefore, they expand the concept of citizenship to include non-human subjects as well. (Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 11.)

Belinda Clements (2008) explains the emergence of environmental citizenship in the discourse of the environmental movements with the need to find new types of tools in order to pursue their cause. Despite decades of environmental campaigning, global warming and other major environmental problems have not been solved. Clements describes environmental activism in the UK, and points out how those environmental movements, especially the ones that engage in direct action, highlight the moral responsibility and utmost necessity to do what is “right” for the environment, using virtually any means necessary. (Clements 2008, 179-194.) Environmental problems are also inseparable from social problems and human rights violations (Alonso, Costa and Maciel 2010, 140). In recent years, much has been discussed about the rights of people living in areas of environmental catastrophes, such as floods and drought. Discussions about human suffering because of water scarcity resulted in counting the right to “sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses” as a human right in the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 2002 (United Nations 2010, 1).

Rob Nixon writes about bioregionalism, a concept that draws attention to the responsibility towards “one’s local part of the earth whose boundaries are determined by a location’s natural characteristics rather than arbitrary administrative boundaries” (Parini 1995 in Nixon 2011, 238). Nixon considers bioregionalism as opposite to cosmopolitanism, which values universally applicable knowledge. He thinks that at its best, the bioregional approach can help improve our sense of awareness of and responsiveness towards our natural environments. However, Nixon is concerned that the bioregional approach might easily fall for transcendentalism and not for transnationalism. He states: “All too frequently, we are left with an environmental vision that remains inside a spiritualized and naturalized national frame. [...] [W]e have a history of forgetting our complicity in slow violence that wreaks attritional havoc beyond the bioregion or the nation”. (Nixon 2011, 238.) In other words, the bioregions are always connected to a global scale of environmental issues, and therefore the responsibilities towards nature go beyond the local spaces.

Connected to citizenship, Nixon’s discussion on bioregionalism points out that ideas and constructions of citizenship are closely connected to their environmental context, in addition to the socio-historical and economic contexts. Relation to the natural environment shapes the conceptions of rights and duties; socio-historical and economic contexts cannot be separated from the spatial or environmental ones. Despite Nixon’s concerns over transcendentalism, the bioregional approach is very efficient in engaging people in environmental concerns. Clements criticises the discourse of the environmental movements in the UK for failing to attract others than those people who are already sympathetic to the environmental movements, as many people might not share their world view or arguments of moral necessity (Clements 2008, 179-194). This illustrates how environmental movements are often stronger in local spaces, where people have a strong sense of responsibility towards their natural surroundings,

or where their social realities are deeply affected by environmental threats. Such is the case with many extraction projects around Latin America, which are seen as both environmental and social threats.

4.2.4 Mining conflicts and citizenship

Historically, the strongest social movements related to mining were the ones related to the working conditions, exploitation and labour rights of the mine workers. While this types of mine worker movements still emerge these days, the technological changes in mining methods (such as the emergence of cyanide heap leaching and large open-pit mines) with the threats they pose to material and cultural bases of livelihoods have created a new type of movements. In Latin America, the rapid increase in the number and volume of large mining projects since the 1990s has been accompanied by a strong wave of social movements. (Bebbington et al 2008, 2889-2891.)

Bebbington et al (2008) analyse these mining-related movements through the different ways they address the issue of dispossession. The movements might contest dispossession of lands and/or resources, which are considered belonging to either local or national actors. They might also see the loss of a way of life and exclusion from decision-making as types of dispossession. The conceptualization of these types of dispossession and proposed solutions vary between social movements, and sometimes also among different actors within the same movement. The viewpoints range from a complete rejection of mining activities, to demands of more political inclusion in the decision-making processes and more equitable distribution of economic benefits of resource exploitation. Some movements, and actors within these movements, might be open to negotiate with the mining companies, while others would strongly refuse any negotiations, choosing direct action and open confrontation to any extraction projects. (Bebbington et al 2008, 2891.)

Raphael Hoetmer discusses the different motives of anti-mining movements in Peru. He identifies two main types of motivation: the “conflicts of coexistence” (*conflictos de convivencia*), where the movements seek to negotiate over the ways mining is conducted in the area, and “conflicts of alternatives” (*conflictos de alternativas*), where the people reject mining projects altogether in their areas. In both cases, the movements are constructing and negotiating local conceptions about economic justice and development. These “local” conceptions are, however, “glocal” in the sense that they are local reflections of national and global processes. (Hoetmer 2013, 267.) There are also movements around Peru that are in favour of the mining company, and they have ended up in an open conflict with the anti-mining movements on several occasions. The pro-mining movements benefit also from sharing the ideas of the state on the importance of the mining industry, and may well receive direct support from the mining company itself. (Bebbington et al 2008, 2893.)

Antonio Rodríguez-Carmona and Miguel Castro consider the “social imaginaries” (*imaginarios sociales*) important in explaining why the extractive industries receive support from many people in Peru. They explain that the “imaginary of poverty” (*imaginario de la pobreza*) is actively being taken advantage of by the politicians and the mining industry. By declaring mining investment as a way to fight against poverty, the mining projects have managed to attract support also among the poverty-ridden local campesino communities. The difficult aim of the social movements and local organisations against the mining projects is to contest these imaginaries and counter the arguments for mining, creating and recreating alternative imaginaries. In this, the movements are taking a more collective and environmental position than the capital-centred view of the mining industry. (Rodríguez-Carmona & Castro 2013.)

Mining-related movements emerge in both rural and urban spaces. In the rural spaces of Peru, older forms of local organisation, such as the Rondas Campesinas, communal kitchens and irrigation assemblies, have turned into organisations of social movements (Hoetmer 2013, 268). Bebbington et al (2008) point out, however, that there have been local disputes over the legitimacy of some of these organisations, such as the Rondas, and their position on the mining activities. Bebbington et al see that in the case of Cajamarca, these controversial rural organisations, such as some branches of the Rondas, have been “crowded out” by urban leftist movements, and this has shaped the discourse to become more of a mix of environmentalism and/or demands for more state participation in setting the rules for mining and distributing the profits. Bebbington et al are not claiming that rural movements would have completely lost their importance in Cajamarca – in fact, they acknowledge that the importance of these local movements was growing at the face of new mining projects, such as Conga. Still, they see that the NGOs, “intellectuals” and authors who “define the debates” are mainly urban. (Bebbington et al 2008, 2895–2897.) On the contrary, however, Hoetmer argues that the national anti-mining movements and NGOs, rooted in urban areas, have often had difficulties in gaining local support in the rural spaces. Although the role of national organisations and the extent of local support they have received varies between different cases, Hoetmer concludes that they have very rarely been key subjects in determining the results of local mining disputes. (Hoetmer 2013, 269.)

In many locations within Latin America, the mining projects are being proposed in areas inhabited by indigenous groups, and thus the mining movements are framed as indigenous movements against the invasion into their territories and lifestyles. In Huehuetenango, Guatemala, for example, the indigenous locals have resisted mining activities in their area. Elisabet Rasch discusses the ways these indigenous are making twofold claims. On one hand, the local and regional activists demand municipal autonomy, and on the other hand, they demand a fulfilment of their national rights as indigenous people. These claims are not necessarily contradictory, as they address different levels of citizenship. Rasch argues: “For them [...] both levels of mediations serve the same objective: justifying their claims for municipal

and departmental autonomy within the framework of the Guatemalan state” (Rasch 2012, 175). The indigenous of Huehuetenango also refer to human rights in making claims for their right to a healthy environment. For them, organizing their own popular consultations and being familiar with national laws and international agreements are all important aspects of political subjectivity. (Rasch 2012.)

Hoetmer (2013, 269-270) sees that in Peru, the mining movements have been successful in creating new political practices and institutional changes by, for example, implementing practices of environmental surveillance in the project areas, by pushing for the new law on prior consultation, and by successfully promoting anti-mining politicians to enter power. They have also been able to halt or cancel mining projects in various parts of Peru. In Tambogrande, for example, the rural movements were able to organize and network with national and global movements in order to stop a large-scale mining project (see chapter 2.4). Håvard Haarstad and Arnt Fløysand argue (2007) that this success can be explained by the ways the local movements were able to construct powerful narratives along different scales. They framed their struggle as simultaneously defending the local agricultural way of life, the threatened Peruvian identity, and democratic rights on a general and global level. The movements in Tambogrande also created powerful narratives to question the claims made by the mining industry on the necessity and historical relevance of mining. (Haarstad & Fløysand 2007.)

However, Hoetmer says that all the points of success of the social movements have not been able to change the dominant development model and power balance in a permanent or profound way. Many of the changes have been temporary or merely cosmetic. Even the movements that have been strong and successful in affecting the course of specific extracting projects have failed to create more than weak forms of organisations and networks after the successful halt of projects. Hoetmer explains this mainly by unresolved issues in political culture. There is still a deep distrust in political structures and leadership, and a lack of political spaces where different views and doubts could be discussed collectively. According to Hoetmer, however, some social movements are already beginning to come up with more “radical” forms of organisation, leadership, networks and discourses, which are based on alternative ideas about development, democracy and territory. (Hoetmer 2013, 272-278.)

4.3 PERSPECTIVES FOR THIS STUDY

In this study, I will follow along the path of Hoetmer, Rasch, Haarstad & Fløysand, and others who have studied mining-related movements in Latin America from a perspective of citizenship and political agency. I will treat the local resistance against Conga as a social movement that manifests itself through more and less formal organisation, and has spread through local, regional, national and global spheres. Having examined various understandings of citizenship here, I consider that the flexible and broad

definitions of Werbner (1998) and Clarke et al (2014), among others, will serve as the most useful guidelines in my research. I will treat citizenship as a “keyword” (Clarke et al 2014) that helps understand the views and political agency of the locals in Cajamarca. Through such a loosely defined keyword, it is possible to analyse various levels of political belonging (Lazar 2013) for the campesinos, and the social, environmental and cultural contexts of their political agency. My main focus is on the local spaces, in the rural spaces around the district of Sorochuco, and in the self-construction (Lazar 2013) of political agency of the local campesinos.

It is important to note that the locals themselves rarely use the word “citizenship” (*ciudadanía*) in their discourse. However, I consider it to be a concept that can be identified in the ways the locals discuss their rights and duties and political participation, and act in different political spaces and through various forms of action. I argue that the self-construction of citizenship takes place in the claims that the locals make over their rights. Such claims, as well as some positive expectations that the locals have about the mining projects, reflect understandings of ideal citizenship (Marshall 1983 [1950]). Furthermore, the views on water, land ownership and the local environment reflect the understandings of individual and/or communal duties, which are an important part of political subjectivity.

In addition to analysing how the locals discuss political agency, I will analyse how these understandings of citizenship are reflected and reformed in the social movement strategies and aspirations. For example, the relations with different levels of political communities are reflected in the choices of horizontal and vertical political spaces (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3), and the experiences from protests and legal processes shape the understandings of one’s political position. Also, citizenship as a concept provides tools for the social movement on several levels. My intention is, then, not only to understand the views of the local campesinos, but also find practical links between the discourses of citizenship and the actions of social movements.



Picture 8: One of the rivers that runs down from Lake Perol. Photo: JV



Picture 9: The hamlet of Faro Bajo. Photo: JV

5 MAPPING CITIZENSHIP IN CAJAMARCA

In this section, I will go through the ethnographic data collected during the field work in Cajamarca. My main focus is on the interviews conducted with the local campesinos, and this data will be supplemented with the interviews of other locals (community leaders, three university teachers or professors from Cajamarca, a mine worker, a nurse) and notions from the field diary. As discussed in section 3.4, I have chosen to not use the real names of my informants, and alter or leave out some other personal facts that might reveal their identities. Most informants are referred to by their gender, age or an approximation of age, the date of the interview, and the village or city of origin of the person, when relevant or available. I have given pseudonyms to a handful of interviewees who stand out of the data because of their different position in relation to other informants.

The named interviewees include “Segundo”, “Luis” and “Victor”, all of whom are university professors or university staff members from Cajamarca. They have all looked into the theme of mining by doing environmental or social investigations and writing some more or less in-depth papers on the theme. “Manuel” is an indigenous from a community called San Andres de Negritos, which was liquidated because of Yanacocha. Like many others from his previous community, Manuel now lives in the city of Cajamarca. “Jaime” is a man originally from the coast, who now lives in Cajamarca and works for Yanacocha in the mine. “Jorge” and “Pedro” are mayors from two different villages in the district of Sorochuco, and they have quite different perspectives on the mining projects in the area. “María” is a nurse who works in the village of Combayo, which provides health care for over ten smaller hamlets around the area. “Rosa” is a woman whose husband was one of the people who died in the protests on the town square of Celendín in July 2012 (see chapter 2.4). Last, “Carmen” is a representative from Grufides, a non-governmental organisation based in the city of Cajamarca. Grufides has taken an openly anti-mining approach, and among other things, it has provided legal aid for individuals who have faced legal charges for taking part in the protests. I will discuss the role of this organisation more in chapter 5.2.1

The problems related to the Conga conflict and other mining activities in the area were dominant themes in the interviews and discussions with the local people. The same arguments, related to various issues, were repeated by people of different ages and from different villages, as well as by some community leaders and university professors. Although the discussions mainly revolved around problems of mining and violations by the government and the mining companies, some people also expressed expectations of positive outcomes of mining, specifically of the Conga project. In the first section, I will introduce the arguments presented by the locals during the interviews, using direct quotations, and discuss how they reflect the ideas the interviewees have about their citizen position. In the next section, then, I will move on to discuss how these citizenship ideals are pursued through social movements and legal action.

I would like to emphasise that my intention here is to provide a truthful account of what was told to me by the informants, and what I could observe myself during the field work in Cajamarca. I will not evaluate the technical accuracy of certain comments regarding, for example, the environmental effects of mining on local ecosystems. That side can be left for alternative environmental impact assessments. Also, I cannot and will not verify the accuracy of all the claims made about the actions of the mining company or the state. In this study, however, the technical accuracy of the claims does not measure their relevance. Harri Englund (2006) has insightfully written about discussing rumours and “moral panics”¹⁵ as reflections of the general values and perceived larger threats within the community where such rumours are spreading. Englund points out that these rumours are always part of their historical context, and they are efficient and relevant because they are “locally credible”. Once such credibility is achieved, the rumours “cease to inspire contemplation but find their force in the lived experience of those who believe in them” (Englund 2006, 175). In this study, I will treat all the details the interviewees talk about as facts, in the sense that they are true reflections of local values and understandings. The point is to show how the locals talk about mining, in order to discuss why they might be talking as they do, and how this is related to their choices specific types of political action.

5.1 DISCUSSING CITIZENSHIP

As discussed in chapter 4.1, understandings of rights and duties are central to conceptualizations of citizenship (Marshall 1983 [1950]; Arendt 2013 [1951]; Smith & Pangsapa 2008), and social movements have been important in shaping the discourse by constructing their own ideas about social responsibility and social duties (Clarke et. al 2014). In this section, I will explore the understandings and constructions of the campesinos in Cajamarca, which are at the basis of the social movement against mining projects like Conga. In other words, I will focus on examining the question, *How do the locals understand their citizen position in relation to the mining activities?* The focus is on how the locals self-construct (Lazar 2013) ideas of their political position, namely, citizenship. In order to approach this question, I have divided the problems and expectations expressed by the locals into three major themes: the environment, work and other benefits from the mines, and the political process. These problems and expectations reflect the locals’ perceptions of their rights and duties, and provide a glimpse into their understandings of communitarian or individual citizenship. When addressing each theme, I will also draw from the theoretical perspectives of some studies on environmental citizenship, agrarian citizenship and citizenship in mining conflicts.

¹⁵ Englund, drawing from La Fontaine (1998), defines “moral panics” as “extraordinary collective actions that seek to counter perceived threats to fundamental values” (Englund 2006, 172).

5.1.1 Views on water, contamination, and land

Clearly the most common arguments against the Conga project and mining in general are related to the environmental impacts of mining. People are specifically concerned about their water resources due to the company's plans to dry out lakes in the Jalca region and substituting them with artificial lakes (see chapter 2.3). Many locals view the Conga and access to water as opposed to each other: if there will be Conga, there will be a severe scarcity of water. This is reflected in one of the most popular slogans of the resistance against Conga "*Water yes, gold no*".¹⁶ In the interviews, the campesinos from Sorochuco emphasised the importance of water in all their actions. The locals are also familiar with water scarcity that has worsened especially in the Cajamarca city (see chapter 2.3), and are suspicious about anything that could affect their water quantity and quality.

"We all live from water, and because of water we are life." (Male 44, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

"The mines come and destroy our water, our life." (Male ~30, Tandayoc, 27.2.2015)

The campesinos are, obviously, concerned over their own lives if the lakes are dried. They are claiming environmental rights and a right to water, which is also a globally recognised human right (United Nations 2010). However, in the latter quote the speaker indicates that the water he and other villagers now use is not simply *any* water to supply their daily needs, but *our water*. Discourse about "our water" is often accompanied by notions of everything these lakes, rivers, springs and groundwater supplies are connected with: fragile ecosystems, diverse species of plants and animals, beautiful mountain sceneries. As their livelihoods are directly dependent on the natural water supplies, the campesinos are very well aware of the water circulation processes in the area. The discourses on water hence cannot be separated from discourses on everything that is "nature" of the region. Speaking of "our water" can be understood not as a claim to human ownership over the waters, but as a way to emphasise the importance of these waterways to the life of the whole nature of the region, as well as the people.

Some locals express a special relationship with their waters through a discourse on the "sacredness" of the lakes. Manuel is one of the only interviewees that identify themselves as indigenous, having moved to the city of Cajamarca from an indigenous village. He laments that with previous mining activities, Yanacocha has already destroyed some of "our lakes that are sacred places" and "our frogs, our hills, our mountains, which also are sacred places"¹⁷. For Manuel, Lake Perol is sacred as well. The word "sacred" has powerful connotations, but it can be interpreted in many ways. In some Latin American native

¹⁶ "Agua sí, oro no". Across Latin America, this slogan is widely used by social movements against extraction projects.

¹⁷ Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015

languages, such as the Krenak language in Brazil, the word "sacred" can be translated as something that is simply "in relation" to something. It thus lacks the mystified and religious (Christian) tone of the English and Spanish words "sacred" and "*sagrado*" (Krenak 21.3.2016). Manuel's exact definition of the word did not come across in the interview, but in this context it is enough to state that it refers to a way of valuing the nature that escapes economic measures and ownership. Segundo, a university professor from Cajamarca, also talks about the special social meanings of the lakes. He states that, "if you destroy a lake, you destroy many myths".¹⁸ His view, as well as that of Manuel's, is an example of how environmental concerns are often inseparable from social concerns, and environmental rights from social rights (see Alonso, Costa and Maciel 2010, 140).

The special nature of the waters and nature for the locals is also highlighted in the ways the locals speak about the mining company's plans to build artificial reservoirs to replace Lake Perol and other lakes in the project area (Knight Piésold Consultores S.A. 2010). Many interviewees were upset or almost amused when asked what they think about the mining company's plans to build artificial water supplies. They think it is simply absurd that humans could replace the water cycles that have formed over millions of years, or that they would be arrogant enough to try.

"It would be like cutting an arm and replacing it with an arm of a dead person. They will never be able to [replace the natural lakes]". (Female 77, Alto Rejopampa, 26.2.2015)

"Artificial lake... Would it be the same as a natural lake? It is the life!" (Male 35, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

Some locals would also discuss how, even in the "unlikely" occasion that a reservoir would work as planned, it would require maintenance over the years. People express deep distrust in the company continuing to maintain the reservoirs after the mines have been closed. Another concern is that the company could put high costs on the water running through the reservoirs, making them pay for a water that is mixed with chemicals. Even some locals, who in principle are not against Conga or other mining projects, talked about the need to protect the lakes. These people trust that the company will eventually be able to find a technical solution to excavate the gold without destroying the lakes. They hope that the mines would bring work and wealth to the areas, but these things come secondary after "our lakes".

"The mines should operate, but without touching our water. Without touching our waters, which is the lake." [Female 30+ adds]: "Because water comes first."

(Male 30+ and Female 30+, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

¹⁸ Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2016

The distrust in artificial lakes also reflects distrust in the technical knowledge presented by the company and authorities. Most locals see this knowledge false or misrepresented, trusting instead on local knowledge and understanding of the natural processes. This knowledge is first and foremost based on practical experience, and knowledge shared between the locals. This is not to say, however, that the locals would not appreciate the technology used and the knowledge produced by taking samples of the waters to determine the levels of heavy metals in them, as was done in the study of Barenys et al (2014). The locals use this type of scientific knowledge to supplement other types of knowledge, critically evaluating it. They use humour to point out its absurdness, as in the case of laughing at the plans to build artificial reservoirs.

However, some locals do accept the water solutions now offered by the mining company. In these cases, the interviewees would not comment much on the theme of artificial reservoirs, trusting that the mining companies “have the knowledge”¹⁹ to build them. They might not be very keen on the idea of artificial reservoirs, but do not see many other options in securing their own existence. These people were usually the ones that also emphasised the poverty and need of job opportunities in the region, thus indicating a sense of hopelessness in their situations. I will come back to the questions of positive expectations from the mines in the next section.

The only interviewee we had, who was openly supportive of the plans for the reservoirs and dams, is Jaime, an employee of Yanacocha. He trusts in the technical capacities and moral responsibility of the company. However, he also considers that constructing these reservoirs is not even the responsibility of the private company, but the responsibility of the state.

[JV]: *“What about the artificial lakes?”*

[Jaime]: *“Yes, they are going to do this... At Lake Perol, they are also going to build a dam around it to dam the river water for the people of the area of influence. What comes to the water of Cajamarca... Yanacocha does not look after that now because it is part of the government, no? The one who has to take care of the people is the government, not a private company. Despite that, [the company] also supports these people.”*

(Jaime, Cajamarca, 12.3.2015)

Jaime does not make a difference between the lakes and any other waters: in his view, they are all simply supplies of water. He would emphasise the need to secure water access to the campesinos and their animals, but does not think that changing the natural surroundings necessarily violates anyone’s rights. In some cases, however, the mining company seems to have concluded that many locals will accept nothing more than *their* natural waters. One interviewee²⁰ showed me photos of Shacsha, a community

¹⁹ Male 55, Faro Bajo, 25.2.2015

²⁰ Male ~40, Celendín, 20.3.2015

closer to the current Yanacocha mine and the city of Cajamarca. There, rumours and disputes about the condition of their river, Rio Grande, were spread around the community. Some locals had been claiming that the lake, where Rio Grande runs from, had been dried – but still, the river seemed to be running as usual. Finally, a group of people had gone walking up to the lake. What they found was a cracked dry lake, and a “river” that starts from four underground plastic tubes²¹. Some locals have also witnessed groundwater being pumped in the Conga project area. During my fieldwork, one local informed us of seeing groundwater pumps near Lake Perol (field diary 26.2.2015; see chapter 3.2.4).

Equally worried as of their water supplies drying out, the locals are concerned of these waters becoming contaminated by the mines. In relation to the current Yanacocha mine, the district of Sorochuco is not the area that is bearing the most striking environmental effects. Most interviewees around Sorochuco say that their waters seem to still run normal, at least now since the Conga project has been halted. However, many interviewees would already report changes in their natural surroundings. In the hamlet of Salacat, the locals said their waters would at times run in odd colours and with weird smells, and in the hamlet of Chogopampa, some interviewees said that sometimes they had found their water smelling weirdly of chlorite.²² Many locals said that because of contamination through water and soil, their agricultural productions have already weakened.

“We are contaminated. Years ago, the agriculture was much better. But with years passing, we don’t have... The agricultural production has lowered. Everything we plant.”
(Male ~40, Combayo, 6.3.2015)

“Before, they planted potatoes, they planted everything, and without medicines. Now, if we don’t medicate, nothing grows.” (Female ~30, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

Some locals also report that their animals and they themselves have had various health problems. The health problems the interviewees speak about vary from stomach problems and infections to skin problems, falling hair and pneumonia. Also the animals are reported to have been affected. Most often, the locals would talk about how trout have died in their rivers, and they say that also frogs and some species of birds have disappeared. A few families report that their livestock have health problems: especially the sheep are dropping their wool and having problems in reproducing. Some families report that their guinea pigs have died mysteriously, as well as some cows after drinking the water from the river upstream closer to the Yanacocha and Conga project areas.²³ In one hamlet I also interviewed a veterinary, who said he already has his hands full of work with the various diseases the animals, all from

²¹ The location has been recorded in a video by Prensa Vision, that can be found online under the name “Manuel Ramos: ‘Yanacocha en esta parte de Cajamarca, es dueña de toda el agua’”.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lvEgi2nh6ko>, viewed 1.8.2016

²² Two Males and one Female, all 40+, Chogopampa, 25.2.2015

²³ Female ~30s and Male ~30s, Cochapampa, 7.2.2015

guinea pigs to cows and sheep, have developed. He thinks these health problems are caused by heavy metals in the waters and pasture of the animals²⁴.

Such accusations reflect the local experience of the multitude of their rights being violated. Since their lifestyles as small-scale farmers are closely connected to their natural surroundings, the locals claim that the mining not only harms their own health, it violates their livelihoods by lowering the agricultural production and livestock raising. Furthermore, the conceptions of rights violations are not, again, limited to the rights of individual campesinos and their communities. One interviewee states that everything, the whole climate, is “sick” and changing²⁵ because of the mining activities. By the “sick climate” he refers to all the health problems and contamination experienced by people, animals, plants and ecosystems in the region. These conceptualizations construct an understanding of nature as a subject of rights (see Smith & Pangsapa 2008), which can also be seen as large singular entity entailing everything from plants and ecosystems to animals and even people. Another interviewee talks about “Mother Earth” (*Madre Tierra*), exclaiming that the mining companies “attack against the whole world, against life, against Mother Earth”²⁶. Such humanising is a further indicator of a perspective of nature as a subject of rights.

Such rights of nature create duties for people (Smith & Pangsapa 2008). For many locals, then, the water and the nature are something that need to be defended, for both environmental and social reasons. One interviewee proclaims that they would “protest until death... only for the water”. The duty to protect one’s natural surroundings reflects a bioregional approach (Nixon 2011, 238), as the campesinos assume responsibility of protecting one’s local part of the earth. The interviewee who talks about Mother Earth, however, is connecting the local duties with global ones. She constructing ideas of citizen duties on both local and global scales, recognising that environmental issues in the local bioregion are connected to environmental problems on a global scale (Nixon 2011, 238).

However, María, a nurse from the health centre in the village (*centro poblado*) of Combayo, does not confirm the health problems and threat of contamination. The health centre in Combayo is a busy one, providing health care for over ten hamlets in the area.

“The mine... Personally, for me, it’s not a bad thing. I mean, in itself, it helps many people. More than anything, by [giving] work. [...] It [negative effects] can appear in the health of the children, more than anything. We don’t have this... diagnosis about the metals that have gone, that we don’t have yet. We don’t have. The most common disease here are parasites, injuries, nothing more. [...] I think that everything affects, so the climate as well, everything. Myself, I don’t think it would affect much because... It would affect in that everything in... We don’t have children that are born sick like that, no no no. I

²⁴ Male 40+, 25.2.2015

²⁵ Male 40+, Chogopampa, 25.2.2015

²⁶ Female ~30, Celendín, 21.3.2015

also don't know the situation very well because I have been only half a year here in this health centre. Yes, we are all almost new here."

(María, Combayo, 8.3.2015)

María mentions the lack of studies on the levels of heavy metal in the waters of Sorochuco region. As mentioned in section 2.2, such a study found alarming levels of cadmium, arsenic and lead in the food and water consumed by people of Cajamarca, closer to the Yanacocha mine (Barenys et al 2014). Such studies have the potential to provide verification for and draw the attention to the health concerns of the locals, thus giving more weight of their experiences of rights violations. As no studies like that of Barenys et al have been conducted around the district of Sorochuco, they are left with little tools to challenge the environmental discourse of the company. However, as explained in chapter 2.2, the dietary study of Barenys et al was also quickly criticized (Krieger and Kester 2015). Interviewees in the city of Cajamarca also report that the study has had no impact.

[Manuel:] *"They have said and they have shown that the waters in Cajamarca, this water that we consume in Cajamarca, has heavy metals in it."*

[JV:] *"And even this study did not have any impact?"*

[Manuel:] *"They say yes, it is contaminated, but the mining company has not done anything until now. The mining company Yanacocha has affected the quantity and quality of water of all of the basins, which are used for human consumption, for animals, and for plants."*

(Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015)

Also, some interviewees say that all the health issues around Cajamarca are not being spoken of. The locals claim that the publicity about health problems is controlled by the mining company, which takes advantage of people's poverty in order to silence their claims over environmental and health violations.

"She is very sick. [...] They don't even let her family visit her. Yanacocha takes care of the education of her daughter and the rent of her apartment. So that they would be quiet. [...] There are other people who say they have suffered from toxicities, and we don't know more because they are embmeticos, they pay them, they give them money. That's how it is. There are a lot of people who say they have health problems. But while they pay them, nothing happens." (Male 40+, Cajamarca, March 2015)

"Also in Cajamarca they found various children with lead in their blood. This... Who supports them, those who this happens to, the family? Because you know that health is expensive. How much does this health cost you, no? Because the insurance as well, what does it give you? One simple general medicine: tranquilizers." (Female 30+, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

Fear of contamination is something shared also by the people who in general see Conga in a positive light. Some people say that they are still unable to decide whether or not they support the project, because they are not fully aware of the environmental impacts it might have. Among the people I talked to, Jaime, the person working in the mines, seemed to be among the very few who were convinced that Conga could be realized in an environmentally sustainable way. Jaime also says that in the current Yanacocha mine, the environment is being taken into account and he has not witnessed any problems. He emphasises that as a Peruvian, he would definitely act if he witnessed any contamination taking place. He also considers, then, that as a national citizen, he has some responsibilities towards the environment.

"I think that if everything is done in a responsible way, we can create a clean mine. Without problems, nothing. [...] [In Yanacocha] [E]verything is in accordance with what the law says, no? In other words, it is not allowed to have any fuel spills. We also have an emergency plan that clarifies all this. [...] I have not seen things stick out from normal, no? But as a person and being Peruvian, if I see that they are contaminating the lands, I would grab my phone and there's a number where you can report. And the emergency [unit] comes and they ask, where has the spill occurred, what has happened, and there is investigation, all of that."

(Jaime, Cajamarca, 12.3.2015)

Other interviewees are not as trustful. The way the mining company and the state handled the Choropampa case (see 2.2) and other environmental problems have created an ambience of a fear and insecurity: the locals see that their lives are not given value by the mining company and the state. One interviewee comments that if Conga goes on, "we will die like the fish"²⁷. Many locals do not have the means to justify their fears in technological terms because they do not have the possibility to read and evaluate environmental impact assessments of Conga and other mining projects. There are some, however, who have themselves looked carefully into these documents and found alarming dangers in them. Luis, one of the university interviewees, describes how the area of influence of the project is much larger than generally is spoken of, and how great the danger of toxic spills from the tailing pool is, especially because of its size and location in a zone where heavy rains and "El Niño" storms hit quite often. The toxics of the pool also would not disappear over the years: it would stay as a "permanent focus of death"²⁸.

Some expect that the worst environmental effects would be seen only years after starting the project. The excavations would last for a certain number of years, but the nature could never be restored back

²⁷ Female 36, Chircapampa, 9.2.2015

²⁸ Luis, Cajamarca, 24.3.2015

to how it was. In addition to those of their own communities and the environment, the locals discuss the rights of future generations.

“What will we leave for the future? Destruction and contamination!” (Male 38, Faro Bajo, 25.2.2015)

In the understanding of this interviewee, and many others, the future generations are an important rights-holders as well. The necessity to include future generations in the political processes has been challenged, claiming that the present generation has limited knowledge on what would ultimately be in the interests of future generations (Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 55). For most locals in Cajamarca, however, future generations are an obvious reason to resist alterations in their natural environments. On the other hand, other locals would discuss the future generations as the reason to be in favour of mining. I will discuss these reasons in the next section.

For some locals, in addition to the future generations, also the past generations are subjects of certain rights. Some would emphasise the importance to consider the past generations when making political choices in the present. This would be most pronounced when the interviewees were talking about the ownership over lands and about who has the right to sell them to the mining company or other outsiders. Some would even consider the past generations as still owning the lands, and that the mining company has “taken them” from the ancestors.

“We, our ancestors, have acquired them... That the other provinces, that is Bambamarca, those gentlemen there have taken the lands from the ancestors. Those lands... There is a large number of land that belongs to the whole community of Sorochuco.”

(Male 44, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

Incas lived in these areas centuries ago – the last Inca Emperor Atahualpa was assassinated by the Spanish in the city of Cajamarca (Identidad Perú 2013). As described in the previous section, Manuel, the interviewee who identifies himself as indigenous, defines some lakes and other locations as “sacred”. He also emphasises that the forefathers (*antepasados*) have left paths and other valuable landmarks that should be protected. For him, as well as other locals, the Inca history of the area is another reason to protect it from change. For them, the past generations are still present in traditions and myths, and limit the possibility to attribute decision-making to merely a small oligarchy (see Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 55). The local traditions, and especially myths of the famous Inca, can thus become tools to be used in the struggle against the multi-national companies. These social, cultural and historical meanings of the natural locations highlight the necessity to preserve them.

Land ownership and selling lands to the mining companies are issues that cause strong disagreement among the campesinos around Cajamarca. As described above, some would consider that selling the lands is unacceptable since they belong to the ancestors. Many would say that selling lands to a mining company should be a collective decision, because it affects the whole community. This was a popular view among our interviewees, who were predominantly from the lower parts of the mountains, whereas most of the families who have sold lands to the company are from the upper parts. Some claim that “those from the upper part” take their money and move away, leaving the people in the lower parts to suffer from the consequences of the mining activities through the loss of traditional water sources and through contamination. Others, however, would state that individual ownership over the land must be respected. Many of the interviewees have family members, neighbours or other people they know who have sold land to the mining company. In some cases, one member of a family has sold land without consulting other members of the family. Also the family I was living with during the fieldwork had cut all ties with a relative who had single-handedly sold a piece of their land to the company.

Jorge, one mayor (*alcalde*) of a village, says that several people have come to him because they want to sell land, asking him to contact the company to make the agreements. In fact, during the interview one villager, an old man, came to visit Jorge’s office. When the man heard us talking about the mining projects, he said he also would like to sell a few hectares. Jorge thinks he is obliged to try and arrange land sells if the private owners want to do so. In his view, each land-owner has the right to decide individually or with the family. The only problem Jorge mentioned in selling the lands is that at least for the moment, the mining company is not buying them.

When discussing land ownership, then, the interviewees showed much disagreement over community or individual rights, and, in fact, illustrate differing views on individual and collective citizenship (Lazar 2013; Arendt 2013 [1951]). While most campesinos, even the ones supportive of mining, would consider protecting the waterways as the communal responsibility, their ideas would differ more on the matter of land ownership. Many would not agree with the interviewee above, male from Salacat, who says that the lands belong to the “community of Sorochuco”. He does not make a difference between the current community and the “ancestors”.

Often the debates over rights to sell or not to sell the lands are strongly affected by the position taken by the mining company. The family I lived with during fieldwork had tried to cancel the transaction over the lands the unpopular relative had sold, but the company has easily refused to do so. The interviewees also told us about other occasions where the company would have found its ways of acquiring the lands, even when the residents would have not wanted to do so.

“They [the authorities] have sold the lands. There is corruption there. They donated things, collected signatures, and made it pass as an accordance of the campesino community. Because they [the authorities] cannot sell lands if there is no authorization

from the community. [...] They bought their lands, took their buildings, of people who had not even sold. And when they had been sold, the company disappeared. And then the people went to complain to the mines, because they had taken their property that they had never sold. Then, the mining companies told them, either you sell, or you are interfering with the mines. Many people gave in to this pressure. This family, the Chaupe, said I will not sell to you, and the company said look, you are interfering with the mines. We have influence on the judges, the prosecutors, the police, no? We are an elephant and you are a flea. But the family decided not to sell their lands."

(Male ~40, Celendín, 20.3.2015)

Many locals talk about acquaintances who have been offered jobs in the mine in order to convince them to sell their lands. For them, the offer for paid labour was more appealing than their traditional position as small-scale farmers, with a less stable and reliable income. Some of those who had made such a deal apparently are still working for the mines, but most had not been hired past the trial period of a few months. After that, they would have found themselves without work and land, observing how much profit the mining company is making on the lands.

"They gave work for six months to a compañero who sold his lands, and now he is in poverty. They have sold the land for a 100 soles, where the mines are making millions of do dollars. They are not even capable of sharing."

(Male ~40, Celendín, 20.3.2015)

Manuel, as well, has left his lands because of the mines. This happened in the 1990s before the opening of the Yanacocha mine. In 1990, representatives from the mining company came to Manuel's former village, San Andres de Negritos, to offer work and a donation of 1500 soles for a construction of a school, in exchange for 620 hectares of the community lands. Dozens of locals agreed, including Manuel, excited about the possibility of paid labour. Up until then, the locals had no former experience of very large mines in their region. However, as time passed, the locals learnt that the promised employment was non-existent. Manuel and around 140 other community members started making complaints in order to cancel the transaction and regain their lands. Manuel still has copies of these complaints, which he showed me. Soon after the complaints, these people began to get expropriated from the lands they still were living on. Manuel tells how he learnt that he was living on a land that suddenly had been registered belonging to his illiterate neighbour. This neighbour then sold the land to Yanacocha. Manuel, among others from the community, had no other option but to move away. Manuel moved to the city of Cajamarca, where he still lives today. He says he never received anything for the lands he lost.

Interestingly, Manuel talks both about the need to protect and impossibility to own "sacred" places, and about how he did not receive compensation from the land that he owned. In other words, Manuel both laments that his rights over land ownership have been violated, and that land ownership violates the

rights of the nature. It is clear that among the locals there are different ways to relate to the nature and land ownership, and as Manuel's dual discourse indicates, contradicting perspectives might even be present in the way a single individual speaks. These seemingly different perspectives, however, might have more in common than they have differences. They all imply a bioregional approach (see Nixon 2011; chapter 4.2.3 in this study), a strong commitment to place and its resources. The lakes, rivers, and lands are special to the locals, for various reasons. This commitment is highlighted by the reluctance to even consider the possibility to replace the lakes with artificial waters, or to consider moving out of the area.

In defending what they consider as their rights over the lands, as well as in resisting the artificial lakes they contemplate as violations, the locals face the problem of not using the same type of discourse and official data as their powerful counterparts. In the case of land ownership, this usually means lack of official documents. Although Manuel does have official documents to present, stories about who has lived where and for how long are often oral, local knowledge within the community, lacking the back-up from official documents. The people might even have imprecise or erroneous birth certificates and ID cards. Lacking such written documents makes it difficult to make claims over rights and fight against a company that uses such tools. In the case of the Chaupe family (see chapter 2.4), Maxima was able to provide written proof, such as the document of her land title, with the help of a lawyer. Still, despite winning the law suit, the pressure on the Chaupe family has continued (Gruffides 3.2.2016). Luis, one of the interviewees from a university in Cajamarca, worries that there is still the danger of forced relocation for Maxima and other campesinos, if the Conga project continues.

"[There are] campesinos that have been displaced from their lands, and others will be displaced. It's already there, the case of lady Maxima, they want to expel her, right? In spite of her having lived there for such a long time... Others have already been convinced to sell their lands to the mines, no? So this, for example, what does this mean? Dislocation of the people who used to occupy the jalca, now where are these people going to migrate? Generally, into the cities, increasing the problems [...] by forming various margins and so on."

(Luis, Cajamarca, 24.3.2015)

When the company has acquired the lands, using more or less questionable means, it is quite difficult in general to regain them. For some locals, the more or less official acquirement of lands seems to mean that Yanacocha is entitled to continue with its project, and it will. Jaime, the mine worker, refers to the case of Cerro Quilish, where Yanacocha also has a mining project, but also is not currently operating due to local resistance (see chapter 2.4). He states that although the lands "belong to" Yanacocha, for social reasons the company has not entered these areas yet, but only "until they can exploit them later". Jaime also points out how much the company is losing money as it cannot continue with the Conga project,

despite having acquired the lands and brought in all the heavy machinery. The locals do have, however, their ways of pursuing what they consider as their rights. I will come back to these ways in section 5.2.

5.1.2 Demands for work and development

If the fear of natural destruction is the most common argument against the Conga project and other mines in the area, expectations of work and development projects are the most common arguments for it. Those of my informants that had cautiously positive or rather neutral attitudes towards the Conga project usually mentioned the idea that mining could bring work for them. In the area, wage work is an option only for very few.

“Without Conga, there is nothing here, no work, nothing.” (Female 30+, Cochapampa, 7.2.2015)

This campesina equates the lack of paid labour with nothingness, thus articulating a strong statement of not having any options. She, as well as other interviewees, sees paid labour as the only way to rise from poverty. Often, these interviewees would mention the possible environmental degradation with concern, unhappy that in order to be able to feed themselves and their children, they might have to accept putting environment at risk. This highlights how the environmental concerns are inseparable from the social and economic concerns (see Alonso, Costa and Maciel 2010, 140). Also María, the nurse we interviewed, thinks that Conga would be a good thing. She argues that the mines would give the campesinos working on their farms another option, securing the future of their children. According to her, creating economic stability through mining employment would result in healthier communities than continuing to depend on small-scale agriculture which, although environmentally sustainable, is rather insecure means of self-sustaining.

Rodríguez-Carmona and Castro (2013) would describe such views in terms of “imaginaries of poverty” opposed to other types of social imaginaries. Cajamarca is a poor area, and the solutions offered by the company and the state bring hope for many locals. Furthermore, other supporters would rationalize their support for Conga in a more simple way; one interviewee just shook his shoulders and said, “We all want money.”²⁹ His social imaginary in relation to the mines is not equal to the one of the female above, who sees that there are no other options but mining in the area. He does not support Conga – at least not only – because he sees no other options to sustain the existence of his community, but because he considers that everyone should have the right to have a secure job and gain wealth.

²⁹ Male ~30, Llavique, 9.2.2015

Also Jorge, the mayor of one of the villages, dreams about a future where “everyone” in his village would have work in the mines. He strongly believes that what his village needs is the development and paid labour that can only, or at least most conveniently, be achieved through mining activities.

“The mine can buy more than one of us, it has a lot of money. And how would it be, if it they gave us work, land, we would eat well. [...] There would be work, jobs for all the people.

(Jorge, 27.2.2015)

We spoke to some campesinos who know of neighbours or acquaintances that have previously worked in Yanacocha or other mines, or even have done so themselves. However, usually the locals had not worked for more than two or three months, apparently, not lasting past the trial period. Some exclaim that the explanations on why they had not been hired for a longer period were arbitrary and void. They suspect that the company never planned on hiring them permanently, offering them short-term employment just to “fool” them. Most of the more long-term mine workers in Yanacocha and other mining projects come from outside the region, most notably from other parts of Peru. This is the case with Jaime, the only interviewee who has worked in Yanacocha for years. Some locals also claimed that only people from the communities closest to the mining projects get to work at the mines. Manuel bitterly remarks the lack of indigenous employees at Yanacocha.

“How many indigenous work at Yanacocha? Zero per cent. Nobody. Despite that they have taken our lands, they have ruined our waters, they have destroyed our paths. They do not give opportunities.

(Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015)

It is notable that even for Manuel, who is strongly against Conga and other mines altering the lands of the ancestors, working in the mines would be an “opportunity”. Many others use a similar discourse, assuming the right to be offered work in the mines because they live in the area and are the ones affected by the projects.

“A campesino goes to ask for work and they turn their backs to him. Who are the ones who work? Those from outside. They come from other parts to work. But for us, the affected, they don’t give work for us. To nobody.”

(Male 32, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

As described in the previous section, in some cases like that of Manuel’s, representatives from the mining company have explicitly promised work in exchange for territories. Others base their claims on the promises of the company, as it officially justifies mining projects with the local employment they create (Newmont Mining Corporation 2013, 1-2). According to the logic of many, if the locals have to

accept an “intrusion” to their lands, they should at least be compensated with employment. One interviewee sees giving employment to the locals an important part of a responsible project: “if they would do it with responsibility, utilising the people from the area”³⁰. Other interviewees emphasise that among the locals as well, there are many kinds of professionals, who could and should be working instead of workforce brought from outside the region.

Those locals, who make claims for work and development as a result of the mining activities on the area, are, in T.H. Marshall’s terms (1983 [1950]), defining and claiming their right to economic welfare. These rights are, as the rights to land and waters, primarily based on local spaces. The locals consider that they are entitled to claim a fair proportion of economic rights, because they are the ones living in the area. However, they also draw on their economic rights on a national level, as they refer to the unequal distribution of benefits the nation-scale. These claims find some ground in the promises of the mining company to bring development and work (Newmont Mining Corporation 2013), as well as in some laws such as the mining royalty law (Ley de Canon, 2006/27506). I will come back to this law in section 5.2.3.

Jaime, however, questions the assumption of locals having a privilege to work at the mines:

“I can work at various places, it’s normal. But yes, I understand that this irritates people. Because the majority of cajamarquinos want to work at Yanacocha, because of the benefits... The salary, all of that. These guys can’t work at Yanacocha because they lack experience, or they lack training in something. But the company is doing activities to give information to these guys, so that they can work later. Guys have entered, from the area of influence, guys to drive the trucks. Little by little they are... creating a good relationship with the society, friendly, no, so that there would not be any conflicts or anything. [...] Yanacocha had a bad reputation because of these themes, right? The majority of the people who work are not from here, they are from outside. And... supposedly there is jealousy in the society, right? They feel jealous and do not see it well.”

(Jaime, Cajamarca, 12.3.2015)

Jaime thinks that the locals’ claims for the right to work in the mines are sparked by jealousy, and that the company has the right to hire the most experienced and capable workers they can find, regardless of their place of origin. Jaime himself had years of experience of mine work in other parts of the country before finding the job at Yanacocha. Jaime considers that the mining company is doing more than should be expected from it when it tries to capacitate the locals, so that they too would be able to work in the mine, and gives them two or three months of trial. He argues that the mining company has no obligation to keep the workers after the trial period, if they are deemed not suitable for the job.

Jaime supposes, though, that finding job opportunities might not be equally easy for the locals, many of whom do not use the internet. Jaime found his job online, as many other jobs before this one. He suggests

³⁰ Male 40, Uñigan Criollo, February 2015

there should be an employment agency in Cajamarca to inform the locals about the open positions, in order to ensure equal opportunities to apply. The possibility that applying for the jobs would be considerably more difficult for the campesinos than for other Peruvians shows a structural obstacle that violates the rights of the locals. While the locals consider to have the right to be offered work first – which is also a view promoted by the company (Newmont Mining Corporation 2013) – they are not particularly favoured in the hiring process.

While some locals still have hopes for work opportunities at Conga, others are more cynical. For many people, the theme of employment has converted into another argument against the project, instead of an argument for it. For them, there is no reason for Conga, because it does not even bring work. One interviewee³¹ ridicules the idea of Conga bringing work for the locals by a simple calculation. If the mine gives work for three months to three people from his hamlet, then rotating the workers so that everyone in the hamlet of 160 inhabitants could have a turn, he would be dead before his turn. Of course, this calculation is not based on employment rates promised by the mining company, nor does it take a stand on whether or not the company *should* provide work for the locals. What it does is that it demonstrates the ridiculousness of the whole idea that all or even most of the locals *could* be able to work in the mines, even if they were favoured in the hiring process as promised.

Development projects are another potential positive outcome that some locals expect from mining activities, and among job opportunities, the favourite justification for mines on behalf of the government and mining companies (Newmont Mining Corporation 2013). After all, mining is the single most important source of income and economic growth for the state (Ministerio de Energía y Minas del Perú 2015). Some locals point out, for example, the bad conditions of roads and need for supplies in their schools and health centres, hoping that the mining companies could help to improve these things. Others suggest that the mining companies could support them by constructing factories that would generate employment in the long term. Jorge, the mayor of one village, listed various things that his community needs, from improvement of roads to building a new municipality.

“This is what we are waiting for, giving opportunity. The capacity building is very good, when some professionals come to build capacities... We are here to wait for them.”

(Jorge, 27.2.2015)

Jorge also mentions that Yanacocha has already supported his community by, for example, supporting the construction of a school. Also some other interviewees reported that Yanacocha has supported them in some ways. Through its civil association FONGREAGRO (see chapter 2.2), Yanacocha has taken part in improving roads and schools in a few communities. In the community of Ocscha, locals say

³¹ Male 34, Tablacucho, 26.2.2015

FONGREAGRO has come to build a kindergarten. Others say they have received some shoes, potato seeds, plant medicine, as well as computers and other supplies for their schools. During the fieldwork, I saw some locals using caps, shoes and mugs with the logo of Yanacocha or the Conga project.

However, almost all the interviewees who reported having received something from Yanacocha are not satisfied with what they have been given. People say that what they have received has been quite random and short-term, and even complain about the bad quality of the shoes and other items received. One interviewee, who says Yanacocha has participated in some road works and “other small projects” in his community, criticises the company for not consulting the people about what they need. Some would exclaim that they consider the support to be a “hoax” (*un engaño*), which is only meant to improve the company’s image, “so they can claim they have done something” and “hide what a mining project really means”. Some interviewees say that they are grateful for the kindergarten or other work done by FONGREAGRO, and the work the association had given for some locals during its projects. Still, they considered the main purpose of these projects was merely “winning over” the locals. One interviewee asks:

“What will we do with the money, schools, if we are sick?” (Female 60+, Cochapampa, 7.2.2015)

For these people, then, the development projects are nothing more than another form of agrarian exclusion (see Wittman 2010). The locals consider that they are being controlled with such “false” support, which is considered to be meant to distract them from the negative impacts of mining on the society and on the nature. In addition, the development projects can be considered a form of agrarian exclusion because they might create dependence on or gratitude towards actors outside local and national communities. This strips the locals of much power over decision-making, and the ability to criticise the companies that they would depend on.

However, in most of the villages and hamlets we visited, people said they have received absolutely nothing from the mining company. There are rumours of some communities in the upper parts, closer to Yanacocha and Conga, receiving something; many sorochoquinos are talking, for example, about the “beautiful houses” of a hamlet called Agua Blanca. People claim that these upper hamlets are the only communities that receive real benefits through selling lands, getting employment and receiving solar panels and other things from the mining company. One interviewee explains that the company gives something only to those people and hamlets who are openly supportive of Conga. Many also locals speak of how they have heard other mining companies doing a better job in other parts of Peru, providing “better” more equally distributed support.

Still, the locals consider that there are those who benefit from the mines much more than Agua Blanca or any other hamlet. They are seen to be people from the coast and cities, corrupt politicians, and “the foreigners”. The people who benefit from the mines might be difficult to point out specifically, but they clearly are not “us”, the local campesinos.

“They take away our wealth, they come from other places to fool us.” (Male 40+, Chogopampa, 25.2.2015)

“They [the politicians] say they don’t, but under their ponchos they receive...” (Female 36, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

“We don’t even know what the gold is, here the foreigners from another country take it from us.” (Male ~30, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

In the interviews, these statements are often accompanied by the notion that during the years that Yanacocha has been in the region, poverty in Cajamarca has deepened (see chapter 2.1). This fact was raised in many interviews. Some campesinos describe the area as a “disaster” despite its location next to a gold mine. Many would consider this as the key problem with mining. They argue that since they are the ones who live next to the mining areas, they should receive a fair amount of the wealth generated by the mines through development projects, as well as through work opportunities.

“They say that mines bring development. What development do we have?” (Male ~40, Chogopampa, 25.2.2015)

“They enter our areas, our lands, and don’t give us anything.” (Female ~30, Tandayoc, 27.2.2015)

There are differences, however, in relation to whom these rights create duties to. Some locals merge the state and the mining company as they talk about who should be the responsible for providing them the work and development projects. Some interviewees even criticize the mining company for acting through FONGREGRO, the development foundation, and not working “directly” with the locals, “as they should”. Jorge, one of the mayors, refers to the responsibility of the “engineers” to come down to his village to “discuss”, but sees that the companies have the final right to decide how and where they want to distribute their support. This topic was also repeatedly raised by Jaime, the mine worker, who sees it problematic. He thinks that a private company is not responsible for development projects, and anything the mining company might be doing to support the locals is extra in relation to the responsibilities of the company, an act of good will and a sign of social responsibility.

"The one to take care of us is the government, not a private company. However, it also provides support to these people. [...] It is not expected that a company provides us with the water and services, no? If we have a government responsible for that."

(Jaime, Cajamarca, 12.3.2015)

Manuel, the indigenous person living in the city, points out that this type of merging is already taking place in the activities of the mine. When describing how the company acquired the lands of his former home village through "donating" money for a school, Manuel remarks: "The mine does what the state should be doing".³² He suggests that the activities and rhetoric of the companies and the state create the ground for such expectations and claims of the locals.

Another way to view economic rights in this case is through the right to livelihood, which some locals are referring to as they emphasise that they live on farming and cattle raising. One interviewee states that "cattle are the best mine"³³, and that the state's responsibility is to defend the locals' rights in the occupation they have chosen. People presenting such views are among those that would reject the idea of benefits from the mines, as they see that receiving benefits from the mines would eventually harm their own positions as agriculturists. These people question the model of development offered by the government and the mining companies, creating their own alternatives. For them, the dangers posed by mining projects to the environment, health, and local livelihoods cannot be compensated by a distribution of material wealth. During the fieldwork, I also saw caps where the embroidered mountains of the Conga logo still remained, but the word "Conga" had been carefully removed.

"We are not interested in money, we don't want that, we want the water." (Female 50, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

"We are used to living without money. [...] We don't want the mines to give us anything!" (Female 44, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

While some locals, then, see the mines as a necessity to combat the "nothingness" of the area without them, and consider as their locally based right to benefit from the mines, others see that the extraction projects are what endangers their economic rights by making it impossible to reach local decisions over livelihoods and development. In Hoetmer's terms (2013), the people claiming benefits and work from the mines are engaged in a conflict of coexistence, where they expect to be able to continue living in their communities, but are negotiating over the ways that the mines can and should exist in their areas. Others, then, see that there is a conflict of alternatives, since the communities and their agricultural

³² Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015

³³ Male 52, Tadayoc, 27.2.2015

lifestyle cannot exist side by side with mining projects. One interviewee, for example, considers that there is “nothing” in the area *with* the mines:

“I am occupied by agriculture... They [the national government] should defend agriculture, like they say, rural areas that live from agriculture. This is what I want. [...] Because if not, we are nothing. Here that is what we live off, the lands.”

(Male ~30, Sorochocho, 30.1.2015)

5.1.3 Criticizing the political process

Almost all the campesinos we spoke to, including those that are more supportive of the Conga project, are unhappy with the lack of information and prior consultation about Conga and other mining projects. In most of the hamlets and villages we visited, locals complain that representatives from the mining company or the authorities have never informed them about the project. Many only heard about the project when the company started buying the lands, and the word about the project started to spread across the region. In some hamlets, however, people exclaimed that there had been reunions, where the locals had been strongly against the project. Several interviewees bitterly remark that the opinions expressed in these consultations have had no impact on whether or not the project continues.

On other occasions, the consultations are reported to have been closed events, where only the village authorities and/or invited villagers have been able to participate. In some locations, different people have opposite replies to the question whether or not there had been a consultation event. This indicates that the event might have been a closed one, or that the information about it had not been spread very openly. In the hamlet of Faro Bajo, for example, some campesinos say there had been no such event, while a few others claim they have participated in one. There, they say they received information about the Conga project. Apparently, most attenders had been supportive of the project, on the condition that it brings work and development for their village. It might not be a coincidence that the few interviewees who said they had participated in the information event in Faro Bajo all expressed positive or neutral attitudes towards the project.

In another hamlet, one interviewee reported to have participated in what he knew was a closed event.

“He had taken part in a “consultation” organized by the mining company. The event was invite-only. The invited people had first been driven around in cars, and then they had been asked to sign something they were told was a “lunch list”. Later they found out that what they had signed was a document in favour for the mining project. He claims this is how the mining company managed to get a “social license” from the villagers. If the consultation had been honest and open, he thinks people would not have signed.”

(Male, 45; extraction from field diary 25.2.2015)

Similarly to the development projects, then, some interviewees have experienced consultation events to be a form a hoax and humiliation. While meant to be events respecting the political rights and agency of the locals, they turn out to be another form of agrarian exclusion (Wittman 2010). This notion is further strengthened by remarks from other informants, who said that the events that were supposed to be informative, had not touched upon all aspects of a mining project. One informant³⁴ says he participated in a consultation event where he was the only one to make critical comments about Conga, raising the issues of water and contamination. He says other locals attending the event had been silent about these themes. He thinks this is because the others “do not want to know the truth” or might even have been bribed to support the project. Such arguments, whether or not they are true, reflect the deep distrust in the consultation process.

In the small town of Celendín, we were told that there had been an information event called “dialogue Thursday” (*jueves de diálogo*).

“They had a day which they called the Dialogue Thursday, which was... A space where they informed... According to them, they informed [people] about their project, right? But really they informed... They said, look, we are going to give work, the situation is going to improve, the health is going to improve, we are going to cease poverty, which really are very strong arguments for people who are waiting for this, right? And then... In 2006 the mining company closes its offices here in Celendín, saying look, it’s likely that the project won’t go, we are going to enter a stage of evaluation, because it has marginal costs and we will see if the project is implemented. And they removed their offices in Celendín, and at the end of the year 2009, they came back, but to present their environmental impact assessment. In other words, they had done this... closing their offices in a strategical way. And by the end of 2009 they start to present their studies about the environmental impact and say, good, in 2010-2011 we will be starting. And we said, what? Wasn’t it supposed to be a project of marginal cost? They came to present the results of their environmental impact assessment study, and this is one of the last phases before the approval and before getting started.”

(Male ~40, Celendín, 20.3.2015)

The interviewee considers that the company will only inform the communities as much as they want to, thus using information as a strategic tool. He thinks that another strategical solution is choosing to use the name “Conga” instead of the actual name of the company, Yanacocha, to avoid the negative image of the company caused by the current mine. The interviewee claims many people did not initially know that Conga is a project of Yanacocha. Similarly, many people complain that the company is not giving information about the current status of the Conga project. Yanacocha is present in the project area, and as mentioned in section 5.1.1, some locals report having witnessed some activities like groundwater pumping taking place. Carmen, an interviewee from Grufides, says:

³⁴ Male 40+, Chogopampa, 25.2.2015

“Although the mines and the state say that the project is halted, it really is not halted. They have continued making their reservoirs, to move things forward, so that supposedly this project would have the viability.”

(Carmen, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015)

The two mayors we interviewed, Jorge and Pedro, are also not satisfied with the consultation and information specifically from the part of the mining company. Jorge explains that some “engineer” had come to his village to buy lands and “collect signatures” (apparently for the social license), saying there would be another meeting to give more information about the project at some point in the future. By the time of the interview, this second meeting had not taken place. Jorge had tried to contact the engineer, but was told he has been replaced with another engineer. Jorge describes how he tried to appeal to this new engineer:

“I inform you that I want a reunion... I want a reunion, with you and with the people. I will bring the people together.’ There must be a representative from the Conga. We want that they inform us, but no. They don’t come to us, they don’t call us. What can we do?”

(Jorge, 27.2.2015)

Pedro, another mayor, also complains that the locals had not been consulted or informed well or truthfully. He has heard that proper consultations have taken place only in other areas where, according to Pedro, the Conga project would have less impact. He says that he and other authorities have tried to inform the locals, but their information conflicts with the information from the mining company.

“What happens is that here, they proceed without informing well, they inform as they like, as they see fit. But we [the local authorities] inform differently, and the people start having contradictions, who should they believe? The municipality or the mines?”

(Pedro, 18.3.2015)

Jaime, the mine worker, again has a different perspective on what the company should be responsible for. He turns the question of “dialogue” to be an issue between the people and the government, criticizing how *the government* and other authorities have handled the theme of consultations and giving information. It is true that, when the theme of consultations and information was covered in the interviews, most people speak of the mining company or do not seem to make a difference between the company and the politicians. This is explained by the way the locals see most authorities having taken the side of the mining company. Manuel words this as the companies “placing their own authorities”:

“Everything is being controlled here. They are controlling us politically and economically... They place their authorities themselves.”

(Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015)

Many others, as well, talk about the company's power over choosing the authorities. One interviewee even claims that some engineers of Yanacocha had come to their village before the municipality elections to convince people to vote for a party that is supportive of mining investment. Many would word the connection between the politicians and the companies the other way round, in that the mines are opened "for the authorities", to benefit them only or mostly. One interviewee considers that the amount of money the politicians have to spend on their electorate campaigns would not make sense, if this would not be compensated later:

"Now, for example, the big campaigns to become a mayor in these municipalities that receive a large quantity of profit... [...] I mean, everything they invest to reach the municipality, it is not going to get repaid by the salary they get as authorities. So, why do they go? To obtain. To corrupt, no? And this is what the mining company is promoting. That is what it is pushing. The centros poblados, I do not know if it happens in Sorochocho, but for the centros poblados, how are the campaigns now? For the district, right? And why? If they do not gain their salary. It is for them to negotiate with the mines."

(Male ~40, Celendín, 20.3.2015)

Of individual politicians, the President Ollanta Humala receives the most criticism from the locals. Because he drastically changed his approach after being elected (see chapter 2.3), the locals see him as a "traitor". In addition, he is criticized for the political and legal decisions he has passed in order to oppress the local movements and protests against mining. One interviewee bitterly remarks:

"Who has the most to eat? First of all, the national government... Second comes the local government, and the people, they are left behind. And who suffers? The local people. The national government, who comes and counts the riches of Peru, can go where it wants, to a country where he wants [to go]."

(Male ~30, Sorochocho, 30.1.2015)

Again, the locals emphasise that the benefits from the mines flow outside their local spheres. In their situation, they see the centres of power strongly rooted still in urban spaces, and the agrarian lands are left in the periphery of political articulation – as they have been historically around the world (Wittman 2013 [2009]). The locals are criticising the false democracy, which derogates the view of the campesinos, and leaves them in dispossession of the decision-making over the lands they live on and from. This, as well, is a common argument of agrarian movements (Bebbington et al 2008). The locals, as well as others, might have the technical and legal rights to political participation, but lack the real power participate in governing the development of landed resources (see Wittman 2013 [2009]).

Some of the regional and local authorities, on the other hand, receive much more support from the locals we talked to. The regional president Gregorio Santos has been openly against mining projects in the area, and many see him as a “great leader” and a key figure in opposition to the mines. The fact that Santos was imprisoned due to accusations on corruption divides opinions. Some say that the accusations are false, and just a strategical move from the national government to “clear Santos out of their way”. Others, though, take the accusations of corruption as an indicator of Santos being a “traitor” as well. Jaime, the mine worker, thinks that Santos has merely benefited the mining conflict in order to advance his own political career. Yet other interviewees say they do not care that much of whether or not Santos had been guilty of acts of corruption. For them, the most important thing is that Santos helped them to “defend our waters”³⁵.

Opinions about the local governments differ perhaps most sharply among the interviewees. Some authorities are seen to have been “bought” by the mining company, while others are considered to be “defending the locals”. Even the same mayors are seen in a different light by different locals: one interviewee would be thanking a mayor for supporting the locals, while another would consider this mayor suspicious. Some would criticise their local mayors for not gathering the people to discuss about the mines, while others have high hopes of them doing so in the future.

Jorge, one of the mayors, says the authorities cannot argue against the people, who own property and are in favour of the mines:

“The majority... Here in the population there are many who agree with the mines as well. We cannot say no. To each population... It is property of the people, we cannot say no, right? It is their property.”

(Jorge, 27.2.2015)

Other interviewees would have a different perspective on what are the duties of the authorities. They consider that “defending” and “supporting” the people and the water is what the authorities should do, and as they do not, they turn into a problem.

“We demand from the authorities that... We defend the water and they should accompany us. They do not want to, they rather denounce us. They are a problem.”

(Male 44, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

“[We want] that he [the national president] would defend the people, that he would defend, like they say, progress and employment... Say, if I am an agriculturist, he should defend agriculture, like they say, the countryside that lives from agriculture. That is what I want. [...] What if our government in our country supported us? We would be the maximum in Peru. But miss, we don’t have support from our government, the national government... The

³⁵ Male 50+, Salacat, 3.2.2015

regional government wanted to do much for us but unfortunately... He is in prison. If he was free now, we would be much better."

(2 Males, ~40, Sorochocho, 30.1.2015)

Overall, the general distrust in the political system is shared among the interviewees, although the levels of trust in certain individual politicians, such as the regional president, might vary. Most of the politicians are seen to not be fulfilling their duties in representing local values, people and nature, and the political rights of the campesinos. In relation to their political rights, then, the local views about their rights and the violations of those rights meet better than in relation to other sets of rights. Practically all the people we interviewed consider their rights to be informed about the proposed mining projects and to be heard in the decision-making process are currently not realised. The lack of political recognition is a fundamental violation of the citizen rights of the locals on the national level. By stripping them the power to influence the political decisions made on the national level, the locals are denied the right to claim any other rights, be they related to their environmental, economic or social. It threatens their right to have rights (Arendt 2013 [1951]), which means that they are not fully recognised as national citizens.

Many locals feel powerless in front of the authorities, saying that they have the final power to decide over whether or not the mining projects will continue. Some interviewees expected that the new president that enters power in 2016 might be crucial in relation to the future of the projects, although the central government will still have to consider the stance the regional and local governments have taken. Others, however, have their means to object the politicians, political practices and authorities that they do not accept. The experienced violations also motivate them to pursue their own political ideas and political communities within the local spheres. Through discussing actors who they do not trust – the mining company and its “consultation events”, the corrupt politicians, and the police who are not defending the citizens – the locals are drawing the line between “us” and “them”, our community and the enemy. I will discuss the ways to reject authorities that are not seen legitimate and trusted further in chapter 5.2.2.

5.1.4 Conclusion: Defining the political communities and their citizens

I started this chapter by discussing how the locals speak about the water, their natural surroundings, contamination and the rights to land ownership and land use. I consider these themes important to understand the local perceptions on citizenship, which are deeply rooted in the local bioregion (Nixon 2011). I find it impossible to discuss the political agency of the locals without including a perspective on their ideas of water and nature, which are very directly involved in their occupation and everyday lives.

Their views on nature have very much in common with the discourses of environmental movements worldwide (see chapter 4.2.3), as they emphasise the social duties towards the environment. The local perspectives often include not only individual citizens or current communities, but also the environment and past and future generations as subjects of rights. The agrarian movements in Brazil studied by Wittman (2013 [2009]) also express similar views on the responsibilities towards the nature and future generations. Some contemporary agrarian movements of South America are not, then, indulged only in issues over land ownership and agrarian exclusion, but over environmental rights and future generations as well.

The struggle for lands and land use is also very much present in the discourses of the campesinos. Land ownership has long been an important issue for agrarian movements worldwide (Wittman 2013 [2009]). However, this is an internal struggle as well as one between the campesinos and the state or mining company. Some interviewees consider land selling to be a collective matter, whereas others claim an individual right to do so. Here, the local perspectives on individual or collective rights and responsibilities differ most. Most locals speak about “we” instead of “I”, and emphasise that the mining actions affect them as a community. The duty to respect and take care of nature is also seen as a collective duty. However, when it comes to land ownership issues, fragmentation of views occurs. Here, the theoretical debate on collective or individual citizenship subjectivity (Lazar 2013; Arendt 2013 [1951]) is being contested in a field context. This results in internal disputes among the locals, who consider that the mines are making them fight “among buddies”³⁶.

To understand the individual desires to sell land, it is important to consider the socio-economic context of the campesinos in Cajamarca. These aspects come well illustrated also when discussing expectations of work and development projects that the locals express, which is why I devoted section 5.1.2 for these themes. Economic insecurity and weak institutions explain why some people express positive attitudes to mining in spite of their concerns over pollution and other violations of nature. Here, however, the views of the locals differ again, but not so much in terms of individual or communitarian rights. The interviewees who are hoping to find work at the mines usually emphasised that *all* the locals should be hired for the mines, based in their locality. This view was only denied by Jaime, who believes the company should hire its workers based on their individual skills, no matter where they come from.

Among the locals, however, there is strong disagreement over whether or not there is a need for paid labour in the mines, or if the area should be remain devoted to agriculture. Here, the locals divided into different conflicts (see Hoetmer 2013; chapter 4.2.4). Some consider their struggle as a conflict of coexistence, where they do not reject the mines altogether but criticise the lack of local benefits from the mines. Others would be involved in a conflict of alternatives, considering that the mines simply

³⁶ Male 49, Rejopampa, 25.2.2015

cannot exist in the areas of campesino communities. For these people, any development projects from the mine are not wanted. Furthermore, they might even be seen as sort of a hoax, meant to humiliate and oppress people instead of helping them.

In section 5.1.3, I discussed how the interviewees criticise the lack of information and possibilities for political participation in relation to the mining projects, specifically Conga. These experiences reflect more broadly the position of the locals in relation to their political power, which is, in the opinion of virtually all the interviewees, non-existent in relation to the national political community. The examples of suspicious or ineffective information or consultation events illustrate how the locals are manipulated by not giving them enough or truthful information, or by not listening to their perspectives on mining projects. The events that are presented as recognising the rights of locals in voicing their opinions actually turn out to be ones to violate the fundamental citizen rights by, again, oppressing and humiliating the locals.

I also discussed the ways the locals often perceive the politicians and governments as virtually parts of the mining company, and how they mix the company and the national government when making claims related to the fulfilment of their citizen rights, such as the right to economic welfare and democratic rights to participate. This mixing reflects a deep distrust in the political system where the politicians are not working for the benefit of the local communities, but in order to benefit themselves. Such distrust is undoubtedly placed primarily in the acts of corruption between mining companies and politicians, but also in the general distrust caused by the experience of the political power centring in the cities and not in the rural communities. The exclusion is historically a very common phenomenon worldwide (Wittman 2013 [2009]), and in Cajamarca, it is still a reality. The locals, living in a very exploited yet poverty-ridden region, have seen how wealth and power gather in areas far away from their local communities. On the local and regional level, however, there are still individual politicians and institutions that the locals consider to be fulfilling their duties as politicians, defending the positions of the locals.

All of these themes build an idea of citizenship that is deeply rooted on the local level, in the local bioregion, in agriculture, and in the local communities. While the local level is clearly the most important level of political belonging for the campesinos, the regional level is also referred to as the important space of political community by some locals. As mentioned above, the regional politicians are, to various extents, defined as a part of “us”, our political community. This depends on whether or not they are seen as fulfilling their duties as the true democratic representatives of the locals, defending the stance that the locals have determined in relation to the mines. One interviewee also explicitly claims that in the movement against the mine, the locals are defending the region of Cajamarca.

"For us, there is neither Conga nor Yanacocha. It should not be here in our region of Cajamarca. On the regional level, it should not be. Conga, Yanacocha, and other companies."

(Male 30, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

People from other parts of Peru, mainly from the cities and coastal areas, are not as easily seen as a part of "us". This division is understandable given the clear distinctions in lifestyles and traditions of people living in the rural mountain areas and people living on the coast, and the fact that many people who have moved to Cajamarca from the coast are mine workers. Jaime says that the locals might express some doubts towards him, although he is being treated well in Cajamarca. What needs to be kept in mind, however, is the different position of Jaime and other "outsiders" working in the mines: as they live in the cities and their financial situation enables them to move away if they want to, their situation is much less vulnerable than that of the "humble" campesinos. For the villagers, everything depends on the local spaces. Their lifestyles depend directly on their natural surroundings, and they do not have the resources to move away if problems occur. Their fear of health problems is related to insecurity and fear of worthlessness, which are present in the experiences of exclusion from work and political decision-making. The locals fear that their lives and health are not given importance, and as "humble" people, they are easily fooled.

"They are threatened, and that is, that is not right. They are humble people, they don't have education, they don't have, they are not prepared, and with one or two words of threat, how does one fear... Humble as we are, we cannot go against this big company... It is difficult to confront, no? So, they take advantage of this. The humbleness of the people."

(Female 30, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

Although the local and regional political communities are most important levels of political belonging for the campesinos, some still express a strong national identity. Some interviewees are positioning themselves and their struggle as defending the national resources. For example, they talk about the need to "get rid of" the "foreigners" who take the treasures of Peru to other countries, and are the cause of the poverty on the national level as well as on the regional one.

"They say Peru is a land of gold, but what happens with the gold? They take it to other countries..." (Male 38, Faro Bajo, 25.2.2015)

"They are digging up the campesinos from here, and therefore from the social point of view, it is an assault to the food safety of Peru, and the food sovereignty of Peru as well." (Luis, Cajamarca, 24.3.2015)

"Here in Peru we don't need this, in this country... It is not Peruvian this... This guy. Perhaps if they were Peruvians, we would be like brothers in our life of pity. But they do not have pity. So it is that Conga should leave." (Male 30, Marcopata, 31.1.2015)

The mine worker Jaime also shares the national identity in the sense that he would prefer seeing the mines being explored by Peruvian companies instead of foreign multinational ones. He does not, however, see that the problem is originated by the foreign companies, but by the corrupt national government. Also many of the campesinos say that, in addition to the foreign "gringos", who come to "milk" the people³⁷, the corrupt national government is the one threatening the national community:

"[The politicians are] a dirty mafia... They leave Peru fucked." (Three males, 19, 20, 37, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

"Peru doesn't go forward, because they [the politicians] never tell the truth." (Male 39, Llavique, 9.2.2015)

In other words, the locals simultaneously employ various levels of citizenship and political belonging (Lazar 2013). As the locals in Tambogrande did in their successful campaign against a mining project (Haarstad & Fløysand 2007), the locals are employing various levels of political communities as they frame their position in relation to the mining projects. In addition to defending their local spaces, the locals are defending their national community, and even the whole "Mother Earth" from environmental destruction. Such a multi-level approach might be useful in reaching the resistance to include people on various locations, and thus making the movement stronger. However, the problem is that the locals might have different ideas on how to defend their communities. On the local level, for example, some people see that they need to resist the mines in order to protect the nature and their agricultural communities, while some others consider the mines as necessary in developing their local communities.

To discuss such mutually incoherent views, it is useful to consider Clarke et al.'s (2014) conceptualizations of "imperfect" citizenship. Within specific contexts, ideas of citizenship are constantly challenged, negotiated and re-negotiated, thus making citizenship always an imperfect concept (Clarke et al 2014). Such imperfectness can be identified in the ways the campesinos speak in the data of this research. It is clear that they have different kinds of ideas of what are their rights and what they expect from the mining company, the state, and from each other. People from the same mountainsides, with similar lifestyles and family backgrounds, have different kinds of citizenship ideals. Even an individual might express conflicting views by, for example, criticizing foreign companies for entering "their" area and yet expecting these companies to provide him work and social development projects.

³⁷ Male 39, Llavique, 9.2.2015

However, there is more to do for an anthropologist than simply stating that there are different views on citizenship that makes the concept imperfect (Lazar 2013). I would argue that while being a useful concept to describe the multiplicity of citizen conceptions in a given context, the term “imperfect citizenship” (Clarke et al 2014) excessively guides the attention to where different ideas on citizenship conflict, instead of focusing on how and where they meet. For example, regardless of what their perspective on the mines and development are, all the campesinos we spoke to are dissatisfied with their exclusion from information and decision-making processes, and emphasise small-scale farming as the prime activity in their area. Focusing on how the citizenship ideas meet explains how the locals are able to work together to improve their situations, for they have been: despite the political exclusion, the locals have been able to organize to demand what they see as their rights effectively enough to have an impact on halting the mega-project, Conga. On a national level, the locals have taken part in creating new political practices and institutional changes (Hoetmer 2013). In other words, the “imperfect” citizenship have been “perfect” enough for many of the locals to come together. In the next section, I will move on to discuss how and in what kinds of spaces the locals have taken action to pursue the ideas of citizenship described in this section.

5.2 PURSUING CITIZENSHIP

Having examined the campesinos’ ideas of rights, social responsibilities and social duties that the mining activities reflect, I will now move on to discuss how these constructions result in and are employed through political action and social movements. As described in chapter 4.2, social movements are in the global forefront of contesting and shifting understandings of citizenship (Roniger & Sznajder 2012, 1). Here, I will examine strategies and resources, organisational structures, and the social and political spaces (see Goirand 2009) that have been taken up by the campesino movement against mining, using citizenship as a lens to understand and map the possibilities for action of the campesinos. In other words, I will analyse *how the campesinos act and use citizenship in the social movement against mining*. The point here is to take a more practical view on the political positions reflected in chapter 5.1, and to move on from simply stating that the campesinos have certain views on citizenship, which are imperfect (Clarke et al 2014, 11), processual (Werbner 1998), and different than other views in other contexts (Lazar 2013, 16). To do so, I will focus on the interviews with those people who have participated in the social protests against mining or otherwise expressed negative attitudes towards Conga and other mining projects. Citizenship understandings are not just ideas, but ideals (Marshall 1950 [1983]) that spark action. Citizenship as a status also provides spaces for political action that individuals, communities and movements can use and extend. Furthermore, the choices and ways of political action

also reflect the conceptions of citizenship that the locals have, for example, by defining the aims of the movement or defining who should or should not be part of a local movement.

5.2.1 Organising as a movement

Several of the interviewees talked about the protests against the mines. They talked about their participation in the protests with pride. Often, if I asked about protesting, the interviewees said “of course” they had taken part, seeing it as an obvious duty.

“We go foot by foot, together for the water.” (Male 65, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

“We are going to keep reclaiming. We want to be like before.” (Several males, Combayo, 8.3.2015)

“The people defend... claim their rights.” (Pedro, 18.3.2015)

“People protest because of the lies.” (Male 34, Tablacucho, 26.2.2015)

These quotes reflect the views described in the previous chapter: the need and duty to defend the political and socio-economic rights of the people, and the nature. Pedro, the mayor, and the male from Tablacucho essentially both talk about the same thing, the political rights of the people. Pedro words it as the rights of the people, and the campesino from Tablacucho describes the experience of these rights being violated through the lies and humiliation from the part of the state and the mining company. Again, the interviewees all emphasise the necessity to do this together with the whole community, as their rights are violated as a community, and all the campesinos share the citizen duties. They claim recognition for their agrarian communities (see Wittman 2010), in which the communitarian perspective on citizen subjectivity allows for a stronger movement.

Many interviewees had taken part in the protests in town squares, in the protest marches to Lima, and in the surveillance shifts in the lakes. Through these lake patrols and self-proclaimed protests on town squares, the campesinos are using self-created, horizontal spaces of action (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3). These spaces are principally local and employ existing forms of local activity. Through the “guardians of the lakes” the locals are re-introducing the local communal manner of cattle surveillance shifts for protesting purposes. Some interviewees described how they had loaded their horses with dry food, blankets and other things to set the camps, and then surveyed the Perol lake in order to make sure that no heavy machinery is seen near it. Both men, women and teenagers had participated in the shifts, which had rotated on a three-day basis. Police had entered the surveillance areas and forcibly emptied the camps several times, but the locals had always gone back. At the time of my fieldwork, the surveillance shifts were not in action due to the halt of the project, but individual villagers would occasionally go up to the lakes and report back to the others if they had seen something

unusual. Many interviewees emphasised that they would be ready to start rotating the surveillance shifts again if necessary.

This type of action is similar to the communal kitchens and irrigation assemblies which have been associated with social movements around Peru (Hoetmer 2013). They employ horizontal political spaces (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3) that are not essentially new spaces or forms of action, but newly discovered as sites of political action and for the purposes of the social movement. Through such practices, the campesinos are extending their political spaces and re-creating ideas of the political rights of citizen communities. The campesinos are making the protest their own – not only by defining the aims, but also by defining the means. These types of action are good examples of how not only different citizen understandings, but also different citizen practices reflect the socio-historical context and must be understood context-specifically (Beyers 2008). It is also highly beneficial for the social movements to take on such existing local practices, because they provide access to already existing social networks that are based on trust and a history of mutual dependence.

The “traditional” protests in the local town-squares are more of acts in vertical political spaces (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3), since technically, the citizens have a right to protest. In this type of protest, the locals are exercising their rights in order to claim different or true rights as political subjects. However, many protests have ended in violence from the police and the army (see chapter 2.4). Several interviewees described the violent dissolutions of the protests, naming such violence as absurd abuse and oppression. According to the interviewees, the campesinos had not carried arms in the protests, having usually “only our hands”³⁸ as their weapons. One interviewee³⁹, for example, complains about the “repression, violation of our rights” conducted by the police, emphasising that the people have “a right to complain”. Therefore, the state response to the protests is seen as only another violation of the political rights of the locals, which follows the same line of humiliation and oppression as the false consultation and information events and unaccounted opinions. Protests, which should be an exercise of one’s political rights to claim true or more rights, result in other types of violations of rights. This, surely, is not uncommon around the world.

The interviewees see that the police have not only violated their rights to protest and used excessive and unnecessary force, but importantly, they are not fulfilling their “real” duties when they are working for the mining company.

“The police is serving Yanacocha, right? Not at the service of the citizens but at the service of Yanacocha...” (Male ~40, Celendín, 20.3.2015)

³⁸ Male 52, Tandayoc, 27.2.2015

³⁹ Female ~30, Celendín, 21.3.2015

"In my opinion, it is not right that the police becomes a justifier of the company." (Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2016)

One interviewee⁴⁰, though, sees that the individual police and army members should not be blamed too much, since they are "managed from above". She describes how some young men from the villages have started working for the army or the police because they had few other options, and they had sometimes ended up causing frictions among the communities. By a coincidence, I also met one such person one evening on the streets of Cajamarca in February 2015. He told me he works for the army, apparently because he sees it as a good job in many aspects. However, he said that his mother has been active in resisting the mines, and is very upset by her son working on the side of the mining company. Again, individual choices go against the communal obligations that are a part of the ideal community citizenship that a majority of the villagers hold.

We also interviewed Rosa, who had lost her husband in the protest in 2011, and two persons who have been injured in some way during the protests. Rosa's husband had not even taken part in the protest, but was walking past as he was hit by a stray bullet. According to Rosa, the bullet was shot from the municipality building and from a gun of "the people" of the mayor, who "were not from here".

"They have taken off innocent people. They say that those that came, to truly search [people] there at the municipality, they say they were other people, some workers who were not from here. They grab, boom boom, they search there, they get involved in the fight like that."

(Rosa, Celendín, 21.3.2015)

The idea that the ones to cause the death of her husband and other locals were "other people" seems to deepen Rosa's distress. She criticises them not only because of their actions, but also because they as outsiders are not even legitimate to set themselves to stop the pursuits of the locals. For her, the possibility that the violators were not locals also provides some explanation to why they would have used such violence against "innocent people". As outsiders, they could not or did not want to understand the position of the campesinos.

As they are met with police violence, the town-square protests also turn from vertical political spaces into horizontal ones (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3), as the locals claim spaces of action that are denied from them. In such horizontal spaces, the locals also claim the right to define who should or should not be taking action in them. The protests in town-squares are essentially seen as local, and few

⁴⁰ Female ~30, Celendín, 21.3.2015

people would talk about others than local campesinos participating in them. One interviewee ⁴¹ proclaimed, however, that a pro-mining campesino she did not know had blamed her for not being “from here” during a protest, thus trying to deny her right to voice her opinion. She believes this person, as well as others that had been present in the event, might have been bribed by the mining company. Again, the distrust in the mining companies penetrates across spaces: even the local protests are seen to be partly manipulated by the company. The same interviewee, in contrast, had questioned the way another pro-mining person had been using the Peruvian flag in the protest, blaming him for not being truly patriotic if he accepts the mines. Thus the protests, although essentially local, include a national and an international element as well. The interviewee sees that defending the national resources from international extraction companies is a part of the duties of a national citizen.

Jaime, the mine worker, sees that he and other workers who come from “other places” should not take part in the local mobilizations. He seems to think so not only because the workers should be loyal to their employer, but also because they are from the city or the coast, and therefore “cannot” get involved with the activities “they”, the locals, do.

“We, from other places like we are, maintain the ethical perspective, the policy that the company gives us, the workers, to not to get involved with the people of the area, right? Because... We are workers of the mine. People from Cajamarca, from the coastal areas, we cannot get involved in the activities [they] do... [...] It is assumed that those who work for the company, are with the company.”

(Jaime, Cajamarca, 12.3.2015)

However, Jaime tells that there have been people who have worked in Yanacocha, but still participated in the protests against Conga. He does not mention if these people were from the local area or from other parts of Peru, but sees that they have gone against their responsibilities towards the company. The individual reasons for such a decision may vary – Jaime says he can only guess them. It is evident, however, that these people have a stronger sense of commitment with the local or regional communities than with the company. They work for the company for whatever personal reasons they might have, but it clearly conflicts with a sense of obligation that they have for local communities and, perhaps, for the nature.

The protests also extend from the local spaces, as the campesinos organise marches to Lima. Several interviewees said they had participated in at least one such long march, which had apparently lasted for at least a week. In the middle of the march, the protesters had been stopped by the police, which had asked for their identification cards. Some of the protesters were not carrying their cards, but apparently were determined enough to walk back, grab their identifications, and start the march again from the

⁴¹ Female ~30, Celendín, 21.3.2015

beginning. Once they reached Lima, the campesinos had demonstrated outside the Government Palace. Through such symbolic march, the campesinos are extending their political space to the national centre of power, claiming recognition to the agrarian communities that are left in the periphery of political action. They are acting for the national political status that is intertwined with and based on the local one. In other words, they ably take on local and national levels simultaneously in order to gain wanted levels of both national political subjectivity and local autonomy (see Vergara-Camus 2013).

Such action on various levels is further highlighted by Pedro, one of the mayors. He says the protests are not about opposing the state, but being *for* national and local citizen rights, and the water.

“Here, we fight for the water. We are not against anyone. The only thing is that they should respect us. That they should treat us like citizens, that they should treat us like good Peruvians.”

(Pedro, 18.3. 2015)

The protests have had desired outcomes, at least by contributing to the decision to halt the mining project. Still, some locals complain that they have been ignored. One interviewee⁴² said he had participated in the protest march to the Government Palace where, according to him, the protesters had not been taken seriously. He said that the protesters had been “looked at like chickens” by the authorities. Another interviewee⁴³ describes a protest in the village of Sorochuco, and sighs it had had no impact, because the authorities “do not care about us”.

Some social movement organisations are also playing their part in the movement against mining in Cajamarca. Most known of these are perhaps Grufides in Cajamarca and PIC (Plataforma Interinstitucional Celendina) in Celendín. Grufides is an environmental and human rights NGO that has been providing legal aid and technical aid for people affected by mining. It strongly advocates for the human right to water, and provides a forum for the locals to announce conflicts and violations in their communities.⁴⁴ PIC, on the other hand, is a platform created for bringing together various actors in the struggle against the mining projects, from NGOs to individuals and communities with an anti-mining perspective. PIC also spreads news about the mining conflicts through their blog⁴⁵ and information events. During the fieldwork, we interviewed people associated with both of these organisations: “Carmen” from Grufides and a male from PIC. They explained how they are trying to bring together actors to strengthen the movements, and provide legal help for those directly affected by the protests.

⁴² Male 50, Salacat, 3.2.2015

⁴³ Male 60+, Karipo, 31.1.2015

⁴⁴ More information at <http://www.grufides.org/>. Viewed 28.7.2016.

⁴⁵ <https://celendinlibre.wordpress.com/> Viewed 28.7.2016.

Some campesinos also mentioned the valuable work of these organisations in helping them in the struggle. One interviewee⁴⁶ acknowledged that through the organisations, the locals had found lawyers who are “in our favour of... natural resources, the water”. However, during the fieldwork I also heard negative rumours about some mining-related NGOs. Some campesinos distrust them, claiming they are only benefiting materially of the conflict. This reflects the distrust in political structures and leadership that many campesinos still have. Such distrust in organisations is, according to Hoetmer (2013), common in many parts of Peru. Also, specifically Gruffides faces the problem of being essentially an urban organisation located in the city of Cajamarca. When the locals seek to pursue political recognition for rural communities, the urban centres of power are not the preferred points of reference. It might also be that these urban organisations simply have failed to reach most of the locals, since most campesinos interviewed would not recognise them as important actors in the movement.

The same goes for organisations outside the region, specifically in Lima. On the national level, there has been some organisational support for the cause of the local campesinos, at least specifically for Máxima Acuña Chaupe. In February 2016, for example, several national organisations gathered in Lima to protest in front of the offices of Yanacocha in Lima in order to “gain visibility, denounce and raise awareness about Yanacocha’s constant attacks against the family of Máxima” (Servindi 11.2.2016). The interviewees, however, would not recognise such organisations outside their region when asked about whether or not they have such support. Instead, the campesinos would talk about the lack of such organisations, or about the Rondas, the guardians of the lakes and other less institutionalized or bureaucratic local actors.

The interviews for this research form an understanding of the resistance in Cajamarca different to that of Bebbington et al (2008). While Bebbington et al claim (2008, 2895–2897) that the rural anti-mining movements in Cajamarca have been “crowded out” by urban leftist movements, and that the NGOs, intellectuals and authors “defining the debate” are mainly urban, the campesinos around Cajamarca seem to be indulged in a different debate. They hardly mention any work done by urban organisations, but emphasise the more flexibly organised actors, such as the Rondas movement. Bebbington et al (2008, 2895–2897) described that the Rondas have received much criticism for their actions in relation to the mining projects in Cajamarca, but this criticism was not present in any of the interviews conducted for this research. Instead, many interviewees see the Rondas as key organisers of the movement. An important element of the Rondas is their localness. As mentioned in 2.1, the Rondas movement physically reaches almost all the villages and hamlets covered in this research. Even if individual branches and leaders would have been criticised by the majority of the campesinos, Rondas have legitimised themselves during the long presence of the area. Much of such legitimacy can likely be attributed to the flexible and communitarian structure of the Rondas. Since the Rondas presidents are

⁴⁶ Male 44, Salacat, 3.2.2015

elected communally and straightforwardly indulge themselves in solving various local concerns, the Rondas as an organisation, or a movement, has earned local trust.

The conclusions of Bebbington et al (2008) and the findings of this study can be considered as two sides of the same story, with the perspective of Bebbington et al being more urban-oriented. These kinds of differences must be understood against the background of still strong exclusion and isolation of agrarian communities in Peru. The campesino communities have little connections with the urban centres of power, and some of the interviewees said they have faced discrimination even in the regional city of Cajamarca. The discredit of the urban organisations by the campesinos, as well as the urban view of urban organisations being the ones to define the debates, might both be largely attributed to a lack of connection between the urban and rural movements. Also, the rural and urban movements reflect different kinds of understandings of what defines a movement. For the urban movements, the organisational structures are more important, while the rural movements base on local practices and more loose social networks. Here, another theoretical debate can be identified on an empirical level: whether or not social movement organisations are essential in defining social movements (see Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 15, and chapter 4.2.1 in this study).

However, the division is not as straight-forward. As mentioned, some of the campesinos interviewed for this study expressed positive attitudes towards some formal urban organisations, such as Gruffides. Mostly, these people were the interviewees that had been personally affected by the violence in the protests. They had received help and support from organisations through, for example, legal help. Also, some interviewees across different hamlets called for a need of more organised movements and leadership. They think that through organisations, they could access funds that would help them forward in their struggle. As is typical for movements worldwide (Bebbington et al 2008; chapter 4.2.1), then, the rural movement in Cajamarca most likely would also benefit from the financial, informational, social and other resources of organisations outside their local spaces, in urban centres or outside the state borders.

To some extent, international support for the local movement is in place. The mining conflicts in Cajamarca have received some attention from international organisations like Oxfam and Amnesty International, and influential international newspapers such as the Times written about them. The study on the levels of heavy metals in the diets of the cajamarquinos (Barenys et al 2014) was conducted by a team including researchers from the Barcelona, and there have been foreign lawyers supporting the locals in their legal cases. Some regional organisations also have some international support. According to Carmen, Gruffides does not have its own resources, but everything comes from “international cooperation”. Gruffides also has networks with other environmental organisations of Latin America. Some interviewees also say there has been at least one other group of students from a European university in the region doing research on the case. However, most interviewees say they do not know

of any international support, or that it only existed straight after the demonstrations in 2011 and 2012. Many think more international publicity and “support” would be very helpful for them.

“If we have international support, I don’t know how far we can get. [...] Hopefully other countries give us their right hand... We are ready to receive.” (Male 41, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

“The thing is that in Peru we cannot do anything... We have the hope that those who come from abroad will publish it.” (Male ~40, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

“I would ask from the international authorities... That there would be a support behind... behind the humble people. The humble people, us who are being threatened, killed and imprisoned.” (Male 44, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

From occasional foreign visitors like myself, the locals mostly seem to expect help in giving their struggle publicity. Mostly, they would not specify what kind of publicity they expect. One interviewee did, however, directly ask if I could address the president of Finland in order to ask for help, and another was hoping that I talk about the campesinos’ problems in the Finnish national television. On top of publicity, the locals wish for material support from abroad, and international pressure on their corrupt politicians. Some locals have reached out for international support themselves, by creating their own foreign connections. Through international support and pressure, some locals expect to gain more political voice and a status as a full member of national and international political communities.

5.2.2 Constructing alternatives and spreading the word

As described in chapter 4.2, social movements are not simply claiming citizen rights, but also redefining them. Also in Cajamarca, most of the campesinos are not settling for claiming the vertical political spaces and citizen rights that should be guaranteed for them by the state, but create their own local political spaces and solutions. In chapter 5.2.1, I discussed some of these horizontal spaces (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3), such as the practice of lake patrols and the protests which, I claim, turn horizontal when they are being acted out despite the violent oppression by the police, and when the locals claim the right to define who can be part of the protests. Here, I will discuss how these campesinos and organisations are constructing alternatives for development in the area, as well as for authorities and politicians they do not consider fulfilling their duties. I will also briefly discuss the ways the campesinos and organisations are spreading such alternative views and anti-mining messages.

As discussed in chapter 5.2.1, many locals criticise the police of not fulfilling their duties as they oppress the protests and use violence against citizens who they are meant to be protecting. The locals do not, however, settle for claiming that the police should change their actions. Instead, some delegitimise the

police in their discourse and action, and replace them with their own authorities, such as the Rondas. Since their creation in the 1970s, the Rondas have been a competing form of citizen authority in the local communities. In the height of the mining conflicts, their importance has grown alongside with the distrust in the police and national army. In addition, the locals democratically elect their peace judges (*juez de paz*) which are another type of authority to solve communal issues. During the fieldwork, I witnessed an election of peace judges in the village of Sorochuco. The votes were counted on the terraces of the municipality building, where dozens of villagers crowded to see the count themselves. The teller counting the votes held each vote slip high in the air to show the number the voter had written down, and several villagers were writing the results down in a piece of paper to keep their own counts of the results. A few days after the elections, the villagers received the news from the governor who said the election results would be invalidated because they had not been authorized by the national government. The locals did not seem too bothered by this note. They had chosen their peace judges as a community, and the results had been confirmed by the community. For them, the peace judges elected were legitimate to take on their duties.

The same governor in Sorochuco was criticised by many interviewees who considered him suspicious due to his alleged pro-mining position. Some interviewees in Sorochuco stated they refuse to talk to the governor, stating the man is “really not our governor”⁴⁷. Instead, the locals would try and go through their daily lives with the occasional help of the Rondas president, the peace judges, and their friends and neighbours. However, one interviewee⁴⁸ says that for legal advice, many anti-mining locals have had to use one local attorney, who she claims to have “suspicious” connections to pro-mining governors. She explains that the locals have little options, since there are very few attorneys that would help them. Yet in this, as mentioned, some locals have the help of Grufides and other organisations who provide them with anti-mining attorneys, who are sometimes from outside Peru.

Through such rejection and replacement, the campesinos assume the right and power to choose their own authorities. Such actions go far beyond the Conga project and other mega-mining projects and reflect the history of experiences of rights-violations and distrust in authorities. What is important here, though, is that these already existing forms of alternative citizen authority have gained more power and legitimacy in the height of the mining projects and due to the actions of the police and army during the protests. This benefit goes both ways: the communities against mining also benefit from having an alternative authority already in place as a type of safety net when the police and army cannot be trusted. Furthermore, the events related to mining have encouraged creating new forms of alternative authorities, such as the guardians of the lakes. As lake guardians, anyone in the village can assume the right and the power of an authority.

⁴⁷ Male 44, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015

⁴⁸ Female ~30, Celendín, 21.3.2015

Still, even the locals who emphasise the role of the Rondas and other alternative citizen authorities are not expressing desires for autonomy of the state. They are doing all their local actions within the national framework. They claim for rights to act independently in their local communities, but many also call for the need of the regional and national governments in supporting them.

“The people will not feel worn out, or humiliated. The people of Sorochuco, like they say, have to defend themselves until the end, but while their authorities, like they say, support.”

(Male 44, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

Some interviewees consider that the mining movements have succeeded in putting enough political pressure to affect national, regional and local politics. Even though Gregorio Santos, the regional president, was imprisoned, nothing could be done to stop the overwhelming local support to get him re-elected (see chapter 2.4). This was the perception of Segundo, a university professor from Cajamarca.

“Celendín, for example, has a mayor who is determined to support the social protest, support and promote it as well. The same happens with the regional government. In this sense, the social protest has institutionalized, more strongly than before. Because before, the local government of Celendín would not support the protest. [...] So it is something like the social protest has strengthened and acquired this... Something like legality, determined support from the local governments. [...] The result of the protests has been, for example, changes in the minister cabinets. It has been obliged for the central government to decide this... what course to take, no? Say, a political decision of the regional government, in the sense that it has not been seen in other regional governments to opt for the people who are not in favour of the mines. This has cost, in my opinion, prison for the regional president.”

(Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2016)

Again, then, the locals are acting on various levels of political communities: they set their own authorities and reject the official ones that they see are not fulfilling their duties, but also support the governments that are taking the right “course” in their politics. Mostly, then, the locals see that local and grassroots action is not enough. They also take on the existing vertical political spaces, such as voting in regional elections, for their purposes. Such choices reflect local communities that are actually much more powerful than might first seem like. The campesinos know how to balance between self-proclaimed and government-nominated authorities and politicians, and have the power to affect the course of political decisions on various levels.

Another construction of alternatives is taking place though the discourse on alternatives for mining. Most of the campesinos we interviewed simply see that there is no need for mines and the type of “development” they offer – even if the promises of the company and the state would actually be fulfilled. As the successful anti-mining movement in Tambogrande (Haarstad & Fløysand 2007), the campesinos question the claims made by the mining industry on the necessity and historical relevance of mining.

Some interviewees would emphasise that before mining, the area was known for the production of milk products, as the “dairy basin” (*cuena lechera*) of the nation, or for regional handicrafts. They claim that the area was doing well with these activities, and that there are many areas in Peru that have become very wealthy with agricultural activities. Many say that if there is something to be developed, it is their agricultural capacities. Some recall that they need support from the national or regional governments in this, while others argue that all they need is for the mines to “leave us alone”⁴⁹ and “let us cultivate our products”⁵⁰. They claim recognition to their lifestyles, and reject the need for development models brought in from outside.

“We are content with the lands (chakra)... We don’t need mines.” (Male 38, Faro Bajo, 25.2.2015)

“Irrigation of pasture, and plantations, only they bring us progress, only they.” (Male ~40, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

Some interviewees do also discuss how the area could be used for other than agricultural purposes. It is notable, however, that these ideas would mostly come from other interviewees than the campesinos: from representatives of Grufides and PIC, and from the university professors we interviewed. They say the areas could be used in a new way, but in something that is sustainable, and that also leaves room for the traditional agricultural uses. Some refer to the possibilities of archaeological investigations, as the areas possibly hold important Inca remains, or various natural formations that tourists could be interested in. Carmen, a representative from Grufides, thinks that one “cannot say no to a mine without having an alternative”⁵¹. In her view, the alternative could be economic growth through local businesses in tourism, coffee, bees, medicinal plants and arts and craftworks, among other things. Luis, one of the academic interviewees, also focuses on the alternatives of economic development. He calculates how in the long term, the state could benefit much more from investing in agriculture instead of mining.

“For example, if this was a hectare of land, which now is dedicated to livestock or perhaps to agriculture, this hectare will continue producing and hence will have a certain economic value all the years, because it will generate value, commodities, to sustain an x number of the population. And if now come the mines, and they say leave from here, and here they will open a pit, then this hectare will disappear forever. Because this soil can never be restored. How much will be lost, right, in 18 years, if not in the following centuries, for losing this hectare. [...] This is not being valued. They only see the taxes that the state will receive in the short term, for 18-20 years, and there it will end. And the permanent utilities that a hectare now gives for agriculture, livestock, and what it can give for ecotourism, this is not being looked at. Without even taking into account the waters...”

(Luis, Cajamarca, 24.3.2015)

⁴⁹ Male 60, Rejopampa, 26.2.2015

⁵⁰ Male 40, Ocsha, 9.2.2015

⁵¹ Carmen, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015

Luis uses the economically-based rhetoric in order to counter the arguments of the state and the mining company in their own terms. Through his calculations, he turns the most important argument of economic benefit against mining activities. Other interviewees, as well, have adopted the rhetoric of the state and mining companies in order to argue for their own alternatives. Manuel says he and others have “set proposals so that they will not say we are radicals, that we are extreme... For example, we have proposed forming a base for sustainable development in Cajamarca”⁵². He expresses the need to build visions of the future that would be appealing to the state and other powerful actors, to make it more difficult to dismiss the anti-mining communities as unrealistic or “radical”.

Victor, an interviewee from one of the universities in Cajamarca, has studied the scientific and agricultural potential of the proposed mining areas. He suggests that in addition to developing the agriculture, some sort of “experimental tourism” (*turismo vivencial*) could also be introduced to the areas. His proposition, then, is a mixture of scientific investigation and economic growth through tourism.

“There is a number of pastures, plants, medicinal plants... A tremendous wonder. Hundreds of species of plants. Livestock and agricultural explorations could be done. And well, but it has to be done orderly... This has been neglected by the government. Submitting to this opportunity of Andean livestock and Andean agriculture, we will submit to making a product for the world, organic produce. There are still some native potatoes that the man has destroyed, potatoes that they had in the Inca period, potatoes that exist only there. [...] there are many species that I believe still have not been studied well. There are birds that have scientific names, but their lifestyles are not known... These spaces are still virgin. We have a lot to explore. [...] It's good to have those roads, but for scientific and experiential tourism. How beautiful to arrive at 4000 meters of altitude, where you go and have to milk the cow yourself, and cook with firewood... You yourself have to do that, and you see this wonder of the world.”

(Victor, Cajamarca, 17.3.2015)

There are two types of discourse in place, then: some reject the need for economically measured development, instead highlighting the other value of the nature and water. Others carefully use the same economic discourse the state uses to point out the weakness of the economic arguments. Both of these views are relevant for the anti-mining movement. Both serve to build an imaginary of Cajamarca that questions and even ridicules the need for mining. It is not relevant whether or not the ideas of experimental tourism, archaeological excavations or coffee production actually would ever happen, but the most important thing is to show that there are alternatives to the type “imaginary of poverty” (Rodríguez-Carmona & Castro 2013) that the state and mining companies encourage. An important part

⁵² Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015

in constructing the alternatives to mining is focusing on the values that are expressed repeatedly by the campesinos – the rights of the environment, future generations and the people as a community. Victor does this by pointing out the short-sightedness of an economy based on mining.

[JV]: *“So... What are the mines needed for, then?”*

[Victor]: *“Right, what are the mines needed for! The mines are needed, but from the momentary point of view, say, how nice to be able to drive a car or to have a good watch, right? But this is temporary. But what do you leave for those who come after you? What do I leave for the society that comes after?”*

(Victor, Cajamarca, 17.3.2015)

However, Hoetmer (2013, 272-278; see chapter 4.2.4 in this study) has said that the anti-mining movements in Peru have not been able to question and change the dominant development model in a very profound way. He attributed this to the distrust in political structures and a lack of political spaces. In Cajamarca, organisations like PIC have been working to create such spaces for information and discussion. Also Carmen from Grufides emphasises that the organisation aims to “support the people in looking for alternatives so that they could have their organisations, so that they form their groups to create their fair businesses”⁵³. Some local mayors, like Pedro, also have tried to organise events where the villagers could come together to discuss their views on mining and development. In my understanding, however, the problem is that many campesinos do not consider these spaces “theirs” due to distrust in the political institutions and leaders, or a sense of disconnect with the mainly urban organisations. In Kabeer’s words (in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3), PIC and other regional organisations are trying to create horizontal spaces of action, but the locals consider them as vertical ones. For the campesinos of Cajamarca, vertical political spaces, whether provided by the national government or other institutions, are marked with suspicion.

This is not to say, however, that some well-constructed alternatives would not be developed in the local political communities. I personally was not able to witness events where such imaginaries were formed, but the results can be seen in different medias used by the locals. For example, a small paper called La Lucha del Pueblo (“The Struggle of the People”) declares to have been born for the purpose to “break the monopoly of the communication medias, because we think that the information is constructed in the dialogue among everyone” (La Lucha del Pueblo 1.6.2012). The magazine encourages all the campesinos to contribute to its contents. Other local papers, such as Vision: Pobreza y Desarrollo (“Vision: Poverty and Development”) write about the events in a more sensational style (Vision: Pobreza y Desarrollo, August 2012). Another paper called Planeta Conga (“Planet Conga”) focuses on providing information and pictures of the nature in the Conga project area and urging the people to defend the nature from the

⁵³ Carmen, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015

mining project (Planeta Conga, November 2012). On the national level, there are independent small papers such as the Lima-based Lucha Indígena (“Indigenous Struggle”), which have written about the anti-mining struggles in Cajamarca (La Lucha Indígena February 2012 & March 2012). Such small newspapers have been born out of the distrust in the larger national and regional newspapers, which some locals believe are spreading wrong information in favour of the mining company.⁵⁴

In addition to copies of such self-produced papers, various leaflets are spread around to inform people about the mining projects and their rights. For example, a leaflet conducted by various organisations informs the locals about their constitutional rights in relation to being detained and held in custody (Ingeniería Sin Fronteras et al, no date). Another leaflet tells a history of “the people in fight” through a colourful cartoon about insects who crave gold or defend their water (La maldición del oro, no date). News and opinions are also spread in the various local radio channels, which reach also the illiterate campesinos and anyone listening to their radios while working or walking around with a portable radio. Information is, of course, also exchanged wherever the people gather together. This might be on casual occasions such as while sharing a drink and some coca leaves on the streets, or over a meal in someone’s house, or through gatherings assigned specifically for the purposes of discussing the mines.

Opinions are also spread through music and art. There are several pieces of street art spread around the town of Celendín, where some locals ridicule the state and the mining company and promote an alternative view (see pictures 2, 10, 12). Also, the streets are used to publish simple statements such as “Aqua sí, oro no” (“Water yes, gold no”) all across the province, from the city of Cajamarca to the village of Sorochuco and small hamlets. The local opinions have also taken the form of songs and poems. Since Cajamarca is known as the capital of carnival of Peru, a natural way of expressing views is through carnival songs. I was given a copy of a small booklet of carnival songs from 2013, titled “Without water there is no carnival” (Sin agua no hay carnaval, 2013). Some of the pieces in this booklet, as well as other similar ones that are spread around, focus on describing the natural surroundings in the area. Others, such as this one by an unknown author, urge the people to act together.

*The land we live on is our Peruvian soil
we work on it / united like brothers.*

*Paisanos cajamarquinos we shall fight for our people
and we will continue winning / for the good of our land.*

⁵⁴ One of the interviewees, a male from Celendín, showed me a copy of an old issue of Perú21, one of the biggest national newspapers. The front page read: “Narcos vs. Conga: Cajamarca is the new centre of drugs”. The story was that the locals who resist Conga are doing so because they want to protect a supposed cocaine trade in the area. Other interviewees claim that the media has portrayed the anti-miners as “terrorists”. Such claims have been proven false (Wilson 2016). The national and international newspapers have, however, also published articles that criticize the actions of the mining company and World Bank in Cajamarca (see, for example, Hallman & Olivera 2015).

[Spoken:] "The people united will never be defeated."⁵⁵

*We are cajachos we will defend the water
how does the gold help us / without water it has no value.*

*[Chorus:] Why would I care that they say I am a terrorist
I am a china cajamarquina who defends the water.*

[Spoken:] "The water is a treasure that is worth more than gold."

("Cajachos who defend the water – Strength of Cospan", author unknown. In *Sin agua no hay carnaval*, 2013)

Through such mediums of knowledge-sharing the locals are taking over the knowledge and the spaces for publishing it. The street walls, local papers, radios and carnivals are employed as spaces of political action. When the national newspapers and other "outside" medias are considered to be misrepresenting the locals, the locals respond by creating their own alternatives. As they have alternative authorities, they have alternative medias, which are also based in the local, horizontal spaces. These medias are important for the social movement, which needs to use locally approachable medias to address and bring together as many campesinos as possible. In this, solutions like radio broadcasts, street scribblings and carnival songs are an obvious choice.

Such medias are, however, used by both sides. All around the Cajamarca capital city there are scribbles on the streets that say "Agua sí, oro no" (Yes to water, no to gold) or "Conga no va" (Conga is not going [to happen]). In some parts the scribbles have been altered to say "Agua sí, oro SÍ" and Conga SÍ va. I even saw one scribble that had been altered twice, first to negative and then back into its original form, reflecting the divided opinions in the urban spaces. In the village of Sorochuco, however, none of the scribbles resisting mining had been altered. There, the local political space is dominated by those who reject mining.

5.2.3 Law as a tool?

Some national laws were repeatedly raised by the interviewees. Especially those locals who had been directly affected with the protests would speak about the law, often in the sense that there is a need to change the existing laws or seek justice through legal ways. Since citizen rights and obligations are institutionalised through national legal systems, and many of my interviewees seem to consider legal systems as an important tool to claim their rights, I consider it essential to discuss some of the laws

⁵⁵ This line is a borrow from a famous Chilean song "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido", which was originally created by Sergio Ortega Alvarado and Quilapayún in the 1970s and became a world-known song of resistance.

considering the political status of the campesinos. I will focus on how these laws affect the realities of the campesinos indulged in the social movement against mining, or who are trying to seek justice through legal ways for the violations they have experienced amidst the mining conflict.

While questioning the state arguments with their own economic discourse, the locals can use the state's law for their own purposes. As for the Guatemalan anti-mining movements discussed by Rasch (2012), being familiar with national laws and international agreements might enable access to more political power for the movements in Cajamarca. The locals can use the national law in the social movement in two different ways. They can either make claims based on the existing laws, or advocate for changes in the national laws, so that they would better correspond to the local conceptions of rights and duties. The campesino communities have the advantage of being recognised in the constitution as a social group, which in the law is discussed parallel to indigenous communities. The need to "respect" the local campesinos is written down in the constitution of 1993.

"Article 89. – Campesino and Native Communities. The Campesino Communities and the Natives have legal existence and are legal persons. They are autonomous in their organisation, in the communitarian work and in the use and free disposal of their lands, in the economic and administrative sense, within the framework that the law establishes. [...] The State respects the cultural identity of the Campesino and Native Communities."

(Constitución Política del Perú 1993, Article 89.)

The phrasing of this article is rather vague, and what is meant by "respect" is not described in more detail. However, the article still recognises campesinos as a special citizen group who has rights over their lands. Even as a vaguely phrased article, the law can serve as a basis for claims over citizen rights and rights to determine land use. As mentioned in chapter 2.1, also the Rondas movement is recognised by law (Ley de Rondas Campesinas 1987/24571). The law gives the Rondas legal authority to take part in a peaceful solution of social conflicts within the communities that it operates in. The law also recognises the Rondas as a mediator between the communities and the state. It declares that the Rondas have a right to "participation, control and monitoring of programs and projects to be implemented in its communal jurisdiction according to law" (Ley de Rondas Campesinas 1987/24571, Article 6). The Rondas are, then, more than a self-proclaimed local alternative. They have a national legal status, and thus are a recognised subject in the national political community. However, the law also requires for the Rondas to cooperate its actions with the police and a number of other public authorities. Members of the branch of Rondas I was associated with during the fieldwork explained that the state "does not like them" and constantly tries to oppress the functions of the organisation. The Rondas law, although meant to recognise and legitimise the alternative civil authority movement, also allows an interpretation of a tight surveillance and control.

The state's responsibility to protect the environment, especially "fragile ecosystems" and "vulnerable areas", is also written in the General Environmental Law.

"Article 98. – On the conservation of ecosystems. The conservation of ecosystems aims to conserve cycles and ecological processes, to prevent processes of their fragmentation by human activities and to issue measures of recovery and rehabilitation, giving priority to special or fragile ecosystems.

Article 99. – On fragile ecosystems. 99.1 In exercising their functions, the public authorities adopt special protection measures for the fragile ecosystems, taking into account their unique features and resources; and their relationship to specific climatic conditions and to natural disasters. 99.2 Fragile ecosystems include [...] wetlands, highland lakes, coastal hills, cloud forests and relict forests. 99.3 The State recognizes the importance of wetlands as habitats for species of flora and fauna, especially migratory birds, prioritizing their conservation in relation to other uses."

(Ley General del Ambiente, 2005/28611, Articles 98-99)

This law can clearly serve the purposes of an environmentally oriented agrarian movement which are situated in areas that have been identified as fragile ecosystems (see Torres & Castillo 2012; chapter 2.1 in this study). The discourse of this law fits in with the pursuits of environmental movements that claim recognition to the environment itself as a subject of rights (see Smith & Pangsapa 2008, 11); in the Environmental Law, the fragile ecosystems are recognised as an entity that has to be protected. The same environmental law states that the people have a right to have access to information about possible effects on their environment, and a right to "environmental justice". This is an example of how the connection between social and environment problems are interconnected also in legal discourse. The Peruvian environmental law even recognises the connection between protecting the environment and protecting cultural heritage, resonating with Manuel's urge to protect natural locations that are defined sacred for him and others in the community (see chapter 5.1.1).

"Article II. – On the right to access to information. Every person has the right to adequate and timely access to public information on policies, norms, measures, works and activities that could affect, directly or indirectly, the environment, without the need to invoke justification or interest that motivates such a request.

Article IV. – On the right to access environmental justice. Every person has the right to a quick, simple and effective action, in front of the administrative and judicial entities, in defence of the environment and its components, ensuring the adequate protection of the health of people individually and collectively, the conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of natural resources, as well as the conservation of cultural heritage linked to them.

Legal action may be taken even in cases that do not affect the economic interest of the plaintiff. The moral interest legitimates the action even when it does not relate directly to the plaintiff or to their family."

(Ley General del Ambiente, 2005/28611, Articles II, IV)

We also interviewed a representative from ANA, The National Water Authority (Autoridad Nacional del Agua), a state body for water regulation, whose purpose is, “through its decentralized organs”, to “exercise administrative territorial jurisdiction over the distribution of water resources at the national level”.⁵⁶ The representative we interviewed believes that the solution for solving the mining conflict would be legalizing the access to water as a human right in the national law, and “formalising” the lakes in the Conga project area as lakes of human consumption. In this way, the representative believes, the lakes would be legally protected from exploitation. According to him, this “formalisation” had already been done for other lakes in mining areas. Interestingly, however, when asked what he thinks about the mining company’s plans to build artificial lakes, the representative did not say much. He simply replied that the law allows the construction of such reservoirs, but they must be “done well”.⁵⁷ This is an example of how the environmental laws can be interpreted and serve the purposes of both sides, the locals and the company.

The national legal structures do, however, reflect some of the local values and views and provide official vertical spaces (Kabeer in Thompson & Tapscott 2010, 3) for the citizens to claim their rights. In addition to the possibility to make reclaims for violations of the environmental laws, the citizens have, at least in theory, a right to declare actions of the police and army. Rosa, and others who have been victims of violence in the protests, have made legal reclamations for the violence of the police. Rosa emphasises that she claims “justice”, which for her means legal actions against those responsible for the killings and compensation for her family. She wants justice especially for her children, who were left without a father. Rosa, among others, says she has had to travel several times all the way to the city of Chiclayo to denounce the events. Chiclayo is a city on the coast of Peru, located about 250 kilometres away from the city of Cajamarca. Rosa said that in Chiclayo, she had been in one *audiencia*, legal hearing. They had been promised another one, but until the time of the interview, it had not taken place. Rosa said she had asked for a follow-up for her case several times, with no results.

“They have filed our papers in Chiclayo. And we have demanded again, and a señor from Cajamarca has gone again twice, and they have removed it again [...] because they have filed us, they have already filed the case of the deaths. They have filed it. [...] Sometimes I unfortunately go ask them, let’s see what is happening, how is the problem being followed up? [They say] señora, don’t worry, they are following the problem with the papers, on this and this date... The date comes – another date. And from there, no longer. No longer... This has been lost already. They alone... Many things can happen because they have taken on a tremendous tranquillity.”

(Rosa, Celendín, 21.3.2015)

⁵⁶ <http://www.ana.gob.pe/nosotros/la-autoridad/nosotros>, viewed 8.8.2016.

⁵⁷ Male 50+, Celendín, 4.3.2015

Rosa and the others who have made denunces for the events have experienced humiliation. First, they could not make the complaints in the city of Cajamarca, but at least one of them had to travel all the way to the coast to make them. Second, they were humiliated by “archiving” their complaints, and providing only false promises on when the cases would be addressed. Also other people directly affected by the protest state that they have received no compensation: “nobody listens to us, nobody cares”⁵⁸. One village leader (*teniente*) describes their efforts:

“There is nowhere to reclaim. We go, we reclaim at the offices of Yanacocha. We reclaim at Yanacocha, they tell us to go to Conga. We go to Conga, they tell us to go to Yanacocha. They pass us around. They tire us as authorities, we cannot get anything.”

(Male ~40, Combayo, 6.3.2015)

Manuel, however, says that one of the complaints regarding the mountain Quilish case (see chapter 2.4) did have an effect: “Thanks to us, thanks to the reclaim we made, the mountain Quilish has not been exploited up until this moment.”⁵⁹ Manuel also tells that he has taken part in making a more elaborate reclaim to the World Bank, where they named several problematic points in the actions of Yanacocha, including issues over water and land. Manuel tells that after this, there had been “a dialogue table” where his indigenous community had taken part. This dialogue, however, was not that successful, and Manuel says that the reclaim to the World Bank still has not been addressed properly.

“We have gone to make a reclaim at the World Bank, we presented the reclaim, they made a dialogue table in Cajamarca, and we ended effusively kicking the board, because dialogue tables don’t give results. Because the mines come with all their political and economic weight, and one cannot dialogue. There is economic and political disadvantage, because the mine comes with all its officials, and you go with one more, and already you cannot achieve [anything]. Rather, it is a treatment for the people, for these famous negotiation tables do not give results.”

(Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015)

Manuel calls the dialogue tables as merely a “treatment” for the people, to calm them down. Similarly to the information and consultation events (see chapter 5.1.3), the dialogue events between the different sides of the conflict are dominated by the side that has considerably more power. The dialogue tables are another form of humiliation of the locals, as their demands are overlooked. Such experiences turn the perspective of people like Manuel and his community, who were originally willing to negotiate with

⁵⁸ Male 40, Combayo, 6.3.2015

⁵⁹ Manuel, Cajamarca, 23.3.2015

the mining company. Now, Manuel is not willing to negotiate any more, but simply wants Newmont to leave Peru. In Hoetmer's words (2013), for Manuel, the conflict has turned from one of coexistence to one of alternatives.

However, through protests and other types of social action, the mining movements of Peru have succeeded in getting their claims written down in the national law. One such law is the canon or royalty law (Ley del Canon), which responds to the demands of those locals who see the unequal economic distribution at the core of the mining problem.

"Article 2. – The purpose of the law. The present Law determines the natural resources whose exploitation generates canon, and in a general manner regulates its distribution in favor of the municipalities and regional governments, populated centers and communities in whose districts the referred resources are located.

Article 9. – The Constitution of the Canon. The mining royalties consist of 50 % (fifty percent) of the total entries and rents that the holders of the mining activities pay for the exploitation of natural resources."

(Ley de Canon, 2006/27506)

The implementation of this law, however, has been highly criticized (see chapter 2.1). Only one of the interviewees mentions this law, bluntly remarking that "it has never worked to help the community here".⁶⁰ Still, the interviewees who expect development benefits from mining activities essentially have some faith in a similar system to that of the canon law. Despite the distress over the obvious corruption, the locals believe in the political practices eventually shaping to meet the legal rule. Some others might have a mining-based view on development but little faith in the legal system, making them anti-mining only because of the corrupt government and ineffective implementation of laws.

In general, then, the existing national, vertical legal spaces have been hardly useful for the local pursuits on their citizen rights. Some laws might support the local views on environmental and campesino rights, but their implementation lags behind. One interviewee states that "there is no justice in Peru".⁶¹ On the contrary, the law has been used mostly against the local movements. One example of this is said to be the way that Ollanta Humala declared a State of Emergency in Cajamarca in 2011 after the largest protests. Declaring a state of emergency allows the government to suspend certain rights of the citizens in the name of peace:

"State of emergency, in the case of disturbance of peace or the internal order, a catastrophe or serious circumstances that affect the life of the Nation. In this event, the constitutional rights related to personal liberty and security, inviolability of the home, and the freedom of reunion and movement, may be restricted or suspended. [...] In state of emergency the

⁶⁰ Female ~30, Celendín, 21.3.2015

⁶¹ Male 45, Rejopampa, 25.2.2015

Armed Forces assume the control of internal order, if the President of the Republic orders so."

(Constitución política del Peru 1993, Article 137)

Some interviewees discussed Humala's decision to declare a state of emergency, describing as "absurd" and "exaggerated"⁶². Segundo, the university teacher, even reckons that the killings of Celendín were purposeful: they served as an excuse to declare a state of emergency. In reality, most people in the region continued to live their normal lives without any visible signs of the "disturbance of peace". Again, the distrust expands to another sphere. The legal actions of the national government are seen as serving the mining company, in fact even as actions of the company itself.

"In my opinion, it was a manipulated matter, so that there would be deaths in Celendín, and with this is generated... A face of emergency. But for example in Cajamarca, right, the people went to fight at the determined protest [and] the rest of their hours... Cajamarca lived its cultural and social activities, normally. In other words, there were something like planned, organized protests, and the crowd participated. That's not a total closure, right?"

(Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2016)

Another law that considerably weakens the legal situation of the locals is a new law introduced in January 2014, which releases the police and the army from responsibility if they cause injuries or death while on duty.

"Article 20: Criminal responsibility. Exempt from criminal liability are: [...] 11. The staff of the Armed Forces and the National Police of Peru who, while complying their duty and using their weapons or other means of defence, cause injury or death."

(Ley N° 30151, 2014/30151)

Segundo considers this law an ultimate act of rights violation by the government:

"It is another social factor that probably also has had an impact, even to make stronger laws to criminalize the protest. And to free the police from responsibility, because they can claim that they are defending the peace, and in the name of peace there can be aggression, up until death of their citizens. They are like shielded. These impacts, this of Celendín has already had repercussion in the legal aspect on the national level. Starting from the experiences in Cajamarca the government has succeeded in criminalizing the protest and get away with it. What it corresponds, for example, is having a balance between respecting the life of the people and using the law to pretence anything."

(Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2016)

⁶² Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2016

The interviewee highlights how the law is used *against* the citizens and not as a tool to secure their rights. This can be observed in how both of the abovementioned two laws, the law on a state of emergency and the law on the legal responsibility of the police, are worded and used. Furthermore, this notion is emphasised in the way sixteen locals have been denounced for leading the protests, two of whom were interviewed for this thesis. At the time of the fieldwork, the legal processes were still unfinished, and some of the denounced locals had been threatened with imprisonment of up to 30 years – “only for defending the water”.

“Mostly, they are mistreating the fighter who defends the water, who defends the environment, they are imprisoning him, and we are prosecuted for any little mistake we make.”

(Male 41, Sorochuco, 30.1.2015)

However, despite all these negative experiences, many locals still have faith in the legal means of improving their own situation. Rosa says that she will keep “fighting for justice”:

“Even if we were one or two left, we have to continue. If the rest of the companions become cowards, are discouraged, I will not, at least I will be... So that this will be continued. So that something comes for my children because they are the ones who need him now.”

(Rosa, Celendín, 21.3.2015)

Manuel also says that he and some others are working on a “legal project” in order for the Yanacocha mine to be closed. Some interviewees speak about the need for more national regulation on mining, especially in environmental controls, and others refer to the current environmental laws and the need to demand for their implementation in respect of Conga due to its location in the area of fragile ecosystems. This is another example of the locals extending their political identity to the national space. Their political subjectivity might be principally placed in the local spaces, but they seek to use the national citizen status to secure the local communities.

5.2.4 Conclusion: Social mobilisation for and through citizenship

Through different forms of direct action, the locals are extending their political space and re-negotiating their citizen status and citizen rights. They move on from vertical spaces of political action provided by the state, and actively reject the legitimacy of authorities they do not accept and who do not seem to share the local imaginaries of citizenship and development. The most accepted forms of action are

rooted in local spaces in local existing customs, which are finding new dimensions as tools in a social conflict. The Rondas, the cattle surveillance groups and other such customs are similar to the irrigation assemblies and communal kitchens that have been employed for the purposes of social movements in other parts of Peru (Hoetmer 2013, 268; chapter 4.2.4). Furthermore, the campesinos have employed local customs for spreading their views on citizen rights and duties. For example, they use the radio, carnival songs and street art, as well as publishing their own leaflets and newspapers. Such a range of medias undoubtedly has been valuable to reach most of the local population, also those who cannot read. These alternative medias challenge the views of mainstream medias, which according to some locals, are mainly controlled by the mining company.

Existing customs like Rondas or communal problem-solving are also important in the sense that they provide a sort of a safety net for a community or individuals opposing the state view on mining projects. The rural communities are – and have been for decades – constructing local alternatives for the authorities of the state that they do not consider legitimate. However, the data of this research provides no evidence of the local communities wishing to separate themselves from the state. The interviewees would criticise a number of state actions, but not question the state itself as a political community. Instead, some interviewees would frame their resistance as not only defending their local communities, but also as defending Peru and national resources from “the foreigners”. The movement in Cajamarca, then, has similarities to the indigenous movement in Huehuetenango, Guatemala, that defined themselves as a political movement on local, national and international levels. Elisabeth Rasch (2012) considered this approach as an important factor that contributed to the success of the movement. Such a multi-level approach is useful for the movement of Cajamarca as well. Paying attention to multiple levels of political belonging, from local to international level (Lazar 2013), is not only important for researchers wishing to understand citizenship, but for social movements defining their political aspirations and movement strategies.

In this chapter, I also discussed the role of organisations in the anti-mining movement in Peru. The view was, again, mostly that of the local campesinos. Other informants, such as individuals resisting the Conga conflict in urban spaces, might have a different view on the role of the organisations. Bebbington et al (2008, 2895–2897) seem to have reached such an urban view, as they claimed that the anti-mining movements of Peru are mainly defined in urban spaces. A rural point of view negates this view, as the campesinos interviewed for this research mostly denied the existence of organisational support, and some criticised the organisations from benefiting from the rural struggle. The results are, then, more in line with Hoetmer (2013, 269), who found that the urban anti-mining movements have rarely been key actors in the mining movements, and have, in fact, had difficulties in gaining support in rural spaces. The distrust in urban organisations from behalf of the campesinos might be due to a general distrust in

oppressive and corrupt structures, and seeing organisations as a part of them. Some connections do exist, of course, especially in the form of legal support from organisations like Gruffides.

Such legal support might prove very important in bridging the gap between rural and urban movements. In the last part of this chapter, I discussed the ways the national laws partly resonate with the campesino views on environment and the rights of the campesino communities. I also described how many interviewees seek to realise their pursuits through legal means, and have faith in changing the oppressive laws. In this, formal organisations, also urban and international ones, play an important role. They generally have more resources and connections to be able to bring in good lawyers and accumulate detailed knowledge on laws. Furthermore, larger organisations might be better able to make international contacts to gain stronger support for the local movements. As presented in this chapter, many of the interviewees call for such support. The very fact that a Finnish student was so well received in the local communities reflects the urge of the locals to create more international networks in order to sustain their movement.

In my data, almost all of the very detailed plans for alternatives for mining also came through people involved with organisations, or from university professors. It remains a question, however, how these propositions, such as the development of tourism or archaeological excavations, are seen by the majority of the campesinos. However, no matter if they would be ever realised or not, the careful mapping of alternatives might be essential to gain more supporters and credibility when facing an opponent, the mining company, that bases its legitimation in purely economic terms. Furthermore, the movement in Cajamarca has clearly benefited from having regional and local politicians openly supporting and provoking it. Institutionalising the social movement through regional politicians and organisations that work on different levels extends the political space of the local campesinos, in addition to direct local action.

The remaining challenge for the anti-mining movement in Cajamarca is the distrust in formal political structures and leadership that the locals have. This distrust penetrates the local views on organisations, authorities, media, legal institutions and politicians. While it is understandable and justified considering the history of events, this distrust increases the risk of the movement not being able to grow into one that challenges the political culture in a more permanent and profound way, as has happened with other anti-mining movements around Peru (Hoetmer 2013, 272-278). However, the approach that is based on local understandings of what it means to be political seems to be working to bring together various different local perspectives. The focus on existing customs, communality, and respect for nature is bringing together actors to discuss common social imaginaries and to challenge the economically based imaginary of poverty (Rodríguez-Carmona & Castro 2013) that the mining company and the state promote.



Picture 10: Street art in Celendín. The lake guardian says to the police: "I take care of my lands. And you?" Photo: JV



Picture 11: A lake up in the jalca. Photo: JV

6 CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I explored the question *How do the campesinos construct and negotiate citizenship in the context of mining projects in Cajamarca, Northern Peru?* A reflection of the local understandings and self-constructions was produced through a rather vast number of ethnographic interviews and participant observation, analysed with the theoretical framework of citizenship. In the ways the interviewees discussed themes such as the water, environment, development and protesting, understandings of citizen rights and obligations could be identified. Also, the interviews produced an insight into the different levels of political belonging of the local campesinos.

The citizenship ideas of the campesinos are based on local spaces: the local bioregion (Nixon 2011), local lifestyles, social networks and in the responsibility towards the past and future generations. The citizenship understandings of the locals also encompass larger scales. Most of the anti-mining locals also relate to the regional political community with its figurative leader, Gregorio Santos. Also the national scale is important to the locals, despite the oppression of the national government. It does still provide them with some political spaces and legal tools, and some locals expressed concerns over protecting the national resources from “the foreigners”. Most locals interviewed for this thesis did not express desires of autonomy from the state, but rather were calling for changes in the national legislation and politics to better meet the local understandings of the duties of a state. Also, on a global scale, the campesinos are welcoming towards actors and concepts that share their understandings on the need to defend the nature and agrarian rights. The locals, then refer to various levels of political belonging simultaneously.

Naturally, there are some internal conflicts among the local views. The locals have different kinds of conceptions of individual and community rights, as well as of development and the future of their area. Even single individuals expressed contradicting views when discussing different themes. In understanding these contradictions and disagreements it is important to take into account the socio-economic and political context in rural Cajamarca. The locals live in poverty and have experienced political oppression and isolation, and mainly due to personal experiences and situations, they have developed different imaginaries of communal or individual subjectivity. These contexts result in different kinds of imaginaries of what is needed for the area, and varying levels of distrust in politicians, institutions and organisations. The local discourses, then, reflect the imperfect (Clarke et al 2014) and processual (Werbner 1998) nature of citizenship. Nevertheless, while emphasising them differently, the locals share an experience of rights violations. The source of these violations and problems is common, and these “shared grievances and discourses” (Bebbington et al 2008, 2892) has enabled locals to come together to protest for their rights. The local “imperfect” citizenship conception has therefore been perfect enough for the anti-mining locals to join together and halt a mega-project.

Besides analysing the different understandings and self-constructions of political agency, I also discussed how these understandings are employed in practise through social movements. I did this to move on from simply stating that “citizenship there is different from citizenship here” (Lazar 2013, 16), and to involve citizenship in the studies of social movements on a very practical level. In their struggle, the locals have employed various forms of resistance, from traditional protests and strikes to more locally specific forms of action, such as the guardians of the lakes and Rondas Campesinas. I also discussed how national laws relate to the local movement, and could be referred to as a source of legal support. The results of this analysis suggest that the most powerful tools are found in the local spaces, in local existing customs and networks. These tools resonate with the local conceptions of citizenship, and therefore, I argued that understanding local social and political imaginaries is very relevant for successful social movements. Citizenship, understood as a very flexible keyword, reveals possibilities for tools and strategies of social movements. This topic leaves room for further research, in Cajamarca and elsewhere.

Due to time and weather constraints, Hugo and I were not able to cover all the villages and hamlets within the area of influence. Further studies in other locations closer to the project areas, such as the high-altitude hamlet of Agua Blanca, would be necessary if a quantitative study was to be conducted. According to the people in the lower parts, it is likely that the proportions of people for and against mining might be different in higher altitudes. However, we were able to find very different kinds of views in the lower areas, which enabled a very multi-sited qualitative research. Due to the large number of interviewees and hamlets covered, this study also is very representative of the opinions living in the lower parts of the mountain. Furthermore, as my intention was also to study citizen understandings combined with the actions of a social movement, the lower parts were a more reasonable option for a field site, supplemented with the interviews of the people in other parts with special experiences with the mines and the conflict. For examining the points addressed in the research questions, the material collected was very fruitful.

My intention was also to contribute to activist ethnography (3.2.2) with this research. The activist approach was evident in the stance taken from the beginning of the research to defend the local campesinos and place their concerns in the centre of this study. Also, I did try to involve Hugo, Oscar and others in the local Rondas in this research as much as possible. They did have an active role in planning and conducting the research, and because of their expectations and views, the number of interviewees grew much larger than I had planned. However, I wished I could have included them more actively in the process of writing by letting them evaluate the findings. This was difficult, however, due to the distance to the field site and language issues. To be able to let the interviewees participate more in evaluating the analysis, in practice, I would have had to stay on the field site or re-visit it during the writing process, and translate all my writings to Spanish. Due to many practical constraints, this was not

possible. Also, I was unable to take part in the actions of the social movement during my time of the field due to the fact that little organised action took place during the study. However, after leaving the field site, I have offered and given my help to the organisations through translating some articles into English. Overall, the study was not as activist and inclusive as I originally wished for, but the stance was clear from the onset.

What fell out of the scope of this thesis is what kind of citizenship is constructed “top-down” in the context of mining conflicts in Cajamarca: by the state and the mining company, through laws, media, religion, NGOs and international treaties. In the latter chapter of the analysis, I have looked at the local media, national laws, organisations and such as tools for the locals who are claiming their ideas on citizenship, and not as constructions of citizenship themselves. Paying attention to how these sources compare to the perceptions of the campesinos of Sorochnuco could be helpful in understanding the context. Such investigation could be also useful for the local anti-mining movement, as it could provide more information on the perspective of the opposing side.

Furthermore, some fruitful perspectives for further investigations could be looking at the roles of the media and religion in shaping the ideas on citizenship in the context mining activities. The role of the media was briefly touched upon in chapter 5.2.2, but from the perspective of how it is used to spread the ideas of social movements. The significance of the views presented in local, national and international media outlets in shaping conceptions of citizenship and rights was not investigated in this study. Furthermore, religious writings and communities seem to have their role in shaping the ideas of political spaces and the duties and responsibilities of people. For some interviewees, religion was a reason not to take a stance in relation to the mining activities in their surroundings. They would simply state that the matter is “in God’s hands”, and they will adapt to whatever God decides. One interviewee⁶³ even said that he is supportive of the mines, because “it is written in the Bible” that there will be mines. Conversely, for some locals, protecting religious customs and beliefs were another reason to resist the mines.

The future of the Conga project remains unclear. In April 2016, Newmont announced that it will abandon the project “due to current social and political conditions” (Mining.com 18.4.2016). However, right after Pedro Pablo Kuczynski was elected as the new President of Peru in summer 2016, Newmont announced that it wants to reunite with the new president in order to discuss the future of Conga project. The CEO of Newmont, Gary Goldberg, said he has “heard good things about the incoming president” and that although Newmont is not planning to go forward with Conga “in the foreseeable future”, it is working to obtain local support for the project (Gestión 7.7.2016). President Kuczynski, a former Prime Minister and an economist, expressed doubts about the Conga project being continued in the near future during

⁶³ Male 83, Uñigony Griollo, 26.2.2015

his electoral campaign. Soon after assuming office he stated that “Conga is in the fridge, but with other projects there is good dialogue” (RPP Noticias 27.7.2016).

After the election of Kuczynski, the regional president Gregorio Santos was finally released after two years in preventive prison. After being released, Santos immediately attacked the former government of Humala. He said that “the state has turned into a dictatorship” and that he had been kept from “acting as governor” and “taking part in the political life of the country”. Santos has not faced a trial or been found guilty of any crime, but the investigation is still ongoing. Humala’s government has repeatedly denied Santos’s accusations, while Kuczynski has considered Santos’s detention unconstitutional. (Reuters 27.7.2016.) After his release, Santos has continued his open resistance to Conga, reiterating his opposition to Conga and other mining projects (Perú21 5.10.2016).

In April 2016, Máxima Acuña Chaupe, the campesina who has strongly resisted Yanacocha’s consecutive attempts to drive her off her lands (see chapter 2.4), was awarded the Goldman Environmental Prize. The nominators credited her for “standing up for her right to peacefully live off her own property” and “a remarkable sense of optimism in her continued fight for justice” (The Goldman Environmental Prize 2016). Despite such international recognition, however, Máxima’s situation has not changed much. On September 18th 2016, the security forces hired by Yanacocha entered the family lands once again, tried to destroy the family cultivations and pushed the resisting Máxima to the ground. All of this was captured in a video filmed by a family member from the house of the Chaupe (Gruffides 4.10.2016).

In summary, then, the situation in Cajamarca has not changed very much after my field work period. The locals still live in a state of uncertainty and alertness. During the fieldwork, some informants expected that the situation will not change in years, but that the company and the state are only going to wait “until all the protesters are old or dead”⁶⁴. Segundo, from a university, also expected the insecurity to continue.

“It is a problem not yet resolved. I think that we will have several years of social conflicts. Most likely, they will appear in a more aggressive way in some periods, and more latent in others.”

(Segundo, Cajamarca, 24.3.2015)

This thesis has shown, however, that the locals are rather resourceful in their opposition. Most likely, they will keep spreading their views through radios, leaflets and street art, and creating more inclusive social spaces to discuss their aspirations and strategies. Also, a tighter international network might be in place, as publicity of cases such as that of Máxima Acuña, international human rights organisations and foreign academic research bring the case of the cajamarquinos to wider audiences. As discussed

⁶⁴ Male 50+, Salacat, 3.2.2015

above, however, there are some internal disputes that might be problematic for the local movements. The risk exists that the movement in Cajamarca will not be able to grow into anything more than temporary and rather weak forms of organisations and networks after the successful halt of projects, as has been the case with many other anti-mining movements in Peru (Hoetmer 2013).

Many locals, however, clearly have the motivation to keep resisting. For them, the opposition to mining will end in nothing more than a victory or death.

"We can die fighting for our grandchildren." (Female 50, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

"We will continue in the fight for our lives. [...] We prefer losing our poor lives over enduring the mines." (Male 65, Salacat, 3.2.2015)

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ATTACHMENTS

ATTACHMENT 1 (English translation)

Research on Conga and Yanacocha mines and local people living around them

Dear Sirs (or leaders of organisations)

I am doing interviews for an investigation into the significance of the mining project "Conga" for people who live in the area of influence of the project. The idea is to study what the local people think about the Conga mining project, and how the mines have affected their lives in the area. I am a student of social anthropology from Finland, and this research is a project for my thesis.

If you want, your identity can be protected in the research process: I can change your name and some details so that you cannot be identified from the interview. This depends on you, if you want to be presented with your own identity or not.

The thesis will be written in English. If you want, you can leave your email to receive the final work when finished.

You can cancel your participation in the research project any time by calling or emailing me. In this case the recording of the interview will be permanently destroyed. For any questions or concerns you may also contact me through email.

Jenni Viitala

University of Tampere, Finlandia

ATTACHMENT 2 (English translation)

Dear Sirs

I am pleased to write to you to express my cordial greetings from the University of Tampere, Finland and give information about our student who is now in Peru working with a project of her studies.

Jenni Elina Viitala (f.d.n. 29.12.1989) is a student of social anthropology at the University of Tampere, in the city of Tampere, Finland. Now Jenni Viitala is working with her thesis to complete her Master studies in Social Anthropology. Her thesis will be written on the Conga mining project in Peru. Jenni Viitala is specifically interested in the views of the people who live in the area affected by project Conga. Jenni Viitala has chosen this topic for her thesis for his interest and experience in Peru and social conflicts.

To do research Jenni Viitala will use the methods of ethnography and interviews. Jenni Viitala will stay in the region of Cajamarca, Peru for about two months, starting on January 28, 2015.

Laura Huttunen

Professor of Social Anthropology