Amongst the Shadows of Mineralized Mountains: Resource-Making and Social Becoming in the Peruvian Andes

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Kieran Gilfoy

Michaelmas, 2019

Department of International Development
Queen Elizabeth House
University of Oxford
Brasenose College

Table of Contents

Thesis Abstract **V**

Acknowledgements **VI**

List of Figures **VII**

Maps **IX**

Map of Peru **IX**

Map of Apurímac **X**

Map of Las Bambas and the 'Affected Region' **XI**

Prologue **XII**

Introduction **1**

Las Bambas within the extractive imperative **5**

Mining and the political economy of resources **12**

Materiality, minerals and the discordances of resource-making **17**

Rethinking 'the Andes' through social imaginaries **23**

Fieldwork, methodology, and positionality **30**

Writing with care **36**

Thesis structure and outline **39**

Chapter 1. Resource and Social Becomings on the Extractive Frontier **43**

Popular memories of a forgotten region **44**

The arrival of copper and mineral optimism **50**

Retornantes and the new social geography of Cotabambas **56**

'In search of the better life' **62**

Imagined futures and the prospect of dissipation **67**

Conclusion **71**

Chapter 2. Navigating the Maturing Frontier: from professionalization to Cargo Corrals **73**

Industrial mining and perceptions of '*chamba*' **75**

Navigating emerging development **81**

Fuerabamba dreaming and millennial extraction **86**

Cantina conversations and hopeful rumor **91**
Cargo *corales* and the frontier politics of land **98**
Conclusion **105**
Chapter 3. *Hueveando*, Despair, and the Temporalities of Enclaves 108
Enclave spillages and retreating informality **110**
Hueveando and millennial waiting **114**
Performing the 'responsible *comunero*' **120**
The gamble and the precarious futures of copper **126**
Despair, disconnect and escapism **132**
Conclusion **138**
Chapter 4. Corporate Governance and the 'New Sustainable Indian' 140
Corporate social responsibility and Peruvian hinterlands **141**
Creating the 'new sustainable Indian' **145**
Local experiences of corporate engagement **149**
Fantasies of frictionless profits and the management of surplus desires **156**
The *canon* pay-off, the corporate penance **163**
La bala and the spectre of violence **167**
Conclusion **171**
Chapter 5. Toxic Endurance and Exhaustion 173
The rise of environmental regulation and ecological imaginaries **175**
Participatory accountability and regulation-in-practice **178**
Contaminación, confusion, and ambivalence **182**
Toxic endurance and legacies on the maturing frontier **188**
Distribution of endurance and the challenges of activism **193**
Environmentalism of the forgotten **198**
Conclusion **200**
Chapter 6. Indigenous Ideas and Mining Realities 202
The return and threat of the Indian **203**
Indigenism's arrival to the contact zone **207**
Imagined and experienced indigeneity **210**

Indians, copper, and the continued search for a better life **215**
Toiling, not articulating **221**
Real Indians as mining Indians **224**
Conclusion **230**
Conclusion: Rethinking Mineral Discordance in Peru **232**
Bibliography **240**

Thesis Abstract

Since the 1990s, the adoption of the extractive imperative in Peru, while leading to unprecedented economic growth, has simultaneously entailed the proliferation of local contestation at the point source of mineral exploitation. To date, academic attention on '*conflictos mineros*' (mining conflicts) has been dominated by interpretations of political economy which shroud local realities amongst the implicit assumptions of 'isolation' and 'alterity'. Ethnographic interventions on contemporary mining in Peru have lagged behind the explanatory rush. This dissertation, based on 15 months of fieldwork in the communities which surround the Bambas copper mine, attempts to shift and destabilize scholastic presumption. Grounding its theoretical trajectory in progressive imaginaries of social mobility (the 'search for a better life'), the thesis attempts to dissolve the dominant prisms of 'peasant' and 'indigenous' communities to elucidate the complex and, at times, contradictory outcomes of mining as practiced in southern Peru. Resource-making, it is argued, interjects upon fraught histories of marginalization, activating latent desires for social becoming. Over time, however, the maturation of mining, from exploration to eventual low-labor production, unfurls stark discordances between development's image and reality. Communities and individuals are forced to navigate this shifting social terrain, interpreting millennial moral orders, developing alternative projects for the 'better life', and, ultimately, 'waiting' for imagined futures that are increasingly threatened by precarity. These crises in social becoming produce unintended outcomes, even amongst the 'responsible' precepts of 'modern mining'. Accordingly, CSR works to govern expectation and corporate entanglements with shadowed communities. Environmental regulation creates complex and insecure relations between toxic legacies and endurance. While indigenous legal precepts transform through the friction of travel and contact to eventually assemble artisanal mining ventures. The overarching empirics move with and beyond conventional conceptions of Andean peoples and corporate interventions to demonstrate festering frustrations with development trajectories and continuous maneuvering within them.

Acknowledgements

I am forever grateful to Tim and Joan Gilfoy. Your patience with and understanding of a roving, restless, sensitive, and taciturn son approaches the absurd. I'm still uncertain if your love travels, traversing oceans and penetrating silence, or if it is simply something I carry with me. Regardless, it has always seemed present, and this dissertation would have been impossible without it.

Andy, thank you for providing a space for madness and a desk for seriousness. Your laughter and love pulled me through many a day.

Danny and Mihika, thank you for bearing with me and propping me up. You both made Oxford a brighter place. Simu, Zaad, Ali, Eedu, and Ilan, you have all been wonderful friends along this strange journey.

Gary Jones, I've never felt so at home than in your Arms. May your jangling keys continue to echo through the halls of QEH; until of course, you are ready to hand them over to me.

A further thank you to the gentle pint pullers and earnest book vendors of Oxford, who at times, stilted the world.

Laura, I cannot imagine any other supervisor getting me over the line. You endured my brooding silence, and for some reason, never lost faith. You allowed me to wander, but reigned me in when I began to stray. Your uniqueness, intelligence, patience and kindness have always inspired; from start to finish. All shortcomings in the pages that follow are completely my own.

Most of all, my deepest thanks to the community of Ccahuapirhua. You opened up your lives to me, tolerated my peculiarities, and offered up your own. The dictates of academic scrutiny and convention can be frustrating. I hope my words have captured a degree of your strength, beauty, and humanity.

List of Figures

Figure 1. Plaza of Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 2. The community of Ccahuapirhua; Chucruni mountain in the background. Source: author.

Figure 3. President Alejandro Toledo arriving in Cotabambas to announce the Bambas project. Source: Google Images.

Figure 4. The copper mine of Antamina, opened in 1998. Source: Google Images.

Figure 5. The beginning of the September 2015 conflict in Cotabambas. Source: Google Images.

Figure 6. A 'mineralized mountain' in Cotabambas. Source: author.

Figure 7. Cooper 'arrives': A member of the Xstrata social team meets with community members. Source: ProInversion 2005.

Figure 8. Tilling the land; preparing the *chacras*. Source: author.

Figure 9. '*Casa Antigua'* in the hills above Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 10. Stone coral on the high *puna* above Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 11. Facebook photo of friend displaying the lure of professional employment. Source: author via anonymous.

Figure 12. The urban sprawl of the boomtown, Challhuahuacho. Source: author.

Figure 13. The municipality of Challhuahuacho. Source: author.

Figure 14. The 'shining citadel', Nueva Fuerabamba. Source: Google Images. Figure 15. A *curandero* business in Challhuahuacho. Source: author.

Figure 16. The map and calculation of rumor, as retraced from my fieldnotes. Source: author.

Figure 17. Drawing from fieldnotes depicting the new 'cargo' corals of Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 18. Playing cards in Jose Eduardo's rented room in Challhuahuacho. Source: author.

Figure 19. Jose Eduardo and Danny *hueveando* on the rooftop of their building in Challhuahuacho. Source: author.

Figure 20. Fixing the road leading to community *chacras* during a *faena* in Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 21. MMG's participatory meeting in Ccahuapirhua. Note the group of men

anxiously examining the corporate map. Source: author.

Figure 22. The corporate map delineating community borders, mining operations, and potential expansion. Source: author.

Figure 23. Promotional billboard outside of Challhuahuacho. Source: author. Figure 24. An MMG report on the *Carnaval* in Cotabambas, cultural heritage, and corporate support. Source: author.

Figure 25. 'We Mine for Progress' – MMG and its sustainable development campaign. Source: Google Images.

Figure 26. Festival in *Qeuena* celebrating '*Yanahuara* culture'. Source: author.

Figure 27. *Huatia* competition in Huanacopampa during community *aniversario*. Source: author.

Figure 28. View of Ccahuapirhua from the road running west towards Abancay. Source: author.

Figure 29. View of Las Bambas from the *puna* above Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 30. The mouth of an artisanal mine in Cotabambas. Source: author.

Figure 31. Artisanal mining in Ccahuapirhua. Source: author.

Figure 32. Taking a break from mining to chew coca. Source: author.

Figure 33. *Pagacho* in Ccahuapirhua – Asking permission from the mountain to work its *beta*. Source: author.

Figure 34. Martin Vizcarra presenting *El Plan de Desarrollo de Cotabambas* to the communities of the province. Source: author.

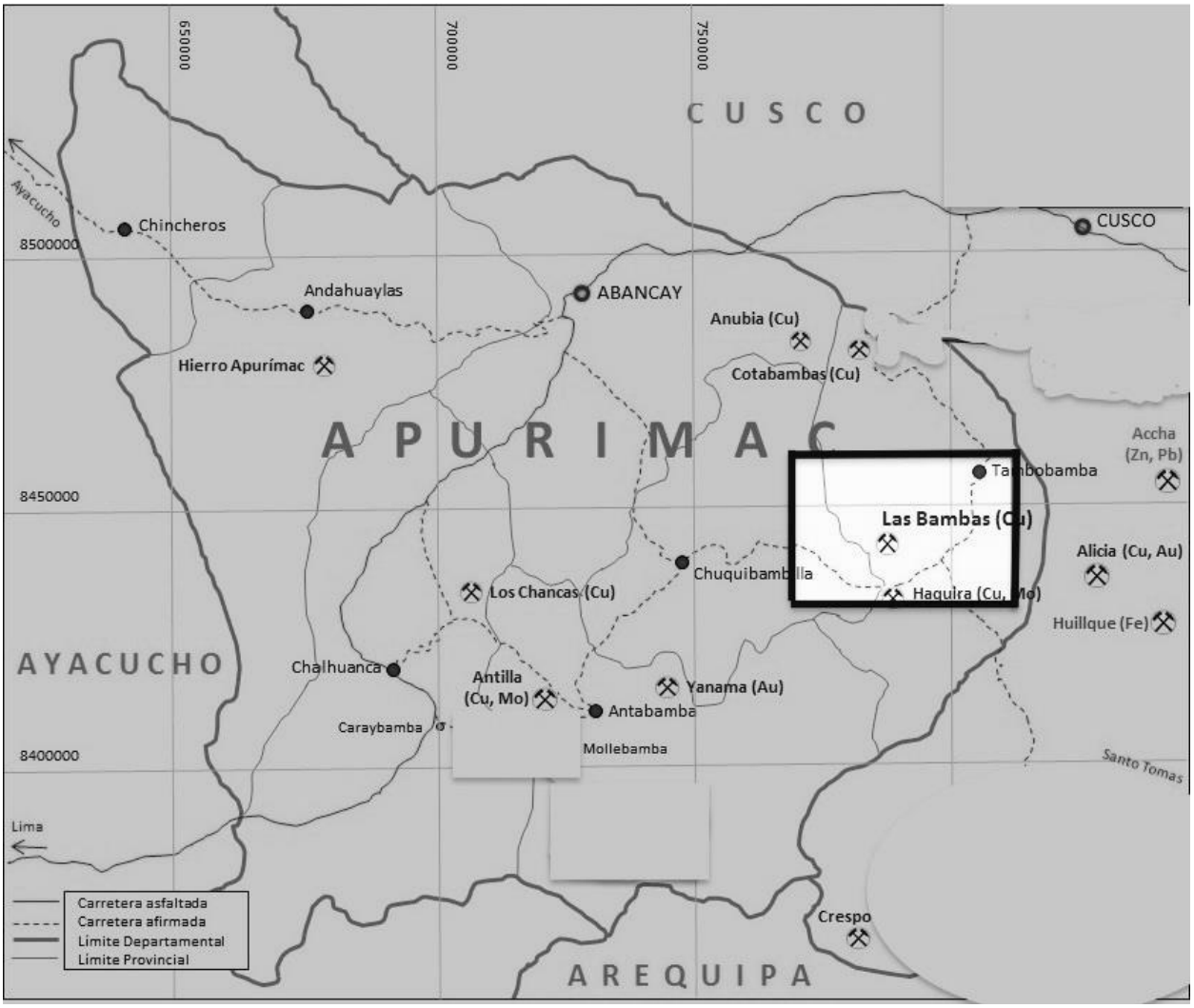
Maps

Map of Peru



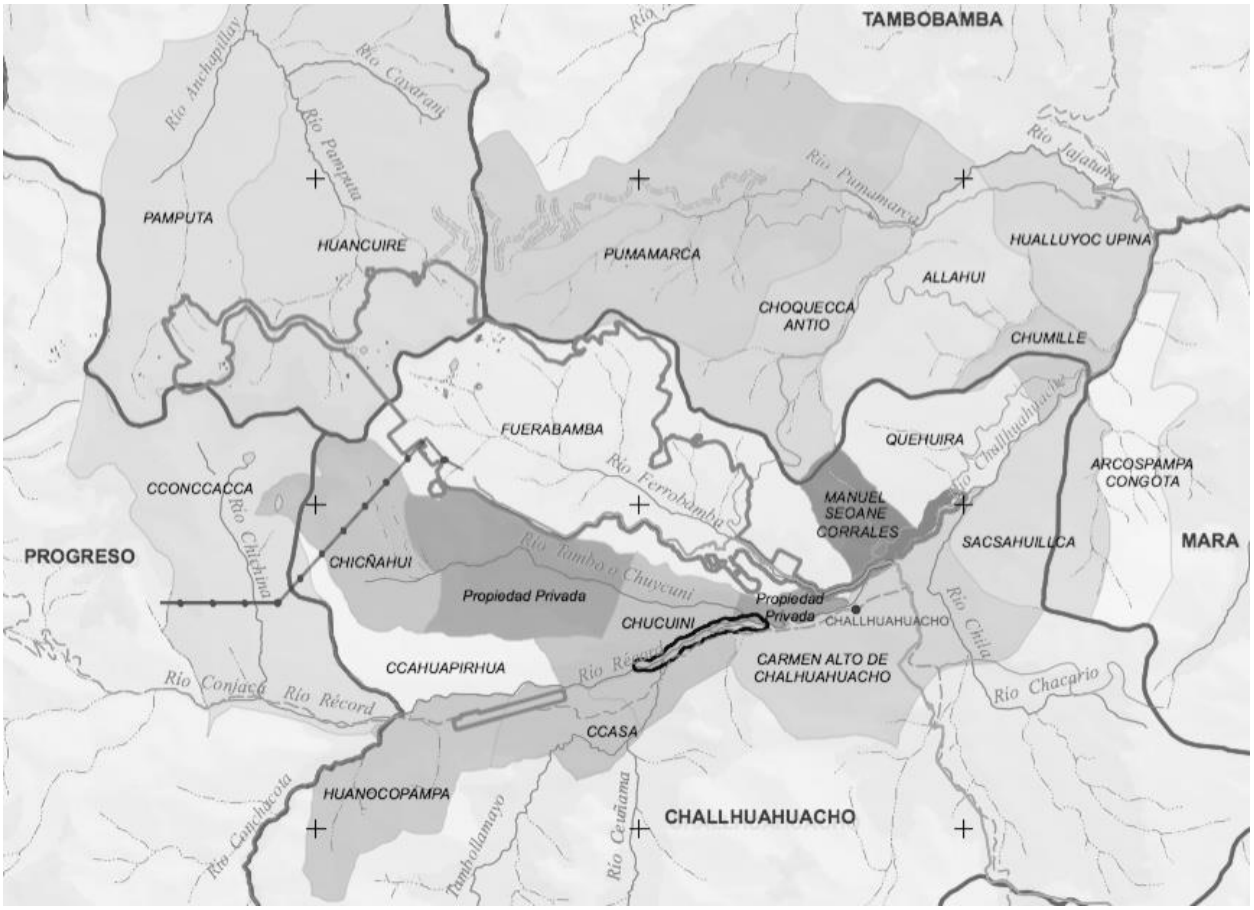
[Department of Apurímac highlighted. Source: Nations Online Project - https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/peru-administrative-map.htm]

Map of Apurímac



[Las Bambas mine in the province of Cotabambas highlighted. Source: adapted from Proinversion - https://www.proyectosapp.pe/modulos/JER/PlantillaProyecto]

Map of Las Bambas and the 'Affected Region'



[Source: adapted from Xstrata, 2010. Environmental Impact Assessment, Volume A, 28]

Prologue



[**Figure 1.** ***Plaza of Ccahuapirhua*****. Source: author**.]

As 5 pm approaches, the sun begins to hide behind the mountain of Chucruni. The afternoon heat dissipates from the highland altitude and a long shadow begins to stretch across the small adobe houses of *la comunidad campesina de Ccahuapirhua*. The industrious bustle of a mining zone seems a world away. As the light recedes, running west, a stillness descends upon the community as individuals and families abscond into their homes, retreating from the encroaching cold. Another day passed. It is almost tranquil.

On June 9th, 2017, the bucolic silence is ruptured by a Toyota Hilux spinning over the hillside and parking in the community plaza, a corporate insignia emblazoned on its side panel. It is a charity convoy from MIMP (*Ministerio de Mujeres y Poblaciones Vulnerables*), arriving in Ccahuapirhua to distribute parcels of clothing to *ninos* and *viejos*. Children and the elderly soon funnel out of their houses and form an orderly queue facing the back of the truck. A stout local volunteer emerges from the passenger seat, strolls to the rear of the vehicle and wastes no time in allocating garments to the vulnerable individuals in wait.

It was only as he had completed distributing clothes and documenting names that the man caught sight of me, sitting as I was against the wall of an adobe house, kicking rocks, still

assembling the various moving parts of fieldwork. He approached and extended a hand in formal greeting. His name was Luis Angel.

'And what is a gringo doing here alone in rural Cotabambas?' he asked.

I summarized what I could in a capacious sentence: 'I am here to understand the realities of communities that surround the Bambas project'. It seemed bold and arrogant, but before I could cringe at my own audacity he gave me a knowing nod.

'*Oh si, la mina. El Perú es rico, pero aún somos pobres*' (Oh yes, the mine. Peru is rich, but still we are poor). *Was he speaking about Las Bambas or 'the mine' as a historical symbol? Was he assessing the outcomes for this community or* la sierra *(the highlands) as a whole?* I could not respond before the ignition of an engine beckoned him back and he turned from whence he came. As the truck disappeared from the dusty rural plaza, his words churned over in my head; the indeterminate lines between community and country; between history and the present. They still do.

*****

For decades, national discourse in Peru has been saturated with a popular saying: '*El Perú es un mendigo sentado en un banco de oro*' (Peru is a beggar sitting on a bench of gold). Its origins have been debated, some attributing it to the Italian-born Peruvian geographer Antonio Raimondi, whose extensive journeys throughout the country in the late 19th century documented the substantial mineral riches still present in the mountainous interior. Regardless of attribution, the phrase - and its many iterations - has often been used in political and media discourse to bemoan Peru's sluggish development trajectory. Presidents, corporate lobbyists, and media personalities have used the idiom to convey the paradoxical predicament of unfulfilled prosperity, even during the contemporary moment, when mining investment and production have reached historic levels. Within the imagery of this conventional formulation, there looms a backward populous standing between natural and productive wealth; those beggars; those '*anti-mineros*'. While it is easy to deconstruct this narrative and reveal its obtuse political games and power asymmetries, I had never entertained the saying's inversion - a shifting of the vantage point as Peru lunged forward into the new millennium, concessioning out its subsoil to the highest bidder.

Thus, as I reflected, the profundity of Luis Angel's statement rested not in its eloquence or depth, but in its relational representation of the country's predicament; turning convention on

its head; re-constituting the development mirage form the margins; a word from the much-derided beggar. *The country is rich, but still we remain poor*. Answering this riddle remains beyond my intelligence and data. However, its thrust, concern and perspective lies at the heart of my writing and thinking, working through the perspectives and experiences of those in the shadows of extraction in Peru. What had mining promised? What was it delivering? What is it like to sit on a bench of gold?

Introduction



[**Figure 2.** ***The community of Ccahuapirhua; Chucruni mountain in the background.*** **Source: author**.]

With the sun on our face and purpose in our step, we ascended Chucruni mountain as a silent caravan on the heels of a declaration. We were six, lumbering in single file. The trail we followed was worn; a historical route of pastoral afternoons which today was traversed by a few sheep and, as I was discovering, non-professional prospectors. As we climbed further, passing along a curved slope into the mountain's fold, the wind ceased. Now shielded from northerly gusts we were free to raise our heads. Interspersed throughout the tawny highland grasslands were fallow *chacras* (agricultural plots), the ruins of a few aged and solitary homes, and empty stone corrals. The steep radiant of the climb rewarded us with southerly views to the receding plaza of the community, with its condensed collection of over a dozen adobe homes, and beyond to the community of Huanacopampa and the uneven landscape that stretched towards the department of Arequipa. We were standing at almost 4,000 m, looking out over rolling and promising hills of eastern Apurímac; a once forgotten region of Andean Peru.

No more than two kilometers north as the condor flies, beyond the ridge above, similar mountains were disappearing. Dynamite, excavators, dump trucks, and men and women in fluorescent corporate attire worked with calculation and pragmatism to fall the rock face of an open pit, consuming, in centrifugal fashion, the hills of its expanding perimeter. The great Bambas project, in development for over a decade, had begun production almost a year ago. The

mine was now shipping nearly 400,000 tonnes of copper concentrate across the Pacific and was estimated to account for 2% of global copper output and 1% of Peruvian GDP. While the frenetic energy and routines of 'modern mining' were invisible and distant from our pastoral stroll, the notion of copper and development that underpinned the project – entwined; a definitive extractive alloy – were very much present.

Our journey this afternoon had been prompted by a relatively innocuous comment. Sitting on a grassy intersection between houses in the concentrated core of the community, Juan Carlos had stated, without prompt, that '*todos estes cerros estan mineralizados*' (all these hills contain minerals). It was a phrase I had heard many times before during my months in the field, but was still grappling with its significance. All the mountains throughout the rugged province of Cotabambas seemed relatively similar to my nascent gaze. There were jagged peaks, and rounded mounds; some covered in a smooth yellowish carpet, others ruptured by rocky outgrowths that I sometimes imagined as signifying inner turmoil. Yet, none, to me, foretold mineral wealth – much less how it ran from one to another, connecting them all. I had begun to interpret my inability as a deficiency; that there were local interpretations of mountains which I was too naïve to see, and so, in response to Juan Carlos's remark, demanded how it was he knew. My question was taken as reproach; not as an invitation for the epistemological discussion I had hoped, but as a challenge to his character and claims. Juan Carlos was quick to his feet, 'I'll show you'. We began to march towards and then up Chucruni mountain.

Now, walking along the trampled path of rustic travel, I laughed in my head at having interpreted his statement as evincing some local and near mystical clairvoyance, structured by a long cultural tradition, and instead that he had simply seen and held the copper in question; a local geologist rather than a shaman. Regardless, given the slowness of the day, I was buoyed by the chance to stretch my legs and soon lay eyes upon the mineral that was reconfiguring the history, present, and future of a region. We walked on, myself lagging in the altitude. Silence punctured now and then from a rock scattered by low hanging feet.

It was no more than twenty minutes before we had arrived at a mound of rubble barely perceptible from the community plaza where we had once sat. The heap of stone and sediment rested at the foot of a cave, burrowed into the mountain side; proof that these *cerros* (hills) were indeed being investigated for their content. The group scoured the rocks for a brief moment before presenting to me the artefact in doubt: a stone, russet on the edges, but streaked through by green that in certain places shaded towards blue.

'*Hay cobre adentro* (There is copper inside)', I was told with clear excitement. 'Look,

this part with the green, this is the copper'. I held the stone in my hand, turning it over, examining its wonderful transitions of pigment. More scrounging followed, and more rocks were brought forward and placed in my grasp, all different shapes and weight, but with the consistent verdant hue at their core. '*Todos estes cerros estan mineralizados*!', the point driven home once more.

As I squirmed under the growing heap in my arms, losing track of which ones I had not inspected and wondering where to drop those I had, I caught sight of Juan Carlos prop his foot up on an embankment and repeatedly thrust his pelvis forward, a ribald gyration. '*La gringa* is inside!', he yelled.[1] The crew of *comuneros* bellowed in laughter. I myself, for a brief moment, was consumed by their excitement and optimism. Here, laying below the rough *ichu*[2] grasses of their harsh community lands, where the soil could be unforgiving and agricultural futures were locked into cycles of subsistence, was a seam of copper. In demand by international markets and promoted by a national government – as the Bambas project attested to - its potentiality was reworking the region and arousing imaginations and expectation in palpable ways. The stones were the product of geological processes, but also of social and political configurations. They were imbricated in histories and worlds beyond the material itself. In that moment, still staring at and captivated by the cloudy green mineral I held, I too felt enveloped by possibility.

The question was, and had been for some time now, how to unlock it. In what manners was (and should) the encased verdant substance - currently being dug out of these hills, boiled down to demanded properties, and shipped abroad in accordance with corporate logics of mining capitalism – fulfilling its potential? What residues from these rocks and processes remained here in mountainous Cotabambas? What externalities were being dumped off as well? Questions on the entanglements of reality and expectation, experience and affect; queries on the local mixtures of extraction. And the moment one began to consider such questions the spectre of foil within these oxidized nuggets of stone became just as palpable as the that of potential. Despite the merry mood of that moment on Chucruni mountain, the atmosphere of copper's possibility for local communities belied serious existential questions about what the region and its inhabitants were *to become*. Serious questions for not just my *compañeros* in Ccahuapirhua, but peoples the world over.

---

[1] For decades, I was told – though I suspect centuries – the mineral *betas* (veins) found within the Andes have been referred to as '*la gringa*'. Now, Juan Carlos was using the anthropomorphic slippage to humorously, if also with a degree of grotty *machismo*, express his excitement.

[2] A Quechua term for 'coarse bunch grass of the alpine zone' (Gose 1994, 300).

Today, across the globe, the production and consumption of minerals has reached historic levels. It has been said that we have entered an unprecedented 'mineral age', one in which a dependence on minerals has come to 'underpin the societies and economies of late capitalism in the twenty-first century' (Jacka 2018, 62). Fueling this global phenomenon has been unparalleled demand for resources by developing economies, particularly in Asia, where urbanization and industrial electronics abound. Cobalt in cellphone networks, copper in expanding electrification systems, all factor into the 'pulling' of resources from their 'natural' habitats into the global market. More often than not, at this finalized end of capitalist commodity-chains (Tsing 2015), minerals become 'anonymous' (Kirsch 2014), blending into gadgets and infrastructure that consumers use and live with. A wake of indifference can be seen to follow these processes, leaving the power of minerals without much regard (see Bridge 2001).

Yet, at the other end of commodity chains, resources are not simply released, but promoted. The underbelly of this 'mineral age' has been a near uniform adoption of extraction-led development models, across much of the Global South and in line with international lending standards, that affix resources with transformative potential. Brave new worlds are promised to await states and locales willing to embrace the consensus of extraction. There is perhaps no better regional example than Latin America, where, between 1990 and 1997, investment in mineral exploration grew by over 400% (Bebbington 2007). At this pole of the mineral spectrum, there is no room for indifference. The power of resources – their rawness – entangles itself amongst local lifeworlds, avoiding disinterest and anonymity. Despite discourses of inevitable progress, extraction becomes a highly contentious process, entailing, as it does, asymmetrical power between actors on what minerals can and should become. Extraction creates spaces and zones of complex contestation, often hidden amongst the shadows of debate and scale, where scholars have much to contribute.

This thesis is an ethnographic exploration of the local realities and experiences of extractive development in the rural highlands of southern Peru. It records the shifting lifeworlds of individuals and communities in the shadows of the Bambas copper mine, examining the ways that minerals and their making come to be understood and experienced, charting the local discrepancies of expectation and outcome, over time, at one point source in the contemporary mineral boom. It presents the historical legacies and projected futures that copper comes to constitute on the margins of production, as well as the structural ways 'modern' mining enfolds regions into its processes and logics. In brief, it documents the local entanglements of extractive development as practiced in one part of the Peruvian Andes. It is the story of potential and foil,

claims and counter claims, in shifting and unknown quantities, locked in the pulsating green rocks I held in my hands on the side of Chucruni mountain.

Las Bambas within the extractive imperative

On October 1st 2004, over a decade before I walked along the communal grazing path with *compañeros* from Ccahuapirhua in search of oxidized rocks, another visitor had arrived in the region. Further north, following the envisioned subterranean vein of mineral wealth that stretched into neighbouring *cerros* (hills), Alejandro Toledo, then president of Peru, arrived with a team of advisors to what was then the *comunidad campesina de Fuerabamba*.[3] Helicoptered into the remote region of Cotabambas from Cusco, his envoy travelled the final kilometers along rugged mountain roads to the community plaza where a congregation of *comuneros* and local representatives waited, surrounded by police and security forces. Toledo wore a broad-brimmed hat and a poncho as a symbolic gesture to 'the Andean peasant', eager to use the power of image as he had so successfully done during his election campaign years before. He also carried with him a massive - indeed cartoonish - cardboard check, totaling 45.5 million USD. The money was part of a fund for social investment in the region, recently deducted from the 121 million USD purchase of the Bambas mineral concession by Xstrata Copper. The celebratory event, which included remarks from the president and a corporate engineer, lauded the future of the region. Prior to departure, standing before the microphones of travelling journalists, Toledo declared in a triumphant tone that 'the most desperate fight against poverty in Apurímac has started today'. It was the beginning of an accelerated process that would lead to the sanction, construction, and production of the monumental Las Bambas copper project. In national terms, it was one grand project amongst many, in operation and forthcoming, of the newly minted '*país minero*' (mining country), pursuing national *desarrollo* (development) through a ruthless dedication to extraction. Its context requires fleshing out.

[3] *Comunidades campesinas* (lit. 'peasant communities') are a political unit within Peru found predominantly in the highlands. The vast majority of these communities were created following a campaign of agrarian reform (beginning in 1969) carried out under the military regime of General Velasco. Today these independent peasant communities remain a vibrant political force and are often at the forefront of critique and conflict with the mining industry. Accordingly, the terms 'community' and '*comunidad*' appear frequently throughout the dissertation, denoting the nodes of political organization that dominate the province of Cotabambas rather than a homogenizing construct or imaginary of the author.



[**Figure 3.** ***President Alejandro Toledo arriving in Cotabambas to announce the Bambas project.*** **Source: Google Images.**]

While mining had been at the heart of the Peruvian (and 'pre-Peruvian') economy for centuries, a new era in a long dependence on minerals commenced in the 1990s, one in which, as summarized by Fabiana Li, 'levels of investment, technologies of extraction, and regulatory reformations, re-defined what extraction was to mean for the country' (2015, 15). More specifically, for the purposes of demarcation, the election of Alberto Fujimori in 1990 is recognized as a watershed moment in Peruvian history, in no small part, for the development trajectory he initiated in relation to resource exploitation. Fujimori's presidential campaign was that of an outsider, whose candidacy was not taken seriously and whose economic policy and thinking were hardly developed (indeed, they had fallen under the nebulous and imprecise label of 'moderate'; for further discussions see Stokes 1996; 2001; and Wise 2003). It was of pressing concern, for beyond the political turmoil caused by *Sendero Luminoso* (the Shining Path), Peru was in the midst of an elongated and severe economic crisis. Following his surprise election, and prior to his inauguration on July 28th, Fujimori embarked upon a concise managerial tour through Tokyo and Washington, organized by prominent financial and economic figures who promoted Peru's 'reinsertion into the international financial community' (McClintock and Vallas 2003, 94). The need for dramatic neoliberal 'extremism', one without room for 'moderation', was compellingly argued.

During this time, global economic and financial policy, north and south, had become synonymous with austerity and liberalization. Yet, 'structural adjustment', particularly in countries that had not yet 'emerged', functioned in accordance with teleological precepts based on capital trust and security. Following the demise of socialist alternatives to capitalism in the

late 1980s and early 1990s, international finance began to tether investment concerns to the exploitation of resources (Danielson 2006, 17; see also Kircsh 2014). In the words of Luke Danielson, mining became a 'spear point' to 'open trade policies and economic reform where there were few other investment possibilities' (2006, 17). 'Buried treasure' was the metaphor on offer, 'with capital and technology assumed to provide the essential "key" to opening the national vault' (Bridge 2008; see also Bomsel 1990). Though the logic of enticing different forms of investment following successful resource exploitation was dubious in its empiricism, extractive-led 'openings' became a central node of economic policy and thinking as the end of history reworked developing markets.

Accordingly, the radical restructuring of Peru's normative macro-economic framework – often labeled 'the Fujishock*'* – was cognizant and indeed encouraging of mineral and hydro-carbon potential (Bebbington, Chaparro, and Scurrah 2014; Li 2015). Between 1990-1992 a deluge of free market reforms was enacted in response to the acute economic crisis that had consumed the presidency of Alan Garcia. Amongst the bevy of adjustments were a series of policy initiatives aimed at attracting foreign investment: lifting of restrictions on remittances, profits, and the acquisition of technology from abroad; tax-stability packages; the sale and elimination of state-owned firms; and the ratification of bi and multi-lateral trade treaties (Bury 2005, 222). In regard to mineral investment, a new General Law on Mining was introduced in 1992, land tenure was recurrently tweaked leading to the liberalization of markets in 1995, and royalties on corporate activities were eliminated (LI 2015, 15).[4]

The economic liberalization of the country did not take long to produce proscriptive dividends. Between 1992 and 2000, the amount of national territory claimed by private companies in the form of mining concessions grew by 18 million ha (Bury 2005), while direct mineral investment swelled by 2,000 percent (World Bank 2005, cited in Bebbington 2007). Following a slight downturn, a new mineral 'super cycle' began with the economic rise of China and its strategic expansion into Latin America. While trade between China and Latin America hovered around 12 billion USD at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it had jumped to 289 billion USD by 2013 (Gallagher 2016). Over the span of 20 years, with the number of new 'mega

[4] The list of laws and reforms relevant to mining and extraction is exceptionally long, and would burden this section of the introduction unnecessarily. Further specifics on particular legislation is embedded within the chapters, discussed and analyzed in reference to their consequences for Cotabambas and the arguments of this dissertation.

projects' growing,[5] Peru became the second leading producer of copper in the world (behind only Chile), and was estimated to contain 13% of global reserves. The country had successfully 'plugged into' the global economy (see Bridge 2008), reversing the crises of stagnation that had rendered the 1980s 'lost'.



[**Figure 4.** ***The copper mine of Antamina, opened in 1998.*** **Source: Google Images.**]

The Bambas copper mine was a prestige project of the aforementioned Alejandro Toledo (in office 2001-2006), who, at the time, was interested in leaving his own personal mark on the sustained economic growth which had enveloped the country since the 1990s. The concession itself was determined to contain 3 major *yacimientos* (deposits) with a projected life expectancy of 20 years or more. Between 2002 and 2006, as the Bambas project was shifting through exploration, sale, and exploitation agreements, the global price of copper almost quadrupled (from 2,061 to 7,475 USD/metric ton; see Wise 2016). The sheer potentiality of the project, as touted by the government, attracted 4 of the largest mineral corporations in the world to a select bidding table. It was believed that the mine itself was to become a crown jewel within the newly refurbished *país minero*, increasing mineral exportation by 30% alone.

Yet, importantly, as president Toledo's jubilant claims alluded to, the project was more than a revenue generator; it was a gift to and for the people, particularly in the fight against 'extreme poverty'. As routinely cited prior to and since Toledo's visit to the community of Fuerabamba in 2004, the province of Cotabambas (and the department of Apurímac more

[5] It is currently estimated that the country has over 200 officially recognized mines in operation, though ranging in size.

generally), located within the southern highlands of the country, falls in and amongst some of the lowest indicators of national 'human development'; from malnutrition, to infant mortality, to daily income measurements.[6] Indeed, in the dozens of communities that surrounded the potential project, poverty rates were as high as 88% (Gustafsson 2018, 136). The assumption which underlined the emphasis on statistical renderings of the region was that mining would remedy and alleviate these embarrassing development blemishes. It was not much spoken how and in what way; nor whether those to be 'affected' understood their position and future in terms of numerical imputation. An opaque association was deduced between minerals and development, one that would simply enfold remote and otherwise marginal regions into 'modern Peru' atop a wave of investment and production (see Bebbington 2010, 103).

This emerging accentuation on poverty and people encapsulated important shifts in extraction's relation to Peruvian development policy since structural adjustment was first imposed. As mining grew in prominence and potential for the country, it no longer became the 'spear point' to open up economic reform and diversify investment (Danielson 2006, 17), but a model of development in and of itself. Indeed, over the course of price booms and the continuation of corporate frontier-making amongst the highlands of Peru, Fujimori and subsequent administrations, lobbyists and industrial interests, began to publicly endorse the 'newness' of contemporary mining growth and practices in the country (see Li 2015, 14). 'Modern mining' became a term and idea which permeated public discourse, denoting not only the technological advancements in open-pit mining techniques but the 'responsible' restrictions and demands soon affixed to neoliberal reforms: the endorsement and expansive system of royalty and taxation payments (*el canon minero*) designed for local infrastructure investment; environmental institutions and regimes to regulate the industry and minimize negative impacts on regions and neighbouring communities; international frameworks and norms for consultation and the recognition of multiculturalism, etc. Corporate standards themselves were shifting, in tune with government responsibility measures, adopting gift models and sustainability approaches for broader engagement with the regions and peoples they operated in. 'Modern mining' had become synonymous with sophistication and sustainability; avenues beyond economic stability alone, but towards the advancement of Peru as a whole.

[6] Illiteracy, at the time of the Las Bambas sale, was estimated to be over 50 percent in the province, life expectancy was 61, and no communities had electricity or potable water (ProInversión 2005, 67).

It was a definitive shift from structural adjustment to 'the extractive imperative' (Jacka 2018, 62-64; Arsel, Hogenboom and Pellegrini 2016). Peru became one of many countries within the Global South to have placed 'extractivism' at the center of government policy and planning; mineral and hydrocarbon potential now enjoying 'teleological primacy'; it had become the cog of development overriding 'any other concern' (Arsel, Hogenboom and Pellegrini 2016, 880-881). Indeed, throughout Latin America, 'leftist' parties and presidents were as eager as any to harness the economic promise of natural commodities.[7] Elections and diversity of opinions could not and would not challenge the dominant knots that now tied resources and progress together. In the words of Marie-Therese Gustafsson, extraction within Peru became 'an overarching, unquestionable national goal […] located outside the reach of the political' (2018, 52). It was (is) seen as compulsory, not a choice; something to be accepted rather than disputed.

Yet, the harvests of this new resource-based development model leaves much to be debated. While the government and pro-industry lobbyists of Peru have been quick to celebrate investment, growth rates, and poverty reduction linked to resource production - a seemingly direct and opaque alchemy between mineral exploitation and desired development – the fruit bared by the extractive imperative has been anything but straightforward. Across the country, conflicts and violence began to flare-up around both 'productive' and 'prospective' mining sites. By 2015, just over two decades since the Fuji-shock, the *Defensoría del Pueblo* (public ombudsman office) recognized 93 different social and environmental conflicts linked to the mining industry throughout the country (Defensoría del Pueblo 2015). Indeed, the term '*conflicto minero*' was to enter into the public vocabulary of the nation, saturating political debates, newspaper op-eds, radio programmes and even 'everyday conversation' (Li 2015, 8-9).

The Bambas project in rural Apurímac is and was no different. While initially appearing in the national media during early years of exploration and initiation, capturing elements of Peruvian consciousness in laudatory overtures and numerical projections, it's emerging reputation as a development jewel soured before production had even begun. In September 2015, as the construction boom of the mining zone was drawing to a close, a province-wide *paro* (strike) culminated in a police crackdown, 3 deaths, dozens injured and incarcerated, and a

[7] Within the emerging and diverse literatures on resource development in Latin America, the coinage of 'new extractivsm' (*neo-extractivismo*) has become more and more prevalent (Acosta 2013; Svampa 2013; 2015; Veltmeyer and Petras 2014). The concept was first proposed by renowned Uruguayan economist Eduardo Gudynas (2010a; 2010b) to encapsulate the historical peculiarity of new 'leftist' governments maintaining the 'extractive' precepts of their predecessors; seeing minerals, soybeans, and hydrocarbons as avenues to public expenditure and social programmes.

subsequent declared state of emergency. The event was followed by a prolonged period of dialogue (*mesas de dialogo*) between representatives of 'affected communities', government officials, and corporate employees. Following months of frustrated conversation, and not long after the first shipment of copper left the Port of Matarani, the tentative peace was again shattered in October 2016, when *comuneros* from four separate communities on the eastern reaches of the mine began blocking a transportation artery. Another violent confrontation occurred between locals and the national police force operating at the behest of MMG[8] which resulted in the death of Quintino Cereceda Huisa, shot point-blank in the hills above his community. The once celebrated extractive emblem of Alejandro Toledo's presidency was rapidly descending into crippling forms of contestation before first quarter profits might even be tabulated and bandied.



[**Figure 5.** ***The beginning of the September 2015 conflict in Cotabambas.*** **Source: Google Images.**]

Thus, despite the discourses, technological advancements, and 'sustainable' governance regimes that now structure 'modern mining', the incremental rise and persistence of *conflictos mineros* throughout Peru, enflaming new regions and hinterlands, demands attention. In particular, analysis of and on the 'discordance' (Gardner 2012) in development trajectories leading to forms of contestation – dissonance between image and reality; promise and actuality; government prescription and local experience. The Bambas project, as a mining zone consumed by agitation and tension, flaring and simmering, is but one recent testament to the thorny

[8] Though Xstrata won the initial bid for the Bambas concession and carried out the majority of early social work (see Chapter 1) and construction, the project was subsequently sold to the predominantly state-owned Chinese mineral consortium MMG in 2014.

problematics that trip up and challenge minerals as an economic engine for the future. *What accounts for this continued fraught relationship between extraction and development in Peru? In what ways do the monotonous macro predictions of, and statistics on, GDP, investment dollars, infrastructure development, employment numbers, shipment quantities, resource prices, and poverty rates - which prop up the extractive imperative - obscure the local realities of contemporary mining? What exactly is occurring in the shadows of mines amongst communities and individuals where progress is promised? How do we render and make sense of these processes, opening up the local 'black box' (Li 2015, 10) to reveal its contested realties?* It is a set of questions that scholars of resource exploitation, particularly in Peru and Latin America, have failed to adequately address.

Mining and the political economy of resources

The government's response to the rise of *conflictos mineros* crippling the extractive development model was definitive. Beyond states of emergency and martial intervention, referendums and *mesas de dialogo,*[9] government and industry allies also went on a public relations offensive, establishing a dominant prism of discussing conflict. Structuring this emerging debate was the figure of the '*anti-minero*': individuals or communities, ignorant or deviant, who go to great lengths to challenge, stall, or prevent mining projects throughout the country. According to these charged representations, *anti-mineros* stand in the way of 'modern mining' and the imperative potion of extractive development: investment and royalties, schools and roads, gifts and projects. In many ways, this dominant prism of debate has constricted understandings and explanations in the national public realm of what is indeed occurring on the ground when contestations arise. Locals, when sporadically given voice, are compelled to dispel charges of 'being against mining and progress'. Accordingly, responses, within the public domain, become tailored to acceptable and unacceptable declarations of interest in extraction.

There has been no more explicit (and much cited) encapsulation of government and elite interpretation to the rise of *conflictos* than that presented by former president Alan Garcia in a 2007 op-ed, published in the national newspaper *El Comercio*. Garcia framed his article around the *Aesopian* fable of 'the dog in the manger' who constantly bites and barks at the oxen

[9] *Mesa de dialogos* (lit. 'dialogue tables') are frameworks of conversation between communities, government, and corporation, used throughout Peru as a mechanism to resolve ongoing social conflicts – particularly mining conflicts – in the hopes of attaining consensus based solutions between various stakeholders (Gustafsson 2018, 57).

attempting to eat hay; begrudging thy neighbour, preventing others from having or using that which he cannot (see Li 2015, 13). In the article, he takes specific aim at peasant communities, the proprietors of huge swaths of land deemed to be laying fallow and idle, resting atop 'the greatest riches in the world' (Garcia 2007). These populations, for Garcia, have no need to fear the mineral mistakes of the past, as 'modern mining' now employs sophisticated technology and works in responsible manners, 'negotiating greater economic participation for the region where they operate' (ibid). Much like the tired notion of 'beggars sitting on benches of gold' (see prologue), a critical eye recognizes the institutional and financial determinants at work behind this position.[10] Yet, these elite discourses which diagnose the challenges of mining, the public debates they structure, and the local voices they constrict, tell us very little about what turns people into '*anti-mineros*' - or the proverbial beggars and dogs. They fail to explain the local entanglements that make contested alloys out of investment and isolation; desires and practicalities; image and reality.

However, since the boom in mining and conflicts that characterized Peru's transition into the new millennium, scholars and activists have begun to explore mineral exploitation in the Andes anew, paying no heed to the discourse of government and industry. An expansive academic literature began to take form, one interested in exploring the consequences of neoliberal policy in Peru, legal shifts and frameworks, mining realities and trajectories, development outcomes, as well as the problems and processes of '*conflictos*' (often labelled 'socio-environmental conflicts'). The researchers, academics, and institutions embroiled within the knowledge production of Peruvian extraction are diverse, ranging from tenured professors in the United States, Canada, and Peru, working through the disciplinary prisms of political science, economics, and geography, to independent investigators and national research centers like *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos* (IEP). The sheer breadth of interest, prescription, and analysis requires organizing; undoubtedly cruel in its reductions and amalgamations, but necessary for situating this thesis and inviting conversation across scholars and disciplines. In reckoning with and interpreting '*conflictos mineros*', two main tendencies can be found within the literature to date.

A number of political scientists and economists interested in Peruvian extraction have focused attention on the institutional and state-related challenges to mining. The majority of

[10] Indeed, many scholars note the reality of 'state capture' by industrial elites in Peru (see Crabtree and Durand 2017; Durand 2010).

these articles and anthologies cite, or silently circle around, the 'resource curse', a thesis that was first proposed and argued by Richard Auty in the 1990s (1993; 2001). Since then it has become a dominant prism of interpretation for academics debating the validity of extractive-led development models across the globe, challenging whether the presumptions and prescriptions of resource-led pathways are legitimately attainable. The thesis argues that resource 'abundance' inevitably leads to a number of distorting social, political, and economic consequences, undermining the promise and theory of 'buried treasure': namely, denial of multiplier effects, industrial state capture, overvaluation of exchange rates, vulnerability to price swings, and rent-seeking behavior. Within Peru, the 'curse' has consumed theoretical attention for a number of scholars attempting to make sense of conflict caused by the extractive imperative (Arce 2014; Arellano-Yanguas 2008; Bebbington et al. 2008a; Bebbington 2012; Dargent et al. 2017). These authors have helped demonstrate the pernicious challenges that market distortions continue to inflict upon a country of gross social and economic inequality, emphasizing in particular the proliferation of 'rent-seeking' amongst regions ear-marked for extractive industries (Arce 2014; Arellano-Yanguas 2011a; 2011b; 2012).

Running along a parallel track, a number of other authors (geographers in particular) have sought to 'localize' development, disjuncture, and mining consequences in a more deliberate manner, drawing neoliberal shifts into conversation with rural regions and peoples. Moving beyond debates on democracy, exchange rates, and curses, this vein of the literature adds further form to the locales of extraction. Here, 'communities' on the frontlines of mining expansion become present amongst analysis, appearing in reference to shifts in land-tenure (Bebbington 2008b; Bury 2005; Himley 2013), water rights (Bebbington and Williams 2008; Sosa, Boelens and Zwarteveen 2017), and social mobilization (Scurrah 2008; Gustafsson 2016; 2018), burrowing down to new layers from the lofty preoccupations of the 'state' and 'market'. Prominent within this subset of the literature has been the issue of 'livelihood transformation', as rural peasantries struggle to exist harmoniously following the encroachment of corporations in search of resources (Bebbington et al. 2008b; Bury 2002; 2005; Bury and Kolff 2002; de Echave 2005).

On the whole, these scholars and authors have established provocative and important interpretations of mining and its consequences for Peru, and in doing so have successfully challenged elite discourse and diagnosis throughout the country. Their work is to be commended and taken seriously, forming, as it does, a foundational base from which all enquiries into resource-led development in Peru might find a footing. However, with the breadth and depth of

an issue as complex and far reaching as extraction, much work is left to do. This becomes particularly apparent when one returns to the problematics of *conflictos mineros* (as presented above). *Who are these protagonists? Why exactly are they protesting?* The limitations of the literature reveal themselves in these questions. The political economy algorithm at the heart of the resource curse thesis posits little to no consideration to questions of people and experience. While at the other end, geographers and political scientists, speaking predominantly about 'peasants' or 'agro-pastoralists', rely upon the festering and increasingly antiquated prisms of a Marxist-based rural sociology. Taken together the complexity of lifeworlds, histories, subjectivities, aspirations, and 'connectivity' of locales, as found within the literature to date, have largely been flattened out. Individuals and communities – those 'contesting' the realities of mining throughout the highlands, blocking roads, carrying banners, demanding dialogue – have been elided or otherwise bounded by rigid identities (e.g. 'rent seekers' or 'peasants') and opaque processes (livelihood transformation).[11] Accordingly, the voices of those most affected by the extractive imperative have largely remained missing.

These main trends within the literature on mining in Peru can be seen to reflect the dominance of certain disciplines. While there exist a few exceptions (Li 2015),[12] anthropologists have largely been late to interject upon the resource boom consuming Latin America, appearing only fleetingly in the chapters of anthologies where their data and analysis is constricted by demands for dialogue and word count (see Rival 2012; Sabogal and Ulfe 2017). The result has been a sizeable departure from classical continental accounts of resource exploitation, where interpretations of extraction and its consequences were drawn from the lives, narrations, and quotidian occurrences at the coal face (namely Nash 1979 and Taussig 1980). In the interlude, academics and researchers have established an elevated spectrum of representations, understandings, and attention, dictated by political economy and devoid of ethnographic vibrancy. Thus, the texture of local realities, experiences, and histories that determine contestation of the extractive imperative remain hidden below the surface of academic abstraction.

This point has been exceptionally made beyond Peru by Emma Gilberthorpe and Dinah

[11] The complications and inappropriateness of these local representations have plagued understandings of the Andes for some time, and will be more fully problematized below (see section 'Rethinking "the Andes" through social imaginaries').

[12] Fabiana Li's *Unearthing Conflict* (2015) is a seminal anthropological account of mining in Peru today, blazing a trail from which others may follow. However, its scope is largely confined to environmental concerns and questions; one of many 'themes' at the point-source of exploitation.

Rajak. In 2017, they published an article for *The Journal of Development Studies* reviewing nearly a decade of ongoing research on extraction across the globe. Of particular importance for the authors, and the frame of their critique, is the preponderance of research pivoting on macro and institutional determinants of interpretation (here the 'resource curse' is named as a particularly prominent culprit). The dominance of these depictions, resting as they do on the analytical clouds of resource modeling - driven by geological, technological and economic constituents – reconfigure complex realities in their image. Indeed, according to Gilberthorpe and Rajak, the scholastic tendency has mirrored 'the physical extraction of resources from their social environments' (2017, 8): representational trends, unfortunately and implicitly, that depersonalize our understandings of resource exploitation and reproduce a 'myopic industrial gaze which divorces the modes of production from the delicate tissues of locales' (Ibid, 8). Addressing this academic imbalance can thus be seen to have consequences beyond 'filling a gap' in the literature; it is a contribution and critique entwined.

What Gilberthorpe and Rajak call for is a 're-embedding of extractive processes into social relations' (2017, 4). It is a task suited for anthropology, demanding as it does longitudinal studies, invested in locales of importance, using 'refined conceptual tools of analysis that are both more nuanced and more progressive in their capacity to incorporate the epistemologies of those affected by mining' (Ibid, 4). Or, in more capacious terms, to better understand how those 'who live or work in the shadow of mines confront the extractive complexes that transform their lifeworlds; and how they negotiate or contest the economic, social, ecological and not least moral orders in which extractive capitalist developments are embedded' (Ibid, 5). It is a convincing call to action, demanded further still by the near millennial scramble for minerals and oil that accompanied the turn of the century and the rise of resource hungry economies in Asia.

To a degree, and noted by Gilberthorpe and Rajak themselves, this scholarly endeavor has already begun in other corners of the world (Appel 2012; Gardner 2012; Gilberthorpe 2013; Golub 2014; Kirsch 2014; Welker 2009; 2014). In truth, it would be difficult to avoid. The traditional 'site' of ethnographic enquiry has predominantly been rural or forested - often 'isolated' - locales within what has now become known as the 'Global South'. These regions and villages are now on the frontlines of capitalism's compulsive expansion in search of resources. Accordingly, the confluence of traditional orientation and contemporary intervention - of complex social worlds in transition – presents an important and pivotal subject for anthropologists that has to date, been largely captured by disciplines whose frameworks, methodologies and conceptual tools have obscured local 'impacts' and left the anonymity of

extraction to move forward in its commodity form, dispersed throughout the globe in grotesque abstraction.

The intellectual challenge posed to long-term ethnographic engagements with the social fiber of contemporary resource extraction is far from complete. This is perhaps most obvious in Peru and Latin America; a country and continent at the forefront of contemporary mining trends, where governments across the political spectrum have hitched their aspirations of development to the extractive imperative. Despite the boom of 'conflicts' which has followed in the wake of mineral exploitation, local lifeworlds and voices remain in the 'shadows' of both mining activity *and* analysis. The urgency of 'socially embedding' extraction remains; of understanding how regions, communities and individuals are enfolded into extractive processes and its attendant promises of progress and modernity; of exploring the histories and motivations that become imbricated at the interface; the realities and experiences that ensue; the consequences and contradictions of these entanglements over time. It is a call to elucidate what it is like to live upon a 'bench of cooper' and the local outcomes of extractive development that threatens to turn 'beggars' into '*anti-mineros*'.

Materiality, minerals, and the discordances of resource-making

Under the steel arc casing of a newly built football pitch, plastic chairs sinking into artificial turf and encircling a long table for assembled dignitaries, a representative of Peru's Ministry of Energy and Mines rises from his notes to address the frustrated audience of community members and leaders. Following hours of arguments and conciliatory overtures, spanning human rights abuses, road maintenance, land purchases, and a proposal for a new and broad framework of agreement (*marco convenio*) between MMG and the 'affected communities' of Cotabambas, the Peruvian bureaucrat aims to reset the conversation of *la mesa de dialogo* in the hopes that fractures and fissures between the 'stakeholders' do not run forth into the night. His words are blunt, definitive, and revealing. 'You are right to say that the natural *riquezas* (riches) of these hills belong to Cotabambas', he begins addressing the audience who have, on more than one occasion, referenced the peculiar and dissatisfactory residuals of mining *desarrollo* (development) thus far. 'But these riches do not have value unless they are extracted and processed. The government cannot do that alone, that is why we need the expertise and investment of transnational corporations.' His plea, outlining the normative arithmetic of Peru's extractive imperative – minerals for investment, corporate ownership for social infrastructure – falls emptily upon the exhausted members of the crowd. The points, demands, and arguments

thrown back and forth across the table are constantly slipping beyond one another. For years now protest and frustration has oscillated between activation and hibernation, flaming than smoldering, and today, the Ministry of Energy and Mines demands a return to macro-economic theory, comparative advantage, and the seemingly uncontroversial dictates of unlocking the region's buried treasure. The sun will soon disappear and a date needs to be set for the next round of discussions where the discordant development of Cotabambas will once again be wrestled with, if not resolved.

How best to conceive the local processes of disjuncture, the creation of conflicts, and struggles for meaning and life amongst the point source of exploitation? What theoretical prisms, literatures, and insights might themselves be mined and alloyed to conceptualize the local entanglements of development produced by the extractive imperative? In what directions should the 'social embedding' of mining be led? This dissertation, following and interpreting the examples, voices, and experiences of fieldwork, engages with the emerging disciplinary field of 'resource materialities'. The arguments running through this thesis understand the challenges of extractive development and the frustrated contestations (*conflictos mineros*) that may or may not emerge at the local interface in what I refer to as 'the discordances and contradictions of resource-making'. These claims are rooted in new and emerging trends within anthropological thought on minerals and their becomings vis-a-vis extraction. Theoretical context is required.

One of the biggest challenges faced by scholars interested in reversing the trends in interrogation of mineral development models is not only 'socially embedding' research methods into locales using ethnographic methods, but also shifting from 'modernist' interpretations of what extraction is; analysis that presupposes resources as commodities to be dug and moved in accordance with international demand; residual investment to be left as compensation. Political economy understandings, when not emphasizing a preoccupation with the local rupture of pre-existing livelihood practices, locate the challenges of extraction within an institutional prism (i.e. 'the resource curse'). Both analytical trends, as discussed above, trade one black box for another; impending extractive development replaced by the equally nebulous 'resource curse' or 'socio-environmental' conflict.

A number of anthropologists working on minerals and hydrocarbons, echoing the diagnosis of Gilberthorpe and Rajak (2017), have begun to challenge the issues and conventions of modernist conception that dominate these understandings of resource exploitation for

countries, regions, and individuals.[13] In the words of Tanya Richardson and Giza Weszkalnys, abstraction within academic renderings of extractive processes drastically 'separate, parts, simplify and reduce' (2014, 13) what resources are and do. The result - reflected within the implicit academic and government assumptions on mining in Peru to date - is a 'tendency to focus on the commodity status of resources and its production, rather than asking ethnographically what else they may be at any given point in time' (Ibid, 7). Shifting towards ethnographic embedding and away from interpretive tendencies thus far, requires us to accommodate the inclusion of cultural, historical and symbolic aspects into resources and their production that modernist tendencies have driven out of analysis. It is an emerging scholarly imperative that questions the very idea of what resources are and do.

For decades now, the 'material' has been critically re-engaged across the social sciences. Within anthropology, a seminal work has been Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986), an edited anthology which initially problematized the gift-commodity dichotomy of the discipline, instead positing 'things' as 'embedded in socio-material flows' (cited in Richardson and Weszkalnys 2015, 17), moving in and out of 'different conditions of identification and alienation' (Miller 2005, 7). Since this publication, the 'objective' assumptions of materials have increasingly been critiqued, and new forms of relationality explored (see Gell 1998; Miller 2005; Tilley 2004). In the pithy words of John Law and Annemarie Mol, summarizing trends thus far, 'materiality and sociality are increasingly seen as produced together' (Law and Mol 1995, 275). These insights from material culture, grounded as they are in broader philosophical debates in the social sciences on the legacies of modernist distinctions between the inanimate and animate, the social and material, and human and nonhuman, have also coincided with similar shifts in the thinking and theorization of 'nature' and 'the environment'. Often labeled 'posthumanist', scholars - and in particular anthropologists - have begun to redouble efforts in deconstructing assumptions on the divisions between the physical and social world to elucidate the innumerable ways in which people understand and relate to their surroundings. Though most often associated with Bruno Latour (1993), many anthropologists working in Latin America have continued to disassemble modernist monoliths and establish a multiplicity of 'environmental' understandings and engagements by local peoples (see for example Descola 1994; 2013; Kohn 2013; Viveiros de

[13] Admittedly, when it comes to challenging the modernist construction of resources and their exploitation, certain geographers have been quicker to incorporate postmodern critiques into their analysis of extraction (see Bakker and Bridge 2006; Bridge 2009). The anthropological theorization of resource materialities is deeply indebted to these early theoretical forays (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014).

Castro 1998). These ongoing discussions and debates on artefacts and nature consistently push towards the deconstruction of dualisms; particularly that of subjects and objects.

Recently, this rethinking of both materials and environments has begun to exceed the boundaries of initial intention and influence – beyond scholars working on consumption, science and technology, material culture, and indigenous ontologies. Within the last few years, as the demand for oil and minerals has continued to grow, enfolding more and more 'isolated' or 'marginal' territories of the world into the circuits of global capitalism, questions on the socio-political elements and consequences of extraction have emerged anew with materiality debates in mind. As briefly alluded to above, in 2014, Tanya Richardson and Gisa Weszkalnys co-edited and published a special collection in *Anthropological Quarterly* (2014) which attempted to examine resources as a theoretical and comparative problem in line with emerging debates on materiality and 'naturecultures' (Escobar 1999; Haraway 1997; Latour 1993). The impetus for the collection was to not only draw from these debates but to build further upon other authors and anthropologists thinking about resources and extraction in new and interesting ways (in particular Ferry and Limbert 2008; see also Barry 2013; Smith 2011). The project was designed as a 'rough, practical guide' to 'studying the multitude of ways in which resources exist beyond their valuation and circulation as commodities in global markets' (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014, 21). It was hoped that by weaving politics and sociality into the fabric of the mineral or hydrocarbon, we might begin a process of demystifying their essential qualities and combat the stagnant analysis of natural resources to date. They tentatively named their nascent theoretical project 'resource materialities' (2014).

A seminal corollary of recognizing the politics and social constellations of minerals and hydrocarbons has been the acknowledgement of relational difference and dispersion (Ibid, 8). If resources are imbued with the politics and sociality of the subject, then this in turn offers forth many interpretations of what the mineral is and can be. Perhaps most significant for the theoretical arguments of this dissertation is the resulting admission that all resources and their attendant and imagined development outcomes are grounded across reference points; and subsequently that 'the unfolding of resource trajectories also contain an interplay and contest between different ontologies' (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014, 16).[14] The potential for

[14] While Richardson and Weszkalnys use the term 'ontology' in alluding to the various understandings and truths that resources come to constitute across actors, it will not be embraced or used in this dissertation for the purposes of clarity. 'Ontologies' elicit too much debate within the discipline as is, and would drag the claims and arguments of the thesis unnecessarily through their murk.

discordance and contradiction between 'stakeholders' embroiled within mining processes finds roots within these differences and dispersions. So, while a Peruvian bureaucrat may stand before a crowd of local community representatives and mask his condescension in befuddlement (see above), stating that the logics and processes of mineral extraction are quite straightforward, disagreement might instead be working across different possibilities, standards, goals, and politics.

Furthermore, resources and their diverse reference points - following post-modern materialist critiques - are not given, they *become*, originating from particular positions and collisions. It is these arrivals or 'resources histories' (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014, 16) where the politics and sociality of what copper is and could be for Cotabamban communities is granted importance (see more in Chapter 1). Accordingly, we might distinguish across scale in the referential becomings of minerals. While the dominant contemporary economic, social, and political factors which transfer value onto copper - implicit to the extractive imperative - are dictated by the commodification processes of global capitalism, localized alternatives amongst the point source of mining are less elaborated and explored. As governments, corporations, and discourses of development arrive to locales and hinterlands, promoting minerals as progressive panaceas, the refraction of meaning through local prisms of value and importance inevitably translates differently across political and social divides. Indeed, as extraction frontiers are created, and 'resource environments' (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014) set in motion, the affects and emergent futures of minerals can become 'lithospheric' (Weszkalnys 2016) at the local level, bounding beyond modernist intention and government-corporate exchange norms (cf. West 2006). Such arguments, grounded in ethnographic explorations, already begin to challenge the perspectives of resources we might reflexively attribute to rural, 'peasant', or 'indigenous' communities on the frontlines of mining interventions. Using the concept of resource-making helps establish discordance as a seminal factor across subjective interpretations of minerals and their futures.

Yet, the major shortcoming (for the purposes of this project) to be found within the 'rough guide' laid out by Richardson and Weszkalnys (2014), is the absence of a politics beyond the theoretical deconstruction of modernist interpretations. Indeed, the tangible realities and dynamics of *extraction* are largely left to the side. It is one thing to state that resources are not simply commodities, emphasizing the contested perspectives and expectation that lay at their core and constitute their ideational *making*. However, these divergent meanings across histories and arrivals – derived from various positions that project different ideas, imaginations, and hopes

onto mineral formations - are subsequently further pulled and reworked through the processes of mining *proper*. The subsequent outcomes are determined by asymmetrical relations of power and the assemblages of production (labor demands, profit margins, ownership laws, investment protocols, the responsibility norms of corporate engagement, environmental regulation, and identity politics/rights). In essence, the making of resources carries on, beyond formative ideas grounded in subjective perceptions, through the practices, techniques and technologies of exploitation. This is a particularly relevant point for states and regions where resources are established within a framework of and for development; where ideas about what minerals are and do, become consequential. Discordance, thus, does not only have the potential to exist from momentary resource inceptions and arrivals, but can be further exaggerated through the intricacies of practical production and local residuals. It is here where the rules, norms, and praxis of 'modern mining' and attendant development outcomes starkly reveal original ideas, affects and expectation across actors, politicizing discordance, and leaving contradiction and contestation in their wake.

Accordingly, this dissertation does not simply seek to elucidate divergent perspectives towards resources and development in the highlands of Peru, but, more importantly, demonstrate their transformations as copper matures from arrival to production. Resource-making becomes a concept that not only incorporates 'materiality' debates into the analysis, but brings them into conversation with the processes and outcomes of mineral production.[15] As such, this ethnographic project charts the interpretations, experiences, and maneuverings of local individuals and communities in the shadows of the Bambas project *through time*; locating the potential and sources of 'conflict' in and amongst journeys from promise to practice. It is inherently preoccupied with the unspoken and uninvestigated margins of the extractive imperative, challenging the dominant interpretation of minerals as development panaceas - backed by the weight of national governments, international institutions, and global markets. It shifts attention away from political economy presumptions and socially embeds mining and minerals within communities too often glossed as 'peasants'. The idea that resources could be just as alluring to local individuals as to governments and corporations, but for manners and

[15] Though this introduction frames the theoretical orientations of the ethnography in terms of 'resource materialities' and makings, in attempting to move beyond deconstruction towards the political outcomes of mining, it subsequently involves the incorporation of various anthropological debates on extraction, globalization, disconnection, exclusion, and global imaginaries (amongst others) that have preceded the framework laid out by Richardson and Weszkalnys (2014). These literatures and their relevance for this project are presented latter in the text as the empirics are revealed and the dissertation develops more fully.

projects beyond the limitations of implicit development prescription, is central to the interpretation presented in the empirical chapters which follow.

Thus, the opening vignette of this introductory chapter was strategically selected with theory in mind. Before copper becomes a numerical statistic in government economic projections, a commodity exchanged for local investment projects, or an elementary input in an electrification grid in Asia, it is a mineral in the hands individuals and under the land of once isolated regions. The question of what histories, affects, and imaginations are stirred and subsequently permeate these rocks amongst locales, the expectations and projects which become of them, and the manner in which they are reworked through the assemblages of exploitation, production, and development, lay at the very heart of resource-making; its contradictions and discordances. They are queries dependent on the particularities of locales; upon the sociality and politics that communities carry with them and cast upon both the mineral and outcomes of extractive development. It is to these shadows that the introduction now turns.

Rethinking 'the Andes' through social imaginaries

Just as resource-making, its processes through time, and the contestations it engenders are enforced by the structural determinants of neoliberal capitalism, market demand and valuation, extractive technology, and international governance norms, so to it shifts in accordance with the locales it engages. Resource-making, across the world, unravels with and amongst complex socialites, themselves governed by national political trends and the jurisdiction of history. It is these collisions of extraction – where global capitalist standards, practices and norms entangle themselves amongst the shadows - that minerals are granted their power and potential for local peoples and forms of discordance emerge. Accordingly, what resource-making is and becomes in Peru - how copper and its exploitation comes to relate to communities - requires attention. In particular, it demands interrogation and further conceptualization of 'the Andes';[16] working through and thinking about legacies of representation, alternatives, and their potential for our understandings of contemporary mining.

Since the Spanish conquest, the mountainous interior of Peru has been imagined, first and foremost, as a rugged concentration of wealth and possibility (Brown 2012). From the mineral

[16] The label itself is a colonial construction (see Starn 1994, 18-19), and its problematics are not lost on the author. However, given this section is an account of 'othering' and asymmetrical relations of representational power, I continue in using the term for the purposes of critique.

realities of Potosi and Huancavelica to the elusive promises of El Dorado and Ophir, costal elites have been fixated on the *la sierra*, animated by its geological potential for centuries. A near unruptured continuation of a material and mineralized gaze has been associated with the Andes by 'outsiders' (national and foreign). Yet, in a parallel vein, the Andes have been simultaneously seen and understood as a social space as well; one less promising and more burdensome for colonial and republican administrators who dominate(d) discourse and writing on the country's highlands. Historically, through representation and policy manifestations, the Andes were understood for centuries as a social appendage: dark; dirty; backward; barbarous; a cultural stain caused by its indigenous inhabitants. This at once legitimated the sub-human 'Indian' as a beast of burden in the laborious extraction of gold and silver from the hills beyond the colony's desert coastline. Today, following shifts in citizen regimes and 'national' reorientations, Andean populations are now to be re-deemed by mining: beneficiaries of mining royalties and infrastructural investment – the righting of historical wrongs through the extraction's indelible promise. Accordingly, though policy prescription has changed, mineralized obsessions maintain the structure of a divided Peru; the Andes as 'deep' and a perennial challenge for development. The imaginative persistence of *El Peru profundo*[17] – its othering capacities and opportunities - requires engagement and a contextual discussion. In particular of how it has been rendered and challenged through the disciplinary prisms and work of anthropology.

Within Peru's disconcerting reckoning with popular and asymmetrical relations of representation, anthropology's role can at once be lauded and shameful. The discipline itself gained national pace in the 1940s - first becoming a university discipline in 1946 at San Marcos University in Lima and the University of San Antonio Abad in Cusco. Such early developments followed in the wake of *Indigenismo*: a political, intellectual and cultural movement that attempted to 'revalorize Andean culture and peoples by idealising their pre-Hispanic past' (Ferreira 2016, 14; see also Degregori and Sandoval 2008, 154-158). While American institutions such as Cornell University and the Smithsonian established 'foreign' influences within the emerging discipline in Peru, *indigenest* projects of re-constituting and redeeming the image of the highlands was never far from hand.

[17] The coinage '*El Perú profundo*' (or 'Deep Peru') has been derived and bastardized from the work of Jorge Basadre (1978 [1945]) who originally attempted to conceptualize the divergent realities and reaches of legality within the country. However, since the term's inception, it has come to be used in relation to the country's persistent social, racial, economic, and development inequalities that map onto *la costa* (the coast) and *la sierra* (the mountains). See Mayer 1991 for a contextual discussion.

By the 1960s and 70s – and continuing into the 80s - Andean anthropology had entered what Francisco Ferreira has referred to as it's 'classical period' (2016, 20). It was during this period that anthropologists, positioning themselves as 'good outsiders', began producing a plethora of community-based ethnographies. John Murra and Tom Zuidema, early and prominent figures in Andean studies, helped to establish the dominant research tracks of ecological adaptation and social organization (Murra 1975; 1984; Zuidema 1964) while a new generation of anthropologists explored elements of rural ritual (Isbell 1978; Allen 1988), religious practices (Sallnow 1987; Bolin 1998), kinship and gender (Harris 1978; 1994), as well as class divisions (Gose 1986; 1994). Taken together these disciplinary forefathers and their students constructed a rich and vibrant portrait of the symbolic and ecological elements which structured life in highlands (see also Bastien 1978; Flores Ochoa 1977; Milliones 1975; Mitchell 1976). In doing so, they developed powerful tools for not only understanding the cultural and economic practices of indigenous peasants in the Andes (Harris 2009, 9), but undermining prevailing images of the region and the dichotomies of civilization and barbarity which they rested upon.

However, in redeeming the image of the highlands and its people, Andean anthropology had begun to posit a calcifying counterweight of its own. By the end of the 1980s, as the discipline of anthropology wrestled with postmodern shifts and a civil war expanded across Peru, the ethnographic edifice of classical work on the Andes came under increased scrutiny. Indeed, while Peruvian anthropologists struggled to understand and interpret the rise and success of *Sendero Luminoso*, Orin Starn published a famous article entitled 'Missing the revolution: anthropologists and the war in Peru' (1991). Carrying the momentum of the discipline's reflexive turn, Starn took aim at the concept of '*lo Andino*' (Andeanism) – prevalent within the regional subgenre of anthropology – which, in his words, was so 'remarkably unattuned to the condition which made possible the rise of *Sendero*' (1991, 64). In the article, Starn took aim at the concept of '*lo Andino*' (Andeanism) - prevalent within the classical and regional subgenre of anthropology – which was so 'remarkably unattuned to the conditions which made possible the rise of *Sendero*' (1991, 64). *Lo Andino,* was, for Starn, an orientalising gaze that set the highlands of Peru apart, othering rural citizens, their culture, their 'mindset', and their preoccupations. After all, a central aim of Andean anthropology, following the valorizing desires of *Indigenismo,* was to locate', for the purposes or academic study, 'similarities throughout the region and elucidate a sort of Andean complex' (Leinaweaver 2008, 32). For Starn, the growing importance of ecological and symbolic analysis resulted in a 'preoccupation with the issues of adaption, ritual, and cosmology over rural dissatisfaction with the status quo' (1991, 64).

'Andeanism' avoided the intensification of rural-urban linkages in Peru, the emerging cosmopolitan identities of so many young *serranos* (highlanders), and overlooked a 'climate of sharp unrest across the impoverished countryside' (1991, 64).[18] Authors and debates had become, without ill-will, disconnected and distant from the peoples they sought to engage, often enough 'portraying the contemporary highland subject as outside the flow of history' (Starn 1991, 64).[19] The price paid in waging representational war on the racialized social edifice of a dichotomized Peru was a fetishized 'othering' of a more compassionate orientation. Redeeming the Andes meant depoliticizing the region and its peoples, which in turn left scholars remarkably ignorant to the conditions that would make the civil war possible (Starn 1991, 64).

The relevance of this debate is neither trivial nor dated for anthropologists or scholars of other disciplines working on contemporary mining in Peru. Incidentally, public discourse and academic literature that today deals with extraction in 'the Andes' has unconsciously re-invigorated many of the unique and primordial caricatures of *El Peru profundo*. One needs to look no further than the statements of Alan Garcia (quoted above) to recognize government fear, bias, and preoccupation with the 'unruly' populations of *la sierra*: *conflictos mineros* as the product of ignorance and backwardness, preventing Peruvian progress. More importantly, and for the purposes of academic dialogue, political scientists and geographers (overviewed above), though working from drastically different points of interest, have also been active in repackaging elements of *lo Andino* in a detached political-economic parlance that is sensitive to rupture but opaque in its details. While classical *Andeanist* scholarship was critiqued for the centrality it gave to ecology and social organization (trends in anthropology at the time), the contemporary literature on mining implicitly doubles down on the representational wager, limiting communities and individuals to the labels and logical corollaries of being 'peasants' (de Echave 2005), 'agro-pastoralists' (Bebbington et al. 2008, 899), or 'indigenous'. While I do not mean to challenge the politics and genuine concerns of these scholars - undoubtedly interested, as they are, in

[18] Driving home the point further, Starn states, as if 'roads, radios, universal education, political campaigns, evangelization, military conscription, and the massive migration [had not] tightened the links between the Andean countryside and big urban centuries during the previous century' […] 'as if they had not lived for almost half a millennium under colonial and republican rule' (1991, 85).

[19] Indeed, in many regards, it was a regional critique to a wider disciplinary trend. Since the 1980s, postmodern debates had begun to recognize anthropology's 'denial of coevalness' (Fabian 1983): a manner of seeing and representing contemporary societies as literally living beyond the present. In the words of George Marcus, such representational trends were fundamentally disquieting endeavors, where 'symbolic analysis reduced the anxiety of the anthropologist by attributing ambiguity and conflict in social life to symbolic processes rather than historical processes' (1984, 1024).

conveying the difficulties that mining brings to the rural highlands – I do believe that socially embedding extraction requires more nuance, historical openness, and complexity than the labels and assumptions thus far on offer. Indeed, in recognizing these eerie echoes of isolation, alterity and pre-modernity found within depictions of peasant livelihood rupture, it might rightfully be asked whether academic engagement today is 'missing the extractive revolution'?

While a number anthropologists defended, to a degree, the intellectual legacy they had produced,[20] there was also a clamoring of sorts towards self-correction – a rush to note the rapid intensification of migration, consumerism, and evangelicalism occurring throughout the highlands; the encroachments of the 'outside world'. Forwards and postscripts to new additions of classical texts began to note the incursion of modern flows or even admit disciplinary blind spots.[21] It became compulsory to admit, regardless if one continued to view ecological and social organization as elementary thematics, that Andean society could no longer be seen as 'static, isolated, or restricted to the "remote area", rather it is a deeply enmeshed component of Peru's nation fabric' (Mayer 1991, 479-480). 'Modernity' had hurtled into the void of immemorial vibrations to caveat, emphasize, or declare the accelerating connections between the Andes and the nation-state/world at large. Anthropology's compassionate version of *El Peru profundo* (e.g. *lo Andino*) was tipped like an hour glass; the sand of time eager to fall upon the 'proper' half of a near divided vase.

However, it is important not to exaggerate the re-thinking of Andean 'connectivity'. For while people, ideas, technology, symbols and culture have moved at accelerating pace through the highlands of Peru – as interpretations of the civil war have proved (Degregori 2012; Gorriti 1999; La Serna 2012; Palmer 1992) - material opportunities have not (indeed this was part of the problem which fomented violent rural upheavals during the 70s and 80s). Legacies of social and

[20] Many scholars implicated by Starn's critique mounted private and public rebuttals. Enrique Mayer, a prominent Peruvian-American anthropologist who produced two seminal monographs on rural Peruvian realities (2002; 2009), was quick to the defence of Andeanist ethnographers, identifying their academic work as a progressive endeavour, challenging, as it did, the tired colonial image of savagery and backwardness (*El Perú profundo*); replacing it with dignity, logic, order, and compassion. For Mayer, classical anthropologists of the 1970s and 80s, from Peru and North America, were primarily interested in presenting an academic 'counterweight to the prevailing Peruvian ideology' (1991, 480), which continually posed Andean regions and peoples as a civilization scourge.

[21] Catherine Allen, in returning to her field site at the turn of the millennium, noted the dramatic expansion of televisions, new roads and an obsession with money. She was left to conclude that the rich connection between 'the Earth and Sacred Places will continue to provide a backdrop for rural life, but it will be experienced as less immediate and intimate, a bond to be invoked mainly in times of stress and need' (2002, 242). Billie Jean Isbell, on the other hand, went further and admitted to an alarming realization that 'my anthropological perspective blinded me from seeing the historical processes of time' (1985, xiii).

economic exclusion persist. One might argue that a genuine correcting of *lo Andino* involves an eclectic disposition: one that attempts to account for the simultaneity of connection and disconnection. Indeed, an ever-growing number of anthropologists and ethnographies have begun to evade essentialist traps, take interest in cross-disciplinary and historical dialogue, and become cognizant of the 'multiple modernities' that continue to structure and shift highland lifeworlds (Abercrombie 1998; Berg 2015; Canessa 2012; Lazar 2008; Orta 2004; Weismantel 2001; see also Larson and Harris 1995). Their lead is an important one to follow in searching for productive orientations of Andean peoples to the extractive imperative.

The questions become, how does one conceptualize the Andes moving forward? How best to understand marginalized locales without restricting their humanity, 'modernity', and concerns? How to position and understand certain highland communities as isolated while avoiding the depoliticizing potential and persistent problematic of 'othering'? This analytical tightrope is crucial for interpretations of extraction where forms of connection and disconnection are pulled, pushed, and propelled further amongst the transforming movement of resource-making. In what ways are the arrivals, affects, experiences, and trajectories of minerals and mining to be socially embedded and locally oriented?

In this dissertation, I propose the use of an '(Andean) social imaginary' (in tune with Henrik Vigh's meditations on West Africa; see 2006a; 2006b; 2009a) as an appropriate conceptual tool which extends beyond the limitations of rigid cosmological or livelihood orientations. Specifically, it is used here as the localized compliment to globalized forms of resource-making and as a defining prism through which community orientations, both to minerals and development, emerge and extractive discordance and contradiction are experienced. The social imaginary, as used by Henrik Vigh, builds upon the works by of Charles Taylor (2002; 2004; as well as thinkers such as Anderson 1983; Castoriadis 1987; Husserl 1964; and Nordstrom 1997). In its broadest sense, it is an analytical concept defined by 'the way people "imagine" their social surroundings; of how they understand where they stand in relation to one another; how they got to where they are' (Vigh 2006a, 174; citing Taylor 2002, 106-107). As such, it begins to constitute historical and social interpretations of positionality beyond customs and livelihoods. Yet, importantly, the social imaginary for Vigh not only relates to people's perceived lot in life, but is analytically sensitive to rupture and change; 'to the way in which we comprehend the unfolding of our social terrain and possibilities of movement in it' (2006b, 483).

As such, the concept is equally attuned to motion and potential that unfurl in transformative times (extractive development and mining interventions certainly fit). The social

imaginary is, for Vigh, fundamentally a contemporary perspective where individuals seek to orient their navigation of a particular social environment (Vigh 2006a, 174). This possibility for movement – the promise of social horizons – forces imaginaries to be concerned first and foremost with the prospects of social becoming: of direction, mobility, and progression. It encapsulates 'the sphere of our existence which we have not yet experienced but which we nonetheless act towards in anticipation' (2006b, 483). It presents an existential imperative to interpretation which breaks down forms of 'othering' and alterity often inherent in concepts such as 'culture' (e.g. *lo Andino*), while equalling dissolving the margins of 'social reproduction' integral to materialist and Marxist orientations (e.g. the peasantry).

Accordingly, the analytical cogency of the social imaginary lies in its capacious enfolding of both history and the future; of social maintenance and political projects; of position and direction; of change and navigation. An 'Andean social imaginary', while not discarding the ecological and cosmological elucidation of classical anthropologists completely, is equally attendant to the uneven development of Peru, state neglect and histories of marginalization, 'modern' connections and disconnections, rural and urban migrations, racial and social hierarchies, and plans to rise and move within them. It allows individuals to sow potatoes while also checking their Facebook newsfeeds. It allows for reciprocal forms of labor exchange that are complimented by private bank accounts for personal (and even conspicuous) consumption. It offers forth dexterity in the construction of a rural earthen home while dreaming of a suburban *Limeño* apartment - the pounding of feet (blending mud, straw and water together in adobe bricks) and the wandering mind as equally elementary to highland lifeworlds. In sum, it reconciles the *Andeanist* and mining literature conundrums of ignoring the innumerable ways in which local *serranos* have been, for centuries, drawn into and expelled by systems of power and 'the desire of these impoverished communities for change' (Starn 1991, 80). Again, the Andean social imaginary is a perspective orientation of and towards *social becoming* (more fully developed in chapter 1).

It is this desire for mobility at the heart of social imaginaries in the Andes – as argued in this dissertation - which becomes entangled within the processes of extraction and where the contradictions and discordances of resource-making drift towards conflict. Local forms of expectation which accompany the arrival of extraction (resource histories) and the early affects of copper become imbued with more than the investment dollars and infrastructural projects that mining development offers; activating and impregnating a historical sense of neglect and marginalization; creating particular demands of what minerals should become. As extraction

matures, and the assemblages of labor regimes, environmental regulation, corporate gifts and multicultural rights, attempt to 'enhance' sustainable development, they are refracted through the social imaginary, resulting in unintended, complicated, and frustrating outcomes. Thus, this dissertation is about the struggles for social becoming amongst the shadows of resource-making in the Andes, the ways in which they intersect and diverge, and how we understand unrest and contestation in the highlands of Peru as the extractive-model of development continues to march forward.[22]

Fieldwork, methodology, and positionality

The data presented throughout this dissertation was compiled during 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Cotabambas, the eastern most province of the department of Apurímac. Between August 2016 and December 2017, I lived, worked, studied, and hung out ('deeply') in over a dozen communities along the perimeter of the Bambas mining project, that ranged in size from 50 to 300 individuals.[23] The fieldnotes that I amassed were produced from one-on-one sit-down interviews; casual and open-ended conversations in moments of coincidence and happenstance; informal 'focus groups' in which participants talked and debated amongst themselves, leading discussion in directions they deemed relevant; and observation or eavesdropping amongst the intimate quotidian moments of daily life. It would be impossible to declare with any accuracy just how many individuals contributed to the ethnography as it is presented here; ranging as contributions did from affirmative declarations during assemblies and meetings, to long-form life histories compiled over months of amicable engagement. If forced to 'calculate' I would say that foundational conversations occurred with over 100 individuals. However, this number could inflate further after debating what indeed constitutes a foundational input. Certainly, I developed a core of five to eight individuals, that can be classified as 'trusted informants', whose oft-repeated pseudonyms are imprinted all over this dissertation.

---

[22] It should be stated that this dissertation is not an attempt to predict or model when *conflictos* will or will not occur. The game of prediction is a fool's errand amongst contingency and complexity. The thesis only aims to explore the issues, frustrations, and maneuvering which dictate the day-to-day of the shadows and potentialize 'formal' contestation (marches, blockades, *paros* [strikes], etc.). It is a depiction of that which festers and underlies the margins of mining, whether before or after the world is awoken to discordance through a media story.

[23] I was not able to carry out a census of communities. To begin with, the mobility patterns of Andean peoples means that community demographics are constantly in flux. Most importantly though, the political histories of 'outsiders' arriving, travelling from house to house, and compiling data through brief surveys on the 'household' is fraught and contested, a legacy which I had no great interest to participate in (see Isbell 1978). Thus, my estimations of community size come from those reported by the communities themselves, or alternatively, numbers listed in *el libro de actas*.

As alluded to in the prologue and opening vignette of this introduction, the community of Ccahuapirhua was my first, deepest and longest connection to the lives of local populations in the shadows of cooper production. The community of just over 80 *comuneros* (registered adults, male and female) 'adopted' my wandering presence in a cordial and serendipitous manner (see more in Chapter 1) not long after my arrival to the province. As such, it appears throughout the dissertation as a 'trusted community'; a village where a depth of understanding was foundational to the overall direction of inquiry. The majority of themes investigated in this dissertation begin as phenomena first perceived and discovered within Ccahuapirhua and tested or explored beyond in other communities. Some issues were so intricate and politically charged that exploration was limited to one or two communities (in accordance to degrees of trust and immersion), while other themes were easier to draw into broader comparative analysis. Distinctions are made throughout the dissertation on the 'scope' of ideas and consequences; their empirical reach and how far conclusions and analysis can be taken. Over the course of my time in the field, I encountered no reason to see or believe that Ccahuapirhua was so unique as to contaminate the direction of arguments put forth. It was but one of many communities in southern Cotabambas, stretching along the perimeter of the mine, which was characterized by poverty, ingenuity, frustration, and hope (the particularities of history, demographics, subjectivities, imaginations, struggles and trajectories that united these communities are spelled out in the empirical chapters which follow). My fieldwork amongst these communities, like all ethnographic enquiries, was structured and influenced, fortuitously and adversely, by a host of factors – timing, history, positionality, scale, etc. – which demand reflexivity and further context.

I arrived to Cotabambas very much on my own. While my early hypotheses for fieldwork - drawn out in university libraries - prescribed an investigation of civil society engagement and representations of communities in the shadows of Las Bambas, I was alarmed to land in Peru and discover a paucity of NGO activity in the area. The consequences of this can be seen as mixed. For starters, the absence of gate-keepers made gaining access to information a slog. Without business cards or institutional grease, admission to communities and interviews with individuals were not streamlined; they required persistence, diligence, caution, and, more than anything, a great deal of time. While the vast hours spent building houses, playing football, drinking beers, and tilling the land were highly informative experiences in and of themselves – a process of labor to intimacy - they greatly restricted my ability to draw all 'affected communities' into the empirics of this dissertation. However, the absence of an institutional affiliation (coupled with the long gestation period of rapport-building), gave inquires and themes a more 'organic' base.

Arriving as a lonesome ethnographer meant that discussions were not 'catered' for an organizational mandate and having to subsequently 'walk across the coals' meant for deeply rewarding insights beyond the superficial and strategic.

My arrival to the region was further complicated by violence. Two days prior to my bus journey between Cusco and the mining boomtown of Challhuahuacho, an *enfrentamiento* (lit. 'confrontation') between the national police and members of four communities along the eastern reaches of the mining zone resulted in the death of Quintino Huisa (as noted above). The event, combined with my lack of institutional affiliation, tinted the local gaze that registered my entrance into the region; the timing of this gringo undeniably conspicuous. Accordingly, very early on, my research and presence were constantly working against devious rumors (I was a corporate spy, an undercover government official, even a CIA operative to many - indeed, such rumors plagued my person for the duration of my fieldwork in certain minds and communities). Suspicion was most determinately aroused if I was seen or 'caught' writing. As an act of good faith, I developed the habit of always keeping my journals buried in my backpack, taking brief notes on loose paper in my breast pocket when opportunities arose, but always limiting my long form fieldnotes and entries to moments of solitude, usually at the end of the day, transcribing loose versions of many conversations from memory. Often, I could be seen wandering Ccahuapirhua chanting a phrase or term to myself in the hopes of engraving it in my mind for later; ethnographic incantations of sorts. Of course, a number of relationships developed in which I was allowed to open my notebook and copy interviews down in time, yet it was not as common as I would have liked.[24] Accordingly, in writing this dissertation, the scarcity of the informant's voice - direct, pure, and in long form - is a noticeable limitation. They do appear, and in those instances the reader may wish to imagine me furiously scribbling away in the moment of conversation. However, more often than not, individual claims, experiences, and tales are processed through the memory, voice, and writing style of the author.

Much of this transcription work was carried out in Challhuahuacho, the mining boomtown and service hub for the region where I rented a room. Within the communities of the province, spare beds were uncommon. While mobility amongst *comuneros* meant a number of

[24] Yet, even these privileges were subject to fluctuation. With many individuals, having overcome the image of a 'spy', I would soon encounter new barriers. As I dug deeper into research, troubling rivalries amongst individuals, families and communities arose. Informants who had become close, no sooner became suspicious that I was passing on information to their perceived enemies. Accordingly, even with some trusted informants, my documentation practices worked along an arc; one in which I had to once again put away the notebook to ensure trust was not broken.

houses were always empty throughout the year, owners would padlock their doors while away in the city. In Ccahuapirhua, given the intimacy I developed, I was allowed to share a bed with other men, but the stresses of crammed bodies under limited blanket space meant I tried not to indulge community hospitality too often. As such, though I might spend a week in the community at a time, I always maintained a base within Challhuahuacho. It was valuable for the purposes of writing, but also for the shifts in how my informants began to spend their time, often moving into the boomtown themselves or spending large portions of their days there (more on this in Chapter 3). However, this reality forced me into awkward dependencies on local transportation; both its regularities and inconsistencies, its conveniences and challenges.

While roads had been improved throughout the region over the past decade - corresponding to the growth in the extractive economy - the vehicles which regularly traversed them (in particular those of travel agencies) generally ran on an east-west axis along the southern perimeter of the mine, connecting the region with major urban centers of Abancay and Cusco. The relative dependency of these movements dictated my emphasis on the communities to the south and east of the mine, where I could be sure to enter and leave at scheduled hours, neither stranding myself nor putting undue pressure on community hosts. Over time, through the generosity of friends with motorbikes and trucks, I was able to travel to some communities on the northern reaches of the mine, witnessing community events and speaking with individuals that often verified my findings in the communities of the south, yet, never with the depth I would have wished for. Despite these limitations there appears no reason for me to believe drastic differences exist between realities and experiences of the two. Accordingly, I often use the title of the province ('Cotabambas') to capture the broad trends of mining's consequences throughout the region and to not trip the reader up with the more trivial distinctions of district borders separating the communities in which I worked, interviewed, and observed (*Challhuahuacho, Progreso, Mara, Haquira,* etc.).

Being a 'gringo', whose mother tongue is not Spanish was challenging, but also beneficial to fieldwork. Arriving at the field with intermediate language skills made the early months of research a tiresome plod. My particular diction and pronunciation, tenuously balanced between a stiff English tongue and the pristine inner voice of Spanish *telenovelas,* meant for some confusing early exchanges with my interlocutors, whose own dialect of the language

maintained its Quechua-infused traits and syntax.[25] It involved, for my informants, frustrating demands for repetition and clarification. Yet, unintentionally playing the bumbler was also fortuitous. As alluded to above, within the harsh social hierarchy of Peru, rural Andeans are consistently pushed towards the lower rungs of prestige and humanity in accordance with the aged and lingering dictates of colonial psyches grounded in 'cultural traits'. Style of dress, livelihood or profession, and home or dwelling all contribute to a calculus of stigma. Perhaps though, there is no greater marker in Peruvian prejudice than education and language skills. Initially, being unable to speak anything near 'pure *castellano*', I momentarily reversed a perceived power dynamic between myself and my subjects. Laughing at some of my early attempts at syntax on the fly, my *Cotabambino* friends were relinquished of their own fears about linguistic judgement that often loom over their engagements with highly 'educated' others. Instead, they took the role of instructors, correcting and guiding me towards proficiency during my stay in the field; a journey in linguistic technique that inevitably fostered further growth in humor, trust, and rapport - tools as fundamental to ethnographic research as language.

Despite overcoming the skeptical and critical gaze cast upon my arrival through a dogged stubbornness and carving relations that shaped my research in fruitful ways, other challenges hampered fieldwork, and limited the scope and possibilities of the dissertation as it stands. They too are worth hashing out. For starters, as a male researcher, establishing strong relationships with female informants in Peruvian *campesino* communities proved exceptionally difficult. Patriarchy remains resolute in the rural Andes. Women, outside of market days, are often confined to the house or yard, tending children, preparing food, mending or washing clothes. Penetrating these spaces for the purposes of research was exceptionally difficult. To enter rural homes without the accompaniment of the patriarch courted scandal and risked exposing community women to dangerous rumors. Yet, to enter with the man of the household forced women into a silent and subservient role, allowing their husbands to speak on their behalf. In the community of Ccahuapirhua, where I had the most rapport, certain privileges were attained. I was occasionally able to interview women in the quiet shade of their adobe homes while they sifted through vegetables. In other communities, on a few occasions, I was able to speak freely and openly with single women who did not fall under the watchful eyes of a husband. As such,

[25] Nearly all of the individuals found within the communities where I worked spoke Spanish, a product of migration, rural-urban connections, and 'searches for the better life' (elucidated more fully in Chapter 1). In the rare instances where I encountered a monolingual Quechua-speaker, friends were always on hand to carry out the burden of translation.

the voices of Andean women do appear throughout this dissertation, however, not with the depth, intensity, or recurrence that I would have hoped.

Further still, beyond gender, the reader may also detect a generational bias present in the narrative as well. The voice and experiences of *viejos* (elders) take a prominent role at the beginning of the dissertation but taper away thereafter. There are a number of reasons for this. For starters, community demographics throughout the region were dominated by youth. In this regard, there is a degree of proportional credence. Secondly, the majority of these youths were cosmopolitan in disposition and desire, helping to foster the affinity, rapport, and trust necessary for in-depth conversation. We often found forms of 'cultural connection' in football, music, and pop culture, breaking down intersubjective distance and tension. Finally, and linking the previous points, the demographic dominance of youth was dictated by sharp spikes in return migration from urban settings following the lead up to extraction in the region (the particularities of demographics and migration will be laid out further in chapter 1). Part of the reason for this generational imbalance were demands that incentivized young people (men in particular) - deemed more educated and astute for the challenges of extractive transformations - to return to the region and establish themselves at the helm of political navigation. Accordingly, while *viejos* were comfortable being interviewed and answering questions on the region's past, they often deferred to younger men when it came to analyzing and speaking on presents and futures. To an extent, this relieved many of my initial discomforts with championing voices of youth, given that a cross-generational pact was struck in regard to interests, desired outcomes, and expected futures. However, it does not escape the fact that, regardless of demographic dominance and political prerogative, the ethnography presented here is driven by a 'youthful' concern.

Beyond the foundation of participant observation and anthropological methods that formed the overwhelming basis of data collection, information was also triangulated through sources beyond the field. Days and weeks were spent pouring over caches of documents produced by a variety of 'stakeholders' that spanned the lifetime of the Bambas project, from initiation to the contemporary moment (corporate documents, early NGO workshops, government publications, etc.). Other specific interviews - some formal, others informal - were carried out with NGO, corporate employees, scholars, and civil society experts in Lima and Cusco. Though many of these interviews do not appear directly in the text (drowning out, as they would, the concerns and experiences of individuals on the mine's margins), they were an important source for understanding the context of laws, histories and debates that the Bambas copper mine was situated within.

Writing with care

Before finalizing this introduction with a brief overview of the thesis lay out – its chapter outlines and arguments – I first want to take a moment to talk about writing. In particular, on the politics of representation, the poetics of narration, and the composition of text as it relates to this project. This thesis and ethnographic endeavor takes the question of ideas, their power, and their accessibility seriously, requiring the author to balance the demands of academic scrutiny and ethnographic subjects; theory and testimony; of distant readers and intimate friends. It is an imperfect endeavor, a confluence of personal style, contemporary trends, and disciplinary debates, yet it requires discussion beyond a methodological nod or paragraph.

In the 1980s, the discipline of anthropology had begun working its way through an existential crisis of sorts. Calls for the radical rethinking of the discipline had been occurring throughout the 1960s and 1970s as the turmoil of decolonization and social protest impinged upon the academy (Starn 2015, 3). Epistemological assumptions, principle truths, scientific aspirations and objectivity, all became increasingly opened to scrutiny. *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus) published in 1986, followed by *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Marcus and Fischer 1986) and *The Predicament of Culture* (Clifford 1988), marked a clear disjuncture in a discipline wrestling with feminist, Marxist and post-colonial critiques. Concerns about the particular constellations of power and history implicitly at work in anthropological depiction pushed reflexive considerations in many new directions. Writing itself was at the forefront of the political project.

The 'reflexive' debates of the 1980s opened up the discipline to a number of fruitful pathways. One in particular, I would argue, has been an increasing concern with the potential (and problematics) of literary techniques. Many of the authors at the barricades during this time were tired of 'treating ethnography as a transparent record of other realities' based almost entirely upon 'neat explanation and model building' (Starn 2015, 3). They argued persuasively against the arcane positivist social theories calcified within authorial writing techniques; legacies that reflected the discipline's anxious beginnings and insecure desires for scientific seriousness. Paul Stoller was one of the most prominent critics of 'academic socialization's' impact on anthropological writing, and attributed the stale convention of 'passionless prose' (2016, 123) to the 'dead hand of competence' (2016, 120; see also Stoller 1997; Luykx 1999). Demands were being made for style to be cut loose.

Thus, the 'reflexive turn' helped spurn a 'literary turn', in which a host of anthropologists began to break down the disciplinary boundaries of literature and ethnography to explore the potentials in new forms of writing; of how complex local realities throughout the world could be conjured in new ways (Pandian and McLean 2017; Nayaran 1999; Waterson and Vesperi 2009; Wulff 2016). The first person 'I' became more common place throughout texts, exposing the serendipitous qualities of fieldwork as well as the seams of text and writing. Vivid depictions of scenes and events became more commonplace within monographs, grounding representations in the flow and complexities of 'history' while also revealing the intricacies of the intersubjective moment that often constitutes the 'production of data' in anthropology. Further still, since the new millennium, a host of experimental monographs have emerged (Bessire 2014; De Leon 2015; Garcia 2010; Wogan 2017), pushing the boundaries of what words and writing can do for the discipline, carrying on the work of anthropologists imbricated in the 'writing culture' debates before them (Behar 1996; Crapanzano 1980; Rosaldo 1993; Stoller 1989). To a degree, my own personal development as a young academic has been indelibly imprinted by authors and projects that are not cited within this dissertation, but whose works, bravery, and creativity have infused my style of writing and argumentation (Michael Jackson, Vincent Crapanzano, Clifford Geertz, Renato Rosaldo, to name but a few anthropologists and say nothing of novelists proper).

Accordingly, this dissertation, following the 'literary turn', adopts technique and lesson from anthropology's continued wrestle with style and form. For starters, the structure of chapters follows narrative arcs, positing a puzzle or challenge within an opening vignette that is subsequently unraveled throughout the chapter. This unravelling occurs in and across waves, moving up and down as the argument develops, shifting between layers of academic theory and debate, general regional trends, intimate and revelatory instances, and then back again. This tapestry of textualization brings the everyday into continuous dialogue with historical context and theoretical abstraction; enrichment, I would argue, through fluid fluctuation. As such, the dissertation is not divided up into chapters dedicated exclusively to history, theory, literature review, and subsequent empirics. Rather, these contextual requirements are fused together and dispersed throughout, in what I hope is considered a compelling story of life in the shadows of the Bambas copper mine. Despite this narrative weaving, the dissertation does not throw itself completely into the abyss of literary non-fiction, maintaining, as it does, the four main boundary markers of ethnographic texts: namely, disclosure of processes, generalization, representations of subjectivity, and accountability (Nayaran 1999; see also Isbell 2009).

Beyond narrative structure, this dissertation uses (though, I hope avoids abuse of) literary techniques, styles, and flair: metaphor, word play, reflection, and intimate scenery invoked in the name of *passionate* prose. Though the presence of certain literary bursts may invite critiques of 'dramatization', moving too far afield from ethnographic tradition and taking gratuitous liberties in the epistemological space opened during the 'writing culture' debates, it is a position in which I am willing to risk reprisal. Its political benefits, in my opinion, outweigh the pitfalls of posturing in the service of 'objectivity' and 'authority'. For starters, a fictional or 'creative' writing style 'deliberately reveals authorial presence and power' (Gardner 2012, 6), inverting the dated practice of ethnographic omnipotence (Fabian 1983), and thus constantly drawing attention to the text as written by an author with his or her own beliefs and claims. Additionally, vivid scenarios draw context into life, 'capturing the messy, sensorial experience of the everyday' (Elliot 2017, 25). If this contextual depiction is done in good faith, it de-others Andean peoples and experiences, situating them in human scenes as opposed to exotic ones. Further still, this 'de-othering' through literary style offers comparative opportunity, inviting anthropologists and scholars (indeed curious non-academics) from a host of different geographical regions and debates to engage with the ideas and arguments presented, to further understand the general and specifics of the case study (see Gottlieb 2016). Extraction is something of contemporary significance throughout the globe, far beyond the mountains of Peru alone.[26] Presenting worlds through an existential rather than cultural prism, as this literary endeavor constantly pushes towards, invites conversation and elides isolation.

Most importantly, textual style that draws from the literary craft, serves a project of 'writing with care' (Garcia 2010, 34): an effort to 'capture the humanity, vulnerability, and hopefulness of the lives [that one] comes to know and care about' (ibid, 35). The theoretical prisms of resource-making and social becoming, interested as they are in the affectual and emotive realms of lived experience, requires the consideration of writing techniques beyond the limitations of conventional jargon and presentation. Furthermore, if these lives and experiences exist in the shadows of transformative development ventures, becoming 'readily written off in the discourse of state and public media' (Jackson 2017, 46), the stakes are raised. The depiction of humanity – in all its messy and everyday forms – requires a 'desire to do justice by the subject' through writing (ibid, 46). If Andean lives have historically been 'othered', the literature

[26] Indeed, part of Orin Starn's critique of '*lo Andino'* and Peruvian anthropological tradition was its insularity (1991; 1994). Accordingly, a writing style that opens itself for comparative engagement works across purposes and literatures, both extractivist and 'Andeanist'.

on contemporary extraction has left them largely hidden. 'Writing with care' on the Bambas mining zone involves pulling everyday lives and emotions from out of the shadows and presenting them in all their vibrancy. Literary anthropology offers the tools for the considerate depiction of both the exceptional and mundane.

In the end, and despite having just presented a particular enthusiasm for literary 'care', I do not believe it to be an academic panacea. As stated, these narrative techniques remind readers of an authorial presence and power, and I, as a Canadian studying at Oxford, inhabit a position quite different from those of the friends and informants presented in this text. Ethnographic writing, beyond the stand alone narrative, speaks for others. It involves asymmetrical relations of power and privilege. The words and depictions used throughout this text are disproportionately my own; the world constructed through language is that of the author's. Yet, though there is a temptation to fall into the postmodern underbelly that accompanied the 'writing culture' critique – 'the hostile gaze that turns subjects into objects' (Scheper-Hughes 1995, 418) – it begs political resistance; a commitment that draws energy from the text as a potential social fact in the world. Faced with this challenge, Nancy Scheper-Hughes rightly re-orients the doubting and self-censuring voice of the anthropologist as writer, stating:

> seeing, listening, touching, recording can be, if done with care and sensitivity, acts of solidarity. Above all, they are the work of recognition. Not to look, not to touch, not to record can be the hostile act, an act of indifference and of turning away. (1995, 418)

Writing, with all its imperfections and problematics, becomes a political act against silence. As such, I consider documenting the lives of my informants in the narrative style that I deem most powerful, and in lure of critical scrutiny, a further extension of care; the work of recognition. I can only hope that my writing sustains a quality of depiction in service of the lives it engages, before and beyond the appeasement of academic tradition.

Thesis structure and outline

Chapter 1 of the dissertation takes an initial step-back from the discussions of this introduction, beginning with the ethnographer's bumbling early efforts in discerning cultural and cosmological orientations; pre-conceptions interrupted by the voices and realities of the field. The chapter uses the evolving conceptual prism of the 'frontier' to elucidate the recent and historical formations coalescing in the communities surrounding the Bambas project. It documents the 'arrival of copper' (local resource histories) to this once 'forgotten *rincón* (corner)' of Peru, accentuating the bounding mineral optimism and new social geographies of the

mine's shadows to better understand how communities have been oriented towards extraction and development outcomes. The chapter fundamentally argues that the 'search for a better life' (projects of social becoming in tune with a progressive Andean social imaginary) combine with the nebulous promises of early interventions in the making of resources to create powerful elixirs of desire and expectation - as well as standards of judgement from whence discordance and contradiction unfurl.

Chapter 2 attempts to pull the processes of resource-making into the present, analyzing the realities, interpretations, frustrations, and reformulation of community and individual projects following the commencement of copper 'exploitation'. Beginning by establishing the experiences of the low-labor 'production phase' and the closing-off of 'professionalized' participation in extraction, the chapter moves forward to elucidate the reckoning of communities with the emerging moral order. As resource-making matures, original desires and affects are confronted with a lethargic royalty system and the millennial inequalities of mining's winners and losers. The concept of 'navigation' is used to analyse individual movement and attempts to break into circulations of investment and opportunity central to social becoming amongst the increasing discordance of image and reality. The search for a better life is ultimately funnelled towards the potential of land sale; 'cargo corrals' as the logical outcomes of contemporary stagnation.

Chapter 3 delves into the temporality of resource-making on the maturing frontier. Shifting attention away from the spatialization of enclaves, the chapter instead attempts to document and analyze the practices and experiences of 'waiting' for land sale and negotiations with the corporation. *Hueveando*, a localized form of passing time amongst ever fewer informal economic opportunities, reveals and masks some of extraction's cruelest consequences: the potential dissipation of imagined futures that mining once promised. It is further complicated by increasing demands of 'rural respectability' on individuals within fractured communities; a new politics of 'legitimacy' haunting family and individual claims to community horizons. Ultimately, the chapter argues that the ill-defined – personal and communal - temporalities of mineral maturation transforms original affects (from hope to despair) as social becoming and the better life become embroiled in precarity and crises.

Chapter 4 investigates the realities, logics, and outcomes of corporate social responsibility (CSR) for the communities of Cotabambas. Moving beyond the public presentation of 'mining for progress', the chapter shows what sustainable development 'gifts' and cultural revival events – the dualistic concoction of a 'new sustainable Indian' - *do* within the region. It is

argued that the corporate 'fantasy of frictionless profits' forces companies to use CSR norms and practices to mitigate against the soaring of mineral optimism within local communities; delineating what can and cannot be expected of a corporation operating within a state governance vacuum. Ultimately, the corporation attempts to channel local demands towards the predictable '*canon* pay-off', but retains the right to violence and police intervention should unruly populations - and entanglements with them - risk the smooth extraction and transportation of cooper.

Chapter 5 of the dissertation explores the shadows of environmental regulation, illuminating the perceptions, determinants, logics and politics of *environmentalism* amongst the communities of Cotabambas. Beginning by establishing the Peruvian framework of environmental governance that structures a fundamental point of contemporary resource-making in the Andes, the chapter moves beyond discussions of 'participation', shifting attention, instead, towards the quotidian social production of confusion and certainties regarding *contaminación*. Ultimately, the chapter argues that environmental politics on the maturing frontier – and contrary to global imaginaries of noble ecological savages – is determined by toxic legacies and endurance: development trade-offs implicitly made in the hopes of social becoming. However, endurance is not equally distributed (in accordance with the emerging logics of land sale and potential corporate negotiations) and is equally exhaustible. Divergent projects and orientations towards making contamination 'legible' divide and frustrate the emergence of collective environmental activism throughout the region despite consensus on emerging *deadscapes*.

The last empirical chapter of the thesis, *Chapter 6,* tackles the final relevant thematic of 'modern mining' in the highlands of Cotabambas: indigenous rights and identity. Though Peru has been recognized by political scientists as an outlier to the continental rise of indigenous mobilization, the country has not avoided contestation amongst extractive zones where 'potentially' indigenous subjects exist, nor the anxious identity dictates of government officials. Thus, the chapter analyzes the origins, travels, and arrival of indigeneity as an idea to the Cotabambas and the unintended, though consequential, outcomes of identity politics as it encounters historical marginalization, extractive exclusion, and the lingering affects of resource-making. It does so primarily through the story of a single individual who arrived in the area hoping to 'teach' *campesino* communities their 'rights' as indigenous subjects, unite them into an *Indian* organization, and, in so doing, challenge the very legitimacy and future of the Bambas project in Apurímac. Using the concepts of the 'contact zone' and 'friction', the chapter documents the incongruities of advocate and community, the spectacular failure of the proposed

organization, and the subsequent reconciliation of parties through a shift to projects of artisanal mining. In doing so, the chapter links many debates emerging out of anthropology's engagement with indigeneity, challenging persistent imaginaries of the Indian, and documenting the creative conglomeration of ideas put to service in 'search of a better life'.

A few final notes on textualization and lay-out. The reader may notice a slight shift in analytical attention between chapter 3 and 4. However, for the purposes of space, word count, and smooth transitions, a fracturing of the dissertation (i.e. 'Part 1' and 'Part 2') has been avoided. Ultimately, though the unintended consequences of resource governance are an overarching theme that unites chapter 3, 4, and 5, they remain equally imbricated in the processes of resource-making and social becoming teased out in previous chapters. To affix 'interludes' prior to chapter 1 and 3 would create unnecessary breaks in flow and perhaps exaggerate disjuncture amongst a general whole. Furthermore, all the chapters of this dissertation are divided into themes for the purposes of academic debate; colloquially referred to as 'unpacking' - a pre-requisite for lucid scholarship. Yet, there might be the temptation, as the narrative builds, to assume the themes and outcomes outlined in each chapter precede those that follow, building in succession, much like a play; certain issues ending and then leaving the stage to make room for others to then begin. That would be a mistake. All issues presented here are entangled in time, as reality and the world often are, and have only been untethered and presented in the silos of chapters for the purposes of clarity, diagnosis, and analysis. It is an essential requirement of writing ethnography; 'shaping the disorderly and wonderfully jumbled human experience into orderly knowledge' (Kelly 2008, 29). I hope, in doing so, I have not grossly 'sacrificed the contradictions of this experience' (Ibid, 29), in the search for social facts and analytical coherence. I leave it up to the reader, having completed the text, to re-weave, or 're-pack', the subject matter, from navigating enclaved economies and temporalities to organizing artisanal mines and foregoing indigenous mobilization, returning it to the complex whole that constitutes the shadows of mineral extraction.

Chapter 1. Resource and Social Becomings on the Extractive Frontier

There is a certain compulsion in the ethnographic endeavor to write down things you see and hear from the moment you begin fieldwork. It is an impulse that is tied up equally in the politics of justification (that of you being there; of doing something) as it is in the uncertainty of what *might yet* be of importance. I am inclined to believe that the field notes of all anthropologists – though they might blush to admit it – are littered with inconsequential musings and certain reflections that are without much direction. This is particularly the case within those initial notebooks; the ones slightly more brittle and brown than those of the final 'push'. Yet, in scanning through the early entries of data, when all is said and done, one can identify when the beginnings of a thesis *really* took place; even if it rests amongst further false starts and diversions. I myself was sitting on a wooden bench, eager and apprehensive, asking an elderly stranger to tell me of the past.

'Much has changed here in Ccahuapirhua' Selestino exclaimed, looking as he does over the community plaza, populated by children freed from the hours of study. We are seated in front of his adobe home. The overhang of a corrugated iron roof shades our faces. As a nascent ethnographer, I had been pushed by a disciplinary tradition and the early directions of my gracious hosts to probe the cultural underpinnings of a province in the throes of transformation. My knowledge and experience of the region were still embryonic as I plodded through one of my first interviews in Ccahuapirhua, pointed towards Selestino's solitary figure on the outskirts of the plaza by younger friends who thought, in those still early days, that I was playing too much football; asking too few questions. He was an 'old head' now, but once a young boy in the community decades ago, knowledgeable of its past, they said. Sitting down beside him, I had begun, without tact or foreplay, by enquiring about '*las costumbres del pasado*' (customs of the past). His declaration of metamorphosis is definitive, but there is no exasperation in his voice. I immediately suspected a culture unravelling and, keen to display my knowledge in 'Andean concepts', I nudge for specificity: 'Are you speaking of *los apus*?'[27]

'More or less. *Mis padres y abuelos* (my parents and grandparents) had a stronger connection to *la tierra* (the earth)' he begins, running with my cue. 'They used to talk to each other and there was much more dedication to *los pagos* (offerings)*.'* He recounts the payments of his childhood made to an animated countryside: small holes dug in the hills and subsequently

[27] *Apu* is a Quechua word which means 'lord' (Gose 1994, 199), denoting the animated spirits believed to occupy mountains within Andean cosmology.

filled with coca leaves and the fat of *llamas* and *alpacas*. Yet, no sooner had he begun to wax idyllically, he changed tone and direction; perhaps falsely lulled by my leading. 'Of course, life was very hard. Sometimes the harvest failed, and you had to travel great distances to get to market or find a hospital'. Despite his shift in depiction, he maintains an air of authority.

'Though I was not here for my whole life I can tell you that it was different. Today, the youth no longer carry *las creencias* (beliefs) of my parents, nor do they seem to care that much. They are accustomed to riding in cars, not walking. Accustomed to their cell-phones and the city, not *la tierra*'.

I already suspect 'why', but am compelled to ask for the record.

'*Por la mina, por supuesto*! (Because of the mine, of course!)', he responds.

The noise of the children playing football before us escalates. It is a welcome interjection, filling our conversational pause with a moment's distraction, and allowing me to build the courage for a follow up; to probe what is presenting itself as an open sore.

'Are these changes, in your opinion, "good"?'. My question is clumsy, but pertinent.

To my surprise, he simply shrugs. It is an ambivalent gesture and is devoid of pity and resignation. '*Vamos a ver* (We will see)' he adds, tempering my impulse to take his preceding declarations as disaster; to write out his future and those of his children before we had seen it. It is a shrug that even then, so early on during my research, seemed to speak volumes; that seemed to suggest transformation could be accepted for him in accordance to specific terms; that a past could be abandoned at a price. Selestino was not yet willing to pass definitive judgement on the beginning of extraction in Cotabambas. *Vamos a ver.*

A horse is spotted a few meters away, grazing in a small plot of land that he has been preparing for the *sembra* (sowing; planting). He grabs a rock from our feet and rushes off to scare the intruder away. I remain seated on the bench, jotting notes on a paper from my breast pocket, still in the early days of situating life in the shadows of the Bambas copper mine. *What exactly was 'changing' within the community of Ccahuapirhua? How had the commencement of mining in the area 'affected' the region and individuals residing in it? What cultural and social elements of rural Andean lifeworlds were being stirred, and what was rising forth from these disturbances?*

Popular memories of a forgotten region

Adjusting to altitude and fitful sleeps under the wool blankets of a hotel established for mine workers, I spent my first days in the field meandering around the dusty streets of

Challhuahuacho, taking in the chaotic construction of the boomtown. I did not yet know what I might say to those who offered me an ear, being so unfamiliar to the region and its political dynamics. I had no opening spiel prepared to dissuade suspicion and invite trust beyond rudimentary facts: I am a researcher, an anthropologist, looking to carry out fieldwork in the region. Where, with whom, and on what, would be questions that could buckle my prospects.

After a week of anxious urban wanderings, I stumbled into a barbershop, propelled by loneliness and yearning for conversation - any human exchange which might ground my drifting foreign presence in purpose. Oscar sat in a client's chair and, with the acerbic humor I would come to know well, asked if I was lost (a jab that played on both my skin tone and bald head). The mirth of he and his friends filled the room. I followed in kind, requesting, in my stuttering Spanish, whether the removed hair of clients was for sale. The laughter eased our transition to introductions.

Who are you? What are you doing here?

I'm an anthropologist, looking to carry out research in the region.

There was a muffled debate between the group sitting in chairs behind Oscar as to what an anthropologist was. Someone, taking charge, rose above the discussion to declare that anthropologists study culture, *costumbres* (customs). I nodded, excited by the squashing of suspicion and the definitive encasement of a purpose. It was not the time nor the place for nuanced debate on disciplinary trajectories.

Oscar soon followed by asking which communities I was working with. I told him I had only just arrived and was not yet working with anyone. He immediately extending an invitation to me: 'We are from Ccahuapirhua, a community *arriba* (above). You can come visit us whenever. It would be good to have you document our *costumbres del pasado* (customs of the past)'. We would exchange numbers and shake hands before he disappeared into the street with the rest of the group.

And so, with this fortuitous coincidence – those serendipitous moments that structure fieldwork and its unfoldings – my research began in Cotabamas, Apurímac. Not only had I obtained a community base from which to begin my doctoral fieldwork, but I also had the edifice of my early enquires chiseled out for me: *customs of the past*. There was space enough for such questions in my head and notebook given the paucity of secondary scholarship existing on the

region.[28] As an aspiring and incipient anthropologist, I had accumulated a breadth of images and debates about 'the Andes' while in the armchair that I was eager to put to the test. Though I was aware of anthropological critiques and debates on '*lo Andino*', I saw no need to throw out the proverbial baby with the bath water, nor declare Oscar's request for a customs-based inquiry completely inappropriate. Plenty of anthropological work in Latin America had begun to take ontological differences seriously; in particular, disparities between indigenous and western (re: 'modern') modes of seeing the world. Alterity was becoming more than an object of inquiry but a theoretical prism for research itself.[29]

Indeed, prior to arriving in Cotabambas, I had read Marisol de la Cadena's newly released reflections on the resurgence of 'earth beings' within Andean political practices (2015; see also 2010), which included animate mountains that were contributing to anti-mining protests in neighboring Cusco. It seemed to propose a pathway of linking classical Andeanist concepts and texts with the present moment, avoiding coeval representations and thus charting a path through revisionism (the critiques of the 1990s, see Ferreira 2016) to the contemporary extractive boom. In my far too early projections of what my thesis may become, I imagined myself following a deep investigation of the *customs* I was assigned, and from there embarking on a research project that would document the ontological disjuncture between coastal capitalist elites and Quechua peoples; to look at the incommensurate cosmologies of mining, nature, and development that separated the two.

It was with this context in mind that I made my first journey from Challhuahuacho, along the southern perimeters of the mine, passing through the rolling avocado hills, interspersed by small adobe congregations that marked the various 'peasant' communities of the district. I passed my early days in Ccahuapirhua playing football and carrying out odd chores, freshly adopted to the community as a mandated recorder of communal history and customs. It was amongst this general timeframe that I had been nudged by Oscar, who was pointing towards Tio Selestino, imploring me to 'get to work'. My exchange with the community *viejo* (elder) was brief, given the encroachment of a hungry horse, but its content was foundational, circling as it did around issues of change; a different community, receding *creencias* (beliefs), young men, cities, and

[28] The one major exception being *Nuestros los Humanos*, published in 1991 by two 'mestizo' anthropologists working as teachers in the provincial capital of Tambobamba. Given the time-consuming demands of embedding myself into communities of the region (see methodology section of thesis introduction), this paucity of secondary literature on the region could not be countered by intense archival research.

[29] The 'ontological turn', as it has at times been labelled, was influenced heavily by the works of Descola (1994; 2013), Kohn (2013), and Viveiros de Castro (1998).

uncertain horizons, all in some manner irrevocably tied to '*la mina'*. The snippets of information gestured towards extractive led-transitions; social transformation and large copper reserves irrevocably entangled.

Recently, spurred by the dramatic expansion of extraction in the last number of decades, the aged and Americanist theorization of the 'frontier' as a zone of civilization's confluence with barbarism, originally proposed by Fredrick Turner (1920), has been revived and reworked across disciplines. Much of this re-engagement has attempted to disrupt the modernist pretentions which have historically connotated frontiers as zones of wilderness, wildness, and chaos (see Larsen 2015). Many of these scholars, drawing upon the work of Henri Lefebvre, have creatively asked new and important questions on the social relations that underpin spatiality (Lefebvre 1991; see also Redclift 2006; Watts 2018). Frontiers have thus been fruitfully posited anew as 'mobile fronts in continuous formation' (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 15), where histories and futures are in transition (Rasmussen and Lund 2018), where 'subject formations' unravel (Cohen 2014, 261; see also Tsing 2003, 5101), and where struggles of meaning and imagination occur (Bury and Norris 2013; Perreault 2013). The revelations of such theoretical probing have re-constituted the ways we think about the transformation of territories commonly denoted as frontiers, drawing increasing attention to process over form (Redclift 2006, ix). For extractive frontiers, created for the *making* of resources, shifts in subjectification, sociality, and imaginations are dictated by the complex entanglements and collisions of historical experience and extractive techniques and logics.

The particular dynamics of the Bambas frontier as a social space in flux did not reveal themselves immediately. They would build over time, creating a deeper and more intimate picture of process and transition. Following my interview with Selestino, I began a documentation tour, beginning in my adopted community but circling out to others in accordance with family and friendly connections. It was organized initially by Oscar and other early friends from Ccahuapirhua, but took on a life of its own, interviewees introducing and suggesting other *viejos* (elders)[30] with recollections of the region's social moorings. Introducing myself as an anthropologist, I regurgitated Oscar's phrasing to ensure that my presence did not descend into the politically charged gaze I was always prone to elicit (a spy, for any number of devious outfits; government, CIA, etc.). 'I wish to learn more about the *costumbres del pasado*'.

[30] *Viejos* is used interchangeably throughout this dissertation with the term '*tios*' (lit. 'uncles', but largely used as a term of respect for those older than oneself).

Interestingly enough, the phrase itself was weighted and imbalanced. My early interlocutors were quick to elide *costumbres* – stilts which might have helped me assemble a cultural group to contrast with neoliberal capitalists pushing extractive-led development - and instead focused on *el pasado*. A popular history began to form within my notebook, beyond the cosmological orientations and analysis I had initially anticipated, revealing foundational processes in the creation of the Bambas frontier as a zone of social transformation.

Sitting in the house of Victoria in Huanacopampa, I was lectured. She wished to immediately dispel all which lay before me: 'none of this was here when I was young', she stated, pointing out the window towards the houses and small dirt alleyways running between them. 'There were only a few houses, dispersed throughout the hills,' she continued. 'Poverty was immense. Depending on the harvest alone had its consequences'. She began to speak of a cold winter that struck the region when she was only three years old and the ensuing drought which devastated the village, pushing people off the land and towards 'the city', stalked by hunger. Eventually, following long bouts of active listening, I attempted to draw her back from the themes of poverty and hardship she expounded, and asked about the *costumbres* and *las creencias* ('beliefs') of her generation. She said few people 'continued to practice them, *por la mina* (because of the mine)', before foraging in the drawer of a desk, pulling out a small pamphlet on the stone prison (*carcel de piedra*) in Haquira published by the Ministry of Culture. Offering it across the table, Victoria declared, if I was searching for 'customs', I might find something of interest in there.

Continuing on my tour of the communities, elders continued to pass over cultural concerns and used our open-ended conversations to hone in on a dour past. I heard many more references to droughts. Some elders of Fuerabamba spoke of the inter-communal stress caused by hunger, recounting in some detail the hiding of *chuño* (small potatoes, freeze-dried at attitude) and the distress caused by beggars knocking at one's door. Arduous travel was another major theme. Elders spoke about huge distances they had to cover on foot to reach the markets of Challhuahuacho and beyond. A few detailed the journey to Cusco which could take a week depending on the amount of produce you carried. 'There were almost no cars passing through', they re-iterated again and again; emphasizing historical disconnection. And of course, these markets were vastly different than those today; potatoes exchanged for sugar, bread and rice. The Andean practice of *trueque* (barter) holding strong amongst a largely de-monetized countryside. There were brave and dangerous 'cattle rustlers' (*abiegos*) and bride thieves throughout the

mountains, though these practices were often depicted as barbarous and backward; abandoned, once again, '*por la mina*'.

By far the most oft-repeated phrase during this whirlwind tour of initial engagement was that of a 'forgotten region' (or *rincón* - 'corner'). At times, individual responses began with the term; other times they ended with it, emphasizing a definitive conclusion: *Cotabambas fue olvidado* (Cotabambas was forgotten). The expression was used to position the region relative to the rest of the country and cast judgement upon the government and its historical development initiatives (cf. Rasmussen 2017). Hospitals, schools, and opportunity existed elsewhere. It was a popular history which continuously emphasized hardship and marginalization; poverty and national detachment. Yet, *la mina* was changing everything; a verdict encased in conviction.

To a degree, such renderings of historical experience and realities in a region often characterized first and foremost by endemic poverty and isolation should not come as any great surprise. Throughout the history of Peru, and across the various disciplines of academic engagement, the Peruvian state has often been seen as over-stretched, incapable, and even absent. For centuries, colonial and republican administrations have conceived and supported systems of indirect control, using the church and local elites as government proxies (*kurakas, encomenderos, hacendados, gamonoles,* etc.; see Klaren 2000; Poole 1988; Spalding 1974; Thurner 1997). State neglect and uneven development, particularly in the Andes, are phenomena that continue to plague the country today (see Krupa and Nugent 2015; Nugent 1994; Palmer 1992; Poole 2004; more on this in chapter 4). Yet, interestingly, popular memories during my early tour of the region rarely expounded other central themes and events identified by Peruvian historiography. For example, the civil war which tore through the southern Andes during the 1980s and devastated parts of Apurímac was never evoked. Peasant agitation and the agrarian reform which preceded it were equally absent from memory and its telling. The selections, emphasis, and omissions at work in narrations of the past are revealing.

Certain scholars, and in particular oral historians (Portelli 1991; Vansina 1985; White 2000), have argued convincingly on the partiality of recollection. Memories and their renderings are always a product of the contemporary, projected through preoccupations of the moment, and thus cannot be seen as objective 'truth'. Amongst the communities of Cotabambas, along the southern perimeters of the Bambas mine, I would argue that the 'politics of storytelling' was indelibly imprinted by frontier experiences; processes, collisions, and transitions tied to extraction (or '*la mina*') at play in the formation of subjects and meaning. Though my early incursions into the past were brief and incomplete, responses unanimously directed attention

away from the cultural considerations I was initially assigned and towards the concerns of poverty and marginalization. To an extent, *viejos* were taking the opportunity and openness of our initial encounters to nudge the direction of my research and enquiries away from '*costumbres*', emphasizing instead the importance now placed on having been 'forgotten' - isolation as neglect (Cotabambas vis-à-vis the state and its development trajectory) rather than a producer of cosmological purity. It presented a harsh challenge to my early hypothesis of clashing ontologies amongst the mining zone and demanded the consideration that contestation in the province might not be determined by alterity.

Accordingly, very early on in fieldwork, questions on the politics behind these stories beckoned. What processes, constituting the Bambas frontier, were championing concerns of marginalization? In what ways were the local configurations of 'extractive infrastructures, calculative devices, discourses of the market and development, and the everyday practices of the nation and corporation' (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014, 7) reshaping subjects and meaning? How was copper interrupting isolation and 'forgotteness'? Such questions begin to refocus attention towards resources, their making, and the relational beginnings of frontier creation. They invite us to further set aside *costumbres* and cosmologies to delve deeper into the early unfoldings of extractive transformation.

The arrival of copper and mineral optimism

I was still in the early months of fieldwork, tracking down *viejos* and assembling the moving parts of a historical consciousness centered on neglect, when I first heard talk of mineralized mountains. Expanding my sphere of contacts and data beyond my adopted community, I had ventured to *la comunidad campesina de Ccasa* for a football tournament. I was enlisted on the roster of Ccahuapirhua and stood with them on the side of the pitch in wait of our first match. The tournament was as much a celebration as a sporting event and so did not prevent us from sharing a few beers prior to kick-off. Members of other communities, curious and friendly, passed by to share a glass of Cusqueña and converse. One such individual - amicably referred to as '*Orejas*'[31] - approached our group in greeting, welcoming us to his community and their event. Following introductions, some teasing and small talk, he was handed a beer from the

[31] Literally, 'ears'. A reference to their disproportionate size and a window into the centrality of humor in Andean society.

red crate at our feet. John, standing to my left, engaged *Orejas* on community 'happenings'; *What is new in Ccasa?*

'*Nada* (nothing)', *Orejas* responded. Knowing nods from the assembled group animated the silence which followed. As the glass and bottle continued to make its way around the group, John attempted to spur conversation once more. Pointing to the *cerro* (hill) that rose behind the football pitch along the road towards Tambulla, he asked, '*esta mineralizado*?' (Does it contain minerals?). *Orejas* once more shook his head, but then turned to the larger mountain across from it, towering above the houses of the community, stating, 'That is the only one which has minerals in *Ccasa*'. Again, more knowing nods, the exchange draped in nonchalance, a question like all others that constituted the small talk of Cotabambas. As John foraged in his pocket for some more money to pay for replenishment of the beer that was nearing its foamy end, he posited one more question: 'And when will the company begin production?'. *Orejas* sighed, 'Not sure.'

The exchange - though jarring for the novice researcher saturated in sub-disciplinary conversations that evoked mountains as animated by spirits not minerals - was an unremarkable conversational point in the communities of Las Bambas shadows. During the opening months fieldwork, when I was not participating in organized interviews and instead stood as an observer on the margins of political exchanges, I continuously overheard discussions of mountains and their contents. This *cerro* was mineralized, that one was not. This *cerro* contained copper, that one did not. This one was within the concession of MMG, the other was within the concession of Antares (First Quantuum). In certain instances, when it became apparent to the discussants that the topic had piqued my interest or left me confused, *comuneros* would turn and offer blunt encapsulations: '*todos estes cerros estan mineralizados'*. The *beta* (mineral vein) ran, according to a number of individuals, from Cotabambas through southern Cusco and onwards to Arequipa; hundreds of kilometers. The declarations on mountains and their content mocked my early questions to Selestino and other elders about *apus* and the meaning ascribed to landscapes.

I myself, over time, became implicated into the prism of mineralized mountains without prompt or effort. Months after my arrival, as the tinge of a corporate spy began to wane and my presence within the region became more normalized, I was often assumed to be an investor or geologist in small scale copper production within Ccahuapirhua when we travelled together to neighboring communities for events and festivals (more on this in Chapter 6). Questions, sincere and in jest, sought to probe my connections and apparent poverty: *What company does he work for? What buyers does he know? Does he not have a truck?* The reverberations of this persistent gaze extended well beyond the communities directly bordering the Bambas mine and into the

western regions of the province, ostensibly dozens of kilometers away from the extractive jewel of Cotabambas.

One evening, after travelling beyond the municipal town of Progresso with a friend to attend a graduation ceremony for a rural high school, I was approached repeatedly by eager fathers and uncles, ecstatic with my presence. Plied with alcohol, *huayno* music[32] blaring, I was unable to convey to my gregarious hosts that I was a social scientist, not a corporate engineer: 'I am an anthropologist. I don't know anything about rocks or minerals'. They nodded, their smiles persisted, refusing or failing to understand my purpose in Apurímac: 'We will take you to the hills tomorrow', they continued, 'show you the *beta* (vein)'. Following their departure, my friend leaned towards my ear, whispering that geologists from Panoro Minerals Ltd. had been working throughout the district, the local mining concession in the midst of exploration, the increased activity was accompanied by rumors of impending sale. There was no hope of dissuading the optimistic gaze placed upon me. 'Nod, and embrace', he advised with a chuckle. The power and potential of resources was palpable, highlighting the processual *making* of mineralized mountains at the forefront of frontier creation; distant hinterland regions being enfolded into global capitalist markets.



[**Figure 6**. ***A 'mineralized mountain' in Cotabambas***. **Source: author.**]

[32] A genre of music originating in the Andes which retains an inescapable popularity amongst the highlands.

Within the emerging theorization of resource materialities (see introduction), as modern assumptions of extraction are disassembled and reconstituted, much emphasis has been placed on the implicit associations rarely discussed between minerals and societies. Certain anthropologists have been eager to resuscitate Erich Zimmermann's claim that 'resources are not; they become' (1933, 21; see Davidov 2014; Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014). Following this evocative dictum, it is argued, essential geological formations only attain the status and power of resources following their relation to 'people's wants and their ability to appropriate them from the environment' (Richardson and Weszkalnys 2014, 13). The neoliberal shift and liberalization of mineral exploitation throughout Peru cannot be said to have created copper as a resource in the country per se. However, it undoubtedly enfolded regions of known and unknown mineralogical potential into a global capitalist system interested in discovering and appropriating untapped reserves; a process where hills and mountains might be reconceptualised by the potential of their minerals; 'becomings' in a localized context. They beckon further comments on events and practices relevant to the making of resources, the creation of mining frontiers, and the 'arrival' of copper to rural Cotabambas.

Amongst the many provisions of the 1992 General Mining Law enacted by Alberto Fujimori were a set of legal procedures to systematize the concessioning of national territory for the inventory, lease, and exploration of subsoil rights. The collection and subsequent discoveries of concession overlap throughout the country was resolved and standardized over the years, culminating in the 1996 National Mining Cadastre Law which centralized the procedures for mineral claims (Bury 2005). A map of Peru was divided up into an arrangement of grids using the rectangular or octagonal dimensions in accordance with a UTM (Universal Transverse Mercator) coordinate system (Bury 2005). Each new plot ranged from 100 to 1,000 hectares and was placed on the open market for lease. Significantly, the concessioning framework shifted the emphasis and responsibility for exploration – of showing the dimensions, position, mineralogical characteristics, and values of deposits throughout the country – out of the hands of a penurious national government and into those of private investors and speculators.

In the two decades after Peru's liberalization of the subsoil market, following spikes in the price of minerals and assisted by the newly streamlined system of allocation and lease, mineral concessions throughout the Andes were gobbled up by investors. While some were speculators interested only in the price fluctuations of mineral markets, many others were leased to junior mining companies, experts first and foremost in exploration. The market logic of these smaller enterprises involved discovering substantial mineral deposits to dramatically increase the

concession's value for sale to larger firms capable of exploitation. This process depended first and foremost on proving mineral concentrates below the harsh subsistent soil of Andean villages. Accordingly, rural highland locales saw a spike in roving geologists, passing through previously isolated and poverty-stricken communities, explaining to *comuneros* their mandate for exploration; the potential riches they were in search of (cf. Bebbington 2010).

Alas, a significant part the Andes transition into the 20th century was tied up in the initial phases of frontier creation, a dramatic enfolding into global capitalist markets dictated by shifting understandings and signification on the subsoil make-up of mountains. By 2012, over 55% of the concessions in Apurímac had been signed over to private subsoil renters and in Cotabambas proper - a central node in the 'Southern mineral corridor' - dozens of subterranean blocks coalesced into the hands of proactive companies eager to map the mineralogical potential of the province. Starting as early as 2001, project Haquira, a confluence of hills to the south of Ccahuapirhua began diamond core drilling and geologic mapping, while the adjacent western concessions of the Cocchasayhuas vein intensified exploration campaigns in 2007. The mounting interest in the region - the disruption of '*forgotteness*' - was enacted by corporate technical teams transposing ideas of wealth upon a history of poverty and neglect. Thus, as the millennium turned and mineral prices began to sore, cooper was 'arriving' to rural Cotabamas; geological formations *becoming* resources and commodities.

These processes of resource *becomings* in Apurímac were attributed further promise by the example of the Bambas project. Contrary to many of the other *cerros* throughout the province that had not been extensively explored, documented and registered prior to the mineral concessioning of the country's *sierra* during the 1990s, the copper riches of Fuerabamba and its neighboring communities were partially established. As far back as the 19th century the Italian-born naturalist, Antonio Raimondi, travelling through the country under academic commission, noted the extensive mineral potential present in and around the hills of Fuerabamba.[33] Despite the challenges of topography, technology, fluctuating mineral prices, and shifting government policy which curtailed exploration and interest in many isolated regions of the country, the Bambas concession maintained an interspersion of interest and exploration by companies throughout the 20th century. Accordingly, following the neoliberal shift in Peru and the subsequent entrenchment of the extractive imperative, the riches of the region were well known to government. In 2003 the

[33] The same Antonio Raimondi to which the famous phrase of gold and beggars has been attributed, introduced in the prologue to this dissertation.

concession was put up for auction, subsequently sold to the Swiss company Xstrata, and further processes geared towards exploitation soon began.

As part of this transition, the project had to be 'sold' to local communities whose land titles carpeted the mineral subsoil. An extensive advocacy campaign bookended the sale of the concession, where teams of government and corporate social workers began travelling door to door, visiting each family laying around and upon the established deposits, to 'explain the advantages of private investments and the mining project' (ProInversión 2005, 81-82). These engagements entailed various material and practical initiatives: the extension of programs for health care, adult literacy, technical training, access to telecommunications and information technology, electrification, and road maintenance. Furthermore, social teams, interested in negotiating a social licence to operate in the region, disseminated discourse, loose and nebulous, on the progress, development, and modernity that would consume the province following the commencement of mining (Gustafsson 2018, 145). Thus, as the Bambas frontier came into being and minerals became desired resources for extraction in the newly minted *país minero*, copper began to promise new futures and opportunities for the historically neglected, marginalized, and 'forgotten'. Mountains became mineralized, and minerals became politicized.



[**Figure 7.** ***Copper 'arrives': A member of the Xstrata social team meets with community members.*** **Source: ProInversión 2005.**]

Gisa Weszkalnys, an anthropologist working on oil exploration, has argued convincingly that our understandings of resources must entail more than economic and material considerations; resources are also ideas – more than commodities and production inputs. Thus, minerals must be grounded in the 'socially, aesthetic, and political' terrains from whence they

emerge (Weszkalnys 2016, 127). For Weszkalnys, the becoming and making of resources entails important elements of 'affect' in which material substances, entangling themselves amongst social realities and political processes, give rise to 'lithospheric interpretations of progress and modernity' (2016, 127). These resource 'affects' become a prominent and invariable element of the 'black box' for local mining realities, fundamental to the creation of frontiers and influential in dictating the terms from which extraction and development are judged (see also Ferry and Limbert 2008). It is a relevant argument for the way we understand and socially embed resource-making throughout the globe.

Indeed, the various promotional teams and geologists that worked their way through Cotabambas following the turn of the century can be seen, I would argue, as the foot soldiers of affection - initial ignitors of mining's expansion and promise - mineralizing the gaze placed upon mountains, and drawing explicit links between copper and development. In the words of the political scientist Marie-Therese Gustafsson, who also carried out fieldwork in the region, the information campaign and public relations onslaught that accompanied frontier creation - early endeavors in 'selling' the mine locally - were pivotal in 'framing the project as a pathway to modernity and progress' (Gustafsson 2018, 145). These framings flowered in the 'soil' of neglect and the 'lived experience of abandonment' (Cross 2014a, 10), politicizing historical recollections as they did. It was little wonder then, that the 'Declaration of Challhuahuacho', issued by community leaders and authorities during this timeframe, proclaimed: 'we decidedly support the process of promoting private investment in the Bambas mining projects, acknowledging that its implementation will signify an important contribution for the *entire* (my emphasis) region' (cited in Gustafsson 2018, 1).

Accordingly, I would argue that the discourse of 'mineralized mountains' I encountered early on during fieldwork might be seen as a metonym[34] for progress and development advertised and promoted with the arrival of copper; resources as potent ideas projected onto the landscape (Ferry and Limbert 2008, 4; see also Bridge 2009); elements active in frontier subjectification. Mountains impregnated with promise, indicated a pervasive 'mineral optimism' which had permeated the region, becoming the dominant social product of the early forays of resource-making. These resource-laden landscapes, and the phrases used to now describe them, reflected the distinct affects of impending mineral production: expectation, aspiration, *desarrollo* on the

[34] Resources *as* metonyms is of growing prominence within the anthropological literature on oil; see Limbert 2010; Appel, Mason, and Watts 2015.

march in a forgotten region. While it was still unclear what these promises would be and look like (how they would be chiseled into form), the presence and power of mineral optimism invites us to further explore the unfolding transformation of the region that followed copper's arrival.

Retornantes and the new social geography of Cotabambas

Miguel stood up with a sigh, reluctant but obliged, soon offering his hand, helping me to my feet. It was late afternoon and we had not yet completed tilling the *chacras* (agricultural plots), a task which had pulled all the able bodies of Ccahuapirhua out of their beds early this morning. Our moment of respite was over; the barrels of *chicha* (fermented maize drink) that we had lugged uphill to quench the thirst of labor were now empty and the women had stopped singing; signs that communal revelry must make way once more for the final push of the plow. It was late in the year and the rains were approaching. The earth had to be prepared for the *sembra* (sowing or planting).

I relished these events of rural ritual. During the early months of my fieldwork, I was still too timid to enter into homes unannounced or demand private time and space from individuals I was still building rapport with. Community events offered opportunities to engage with the memories and historical recollections of the region, while also listening to undirected chit chat that touched on minerals and projects, opportunities and challenges (see more on this in Chapter 2). Yet, the intimate moments of communal labor also presented the possibility of learning more about the lives of my informants proper, beyond the original mandate of '*las costumbres*', whose significance for research was rapidly evaporating. More and more, a younger generation of *comuneros* in Ccahuapirhua began to speak and open up to me, adding more complexity to the realities of contemporary Cotabambas, the creation and collisions of the frontier, and the transitions involved in Andean resource-making.



[**Figure 8.** ***Tilling the land; preparing the*** **chacras. Source: author.**]

On this particular afternoon, recognizing the dwindling hours of daylight, the encroaching shadows that ran off the hill tops of Cconccacca, we divided up into small groups and pairs to turn the soil of the *chacras* that remained untilled. I was led away by Miguel to a familial plot on the northern fringes of land assigned for cultivation. I must have exhaled audibly, appreciating the small allotment that would take us but a few minutes. Miguel's smile seemed knowing; his leading me here a considerate gesture.

We worked in tandem; he, churning earth, straight and narrow, with precise movements of his *tierra de pie* (foot plough) while I dropped small potatoes into the drills at learned intervals. We chatted as we moved quickly to complete the sowing. Miguel was eager to tell me about his life. His story blends into the flow of our work.

'I was born in Ccahuapirhua and I used to till these *chacras* with my father and brothers. I remember passing through here towards the *puna*[35] with my father's sheep. They were small and never fetched a good price in the market, so we remained poor. My father never had much money for us or our future.' I replenish the pouch of potatoes fastened around my waist, and as we shift east to begin the final drill, I ask him to continue.

'Education was never great in the area. There was a small *primaria* [Primary school; 6-12 years old] below the community in Record where I went. It was basic; standard for rural Peru.

[35] 'High mountain grazing land' (Smith 1989, 259).

When I finished, I told my parents I wanted to continue and so left for the city [Abancay] where I lived with my great aunt and enrolled in *secondaria*.' We break the flow of labor, Miguel smiling as I begin to jot furiously in my notebook. He helps seed the earth, erasing my productive lapses, and then continues to speak as we stroll down the hill towards the community truck.

'I had to work while I studied. I sold ice cream in the street before beginning a job as a helper in a *combi* (van taxi), operating the door and collecting fares. Through this I helped contribute to the house and cover school costs. I finished *secondaria* and immediately made plans to enroll in university, but I moved to Arequipa and got mixed up with the wrong people. Drinking and partying all the time. Thankfully, in 2009, I returned here to Ccahuapirhua with my family *por la mina*'. Arriving across a stream and unloading our sacks and tools onto the flatbed, Miguel marks his conclusion for now, '*Así es la vida*' (That's life).

Miguel's brief narration of his life trajectory was a confluence of vexing issues: distress and hope; challenge and opportunity; *tos* and *fros*, touching on the practical implications of historical marginalization and neglect, but also the transformative potential and pull of cooper's arrival – of mineral optimism. Further still, his tale was not only informative and interesting, but completely ordinary. Interviewing more and more of the younger generation that dominated community demographics, I slowly discovered that contemporary Ccahuapirhua was the product of a recent population boom. Some individuals, such as Ernesto, John, Oscar, *Sueño*, Renán, Mariana, Fiorella and Victor, were not even born in Cotabambas but were the offspring of earlier migrants who left their rural villages for the city. Indeed, I was to discover, Selestino himself, the first 'old head' I was instructed to interview in search of regional custom, had migrated as a young man to Lima after the death of his own father and remained on the urban outskirts of the capital for decades. Others, such as Mariano, Alois, Kusi, and Edison shared life trajectories nearly identical to Miguel – born and raised in Ccahuapirhua (or a neighboring community) but acting upon migratory ambitions when they came of age, often having left and spent significant portions of their lives in the cities of Abancay, Arequipa, Camana or Lima before returning to the community. In many ways, they constituted a new regional social geography, intimately tied to copper and the making of resources. It was a phenomenon that structured the demographics of all communities in and around the new mining jewel of Cotabambas.

Retornantes ('returners') was the colloquial name given to the deluge of migrants from the city. It was not an easy term to define, nor apply, given that many individuals were born and left before 'returning' again. Yet, it drew attention to the fact that huge shifts in demographics were convulsing the region. The community of Ccahuapirhua had more than quintupled since

2010; a dozen *comuneros* now in excess of 80. For other communities, such as Fuerabamba, the community population had swelled to over 1,500 individuals.[36] The migratory boom was legible, to the trained eye, within the physical layout of communities. Historically, *casas antiguas* (lit. 'ancient houses') were dispersed throughout the hillside, usually as solitary structures, occasionally, and despite deforestation in the region, falling under the shade of a few trees. Following the great returns to communities throughout Challhuahuacho and its neighboring districts, the construction of houses became concentrated in designated plazas. These new houses, while also made of adobe, were usually capped by corrugated iron roofs. Their concentration left little space for adjacent corrals and familial agricultural plots. During my fieldwork, the expansion of communities continued; partially constructed houses, accompanied by timber poles and drying adobe blocks, forming an outer ring to the main *caserio* (hamlet), as *retornantes* continued to stake their claims to the mining zone.



[**Figure 9. 'Casa Antigua'** ***in the hills above Ccahuapirhua*****. Source: author.**]

The new social geography of the region left community demographics and politics dominated by a younger generation of fluid cosmopolitans. They avoided 'traditional' dress and, as I would learn, were incessantly 'plugged in': Facebook accounts and cell phones in hand, 'Whatsapping' and 'Youtubing' amongst the temperamental cell-phone service of the

[36] It should be noted that the population of Fuerabamba was vastly larger than the majority of communities, a fact that was tied to its fortuitous location and subsequent negotiation with *Xstrata* (more on this in the coming chapter).

countryside. Importantly, many established themselves in positions of authority throughout the region,[37] often at the behest of elders, eager to have more educated and fluid Spanish speakers at the helm of communities passing through extractive transformations. The presence and sheer numbers of *retornantes* in the region complicates further the manner in which we see and understand rural mining zones in Peru and demands attention.

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the literature on contemporary mining in the Andes, dominated as it is by political economy, often trades in rural tropes to explain the black box of local development outcomes. The transitory scaffolding of 'livelihood' interruption, or the depiction of extraction as rupturing the realities of peasants or 'agro-pastoralists', at once both hits and misses the point. Certainly, individuals such as Miguel were familiar with the land, and to an extent, contributed to household economics through the planting of *papa.* Yet, it is highly debatable to what degree such labels captured his historical experiences and expected life trajectories (more on this below). Indeed, was a transition in livelihoods not a factor in motivating migration in the first place? It is an important point to continue with.

The migratory movements of people in Peru is nothing new. There is ample literature across disciplinary boundaries which deals with mobile Andean lives; individuals pushed and pulled throughout history across the national territory (Leinaweaver 2008; Mayer 2002; Seligmann 1995; Skar 1994). Indeed, as stated by Hirsch, 'far from being a site of sedentary isolated peasants, Andean Peru has historically been characterized by dynamic internal migration and rural-urban connectivity' (2018, 5-6). The greatest flows of Peruvians, occurring and escalating for decades, have been those to the urban margins from rural villages (Lloyd 1980; Matos Mar 1986). Initially, migratory patterns in eastern Apurímac can be seen to fit within these trends; individuals departing from a 'forgotten corner' of the country, characterized by state neglect and rural hardship. Scores of *viejos* and young adults alike fled precarious agricultural subsistence, seeking out education, employment opportunities and new lives in the cities of Lima, Arequipa, Cusco and Camana. Yet, with the arrival of copper, the early permeation of mineral optimism, and the promise of development, a new social geography was created throughout Cotabambas, marking a grand reversal of historical currents. The point pushes us to add further layers to the creation of the Bambas frontier, the arrival of copper, and their historical significance.

[37] In the *junta directiva* (community governing body) of Ccahuapirhua, only Mariano had been born in the community.

According to the life histories of my informants, the periodic – and often extensive – portions of their lives spent in the *pueblos jovenes* (young towns) of major cities did not drastically alleviate hardship. New challenges emerged in making a living on the urban margins. After all, the development trajectory of Peru, for much of previous century was fitful, shifting, and lackluster (see Thorp and Bertram 1978; Thorp and Paredes 2010). Industrialization remained elusive, concentrated in small enclaves near Lima. Thus, there existed (and remains) a disjuncture between the formal economy's carrying capacity and the number of Andeans descending on major cities. For many *Cotabambinos*, much like Miguel, education, if pursued or completed, rarely translated into employment. While some women I spoke to found work as maids within middle class households, men often cycled through precarious labor; construction, shoe-shining, hawking products in the street, etc. The odd individual obtained steady work in the kitchen of a restaurant. Many experiences highlighted individual encounters with Peru's uneven development outcomes across time and space. Importantly, it was during these encounters on the urban margins when the Bambas project was initiated, announcing the new extractive model's impending commencement in an ancestral region, and unfurling new prospects and potentialities.

Mountains in Cotabambas were thus not only mineralized, but magnetic; poles of attraction amongst the uneven development geography of Peru. The arrival of copper infused a forgotten region with mineral optimism and re-calibrated the potential it held, pulling people with it. The emerging social geography of the region signifies, I would argue, the new spatial constellations of expectation in the country, enfolding, as it does, historical legacies of marginalization across generations and territory into the contemporary processes of resource-making. These elements of frontier creation, the processes of affect, subjectification, and demographic transition, all complicate the simplistic narrative of livelihood transformation and the label of peasant, too often associated with mining conflicts and local contestation. These claims not only problematize convention but beckon further questions of their own. What motivations laid at the heart of historical and contemporary migration? What social imaginaries did they reveal? What alloys were created between these imaginaries and the affects of copper? Questions on the entanglements of mineral optimism and social becoming; the making of resources and futures.

'In search of a better life'

It was also during the vibrant planting season in Ccahuapirhua that I met Bruno for the first time. I had been sitting in the *plaza,* waiting for work parties to organize, when he

approached me, smiling under the shadow of his traditional brimmed hat. I knew Alois, Richard and Christian fairly well, and he was quick to introduce himself as their brother. 'I heard there was a *gringo* in the community doing research', he stated.

He 'heard' through Whatsapp while in Cusco. He was there attending family matters, taking a break from his studies in Arequipa, but had returned for a few days to help out with *la sembra*. Following pleasantries and some inconsequential chatter, he launched into his life story without prompt. Evidently, he had also heard that I was interviewing *comuneros* about their past, discovering the historical trajectories of life in Cotabambas that were knotting themselves amongst the pronounced expectation of cooper's arrival. Like his brothers and many other individuals in Ccahuapirhua, he had left for the city (Arequipa) as a young man seeking further education, supporting his studies with shifting work opportunities carried out after classroom hours. Prior to this he had lived a childhood of '*extrema pobreza'* (extreme poverty, his words) in the community; herding his father's sheep, dreaming of 'elsewheres' (Piot 2010; see also Canessa 2012). He claimed to have decided from a very early age that he did not want to be a poor '*campesino*'. As he stated this he pointed towards Tio Alberto who was shambling across the *plaza* in his *ojotas* (rubber sandals), his back hunched from hardship and rural toil. 'I wanted to become a teacher. That is why I left. I do not want to end up like him.' Our stares were fixed upon the laboring figure in the *plaza.*

I left the encounter deeply uncomfortable from Bruno's comments. Admittedly, my uneasiness was rooted in the anthropological desire and tradition of celebrating marginal locales; of tacitly side-stepping problematics tied to race, culture, and consciousness that could easily become political tools of further marginalization. In this regard, I was no different than many of the early Andeanist scholars and ethnographers, interested, as they were, in challenging the stereotypes that plagued national images of *la sierra*. Still working my way through the discomfort, I spoke to Miguel once more, not identifying Bruno nor our conversation specifically, but enquiring about generations, migration, and the motivating forces of historical experience. His response had no interest in alleviation.

'As I said, I was very poor growing up. My father was not able to provide much for us'. He stared at me as he spoke, searching for signs of recognition before continuing, 'I do not want my children to live and struggle in the same way I did. I want them to be professionals. I want them to have a *mejor vida* (better life).' My face must have been dead-panned, imploring him to say more. 'That is what we are all doing,' Miguel said further, bringing his response to an end.

'We are all *buscando una vida mejor* (looking for a better life)'. It was a declaration of social orientation more powerful than any *costumbre* or ritual I may have originally been searching for.

As illuminated in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, anthropology has had a fraught legacy in representing Andean realities; noble in intent, often troubling in its omissions. The spectre and imaginative endowment of '*lo Andino*' continues to cast long shadows and, in certain ways, has cascaded into scholarship on contemporary extraction, supporting particular assumptions on what mining is thought to intervene upon and change. From ensconced villages gripping to the vestiges of a receding culture, to rural agriculture livelihoods dismantled by the expansion of mineral corporations, 'deep Peru' continues to haunt academic representations. To what degree these conventions of portrayal accommodate the nuance and intricacies of history and consciousness remains worthy of critique.

Yet, not all Andean ethnographers and texts have supported the problematics of '*el Perú profundo'*, particularly since the crisis in representation that followed the civil war of the 1980s; an epoch in which various notions of frustration and betterment – a deep dissatisfaction with the status quo - emerged from the shadows of the Andes; ideas very much against the imaginary grain (see Starn 1991). In the debates that followed, there was perhaps no stronger voice and forceful monograph than Thomas Abercrombie's *Pathways of Memory and Power* (1998), an author and text that aimed to dispel the 'portraits of Andean social consciousness as timeless and ahistorical', using a combination of historical documents and ethnographic fieldwork (1998, 14). The monumental academic effort tracked 'long-term transformations of rural Andean "cosmologies" under the unfavorable conditions of subordination to colonial Spanish and creole-dominated republican state regimes' (1998, 19). One of the central arguments of Abercrombie's seminal research, encapsulated in a sentence, is that 'the colonizer's value systems have become hegemonic, so that the stigma attached long ago by Europeans to "Indianness" has worked its way into "Indian" self-consciousness as well' (1991, 96).

This re-evaluation of how the Andes are socially organized and oriented has been continued by a new generation of scholars. Andrew Canessa (2012), Andrew Orta (2004), and Mary Weismantel (2001), have all produced texts that take considerations of social hierarchy seriously, demonstrating the impacts of racism and marginalization on the daily lives and experiences of Andeans.[38] To an extent, these works continued to problematize how 'culture' is

[38] Much within this scholarship, including the work of Marisol de la Cadena (2000), has sought to discuss and contribute to debates on ethnicity, race, and identity in the Andes. Though interesting, the complexities of these discussions must be stepped over in service of this dissertation's direction and perceived contributions.

conceived throughout the *sierra* in Latin America, further revealing limits of cosmological celebration and ontological difference across peoples. They are granted further credence in the self-presentations of Bruno and Miguel. Indeed, countless others in Cotabambas, young and old alike, bemoaned agricultural labor, cultural practices, and smattered their conversations with disparaging comments on rural livelihoods and identities, directing their approval and hopes (for either themselves or their children) towards lives beyond the *chacra* (more on this below). Such points, normative as they were, beckon us to affix more than the material considerations of historical poverty and exclusion to the realities and consciousness of a forgotten region in transition.

While the bedrock of classical Peruvian anthropology was sculpted from rural villages in the highlands, a number of ethnographers, largely outside the *Andeanist* mainstream, had turned their attention to 'aspects of change and modernity related to the migration of peasants to urban areas' (Paerregaard 1997, 11).[39] Indeed, since the 1990s, scholarship directly and indirectly linked to Peruvian migration has begun to identify alternative cultural elements and notions animating, not only the migration of Andean peoples, but life projects more generally rooted in social marginalization (Degregori 1993; Remy 1994; Skar 1994). These ethnographic investigations have continued into the present, chiselling away at remnants of *lo Andino.* Karsten Paerregaard, studying rural-urban migration and linkages between Tapay (a village in Arequipa) and Lima, identifies the impetus behind the continuous rural exodus in 'a fervent desire on the part of migrants for education and a great hope for upward mobility' (1997, 19). In shifting attention away from materialist explanations that originally dominated understandings of migration, he insists that 'it is precisely the effort to make progress (*progresar*) which drives thousands of Andeans to migrate annually' (Ibid, 19). Furthermore, in the work of Ulla Berg, looking at the movement of Peruvians internationally, the testimonies within her research continuously highlight motivations for migration in a progressive phraseology: '*salir adelante*' (getting ahead) and *superarse* (improving oneself). For Berg, migration is, first and foremost, a 'cultural aspiration', motivated by centuries of racial oppression and social constructions 'of indigenous Peruvians and their urban *cholo* counterparts as rural, backward, and essentially unfit for citizenship' (2015, 5).

[39] Indeed, in Karsten Paerregaard's *Linking Separate Worlds* (1997), a central motivation is to bridge the divide between the subfields of the Andean village and urban margins. For Paerregaard, echoing Starn (1991) before him, the cocooning of these issues has been a factor in propagating the notion of Andeans as isolated to the point of being ahistorical.

In Ccahuapirhua and other communities of Cotabambas the phrase ‘to look for a better life’ (*buscar una mejor vida*) consistently resurfaced in personal life stories. It was used by an older generation to rationalize their departure from the ‘forgotten region’ so many years ago for the city. Perhaps most importantly, it was also deployed by a younger generation of *retornantes* to explain their rural returns from the urban margins; legitimizing and motivating their presence in the shadows of the Bambas mine. The popular phrase further problematized my early explorations of ‘*costumbres*’, and adds insight to the emphasis elders placed on neglect and historical marginalization. Accordingly, I propose that the ‘search for a better life’ establishes an oft neglected yet seminal point of Peruvian lifeworlds, both rural and urban: that of progressive personhood. Indeed, I would argue that aspirations for social mobility are at the very heart of Andean life projects, too often invisible in the writings and renderings of both classical anthropological texts and contemporary analysis of extraction in Peru. They are, in the words of Ulla Berg, ‘demands for status and belonging which are at the very center of the always-unfinished process of social becoming’ (2015, 5).

Following this claim, and as stated in the introduction, this dissertation discards the complex and problematic notion of culture in exchange for that of the social imaginary; local forms of comprehension that position agents and individuals amongst a social terrain, informed by history, but equally, concerned with ‘social horizons’ (Vigh 2006; see also Schutz and Luckman 1974). In the words of Henrik Vigh, these imaginaries ‘oscillate between *presentia* and *potential* thereby prolonging *being* into possible *becoming*’ (2009a, 99). It does not dispel cosmologic factors and orientations whole cloth, but instead incorporates them into existential concerns on movement; searching for a better life. The social imagination of the Andes, I argue, is not only grounded in historical experiences of marginalization (in the case of Cotabambas, of ‘being forgotten’), nor simply racist resignation, but is equally permeated by desires for advancement, grounded with but beyond material deprivation. It is a social orientation propelled by aspirations of becoming.

The implications are exceptionally consequential for how we think about and understand mining frontiers and the locales of resource-making. Progress is (was) not only an idea or affect that arrived with copper, geologists, and corporate social workers, it was (and remains) a social norm with a long history in *la sierra***.** These dual elements create a powerful alloy; a brew of locale and process; an entanglement of resource and social becomings. Andean regions enveloped into extractive development trajectories can thus be seen as sites of mediation (Perreault 2013), where the politics and potential of minerals is imprinted by both historical

marginalization and latent aspirations for social mobility. In the case of the Bambas mining frontier, I would argue, discourses of extractive development do not challenge local cosmologies, nor even usurp local 'culture' amongst mineral optimism, but fuse desire and expectation, elementary to both, in powerful ways.

This alloy produced by copper's arrival to the *olvidado* region of Cotabambas had irrevocably re-structured the milieu of rural life-worlds. Social imaginaries and modes of progressive personhood were stimulated, shifting demographics and patterns of migration, politicizing historical memory, and re-formulating spaces of national expectation - where a better life could be found and achieved amongst Peru's uneven social and geographical development. But the new anticipation of social becoming beckoned further unanswered questions: what indeed was this expectant future that copper promised? How was it imagined and constructed in the minds for those living in the shadows of transformation? And, importantly, how might this brave new horizon be attained? What paths, if any, were seen to run from here to there? *Vamos a* ver, as Selestino had stated in response to my blunt and clumsy initial query on how extraction and its outcomes might be judged. Investigating these questions are pivotal for exploring and revealing the seeds of contestation within the local entanglements of extractive development.

Imagined futures and the prospect of dissipation

Over time, as weeks ran into months, I grew emboldened, no longer content in excavating a historical past and personal histories, keen to move beyond the dour tales of poverty and hardship, both rural and urban, that had constituted the majority of my early ethnographic inquiries. I was eager to engage further the realm of expectation. I wished to gaze forward through the lens of mineral optimism, to discover other elements of the entangled products of resource-making. In sum, to understand what notions of social becoming, 'the better life', and local development permeated copper for local Cotabambinos. I invited a trusted informant, Oscar, to a popular cantina in Challhuahuacho as a first step.

Oscar was the vice-president of Ccahuapirhua and had been my initial link to the insular community politics and realities of Cotabambas. As noted above, he was the individual who had first sanctioned my interviews with *viejos*; my complicated documentation of '*las costumbres del pasado*'. His own life history was nearly identical to those of the young *retornantes* that dominated community demographics throughout the province, yet colored with individual flourishes. He was born in Abancay to parents who had migrated from rural Cotabambas; those

poor rural denizens seeking opportunity elsewhere. Fortune was elusive, and the streets consumed his upbringing - in and out of school; shining shoes as a boy in the *plaza de armas*; picking up odd shifts as a night watchmen outside of an abattoir following the incarceration of his father; constantly on the margins of Peru's uneven development trajectory. At sixteen, he left Abancay for Lima where he worked odd construction jobs before, in his own words, 'falling into the wrong crowd': drinking too much and adding petty theft to his daily routine on the urban periphery. At 19, with his life on the precarious precipice of *delinquencia* (gang life), he received a call from his father, beckoning him to move to eastern Apurímac where the great Bambas project had been announced and was still in its incipient stages. He retold me his harsh initial years in Ccahuapirhua, struggling with frigid nights and rural staples, always wearing a coat and eating crackers as opposed to *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes). He adjusted well enough, gaining respect within the community and eventually being elected to *la junta directiva* (governing body) in 2016.

Today, sitting in the shade of an umbrella sprouting forth from a plastic table, the cantina's afternoon hum comfortable and conducive to conversation, I asked what he wished from life; where he saw himself and what it was he believed would sustain he and his family. I wished to know of the 'better life' that he sought; the ideas of progress that copper activated in his imagination. *Will you remain in Ccahuapirhua*? Oscar shook his head emphatically, stifling a chuckle, handing me the glass he had just emptied.

'I want to open a clothing *tienda*', adding words to gesture. 'Sell shoes, hats, shirts. Brand name stuff. Nike; Adidas. I've always wanted to open a store in the city. I've never had the money. Not yet, anyway.' Like the majority of youthful men that dominated community demographics, he was cosmopolitan in thought and evaded rural stereotype.

'In the city? Which city? Here in Challhuahuacho?', I pushed further.

'No not here. I have a family to return to. Either Abancay or Lima'.

Though Oscar had returned to the community of his father at 19, like all *retornantes* he maintained connections with 'the city'. His partner, Yeny, awaited him in Lima. They had a daughter, not yet two years old, who remained with her mother in the *barrio* (neighborhood) of *Villa El Salvador*. Yeny herself was born in Lima to migrants from Ayacucho. Raised a city girl, she despised the cold and volatile weather of the highlands, and chose to wait for Oscar on the outskirts of the capital; re-affirming those persistent and flexible connections between *la costa* and *la sierra*. It was this return which remained in question. *When would it occur? Would the expectant wager pay off?* Questions regarding the opaque promise of extraction for local life

worlds; practicality and predictability; distilling copper and wealth from mineralized mountains; the local entanglements of development.

Recognizing the temporal nature of Oscar's gamble, his return to a 'fatherland' which demanded hostile transition in service of expectant returns, I felt betwixt and between; eager for a logical continuation but still nervous with the potential of distress. I could see his imagined future clearly, the end game of invested expectation, but not the journey of arrival. *Where might this money come from?* My question came across as laughable. '*La mina, por supesuto*. (The mine, of course.)'

It was my turn to dump the frothy foam of our shared glass onto the concrete floor and return it across the table. I pondered his conviction, seeking a false tremor in his voice. To date, the mine had not offered him employment. His lone source of income came from 'guarding' a shed of construction materials for a new school in Ccahuapirhua, which amounted to sleeping amongst wheelbarrows and cement mixers on a cot, under the corrugated iron roof of the temporary storage structure. The meager stipend he attained for his services was a pittance. He seemed chronically incapable of sending money to Yeny and his daughter in Lima, and was constantly on the hustle, obtaining loans from friends and acquaintances to 'tide him over', myself included. Yet, these remained sensitive subjects and I choose not to prod them further for fear of embarrassment, or worse, demystification. He raised his hand, ordered another beer and, with a smile, informed me that I would be paying.

Arjun Appadurai (2013), following in the wake of his own imaginative 'hopes' for anthropology (1996), has criticized the predominate disciplinary concept of culture for orienting its concerns around a present determined by the past. Such conceptual posturing, in his mind, has resulted in the unfortunate analytical abandoning of capacities 'to aspire' (2013, 180-188); of 'horizons'; of 'plans, hopes, goals, and targets' (Ibid, 180). The consequence has been a relinquishing of social and personal projects to other disciplines. The importance of 'horizons' and imagination, I would argue, is magnified in unstable zones of transformation. It is in line with these musings and precepts that I have adopted the concept of the social imaginary: an ideational prism that incorporates both historical and cultural experiences (poverty and social marginalization), contemporaneous moments in flux (the arrivals of copper, promised development, and expectation), and, most importantly, ideas about the future and its potential (projects of social becoming).

While there have not been many ethnographers conceptualizing their work through the prism of social imaginaries, it has not prevented disciplinary orientations towards the future.

Since the turn of the millennium, anthropologists have begun to heed Appadurai's call. 'Futures' have become 'objects' of ethnographic enquiry, forming a small but growing subgenre within anthropology (see Bear 2015; Cross 2014a; Schielke 2015; Weiss 2002; 2009). Importantly, nearly all of these studies grow out of precarious presents, of locales and moments in the throes of economic and political change, more often than not flowering from the contemporary challenges and churnings of neoliberal capitalism. Extraction, as a global mode of capitalism *par excellence*, requires similar scholarly attention.

In due course, over beers or during labor breaks, following football matches or while waiting alongside the road for transportation, I carried out interviews with the *comuneros* of Ccahuapirhua, Huanacopampa, Choaquere, Ccasa, Qeuena, and beyond, exploring desired horizons, as I had with Oscar. I prodded with subtlety at times, bluntly and repeated when other opportunities arose, to understand the imagined futures that had sprouted from the elixir of historical marginalization and mineral optimism; yearnings and orientations produced by the collisions and processes of frontier creation. Again, my interest was in discovering what 'better lives' were on offer and how were they to be achieved. The responses I received varied by person; some were immaculately detailed, others loose and nebulous. Certain individuals could say nothing more than their wish to own a new truck or a large 'modern' home, while others detailed business ventures, cataloguing precisely an envisioned location and clientele. Though profound differences can be found in comparing depicted futures one by one, certain trends can be identified from my fieldnotes on the 'better life' at extraction's end; normative evaluations and claims of what copper should lead towards.

Firstly, with the exception of only a few, the imagined futures fastened to the cart of extractive development were all spatially oriented towards 'elsewheres' (Piot 2010), beyond Cotabambas. Often, like Oscar, individuals had designs on the city with which they had the strongest personal and familial connections. They might be business ventures (for the more youthful), retirement plans (for the more elderly), but they were not delimited by gender nor age. These spatial deliberations were imprinted by temporal considerations; obtaining the means for social becoming amongst the mining zone to one day begin the next phase of life in a Peruvian metropolis (more on the temporality of resources in Chapter 3). Secondly, and sprouting forth from 'elsewheres', imagined futures were unanimously monetized. Establishing lives and futures beyond the community would inevitable involve gaining the resources necessary to finance projects and businesses, and so discouraged further investment in agricultural lifeworlds; further emphasizing social notions of progress and the problematics of the 'peasant prism' often found in

the mining literature to date.[40] Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the imagined futures of extraction seemed consistently disembedded from fleshy and detailed projects. Much like Oscar, when I burrowed into the specifics of achievement – the routes and expected journeys of social becoming – I was rebuffed with silence, shrugs, or unspecific declarations like '*la mina*' ('The mine', of course). Yet, the nebulous transition between here and there requires attention.

It is worthwhile to return to Arjun Appadurai. In his provocative text *Modernity at Large*, Appadurai makes a useful and often overlooked distinction between imagination and fantasy. The imagination, for him, has a 'projective sense about it' (1996, 7); it is a prelude, a 'staging ground for action' (ibid, 7). Fantasy, on the other hand, carries the 'inescapable connotation of thought divorced from projects and actions', and thus is constantly threatened with the possibility of 'dissipation' (Ibid, 7). The distinction has tragic and foreboding consequences for regions and peoples traversing the transformations of extraction, where 'project' availability (what resource development offers) is determined by asymmetrical relations in power. I have no interest in declaring the imagined futures that permeated the communities of Cotabambas as fantasies. I only wish to argue and emphasize the importance of the gulf that separates the contemporary and the future; the unspoken and unidentified routes to desired horizons; indeed, the spectre of 'dissipation' and its consequences for social becoming. This was the transitory space where extractive development would play out; where the nebulous promises of 'modern mining' would be revealed. It was here that the discordances between image and reality threatened to emerge; where '*anti-mineros*' may indeed be created. In essence, the crux of mining's local entanglements.

Indeed, as it turned out, the failure of many of my interlocutors to detail projects of social becoming and pathways to a 'better life' (beyond vague references to 'la mina'), was not simply a limitation of imagination or a failure in diligent planning - a fanciful 'fantasy'. It reflected, as I would learn, emerging experiences of resource-making in maturation; new realities following on the heels of mineral optimism that more often than not laid beyond their control. Though it was not immediately clear to me at the time, I had arrived in the region of Cotabambas as the broad processes and transformations that constituted the creation of a mining frontier were indeed transitioning further. Two months prior to my first night in Challhuahuacho, copper production had begun at the mine, dramatically contracting labor demand and opportunity for *comuneros*,

[40] Such desires echo Jane Guyer's arguments on the central importance that money occupies in the lives and realities of 'the poor' (1995).

constricting channels of progress and development, and casting doubt on the promises that copper once held. It was a process that was still being navigated and had undoubtedly charged my questions on the practicalities of the journey to a better life; questions that more often than not elicited silence.

Conclusion

'Much has changed in Ccahuapirhua', Selestino stated in the plaza of Ccahuapirhua. I had sat beside him as a bottle of armchair prejudices and trendy disciplinary aspirations. With the shadow of Chucruni mountain hanging over my first serious interview in the region, I rushed to posit Andean concepts and *costumbres* at the forefront of a narrative on transformation; interested as I was in understanding discordance through cosmological alterity. Selestino's rejoinder was less eager to emphasis *los apus*, and instead circled issues of marginalization and hardship. His claims fit within a popular narrative of 'forgottenness', grounded in historical realities, but also tied to contemporary shifts produced by extractive-led development commencing throughout the region. These 'changes' mocked not only my trendy anthropological prism, but dominant interpretations of indigenous peasants and up-ended livelihoods.

Following from this, the chapter demonstrates and argues that before minerals can be extracted they must first arrive as ideas. The admission has important consequences for how we understand and interpret mining zones and forms of contestation. These initiating interventions, often carried out by geologists and corporate social workers, are a fundamental component in the making of resources and the creation of extractive frontiers. It is during these early forays of engagement where the resource as commodity or material form is subject to the unruly interpretations and refractions of local histories and experiences; where minerals become infused with the expectation of development discourse and the festering politics and sociality of locales and nations. In the Cotabamban hinterland of eastern Apurímac, the nebulous promises of progress and modernity that accompanied the arrival of copper entangled themselves amongst the oft-neglected Andean notion of progressive personhood; a social imaginary oriented towards upward mobility. Accordingly, mineral optimism and the initial affects of copper did not usurp or overwhelm isolated rural lifeworlds but further ignited aspirations for social becoming already present. The communities and individuals sitting amongst the shadows of Peru's next mega-mining project, accepted and welcomed the extractive imperative in accordance with their proverbial 'search for a better life'.

The consequences of these resource and social becomings were not only ideational but

substantive. Mountains now infused with the potential of minerals dramatically reversed historical trends in migration away from a forgotten region, pulling migrants from the urban margins back to rural settings, and creating new social geographies throughout the province. The demographic boom that ensued elucidated, not only rural-urban connectivity of Andean peoples, but the uneven development of the country as a whole. The Bambas frontier thus was constituted by ideas and peoples that spilled beyond the confines of peasant or indigenous labels, where progress was prioritized before livelihoods. Yet, the question of the 'better life' and the imagined futures that had been affixed to extractive development remained murky. It was at once a reflection of copper's nebulous arrival and the processes of mining currently underway; the prospects of discordance, contradiction, and dissipation, now imbricated into the maturation of resource-making. The question of how exploitation and production were reworking and bearing down on original affects and expansive hopes forms the basis of the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Navigating the Maturing Frontier: from professionalization to cargo corrals



[**Figure 10.** ***Stone corral on the high*** **puna** ***of Ccahuapirhua.*** **Source: author.**]

My back hurt like hell. I had been stooped for less than an hour, trawling a shovel across the floor of an empty corral, dislodging the caked dung from the stony earth below. I had climbed the slopes behind the plaza of Ccahuapirhua in the early afternoon with Tio Luis and Gustavo to collect *wanu* – sheep shit; a natural fertilizer poured into the freshly tilled drills that we had made in the previous weeks, anticipating the arrival of the rains. The *corales* we worked belonged to Tio Yauri, an elderly *comunero* who had never built in the lower concentrated *caserio* of Ccahuapirhua and remained a solitary bachelor on the *puna.* He met us outside of his small stone house and, after a brief negotiation, offered the contents that we could scrape from two of his corrals in exchange for *caña* (cane alcohol) and *coca*. It was laborious work for a body unacclimatized to the rigors of rural toil at altitude. With my muscles burning, I put the shovel down in search of respite, leaning against the stone enclosure as I fumbled for a pack of cigarettes in my pocket. I had hoped that the smokes might entice Tio and Primo to put their shovels down as well, engage in banter, and ease my guilt.

They carried on though, laughing as they did so. *What's wrong Kieran? Are you still not used to the mountains?* I accepted their playful jeers with a wry smile, waiting for the momentum of mockery to fizzle out. As I smoked a cigarette I admired the panoramic view that extended

beyond the corral and high *puna*, over the valley that had once belonged to the Cruz *hacendados* and on towards a ridge that marked the perimeter of MMG's operations. A fence had not yet been completed to demarcate the mine from its southern neighbors and so the tawny grassland rolled without interruption to the edge of the Bambas pit. There, the greyish subterranean face of a melting mountain appeared, as did the enormous neck of a conveyor belt that towered above the tailing pond, spewing rock from its mouth. The murmurs of excavators and dump-trucks were swallowed in the kilometers that separated us, dissolved through rustic quietude, leaving the scene as a silent moving image, intimate but distant. As I looked at the 'modern' and industrious backdrop to agricultural labor, I was struck by how little seemed to have changed for the expectant community of Ccahuapirhua.

Stubbing out my cigarette and picking up my shovel, I re-engaged with the work at hand. Gustavo and Rene had begun to discuss hypotheticals: what one would invest money in? What was smart business? Rene challenged Gustavo on his wish to open a clothing store, as his son had done in Abancay, saying that fashion is a risky business, one that is always shifting with taste and trend. Gustavo agreed and quickly changed his answer, declaring a *grifo* (gas station) along the stretch of road that now connected Cusco and Cotabambas would be a solid *negocio* (business). *Debates and questions on desired futures not yet realized.*

The heads of our steel shovels continued to break the crusty floor of the corral. Rene huffed, shifting his attention from personal to corporate coffers: 'The company should be building a technical college here in *Challhuahuacho* to train the young men of the community for work in the mine'. Gustavo was quick to respond, '*Claro, no hay chamba*' (Yes, there is no work). The sweat, building up under our sweaters, forcing us to peel off layers, seemed to contradict Gustavo's eager affirmation.

We finished dumping the dislodged fertilizer over the wall of the corral where it now sat as a large taupe mound. Thanking Tio Yauri, we began to descend from the windswept *puna* towards the main plaza of the community, vowing to return in the coming weeks with a truck to collect the *wanu*. As I carefully placed my tired legs on the uneven *ichu* slope, Gustavo stopped and pointed towards a stony peak to our left. Turning to Tio Luis, he asked: 'are we still going to build up there? A corral or an encampment or something?' The jagged summit in question marked the territorial boundary between Ccahuapirhua and the neighboring community of Chicñahui. It was, as well, the point of 'communal' land nearest to the current Las Bambas operations.

‘Yes, we will have to’, Tio Luis responded without elaboration. We carried on down the slope, moving past the plowed *chacras* and then under the silhouette of Chucruni mountain. As we did, I thought of excavators and sheep dung, grasslands and open pits, jobs and livelihoods. *What opportunities existed on the for individuals in ‘search of a better life’ as the Bambas frontier matured? How was ‘extractive development’ playing out in the shadows where progressive desires and expectant subjects passed their days? And why would anyone want to build anything upon the inhospitable ledge of a mountain, over 4,000 meters above the ocean?*

Industrial mining and perceptions of ‘*chamba’*

During the initial months of my fieldwork, as my relationship with the people of Ccahuapirhua ripened, I took great enjoyment in travelling to and staying in the community. The moment in research was enhanced by a distinct energy in the village. It was during this time that a new school was under construction. It was the first major *obra* (project) to arrive from the advanced royalty payments that MMG funneled into the municipal development chest. Since the mine entered its ‘production phase’ in January of 2016, 48 primary schools began to be built in the communities of Cotabambas, gifted in accordance with the logic of local returns and the development dictates of ‘new extraction’ (i.e. social investment). During the morning of those early months in the community, the men of Ccahuapirhua emerged from their homes after breakfast, latched onto the end of wheelbarrows and concrete trowels, and labored under the highland sun. I joined and worked as frequent as my skills and time allowed.

There was a humorous irony to the school, which I discovered in time. On certain occasions, I used the afternoon hours of male-dominated construction work as an opportunity to speak with the women of Ccahuapirhua. Hilda, Fiorella, Kusi, Sofia and others, would gather in groups near the plaza, weaving cloth, washing clothes, and sifting through *chuño* and peas. Though fits of laughter normally accompanied my arrival to female spaces of work and leisure, I found the women more candid away from the watchful eyes of their husbands, and thus, endured the teasing. I massaged these moments of frankness, using the school as a window into concerns about the present and future. While the women of the community were pleased with the school’s arrival, they unanimously expressed their plan to educate their children in Arequipa, Cusco, or Lima in due course; so that they may become ‘*profesionales’*, they repeatedly stated. Rural education was of a lower standard in their opinion, and the new school was, before anything else, an income generator for households; a classic white elephant in development parlance. As such it

mocked the celebratory tune of corporate and government narratives about educational investment and re-affirmed imagined futures beyond the rural community (see Chapter 1).

One afternoon, having wandered away from the construction site, I stopped in to the newly built adobe home of Gustavo. He and his wife had an agreement with the contractors in charge of the school project, in which they would provide three meals a day for the specialist laborers (electricians, plumbers, etc.,) recruited from a far. Sitting on a wooden bench, I began to peel potatoes with Gustavo and his wife Sofia. In the background, huge pots of water gurgled over a propane fire.

'*No hay chamba*' (there is no work), Gustavo declared, almost under his breathe. It was a refrain he had used in my presence two weeks prior while scraping manure from a corral on the *puna*. As we sat there, sheathed by the echoes of hammers and only meters away from churning cement mixers, I found myself deeply confused. 'I will have to return to Lima soon and look for proper work', he added.

At the time, I did not have the cultural confidence to challenge what appeared to be cognitive dissonance. Yet, it was an issue my research could not ignore. The assertion of there not being work reverberated throughout the region, trailing me from community to community – from month to month. As I arrived in Huanacopampa, Choaquere, Chila, and Quehuira to speak with friends and acquaintances, they bemoaned the absence of work, often with the ongoing construction of a school to their back; dry cement still on their hands. It became apparent that, in some manner, the extension of community projects (*obras*) following the onset of the Bambas production phase both disrupted and highlighted notions of labor that pestered the *comuneros* of Cotabambas. The assertion of '*no hay chamba*' immediately raises questions about local perceptions of 'proper work'. In what ways did the unskilled character of project labor avoid accreditation?

Answers began to surface through an excavation of the region's recent past. The *comuneros* of Cotabambas pointed me towards a previous epoch; one which had fed into mineral optimism, imagined futures, and formulated projects of progression that animated arrivals and returns to the region during the early years of frontier creation (see Chapter 1). A near unanimous starting point seemed to be 2012, just one year after the government approved the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and the Bambas project was green lit. It was during this year that major flows of return migration intensified to the region and importantly, the construction phase of the project began. The building boom of the time entailed a concentrator plant, a dramatic expansion of the mining camp, heavy haul roads through the districts of Challhuahuacho and

Mara towards the Cusco border, and, beginning in 2013, a massive housing complex for the relocation of *la comunidad campesina de Fuerabamba* (more on this later). The young and old alike were absorbed immediately into a voracious bricks and mortar economy. Memories retold in my presence painted Cotabambas as a dynamic province during these years, filled with *retornantes* and migrants, cement bags and gravel mounds. These major projects involved the incorporation of local labor into the various professional contract teams who had won bids from *Xstrata* (prior to the sale to *MMG*). My interlocutors, beyond expounding the sheer scale and sophistication of the construction works, spoke in nostalgic tones on elements of work 'quality': corporate transportation, catered meals, 'modern' equipment, hourly wages, and, most often, work outfits emblazoned with the logo of a (any) firm. Indeed, nearly all of my friends in the region who had been contracted during the construction boom retained and displayed Facebook photos 'on the job'. Their framing highlighted the presence of heavy machinery and the fluorescent coats of company attire.



[**Figure 11.** ***Facebook photo of friend displaying the lure of professional employment.*** **Source: author via anonymous]**

Tied to this, and perhaps most importantly, the construction phase of the Bambas project also entailed the extension of corporate technical programmes to 'affected communities'. The *comuneros* of Ccahuapirhua and beyond participated in capacitation workshops, organized in sectors of trade: electrical, welding, heavy machinery training, etc. Though they often laughed and teased each other about test results, there seemed a general belief that these *capacitaciones*

were neither performative nor illusory. In the end, there was an anticipation for technical employment when the extraction of *Cotabamban* copper began. It was a belief that gave the expectation 'to progress' (see Chapter 1) texture: social becoming and life projects explicitly tied to formal employment ('proper *chamba*'). [41] Extraction – its booms and its technical programmes – were directly playing into powerful desires for professionalization.[42]

Yet, in 2016, construction of the mine and its operational infrastructure were completed and building contracts expired. *Capacitaciones* had ended as well and immense labor reserves began to build up within the communities. On July 1st, copper output began and the first shipment of mineral concentrate reached the port of Matarani. A new programme began, in which 'affected communities' would be offered temporary and shifting work contacts in the mine; one or two persons per community for only a few months per year. To supplement the dramatic shift, an early advancement of the *canon* (a corporate payment scheme for mineral extraction) was agreed which attempted to kick-start the low-skill cycle of 'development projects' (Peru's national decentralized infrastructure scheme – more on this below and in Chapter 4) as major construction contractors emptied out of the region. By 2017, only 8.4 % of the depleted production workforce was constituted by *comuneros* from Cotabambas. It marked what has been identified yet glossed in the literature on extraction in Peru: the low-labor realities of 'project cycles' (e.g. Bebbington et al 2008a; De Echave and Ospina 2002; Himley 2013).

Though the national shift towards large-scale industrial mining projects had begun in the 1950s in the deserts of southern Peru (Dore 2000), projects themselves did not flourish throughout the Andes until after the country's neoliberal shift during the 1990s. Indeed, part of 'modern mining' hailed by government and industry officials was its highly sophisticated methods of extraction. Like elsewhere in the world, while employment at Peru's expanding sites of operation became less dangerous and more compensated, extraction required less manpower

[41] John Cameron has argued that development desires in the Andes can fundamentally be boiled down to a 'bag of cement' (2009), where cement-based projects not only become symbols of modernity, but 'generate an important source of unskilled employment in rural communities' (2010, 294). Incidentally, a portion of the fieldwork used to draw these conclusions was carried out in Haquira, a district of Cotabambas (yet, prior to the commencement of the Bambas project). I would argue that this development desire is complicated and indeed usurped amongst extraction zones where expectation and the affects of minerals run beyond that which a bag of cement can provide.

[42] Scholars working in the Andes have documented rural desires for professionalism prevalent throughout the southern highlands (see for example Garcia 2005; Gelles 2000). According to his fieldwork in the Southern Andes, Paul Gelles claims that 'the goal of many *Cabanenos* is to educate their children so that they can escape peasant status and become professionals' (2000, 45). Though the term '*profesional*' is without secure conceptual borders, it is undoubtedly grounded in notions and aspirations for mobility up the steep gradient of social hierarchy found within the country.

(Himley 2013; Kirsch 2014; Li 2015). It marked a dramatic historical turning point, one in which technological advancements and mechanization rendered the rural Indian body as surplus to the processes of pulling minerals out of the ground; open-pits replacing tunnels; mountains devoured rather than pilfered. Ironically, as mining became more professionalized, it offered fewer direct opportunities for *professionalization*. This unfortunate contradiction weighed heavily upon the *comuneros* of Cotabambas as the Bambas frontier shifted from copper's arrival, through the early construction boom, and onwards to exploitation and production.

One spring evening, not long before the school in Ccahuapirhua was set to be finished, I sat down with Joel and his brother Miguel on a small grassy knoll near the plaza. They wore their boots and soiled trousers, used primarily during *faenas*,[43] though now also, for cement work in the community. As we watched the smoke of supper preparation billow out of homes in the fading light, Joel presented me with an oft-repeated question: 'What kind of work is there in Canada?'

'Lots, I suppose. It depends what type you are looking for', I replied after briefly searching for an adequate answer.

'What about construction? How much can you make in this type of work?', he continued.

'When I worked construction in Canada a number of years ago, building apartments, I was paid 20 dollars an hour'.

'Oh you are paid by the hour. And how many hours did you work?'

'I worked 6 days a week, for 10-12 hours a day.' I specified.

'For a company?'

'Yes.'

'With modern tools and gear and things?'

Taking a mental inventory of the equipment housed in a shed near the school in the distance, I could once more say nothing more than a comparative 'yes'.

'Ahhhhh professional *chamba*'. He replied before turning to Miguel. They began to mumble arithmetic, carrying fives and zeros crunching the numbers of 'steady professional work'. Their curiosity was not singular. Throughout my fieldwork in Cotabambas organic forms of spontaneous conversation on cultural and personal difference between anthropologist and local informant consistently circled the issue of employment. Most often, these inquires touched

[43] 'Communal labor obligation' (Gose 1994, 300).

upon wages, hours, and equipment. They were moments of interlocution-based empiricism,[44] productively positioning the outsider during moments of soul-searching. They verified the irregularities of Cotabambas in comparison to 'various elsewheres' (Piot 2010) defined by 'normalcy' (Jansen 2015) and in doing so illuminated a fundamental element in emerging discordances amongst the local entanglements of mineral exploitation: the ongoing dissipation of direct routes to social becoming through professional employment. At once, they began to explain why journeys towards imagined futures were imprecise (see chapter 1), demonstrating, as they did, projects still in formation.

Such revelations add flesh and nuance to the 'low labor' realities of contemporary mining in Peru. As 'forgotten regions' are further folded into the extractive development model, the 'production cycle' begins to fissure early expansive forms of expectation. Yet, the story does not end with resigned acceptance; affect and aspiration are not abandoned but reworked. Where once, mineral production depended upon Indian labor - initially coerced but eventually 'enticed' or 'pulled' – industrialization leaves the desires for social becoming and imagined futures to seek out new avenues for progress. The 'modern' production phase of contemporary mining demands individuals and communities of the shadows to further negotiate and interpret the emerging order of development for opportunity and logic. While classical ethnographies of resource exploitation in Latin America investigated the local consequences of capitalist exploitation (namely Nash 1979; Taussig 1980),[45] 'new extraction' and industrialized mining forces scholars to explore the lived experience of a capitalist endeavor uninterested in exploiting local labor (cf. Ferguson 2013). How these emerging discordances are traversed becomes the question that follows; a further opening up of extraction's local 'black box'. What alternatives exist for *comuneros* in the hopes of a better life? What logic and morals seem to underpin them? And what new strategies for social becoming are produced as resource-making continues to mature?

---

[44] In the late 1960s George Devereaux (1967) warned social scientists about the dangers of countertransference. The anthropologist, it was rightly implied, was as susceptible as the psychoanalyst to projecting one's own needs, fears, frustrations, and fantasies onto the significant other. Yet, as John Borneman states, encounters can work in the opposite direction as well; moments in which researchers 'serve as containers for the projections, anxieties, and phantasies for their interlocutors' (2011, 235). These encounters proliferate during transformative times, when the earth is shifting under our feet (i.e. mining zones).

[45] June Nash's *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us* (1979) and Michael Taussig's *The Devil and the Commodity Fetish* – canonical works in establishing anthropology's role and future in the analysis of extractive processes - are primarily concerned with the 'devilish' consequences of encroaching capitalism exploiting local labor. Contemporary extraction turns the riddle on its head, pushing locals aside from production activities. The devil must be found in the shadows of exploitation.

Navigating emerging development

The usual banter and teasing of the congregation had vanished. Myself, Oscar, Diego, John and Mariano sat in silence around a desk in the back office of an auxiliary building for the municipality of Challhuahuacho. The extractive boom in Cotabambas had reconfigured local government, bloating a district bureaucracy that was now in charge of managing investment dollars and mining royalties; managers of official infrastructure and development projects to be delivered to communities as mineral production began. Today, I had accompanied *la directiva* of Ccahuapirhua into the labyrinth of offices to determine what was next for the community - the school, funded from an advanced *canon* payment,[46] having recently been completed. As we waited for an official of OPMI (*Oficina de Programación Multianual de Inversiones*) to return from her lunch break and field questions from the officials of Ccahuapirhua, the members of our group stared at binders on the office shelves, glossing over their acronyms, dates, and titles, feigning distraction.

When Fernanda entered the office, Mariano, being president of the community, took initiative, shaking her hand and introducing us as representatives from *la comunidad campesina de Ccahuapirhua*. Though we had not scheduled the appointment, Fernanda was not startled by our presence nor impatient with our intrusion. Mariano got to the point, 'we are wondering when the next *obra* (project) will arrive'. Fernanda folded her arms and sighed deeply, a cheeky if slightly condescending smirk creeping across her face.

'Listen, I have been on the phone all morning with our offices in Lima. I am still waiting on calls. But we all need to be patient.' Oscar and Mariano nodded their heads, almost in expectation of the answer. She continued, 'The process of projects is not as simple as delivering cement. Technical plans must be developed, revised, approved; money released. There are lots of stages involved before construction. And besides, we are in charge of all 38 communities in the district.' Uncomfortable with our dour silence, she led us out of the office into a large conference room.

Sitting around the enormous table were five government employees, each with their own laptop, excel spread sheets consuming the monitors, stacks of binders and loose documents to their side. Fernanda asked for a number of an office in Lima. Promptly calling, she could not get through.

[46] *El Canon Minero*, its importance will return once more in Chapter 4 as decentralization and corporate engagement with the region are more fully elucidated.

‘They must be out for lunch. We will have to try again later’, she implored.

Mariano used the opportunity presented by the new audience to ask about a bridge that was promised to link the road to Abancay with Ccahuapirhua over the Record River. Again, the young man sitting at the conference table, having not heard the conversation prior in Fernanda’s office, begged for patience and understanding: ‘You are not alone. There are projects for 38 communities. It requires more than a stamp.’

Frustrated, we left the offices, funneling past a queue of community representatives in the hallway with questions of their own. Arriving at the plaza we stood around for some time. Greetings were passed on to other *comuneros* passing through on their ways to the municipal building. Oscar, tired by the silence, scrolled through his phone for the number of Quenti who would drive them back to the community. They will sleep in Ccahuapirhua tonight and return tomorrow to knock on doors and pursue leads in the offices around the *plaza de armas* once more. They needed to have patience.

In the weeks leading up to the completion of the school in Ccahuapirhua, my days blurred into a repetitive mirage. I had begun to accompany *la junta derectiva* into the urbanizing center of Challhuahuacho as they maneuvered through the gargantuan edifice of the mining boomtown in search of answers and opportunity for their community. They were spurred on by *asambleas* in Ccahuapirhua in which *comuneros* continuously demanded accountability. As the governing body in charge of community affairs they bore the brunt of frustration from individuals without work and disillusioned over the emerging realities of extractive development. Certain members of the community, dissatisfied with the speculative timeframes they heard, had already begun returning to homes and families in Lima and Arequipa where *chamba* was deemed more plentiful.

Challhuahuacho, the boomtown of our incessant daily wanderings, had figured prominently within the popular histories of a forgotten region. *Viejos* (elders), even younger non-*retornantes* born in the region, used the town as a paradigmatic prism for accentuating regional transformation following the arrival of copper and the announcement of the Bambas project. Previously, the district capital had been a backwater municipal town like any other in the southern Andes; a smattering of *paja*-thatched houses surrounding a plaza whose sparse monoliths were limited to a municipal building, a *comisaría* (police station), and a church. Stretching from the plaza along the river and between two prominent rock-faces was flat *pampa* (grassland) where a weekly market was held. Today, while the *plaza* still contained the three pillars of a stretched postcolonial state, they were now crowded by banks and restaurants. Further

along, hotels, pharmacies, clothing stores, *tiendas* (convenience stores), mechanic shops and *lavenderias* (laundromats) now ran for over a kilometer along the river, east and west, consuming the *pampa*, signifying the conclusive arrival of a moneyed economy.



[**Figure 12.** ***The urban sprawl of the boomtown, Challhuahuacho.*** **Source: author**.]

Passing beyond these buildings, our destination was most often the municipality building. On particular days, we would enter with definitive motivation; targeting a particular office or official, pestering about the impending completion of the school and the events which would follow it. We would often be greeted with bureaucratic *disarmese* (much as we had with Fernanda) and resign ourselves to returning once more in the near future. On other days, our purpose seemed less defined but remained political. The municipality building, after all, was teeming with community representatives from all over the district seeking similar answers; pressing equivalent agendas. Its layout contained two large foyers, one on top of the other, where *comuneros* mingled and conversed, sharing frustrations and insights, bemoaning and strategizing. At times, political maneuvering amounted to nothing more than loitering in these foyers, sticking heads into offices without saying anything, demonstrating demands and the power of expectation by simply saturating the building with bodies – a declaration that incongruous development was afoot.



[**Figure 13.** ***The municipality of Challhuahuacho.*** **Source: author.**]

As this process repeated itself over weeks, extending beyond the completion date of the school in Ccahuapirhua, the municipality and its auxiliary buildings attracted more and more people. Increasingly, while following *la junta*, I would bump into 'non-governing' members of the community, attempting to track down daily stipends for their low-skilled labor on the school which had been in arrears; backlogged for months. They too would be met with the explanatory terminology of red-tape: documents and accounts in process, often elsewhere, soon to be resolved.[47] Increasingly, I watched *la junta* (and was called upon for assistance) enter the internet cafes of Challhuahuacho to type up 'official' documents requesting assistance from *la alcalde* (the mayor) or other senior representatives of the municipality on behalf of the community. The five of us would huddle around a single computer, flanked on either side by children and adolescents in the midst of online cartoon warfare, and re-write older documents that Mariano carried in his satchel: formalized sentences regurgitated, names and dates changed. After printing them, we would rush towards the *plaza* and drop them off with the receptionist, peering through the slot of her cubicle behind the main entrance. It was a non-monetized form of labor that accompanied the shift of the frontier from promotion to exploitation.

[47] In time, overwhelmed by people and demands, the municipality building initiated a routine of official entrance through a 'signing-in' scheme at the front door. It was a mechanism that both dissuaded individuals who might just wish to loiter, while also allowing a buffer to bureaucratic engagement; a moment to question individuals on their purposes in *la municipalidad* while they placed their signature upon the sheeted clipboard.

A seminal event in these journeys through the royalty system had involved a large gathering held within a communal building of Challhuahuacho. It was coordinated by local members of the municipality with support from travelling government officials. The meeting was set up as a 'participatory workshop', a list of projects was provided to the representatives of each community in attendance marking out clearly the manner in which mining royalties and development funds would be translated: a basic sanitation system, a football pitch, a greenhouse, etc. Through methods of private debate and consultation amongst the assembled members of each *junta directiva* – a conversation break programmed within the workshop – *comuneros* were encouraged to establish the needs of their community and a desired order to the projects on offer. Beyond granting the assignment of royalty dollars with a veneer of participation, the workshop was a site of development articulation. It elucidated – indeed concretized – certain particulars of extractive payouts; chiseling mineral optimism into form. *Las juntas,* following their selections and participatory prioritization, were granted a clearer outline of anticipation, but could still be expected to continue in their processes of 'following up', elbowing their way through the municipal hallways to face government officials and once more ask about timeframes of delivery.

The experiences found throughout the municipality offices can seamlessly fall into an anthropological literature which understands bureaucratic engagements as 'social violence and suffering' (Kleinman, Das and Lock 1997) that 'systematically reproduce arbitrariness' (Gupta 2012; see also Herzfeld 1993). While encounters on the project hunt constantly re-enforced power asymmetries between *comuneros* and local government officials (often flashed in paternalistic glances and statements) and established contingencies and indifference at the interface, they also illuminated the norms, prescripts, and emerging rules of development opportunity on the maturing frontier; from mineral optimism to low-labor production. Just as the encounters established aspects of structural violence, they were also sites of learning. Continuing with the argumentative thrust of resource-making and social becoming, I choose to see such engagements through the prism of navigation.

As theorized by Henrik Vigh, 'navigation' – conceptualized amongst his broader reflections on social imagination and becoming – is the movement through social worlds, across waves of obstacles, 'negotiating the many more to come on one's way along an envisioned course' (Vigh 2006b, 54). Beyond tactics or plotting, navigation accentuates a moving social field through which agents or would be actors are themselves moving; as such it refers to 'motion within motion' (Vigh 2009a, 97). This distinction, and the analytical optic it establishes, is

pertinent for 'illuminating actions within situations characterized by uncertainty and instability' (Ibid, 97). The extractive frontier, a zone of transformation, subjectification, migration, and affect, shifting through cycles of production, is undoubtedly an unstable zone of 'change and turmoil' (Vigh 2006b, 55)**.** These long days in and amongst the municipality building can be seen as the initial clashes or waves of post-construction navigation; individuals and communities in 'motion' amongst the maturing processes and products of resource-making (re: the social field). The frustrating revelations of mining's 'official' development channels and prospects pushed strategy and interpretation into the streets and beyond government hours.

Fuerabamba dreaming and millennial extraction

It was not our usual routine. On a morning in August, having met up in Challhuahuacho with *la junta directiva* of Ccahuapirhua, I skirted the municipality building and followed Oscar, Diego, John and Mariano down a secondary street to the *Casa de Campesinos de Challhuahuacho* (Campesino House). It was a large building used for important meetings constructed many years ago with money from the Social Fund – part of the initial investment splurge that accompanied the arrival of copper and early stages of resource-making. Today, *directivas* from the majority of the district communities had postponed an afternoon of requests and confusion in the municipality building and gathered to hear a new proposal from the engineers and social workers of MMG.

Seated behind a wooden desk, the MMG representatives proceeded through a PowerPoint presentation of a new development 'gift' in the process of implementation. Glossy images of contented *comuneros*, mission statements, facts and figures are projected onto the bare white wall behind them. The corporate initiative is a guinea pig (*cuy*) breeding project that targeted women in seven different communities. Following the construction of enclosures by the recipients themselves, MMG would provide ten animals per community as well as ongoing support and training. As I watched the presentation I was struck by the project's awkward tension with the desires for professionalized employment (more on this in chapter 4) and the more general motivations of social becoming and imagined futures beyond rural based livelihoods (Chapter 1). In that moment, I understood the presence of community representatives as compelled listeners. With the construction of rural schools now complete, the basic sanitation system months away, and the rotational MMG work schedule unnegotiable, *la directivas* had to give consideration to any and all forms of resource provision. Such meetings were further nodes of learning how the huge monetary investments that extraction promised would be translated into

local forms of 'development'. Much like their persistent ventures into the municipality buildings, they were moments and sites of continued navigation.

Following the presentation, while gathered outside the building with *la directiva* of Ccahuapirhua and members from the communities of Qeuena and Huancuire, grumblings of discontent emerged. 'Why only 7 communities!' Oscar snarled. 'Are we not all affected?'. The MMG representatives had by now funnelled out of the building, packed into their trucks, and began their return to the eating and sleeping quarters inside the mine's perimeters. I asked Oscar what he meant. *Who is we*? I queried. 'The communities! There are 48 here in Cotabambas where MMG operates. And they offer guinea pigs to 7!'. The congregated members affirmed Oscar's irritation: '*Todos estan afectados*' ('Everyone is affected'). The implication was quite direct. At issue was more than simply the type of project extension, but the politics of affectedness – dissonant understandings of who stood to benefit from extraction; the very moral underpinnings of *desarrollo* (development).

This performative meeting in the *Casa de Campesinos* began to further reveal fundamental discordances at the heart of mining's maturation. Projects and gifts extended by the corporation played a relatively small part in the interests and futures of the 'affected communities' throughout the region (see more on this in Chapter 4). Greenhouses, guinea pig breeding, fish farming, animal health and Andean crop campaigns, fell drastically short of professional desires and formal employment opportunities; monetized routes to imagined futures (Chapter 1). They were not attractive in and of themselves. What projects did reveal, however, as navigation of the mine's shadows continued beyond the municipality, was the disjointed moral order that seemed to underpin opportunity and resources in Cotabambas. They spoke to an incoherent and elusive logic of who stood to gain from extractive development that chaffed against more universal ideas of progression rooted in historical marginalization. Enacting life projects and fulfilling futures pinned to mineral optimism required taking stock of how these emerging realities were ordered.

The frustration revealed by Oscar outside of the *Casa de Campesinos* was grounded in notions of a *deuda histórica* (historical debt) that was held and articulated by communities and individuals throughout the region. As discussed in the previous chapter, Cotabambas was historically narrated within the popular imagination as a forgotten *rincón* (corner). State neglect and an absence of development initiatives left the region to languish in levels of extreme poverty which, more often than not, spurred large migrations; seeking a better life on the urban margins. The commencement of the extractive imperative and the arrival of copper to the region reversed

both. A fundamental element of expectation for minerals was an erasure of this debt; of broad and wide sweeping material and symbolic recognition to be extended to all communities of the region. 'Are we not all "affected"!' was a common rhetorical refrain used by *comuneros* whom encountered projects and initiatives prescribed to a certain community or individual and not another. It was assumed that 'recognition' and 'development' would be extended to the region on the basis of historical debt; of poverty and marginalization endured for centuries; not structured by caveats and distinctions.[48]

The discourse and debates of 'affectedness' can be traced back to the determinants of corporate engagement. When *Xstrata* first drew up the Environmental Impact Assessment (more on this in Chapter 5) prior to exploitation, particular communities were identified in reference to both the mineral *yacimentos* (deposits) and points of environmental concern in need of mitigation (water sources, or *cuencas*, in particular). In accordance with these technical assessments, rings of 'affectedness' were established. Of the 18 communities determined to be impacted by the mining project, 8 were deemed to be 'directly affected', 10 more 'indirectly affected', leaving the remaining villages of the districts and province beyond corporate consideration (any material benefits in these communities would be determined solely by the municipal and provincial royalty payments). These technical boundaries entitled some communities to guinea pigs and not others; some to crop cultivation programmes and others not. Accordingly, in navigating the maturing extractive frontier in Cotabambas, popular expectations and notions of development (re: historical debt) were constantly being challenged and reworked; shot through, as they were, an emerging and opaque scheme of winners and losers. Estrangement abounded.

As the production cycle began, these discordant understandings were particularly acute in the boomtown of Challhuahuacho. The urban transformation of this once sleepy municipal *reduccion*[49] reflected its chaotic and aspirational impetus; new dollars, bodies, and hopes laying claim to impending trajectories of *desarrollo*. The sprawl of buildings that grew following the initiation of the Bambas project were aimed at service provision. By the beginning of 2017 – and as noted above - the concrete mishmash of the town was a collection of polished restaurants and

[48] John Sharp, analyzing corporate governance in South Africa, argues that domination of companies within the contemporary neoliberal era is shifting and undermining citizenship regimes: 'the fact of merely being a citizen is no longer a guarantee of being noticed for any kind of development' (2006, 217). Equally, it might be said, that corporate logics of 'affectedness' (determined by the EIA) challenges notions of citizenship in Cotabambas; or at least the advancement of a neglected citizenship tied to development claims.

[49] 'Nucleated resettlements' carried out according to the dictates of Spanish colonialism 'for the purposes of tribute assessment, social control and religious indoctrination' (Gelles 2010, 128).

fragmented hotel fronts; well-furbished *lavenderias* (laundromats) and partially completed mechanic shops. As royalty projects stuttered through a bureaucratic plod and labor demands evaporated, Challhuahuacho businesses became the sole economic endeavor that lived up to the early affects of resource-making. *Farmacias* and *tiendas* owned by astute early gamblers (entrepreneurs) from Cusco, Arequipa and Puno maintained steady flows of mine workers purchasing snacks and treats before retiring to their rooms. Meanwhile, the association of local business owners continued ongoing negotiations with MMG and its contractors, setting high prices and rotational schedules to ensure that profits were sustainable as the mining zone transitioned out of the construction boom.

Many of the owners within this association came from Fuerabamba, a community that epitomized the disequilibrium in development and opportunity outcomes. The community was the largest throughout the district of Challhuahuacho, nestled within the high peaks northwest of the municipal town, and revered historically for its brave *abiegos* (cattle rustlers; see Valderamma and Escalante 1992). Significantly, when it was eventually recognized as a *comunidad campesino*, much of the land titles extended to the community (following the Peruvian land reform scheme) stretched over the subterranean riches which had been identified over decades of fluctuating exploration. Accordingly, when the exploitation rights to the Bambas concession were sold to Xstrata in 2004, and as social workers from the company and ProInversión were promoting the impending development prospects throughout the region (see Chapter 1), serious negotiations were also being carried out between Fuerabamba and corporate lawyers. The agreement eventually reached for the sale of land involved huge cash transfers, hiring schemes for community employment, educational scholarships for youth, preferential business and service contracts, and the resettlement of 441 families (totalling 1600 people) to a plush modern suburb built into the side of a mountain along the road to Haquira. In many ways, Fuerabamba became the shining citadel of what extraction could mean to 'forgotten' communities and individuals; a truly lavish repayment of historical debt by extraction.[50]

[50] I use the term shining citadel to convey the popular perception of other communities who had not struck lucrative deals with Xstrata. To be certain, Nueva Fuerabamba is a suburb tormented by its own demons: rampant alcoholism, conspicuous consumption, and depression, particularly amongst the elderly. Yet, to the extent that these issues are acknowledged or deemed ominous by other communities, they remained a bridge to be crossed; considerations of a privilege that did not yet exist.



[**Figure 14.** ***The 'shining citadel', Nueva Fuerabamba*****. Source: Google Images.**]

Yet, the fundamental issue that now plagued the region was the selective nature of social and economic success. It was an often intimate and stark reality throughout the mining zone. *Fuerabambinos* could easily be identified by others as they passed through Challhuahuacho, attending their businesses, driving their Toyota Hiluxes, wearing brand-named apparel as they strolled the streets. The community epitomized the concept of 'money rain' amongst extraction zones: compensatory or cash royalties leading to gross inequalities, social rupture and fragmentation (Gilberthorpe, Clarke, and Sillitoe 2014; Gilberthorpe 2014). Thus, as resource-making matured in the region, it not only frustrated anticipated professionalization, offering instead a disjointed system of small-scale project labor, but confronted individuals on the margins with more explicit notions of exclusion and development prospects.

The drastic inequalities and fickle morality of monetary distribution and opportunity were perhaps most aptly constituted in a running joke throughout the region. I had encountered it first, very early on during research, as I fielded questions from individuals eager to learn more about me. Upon hearing that I was unmarried and, as a student, still unemployed, I was soon asked to detail my 'imagined future'. Not overly enamored by the prospects of a career in academia, I, like them, was vague in my responses. To ease the tension of uncertainty, they would deliver the oft-repeated verdict: 'You need to find a *Fuerabambino*.' And it was not only I who was advised to search for a wife in the concrete suburb of Cotabambas. The refrain was also humorously directed towards all of my friends at one point or another, whether they were married or not, usually following discussions on their frustrating searches for employment. The joke itself worked in two directions; at once recognizing the drastic inequalities calcifying into

rigid realities, as well as the whimsical prospects for the future (the lottery of marriage, fostered by charm and happenstance). The joke constantly elicited laughter, a sort of dark humor (cf. Goldstein 2003), but in doing so veiled the pressing challenges weighing down on individuals navigating the shadows of Las Bambas.

In their exploration of capitalism in its neoliberal, global manifestation, where consumption trumps production and economic crises abound, John and Jean Comaroff advance the notion of 'millennial capitalism'. The concept is an attempt to explore felt forms of desire and estrangement on the margins of advanced capitalist forms as traditional means of production are increasingly replaced by nonhuman or nonstandard forms (2000, 295). Fundamental to millennial capitalism are growing levels of inequality and dissociations of wealth creation; the production of expectation and the reduction of certainty; inclusion and marginalization in unanticipated ways. At the interface of lived experience, where reckoning with the 'elusive algorithm' occurs (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000, 299), there exists a 'perplexity at the enigma of this wealth: of its sources and the capriciousness of its distribution, of the mysterious forms it takes, of its slipperiness, of the opaque relations between means and ends embodied in it' (Ibid 2000, 298). In sum, a bewilderment at the obscure moral code which governs avenues of accumulation in the shadows of contemporary economic processes.

These tenets of millennial capitalism are particularly salient for investigations of extraction, where resources are often made amongst hinterlands and regions historically forgotten by states and development initiatives. The early days of resource becomings are often supported by capacious promises of nebulous content (see Chapter 1), that over time are refined through the practicalities of production and maturation. It is during this transition where discordances continue to unfold and local communities must process jarring moral orders as they continue to search for 'the better life' they had once anticipated. This 'elusive algorithm' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000, 29) of extractive development, demands interpretation and further navigation by communities and individuals; patterns of understanding and action; emerging logics to economic forms and subsequent strategies to breaking into cycles of prospect and opportunity.

Cantina conversations and hopeful rumor

While the majority of urban businesses that dominated the town of *Challhuahuacho* aspired for company contracts and a professional clientele, a host of other entrepreneurs directed their attention towards marginal lifeworlds. Their services catered to millennial experiences, frustrated trajectories, and the fickle moral underpinnings of 'development'. Clothing shops with

brand names and knock-offs, bused in from Lima and Cusco, teased the youthful and cosmopolitan migratory men and women that dominated community demographics. Casinos, poorly lit and choked with smoke, drew the idle and skint inwards and off the street, tempting turns of fate. Evangelical churches, as well, established pulpits within the town. At night, their speakers often blared proselytizing messages into the streets warning each passersby of the devil's work found in greed and sin. New age spiritual endeavors fused with traditional curing practices as *curandero* outlets proliferated, offering herbal remedies and consultations that targeted 'health', but perhaps more importantly, 'money' and 'work'.



[**Figure 15.** ***A*** **curandero** ***business in Challhuahuacho.*** **Source: author.**]

Without doubt though, the most secure source in revenue generation for entrepreneurs outside of formal agreements with MMG and its contractors was a network of *cantinas* hidden amongst the urban contours of the boomtown. For reasons of licencing and angry wives they were not affixed with signs or advertisements. [51] Often they lay behind 'front' businesses: *tiendas* that sold soft drinks or snacks; restaurants that never cooked food. The labyrinth of drinking establishments dispersed throughout the town were frequented by men of the 'affected' communities who passed through on afternoons and evenings after completing errands in town.

[51] It was not uncommon for organized patrols of women, searching for missing husbands and family funds, to enter these cantinas, issue threats, or even vandalize them.

Young women who migrated from other regions of Peru and Latin America (some had arrived from Venezuela, others from Ecuador) could be solicited for 'services'. Sex was beyond the financial capabilities of the majority, but for a smaller fee, they could 'attend' your table, engaging in conversations, swigging in kind, and enduring aggressive advancements of hand and mouth.[52] Drinking sessions lasted anywhere from a few minutes to multiple days. The duration of a bout was dictated by schedules and money. The art of extending a bout when penurious – which many of my friends from Ccahuapirhua were at the time – involved skillful negotiations of the establishment and its clientele; amicability, clocking new arrivals, understanding which tables were beginning a session and which were ending, and the implicit consensus that one day, in better times, you would sponsor your host in return.



[**Figure 16.** ***A cantina session in Challhuahuacho*****. Source: author.**]

Beyond money, cantina vibrancy depended most upon *noticias* (news) – bones of contention or whispers of happenings that gave conversations gravitas and momentum. Asking after one another and their communities, passing information on about potential and foil, underwrote the importance of these saloons as spaces for political imagination and narrative.

[52] Having talked to a number of the women working in the *cantinas* I was struck by the similarity of purpose and imagination that existed between them and their clients. Many were young, having arrived in the region to make their money and return to school or university in Cusco, Arequipa or Lima. They spoke openly about desiring professional futures elsewhere for themselves and their children. They too were animated by the 'search for a better life'.

Thus, cantinas were not simply drinking holes of masculine debauchery. They were windows into the production and contested terrain of local understandings on how elusive forms of money and opportunity circulated in the mine's shadows; of how millennial uncertainty and inequality were rendered legible; of how the increasingly apparent discordances of resource-making and extractive development were being reckoned with.[53] Over the course of my fieldwork I followed many a friend into the *cantinas* of Challhuahuacho, eager to participate in the trading of information that they encouraged. For the anthropologist, they offered opportunities to 'eavesdrop on popular anxieties' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000, 299) that accompanied the maturation of resource-making.

What is going on in Ccahuapirhua? Huanacopampa? Chucuini? The first glass then poured. The response from community representatives inevitably bemoaned the current status or work and opportunity found in their own community, but would shift to the fortunes of others elsewhere. It seemed a rule that development was not occurring in the communities of drinking participants, but that it could be found in all villages who did not have a representative at the table. The dominant mode of political discourse permeating most *cantinas* was the issue of persistent and rampant corruption. There were rumors that non-publicized projects were in the works for particular communities; employment quotas inflated for others; that certain leaders were being paid to not support *paros* (strikes) and mobilization against the mine and municipality. The spectre of corruption loomed large in the minds of drinking gangs and found credence and support in the many well publicized 'sting operations' that put municipal officers in jail or on the run. In some form or another, through its many iterations and tales, corruption helped explain the frustrating realities and trajectories involved in 'searching for a better life'.

While anthropology's engagement with rumor stretches back many decades (Gluckman 1963; for overview, see Besnier 2009), academic interest in the social act has flared anew. Increasingly, as an object of study, rumor and gossip have increasingly been understood in utilitarian terms; in particular how people within a sociocultural context 'make sense of the world around them, interpreting events, people, and the dynamics of history' (Besnier 2009, 3). Its recurring use today, whether analyzing meaning or function, posits rumor as a political tool of symbolic sanction (in the vein of Scott's [1985] 'weapons of the weak') that puts 'modernity and

[53] I would not say that 'cantina conversations' were the only window into this popular reckoning. Certainly, community *asambleas* were prime prisms to observe and understand the frustrations of the frontier. However, given I was only permitted to participate in the *asambleas* of Ccahuapirhua, *cantinas* offered occasions to engage conversations across communities.

its beneficiaries on trial' (Gardner 2012, 195). 'Normalization' or the 'levelling' of a shifting social world – particularly seen in accusations of witchcraft in various African contexts (Ashforth 2005; Geschiere 1997; West 2005) - have established rumor as a generous prism in exploring neoliberal transformation and the maladies of late capitalism.[54]

On the Bambas frontier, as initial anticipation continually collided with the contradictions of maturation, rumor can be seen to play a central role in restructuring a crumbling symbolic order (see Turner 2004, 237). The many 'spoons' digging into the municipality and the closed-door handshakes between corporate officials and community presidents, certainly attempted to affix logic to millennial inequalities. Rumor on illicit behavior worked to tame and rationalize elements of discordance within the emerging moral order. Yet, corruption discourse and the shady tales of individual opportunism were not the only category of conversation that assembled the shifting social world of Cotabambas. The gossip and rumor mill that saturated cantina conversations also entailed the fantastical. These more extravagant iterations of gossip, unlike the work of 'normalization' identified in the literature to date, teased at optimism and forms of hope. They were less interested in constructing a coherent narrative around the contemporary realities of Cotabambas, than cracking open its unequal monotony to reveal a brave new world. Thus, rumor also worked with, was fed by, and continued to maintain, the lingering affects of mineral optimism so central to the arrival of copper.

For example, during the great *El Nino* floods that devastated the Peruvian coast in March 2017 a circulating canard depicted an impending state of emergency. It was said that the government would be forced to retract the army and national police from rural outposts to secure the major cities of Lima, Arequipa, and Cusco. Some versions of the rumor even suggested that the predicted continuation of torrential rains was supported by satellite imaging carried out by NASA. In the cantinas of Challhuahuacho, a toast was made to the encroaching catastrophe, which, it was said, would allow the communities to walk on the mine, occupy its pit, and demand renegotiation. Equally joyous were rumors of Belarussian companies that had begun production of a new highly powerful pick-up truck. It was believed that they were eager to break into an international market dominated by Japanese companies and had identified Cotabambas as an opportune showcase. The vehicles would be gifted to necessitous *communal empresas* (community companies) which would allow them to penetrate the mining service economy and

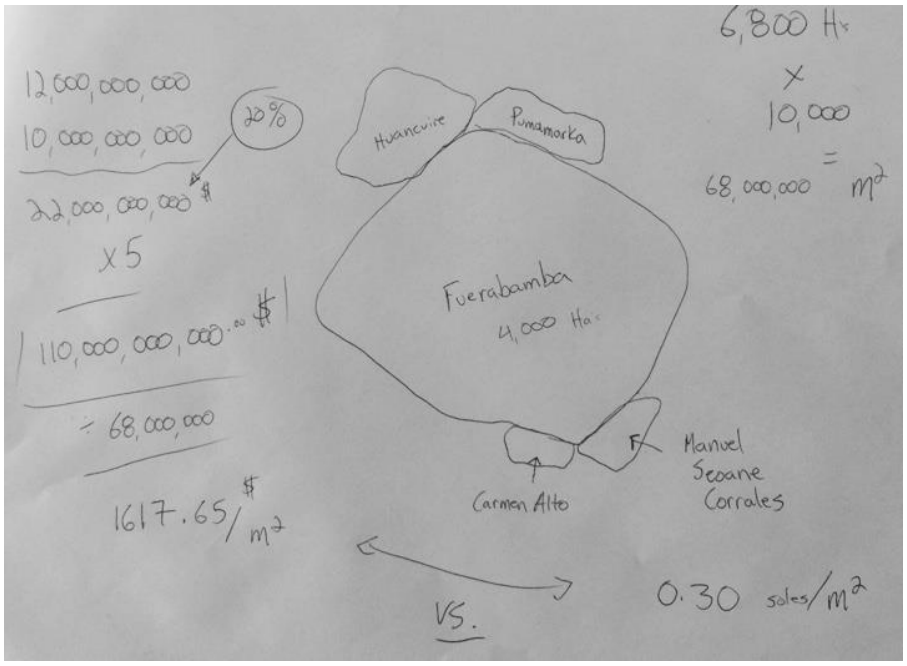
[54] To date, no serious attempts have been made at theorizing rumor within the Andes. As such, this dissertation continues with cross continental discussions, maintaining a global conversation suited to the breadth of mining's reach.

establish transportation contracts with *MMG.* Alternative and recurring rumors also circulated of imminent visits by powerful 'other's – including Nobel laureate Hernando De Soto – who would bring the story of poverty and exclusion to the doorsteps of government and international agencies.

Yet, there was perhaps no more powerful example of hopeful rumor, than that of a secret document, containing offshore bank accounts and the 'true' amount of a security loan issued to MMG for the purchase of the Bambas project. I had heard whispers of it in *cantinas*, without many details, until I was invited one afternoon to travel with Leandro, a friend from Carmen Alto, to the house of Marcelo, a cramped lean-to built on the Western outskirts of Challhuahuacho's sprawl. We arrived during a heavy rain, and before heading on to a *cantina* decided to wait out the downpour sitting on Marcelo's bed. Following a few minutes of courteous catch-up, the conversation between Leandro and Marcelo became charged and serious. Marcelo was eager to know if what he has heard is true: 'have you seen the documents?', he probed. 'How much was it?'.

'The loan was for 22 billion USD', Leandro declared, wide-eyed. 'And this is only 20% of the mine's worth'. Pushing plates and wine glasses aside, we gathered around a table opposite the bed. Marcelo retrieved a sheet of loose paper and pen, handed them to Leandro, who began to scribble furiously. There were false starts and dead-ends as our moldering arithmetic was prodded. Using my phone, and following instructions for imputation, we arrive upon the figure of 110 trillion USD (it took us some time to decide to multiply by 5, all of us many years removed from math class). This, Leandro declares, is the true valuation of the project.

As I stare down at the paper, beguiled by the zeros, Leandro senses my confusion and begins to draw a map (see below). As explained to me, the arrival of copper and the eventual realization of the Bambas project occurred following the purchase of 6,800 hectares of land from 5 communities determined to be resting upon the richest veins of copper to be immediately exploited. The settled agreement signed many years ago was for 30 *centavos* per m2 (0.3 Peruvian *Soles*). The map showed the make-up of the communities involved, and was affixed with the measurement correlated to each sale. In due course, Leandro began to put the math on the margins of the drawing, accentuating the massive disjuncture between sale and valuation given the new, near mystical documents. The arithmetic need not have been exact. Cursory 'round-ups', metric conversions, and currency exchanges might have ridiculed accuracy, but it could only have shrunk (or inflated) the number by a relatively small degree in comparison to 'original sale'.



[**Figure 16.** ***The map and calculations of rumor, as retraced from my fieldnotes*****. Source: author**]

This, as well, is to say nothing of whether the illusive document itself was fictional or fact. The numbers had a power of their own, beyond considerations of 'truth', which spoke to the raw deal that was being understood to constitute maturing extraction and development patterns on offer. They were imbued with the potential to re-invigorate desires for re-negotiation in communities who participated in the primary purchases of *Xstrata,* and the power to stimulate the demands of those who lay in wait. When the rain finally lifted, and I had completed copying down a version of the drawing into my notebook, Leandro ran off across the puddled street towards a *cantina* named *El Chaman,* thirsty for a drink, and (I would assume) eager to pass on *noticias* (news) of the 'leaked' loan document.

As the example reveals, on the maturing Bambas frontier, where communities and individuals navigate emerging patterns of *desarrollo,* rumor - as epitomized in *cantina* conversations - works amongst the awkward and contradictory realities of millennial extraction. With the onset of the low-labor production phase, where a saturated service sector dominates formalized patterns of economy and opportunity, rumor oscillates between distress and hope. As Simon Turner states, rumor 'transforms opaque processes into comprehensible narratives' (2004, 239) while also tailoring 'prognostics about possible outcomes in the future' (ibid, 238). In Cotabambas, the work of rumor reveals and wrestles with imagined forms of social becoming

(often tied to labor), emerging dead-ends and inequalities, and the festering remnants of hope within the social imaginary. At once, it can be seen to temper the jarring discordances of the moment (corruption talk and obscure systems of patronage). Yet, it does not completely extinguish desirous futures, as mineral optimism lingers and navigation of the shifting social terrain continue. It always seems to be in the act of fashioning what has happened and what still might.

And it is this 'what still might' - the potentiality that retained a pulse as resource-making advanced – to which I will now turn. What hope remained for the better life on the maturing extractive frontier? What understandings and logic could be pried from the circulating conversations on winning and losing and put to use? In what ways did these beliefs re-orient the strategies and prospects for those in the shadow of Las Bambas? Answering these questions involves a return to Marcelo's and Leandro's prophetic exchange. If the majority of optimistic rumors in Challhuahuacho depended primarily on distant things and people, the emerging notion of land valuation left morsels of opportunity and agency within the hands of *comuneros* proper. As communities and individuals continued their navigation of the mine's shadows, land was to become a lightning rod in the local strategies of 'progressing' that followed in the wake of the mineral production cycle.

Cargo *corales* and the frontier politics of land

I had left my room in Challhuahuacho to meet up with Ernesto and his brother Victor, two *comuneros* and close friends from Ccahuapirhua who were born in Lima, growing up in the rumble-tumble *pueblo joven* (young town) of *San Juan de Miraflores*. Their father, Selestino, had left Cotabambas as a young man 'in search of a better life', arriving at the cascading capital where he began a family and put his two boys through school as a construction worker. He was in his mid-50s, having lost his wife in an unfortunate accident, when the Bambas project was approved and announced. He made for the mountains, beckoning his sons, then in their late teens, to follow; mineral optimism animating dreams of 'progressing'.

Now moving across the chaotic thoroughfare of the boomtown, I found Ernesto standing in front of the *ruedo de toros* (bull ring) in excited conversation with Erik (another *comunero* of Ccahuapirhua). As I approached, I noticed Ernesto was angry in a way I had never seen him, peppering his sentences with humorless expletives. It was a discussion not intended for the anthropologist, who was arriving forever late, but I could not help myself from prying when I heard the names of others from the community.

‘Everything alright in Ccahuapirhua?’, I asked.

‘Yeah, yeah’, Ernesto responded, ‘there is just some fighting going on. Land issues.’ Erick, who had barely even acknowledged my arrival, lost as he seemed to be in the spiel I had more or less missed, muttered only, ‘Bastards.’ It was all that would be said for the moment. I knew not to ferret more amongst the palpable angst. Ernesto and I bade farewell to Erick and headed down the road in search of Victor and an unoccupied foosball table with which to waste away the afternoon.

‘Land issues’ were both present and murky very early on during my fieldwork. I had heard about recent ‘*enfrentamientos*’ (conflicts or clashes) between various communities throughout the region disputing territorial boundaries. The invasion of Huanacopampa by the *comuneros* of Pararani was captured on cellphones in 2014 and soon after posted on Youtube. Ccahuapirhua itself was in conflict on both sides of its northern borders. In 2015, two young men in the community were killed during a skirmish with the community of Chicñahui. Lawyers had been hired from Abancay to review old documents and investigate the topography, herding, and planting patterns of each community. Resolutions were still in progress. Further still, the community of Cconccacca, running along the western slopes of Ccahuapirhua’s northern *puna,* had begun to dispute borders as well. These ongoing disputes had historical precedent but were increasingly running amok.

While scholars have noted the ritualized character of combat that has been carried out between neighboring communities for decades - conflict that seeks to establish claims on ill-defined perimeters where agricultural practices may overlap (Harvey 1994; Harris 1994) - there was a consensus amongst my informants that these *enfretamientos* were increasing since the arrival of the mine. Indeed, the impetus of the deadly conflict in 2015, I was eventually told, lay not in traditional grazing rights but in the proposed extension of power lines through the contested territory to the Bambas copper pit. Following the community conflict, MMG was spurred into embarrassed action, compensating both communities so as to carry on and construct an enormous steel tower on an jagged mountain top; a previously nugatory lot of rock face. Despite the prevalence of professional desires at the time, opportunity was granted precedent through the sale of territory.

In a recent anthology on ‘new extraction’ in Latin America, the geographer Matthew Himley (2016) argues that the processes of land privatization and enclosure, which have accompanied the expansion of mining projects in Peru, are producing new trends in local politics. Drawing upon his research in the highland community of Chacrapampa, Himley argues that ‘land

transfer is a constant reference point for villagers as they have sought, over the years, to obtain a greater share of mining's material benefits' (2016, 209). Such claims echo earlier arguments put forward by Bridge (2002) and Bury (2005) on fluctuations and changes in valuation caused by mining activities in rural areas. The manner in which a 'greater share' might be achieved, however, is left open; the relation between communities and mineral maturation ignored; historical frameworks and contradictions unspoken.

As alluded to earlier (Introduction and Chapter 1), certain neoliberal reforms enacted by Alberto Fujimori during the 1990s aimed to reverse faltering development policy that had converged on economic crisis. The failure of land reform enacted by General Velasco in the 1970s was a particular target. Between 1991 and 1995, the government, with financial and technical support from the World Bank, began the legislative and practical processes of land titling. In doing so they maintained the dramatic territory transfers carried out during the reform program. Since the break-up of hacienda system and the subsequent failures of many of the cooperatives that replaced them, it was estimated that only 10 percent of the total number of parceled land in the country was recognized in the national registry (see Fort 2007). In 1992, the '*Programa Especial de Titulacion de Tierras*' (PETT Program) was initiated to officialise land ownership of rural farmers and communities, collecting various elements of informal documentation in support of a rural cadastre system of national validity (Fort 2007, 38). As mineral prices began to rise, the liberalization of land markets hastened, culminating in the 1995 *Ley de Tierras* ('the Land Law'), grounded in the logic of 'productive transfer' (see de Echave 2005). Territory of *comunidades campesinas* were no longer 'inalienable'; sale of communal land now requiring only a two-thirds vote by *comuneros*. Accordingly, a new relationship was established between the hangover of surface rights established through agrarian reform and the subsurface minerals to be extracted by foreign corporations (Himley 2016; Del Castillo and Castillo 2003). The dream of a small-holder agricultural revolution in the Andes had undergone a major transition, amounting to - one could argue - the creation of community proprietors with deeds for sale in the new extractive economy. The *liberal* incentivization of land markets amongst a mineral boom would become a pivotal cog in the making of resources.

One early morning, not long after eavesdropping on my friends near the bull ring of Challhuahuacho, I received a call from Ernesto and was instructed to rush to the bus station and join him. He was travelling to Ccahuapirhua in haste. Rumors of a land invasion by *comuneros* in Cconccacca had put the community on alert for a potential *enfrentamiento*. Edison, Diego, Oscar,

and a number of other men had slept in the hills all night, taking the high ground and watching for movement in the dark. 'Bring your *onda*', Ernesto joked.[55]

We arrived at Ccahuapirhua late and quickly made our way through the plaza, climbing towards the *puna*. The rest of the community had gathered on a ridge that overlooked their *chacras* and the disputed border with Cconccacca to the west. We were undoubtedly the last in arriving, yet, even so, Ernesto looked anxiously over his shoulder to see if anyone was following. Verifying our seclusion, he stopped and pointed to a peculiar fence in the process of construction, rising off the northern face of Chucruni mountain (see notebook drawing further below). It had not been present during the previous *faena* – the last time I had walked this far above the community plaza.

'This is Edison's new corral', Ernesto stated. It did not resemble any of the older corrals that littered the mountainside. It was being made of wooden posts and steel fence panels - most likely purchased in Challhuahuacho - rather than aged highland stone. Most notably, its circumference – projected through imagined geometric completion – was massive. I guessed it would enclose fifty times as much land as any corral I had seen to that point. 'I did not know Edison had so many sheep', I exclaimed.

'He doesn't', came Ernesto's response, 'He and his family are claiming the entire hillside for themselves'. The look on his face revealed no humor. 'Yes, Ccahuapirhua has become divided with land disputes', he added once more.

We carried on, now under the watchful eye of *comuneros* on the ridge above. Upon arriving, and following customary greetings, I found a solitary nook behind a rocky ledge where I began writing in my notebook. Ernesto snuck away from the crowd to my side and pointed down towards the *chacras* below, bordering the disputed boundary with Cconccacca. 'Manuel and his family are building a corral there as well', he said. I immediately clocked the wooden posts and the wire encasement in the distance. As I watched Oscar and other members of *la directiva* descend from the ridge to converse with the authorities of Cconccacca, assembled on the other side of the valley that separated us, I was consumed by the new elements of land politics now being revealed to me. Having arrived in anticipation to learn more about community *enfrentamientos,* I had instead become privy to the underbelly of land thirst. I soon realized that

[55] *Ondas* are the traditional tool of combat used throughout the southern Andes. The instrument is more or less a roped sling, used with great skill to hurl rocks. The death of two young men in Ccahuapirhua during the *enfrentamiento* in 2015 resulted from gun shots – a battle in which they had arrived in accordance with tradition, carrying only *ondas*.

the contestation of surface rights to mineralized hillsides went beyond inter-communal relations: they permeated communities themselves and were creating divisions between families and individuals. My notes and questions went in unexpected directions.

Constructing the rules and motivation behind the local production of new *corales* in Ccahuapirhua proved a challenge. The fractious nature of familial relations impeded direct engagement with all parties concerned. The fear that my inquiries might agitate community politics, and subsequently wear out my welcome in the village, pushed my conversations about territory claims towards private encounters, establishing a dependency on chit-chat with individuals outside the local land rush with minimal face to save or lose. Yet, despite this limitation, a unified narrative emerged surrounding the origins of the sheepless *corales* on the northern limits of the community. The story circled back again to the community of Fuerabamba.

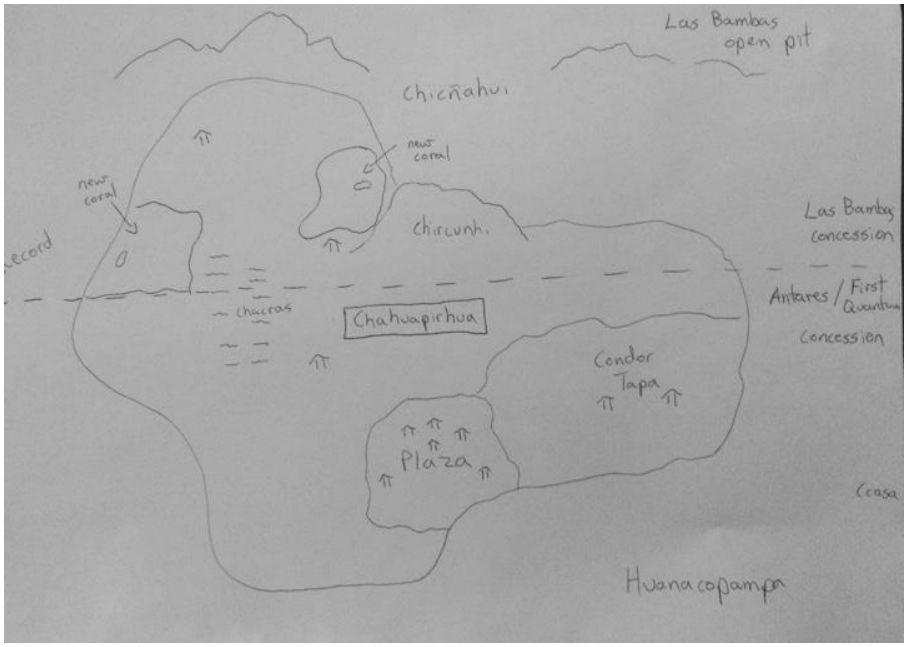
While Fuerabamba remained an enigmatic and complicated image for its neighbours, it was also, as stated above, the pinnacle of extraction's potential. The community and its individuals did not only inform outcomes in the shadows of Las Bambas, but also the strategies and projects of those who had not seen their historical debt redeemed; those still in search of the 'better life' and social becoming. Conversations on *Fuerabambino* negotiations, circulating throughout the region, were best represented through the foresight of a particular individual: Wilfredo Quispe. Born and raised in the 'forgotten' community prior to the mineral boom that would sweep Cotabambas into the national economy, Wilfredo became a local community leader after receiving an education in Cusco. He successfully traversed the complex boundaries and antagonisms of rural and urban, playing a prominent leadership role in the community and region, eventually being elected as *alcalde* (mayor) of Challhuahuacho. His exemplar story was known throughout the province.

While others within Fuerabamba accepted large pay-offs for communal land and their relocation to the new highland suburb with few objections, Wilfredo, and the loyal members of his *caserio*, remained recalcitrant. They were in complete disagreement with the corporate evaluations offered in compensation packages, and while their solitary votes were insufficient to undermine the two-thirds majority required for communal land sale, individual plots were negotiated on an individual basis; these included housing lots and, importantly, corrals.[56] They remained in 'old Fuerabamba' - even while preparations for production were being made and the

[56] Article 11 of the 1995 Land Law, put in place by Alberto Fujimori as mineral prices were rising, declared a two-thirds majority vote by community members was required before communal land could be sold.

dynamite was exploding - until the corporation gave in to their specific demands and appraisals. The exact number of the compensatory packages they received was never formally revealed, though it was thought to be significantly more than the community members who left before. Their acumen became revered.

On a surprisingly cold night in Challhuahuacho, as the realities of these new *corales* became an unavoidable point of research, I organized a meeting with Ernesto. Alone together, I asked him in a forthright manner, to explain to me what exactly was going on in Ccahuapirhua. As a visual to guide me through his explanation, he took my notebook and began to draw a map (see recreation below). He sketched as he talked about the incendiary community *asamblea* I had missed, but which had formed the basis of the animated exchange between he and Erick that I stumbled upon at the bull ring. The strain of frustration within the community over employment, projects, and the peculiar forms and moral order of extractive 'development' had begun to pit families against one another. Certain individuals, whose claims to community inhabitation were deemed more 'legitimate' (born in the community, having spent less time in the city), argued during the *asamblea* for their rights to large swaths of land. Edison and his brothers had begun to lay the posts of a corral on one face of Chucruni mountain, while Manuel and his brothers had begun doing the same on the *puna* to the west. Both regions, situated on the northern reaches of community territory, were located within the Bambas concession and the predicted expansion of the mine. Those *retornantes* whose legitimacy was questioned, challenged the new developments, pointing out that the privatization of individual or family plots for houses or *corales* could only be carried out following formal requests and a community vote (in accordance with the *Ley de Comunidades Campesinas*). No resolution had been reached during the *asamblea* and the rancour of the claims and counter claims festered. Ernesto assured me that Ccahuapirhua was not alone in its perverse and fractious descent into land disputes, but that it was highly unlikely that friends and acquaintances of other communities would go into details, given the explosive nature of the political stakes. 'But, consider yourself lucky to have seen it unfold in Ccahuapirhua', he said with a smile, handing me back my notebook. I looked down at the drawing he placed on the page before me.



[**Figure 17.** ***Drawing from fieldnotes depicting the new 'cargo' corrals of Ccahuapirhua.*** **Source: author.**]

To an extent, Ernesto was right. I heard rumors of new corrals and inter-familial conflicts over land in other communities, but, not having the same embeddedness as I did in Ccahuapirhua, I was unable to capture their specific details and draw them into comparison with my adopted community. Not surprisingly, the majority of these disputes were occurring in communities bordering the imagined expansion of the Bambas project or on the hills of the neighboring First Quantuum concession still in the process of initiation. Yet, further along to the east, in communities where MMG and other mining projects were not anticipated to break ground, the escalation of land disputes were oriented towards roads; the only territorial strip of importance for corporate extraction where vulnerability existed and compensation claims could be levied. As mentioned in the introduction, during the fall of 2016, a blockade of a secondary mining road was organized by four communities interested in being paid (post-dated) for construction, as well as transportation royalties.[57] In the communities of Congota and Yuricancha, it was well known that houses were being constructed on the very limits of the road

[57] Interestingly, according to a number of interlocutors, the road, a secondary access point to the mine sweeping around its western and northern borders, was constructed in good faith amongst stakeholders; during those years of early affectation, when mineral optimism boomed. The regional district government of Tambobamba even lobbied for its construction on the behalf of communities who believed it would help reverse legacies of isolation and integrate the communities more fully into the nation. Now, many years later, the idea of the road had changed drastically in the eyes of Pumamarca, Quiehuira, Choquecca-Antio and Allahu. With copper concentrate now rumbling onwards to the Port of Matarani, it had become a severe daily reminder of riches passing beyond aspirant communities languishing in development purgatory; a channel of millennial extraction.

in the hopes of potential indemnification (i.e. should the road require expansion and paving for the convoys that crossed it daily). Further still, by the final months of my fieldwork, the community of Nueva Fuerabamba was preparing a blockade of the transportation artery passing through the Yavi Yavi plains in Cusco (a portion of land given to them in compensation for relocation), seeking further payment, using their financial clout to hire attorneys and *asesores* (advisors) for lobbying and negotiation efforts.

These locally 'tolled' roads, much like the speculative corrals of Ccahuapirhua, add credence to Himley's (2016) argument of land's augmenting importance amongst the shadows of mining in the Andes of Peru. Furthermore, they flesh out the modes and outcomes of these spikes in valuation; namely, processes of *cargo-ization*. I adopt this term from the work of Gisa Weszkalnys, who, in conceptualizing political strategies for remuneration on the margins of corporate extraction, has drawn from the disciplinary depths of anthropology to encapsulate the politics of indemnification. For Weszkalnys, compensation claims 'take on the role of earlier cargo cults; a dissonant interface of Western capitalist and indigenous exchange practice' (2016, 132). Without descending into the murk of establishing a particular *Cotabamban* 'exchange system', the argument holds ample soil when applied to the shadows of copper mining in eastern Apurímac. Certainly, the millennial inequalities of resource-making's maturation in Cotabambas antagonize local concepts of historical debt tied to being 'forgotten'. As individuals and communities navigate the emerging rules and logics of extractive development – of what copper is to become - forms of mineral optimism are funneled into increasingly limited avenues for social becoming. The 'search for the better life' becomes refined and precarious (the spectre of sale and compensation unknown; more on this in Chapter 3) in equal measure. In place of professional work, and as the huge original investment promises become cocooned within a lethargic and bureaucratic royalty system of low-skill project provision, the freight of land grows, encompassing an ever more important place within the local entanglements of extractive development.

Conclusion

Working away in a corral on the *puna* above Ccahuapirhua, half way between the still community plaza and the bustling open pit of Las Bambas, pressing questions had trembled behind the rhythm of our shovels (opening vignette). Though the image itself might have suggested - through a decontextualized glance - sustainable complementarity between rural lifeworlds and industrial mining, both existing side by side in harmonic tune, such a conclusion

would have immediately unravelled when the conversation between Tio Luis and Gustavo began. *What would one invest money in? What was good business?* These questions of hypothetical opportunities, of economic embeddedness in the extractive economy that provided the verbal backdrop to peasant toil that afternoon, highlighted both the desire for the 'better life' that still animated individual and community imaginaries, as well as the frustrating trajectories of social mobility in the moment.

Indeed, as this chapter has explored and elucidated, the maturation of resource-making and the shift towards mineral production had begun to reveal and rework futures affixed to copper throughout the province. The mineral optimism which impregnated the communities of Cotabambas following the arrival of copper had been stoked further by a construction boom and corporate technical training programmes (*capcitaciones*), channelling original desires and expectations towards professional employment. The refrain '*no hay chamba*', epitomized a cruel and ironic shift in resource exploitation within the country, as the technological innovations and professionalized practices of 'modern mining' dramatically curtailed the potential and prospects of *professionalization*. The 'Indian body', once central to extracting riches throughout the highlands of Peru and colonial Latin America, was now surplus to requirements and forced to long from the shadows.

In place of formalized employment, the production phase of the Bambas project entailed the onset of a low-skill project cycle funded by mining royalty payments. Individuals and community representatives passing through the frustrating plod of the Challhuahuacho municipality building were not only forced to endure demeaning bureaucratic encounters, but to interpret the emerging realities and hard truths of extractive development; mineral optimism and original affect being squeezed; chiselled down and into form. This process of 'navigation' through maturation, I argue, reveals discordant moral orders and development outcomes. Where having 'been forgotten' strutted claims and grievances of historical debt throughout the communities, the production phase of mineral exploitation forced individuals and communities to confront grave and rampant inequalities between winners and losers, make sense of these realities, and seek out what opportunities remained for social becoming. Ultimately, amongst corruption talk and hopeful rumor, navigation honed optimism and opportunity towards the sale of land. The *cargo-ization* of corrals and roads had become the natural outcome of discordances between bounding desire and maturing development; the stone enclosure of Tio Yauri now valued for more than manure and herding. The question that now beckoned was when negotiations might begin and in what ways early affects and horizons would be further pulled

and refracted through the onset of production; processes and consequences we will turn to in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. *Hueveando*, Despair, and the Temporalities of Enclaves

I had grown adept at traversing the lightless concrete hallway of the unfinished building, taking seven steps after the end of the staircase, trampling over saw dust and paint chips, my hand running along the wall in wait for the protruding knob. I opened the thin wood door to the spartan room of Ernesto. He and Victor were sprawled out under a wool blanket, the cold of the morning still cocooned in their cement chamber, only their heads and hands showing above the covers, eyes glued to their cellphones. My entrance breaks their cyber hypnosis.

'*Oi Cholito*!' they exclaim in unison.

'What the hell are you guys up to?', I reply, our routine in motion.

'*Hueveando!* (Fucking around!)'[58] Victor hollers back, throwing the blankets towards his feet, putting his phone in his pocket and rising off the mattress to set up the table.

'Como siempre (as usual)', I respond in near choreographed ritual. Ernesto opens the window, shouting down into the backyard to their neighbor Eduardo; '*Oi Gordito*! Kieran is here. Let's play cards!'. Victor uses his phone to call Yonathan.

I pull up a chair to the small wooden table. Besides a mattress on the floor and a gas-powered hot plate in the corner, the room is empty. The majority of Ernesto's belongings remained behind the padlocked door of his house in Ccahuapirhua. It was not known how long he would be here in Challhuahuacho. Maria, his girlfriend, was still adjusting to work in a restaurant kitchen, holding out hope Ernesto might find work of his own. In the meantime, it was still unclear when the next *obra* (development project) would arrive in Ccahuapirhua. They paid rent by the week and got by with the minimal amenities and furniture that their situation demanded.

In due course, Eduardo rounds the hallway and into the room. Rubbing his hands with a devious grin, he confesses his intention of taking all our money. 'But don't worry', he adds, 'I'll pay for your beers with it'. Yonathan passes through the door moments later, shy but excited. The cards are shuffled and sprayed across the table. We begin with 21's. Each individual settles into his pattern of play: Victor brash and bold, each wager a declaration of bravado; Ernesto, calculated and confident; Eduardo affixing every card played with a joke; Yonathan, crippled by

[58] Though in other contexts of Peru and Latin America *huevar* can be translated as laziness, in Cotabambas it was often used as a verb to humorlessly describe the passing of time doing nothing of importance (more on this throughout the chapter). I chose to translate the term as 'fucking around' as opposed to 'messing around', due to the performance of masculinity that often underpins it; a performance that encourages - indeed, demands - the use of expletives in daily conversation.

hesitancy, all the possibilities of failure running through his head. Between bets and commentary, there is conversation about potential opportunities around town; names passed on of who to call; rumors of a day's work here or there. There is also talk of upcoming football matches in Lima and Europe. But most of all, there is just laughter and teasing; mundane moments of joy that elide the ominous present of uncertainty. I take as much pleasure in relieving the pressure of research (that incessant critical voice in the ethnographer's head that demands to know what you learned today) as my friend's do in avoiding my pestering questions. I too am lost in the game.



[**Figure 18.** ***Playing cards in Ernesto's rented room in Challhuahuacho.*** **Source: author.**]

On this particular morning, I burn through my allotted twenty *soles* after only an hour. As I make to carry on my day elsewhere, rising to my feet, I am implored to return with more money. 'You don't pay for interviews, so pay us with your poor play', Victor jokes. I know better than to engage them with serious statements about work and financial responsibilities, and so return in kind, evading my concern for their predicament behind humorous barbs: 'I'm incapable of *hueveando* the entire day like you guys. I don't have your talent'.

'Are you kidding? Anthropologists fuck around all day long'. Ernesto's provocative summation of fieldwork is met with raucous laughter. I myself am chuckling as I head for the door with no rebuttal at hand.

'*Oi Cholito*!' Ernesto hollers just before I disappear. 'Don't tell Mariano or Diego that you saw us'. I flash a 'thumbs up' through the doorframe to ease his guilt as I turn off into the dark corridor. With no meeting, event, or interview scheduled for the day, I take a mental inventory of the various locales in Challhuahuacho I might pass through that afternoon to 'fuck around' with other members of the community. I step out into the dusty street knowing where to find Oscar, though slightly anxious as to what state I will find him in. The realities of de-professionalized lives have granted me plentiful and intimate access to my informants throughout the Bambas zone, but bely troubling questions that I am still working my way through. *In what directions were lives in the shadows of a Cotabambas mine being pulled by the maturation of resource-making? What opportunities and temporalities now governed daily life as enclave production calcified? What shifting affects and troubling questions did they elicit as journeys to social becoming stagnated?*

Enclave spillages and retreating informality

With the rain and mud that coated the empty chemical containers, the footing was treacherous. I walked atop their slick plastic ceilings in constant fear of agitating the old football injuries that littered my groin and hamstrings. Victor moved with much more assurance, counting the containers as he hopped from one to another, inspecting their quality for re-sale. He shouted back to us when he arrived at the end of the stacked vessels, verifying Ernesto's original count of 42.

We were in the yard of their cousin Julio's *negocio* (business). As an individual married to a *Fuerabambino*, Julio had negotiated special treatment through the preferential contracting of Xstrata (and then MMG following the corporate transfer of the mine) and ran a business supplying the company with industrial chemicals required for mineral processing. Constant pestering from Victor and Ernesto on the absence of work in Ccahuapirhua had raised his concern, putting him on the look-out for opportunities to offer his cousins. He had heard that the used and empty containers that were returned to his yard, measuring a metre-cubed, could be re-sold in Cusco for 150 *soles* a piece. Victor and Ernesto leapt at the prospect, borrowing a large flatbed truck from their cousin and finagling a gringo anthropologist into providing free labor.

We took loose and fast measurements of the truck's cargo space and began the arduous task of moving the containers from the muddy floor of the yard into the cramped quarters of transport. Fingers and feet were painfully jammed trying to fit the awkward and misshapen merchandise into the space allotted. There were few considerations to health and safety and the

acrid chemical fumes which leaked out the open tops of the containers burned our throats and seared our eyes - violet channels running away from our pupils. After two hours, we had been able to stack and secure some twenty-four plastic vessels for the twelve-hour journey to Cusco. The remaining containers would have to wait until the handlers returned. Behind an agitated and blood-shot glare, Ernesto and Victor thanked me before running off into the night in search of a driver interested in making some money. They were prepared to offer him half the funds they gained from their prospective sale. As they disappeared through the gate of the yard onto the Challhuahuacho street, they yelled through laughter that they would call me in a few days when the other containers required the assistance of my soft hands.

As briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the end of school construction in Ccahuapirhua and the absence of legitimate *chamba* (work) posed challenges to the day-to-day lives of *comuneros* in the shadows of the Bambas mine. Further still, the royalty project cycle that dictated the formal manifestations of extractive development, where investment dollars slogged through a municipal bureaucracy, produced salary deadspots for large parts of the year. The maturation of resource-making and the constriction being placed upon the original affects of copper, charged local agency with a dour immediacy, forcing individuals into troubling negotiations with the logics of development, economy, and desires for social becoming.

Within Ccahuapirhua proper, the solemnity of the production shift in extraction was captured forcefully by *la casa conlada* (padlocked houses). Those *comuneros* who retained strong connections with 'the city', bolted their doors in the community and returned to the urban margins; ostensibly until something changed (the commencement of the next *obra*; the arrival of the company for negotiations; etc.). Those who 'remained' in Cotabambas during this intermittent period began to orient their daily lives more and more to the boomtown of Challhuahuacho. It offered a blend of possibility and distraction, though in minimal amounts, which compared favorably to the increasing isolation and lethargy of the *campesino* community.

Ernesto and Victor were two of my closest friends from Ccahuapirhua, who, having few prospects in the *barrio* (neighborhood) of Lima where they were born, 'stayed on' in Cotabambas, moving into Challhuahuacho. They had left their father in Ccahuapirhua hoping the boomtown would provide financial opportunity to support the family. Their rented room was fortuitously located across the street from my own accommodation. It was here, when I was not scheduled to conduct interviews or travel to other communities, that I would pass my mornings playing cards or watching television. Nominally, I was there to catch-up on gossip, query about upcoming events, or clarify certain ideas and stories I was still grappling with. In actuality, I was

killing time like everyone else, and increasingly immersing myself into the methods and practices of leisure that began to consume the days of aspirant individuals encircling Las Bambas.

The routine of cards and laughs in Challhuahuacho was a gradual progression. In the months prior to my mornings of rapid but controlled gambling losses, we had been more active and 'productive' in and about town, sniffing out fleeting opportunities for daily labor. Victor's phone would ring, and we would scamper off to help unload bricks from a flatbed truck at the construction site of a prospective *hospedaje* (hotel; guest house) or restaurant that was late to the boom of Challhuahuacho. On other days we might stop in at a friend's woodworking shop to retrieve lumber or to deliver finished products to buyers around town. The chemical container endeavor was the most recent exploit, interceded by weeks of inactivity, and provided the brothers with a windfall payment that was uncommon for their informal activity. Normally, we would toil for twenty minutes or a couple of hours, progressively soiling our clothes before being handed ten, twenty, or fifty Peruvian *Soles*. Some would be stowed away for rent or sent to Selestino (their father) in Ccahuapirhua. The rest would cover the day's lunch and, if we felt esteemed and in a celebratory mood, a beer or two that evening. Despite our affable banter in the *cantina*, precarity loomed over our hours in Challhuahuacho.

For those who stayed in the region, without jobs or families to stabilize returns to the city, the struggle had become eking out a living on the margins of a saturated service economy that proved less and less fruitful as the mining zone trod through its phases of production. The marginal and informal grind of Ernesto and Victor, reverberated in equal measure throughout the community, and tempered out just as quickly. Suyai had drawn upon familial ties in Tambobamba - a neighboring district - to obtain piecemeal work in the transportation of sheep to abattoirs. Quenti, one of the few individuals from Ccahuapirhua with a car, had become an informal taxi driver. His cellphone consistently activated by customers on market day, but ringing sporadically throughout the week; his old Toyota station wagon often parked, rarely running. Other community members – in particular women whose husbands could not find manual labor – focused on the Sunday market in town, arriving early to display produce from *chacras* in Ccahuapirhua or more 'exotic' fruit and vegetables obtained through familial networks that extended beyond the high altitude of Cotabambas. Sales were limited, especially given that the large restaurants of Challhuahuacho's service economy were saddled with inspection demands, and thus imported the majority of their produce from large certified farms in Arequipa. The remainder of the remainders, those beyond the absorption capacity of even the

informal economy, were forced to eat into the meager savings which they had put away from the construction boom. A few *retornantes* had even begun to sell off familial property and assets in the city to tide themselves over.

All endeavors, to essential but varying degrees, depended on connections of trust and support beyond the individual family and often beyond the individual community. Yet, the social capital of individuals, groups, and communities of the extractive shadows, seemed only and always to stretch into further rings of limitation. It was especially harsh for many of the young men who had spent their youth in the city, where informal earnings depended only on learned cunning and a degree of effort. Many of my friends complained how much easier it was to make a buck in the city; shining shoes, selling soft drinks along main thoroughfares, running through stalled traffic at busy intersections with snacks. It was not ideal, and far removed from professional desires, but the opportunity to hustle, hawk, grift and graft was always available – a comparative nostalgia which might have seemed laughable years ago during expectant arrivals to Cotabambas. As the extractive frontier matured, however, the richest veins of economic opportunity now moved from the open pit of the mine to the contracted businesses in Challhuahuacho (see chapter 2), following the shimmer of professional contractors, with ever decreasing spillages to the margins. The emerging realities were beginning to elicit uncomfortable questions on whether the shadows of the Bambas project was indeed a constellation of development that would indeed lead to the better life; whether the gamble of returning and remaining was to pay off.

In James Ferguson's collection of essays *Global Shadows* (2006) he reflects on the changing nature of extraction on the African continent. Imbued significantly by the transformation he witnessed within the copper industry in Zambia, Ferguson posits the idea of an investment continuum defined by its connections to local social and economic processes. Previously, extraction sites could be conceived as 'socially thick' (2006, 36); by this he means investment tied to a broader social project. The company towns of the Zambian Copperbelt that involved the housing, education, health and recreation for nearly 100,000 workers are used as an example (2006, 35-36). Nowadays, as argued by Ferguson, mining throughout the world has become 'socially thin'; depending 'ever less on wider social investments' (Ibid, 36). He continues, 'today, enclaves of mineral-extracting investment are usually tightly integrated with the head of multinational corporations and metropolitan centers but sharply walled off from their own national societies' (Ibid, 36). From this observation, he is able to challenge the classic trope of global investment as 'flowing'; a moving stream passing through and around the world. For

Ferguson, in actuality, capital investment and movement across borders in the Global South 'jumps from point to point and huge regions are simply bypassed' (Ibid, 38).

Ferguson's pithy and evocative re-conceptualization[59] of mining relations has been captivating as the enclave itself has become an important conceptual tool for scholars analyzing the unequal local realities of extraction as a global phenomenon (see Appel 2012a; 2012b; Cote and Korf 2018; Guzman-Gallegos 2012; Reed 2009; Rubbers 2019; Sidaway 2007). Securitization, fences, encampments, and boomtown bubbles all contribute to a growing and palpable starkness between point sources of exploitation and the margins that are 'hopped' over. In many ways, within this scholastic tradition, enclaves can be seen as the end game of the productive mining cycle; the definitive product of extractive maturation; spatial and material exclusion *par excellence*.

All of these arguments have important points of reflection for mining realities in Peru. Certainly, the ripening of resource-making in Cotabambas drifted towards trenchant forms of marginality. A stark discordance begins to emerge between imagined prosperity and the stymied stodge of the quotidian; lives and opportunities walled off; 'thin' shadows being hoped over. Yet, it is important to recognize that enclaves themselves are relational - they exist only in the context of their margins. Further still, and in line with the arguments of resource-making put forward in this dissertation thus far, enclaves do not simply exist, but become. They are the products of frontier processes over time – extraction-in-motion - and thus, drag with them histories and legacies of navigation and expectation from their very inception. Accordingly, while enclaves determine economic opportunities and spillages, drastic material differences, and stark perimeters, they can also be seen as reworking early forms of mineral optimism, copper's affects, and imagined futures. This chapter moves forward, beyond the material and spatialized relations of 'enclave' production, to consider the temporal aspects of resource-making, as individuals and communities further traverse and experience the post-labor millennial realities of professionalized mining.

Hueveando and millennial waiting

The Challhuahuacho building in which Ernesto slept was unfinished. Its owner, a *retornante* from the community of Tambulla, only had the finances to partially complete a

[59] Early elaborations of the 'enclave' were influenced heavily by development economists (Singer 1950; Baran 1968), accentuating the (un)realities of economic 'linkages' caused by export-led investment. While Ferguson includes such considerations within his reflections, 'spatial' interpretations rise to the fore (see Rubbers 2019).

second story above his set-menu restaurant that contained but two *cuartos* (rooms). Down the dark windowless corridor that led to Ernesto's chamber, there was a room directly across the hall rented by Erick, another member of the community, who lived in the cramped quarters with his wife and 9-year-old daughter. Erick had been born in Piura along the northern coast of Peru but left for Lima as a young man. It was in the capital, while working for Gloria (the national 'general milk company'), that he met Alejandra, a young girl born in Ccahuapirhua who had migrated to the city in search of a better life. When they returned to Cotabambas during the wave of return migrations, Erick became a *comunero integrado* (more on these legal statuses further below), meaning he had to remain in good standing with the community for five years before gaining full status. Accordingly, despite living in Challhuahuacho, he built an unfurnished home in Ccahuapirhua, participated in all community events and meetings, and kept himself dutifully abreast of shifts in local politics.

Erick was by nature very amicable, eager to participate in laughter and conversation, but also meticulously frugal; a thriftiness that was understandable amongst the precarious present in Cotabambas, yet an uncommon characteristic (cf. Walsh 2003). As such, the front doors to both rooms were often left open if we happened to be playing cards, and he would wander back and forth, across the hall, keeping an eye on both his daughter and our conspicuous wagers. It was a routine of his days off, as Erick was one of the few members of the community to persist through corporate employment certification and attain part-time work with MMG; labor which involved holding and turning stop signs and directing the huge flows of traffic to and from the open-pit. It was incredible boring work, he attested to, hardly professionalized, but it had allowed him to develop cordial connections with corporate employees. He always seemed 'in the know'.

On one particular morning, with the door of Ernesto's room curiously closed, Erick burst into our gambling den, his excitement exceeding even that which ordinarily accompanied his affable disposition. 'I just spoke with Francisco' (a corporate *relacionista*), his pitch was an exerted whisper, a combination of elation and furtiveness. 'I asked him when the company will be expanding its borders, buying up community land. He told me, "soon"'. There was nothing else said; no paring of the statement's breadth: *which communities? When is – would be - 'soon'?* The card game simply continued without delay. Yet the earnest concentration on the gamblers faces shifted to warm and anticipatory smirks. The coins diminishing in their pockets and mounting in the middle of the table became relative; the game was now infused with the palpable prospect that all participants retained a chance at winning beyond hearts and spades.

In their anthology on the politics of resources, *Timely Assets*, which analyzes minerals and hydrocarbons beyond their material and commodity forms, Elizabeth Ferry and Mandana Limbert argue that all resources are imbued with 'multiple temporal experiences' (2008, 12). Resources, they claim, evoke particular 'senses of time – of speed and direction, of time's motion', dependent as they are on 'how people perceive, relate to, and understand them' (Ferry and Limbert 2008, 13). I would add to these claims, arguing that temporal experiences of minerals, stall, shift, fork, and re-emerge in local settings amongst the rhythms and particularities of resource-making as it matures; that perceptions and relations themselves are not stable. If the Bambas enclave had settled into rigid patterns of economic possibility and exclusion, limiting informality as a stop-gap for stuttering project provision, optimism for social becoming maintained a pulse following the *cargo-ization* of land. While professional futures had begun to dissipate, the potential of windfall negotiations strutted the contemporary moment. The new relations between mine and community demanded the expansive temporalities of refined expectation to be filled.

Hueveando, or 'fucking around', was the verb used to describe practiced modes of spending one's time amongst formal and informal economic drought; the filling of one's day. The town of Challhuahuacho attracted *huevons* from the communities each day, who deemed the rural *campo* oppressively boring. They could be spotted on the streets, in the plaza, conversing or checking their phones, always yelling out to one another as they passed; *Que haces? Estas hueveando de nuevo?* (What are you up to? Fucking around again?). In such instances, it was most often used as a term of jest; of light-hearted ridicule. Originally designed to describe the act of being foolish or lazy, it had come to constitute, in the majority of instances, a term of shared marginality; a forced comradery of Las Bambas shadows. Yet, despite the model *huevon* who loitered and chatted amongst the streets of Challhuahuacho, *hueveando* itself was open and subject to individual proclivities and temperaments. All of my trusted informants practiced their own versions.



[**Figure 19.** ***Ernesto and Erick*** **hueveando** ***on the rooftop of their building in Challhuahuacho*****. Source: author.**]

Ernesto, born and raised in Lima, longed for forms of connectivity which he felt deprived of in rural Apurímac. On a corner of Challhuahuacho's main thoroughfare, 15 meters from the building in which he rented, was an internet café. For months, between June to October 2017, Ernesto would pass entire days in a plastic seat near the glass doors of the entrance, the large black headphones of the computer stall holding a cap over his face that obscured his appearance. Returning from Ccahuapirhua or another community to the west of the province, I could stop in at any time of day to find him engaged in the screen. I would sometimes pester him, inquiring as to whether he ate yet, while other times, exhausted myself, I would settle down beside him and fall into the trance of the monitor.

His primary activity was a game called Doxa which he often played online against a friend from the community of Chucuini who would join him in the internet café. Doxa was an online game similar to World of Warcraft that they would often wager on each afternoon, raising the stakes of their commitment and time. On other days, when he sat at the computer alone, Ernesto would devour videos on Youtube. In certain instances, he might watch clips on legal statutes relevant to *comunidades campesinas*, preparing himself for debates in community *asambleas*. At other times he would watch rap battles of famous emcees from various *barrios* in Lima, recorded on cell phones and posted online in the lead up to annual competitions in the

country's capital. While I scrolled through the highlights of various football and hockey matches that I missed the night before while sleeping in a community, he would interrupt my own online activities with excitement to draw my attention towards the style, cadence and skills of individuals he claimed to know from the *pueblos jovenes* (young towns)[60] of Lima. Ernesto would clean his bill each evening with the matriarch of the shop, using money from his sparse informal opportunities or that which he borrowed from his girlfriend on mornings when she was in a generous and patient mood.

Victor was an irregular participant at his brother's side, rapidly scrolling through his Facebook newsfeed on a computer, sending off frantic and repeated messages to names affixed with green dots that suggested 'availability'. However, he was far too restless to stay for afternoons on end in the café. Victor preferred being about town, seen and heard, engaging in masculine performances of risk. I would find him at the fuseball tables near *el ruedo de toros* (bullring) in Challhuahuacho, playing or watching matches with other young men from the communities. He passed hours wagering in *sapo*, a *cantina* game of disk tossing, or spent his scant earnings on slot machines in the various casinos around Challhuahuacho, losing far more than he won. He maintained a network of associates from the communities of Chucuini and Chicñahui, also born and raised in Lima, who he forged friendships with while working construction during the boom of the mine's construction. They played new *regaton* tracks on a portable boom box that they carried with them, songs passed to them through Facebook, frequenting the pool halls and road side *emoliente* carts of Challhuahuacho.

Thirty metres further west of the internet café where Ernesto fucked around was a front business that advertised medicinal cures and futurist readings by dubious spiritualists. Yet, *El Chaman* was first and foremost a *cantina*, its large advertorial tarp covering a concrete entrance that opened towards a square of boozy afternoons and evenings. I was a frequent client of beer at the *cantina*, and even more frequent when I recognized it was the local and regular haunt for members of Ccahuapirhua's *junta directiva*. Oscar, Diego, John and Gustavo continuously stopped off at the watering hole following their early mornings at the municipal building in Challhuahuahco, or after the hours they spent in internet cafes typing up formal requests to corporate and government officials. Given that their administrative responsibilities for the community limited time available for informal economic activity they often used political

[60] *Pueblos jovenes* was the term given to the explosion of shanty towns which encircled major Peruvian cities during the 20th century as rural to urban migration escalated.

connections as sponsors. Accordingly, when I stopped in, thirsty and fresh off transport, I would often find Oscar or Diego in a 'meeting'. They may be with a bureaucrat from the municipality or a potential investor from another province who knew about artisanal mining (more on this in Chapter 6), but the formalities of business did not last long, drinking becoming a release and event of its own, a form of *hueveando*, lasting well beyond 'work' hours.

Other locales of *hueveando* found throughout Challhuahuacho included various 5-aside artificial *canchas* (football pitches). They were built primarily as a less formalized service for MMG contractors who descended from the mine every evening, trading in their steel-toed boots for turf shoes, many passing the nightly hours of their two-week shifts in the highlands under the pitch floodlights. While the hourly rates were exorbitant during the lucrative timeframe of contractors' leisure, they were cut in half during the morning or afternoon and youthful gangs of *comuneros* took advantage. Erick, Sueño, John, and Renán, were individuals from Ccahuapirhua uninterested in computer games and long cantina drinking sessions who organized regular matches throughout the boomtown. Often, teams would be established along community lines and were highly competitive, at times brutal, as animosities and grudges carried on between matches and payment for the *cancha* was normally footed by the losing team. They played and organized games regularly, adding further variation and complexity to the possibilities and breath of *hueveando* for those who remained in Cotabambas, enduring the low-spillage realities of the enclave, and tentatively holding onto mineral optimism. They were all, in some form or another, moving through and amongst the new temporal determinants of the Bambas enclave, *waiting* for negotiations and the better life they desired.

Indeed, the theme of 'waiting' has emerged as a prominent and still growing literature amongst anthropologists studying lives on the margins of neoliberal capitalism across the globe (see Gaibazzi 2015; Hage 2009; Harms 2013; Honwana 2012; Mains 2007; 2011; Masquelier 2013; Ralph 2008). In the words of Craig Jeffrey, the academic 'discovery' of waiting can be traced to the 'liberalization of national economies in the global South, often in the context of donor led structural adjustment programs, and parallel shifts in the organization of North economies, [which] have pitched people into situations of limbo' (2008, 954). The restructuring of economies, the retreat of the state, and the increasing dominance of capital-intensive corporations, have increased social exclusion, pushing more and more individuals to the margins of economic flows and opportunities, often enough rendering them 'surplus' to neoliberal production and the circulation of commodities (Jeffrey 2010; see also Ferguson 2015; Li 2017; Ferguson and Li 2018). In its broad stokes, this burgeoning literature demonstrates how the

restrictions of material and financial flows have had direct, chronic, and callous consequences for temporal experiences; for aspirant individuals seeking to enact particular life projects.

The mining enclave, one could argue, reflects luminously in the mirror of the literature's fundamental claims. As the maturation of resource-making *deprofessionalizes* futures and economic 'spillages' for informal hustle diminish, the millennial loot of land forces individuals to 'wait'. Social becoming is put on hold and the day is left to be filled in the meantime. Yet, despite this, one must not be tempted to stop there; to leave or present 'waithood' or indeed *hueveando* as some pure form or totalizing force. The realities and politics of waiting continue to relate and be shaped by the micro-politics of locales, slipping beyond dominant structures, where claims on people and time exceed capitalist determinants. Throughout Cotabambas, the temporality of the mining enclave is not only dictated by corporate expansion and land sale, but also the social obligations of communities and rural ritual. This chapter continues on with this in mind, returning to the community from the boomtown hotbed of *hueveando*, to explore how *campesino* politics and norms mingled with millennial waiting, and the consequences this would have for imagined futures and their remnants.

Performing the 'responsible *comunero*'

The great stresses of maturation and 'production' had, in many ways, undermined the vibrancy and aesthetics of Ccahuapirhua in comparison to my early days of field work. As stated above, with the completion of the school and the ill-defined (seemingly forever unknown) arrival of the next royalty project, many community members had returned to the cities of Lima and Arequipa in search of work, some even venturing to *Puerto Maldonado*, the capital of the department of *Madre Dios* where informal activities in illegal gold mining were plentiful. Those young men who 'remained' had oriented their practices of *hueveando* to the town of Challhuahuacho, some renting rooms, others commuting back and forth more of less daily. The community, which I continued visiting, had become enveloped by a quiet and solemn atmosphere. Women continued maintaining the house, their anxious conversation circulating prospects for their husbands and children. While a few elders continued to occupy their days herding sheep, a number of *tios* could be found watching DVD's in any house with a television, chewing coca, and passing the odd night with a bottle of *caña*. They complained that the explosion in prices caused by the mine drastically limited their mobility and so made due with their own rooted and rural forms of 'fucking around'.

Yet, despite the growing dominance of *hueveando*, rural and urban, vitality would be dramatically restored in Ccahuapirhua for days at a time in accordance with communal obligations. The *sembra* (late September to late November) and harvest of crops (June) entailed the labor of the entire community for days at a time; men churning earth with deft skill and rapid pace, women trailing their activities, dropping seed or collecting produce. Following the harvest, families also gathered in the *puna* on early afternoons, stomping piles of frozen *papa* (which had been left at altitude overnight) with their bare feet, forcing out water to create *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes - a highland staple which rarely spoiled). Non-agricultural work parties were also irregularly organized throughout the year. Some were family-based labor exchanges (*ayni*) - brothers, sisters, and cousins helping in the construction of a house for a hefty meal and the unspoken promise of reciprocation in the future. Larger communal work days would be coordinated by *la junta directiva* for community maintenance (*faenas*). During my time in the field I participated in a number of these *faenas*: reconstructing *el ruedo de toros* (bull ring) as Ccahuapirhua prepared for its *aniversario* (anniversary - more on this in chapter 4); the digging of a moat around a communal storage building to prevent pools of water from destabilising the adobe foundation; repairing the makeshift road along Chucruni mountain towards the *puna* and communal *chacras* to ensure the safe passage of the community's flatbed truck. Over the early months of fieldwork, observation and participation during these events constantly seemed to reaffirm rural ritual as a vibrant mode of re-enforcing structures and bonds of communal effort and relationality. Their place within the politics of mining and the temporalities of the enclave demands attention.



[**Figure 20.** ***Fixing the road leading to community*** **chacras** ***during a*** **faena** ***in Ccahuapirhua.*** **Source: author.**]

Within classical Andean texts, ceremonial activities have been a particular preoccupation for anthropologists (see for example Allen 2002; Bastien 1978; Bolin 1998; Gose 1994; Harris 1978; Millones 1975). Prior to the critiques that emerged in the 1990s (referred to as the 'revisionist period' by Franciso Ferreira 2016), ritual, both cosmological and social, formed a bedrock of ethnographic analysis on how communities throughout the Andes organized their lifeworlds. While many of these early accounts of *la sierra* 'othered' Peruvian peoples and situated their realities as outside or beyond the contemporary - too often aspiring for untainted whispers from time immemorial (see introduction) - they cannot be tossed from the shelf nor denied academic consideration. If the politics of representation within these texts can be critiqued, the data itself was not fictitious.

Perhaps the most prominent of all classical texts is Billie Jean Isbell's account of rural life in the Ayacucho village of Chuschi, *To Defend Ourselves* (1978). Here rural ritual has been interpreted as a mode of retaining autonomy – of social and economic closure - to 'protect control over local territory from an impinging national economy' (1978, 19). While recognizing that 'closure' itself was a problematic proposition, the connections that Isbell draws between rural communal practices, tensions, and social change tied to the encroachments of a national economy deserves contemporary and comparative reflection. In particular, how did the extractive imperative and the maturation of resource-making bare down on *campesino* social and political norms in Cotabambas? In what ways did rural ritual push back, rupturing temporalities and *hueveando*, placing their own demands on individuals on the margins of the enclave? What dynamics existed between the two as futures stagnated in waithood?

The most frequent and recurring community event of 'rural ritual' was the bi-weekly *asamblea* (a democratic meeting of communal discussion and governance). Beginning early in the morning, *comuneros* emerged from their homes following breakfast, meandered across the plaza towards the tawny ridge which demarcated the southern limit of the community's main *caserio*. By 8 am a repetitive hum of *motos* crossed the Record river, twisting up the hill towards the community; young men returning from their days in Challhuahuacho. While each *asamblea* was initially organized around a pre-determined agenda, ranging from upcoming events to reports on prospective *obras* and forthcoming *faenas*, 'the floor' was always open; question and grievance periods knew no programme or schedule. Accordingly, *asambleas*, at times, lasted an entire day, spiralling afield of intention and revealing pressing concerns beyond any list prepared by *la junta directiva* seated on a bench before the crowd. Family and personal disputes were

frequent, the audience providing fuel to private grievance that had festered in solitude during the weeks that intersected the public forum. Often, many of these disagreements and arguments danced implicitly around claims of individual legitimacy; an increasingly fractious concept imbricated in identity, history, and comportment.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the strain and pertinence of return migrations to rural communities in the throes of a sluggish formalization process required customary standards for recognizing legal *comuneros*. Under the 1987 *Ley General de Comunidades Campesinas*, the privileged status of *comunero calificado* (qualified or official member) should be determined by the norms and statutes of individual communities, while also following elementary points of consensus: he/she must not live in another community; must have resided in the community for no less than five years; must be listed in the *libro de actas*,[61] etc. If a community member has not met the requirements for the status of *calificado*, they might be granted the position of *comunero integrado*, a transitory status that would lead to graduation, usually following five years of probation. It was through this process that the communities in Cotabambas established frameworks for registering and integrating individuals under the great stress of demographic swell that began in 2010.

Thus, the population of Ccahuapirhua was divided up and between *comuneros calificados* and *comuneros integrados* – the majority of the latter being *retornantes* or the spouses of *retornantes* whose five-year probationary period would soon be ending. Maintaining one's status and rights as a *comunero* (be that *calificado* or *integrado*) involved active participation in the community. One was expected to be present at all *faenas* and *asambleas*, or to support in organizational tasks when available. Should a *comunero* miss any of these events he or she would be expected to promptly pay their *faltas* (absentee fines) at the end of the month or prior to a community event which required funds. If a *comunero* chose to leave the community and take up residency in the city, as some had done following the onset of mineral 'production', they would be expected to perform community relations through financial donations; a sliver of their urban salary as goodwill. It was a monetary surrogate; a modicum of maintenance to sustain their *comunero* status.

For those who remained, incendiary debates on absenteeism, the price of fines, payment times, and whether an individual might send a representative on his or her behalf for community

[61] The *Libro de Actas* is a formalized record which not only lists registered members of the community but details and documents the 'minutes' of *asambleas* for communal record.

events occurred regularly during *asambleas*. On a monthly basis, at the beginning of the first communal meeting in Ccahuapirhua, the name of each *comunero* would be read aloud, followed by the number of accumulated strikes against his or her name. These publicized 'denouncements' offered a degree of humor as an individual's 'effort' and consideration for the community and its maintenance were laid bare by numerical tallies. Yet, more often, the dominating response was judgement; muffled admonishments, scoffs, and piercing glances towards those on momentary trial. Defences were at times proffered: family and monetary demands pushing individuals further and further afield of the community in search of opportunity and sustenance.

Such legal requirements underpinned a logic of 'evaluation' that could and would be cast in the direction of individuals in the community. And indeed, they were. As stated in the previous chapter, the particulars of land politics within the community rested upon claims of 'legitimacy': families deemed to have 'sacrificed' more for the community; those who had spent less time in the city; those who had worked particular hills or *chacras* with fewer migratory interruptions. It was an increasingly judgemental hierarchy, that, although rooted in legal statue and presenting a veneer of 'social reproduction', took on a life of its own amongst the tense, frustrating, low-labor realities of resource-making in maturation.

A new social norm was emerging, I would argue - that of the responsible and performative *comunero*: one who was always willing, or at the very least available, to participate amongst the thankless and tedious work of community obligation, and thus, legitimate his or her claims to the millennial payment that still circulated in tentative whispers – the unknown but impending arrival of the corporation for negotiations in compensation, professionalized labor placements, and business contracts. If legal status determined the *calificado* from the *integratdo*, the new realities, frustrations, and temporalities of copper production began to determine the legitimate *comunero* from the *huevon*.

Thus, the consequences of community obligation, familial tension, and censorious evaluations, entwined themselves with the practices of *hueveando*. This alloy complicated and contradicted precarious states of waithood. The fact was dramatically revealed to me one day when, arriving late to an *assemblea* and working my way through those seated on the knoll, shaking hands and passing on greetings, I taunted Victor in a voice too comfortable, too ignorant, and certainty too loud: 'Look at you finally back in the community! Did you get tired of *hueveando* in Challhua?' There were laughs and nudges from the crowd. Victor himself snickered, before tilting his chin and hiding his face under that shade of his billed hat. It was not until later that evening, when we were alone together, that Victor reprimanded me; an anger I

never saw him display to anyone:

'Why are you spreading my business around the community? Why are you telling people I am *hueveando* in Challhua*?*'

I apologized profusely, declaring it a joke in bad taste and timing. But it was an obvious indicator that he was feeling the pressure of eyes and ears upon him in the community. He was after all born in Lima, the house he built in Ccahuapirhua was unfinished, requiring him to sleep on a cot in his father's home when staying overnight in the community. Indeed, his inadequacy with the Andean foot plow and insecurity in *peasant* performance meant he only helped his father till a small family *chacra,* avoiding the larger communal labor groups during the planting season high above in the *puna.* His 'status' as an often absent *comunero* of Ccahuapirhua might only be buttressed by the belief that his days in Challhuahuacho were organized around the search for informal labor opportunities, providing for his father and injecting money into the community; not gambling and fucking around - taking his position in the community for granted. What might judgement day consist of when negotiations began and the loot of cargo was to be divvied out? Now that routes of professionalized labor had largely been closed off, the stakes and claims of land presented new demands for individuals still in search of the better life. It was a massive blunder by an anthropologist too eager for a laugh.

Following my initial fumbling with Victor's privacy, I received many more requests from *comuneros* to not divulge their whereabouts or activities to other community members that I might speak with throughout the day (recall this chapter's opening vignette). These requests were normally made while the individual was 'fucking around' in Challhuahuacho. Further still, I became increasingly pestered by individuals who wished to know about others; *Where is he at? What is he up to*? *Is he hueveando somewhere?* I was forced to insinuate that the demands of research had pushed me into other communities, and that I was not seeing or speaking with others from Ccahuapirhua as much as I would like. 'I don't know. The last time we spoke, he was looking for work', I often repeated. Returns to Ccahuapirhua for events and *asambleas* became a vexing balancing act, forced as I was into an awkward performance of my own, greeting each *comunero* as if I had not seen them for some time; acting as if we had not just shared beers, played football or surfed the web together the day before; white-lies that braced a tentative peace.

Thus, *hueveando* was not simply a recreational bi-product of resource-making's new temporalities, practiced by all in the open, but was an activity that was subject to the contradictions and emerging demands for rural respectability. The potential of being caught

'fucking around' by the wrong person (a fellow *comunero* of your own community) threatened reputational investment in returns and remaining. The *cargo-ization* of land, accordingly, pulled individuals into ironic and disparate directions: expectation of social becoming beyond the rural community *chacra* and a dependence on its legitimating performative potential. The consequences of this discordance played with and problematized imagined and foregone futures, creating and revealing cruel undertones below the surface of *hueveando*.

The gamble and the precarious futures of copper

Various trucks were parked in the plaza of Ccahuapirhua when we entered. There was no *faena* nor *asamblea* that day, but a participatory workshop to share and distribute information on changes that had been made and approved to the environmental impact assessment (EIA; more on this in chapter 5). A group of MMG employees in their orange and black jackets stood and sat around a table on their phones. There was a speaker, hooked up to a microphone and a box meant for written 'concerns'. Some *Ccahuapirhuanos* leafed through handouts that they had just received; pages of cartoon *campesinos* and corporate employees who conversed in bubble-speech. Yet, the majority of the men from the community huddled around a plastic easel which supported various laminated charts. Ernesto and I joined them. The group had skipped beyond the various sheets formulated in bullet points of particular modifications to mining operations. Instead, they homed in on two large maps. The first showed the delineation of community borders within the 'zone of influence', while the second highlighted the perimeters of mineral operations that MMG was scheduled to incorporate into its still expanding open pit.



[**Figure 21.** ***MMG's participatory meeting in Ccahuapirhua. Note the group of men anxiously examining the corporate map*****. Source: author.**]

For months now *comuneros* had been waiting for judicial rulings on northern demarcations with the communities of Cconccacca and Chicñahui. The 'land question' had become more and more pertinent amongst and within communities in waithood, where labor reserves built-up and projects remained clogged amongst bureaucratic paperwork (see chapter 2). Staring at the maps which elucidated corporate interpretations of borders – between communities and mineral operations - Ernesto's interest shifted from pre-developed questions about consultation and transparency to territory claims and expansion. An engineer from the mine had come over to join us and answer questions. Ernesto turned to him and began to interrogate the meaning of the second map.

Ernesto: So this is the current area of operation? (Points to the dark purple line demarcating the perimeters of operation)

MMG Engineer: Yes. This is the land purchased from *Fuerabamba* and *Huancuire*. It contains two of major copper *yacimientos* (deposits) that MMG is interested in exploiting.

E: And it is already purchased?

MMG: Yes.

E: And for how long will the mine be working within this area?

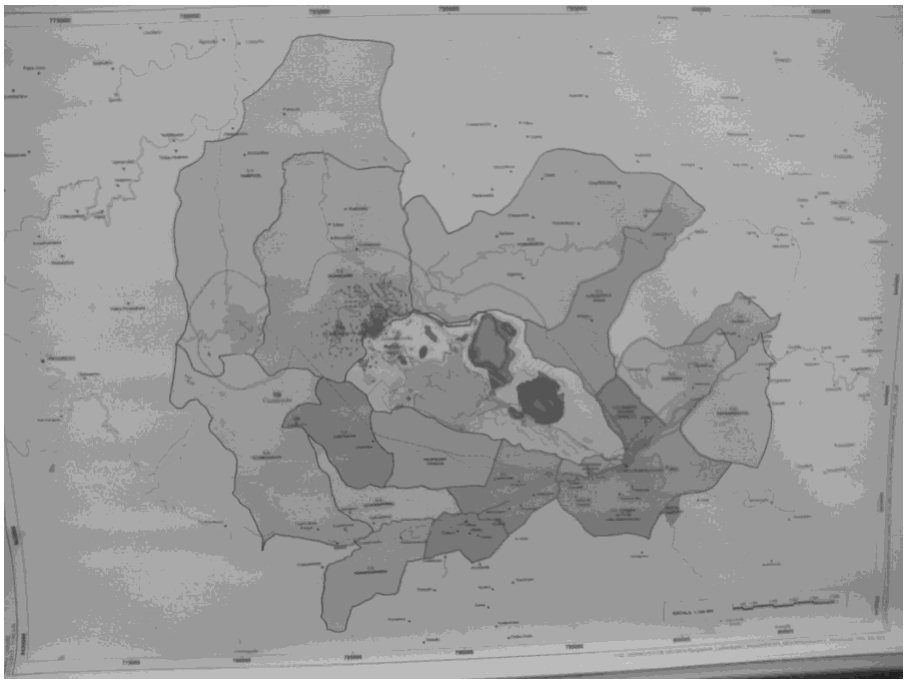
MMG: It is impossible to say, but it could take up to 20 years to fully exploit the deposits.

E: But there is more copper here in the mountains of Ccahuapirhua. And much of our community is within the concession. When will you expand into our territory?

MMG: Again, it is impossible to say. Perhaps someday in the future.

E: But no time soon?

MMG: Technically, as I said, we have all the territory we need for now.



[**Figure 22.** ***The corporate map delineating community borders, mining operations, and potential expansion*****. Source: author.**]

It was at this moment that another employee, who was listening from the periphery, interjected, stating that there was no reason to worry; that they were already in the process of exploring mineral content throughout the entirety of the concession (of which Ccahuapirhua was a part). It all seemed too late and imprecise though.

I immediately recognized the source and pertinence of Ernesto's line of questioning, connecting it as I did to the report Erick had delivered in his rented room weeks prior; indeed, to all those other whispers and rumors that had mentioned the impending expansion of the mine. The inflated spirits of the card game that day, and many days like it, were now on the precipice of collapse. While expectations spanned a plethora of concerns within communities - from projects and infrastructure to employment and business opportunities - the sale of land remained the most abiding and desirous end-game. Indeed, it was generally considered a key negotiation tool for more than large compensation packages, but also for preferential treatment in futures dealings with the corporation; a route in addressing all concerns, from professionalized labor to service provision. It legitimated the harsher realities of waithood, sustained forms of yearning, and provided the endurance necessary in maintaining life projects and social becoming throughout Cotabambas. The spectre of dissipation now hung over the imagined futures of the community.

I caught a ride back into Challhuahuacho with Ernesto after the reunion in the community had fizzled away. The return trip was marked by silence. We did not joke and laugh as we usually did. I wished to respect his right to process the revelations made today. He spoke only in rhetorical forms, not so much to me but to the world: 'They are lying to us'; 'They will never buy land from Ccahuapirhua'. When we arrived in town he parked his bike near his room and disappeared into the internet café, presumably to 'fuck around'.

The event beckons us to break down *hueveando* - or forms and practices of Cotabamban 'waiting' – and resource temporalities slightly further. It goes without saying that waiting is a mundane human experience that occurs throughout the run of a day in all walks of life (see Lefebvre 2008). 'We all wait' as Craig Jeffrey blatantly states (2008, 954). What makes the type of waiting - that has captured the attention of so many anthropologists today working in the Global South – different and worthy of academic scrutiny is its ill-defined and unknown termination point. Waiting, in the words of Craig Jeffrey, is becoming 'chronic' (Jeffrey 2008). Time, as experienced in and amongst these spaces of exception, becomes 'oppressively abundant' (Wafer 2017, 412). While Marxist theorists and critics of capitalism described the colonization of time in accordance to the rhythms and social life of the factory floor decades ago (Adorno 1991; Postone 1993; Thompson 1967), the temporality of peoples on the margins of contemporary extractive capitalism are anything but organized. It is what Wafer refers to as the 'unstructured time of the neoliberal economy' that bears down upon those existing outside its rhythms (2017, 410). Echoing Jeffrey (2008) and Wafer (2017), Bruce O'Neill claims that the boredom associated with the waiting of homeless populations in Bucharest is of the existential variety (as opposed to the mundane forms of boredom and waiting that we all encounter daily), becoming something persistent (rather than passing) 'and cruel (rather than petty)' (2017, 16).

Yet, it is not only the abundance and potential persistency of waiting amongst the maturing Bambas frontier which alone invites cruelty, but the grotesque deformation of original affects it produces; of hope offered and then retracted. The existential threat of chronic precarity in Cotabambas, of time that may never be ruptured in the ways one had hoped or imagined, forces marginalized individuals to ask and endure uncomfortable personal debates; questions on return and departure; of continuing to perform rural respectability or abandoning its precepts; of gambles wagered on Peru's extractive development model. It, I would argue, fractures imagined futures (see chapter 1), positing multiple trajectories before communities and individuals, where once only social becoming via professionalization had been envisioned amongst the expectations of pre-maturation. Original forms of mineral optimism, encapsulated within the allure of

mineralized mountains, become challenged, contradicted and dissociated through the *cargo-ization* of land - and its attendant demands of *campesino* performance - that may never arrive.

It was only a few days later, following my dinner in Challhuahuacho, that I walked down the long dirt thoroughfare running the length of the boomtown. Rain had granted respite from the dust thrown up by passing trucks. Yet, as drizzle intensified, verging on downpour, people began to huddle under the tarps and overhangs of buildings never quite finished. Seeking reprieve, I slid open the glass doors of a casino a few 'blocks' from *la plaza de armas* and entered. I had been here many times before. It was a central site of *hueveando*. The lights of arcades were held back by a cloud of cigarette smoke, leaving the gamblers as dark shadows. As my eyes adjusted, I entered further and found Ernesto and Victor playing the slots along the wall to my left. They greeted me, pulling on cigarettes with their left hands, slapping the 'spin button' with their rights. Victor had struck a rare vein of luck - 'up' nearly 100 soles (35 dollars) and promising to buy beers for us afterwards. Other gamblers entered the arcade, placed a few speculative coins in unattended machines only to deem the electronic rhythms vindictive this evening, leaving as quickly as they arrived. I sat down beside Ernesto to watch him play, pass the time, and *huevear* until the rain stopped.

All of the arcade games, though governed by the same rules of spinning columns and rewarding geometry, have their own 'motif' which is manifested in the signifying images that dance across the screen. Victor's machine - with '*Chaman*' written above the monitor - consists of jaguars, dream catchers, and feathered 'Indians'. Ernesto's slot machine is themed by a cartoonish white man ('El gringo'). According to the rules of the game, if the man with the slick-backed hair and bowtie is matched with the appropriate amount of gold sacks, briefcases, and credit cards, the gambler collects 10 free turns to accumulate further spinning credit and winnings. The suspense of waiting on his arrival grants Ernesto with an opportunity to humorously engage my understandings of the politics of contemporary Cotabambas, and in particular our meeting with MMG engineers earlier that week.

'*El gringo es de MMG* (The white man is from MMG)', Ernesto states after the character's serious face rests on the screen for the first time. When subsequent spins do not produce the required images of wealth (leading to the flashing lines of 'jackpot'), Ernesto turns to me and states: '*El gringo no quiere mis chakras; El gringo no quiere mis corales* (The gringo does not want to buy my fields; the gringo does not want to buy my corrals)'. The tension is ruptured by our laughter. Here, the political drama of community relations with Las Bambas is transposed onto the gambling screen; a common contingency struck in the dramas of expectation.

The small politics of inclusion and exclusion are washed away to reveal the one true gold mine that the majority hold on to – the selling of land to the corporation. Interpretations of the fickle, speculative, and millennial nature inherent to waiting in the shadows of Las Bambas is channeled towards humor, leaving its tragic and unfortunate undertones at a distance. It is an acquired skill that *hueveando* both cultivates and seeks to avoid (more on this later).

We do eventually leave the casino. Both the pockets of Ernesto and Victor are weighted with winnings, their spirits floating a little bit higher than usual. They drag me forth to a drinking den and insist on paying for two litres of beer and some loose menthol cigarettes. We drink and chat and laugh. As intoxication creeps forth, so too do somber reflections. Ernesto, the more emotional of the brothers, thinks of his father alone in Ccahuapirhua. His eyes become misty as he is gripped by guilt, feeling unable to properly provide for the old man during this time of scarcity; 'I can't be sending him money every day'. And then, at once, shifting blame, he begins to admonish his *viejo* and exonerate himself.

When his father returned to Ccahuapirhua in 2010, he left Ernesto in Lima to continue his schooling. However, before Ernesto was able to complete his education, let alone move on to the university level as he had wished, he was beckoned to Apurímac by his father who did not want to leave his son alone in the big city forever. The affects of early-staged resource-making – mineral optimism - impregnating the imagination and emboldening the patriarch. Selestino attempted to sweeten the transition by telling his son that there was work and that the schooling was improving in the area. Ernesto, as he told me many times in the past, expressed the disappointment that greeted him upon reaching Cotabambas. His arrival to the countryside of his ancestry sedimented in his mind as a clear juncture within his personal history and trajectory. As we hand a bottle of beer around he laments the 'what-ifs' of remaining behind in Lima. He imagines the foregone prospects of obtaining a degree in electrical studies, buying his own home and securing stable employment in Lima. As he begins to cry he tells me of nights in Ccahuapirhua, fueled by *caña*, where drunkenness nearly brought he and his father to blows. He admits cursing Selestino for having brought him here. He remembers screaming at him one night, 'it is because of you that I am not a professional'. I did not know what to say. Victor began to tear up as well. We sat in silence for some time, before calling it a night.

It was a clear and pressing encapsulation of enclave outcomes; of states of waithood, existential questions, fracturing futures and the pernicious emotions that lay behind the seemingly joyful art of *hueveando***.** As the temporality of ill-defined yearning unfolded, its progressions and rhythms escaped a predictable linearity. Time was not simply 'over abundant',

but impregnated with receding and illusive forms of expectation. All the while he was required – demanded - to participate and perform *campesino* obligations in order to sustain the tentative temporality of hope; a drastic discordance from the other life he might have led in Lima - those 'what-ifs' and foregone opportunities of the past which now seemed so much more concrete, graspable, and tempting. In many ways, his moment of weakness within the cheerless Challhuahaucho cantina drew forth the spectre of 'despair'; the emotional bedfellow of waithood and the maturing affect of resource-making.

Despair, disconnect, and escapsism

For more than a week, I did not see Ernesto and Victor. I had travelled to the eastern communities of Chila and Choaquere to carry out some interviews. I sat on benches outside adobe houses listening to *comuneros* complain about the absence of work and the vexing anxiety some felt on whether to return to the 'city' or not in search of employment. Both communities had sold land at a pittance to Xstrata years prior for the construction of Nueva Fuerabamba – the shining citadel resting between them, alluring and distant. They claimed to be in the process of re-negotiating the sale but had no idea if or when an agreement might be struck. In the evenings, following my interviews, I passed through the venues of *hueveando* in Challhuahuacho – the football pitches, the pool halls, the cantinas – catching up with friends and participating in the realities of waithood beyond the *faena* and *asamblea*.

In time, I received an unexpected call from Ernesto inviting me to accompany he and Victor to their cousin's house in Nueva Fuerabamba. They had spent the previous night in the concrete suburb drinking and discussing a potential business venture which they hoped their cousin Julio would be willing to sponsor. The plan was to formalize a service business that shifted the used chemical containers from his company yard to Cusco – those we had stacked previously (described above). *Fuerabambino* dollars were attractive and pivotal. They had left the reunion optimistic, but also drunk, and so were returning this morning to fetch Ernesto's rickety *moto*. They knew researchers were normally not permitted entrance to the community but were eager to provide political patronage for my safe passage in a gesture of friendship.

Ostensibly, I was invited along to enjoy *cuy* (guinea pig), a highland delicacy, and to witness the level of affluence and comfort the indemnitees of Fuerabamba had achieved in their 'successful' dealings with the corporation. Victor gaily dragged me through his cousin's house, counting the rooms and floors, showing me the 'modern' kitchen, before jumping on the leather couches of the *sala*, debating whether to first indulge the stereo system or the flat screen T.V. He

narrated his mini tour of the house in a comparative manner, juxtaposing the amenities in front of us, to the bare adobe home in Ccahuapirhua where I often slept with his father. There was a genuine excitement to him, one that reflected his pride of influence in being able to carry a researcher beyond the guarded borders of the suburb, and also, it seemed, a personal (though precarious) anticipation of his own.

Lunch was served promptly. I fielded many of the curious questions that the anthropologist evokes amongst new acquaintances. As we finished our meal, a digestive silence enveloped the dining room, punctuated by inquiries about the state of Ccauapirhua, as my hosts lost interest in my presence: what is the community's next project? When will it arrive? Who will run for the presidency next year? They were predictable questions tied to the trajectories of extractive development, a ritualized form of 'keeping up' between members of different communities. It was only just before we readied to clean up our plates that Victor's cousin turned to him and asked: 'And when will you sell your land? When will you be relocated?'

Victor did not look up from his plate, picking at the skeleton of the *cuy* with an air of nonchalance. 'Soon', he replied. 'In a few years.' I chose not to make eye contact for fear of embarrassing him. Not much time had passed since the troubling revelations during the participatory meeting in Ccahuapirhua, nor our tearful evening in the *cantina*. I kept my head down for a while longer, fearing my stare would be taken as challenging the veracity of his statement, or simply revel to me a face contorted by poorly veiled despair.

Indeed, despair was an augmenting affect of the moment which the ethnographer was incapable of avoiding. It was not uncommon for friends to breakdown in my presence and - through tear laden eyes and in trembling sentences - divulge their fear of being unable to maintain themselves and their families while here in Cotabambas. During particular nights in Ccahuapirhua I was privy to *caña*-fueled drinking sessions with certain *tios* who cried and debated the sources of Peruvian corruption which hindered extractive-led development. In other instances, pesticide was exchanged for *caña*; suicide attempts which elided conversational acknowledgement. Theft was another reality on the rise amongst the region. The PREB institution in Chucuini, a corporate gift for sustainable development (more on this in the next chapter), had already been ransacked by locals. An emergency meeting had also occurred in Ccahuapirhua when it was feared that a particular individual had been trying to break into the newly constructed school under the dark of night to steal and re-sell recently delivered computers. Most pressing and jarring were those grave and informal meetings where I would be called aside by a friend or acquaintance to field sincere queries on the potential of attaining a visa

to Canada; questions on businesses or sponsors I might be able to call upon in the challenging process of immigration to an increasingly gated country - earnest endeavours in discovering and attaining futures beyond the troubled avenues to social becoming now on offer in the shadows of the mine. Despair was on the rise, consuming days and thoughts as individuals waited for projects and negotiations.

One of the most lasting and significant contributions from James Ferguson's *Expectations of Modernity* (1999) was his conceptualization of 'abjection' as an affect of development processes after the heydays of modernization theory. Ferguson adapts the term from Kristeva (1982) to illuminate the conditions and lived experience of Zambians along the industrious copper belt in the 1980s as economic decline mocks and dismembers promises of progress. For Ferguson, abjection captures the 'process of being thrown aside, expelled, or discarded' (1999, 236). Stated further, abjection is not only 'expulsion but also debasement and humiliation' (1999, 26).

When Ferguson developed the idea of 'abjection' he did so in association with what he termed the 'global disconnect' (1999, 234). Just as dependency theorists had spoken of the active relation between states of development and underdevelopment, Ferguson was attempting to draw the correlation further to understand processes of connection and disconnection. What his Zambian case shows about 'globalization' is just 'how important disconnection is to a "new world order" that insistently presents itself as a phenomenon of pure connection' (1999, 238). Ferguson is not alone in the emphasis he places on 'disconnection' bounding through neoliberal transformations and capitalist expansion (see for example, Gardner 2012). Many anthropologists and philosophers, often working under the unruly rubric of 'globalization', have attempted to hash out and pin down further the 'global disconnect', elucidating its features and relations. The majority of these ethnographers and theorists have posited this disconnect as the pernicious and increasing disjuncture between the circulation of desire and opportunity (Bauman 1998; Beck 2000; Cohen 2006; Lucht 2012). [62] It is a useful leaping point in further unpacking the experiences and politics *hueveando* in the shadows of the Bambas copper project.

[62] As image flows, opportunity hops, creating illusive and divergent outcomes. As stated by Lucht (2012), 'the great paradox of late modernity is that inclusion and exclusion both accelerate simultaneously' (67) leading to globalization 'reaching all corners of the world, but only as a promise of wealth' [(86); see also Commaroff and Comaroff 2000; Weiss 2002). Certain other ethnographers have taken theory to specificity, grounding the concept of disconnect in various locales of the globe – Bresnier in Tonga (2011); Vigh in Guinea-Bissao (2008); Piot in Togo (2010).

While elements of 'global' disconnection can certainly be identified in Cotabambas, the cruel and chronic threat of despair was first and foremost grounded in, I would argue, an 'extractive disconnect': personalized and acute dissociations between image and reality; gross provincial inequities (between communities and individuals; e.g. *Fuerabambinos*); stark and inflexible moral orders for development prospects; and ultimately, the drastic and increasing discordance between the promise of resources and the residuals offered through mature processing. The affective shift, from mineral optimism to despair, which encapsulated extractive disconnection, I would argue, amounted to smoldering crises in social becomings. Waiting, through the maturation of resource-making, constituted extraction's abiding power for both promise and redundancy. The harsh and multiple temporalities which underwrote these crises in social becoming, invite us to push beyond the texture and production of *hueveando* and to engage its politics.

When Ernesto had broken down in tears, describing in detail the frictional relationship with his father and the immensity of felt despair which consumed him, I could only offer an arm around his shoulder. I did not probe and instead endured the silence that ensued as an act of respect. Yet, I could not leave the moment alone forever. I desired to explore it further. A few weeks later I found him and Victor fucking around in his rented room. Our card table was cluttered with dirty dishes. The two brothers were sprawled out on the thin mattress, propping their heads up with dirty laundry and a few blankets. Victor surfed whatsapp, chuckling at memes, turning every so often to show us the captioned images. I sat on a plastic stool facing the television that Ernesto had recently purchased with borrowed money from his girlfriend. He had splurged 5 *soles* (1.2 GBP) on a 24-hour promotional wifi offer from the cellular network *Claro* so as to avoid spending more at the internet café across the road. We watched an eclectic range of youtube videos, each person taking turns to show some of their new favorites.

When the signal cut out for a brief moment, I took the opportunity to return to the tearful night. I asked him, perhaps in too direct a manner, whether he was often haunted by these feelings of despair, of foregone possibilities, of a life and future in crisis. I was surprised to see him chuckle. 'Por supuesto!' (Of course!). He continued with composure, detailing his sleepless nights, how these thoughts could gnaw away at the mind if left to its own devices. Again, he re-iterated that this is one of the reasons he moved out of his house in Ccahuapirhua, where *hueveando* was difficult and existential boredom and waiting loomed larger. And then, without my prompting, he turned the questions onto me, drawing the analytical lines for the ethnographer himself. 'Why do you think I am always in the internet café? Why do you think I needed to buy

this T.V.?', he pushed me. 'I cannot be going out every day begging for work. You can only take so much rejection.' As if sensing my shame – the fact I seemed to be making him write the challenging notes of ethnographic interpretation for me - he pushed further, driving the point home beyond himself: 'Why do you think Oscar wastes away in the *cantina*? Why do you think my father spends the money I send him on *caña*?'. Thankfully, the internet signal returned, alleviating my humiliation, and we slipped back into the glare of the television, uncertain whose turn it was to select a video.

Ernesto's direct statements that afternoon beg us to consider seriously how *hueveando* relates to resource temporalities, waiting, despair, and crises in social becoming amongst the extractive enclave. Scholars who have taken the aspects of exclusion seriously have been forced to make sense of the activities that occupy states of waithood (various forms of 'fucking around' found throughout the global margins). Ralph (2008) contends that tea pouring groups and ceremonies carried out by unemployed youth in Senegal provide opportunities to display craft and proficiency and thus re-value abundant time in socially productive ways. Jeffrey (2010) asserts that the formation of new political strategies becomes the agential product of South Asians waiting between graduation and career. While Dawson (2014) and Wafer (2017) see the 'occupation' and 'loitering' of street corners in Johannesburg as 'deliberate' and a 'practiced art' of doing nothing. These works have placed wrinkles in the representations of capital's margins, refusing the tendency to flatten, while also demonstrating the ways that exclusion itself is refracted and acted upon across the world.

Yet, in wishing not to minimalize marginal activities such as hustling, loitering, petty trading and even tea ceremonies, these works verge on pushing too much in the opposite direction: emphasizing agency at the expense of marginalization; cultural relativism and multiple modernities drifting towards apolitical depictions. In seeking to nuance marginalized experiences so as to discover the texture and moorings of exclusion, many of these works risk recreating asymmetrical power relations through representation; revealing the writer's angst more than his or her interlocutor's; celebrating quotidian action and side-stepping the spectre of despair and abjection. Perhaps there can be a fruitful fusing of the two.

Certainly, *hueveando* does entail some of the productive and agential aspects that other authors have associated with 'killing time' (Ralph 2008) or 'actively waiting' (Hage 2009). It is, in the words of Höjdestrand, an integral process of a 'makeshift humanness' – a way of 'manipulating, negotiating, and improvising a position […] deprived of the basic preconditions

for a sense of human worth' (2009, 2). One would be correct in acknowledging that *hueveando* (from drinking beers, to playing football, to surfing the web), structures days and injects them with agency. One might even go so far as to celebrate them as examples of 'existential reciprocity', where a football or an intoxicant, a computer screen or a deck of cards, grants the individuals a sense of mastery over the world that more often than not seems to always be acting upon them (see Jackson 2011; Lucht 2012; Vigh 2009). This is undeniably tied up into the politics of fucking around.

However, the emotional outbursts and tears which ruptured so many of these seemingly innocent and agential moments - highlighting crises in social becoming and hinting towards darker interior debates - forces one to take seriously the foundational elements of despair produced by the temporal and disconnecting aspects of resource-making's maturation. Rather than nuance the more superficial optics of *hueveando*, the importance of its politics lies in connecting strategy and negotiation to its hidden underbelly of anguish. Keeping Ernesto's blunt admission very close at hand – 'I fuck around to forget; to occupy my mind' – the concept of 'escapism' becomes important.

Certain scholars falling under the umbrella of 'waithood' have avoided cultural relativistic traps, instead placing the idea of distraction at the core of their analysis. Schielke (2008; 2015), looking at the hopes and frustrations of village youth in Egypt, views the activities of café sessions, playing and watching soccer, long walks and internet sessions, through the prism of escape. Hashish, according to one interlocutor, is perhaps the purest form of travelling beyond the monotony and emptiness of waiting and killing time: 'when you get high your worries fly away and are replaced with good thoughts. It's like living in two worlds, one where you have ideas, your thoughts run freely, you laugh and feel good, and this one we live in' (2015, 40). Bruce O'Neill argues that the homeless of Bucharest, tossed aside by neoliberal (post-communist) Romania, must constantly be on the cognitive move, in search of 'mental spaces' of respite, often enough achieved through 'addiction, fantasy, and eroticism' (2017, 17). Even Pierre Bourdieu's early anthropological work on the Kabyle in Algeria, written long before abjection and the global disconnect entered into academic discussions of globalized forms of marginalization, spoke of 'escape into daydreams and fatalistic resignation' as the preferred outlet of despair for sub-proletarians viewing the 'modern sector' of Algerian cities from the shadows (Bourdieu 1979, 62).

All of which is to say - and re-affirm - that agential strategies along asymmetrical forms of power cannot and should not escape escapism. Distraction in and of itself speaks importantly

to the fundamental aspects of despair - the increasingly dominant affect of resource-making in Cotabambas - and the cruel and ill-defined temporalities that structure lives on the margins of contemporary mining. As development outcomes worked their way through millennial trajectories and threatened projects of social becoming with chronic crises, *hueveando* can be argued to have become a particular stop-gap between the disconnection of expectations and realities – of aspirations and opportunities - that extractive-led development came to constitute at the local level; diverging and dissipating imagined futures (Chatper 1). At once, an induced form of temporal experience, on the other hand, a mechanism of maintaining endurance for receding glimpses of opportunity and hope. It tempered overt mobilization against the maturation of resource-making, while maintaining a smoldering core of frustration that might, at any point, alight in protest, riddling Peru's newspaper columns once more with declarations of another *conflicto minero*.

Conclusion

Traversing the dark corridor of the unfinished Challhuahuacho building, starting my mornings with an increasingly ritualized rendezvous, I consistently felt betwixt and between. If I had found much initial enjoyment in the card games I had begun playing with Ernesto, Victor and friends following the construction of the school in Ccahuapirhua, I could not get carried away in laughter and revelry; uncertainty and troubling questions lurked, given what I knew about personal histories and desired futures. While the cards were sprayed across the table, humor did not stand alone, but was dispersed amongst questions on work, local politics, land rumors, and long silences as well. Ernesto and Victor were but two of many 'fucking around' time and despair in the shadows of the now 'productive' Bambas mine.

Indeed, as this chapter has demonstrated, the card games themselves were a social by-product of maturation. As professionalized horizons receded, and informal opportunities faded, the mining enclave became, not only spatialized, but re-temporalized; a relation between center and periphery that pulled experience and expectation from the past, into the present. The navigation of emerging development opportunity and moral orders that *cargo-ized* land, sustained elements of original mineral optimism, but weighted the present with concentrated dependence and precarity. Individuals, made to 'wait', filled their days and time through general and personal practices of *hueveando*. Yet, despite initial appearances, the sub-surface of 'fucking around' was infused by tensions and discontent, as both horizons and legitimacy became reworked amongst maturation. In the community of Ccahuapirhua, communal ritual and legality

had been refracted amongst the frustration of the moment, with demands now being placed on *huevons* to perform the tedious work of rural respectability. In turn, this redoubled importance placed on *campesino* performativity, mocking imagined futures which had animated so many returns to the region - where professional work beyond the *chacra* had stirred a progressive social imaginary. Thus, as I argue, *hueveando* was not simply a practiced mode of filling the elongated temporal structure of the mine's production cycle, but of escaping the troubling and multiple trajectories of futures that ran through the minds of my interlocutors when left idle. With social becoming in crises, despair had become the dominant affect of resource-making throughout the province, and one would do well to dance around it when possible.

Thus, as the temporalities of the Bambas enclave reveal the ongoing crises of social becoming throughout the province, important questions remain of how 'modern mining', in its celebrated laudatory overtures, addresses and interacts with this challenging search for the better life. The dissertation now shifts towards an interrogation of contemporary resource governance norms which have structured the 'newness' of mining today and legitimated the adoption of the extractive imperative in Peru. In what ways were 'responsibility', environmental regulation, and cultural rights interjecting on social becoming and its progressive drift towards crisis? What were their nominal roles and unintended consequences within the making of resources throughout Cotabambas? The next chapter begins this shift in investigation by delving into corporate practices of 'sustainable development'.

Chapter 4. Corporate Governance and the 'New Sustainable Indian'

There had been prominent national reportage on the dust enveloping communities along the main roads in and out of Challhuahuacho caused by the ceaseless traffic of a new mining zone. Its timing and environmental overtures had seemed strategic to my analytical gaze, coinciding as they did with not only the production phase of the Bambas project (more trucks now moving) but also the emerging crises in social becoming (see Chapter 3) - the complicated intricacies of expectation and waithood demanding forms of resonating articulation for the newspaper or NGO article. But today, walking the dirt road into Challhuahuacho from east to west, standing too close to it all, my critical ethnographic eye was impaired. The fine powder tossed up by corporate 4x4's and the passing *combis* headed in the direction of Abancay forced my chin down and demanded a consistent squint. I could not deny the realities of roving soot clouds, rising from the new transportation arteries of the region and causing havoc beyond the pebbled surface of the road. Given my temporary blindness, it was a fortuitous moment when I raised my head, leered forward, and saw the Bambas promotional billboard on the outskirts of the boomtown. It's gregarious reverberations – the smiles on the faces of the plastic sign - was jarring, initially, to my agitated state.



[**Figure 23.** ***Promotional billboard outside of Challhuahuacho.*** **Source: author.**]

‘We mine for progress’ the corporate slogan proclaimed. Above the mantra there was an image, centered on the billboard for those now entering the Cotabambas economic hub: drills of green produce, tall and healthy, reaching the knees of the four individuals standing amongst the dirt partitions. Their right hands raised and open, waving to the camera, gestures that contained a mixture of satisfaction and solidarity. ‘Andean Crop Project’, the heading detailed. ‘Progressive mining’, ‘strengthening the productive links’ of ‘*campesino* families’.

I was returning on foot, mid-afternoon, from a service at an evangelical church less than a kilometer outside of town. I had traversed this road many times before. It linked Challhuahuacho with the *campesino* communities to the south and east of the Bambas mine; Qeuena, Huancuire, Chucuini, Ccasa, Pararani, Huanacopampa, Chicñahui, and most important for me, Ccahuapirhua. However, the great distances between them meant I rarely, if ever, walked. On days when I returned from fieldwork in the communities I was usually picked up by the late evening combi, arriving from Abancay, that passed through Cconccacca at 9 pm. The encroachment of night and the weariness of my mind meant I noticed nothing in the passing vistas of the vehicle window, even as my head rested against it. At once this accounted for the growing jolt of the billboard before me. Yet, adding further dissociation to the image was the fact that the voices and lives I encountered in Ccahuapirhua and its neighboring communities seemed alien from the mounted photo on the side of the road. The progress presented by the advertisement – that of sustainable agricultural futures; embraced with a gracious smile – seemed to mock the anticipation, desires, and progressive imaginings that animated the shadows of resource-making. The contradictions enfolded into the billboard shifted my agitation from emotional to intellectual. *Beyond pulling rocks from the ground for export, what else did the corporation do and claim to do? Who was this promotional gesture for, given communities themselves needed no prompt as to what the corporation did and didn’t do? What techniques were deployed through specific claims of corporate progress that maintained communities as campesinos?*

Corporate social responsibility and Peruvian hinterlands

By the end of the 1980s, the global mining industry was in crisis. Though a decline in commodity prices was partially attributable, so too was an assault on the public image of corporate activities by social movements and NGOs, harnessing advancements in technology and

media (Kapelus 2002; Kirsch 2014, see also Keck and Sikkink 1998). Indeed, it was a global trend beyond mining and resource extraction alone that required a response. By the beginning of the 21st century transnational business was eagerly heralding a new era of 'humane capitalism' in response to popular recognition of rampant corporate power and profits bounding roughshod. As structural adjustment restricted government intervention, corporations themselves were increasingly called upon to 'fill the ethical void, as it were, left in the wake of neoliberal capitalism' (Dolan and Rajak 2016, 3). These 'ethical initiatives' – ranging from marketing schemes of certification and labeling to transparency measures and human rights standards – were to become 'ubiquitous, circulating new regimes of accountability and morality into global business practice' (Ibid 2016, 1). 'Corporate social responsibility' became both a buzzword and an unavoidable expanse of 'real' practices penetrating all corners of an increasingly globalized economy.

Many company elites reformulated the norms and logic of corporate engagement with their 'stakeholders' (shareholders, labor force, consumers, etc.), national governments and a larger global audience. Within the mining industry, earnest beginnings can be traced to 1998, a year in which Robert Wilson, then Executive Chairman of Rio Tinto, brought together a collection of CEOs from the leading mineral and metal companies to create the Global Mining Initiative (Jacka 2018; see also Kirsch 2010). The organization's initial course of action involved a two-year research programme entitled the Mining, Minerals, and Sustainable Development project, whose official mandate was a rigorous study of the societal issues confronting the industry. The mandate of research was to produce and suggest internal industrial reform for the alignment of company philosophy and practice under the rubric of 'sustainability' (Jenkins and Yakovleva 2006; for overview see Jacka 2018). Subsequently, the International Council of Mining and Metals (ICMM) was formed in 2001, laying out 10 Principles for corporate social responsibility (CSR) within the industry. The principles attempted to structure and address issues of corruption and transparency, as well as engagement with local populations at the coalface. In 2009, just five years prior to purchasing the Bambas concession in rural Apurímac, MMG was granted membership to ICMM and immediately adopted the organization's codes for ensuring 'sustainable development'.

However, despite these 'conventional' shifts, it should be noted that CSR for the mining industry has been rightly identified as differing from the ethical business standards and public image work of garment or produce corporations; companies whose commodity chains are branded for consumption. As Stuart Kirsch (2014) points out, most metals are sold on to other

companies rather than directly to consumers, making it next to impossible for advocates and individuals to sanction mining companies at the shelf. The 'anonymity of metals' (Kirsch 2014, 8-9), thus, can be seen to push CSR activities in two directions: one, recalibrating international opinion through performance (diffusing images and arguments to counteract those of NGO critics) while also, on the ground, ensuring that 'sustainable development' establishes 'a social license to operate'. While mining corporations are susceptible to sanction by international bodies and even advocacy networks, production, and the smooth exploitation of resources, is more threatened by the local communities at the point source of extraction. CSR, as encapsulated within the principles of ICMM, makes overtures towards global spectators, yet remains fundamentally concerned with the appeasement and maintenance of its operational shadows; of 'benefitting those *impacted* by resource extraction' (Jacka 2018, 64). This distinction becomes important for parsing through the voluminous scholarly output on corporate social responsibility across disciplines.

Initially, academic engagement with CSR activity since the turn of the century debated whether corporations were meeting the development goals spelt out by the new norms of ethical business practice (Kuper 2004). The majority of this 'responsible' scrutiny, argued for particular impediments, inherent limitations, and even willful disinterest in achieving the lofty material and ethical goals for which corporations had set themselves (see Blowfield 2005; Frynas 2005; Jenkins 2005; Newell 2005). Yet, as early as 2006, John Sharp had begun to critique the critics, arguing that academic investigations were missing the point by focusing upon the 'purported aims and objectives of particular interventions' (2006, 213). Instead, Sharp advocated for attention to the 'intended and unintended consequences of such endeavors' (Ibid, 213); an orientation which might start treating CSR 'less like a single phenomenon and more like an umbrella'; spacious in shading a 'host of outcomes and impacts' (Ibid, 213-214).

The point was prescient and was soon followed by a bundle of anthropological literature, influenced by Foucault and others (see Ferguson 1994), which abandoned analytical preoccupations on whether or not corporate social responsibility was 'good' or 'bad' – indeed even whether it could be considered to address its stated intentions. These ethnographic inquiries, moving beyond normative considerations, have instead attempted to explore what CSR *does*. In the words of Catherine Dolan and Dinah Rajak, contemporary anthropological work on CSR, in 'tracing how "responsibility" is practiced in the everyday routines of particular social and material realities', has begun to complicate assumptions, showing instead 'the ambivalences, contradictions and potentialities that inhere in the morality of the corporate form' (2016, 2). It is

within these new directions of analysis that CSR strategies are increasingly understood as 'techniques' and 'instruments', active in arranging and distilling the messy and unbounded realities that corporations operate within (see Dolan and Rajak 2016, 13; see also Appel 2012a; Gilberthorpe 2013; Rajak 2011; Shever 2012; Weszkalnys 2016).

The salience of focusing on localized routines of CSR and its mechanisms for managing a social license for extraction is amplified in the context of Peru. Scholars across disciplines have consistently identified the limits of state presence and power throughout the country (see Palmer 1992; Poole 2004). Or, in the words of John Crabtree and Isabel Crabtree-Condor, the government's inability 'to impose its will over large portions of its national territories, particularly in the *sierra* (highlands)' (2012, 49). Such claims echo the voices of *tios* and *viejos* presented in Chapter 1, lamenting a 'forgotten region', in which development projects, infrastructure and opportunities were never formally extended to the province of Cotabambas. Yet of course, these were historical reflections, refracted through the prism of expectant and unfolding transformations; namely, the arrival of extraction and the search for the better life. Mineral futures and the extractive-led development model meant new 'responsible' corporations were now flooding into a governance vacuum of expectant highland hinterlands.

Accordingly, academics working in Peru have been forced to recognize, and reckon with, mining companies walking 'into roles that are more commonly assumed to be those of the state' (Bebbington 2010, 104); where 'extractive industries come to exercise "state-like" functions' (Crabtree and Crabtree-Condor 2012, 47). It is part of what Krupa and Nugent refer to as the 'shifting redistributions of political, economic, and social tasks within and between public and private sectors' occurring across the Andean region (2015, 1). Ostensibly, this neoliberal transition has been buffered by decentralization measures in Peru where mining royalties and *canon* payments are funneled into local government coffers (see Chapter 2; further discussed later on in the chapter). Yet, these forms of 'new localism' (Arellano-Yanguas 2011a; 2011b) - the transfer of state function and responsibilities to private actors and their municipal dependents - continue to beg pertinent questions on the techniques, practices, and logics of corporate social responsibility. Beyond 'ethical business' norms, how do the challenges and pitfalls of governance amongst expectant and frustrated populations of Peru's uneven development trajectory burden corporations? What exactly does corporate sustainability do, achieve, and strive towards throughout the Bambas mining zone where social becoming is both desired and stymied?

Creating the 'new sustainable Indian'

On an early afternoon in Challhuahuacho, emerging from my rented room, I was presented with an extraordinary sight: the main thoroughfare of the town was without cars. It was a wonderful respite from the malicious *polvo* (dust) stirred up by unrepentant traffic during the dry summer months. In the absence of clouds, the road became surreal: small groups of women stretched along the road, accompanied by deliberately laid piles of dry earth and twigs. I walked through the narrow corridor that separated the groups before I heard my name called out. I spun in the direction of the voice, initially unable to recognize the women who waved at me. It was not until I saw the make-shift sign of 'Ccahuapirhua' that I began to embarrassingly place their faces: Kusi, Maria, Fiorella, Sofia, and Tia Saywa. They were attired in 'traditional' dress (*ropa típica*), which, until that point, I had never seen them wear. I joined them on the edge of the road, commenting on their beautiful skirts, finding myself by accident, in the middle of the first annual *Huatia Festival of Challhuahuacho.*

Since the precolonial era, *huatia* - a makeshift oven of tilled earth - has been used by peoples of the southern Andes. It is a very practical cooking instrument for individuals on the move, hungry and far from home; herding animals, tilling *chacras,* travelling to markets etc. Large chunks of earth are stacked at slightly progressing angles to form a dome. Smaller stones and dirt fill the many holes while a fire is stoked inside. When the flames lap out of the oven's mouth, select potatoes are thrown in. The structure is then collapsed using the blow of a pike or large stick, and the food is left to cook amongst the smoldering pile of earth. I had tasted the delicious baked potatoes many times while working in the hills around the community, but had never seen it torn away from its functional, social and pastoral setting to be put on display in celebration.

The women now seated on a Challhuahuacho street seemed equally perplexed. To begin with, both Fiorella and Sofia were *retornantes*. They grew up in 'the city', away from the *chacras,* and so kept themselves to the margins of the frenzied construction of the earthen doom when the competition began. They took pictures and laughed as I broke twigs and fanned the fire. Kusi and Tia Saywa, though more rural in socialization, had evidently affixed their meals with considerations of care and diligence, not haste that flirted with neglect. They cursed and fussed as we raced through the process. Having dug the potatoes out of smoking rubble and placing them on a plate with *aji* (spice sauce) and a few other condiments, we rushed into the road to stand in a line ordered by time of completion. Tia Saywa looked disapprovingly at our finished

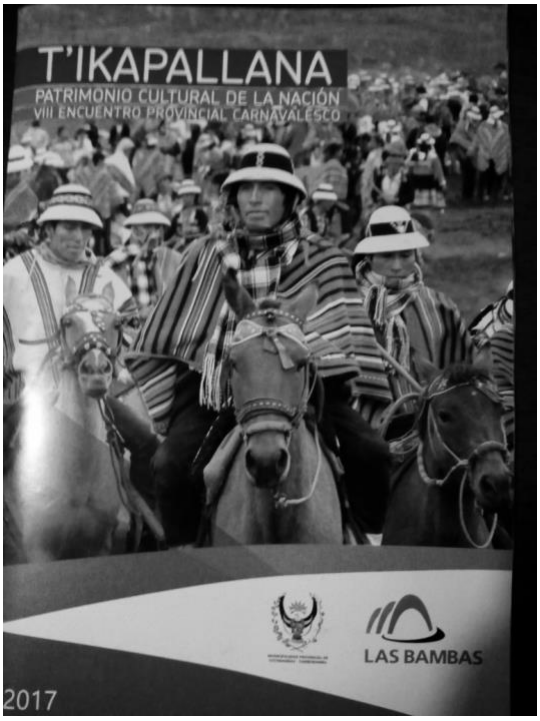
product as judges organized by MMG and the municipality tested the dish, scribbling notes in a folder held near their chest. Maria and Sofia had already run off with their friends, changing from their 'traditional garb' into hoodies and jeans. They had plans on dancing tonight in one of Challhua's nightclubs. Fiorella and Kusi, changing as well, grew anxious about returning to Ccahuapirhua before nightfall where children awaited, frantically asking me to search for Tio Quenti's taxi.

However, transportation back towards the communities was blocked off by an assembled stage, festooned with streamers and stacked with gifts of rice and cooking oil. An employee from the corporation and another from the municipality now addressed us. They were effusive in their praise of *alcalde* Antolin Chipani Lima (mayor *o*f Challhuahuacho) for organizing the competition. More events would come, they promised: a *concurso de cantar* (traditional singing competition); a *concurso de danzas* (dancing competition); etc. They stood beneath a large plastic banner celebrating the first annual *Huatia Festival* in Challhuahuacho, '*la capital historica de la Nacion Yanahuara*' (the historic capital of the Yanahuara nation). Just before night fall, the winners in various age groups were announced and handed their domestic household prizes. They and the others soon piled into the seats of mini-vans and onto the wooden planks of flat-bed trucks, driving off towards their houses in the hills above.

If the festival itself was a startling and unexpected rupture to the 'usual' activity of Challhuahuacho, the event itself fit within a common trend found throughout the Bambas mining zone. While MMG continued to funnel royalty payments into the coffers of the municipality to fund the low-skill projects of the mineral production cycle (see Chapter 2) - and would, in a number of years began transferring *el canon* payments (more on this below) - local engagement with communities was nominally 'enhanced' by a plethora of corporate 'gifts' (Cross 2014b), many extended in collaboration with the municipal government. In the words of the corporation itself, 'mining for progress' meant 'partnering with local communities' and 'contributing to local socio-economic development' (MMG 2017)**.** These 'gifts' were encapsulated in an expansive publicity campaign, brochures and bulletins, loaded onto websites, but also, distributed in hard copy amongst the province. They recorded the 'travelling rationalities' (Craig and Porter 2006, 120) of CSR strategies.

Just below *la plaza de arms*, on a side-street that ran towards the Challhuahuacho river, was an 'information' office established by MMG for local individuals. The building, hidden and innocuous amongst the service businesses that surrounded it, provided *comuneros* of the region with an opportunity to submit questions or complaints (a formalized system which required

paperwork, filing, and resolution timeframes). Equally, there were collections of pamphlets and reports on display that individuals could take with them. It was not uncommon to encounter individuals standing amongst the *plaza* leafing through the publications as they 'fucked around' or waited for a meeting in the municipality building. The glossy documents outlined the 'responsible' work and local commitments of the corporation, as well as the rationale and precepts such activities were ostensibly grounded in.



[**Figure 24.** ***An MMG report on the*** **Carnaval** ***in Cotabambas, cultural heritage, and corporate support*****. Source: author.**]

The capacious claims of 'Mining for Progress', presented amongst these documents, boiled down to a normative alignment with two vital principles in the corporate social responsibility dictates of ICMM. Principle 2 demanded members of the organization to 'integrate sustainable development into corporate strategies of engagement'. In kind, specific projects were designed and extended to communities which addressed agricultural based livelihoods. By 2017, the corporation claimed to have 'impacted' the lives of over 1,200 people in the region through pasture and forage projects, animal health and vaccination campaigns, greenhouses (*invernaderos*), guinea pig breeding and Andean crop programmes. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 2, the extension of these projects worked in coordination with degrees of 'affectedness' as determined by corporate policy. For example, the celebrated Andean crop programme -

mentioned in the opening vignette – was extended to only ten communities, while the guinea pig breeding scheme was gifted to only seven. There were also *vicuña* and *piscagranja* (fish farm) programmes for selected communities and a *viveros* project dedicated the reforestation of the region. In total, outside of 18 supplementary learning spaces (PREBs), [63] sustainable development projects amounted to peasant-oriented commitments. Looking only at the glossy billboards and sustainability reports, one would be given the distinct impression of '*campesinos*' and the corporation working in concert, both achieving their drastically divergent desires in mutually beneficial ways.

Beyond these formal projects were a host of other sponsorship schemes that brought further vibrancy to the region. Communities found within the 'affected' zones delimited by the corporation were subject to donations from MMG for increasingly adorned and long anniversary celebrations (*aniversarios*). In turn, the municipality, again in collaboration with corporate sponsorship, had begun enacting a series of cultural events like the *huatia* festival just described. On regular intervals throughout the calendar year, communities were invited to participate in dancing and singing competitions, clothing and produce showcases, horse races, and the celebration of *Carnaval* in Tambobamba. It was, in effect, a sweeping and year-round festival circuit. *Aniversarios* within communities normally lasted a week, while the more specialized dance, singing, *huatia* or produce events usually unfolded within a single day.

While more fleeting than 'sustainable development' projects, these festivals and events - again as laid out in their annual sustainability reports - heeded principle 3 of the ICMM code of conduct: 'respecting the cultures, customs and values of employees and communities affected by our activities' (ICMM 2016). The aim, further elaborated by MMG itself, dovetailed into progressive mining, where 'sustainable development must necessarily go hand in hand with appropriate preservation of, and by adding new value to, local cultural wealth and heritage' (MMG 2017). Many of these events were in the process of restructuring the local celebration calendar and 'reviving' the *costumbres* of a 'Yanahuara' ethnic group (see more below). As supplementary appendages to sustainable development, they adorned the *campesino* target of agricultural projects with 'culture' and 'tradition' (cf. Gilberthorpe 2013).

[63] PREBs (*Programa de Recursos Educativos Las Bambas*) were supplementary educational facilities designed and extended to 'affected communities' for young *comuneros* to continue 'learning' beyond government schooling hours.



[**Figure 25.** ***'We Mine for Progress' – MMG and its sustainable development campaign*****. Source: Google images.**]

These complimentary aspects of CSR engagement – as constituted within the grand advertisements of MMG - amounted to, I argue, a corporate conjuring of a 'new sustainable Indian': a local *campesino* diligently toiling on the land, appreciative of the gifted agricultural inputs, and discovering dignified respite in the revival of a cultural identity. It was perhaps most powerfully encapsulated in the smiling faces on MMG billboards on the outskirts of Challhuahuacho (see opening vignette), hands raised in thanks to a company thinking about more than just the exploitation of copper. The claims of these publicity campaigns can be seen to reflect what Dinah Rajak has called 'the performance of corporate virtue' (2011, 2) - attempts at 'accruing moral authenticity' on the global stage (Ibid, 39). Yet, as the *huatia* festival above demonstrates, 'sustainable development' projects and cultural events were *real* practices; forms of engagement beyond the page and billboard. Accordingly, this chapter continues on by asking how these gifts and strategies were being received throughout the province? In what ways did they interact with aspirant subjects and the crises of social becoming? What techniques and consequences lurked in the shadows of these practices? They are important considerations in the anthropological project of burrowing beneath the superficial claims and presentations of CSR to discover what it's commitments actually *do;* moving from intentions to effects (Bebbington 2010).

Local experiences of corporate engagement

The first CSR gift I ever laid eyes on was a greenhouse in Ccahuapirhua. Although I did not recognize it as such immediately. Returning from a walk on the *puna* above the community, I was in the process of carrying out a private ethnographic assessment of sorts – identifying houses

and their occupants as I meandered towards the plaza; a mental list that might verify my advancing knowledge. The building initially distinguished itself by its roof: a plastic tarp, ripped, and in certain places poorly fastened to the structure of adobe walls. Slack sections of it flapped in the wind. I approached the wooden unlocked doors from the road and peered through: an assortment of weeds and colors reached towards the fluttering tarp, their layout chaotic; footpaths of diligent attention were absent.

Asking Ernesto about the evident neglect of the *invernadero* later that day, he laughed at my ignorance: 'Who do you know in the community is interested in growing vegetables? And besides, the whole enterprise would descend into more fighting between families.'

Indeed, exploring the presence, success, and endurance of sustainable livelihood projects proved a fool's errand. The majority of agricultural based projects had been carried out and 'completed' between the years of 2006-2014, coinciding as they did with promises and obligations during the corporation's search for a 'social licence to operate'. Many had since fallen by the wayside. Besides the recently announced guinea pig project (see chapter 2), the corporation was beginning to relinquish the majority of its 'project' based engagements of sustainability, as it would soon be transitioning into supporting rural development through the massive monetary transfers of *el canon minero* (again, more on this later). The extension of corporate sustainability, following the production phase of resource-making, was instead dominated by the sponsorship of cultural events: community anniversaries, competitions, and fairs.

One of the first major *aniversarios* I attended was in the community of Qeuena. Parked trucks and taxis stretched down from the community plaza towards the valley below and the road towards Ccahuapirhua. As I walked through the crowd I was stopped repeatedly by friends from Choaquere, Huanacopampa, Fuerabamba, and Ccasa who had all come to enjoy themselves. I had eventually maneuvered my way into a space amongst a crowd rapidly enclosing an anticipated event.

'Part of *ancient Yanahuara* culture!' Joel yelled into my ear, attempting to overcome the din of motors. I had not even allowed him to arrive at culture, to complete his sentence, before I had begun laughing. His mirth followed as he and Tio Ronald took a seat at my side, returning with the beer they had fetched from a *tia*, barely peering over her stack of red crates. We were awaiting the commencement of a moto-cross competition. The engines were loud.

The event had been set up with obvious care. A rather elaborate course had been carved into the hill that sloped up towards the community's populous center. Excess dirt had been

heaped at turns and crossings to enhance the difficulty for the riders. They were all young and incessantly proud of their bikes, washed and polished despite the mucking to come. Joel knew two of the men competing from his early days in Lima where they too were boys. There would be a cash prize for the winner of the final heat, and as it approached, the crowd watching dances near the plaza began to migrate towards the track, squeezing into a fleshy wall on its perimeter. As Tio Ronald poured a glass a beer for himself, he chuckled, 'I used to watch horse races'.

'*La cultura Yanahuara* is advancing rapidly', Joel exclaimed, his sarcastic grin imploring me to laugh once more.



[**Figure 26.** ***Festival in*** **Queuena** ***celebrating*** **'Yanahuara** ***culture'*****. Source: author.**]

It was part of a well-established routine. I would travel with contingents of *Ccahuapirhuanos* into Challhuahuacho and neighbouring communities, participating and analyzing 'cultural' events and celebrations that stretched throughout the year. It had been a

precedent formed early on, offering forth wonderful opportunities to visit more and more communities and understand the local realities and nuances of the mining zone. I would celebrate with my friends while being regaled in appraisals on the events. Ronald was an ardent commentator on *'la cultura Yanahuara*' and did so with enthusiasm, eager to see if I might recognize the inauthentic amongst ornate presentation. His project of discernment shadowed my own, but was slightly more advanced. As a *retornante* born in the region, he had moved at a young age to Lima, where he spent the majority of his life. Returning to the region in the grip of mineral optimism he marveled at the presence of these celebrations with equal doses of interest and befuddlement.

Dances, particularly the *concusrsos* held in Challhuahuacho, accompanied by an emcee who regaled the gathered crowd on the richness of tradition throughout the province, were informally judged from the margins by the gathered *comuneros* drinking beer or eating fried fish. It was evident to the majority which participants had been taught particular dances in school and those *retornantes* who had just learned the basics in the days leading up to the event. Certain individuals had to borrow or rent 'traditional' outfits to maintain the pretence of authenticity the formal judges required. Most of the dances were precluded by a theatrical display of rural courtship, often involving women being stalked and swept up into the arms of a furtive young man. 'Thank god *los raptos* are a thing of a past',[64] Ronald whispered into my ear as we watched from the hill above *el ruedo de toros* in Challhuahuacho.

Such critiques were abundant throughout the mining zone, forming a subaltern appendage to the events offered from on corporate high. *Vestidos* (*ropa* or clothing) at market and exhibition were scrutinized for their thread and weaving, some deemed to be hand-made, others to have been fabricated replicas from afar. Ironically, though the 'Yanahuara' festivals now encouraged the dawning of *ropa típica,* individuals never dared to wear the clothing beyond the region, particularly when travelling to Cusco or neighbouring cities for fear of marking themselves as ignorant '*indios*'. Such clothing remained the adornment of the extremely elderly, or were youthful exceptions at community *aniversarios.* It was here as well, where drink and revelry was plentiful, that my friends joked that the band and music itself had to be imported from Chumbivilcas (a neighboring province in the department of Cusco). Their teasing and

[64] *Los raptos* (lit. 'abductions') was a form of bride thievery that occurred throughout the region in the past. Young women were often 'captured' by their desirous suitors while alone herding sheep in the mountains.

laughter was continually at play with the malleability and openness of a *cultura Yanahuara* in production.

Indeed, these sponsored 'cultural' events were drastically re-working the festival calendar of the region. When talking to individuals, *tios* and otherwise, who had spent the duration or portions of their lives in the province, the only event which seemed uniformly practiced in the past was *El Dia de San Juan* (the feast of St. John the Baptist) where locales drank pure alcohol and performed rituals to enhance the fertility of their livestock. Nowadays, *la junta directivas* of each community spent months preparing for *aniversarios*, using corporate donations to book bands from Cusco, haggle for staging equipment in Challhuahuacho, organize football tournaments, and produce flyers in internet cafes to be distributed in the hopes of attracting as many people as possible - an element of pride, but also to curry political favor.



[**Figure 27. Huatia *competition in Huanacopampa* during community aniversario. Source: author.**]

On the whole, while speaking with individuals along the festival circuit, it became apparent that 'Yanahuara', as a cultural identity, was a relatively new phenomenon. The term itself, as it was explained to me, was derived from a particular rock formation to the west of Challhuahuacho along the road towards Ccahuapirhua (resting between the communities of Carmen Alto and Qeuena). However, before the Bambas project had begun it had never been used beyond reference to the locale - a name amongst many throughout the district. Indeed, prior

to the commencement of resource-making in the district of Challhuahuacho, the main categories of identity consisted of '*indios*' and '*mistis*', which roughly grafted onto the western ('*arriba*' lit. above) and eastern territories of the municipality. Those communities located *arriba* – of which Ccahuapirhua was one – were considered more 'backward' and 'Indian', while those '*abajo*' (below) were esteemed as more educated and refined. While elements of this division continued to fester, many people joked that since the mine began, 'we all became Yanahuara'.

To a certain extent, the jest and critiques of individuals observing and participating in the cultural revival festivals funded by MMG were legitimated by historical contradiction. Though the sponsoring of such events fit within the norms of responsible corporate engagement, they were a dramatic reversal of citizenship projects carried out in republican Peru, particularly after the War of the Pacific. Like most countries throughout Latin America with large 'native' populations, the 'Indian stain' - structured by a harsh racial hierarchy - was to be gradually overcome, according to government elites, through an expansive (though largely unspecific) process of *mestizaje* ('mixing' or a type of racial and cultural amalgamation). It was believed that assimilation could potentially eliminate indigenous identity and cultural practices and create a country of 'Peruvians'. Education was seen as a particularly strong tool in vanquishing 'the stain', while subsequently re-enforcing notions of superiority and inferiority (Canessa 2012; Gelles 2002; Weismantel 2001).

Perhaps most interestingly, labor too was once viewed as a strategy in citizenship ventures. As Paulo Drinot (2011) meticulously documents, during the decades leading up to the Second World War, the quest for national development equated industrialization with progress, dovetailing into social policy and the perennial problematics of 'Indianness'. During this time, labor became an alluring mechanism for *mestizaje*. As Drinot states, 'the power (magic?) of industry, it was believed, resided in its capacity to transform Peru's backward indigenous peoples into civilized white/mestizo industrial workers' (2011, 3-4). Alterations between ISI (import substitution industrialization) and extractive-based development strategy never succeeded and decades of minimal economic growth followed as many rural highland regions languished under the indirect rule of *gamonales* (Poole 1988).[65] Today, following industrialization's failed promise and the turning over of certain Andean locales to corporate governance, the 'Indian' was now being offered forth as a celebrated alternative to industrious Peruvians.

[65] For historical overview of economic policy within Peru, see Thorp and Bertram 1978; Thorp 1991; Thorp and Paredes 2010.

However, despite the ridicule of many *comuneros* who peered through the irony of the 'new sustainable Indian', they were not totally ungrateful. On the festival circuit, no one was not enjoying themselves, partaking as they did in drink and dance, rupturing the monotony of *hueveando*. Furthermore, beyond communal revelry, corporate gifts unfurled informal opportunities throughout the communities beyond the CSR principles of sustainable development. Women in particular used many of the nominal cultural events to contribute to household income. Prior to *aniversarios* and certain *concursos,* community women cooked *cuyes* (guinea pigs), chicken, and potatoes, sometimes lugging them over long distances to festivals where they would establish lunch stations for participants. Others saved funds to purchase crates of beer that they would sell for profit alongside their meals. Individuals known to have 'benefited' from extraction (i.e. those with stable employment, business owners, or members of a privileged community like Fuerabamba) were often called upon to do the purchasing for others. Thus, to a certain extent, the festival tour was a redistributive outlet, circulating a small percentage of funds beyond the usual flows of finance in exchange for prestige and gratitude.

Aniversarios and celebrations also provided avenues for political work. Indeed, during the *asamblea* in Ccahuapirhua which followed the *huatia* festival in Challhuahuacho, Kusi and Fiorella were publicly lauded for participating on behalf of the community. It was important, according to Mariano (then president), for members of Ccahuapirhua to be present amongst the judges from the municipality - if only to show a face, engage with patrons, and ensure they were not to be easily forgotten. Representatives were often selected and sent to festivals and anniversaries to establish strong and amicable connections between communities, particularly those with large populations who had the electoral weight to determine the next *alcalde* (mayor) of Challhuahuacho (he who would be at the helm of the municipal building and it's mining royalty streams).

And though sustainable livelihood projects such as greenhouses and animal vaccination programmes had largely been discontinued following the commencement of mineral production, the new cultural cache of the 'Yanahuara' slot (cf. Li 2000) could be strategically appropriated. On one particular afternoon, while returning to my room from a café in Challhuahuacho, I heard my name called from across the street, a smooth soft pitch. I turned, taking a moment to recognize Sofia and Yessica, two young unmarried women form Ccahuapirhua who I knew well. Once again, they were dressed in traditional *ropa*, their long skirts bouncing as they scuttled across the road to greet me. It was only the second time I had seen Mariana attired in the heavy dark garments of wool, trimmed with bright yellows and pinks. Admiring their efforts in

decoration, I asked what the occasion happened to be - I was unaware of any festival today, neither in Challhuahuacho nor any of the communities. Sofia, blushed as she informed me they had an important meeting with someone in *la municipalidad*. They were hoping to open up a *deposito* (bottle warehouse) in the boomtown and some bureaucratic red tape needed to be breached. She then winked at me, knowingly, before hurrying off with Yessica towards *la plaza de armas*. How could an institution peddling in cultural promotion and revival dismiss the requests of two Yanahuara women, she seemed to have said.

Later that evening, while in Ccahuapirhua myself, I stumbled into Sofia and Yessica once more, sitting outside Tio Luis's house, catching the last hour of sunshine. They had both changed, returning to the lycra pants and sportswear they usually wore. I approached and asked how the meeting had gone. They did not seem upbeat and responded in unison: *'vamos a ver*' (we'll see).

'So, what now?', I continued. They exchanged looks, shrugging. Yessica was hoping to hear back from MMG about getting on the rotational work schedule, having recently finished her studies in Haquira. Sofia, while waiting on a response from the municipality, was uncertain. She had a brother in Abancay and a sister in Puerto Maldonado who she might visit, perhaps to ask about work there. '*Vamos a ver*' still hanging over us amongst the encroaching cold of night.

Their precarious present, of course, highlighted the limitations of how far CSR schemes and principles could be pushed from below. While *comuneros* creatively engaged and reworked elements of MMG's sustainable development ventures they fell drastically short of desired futures. The unfortunate and ironic gulf between the 'new sustainable Indian' and projects of social becoming beckon further questions on CSR logic and consequences.

Fantasies of frictionless profit and the management of surplus desires

While the main engineers and *gerentes* (managers) of the Bambas project remained ensconced in the large *campamento* behind the fences of the mine's perimeter, and publicity employees worked from offices in Lima and beyond, mining corporations such as MMG retained large teams of social workers (*relacionistas*) who ventured out each day, travelling in and between the 'affected' communities. They would pass through to check on projects, speak with community officials, field questions, and establish participatory workshops (much like the EIA modification sessions mentioned in the previous chapter). Their main purpose was to be on the frontlines of local 'engagement', keeping lines of communication open between the company and its shadows, being an outlet for tensions, and generally 'managing' concerns and frustrations

amongst communities (cf. Shever 2012, 169). Witnessing and listening in on these informal quotidian encounters was fortuitous – scheduled 'visits' being unknown and flexible, not always coinciding with my own movements and work patterns. However, when they did occur, they were deeply informative; forms of dialogue beyond staged events, extended projects, and glossy publications; a burrowing beneath the presentations and veneer of 'Mining for Progress'.

The largely unexpected unfolding of these encounters, as the company trucks snaked along the road from Cconccacca towards the community plaza, always engendered a contagious excitement. The groan of an engine and the crackling of dirt, pebbles scattered along the road, punctured adobe walls, community silence, and forms of *hueveando*. The sonorous motor and its spinning tyres would prod the dormant energy that characterized Ccahuapirhua in the days following the completion of the school. The wooden doors of the brown homes without padlocks would open, eyes would peer out over the plaza.

On one particular morning, following a night in the house of Selestino, I laid in bed and zoned in and out of a cinematic battle of heroes and villains on his television. Selestino himself had left for a morning walk to stretch his legs, leaving a pirated DVD on loop. Oscar had joined me, sitting on the foot of the bed where I laid, taking a break from the *cantinas* of Challhuahuacho. Our pitiful prattle ended abruptly with the first faint sounds of the Hilux 4x4 climbing the road. We locked eyes, childish delight gripping us as it grew louder, before rushing towards the door and into the plaza. Richard and Suyai emerged from their homes as well as we encircled the red vehicle.

The truck did not belong to MMG but First Quantuum (Antares) who owned the concession which bordered Las Bambas and also fell under the southern soil of Ccahuapirhua. The company had completed its 'cycle' of exploration but had not yet purchased land from communities to commence production. Until then Proyecto Haquira could not be brought 'on line' as the next great mining project in Cotabambas. A period of pre-production waithood had calcified.

The *relacionista* from First Quantuum got out of the truck and amicably greeted myself, Oscar, Richard and Suyai. Small talk ensued that reflected genuine delight at a break from routine but belied many of the serious matters pressing upon the minds of *comuneros* treading the waters of stagnant progression; crises in social becomings. The moment was fleeting though. After a brief silence, Richard questioned the *relacionista*: 'When will the mine begin?'.

The inquiry summoned a volunteered response that the First Quantuum employee had evidently given before. His spiel involved a host of abstract processes which localized the region

within global considerations: investment in the construction of another mine in Panama; a 2015 drop in copper prices; and social unrest that same year at the doors of Las Bambas. The empty stares of my *compañeros* revealed a dawning recognition of their reduction and belittlement as seen through corporate eyes with a global vision. I wondered how many times he had delivered this recitation to other communities on his daily rural roundabout.

It did not end there; the *relacionista* continued. Complicating matters further was the recent purchase of a new mining concession in the north of Argentina. The potential mineral reserves were located in a desert. The *relacionista* took the steel toe of his black boot and drew a circle in a patch of dirt near our feet. 'There are no people in the desert, sitting on top of the concession', he states: 'if you were *los dueños* (the owners) of this company, where would you invest your time and money?'. Our eyes remained fixed on the drawing in the earth, decorated by unanimated stones and pebbles.

He did not state it outright but the insinuation was obvious and understood by all; the logic of extractive capital laid bare. One project was 'burdened' with people, the other was not. Mining investment has its own demands, fantasies, desires and logic, and within the calculative framework that emerges – in scouring the globe for their own patch of empty dirt – people can be a real nuisance. The nature of the First Quantum project provided the company with a particular luxury. As a concession created and purchased after the neoliberal restructuring of the economy, its lease was for 99 years, and only nominal fees had to be paid to the government in the absence of production. As such, they could delay activities, channel attention and investment elsewhere, in the hopes that waiting and despair might burden squatting populations, forcing them to lower their demands for land sale, if not render the concession completely empty, in need of mineral considerations only. The Bambas concession on the other hand, created over a century earlier and passed between government and corporate ownership for decades, allowed the Peruvian administration to fasten stipulations to its sale – in this case, demands that production commence within a more constricted time frame. Accordingly, to ensure the unimpeded flow of copper, MMG had to infuse its extractive strategy with both program and policy for dealing with communities. The 'aspirant' (if also surplus) populations of the Bambas project had to be managed and controlled in the absence of an idealized and desired emptiness.

In her analysis of off-shore oil production in Equatorial Guinea, Hannah Appel echoes many of these sentiments, arguing that the fantasy of extractive capitalism is 'frictionless profit' (2012a). As stated by Appel, for those in industrial management, there is a shared desire of 'spaces where the production of profit can flow, evading or minimizing contestation' (2012a,

693). Being offshore, undoubtedly, reduces the 'entanglements' of corporations and helps ensure that flow is not 'disturbed by environmental and community overflows' (Ibid, 693). Yet, in the absence of deserts, mining capitalism is denied the luxuries of going 'off-shore', and thus must constantly discover ways to ensure its entanglements with communities do not continuously and unpredictably tax profits; that friction does not interrupt flow. The candid and unexpected conversation in the *plaza* of Ccahuapirhua validated the reality of this fantasy in Cotabambas. Yet, it begged the question of how MMG's techniques, gifts, and interventions in 'sustainability' worked in tune with this logic. In what ways does 'Mining for Progress' relieve the burden of communities resting atop minerals? What synergy existed between sponsoring a new sustainable Indian and minimizing contestation in the search of frictionless profits? It was a set of important questions, but equally difficult to answer.

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the political climate of the region presented a number of early challenges to the eager researcher. Locals cast a suspicious gaze upon me, arriving as I had a few days after Quintino Huisa's death, wondering which organization, public or private, I was spying for. The corporation as well was immediately leery of my presence. Passing company vehicles would stop as I hitch-hiked along the rural roads of Cotabambas so that *relacionistas*, gracious and welcoming in demeanor, might get some one-on-one time to ask about research project and goals. My name was jotted down, my e-mail and institution requested, and often, at community events or gatherings, unsubtle photographers took pictures of me with their phones. Further still, the local chief of the national police routinely called me into his office to talk about my rationale for being here; what my intentions were, what it was that I was discovering.

Initially, I found safety under the popular image of the classical anthropologist: his panama hat, his chest of books, interested only in documenting the structures and workings of 'culture'; kinship networks, community patterns of reciprocity and gift-giving, etc. I supported such stereotypes by responding in capacious and suggestive terms: 'I am here to understand the realities of life in *campesino* communities'. Peruvian racial prejudice dictated that Andean peoples were interesting only in regard to their peculiar customs and cosmologies. Accordingly, I maneuvered well enough with an antiquated cloak. Maintaining this truce involved forgoing overtly political avenues of inquiry: touring the mine, knocking on company doors to demand answers on projects and events, etc. Instead, investigating corporate desires and strategies depended upon building and establishing rapport with *relacionistas* who had the potential to become sympathetic to my predicament. Some relationships were unsuccessful, while others

began to provide dividends.

One such relationship was with a social worker named Mario. He had picked me up on the side of the road many times; a gracious and welcomed interruption to my tiresome waits for transportation back to Challhuahuacho from Ccahuapirhua. He was first tentative in conversation, asking about my project and institution before ever offering much information in return. However, as I would learn, he had experience in the region that spanned decades. Accordingly, as our intimacy grew, he could not suppress an impulse to explain to me the history of the province, and the significance of its contemporary situation and challenges. Almost a year after arriving to the region, I organized a café rendezvous with him in the hopes of building upon our increasingly candid exchanges - an 'off the clock' engagement over coffee in *la plaza* of Challhuahuacho.

The restaurant where we met was a classic *negocio* of the mining boom, manned by out-of-town employees on temporary contracts from Cusco and Arequipa, serving pizza and 'Peruvian dishes' at prices that attracted a wealthier clientele embedded within the extractive economy. The ambiance and energy put Mario at ease. As our coffees cooled he began to speak historically, documenting the dramatic transformation he had witnessed in the region, of which I was already quite familiar. Having been born in the provincial capital of Tambobamba, he had begun working for the government on a local vaccination campaign during the 1990s before phasing into the corporate extractive sector. He spoke with an air of authority on matters regarding Cotabambas. I listened intently to the recurring themes: desolation, isolation, all manners and tales of poverty and savagery – issues that constituted the region as 'forgotten' (see Chapter 1).

Indulging his memories and historical narratives for some time, I attempted to bring his thoughts and statements into conversation with the present, and in particular direct them towards questions of corporate sustainability, cultural revival and its dissonance with desired futures. 'And what of the communities now?' I asked. 'I see and hear a lot in public discourse and presentations by MMG and *la municipalidad* about "*la cultura Yanahuara*". Is this something new?'.

'Yes, very new'. He continues, 'previously, celebrations were short and few, oriented around religious holidays. There was no beer – *comuneros* would drink a watered-down substance of pure alcohol, not made for consumption – and there were no bands who travelled to the region, bringing with them music and dances from afar. The term *Yanahuara* was rarely heard, especially in terms of some larger cultural form'. They were points I had often heard from

locals and community members, but here they revealed that ignorance did not underpin corporate understandings and engagements with the communities throughout the province.

I chuckled at his admission, claiming I had met many individuals born in the city who knew not one step in the dances that their communities now engaged in competitively. In doing so, Mario was quick to pick up on my point, running in another direction.

'Yes, *retornantes* have transformed the region. They keep returning. They contribute to the escalating demands of communities.'

I used his blunt admission to propose the contradictions I had witnessed within communities: between *retornantes*, expectation, desired futures, and corporate engagement. Upon listening to my concerns, Mario sighed deeply, revealing his frustration. His tone became less animated; more solemn. 'The problem is of *asistencialismo*'[66], he began. '*Comuneros* demand projects and programmes to be brought to their community, but only at extortionate levels. The requested per diems are inflated,[67] and if they are not met, the *comuneros* will simply remain in their houses or take their livestock to pasture and not engage.'[68]

'So how do these projects resolve the problem?', I ask, understanding his point but slightly confused by their relevance.

'There is the problem of historical debt here in Cotabambas. You have an older generation, now swallowed by *retornantes*, expecting everything. Money, jobs, everything - without having to work for it. People feel as if they are owed. Projects and company engagement cannot play into that'.

We soon wrapped up over conversation and parted ways. As I hustled through the rain along the narrow cement sidewalk of the plaza towards my rented room I reflected on Mario's admissions. It was evident that the cultural revival programmes and small sustainable development projects enacted by MMG did not reflect seismic corporate ignorance about yearnings, livelihoods, and the politics of identity throughout the mining zone. Indeed, Mario

---

[66] *Asistencialismo* is an oft-repeated 'plague' in the Andean countryside. It refers to a syndrome of dependence on government or NGO aid; a 'spectator-like assistance addiction' (Hirsch 2017, 263). It is, I would argue, the disparaging term given to ideas of historical debt that works to destabilize their legitimacy.

[67] Per diems are extended by corporations to communities while in the process of exploration and negotiations for land sales. Fuerabamba received these daily/weekly payments years ago, while other communities being incorporated into the expansion of Las Bambas and the initiation of the neighboring Haquira project have also, at one time or another, been recipients.

[68] These admissions compare favorably to the confessions and reflections of a corporate official interviewed by Fabiana Li in Chile: 'Mining companies are kind of regretting, or backing out of these compensation programs because they are finding that communities never stop asking for things […] There are no laws that tell you what you should do to maintain control of the community' (2016, 205).

was aware of the legacy of pernicious and systemic poverty in the communities of the region, as well as the transformation of the social geography following the great re-migration patterns. He saw and spoke openly about a desire for change (the perennial and proverbial '*buscando una vida mejor*') that pervaded the collective imaginary since the commencement of Bambas project. And while his diagnosis of the *comunero* mindset and work ethic danced around a racist caricature – harking back to the colonial and early post-colonial rhetoric of contaminated subjects in need of redemption – his confessions did reveal a corporate preoccupation with the unruly subjectivities of aspirant populations seated on the bench of mineral wealth. Central to his work as agent for corporate mining interests was engaging with and working within the social imaginaries of these 'beggars', maintaining the precarious 'social licence', and ensuring profit 'flow' amongst the undesirability of a pre-populated geography. CSR throughout Cotabambas, I would argue, was as much about 'sustainable' expectation as sustainable development.

Gisa Weszkalnys, an anthropologist oft-cited in this dissertation, has begun to establish convincing arguments on corporate strategy amongst local expectation. Looking at the prospects of hydrocarbon exploration in Sao Tome and Principe, Weszkalnys argues that 'the apparent excessive affective responses generated by resource extraction have progressively entered into a more global consciousness that informs corporate policy' (2016, 128). 'To safeguard continuous capital accumulation', Weszkalnys continues, companies must be cognizant of and attentive to 'the purported hopes, desires, and aspirations of citizens in producer states' (Ibid, 141), adopting practices that channel these affects into 'more manageable forms [using] juro-political techniques' (Ibid, 128). The argument grafts seamlessly onto the fissures between the image and reality of resource-making in Cotabambas, and MMG's attempt to curb its consequences using the deployment of 'sustainable' and 'cultural' gifts. By establishing the corporation as the purveyor of seeds, vaccinations, and cultural competitions, CSR engagements took active measures in re-structuring the gaze and claims that would be placed upon the corporation. Weszkalnys's argument though, begs further questions on what other 'juro-political techniques' could be deployed in the corporation's efforts to curb, dodge and blunt the desires, expectations and mineral optimism of its shadows; on what other 'manageable forms' existed with and beyond the conjured 'new sustainable Indian' to govern the margins of its extractive jewel.

The *canon* pay-off, the corporate penance

Despite the logic of disciplining desires that can be seen to underpin the use of 'sustainable' and cultural gifts from the corporation, they could never truly cap or control the early mineral optimism of resource-making: palpable expectation, notions of historical debt and moral responsibility, nor indeed, the search for a better life. Corporate *relacionistas* throughout the region remained continuously inundated by individuals in search of opportunities beyond the agricultural futures encapsulated in greenhouses, seeds, and guinea pig projects. To a certain extent, a huge portion of their time and energy, beyond extending and supporting CSR gifts, was consumed in attending to the questions and requests of impatient communities struggling through stages of waithood and crises in social becoming.

On innumerable occasions I watched the corporate vehicle of MMG be swamped by *comuneros* as it entered the *plaza* of Ccahuapirhua. Following a few initial greetings, it did not take long for someone to ask when changes would be made to the rotational labor schedule, or even, when the company would begin formal exploration in the hills of Ccahuapirhua (a moment only a few degrees removed from land sale). When they were not present in the community, phone calls were constantly being placed to *relacionistas* to discover the relevant paper-work, offices, and medical checks required to apply for work in the mine. In other instances, formal meetings or momentary sit-downs would be organized in Challhuahuacho, over lunch or a *gaseosa* (soda), to inquiry about potential partnership schemes between the community and corporation. They bookended long days or weeks of *hueveando.* Many of these requests dealt directly with the prospects of how individuals or groups in Ccahuapirhua might begin providing 'services' for MMG and procuring some of its illusive subsidiary contracts. Often enough, *relacionistas* were deft in their dodging, eliciting patience from *comuneros* by evoking processes behind the scenes which required their attention: having to consult protocols or speak with a 'higher-up'. In doing so, they maintained the dominance of sustainable and cultural CSR gifts as the bedrock of corporate engagement - that which communities and individuals sitting atop minerals could dependably expect from the company. An engagement that refused, in the words of Mario, 'to play into' the unruly expectations that copper had produced. Yet, the elusion and opacity of *relacionistas* were subject to slippage, disclosing further motivations behind the work and techniques of CSR and 'mining for progress'.

One afternoon, I tagged along with Ernesto and Victor for a planned meeting in Challhuahuacho with Francisco, a MMG *relacionista* who was looked upon favorable by community members. Francisco's company truck was parked in front of a *tienda* off of the *plaza de armas*. We pushed through its display cases and shelves of canned goods and packaged snacks to a table in its dark belly, ordering two large bottles of Inka Cola as a gesture of appreciation to Francisco for heeding the recurring invitations for a meeting. Ernesto and Victor had a proposal in mind; a precocious plan hatched amongst the idle hours of *hueveando*. The meeting was an attempt to hash out the details and test the waters with the smooth-talking employee of MMG whom they had come to view as a confidant. As Victor poured the *gaseosa* into our glasses and ordered loose menthol cigarettes to occupy his hands and nerves, Ernesto took the conversational reins. He informed Francisco that a strong relationship with their cousins in Nueva Fuerabamba had provided them with the opportunity of securing familial investment for a business venture. They were eager to get started, but first desired to understand what opportunities existed for collaboration with the corporation. As stated in Chapter 2, plenty of examples existed of private-partnerships between mine and community-members: restaurants, transportation, hotels and *lavenderias* (laundromats) being the most obvious forms of service relations, most dominated by *Fuerabambinos* who had negotiated the ventures within their relocation packages. At the moment, Ernesto and Victor, had their mind set on a 'waste management' firm, though they both lacked experience. It was an entrepreneurial idea that grew out of our experience in transporting used chemical containers to Cusco for re-sale (see Chapter 3).

Francisco grew apprehensive as Ernesto delivered his proposal. His response peddled in remission, eventually reaching a blunt finality. MMG was inundated with requests from various communities who had begun *empresas comunales* (communal companies) that were also interested with mining service provision. The problem was, Francisco stated tenderly, the *empresa* (MMG) was already saturated in its service contracts. The passing construction boom returned Challhuahuacho to a state of normalcy, leaving all non-mining-specific activities already monopolized (again, see Chapter 2). And still restaurants and hotels with active contracts remained empty or sparsely populated. Not wishing to leave the conversation amongst a dour silence, Francisco quickly propelled attention forward, putting some advice on the table before a beleaguered Ernesto and Victor. 'What you need to start looking forward to', he stated, leaning forward, 'is the *canon*'. He continued without pause. In 2021, the municipality coffers would be flush with the extractive bonus and subsequent project proposals. If Ernesto and Victor started to 'prepare' themselves by beginning a certified labor consortium, they might become the

beneficiaries of construction contracts with local government. At once, Francisco had projected hope and expectation into a distant future while simultaneously laying responsibility on the doorstep of the municipal building, safely outside the chain-linked fence of MMG's operations.

'The canon payments will be massive. They will fund lots of projects and require many construction contractors' he re-iterated. No sooner had he done so, his phone rang. Francisco looked at the number, expressed pressing needs, and disappeared into his truck, leaving Ernesto, Victor and myself to nurse the remaining ounces of *Kola* and foot the bill. The prospect of waiting four more years hung in the air as we walked out into the street. It was an explicit effort in channelling aspirant individuals and communities into the other major throng of 'new localism' in the Andes; royalty payments, *el canon*, and a system of decentralized investment that the company was both pivotal in, yet equally detached from.

As stated earlier in the chapter, historical state reach and neglect have characterized the Andes and posed various issues for the encroachment of corporations in search of minerals. This reality was exaggerated further by the centralizing tendencies of Alberto Fujimori during the 1990s. The legacy of the Fujimori years in Peru is perhaps most often associated with neoliberal restructuring: the dismembering of a bloated state through privatization and the 'opening' of the economy through liberalized tax and investment incentives (see introduction). Yet, an inevitable feature of this process was the increasing centralization of power and decision-making around the President's office. The general collapse of the party system (see Tanaka 2005) in 1990, combined with hyper-inflation and *Sendero Luminoso's* impending 'strategic offensive', granted the incoming 'outsider president' latitude and liberties. Beyond the *autogolpe* and the re-writing of the constitution, Fujimori drastically cut back funding to local governments and oversaw the continued rise of independent candidates running municipal campaigns. As the particularities of exception (economic crisis and terrorism) faded, political frustration with the country's re-centralization processes increased. By the time the corruption scandal involving the Vladimiro Montesino tapes ended the Fujimori era, nation-wide disgust and fatigue had reached critical mass (McNulty 2011). Interim president Valentin Paniagua immediately set-up a decentralization commission in the hopes of hastening a localized governance process that had tepidly begun under Fernando Beluande (1980-85) before its *fuji-interruption*. Alejandro Toledo soon followed suit creating a new national schematic of regional departments in the hopes of streamlining the devolution of state functions.

This project of decentralization – implemented and emanating from Lima and in-line within international standards and trends – mapped on and coincided with the country's new

extraction development model, imbricating government policy with opportunity and challenge. Part of Alberto Fujimori's macro-normative shift towards foreign investment involved the establishment, in 1992, of the *canon minero* law, which allocated a percentage of corporate taxes paid by mining companies to the local territories they worked in (Arellano-Yanguas 2012, 92). As decentralisation measures gained pace at the turn of the millennium, the *Ley de Canon* was deemed a strategic tool to help fund a system of devolved administration, and was updated by Congress in June 2001, more than doubling the corporate payments made to extractive locales. The intention of the *Canon* was to fund infrastructural development at the local level and reverse historical patterns of neglect (Crabtree 2014). As the economic windfall and excitement which followed the 2004-2009 commodity price boom gained pace, 'the magnitude of extractive transfers became the number one source of public investment for all sub-national governments created through the decentralization process, while the sub-national administrations remained exceptionally limited in their capacities and 'professionalism' (see Avila, Viale and Monge 2011; see also Ballon 2011).

This framework of governing resource investment, of course, pulls us back to the hallways of the municipality building in Challhuahuacho, outlined in Chapter 2. While Victor and Ernesto had begun to take practical steps towards their imagined futures (beyond just waiting to sell land) developing a tentative project for social becoming, gleaned from experiences on the margins of maturing extraction, their request was immediately shifted back to the local low-skill project cycle - entrepreneurial and professional desires rebuffed; the *canon* becoming the offered alternative to 'sustainable development' projects and the sponsoring of cultural events. Indeed, I would argue that these two aspects of Peru's 'new localism' – CSR gifts and huge royalty transfers - are to be understood as mutually supportive from the prospective of corporations moving into 'forgotten' corners of the Andes. If international norms of responsible corporate action provide MMG with techniques and projects catered towards a 'new sustainable Indian' – those celebrated as 'progressive mining' - company officials on the frontlines (*relacionistas*) are conscious of the dissonance between these projects and local expectations for work, service provision, and social becoming more generally. Yet, the unavoidable antagonisms are granted a release-valve by the canon 'pay-off'. If Andean crop interventions and *huatia* festivals do not live up to the mineral optimism found throughout the region, they at least begin to structure that which can be asked and expected from the corporation proper. All other requests should be shifted to the municipal building where the penance of extraction has been paid for (in the case of royalty payments) or is soon to be (in the case of canon payments). It strikes the corporate

Peruvian tightrope of 'controlling their environment', while avoiding the direct demands of a 'quasi state' (Bebbington 2010, 109). The management of corporate entanglements is, thus, channeled to predictable deductions, ensuring profits a degree of inevitable flow.

This of course is not to say that hidden documents exist in the locked filing cabinets of corporate headquarters outlining an explicit policy of extending seeds and festivals so that *comuneros* go knocking on the door of local government. Nor that motives and action are uniform throughout MMG's institutional structure (as Welker [2009; 2014] reminds us, corporations are not monoliths). It is simply an anthropological diagnosis of CSR consequences beyond the document; of 'how "responsibility" is practiced' and gleaned from 'everyday routines' (Dolan and Rajak 2016, 2). Whether these everyday routines can be maintained amongst the tense frictions and contradictions of resource-making is a grave question of concern for government and corporation alike. Indeed, mutual interest in supporting extractive peace goes beyond royalty payments and the *canon* pay-off.

La bala and the spectre of violence

Another *asamblea* in Ccahuapirhua. The complications of waiting and the threatening phantom of despair are punctured by the theatrical fortnightly event. Disgruntled friends and family members take turns articulating grievances and berating others; a cathartic steam-blowing session. A weary satisfaction sets in by sun down as c*omuneros* seek out the solitude of their homes. As I pack my bag I notice Alois mounting his motorbike. He offers me a lift to Challhuahuacho.

Born in Ccahuapirhua, like so many others, he left with his brother for Arequipa. He found school difficult and fell into precarious work patterns on the margins of the city, before returning to his community of birth during the great re-migration. Unlike others within Ccahuapirhua he joined the evangelical church within Challhuahuacho and so did not partake in the casual and celebratory drinking sessions, nor the festival circuit, which had helped develop my intimacy with others. Our brief encounters and exchanges had transpired on the football pitch or during community *faenas*. The twenty-minute ride into town provided an opportunity for us to speak alone and in confidence.

I hugged him tight as we went over the uneven road, at once to secure myself around the abrupt turns, but also to hear him speak amongst the vicious wind which encircled us. I probed very little. He spoke openly, without prompt, through his religious outlook about the end of days, Jesus's example to man, and global warming. I had resigned myself as a passive recipient to his

personal prism before he questioned me: 'what do you think of *la empresa*?'. Eager to appease and declare solidarity with the malignant poverty and frustrated *becomings* I had been privy to during the duration of my fieldwork, I bellowed into his ear a sincere – if also quite broad – comment about the lack of productive engagement and *desarrollo* within affected communities since the arrival of the mine. I had in mind the foolish cultural events that amounted to little more than dancing and drinking, as well as the absence of professional *chamba*. He did not initially respond, but eventually offered forth a rejoinder as we passed through the community of Qeuena and approached the outskirts of Challhuahuacho: '*Los chinos*[69] only care about *la bala* (the bullet)'. A large truck rolled past, rupturing the conversation, leaving his words there for a moment longer. 'They do not listen to us', he continued, 'and they are not afraid to shoot'.

Alois's blatant statement about community-corporate relations left me ashamed as I slinked off his *moto* in Challhuahuacho. I walked back towards my rented room and thought about the dissonance between our offered encapsulations of MMG's engagement with a local 'surplus' population. My answer embodied an unfortunate stereotype of the anthropologist, immersed and lost in a search for nuance – layered rationale and explanations – oblivious to the explicit. Searching for insinuated logics enfolded amongst projects and discourse, I had lost sight of '*la bala'*. It is the shadow of CSR techniques that anthropological analysis cannot ignore in extraction zones. The contradictions and limits of governing desirous subjectivities on the margins of the mine requires extra-normal protocols for both the aspirations and frustrations bubbling beyond the equilibrium of 'responsibility'; measures to keep 'discordance' under wraps (see Sawyer 2004; Watts 2001; Welker 2009; Zailk 2004).

Indeed, prior to my ride on the back of Alois's *moto*, I was becoming increasingly privy to an opaque security apparatus. Amongst the *cantina* conversations in Challhuahuacho, interested as they often were in revealing patterns of corruption that were hindering the prospects of communities, accusations were often made about particular individuals on 'the payroll' (cf. Welker 2009, 143). They did not simply include municipal and government officials, but unsuspecting *comuneros* regarded as 'spies'. According to my trusted friends, these company informants were interested first and foremost in voicing and stifling anti-mining sentiment in the

[69] 'Los Chinos' was a common refrain throughout the mining zone to refer to MMG. At once it is a locally distilled – if also conjectural - opinion on the owners of the mine, shot through the prism of race which has its own historical connotations in the country (an immense contingent of Asian immigrants had made their way to Peru in the early twentieth century and were soon absorbed into the prejudicial imagination of the country). The expression also draws upon the perceived difference in corporate management which accompanied the sale of the concession by the Swiss company Xstrata to the Chinese-state consortium of MMG in 2015.

communities. They were enlisted to tip-off MMG when agitation was growing and the organization of *paros* (strikes) and protests began gaining momentum. Often, it was said, they were granted positions of 'over-sight' for corporate gifts as compensation for their information (project coordinator, etc.). In certain instances, I was instructed outright to not contact so-and-so, or to be careful with what I said around another individual.

By far the most maligned character – he who was universally understood to be in the pocket of corporate interests - was the local police chief, Xavier. He elicited a mixture of contempt and charm from locals; my interlocutors were eager to shake his hand when they passed in the streets of Challhuahuacho, and just as keen to besmirch his character when out of earshot. His pristine 4X4 Toyota pick-up truck, the new hotel he was constructing, and the lavish birthday parties he threw were all seen as clear indictments to shady finances. In turn, it was understood that the Challhuahuacho branch of the national police would respond to unrest if needed. The day did eventually come. As noted in the dissertation's introduction, in September of 2015, a regional wide *paro* (strike) was confronted by the police force when protestors threated to spill into the perimeters of the new mine; 3 were killed, dozens injured and incarcerated. A national state of emergency was declared, and the strike was broken. The priorities of protection were established.

Recognizing the importance of this event for *Cotabambinos* in search of opportunity and a better life, I began to ask more questions about the *enfrentamiento*. Nearly all my interlocutors had vivid memories of September 2015 when the region-wide strike was declared, and demands were issued to the company for re-negotiation (demands that coincided with the post-construction lull in economic activity).[70] Friends and acquaintances spoke of shutting down businesses throughout Challhuahuacho, blockading roads, and sleeping in the hills near the town and mine. Though fear was prevalent given the steady build-up of police in the region, *comuneros* often declared that the sense of solidarity outweighed the anxiety of escalation. Communal meals were prepared and shared right up until the first stones were thrown.

Yet, the lingering echoes of the 2015 confrontation stretched beyond recollections. One afternoon, while *hueveando* with Victor in Challhuahuacho, I had begun asking him specific questions on the terrible days in September: who fired first? Where were the protestors located? Where were the police? Trying to get any idea of the moments of convulsion. To my surprise –

[70] Specifics on the demands that were issued were hard to come by. On more than one occasion I heard rumor of documents issued on behalf of the communities but had no luck in tracking them down.

and no doubt in an effort to get me off his back – he pulled out his phone. Scrolling through photos of girls he knew in Cusco and Lima, he eventually arrived at those he was looking for. He handed me the mobile and instructed me to continue swiping. One by one they rolled across the screen, pictures of smoke billowing from a hill that was the familiar backdrop to the boomtown; overturned cars; police in riot gear, crouched behind large shields; short shaky videos taken by individuals along the hills hurling rocks and insults. I winced and handed the mobile back to Victor when I arrived at the gruesome images of the wounded and dead. 'You took all these?', I asked. He chuckled and shook his head. 'They are a collection of photos taken by everyone in the area that day. They were shared and passed around through Facebook and Whatsapp.' I shifted my gaze to Ernesto who was sitting silently beside us. He reached for his pocket and the rectangular bulge near his hip, asking if I wanted to see more. I shook my head, immediately confronted with the paradox of this digital collage being carried around by *comuneros* as they strolled through the sponsored *fiestas* of corporate governance.

Yet, despite the dire precedent of increasing securitization set by the tragic events of 2015, the communities of Quehuira, Pumamarca, Allahui, and Choquecca-Antio protested once again the following year demanding payment and transportation royalties for use of a road passing through their territory (again, as stated in the introduction). This time, following the death of Quintino Huisa, the sealed doors of MMG offices in Peru were opened to the press. A number of weeks after the conflict, the nationally acclaimed television program *Cuatro Poder* aired a special presentation on the turmoil in Cotabambas which I watched with a friend in Challhuahuacho. The program commenced with various interviews of community representatives in which compensation demands were declared for use of the road. Thereafter the journalist from *America Television* sat down with Claudio Caceres, the *gerente general de Las Bambas*. The questions were straightforward and to the point: *Is MMG paying the local police for protection?* In a collected tone, Caceres responds that it is not an unusual practice in a country where the state is unable to properly ensure security and order on its margins. The journalist continues, interested in burrowing to the specifics of the most recent *enfrentamiento*, inquiring what will be done, how a resolution might be reached? Caceres replies in responsible corporate speak: 'We will begin dialogue again, and converse with them [the communities] so that we can realize sustainable development projects'. Recognizing the discordance between 'development projects' and the requests for indemnification, the journalist interjects: 'But never to settle with a cash payment?'. Caceres, severe and unruffled, responds definitively: 'We will not make payments for the use of

a public road'.[71] The options available to expectant comunities seeking avenues for negotiation and indemnification are clear and stark, revealing both corporate governance's publicized face and its dark underbelly: 'development' projects or security crackdown.

Conclusion

The dust tossed up from the road could not mask the peculiarity of the billboard posted on the outskirts of Challhuahuacho. 'Mining for Progress', a slogan sealed behind laminated plastic, appeared before any and all weary travellers now entering the new economic hub of Cotabambas; the nebulous yet optimistic claim amplified by glowing faces and joyous gestures. The advertorial announcement demonstrated that the corporation was active in more than falling mountains, but was following in the wake of global norms of responsible engagement ordained by principles beyond profits. The dictates of corporate social responsibility had been initiated during a time of industrial crisis, nearly two decades prior, and travelled with members of ICMM to mining zones and locales across the globe. The impacts, consequences, logics and tensions that lay behind the superficial tarp were more complicated than initial appearance.

Indeed, as this chapter has demonstrated, though the central principles of ICMM implementation throughout the Bambas mining zone conjured a 'new sustainable Indian' who lived off the land while reaffirming his culture, what 'sustainable development' *did* was substantially different. 'Mining for Progress' and CSR gifts played out amongst the tense double bind of corporate extraction, where expectation had to be raised for exploitation to begin and subsequently suppressed for profits to then be maximized. Accordingly, the travelling techniques of ICMM protocol were put to use amongst the undesired realities of a pre-populated region, prioritizing sustainable aspiration rather than development; establishing what could be asked and expected of the corporation from local populations carrying with them the vestiges of mineral optimism. Corporate *relacionistas* on the frontlines of community engagement lived and operated in knowledge of these challenges and discordances, working, as best they could, to channel social becoming towards the canon pay-out: a predictable and deductible compensation package placed at the door of the municipality; relinquishing the corporation of the burdens

[71] There is slight nuance to this point and more context may be useful. Essentially, while many of the roads in Cotabambas and Chumbivilcas being used by MMG to haul copper towards the Pacific port of Matarani were new or expanded, they became incorporated into the national road system through back-door channelling and negotiations. Following this, they became public roads, meaning the corporation would not be required to pay for their use. Certain communities found the un-transparent process as devious, and debates and disagreements on 'public' and 'private' became incorporated into protests and the politics of land (see Chapter 2).

caused by a state-governance vacuum. If *relacionistas* were not ignorant of dissonance, local communities were not fooled either. While sustainable livelihood projects were often neglected and cultural events equally mocked, individuals continued to mine what they could from these extended opportunities. Yet, the expansive gulf between CSR engagement and the search for a better life was ultimately secured and 'policed' by a state-corporate security alliance, where 'unreasonable Indians', interested in money and indemnification rather than peasant-oriented projects, could be disciplined if required. The spectre of violence lurked amongst the slippages of CSR to further buffer the 'social licence to operate'.

The arguments of this chapter build upon anthropological interpretations of corporate governance while bringing them into conversation with resource-making and social becoming. The contradictions revealed in CSR practices emphasize the centrality of 'expectation' (mineral affects) and its management as a corporate preoccupation for maintaining the flow of frictionless profits. In doing so, the chapter highlights the unintended outcomes of 'modern mining' and offers forth questions of its own. In particular, whether the 'sustainability' of 'new' extraction was as unpredictable in preserving ecological consensus amongst communities in the Bambas mining zone. The following chapter moves forward with this in mind, attempting to delve into the peculiar elixirs of environmental regulation and a progressive social imaginary.

Chapter 5. Toxic Endurance and Exhaustion

It was one of those days I dreaded. Hopping off the *combi* in Cconccacca and beginning the climb towards Ccahuapirhua, propelled by a guilty conscience. There was still no word on when exactly the *saneamiento basico* (the next development *obra*) would arrive and the majority of *comuneros* had left for 'the city' or were *hueveando* in Challhuahuacho. The community would be quiet, near empty. On certain days, strolling up the hill, keeping an eye out for wild *toros* (bulls), I stared at the still frame of the village, projecting myself into a distant future, wondering if this might be the *forever* of Ccahuapirhua, its cruel extractive fate: a collection of abandoned houses built for a mining boom that never arrived. A museum of false-promises, discordant expectations and despair. Regardless, I maintained a compulsion to always, if only for a day or two each week, return to the community which had so graciously adopted me; even if I knew that the trip would amount to nothing more than a potentially dreary paragraph in my diary.



[**Figure 28.** ***View of Ccahuapirhua from the road running west towards Abancay*****. Source: author.**]

On this particular day, having arrived at the *plaza*, I began to walk off and between the adobe houses, calling out the names of individuals as I passed. A reply did eventually come, soft but secure. I rounded the home of Diego to find his wife Mayu sitting with her cousin Fiorella. They were sifting through *chocho* (Andean lupin beans), in the early phases of dinner preparation. I sat down on the grassy ridge beside them.

Mayu was a young and brave woman in her 20s, always willing to chat, refusing to remain reserved around the presence of men who were not her husband. Indeed, it was she who

often initiated conversations with me, asking about Canada and work opportunities there. *How many siblings did I have? Are they all professionals? Would I, one day, be a professional*? I always appreciated her candor.

At this point, having known her life history fairly well – her young school days in Arequipa, marrying and moving to Cotabambas before she had completed her studies – I used our quiet stationary opportunity to ask about her future; thoughts of the community's fate during my recent stroll still weighing heavily upon me. *Do you plan on remaining in the community?* I asked bluntly.

'No. We will have to leave, especially when my son grows older' she responded, maintaining concentration and dexterity, the heap of lupins mounting between us. I was well aware that the majority of women in the community disparaged the level of schooling in the region (in rural settings wholesale) - despite the community's 'new school' - and that they preserved desires of sending their children to be educated in Peru's cities in due course; the motherly obsession of professionalization and a better life projected onto the next generation.

'You will leave to educate him in Arequipa?'

'Yes, that is one reason. But also, because of *contaminación*. I don't want to expose my child to it for too long.'

As she says this, she looks northwards, elevating her chin, signalling the source of her concern beyond the mountain of Chucruni: the Bambas open pit. It was an exceptionally uncommon statement at the time; not so much the departure foretold,[72] but the recognition and explanatory power now granted to extractive pollution.

'*Contaminación*? So, you are already planning on leaving?', I asked, inflecting Mayu's statement with my surprise and confusion. She and her husband, as *retornantes*, had arrived from Camana four years ago. Their son born here in Ccahuapirhua two years prior.

'Yes,' she re-stated. 'We will all have to.' We carried on cleaning the legumes in silence. I looked once more northwards, wondering of and searching for signs of *contaminación* that were emanating (or soon to be) from the industrial project, spilling forth into Ccahuapirhua, despite the laudatory claims of 'modern mining' and environmental responsibility so often promoted by government and industry. *What forms of environmental consciousness existed here in the communities surrounding Las Bambas? In what ways was ecological degradation*

[72] After all, the majority of imagined and desired futures I had assembled amongst individuals of the region had almost all unanimously been elsewhere (see Chapter 1).

understood, socially produced, and subsequently prioritized? What other mining 'externalities' infused, silenced, and shifted considerations of contaminación *and environmental politics?*

The rise of environmental regulation and ecological imaginaries

One of the most pressing concerns in the mining industry's work towards crisis management during the 1990s was to resolve its reputation as a 'dirty' industry. With the rise of global environmentalist movements and advocacy networks, 'critics' proliferated during the 1980s and 90s, producing a new image of mining capitalism and its ecological consequences (see Kirsch 2014). Photos and documents detailed devastated landscapes caused by toxic tailings and the unearthing of minerals. Where once the mining industry had enjoyed relative freedom from oversight, located as it often was in 'remote' locations, NGOs and activists, buoyed by advancements in technology, ensured corporate activity would no longer go unscrutinised (Kirsch 2014, 8). The mining industry itself moved swiftly to establish oxymoronical claims of 'sustainability', co-opting discourses and organizations (Kirsch 2010; 2014), but the threats and problems posed by new forms of environmental activism would not be solved with ease by corporate 'goodwill' alone.

Indeed, the rise of environmental concerns also worked their way into the institutional priorities of development banks and donor agencies active in macro-normative correction (Li 2015, 191). Standards on regulation and oversight became required elements of structural adjustment and the prosperous 'spear points' (Danielson 2006, 17) that extractive investment was prescribed to hold for stagnant and distorted economies. It was part of what Peter Bille Larsen has referred to as the 'quiet revolution of environmental protection' that swept the globe during the later decades of the 20th century (2015, 1). Accordingly, beyond corporate discourse on technology and intention, neoliberal transformation amongst the 'Global South' was often affixed with demands on and evolutions in environmental institutions and frameworks, particularly in those countries where new frontiers would be created for resource exploitation.

While environmental concerns and legislation had begun in Peru as far back as the 1970s, it was not until the 1990s that the creation of national regulation began to hasten. Multilateral loan agreements to 'adjust' the countries chronic fiscal problems of the late 1980s entailed broad stipulations. Among them was the institutionalization of emerging environmental norms. The process itself was unevenly implemented, diverse, and seemingly chronic in its incompletion (Larsen 2015, 2); forever unfolding. Vague constitutional articles about the right to life (1993) were followed up by a General Law of the Environment (2006). The National Environmental

Council (CONAM) was created in 1998 to coordinate environmental policy across sectors of government before it was disbanded and replaced by a Ministry of the Environment in 2008. Responsibilities passed hands and acronyms were re-arranged as various Peruvian administrations ironed out the wrinkles of neoliberal maturation well into the new millennium.

In regard to mining, the creation of a regulatory regime settled upon mechanisms of participatory accountability - following the usual patterns of global consensus and implementation - in the hopes of avoiding future forms of local contestation that could possibly be traced to environmental degradation (Richardson 2015). If mining could never truly be sustainable, it should at least be transparent, conscious, and proactive in its concerns for local regions and communities. As such, the 'Environmental Impact Assessment' (EIA) framework was adopted by Peru in 1990 which required all mineral investment endeavours to produce pre-project studies on potentially 'affected' landscapes to track and mitigate 'impacts'. These assessments were first introduced in the United States in 1969, mirroring the rise of environmental advocacy movements that spilled forth onto the international stage. Adoption and promotion of the EIA increased amongst multi and bilateral donor agencies and development banks. In 1989 EIAs had become a requirement for all World Bank-financed projects, a measure soon followed by a host of international policies and regulations during the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro that encouraged the instrumentalization of the framework into national law (see Li 2015, 191; Sadler 1996). Thus, Peru was but one of many countries to address environmental concerns with the participatory overtures of assessment and mitigation.

Despite the institutionalizing of EIAs, and as mentioned in the introduction to the dissertation, 'conflicts' have proliferated and persisted since the onset of extraction-led development in Peru. Within activist and academic literatures dealing with local contestations caused by mining, the coinage of 'socio-environmental' conflicts have been used as a capacious descriptor of such events. While it is perhaps unsurprising that 'participation' and technicalized 'mitigation' can never truly address 'impacts' of open-pit mining – of dissolving mountains; shifting tones of earth – the connections between the social world and the environment are left unscrutinised. In what ways are the social and the environmental connected? Can they be bracketed out? What does the environment mean for local communities in and amongst the many other social concerns of mining's shadows? What tensions exist between environmental and economic justice within the 'forgotten' corners of the Andes? Such questions begin to rattle the very underpinnings of environmental thought, assumptions, and activism which first began to critique industry and spurn forms of regulatory governance in the first place. In particular, the

idea of a pure environmental consciousness and consensus attributable to local 'isolated' peoples.

As Stuart Kirsch argues, the escalation of mining conflicts during the 1980s and 90s coincided with a particular form of environmental politics and activism. Many of the social movements involved with challenging and critiquing extraction drew upon Joan Martinez-Alier's idea of an 'environmentalism of the poor' (Martinez-Alier 2002; see Kirsch 2014, 7). The concept itself attempted to shift attention away from the post-materialist hypotheses of economic privilege (Inglehart 1977) and a fascination with the 'wilderness' (Cronon 1996), instead positing that marginalized communities are 'especially vulnerable to environmental degradation and therefore more likely to engage in political action to protect their access to resources' (Kirsch 2014, 7). Certainly, this can be seen to be the case in many countries and locales throughout the world. The thesis itself has been equally (though indirectly) supported by the extensive work of academics researching local ecologies and up-ending antiquated, racial, and colonial biases which saw small-scale and longstanding forms of environmental engagement as primitive; flawed by a lack of modernity (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Posey 1985; Richards 1985; Sillitoe 1998; Sillitoe, Bicker and Pottier 2002).

While these accounts have been a welcomed reinterpretation of marginalized livelihoods they have also coincided with a rise in romanticism (largely outside of the academy) towards and around a new noble savage; indigenous, native, or peasant peoples constructed as pristine and uncorrupted protectors of the environment (Ellen 1986; Gedicks 2001; McNeish 2012; Milton 1996; and Redford 1991). It is with this in mind, that authors such as Heatherington (2010), Shah (2010), and Conklin and Graham (1995) can speak of a 'global ecological imaginary' bound up within the institutions, policy and discourse of contemporary development, that champions sustainable ecological practices preserved by rural or 'isolated' peoples. In the words of Tracey Heatherington, contemporary activism has depended upon the 'reification and essentialism of traditional culture which amplifies the presumed divide between an industrialized, capitalist "Western" heritage, and innocent isolated, subsistence-oriented indigenous cultures' (2010, 43); these 'environmentalist narratives have typically presented history, ecology, and culture as uncomplicated objects of knowledge and advocacy' (2010, 43). Such imaginaries are burdened with both truths and misconceptions, with the power to engage its subjects in a variety of ways, especially when it comes to extraction. Are individuals and communties always interested in preserving their resources and mobilizing against contamination? Do livelihoods always wish to be preserved? The answers to these questions become exceptionally complicated amongst the entanglements of resource-making and social becoming.

Participatory accountability and regulation-in-practice

'Come to Ccahuapirhua tomorrow morning', I was told, Oscar's voice was calm, without animosity. 'I have a *reunión* you will find interesting'.

It was an unusual proclamation for Oscar. He had grown cagey towards me over the months; a testiness that derived, I assumed, from the growing tensions in Ccahuapirhua over land rights, family rivalries, and debates on legitimate *comuneros*; a lingering fear that I might be hearing and understanding things he had not initially wished for when he sanctioned my arrival to carry out research in the community. However, I did as I was instructed, hitch-hiking to the community before sunset and sharing a bed with Oscar in the house of his *cuñado* (brother-in-law), watching dvds on a small television, tucked under wool blankets.

We rose early, drank some *chicha* prepared by his mother, and sat together on a small hill at the corner of the *plaza* – one of the only parts of the community where cellphone reception passed in and out. Oscar scrolled through his Facebook feed and spoke through the side of his mouth, finally revealing the urgency behind my invitation: 'there is a *monitoreo* today. You will come with me'. Moments later a white Toyota Hilux crossed the Record river, climbed to the plaza, and honked to signal its urgent schedule.

Oscar and I piled into the back of the cab amongst plastic briefcases and containers. As we climbed the back road, lurching around Chucruni mountain, the contracted engineer in charge of the process, sitting in the passenger seat alongside his driver, feigned excitement at my presence, while rigorously attempting to ascertain my presence in the community and the topic of my research. Of utmost importance was my disciplinary background and expertise; poorly masked fear that corporate 'sustainable mining' narratives might be ruptured by my participation. I answered in vague pre-rehearsed sentences. Oscar sat beside me, smiling, reveling in the engineer's discomfort and in the knowledge that his status as community vice-president protected my presence.

The chit-chat petered out as the truck came to a stop. We unloaded the large crates and brief cases, lugging them from the road up the east side of the mountain, arriving at a small stream that fell over a slight ledge; a natural point for collection. The hauled containers held glass flasks of various sizes, differentiated further by caps of diverse colors (brown, blue, yellow, etc.) and markings on their sides (a mash of chemical compound symbols and names, as far as I could tell). Oscar and I were in charge of opening each container in accordance to the color we were told, filling them below the rivulet-fall, and handing them off to the engineer thereafter. He

would then deposit a few drops of an unknown substance into the flasks before returning to us for recapping. Within one of the plastic carrying cases was a complex electronic gadget, accompanied by a number of instruments; a confluence of cords, with metal tips, running to and from monitors and buttons. The engineer would stop intermittently and collect 'readings' on the water contained in the flasks and jot them down into a notebook he carried in his pocket. It was an overwhelming process, dizzying, compounded by the fact that nothing was explained to us for the duration of our labor.

While we frantically uncapped and recapped the bottles, Oscar made subtle signals to me, suggesting I take some photos of the process. He also scampered down and peered over the shoulder of the *technico* (engineer) as he marked down the unspecified reading from his machine. As we walked back down the hill Oscar approached me, whispering: 'Did you get any photos? The number on the machine was 7.2'. He stared at me expecting answers. I told him that number meant just as much to me as it did to him. He snapped back: 'You need to be asking more questions!'. Just then, Tio Telofilo approached. He had been busy in his *chacra* below our monitoring site. He pleaded with the engineer in *Quechua*, 'Please, don't take all the water'. Oscar translated the request, to which the *technico* responded in terse bursts of Spanish: 'only testing' and then 'improvement', rubbing his belly (presumably a gesture of good health?). Confusion was consuming not only myself, but the invited and uninvited *comuneros* of Ccahuapirhua.

At the second location - another stream on the Tapacondor ridge to the southwest of Chucruni mountain - we delved back into our repetitive tasks. This time I felt Oscar's eyes on me. I knew any talk of PH-levels and chemical content would be lost on both of us, so I asked a few questions about the process more generally:

> *Kieran*: Where do the water samples get processed?
>
> *Engineer:* They are sent to a lab in Lima. But we only have 24 hrs. We must go to other communities today as well. Then all packages are rushed to Cusco by truck, and flown on to Lima.
>
> *K*: And when the results are ready, are they sent back to the community?
>
> *E:* I don't think so. [Looks at Oscar who fails to confirm or deny]. I don't think so. But I believe the results are public. They should be available.
>
> *K*: How would an individual from Ccahuapirhua get access to the results?

E: I believe they would have to apply for the documents from the lab directly.

K: In Lima?

E: Yes, in Lima.

We soon pack up the equipment and samples, the engineer and his driver eager to get to the next monitoring locations in other communities. Before leaving we are beckoned to the hood of the truck where papers are strewn about. Oscar and I print and sign our names on a few documents, declaring our presence at the *monitoreo*, and thus, granting it the participatory stamp of approval. Finally, 100 *soles* are handed over to us, which the engineer claims we must share for our help today.

Returning to the deserted community plaza, Oscar, agitated and restless, demands we hitch-hike into Challhuahuacho. We travelled in silence, words and understanding escaping us. I could sense that he was frustrated with me. The invitation was a generous offer of appeasement, allowing me a window into environmental governance in-practice, something he knew I had been interested in. Yet, I also sensed a failure on my part; that I was summoned to participate in the *monitoreo* as an aide – a highly educated outsider who might assist in making sense of the whirlwind tour; this rapid and sophisticated corporate measurement scheme. I felt the urge to explain the 'social scientific' nature of my expertise and education – my ineptitude with the technical world of chemicals, meters, even numbers – but such a statement, repeated for a second time, would not serve his disappointment, and would work only to relieve my guilt. As we arrived at the crowded streets of Challhuahuacho, Oscar banged on the panel of the truck that carried us, signalling the arrival to his destination, and with a fresh 100 *soles* sheet in his pocket, absconded into the nearest *cantina*.

As stated in the section above, the challenges faced by the global mining industry elicited both discourse and practice. While government elite within Peru never grew tired of propounding the 'responsibility' and sophistication of 'modern mining', the regulatory framework enacted during the country's neoliberal transition centered upon the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). These highly 'technicalized', 'scientific' studies are carried out, normally, by private consulting firms specializing in their production. Often eclipsing thousands of pages, the studies are compiled for government revision and approval while also presented in large official forums

to local communities prior to the extension of exploitation rights.[73] The assessment itself is, essentially, a corporate sponsored map of local terrain that creates, identifies and distinguishes areas and locations of potential environmental concern that may be impacted by mining operations: water springs, canals, soil-types, air quality, and general features of the landscape (for overview, see Li 2015, 191-194). The document becomes a baseline study from which 'impacts' will be judged in the future, following the commencement of mining construction and exploitation. *Monitoreos,* thus, become regulation or accountability-in-practice as mountains are fell, earth moved, and tailings released; measurements procured for distant laboratories to be contrasted with the original details of the EIA. The 'participatory' overtures of the event add to the responsible and sustainable aspirations of 'modern mining'. Their outcomes, politics, and omissions require attention.

In her monumental ethnography on mining and the environment in Peru, *Unearthing Conflict (2015),* Fabiana Li critiques the regulation regime of the country for its accountability practices. Drawing upon the work of Strathern (2000a; 2000b) and Riles (2006), Li posits environmental regulation in Peru as a form of neoliberal governance, 'where the state's concern is not to impose day-to-day direction, but to ensure internal controls, in the form of monitoring techniques' (2015, 199). The EIA, its consultation practices, and its subsequent observation schemes, Li argues, 'contribute to state legitimacy' (Li 2015, 199) through the 'perfunctory role of checking indicators of performance' (Strathern 2000b). I would not disagree with Li in any of her assessments on the environmental governance regime that has arisen within Peru. Indeed, the *monitoreo* I participated in demonstrates quite clearly that these academic assertions can be made with relative conviction. Claims of performative accountability (Rajak 2011; Li 2015) are obvious and evident: routine and professionalized evaluations of environmental standards to be rendered in technical measurements and then filed away amongst bureaucratic archives, with the signatures of 'participants' on record. As a regulatory practice, *monitoreos* can be seen to exhibit the neoliberal preoccupation with governance through 'accounting', where the document is paramount - an end in and of itself (Li 2015; Strathern 2000a, 2000b; Riles 2006).

Yet, it is also undeniable that environmental regulation-in-practice – the accountability regime – bypasses local communities despite its 'participatory' pretentions. Occurring

[73] The EIA was presented in Challhuahuacho to 'affected communities' in 2010. My interlocutors who were in attendance during the momentous day in Cotabambas recall an atmospheric mixture of confusion and excitement. Singular contrarians had their concerns directed towards a 'suggestion box', while the majority of the local audience sat in approving silence.

sporadically, the *monitoreos* draw singular individuals into fleeting and highly technical processes, where information gaps remain unbridged – the eventual 'document' being a binding contract between the preferential actors of government and corporation. As a regulatory 'technique' it does not seek to disseminate information, but simply demonstrate to communities that activities are being carried out. Indeed, having participated in a *monitoreo* myself, seeing and experiencing the strict boundaries of power and knowledge through the rapid performance of 'scientific' wizardry, I had no idea what Oscar could possibly say at the next community *asamblea* should questions be raised about the event and its results. Sucked into the regulatory theatre for a transient moment, we were no sooner ejected. It was undeniable that environmental regulation worked once (if not twice) removed from communities and individuals living amongst the shadows of extractive 'externalities'.

Accepting Fabiana Li's critiques of environmental governances as performative accountability, this chapter moves on to ask what then becomes of environmental consciousness and politics on the margins of vanquished mountains? In what ways do individuals and communities come to understand shifting landscapes? What informs interpretations and what limits them? And in particular, what weight it granted to environmental concern amongst the plethora of other factors and 'impacts' produced by the maturation of resource-making?

Contaminación, confusion, and ambivalence

There was undoubtedly a blatant impetus behind Oscar's call and invitation to participate in the *monitoreo* (beyond the misdiagnosed expertise I was assumed to have). For months, I had been pestering members of the community about environmental issues and concerns. Prior to travelling to Peru, while cloistered in university libraries, I had been unable to track down many secondary sources on the history and politics of eastern Apurímac. Instead I had come across a host of 'civil society' sources dedicated to *contaminación* and environmental mismanagement; media documentation on the breakdown of communication in the EIA and NGO publications on the adverse impacts of *polvo* (dust) for local communities; encasements of peasant and 'indigenous' people suffering through ecological transformation. The emerging portrayal, while suggesting serious cracks within the environmental framework established for mining, had aligned itself in rudimentary ways with the prevailing logics of an 'environmentalism of the poor' – of discontent and activism imbricated in a dependency on rural landscapes now in transition. During my time in the armchair, I had expected general observations of life in the

shadows of the mine to be swamped by environmental concerns and the trials of living amongst degradation.

Accordingly, I was exceptionally surprised to discover, many months into my fieldwork, that little or no entries into my notebook broached the topic of pollution. Though I had hurried into assembling personal life stories, popular perceptions of the past, and imagined futures amongst the communities I worked in, my research settled into its own flow of inquiries which reflected the concerns of the moment. Of these, environmental anxieties and consciousness played little part. Conversations on ecological damage and change were sparse. They never surfaced in community *asambleas* nor amongst the candid exchanges of the *cantina*. I suddenly realized that a curious hole was opening up in my research, one that failed to square civil society representations of environmental activism and local degrees of ecological concern. The unanticipated discovery forced me onto the offensive. I begun badgering individuals with environmentally-oriented questions. Oscar's invitation was, no doubt, partially spurred by a desire for ethnographic respite – shutting the anthropologist up.

Prior to the *monitoreo* I had first decided to broach the topic of pollution while on a stroll through the hills above the main *caserio* of Ccahuapirhua with Tio Luis and his son-in-law Gustavo. Ostensibly we were to visit the lingering ruins of homes and spaces that Tio had frequented as a young boy before he had set off for Abancay in search of a better life. Testing our ankles and balance over the uneven and mound-ridden *campo,* I saw the forced intimacy of a long rural walk as an opportunity to not only further explore the story of his life, but to discuss topics and issues of broader significance. When we reached the *puna*, the spectacular *vista* of the mine presented itself to the north-east; it's large reservoir, its blocked encampment, its burrowing rings traversed by minuscule machinery. As we gazed in its direction, I asked Tio in a forthright manner: 'is *la mina* (the mine) contaminating the community?'.

'Of course!', he exclaimed, seeming to reprimand my ignorance.

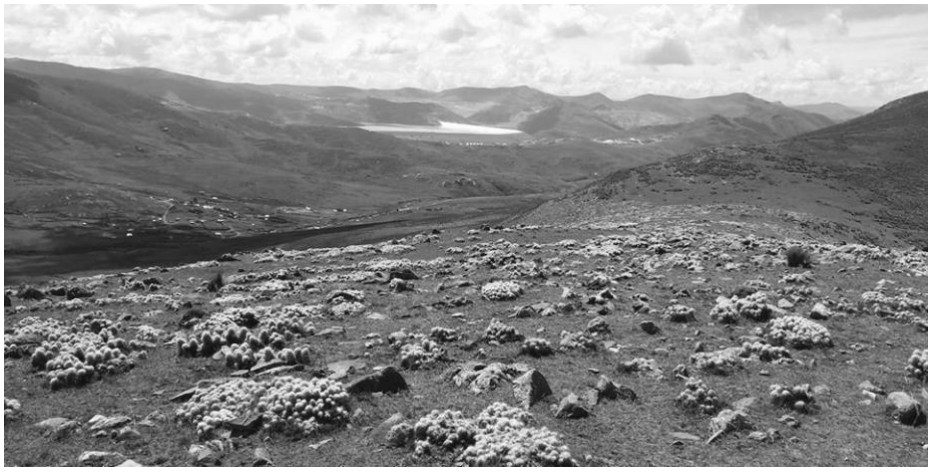
'What is being contaminated?' I continued.

The response was less certain as he and Gustavo patched an answer together. '*La tierra*' (the earth), they began with. *La agua tambien* (the water as well). 'And *el aire'*, Gustavo said, adding that friends in other communities had mentioned an '*olor fuerte*' (strong smell) during certain times of the day. Their broad strokes amounted to *everything*.

I remained in a slight state of agitation about the capaciousness of the examples offered, which amounted, in my mind, to obscurity. 'How is this contamination occurring?'. Then getting

more precise and personal, ‘How do you know?’. The ghost of anthropology hovered above, demanding the intricacies of local logic.

It was Tio’s turn to express frustration at my desire to be so particular with something so obvious: ‘*Mira* (look)!’ he declared, pointing towards the mine. ‘Do you not see *el polvo* (the dust)?’. I rested my eyes on the large conveyor-belt, toyish in the distance, which dumped loose gravel and rock into large piles. Circling around it amongst the flat pit of the mine were trucks and heavy machinery. Together they stirred up fine powder with their movement. ‘The wind blows it beyond the mine’, he continued. ‘How could there not be *contaminación*?’. Impurity and danger, I thought.



[**Figure 29.** ***View of Las Bambas from the*** **puna** ***above Ccahuapirhua.*** **Source: author.**]

I fell silent, unwilling to annoy Tio Luis anymore with my questions. We carried on through the *puna* for some time, barely talking. When we began to tire once more, Tio stopped at a natural spring of water, flowing forth from a subterranean source, turning the patch of land we had reached dark green. He bent down and used his hand to cradle large bowls of water to his mouth before gesturing at me to do the same. I hesitated for a moment, caught between our previous discussion and a desire to not immediately return to it. ‘It is clean?’, I asked, avoiding the word *contaminación*.

‘Yes. It is delicious and pure’.

I bent towards the runnel and quenched my thirst.

If I had been perplexed by the dissonance that characterized my afternoon outing with Tio Luis, I had to get over it. In attempting to delve into the environmental consciousness of *comuneros* and communities in the Las Bambas mining zone I was repeatedly presented with similar portrayals of ecological change: broad and muddled; presuppositions soon contradicted in

action or talk. Contaminating questions produced adulterated answers which constantly chafed the ethnographer's desire for order and logic. My field notes - following my concerted effort to probe environmental issues - teem with speculative claims and counter-claims; encased narratives quickly ruptured, followed by resigned shrugs.

Sitting in a *cantina* one afternoon with friends, Eduardo tells me that the mine has devastated the Challhuahuacho river, only for Jesus to exonerate MMG, claiming the polluted water is the product of chaotic urban growth in Challhuahuacho. Roger claims that dust carries toxins while Elena asserts that it does not; its harmful consequences only in its excessive production. Following my persistent probing, I listened to debates on whether animals were *fallecido* (fallen) from poison or malnourishment? Low harvests as a result of *polvo* (dust) or overcrowded re-migration patterns? Strong smells flowing from here or there? Making sense of these environmental accounts would have been a dizzying endeavor that might have constituted a thesis in itself. Certainly, toxic talk for the duration of my fieldwork in Cotabambas bore no resemblance to the concise and reasoned environmental consciousness portrayed in the media platforms that covered *conflictos mineros* and contributed to the national debate. Nor did they amount to a type of 'environmentalism of the poor' or noble peasant ecologists; communities identifying and rallying around specific changes to local land and waterscapes caused by mining's externalities. Responses to my questions on the *contaminación* caused by Las Bambas produced both conjecture and conviction; a particular elixir of rumor and observation. There appeared a consensus that environmental degradation was occurring and inevitable, yet a bewildering ambivalence towards sources and consequences.

An immensely important contribution to understandings of ecological suffering in the 'Global South' is Javier Ayuero and Debora Swistun's *Flammable* (2009). The monograph, produced from two and half years of ethnographic work within an Argentine industrial shantytown, challenges many of the US-centric publishing on contaminated communities. In particular, *Flammable* openly challenges the relevance of progressive narratives surrounding environmental advocacy. Conventional academic accounts on pollution and people, empirically dominated by urban industrial settings in the West, champion a narrative of 'popular epidemiology' (Brown and Mikkelsen 1990), where everyday life is suddenly disrupted by the discovery of nearby hazards (Edelstein 2004; Snow et al. 1998; Auyero and Swistun 2008). What Auyero and Swistun discovered in place of collective action, protest, and cognitive liberation was 'the reproduction of ignorance, doubts, disagreements and fears' (2009, 8).

Taking doubts and disagreements seriously, Wendy Wolford aptly criticizes ethnography's tendency to silence irrationality. For Wolford, 'unreasonable' answers are too often jettisoned in the projects of social scientists: 'when we come across informants who contradict themselves, or who can't explain their own motivations, we think of it as "noise" and it gets edited out: nonsense, by definition, does not make sense' (2006, 339). Following Wolford's lead, *Flammable* attempts to re-inject both hesitation and haze into our understandings of environmental suffering, 'incorporating this "noise" into the analysis' (Wolford 2006, 339). As such, Auyero and Swistun posit 'toxic uncertainty' at the forefront of their investigation into the complex realm of contamination on the margins of industrial pollution (2009; see also Auyero and Swistun 2008). This toxic experience, and the breadth of beliefs that constitute it, is characterized by 'confusions, bewilderments, divisions, rumors, frustrations, and hopes' (2009, 6). It is the product of the 'invisible elbows' across degrees of power ensnarled within 'everyday routine survival struggles' (2009, 6). The conceptual claims become exceptionally salient in working our way through environmental experiences and consciousness throughout the Bambas mining zone.

The challenge for the ethnographer becomes not wrestling with contradiction, nor forcing confusion into rationality, but instead, exploring and elucidating the 'production of shared knowledge (of lack thereof)' and toxic beliefs more generally (Auyero and Swistun 2009, 5). Certainly, it can be said that the environmental governance framework of Peru itself is active in the social production of toxic confusion and ambivalence. As outlined above, the 'participatory' framework, monitoring system, documentary processes, and technicalized demands that determine official environmental 'impacts', largely step over communities on the margins of the Bambas mine, establishing preferential jurisdiction and 'understanding' for 'elite' stakeholders (namely, industrial and government scientists and bureaucrats). Yet, this might not be seen as unprecedented. Historically speaking, and as briefly alluded to in the chapter's introduction, 'activism' against the negative environmental externalities of extraction has predominantly been achieved through networks of civil society: NGO and independent institutions creating forms of allyship with local communities that disrupt the normalized functioning of the monitoring station, laboratory, and document pipeline (see Kirsch 2014). However, amongst the Bambas mining zone, there was a paucity of NGOs active in making pollution 'legible' on behalf of by-passed communities; an absence of associations attempting to produce a uniform consciousness and regurgitative interpretation of environmental degradation. Asking around, and speaking to individuals over the duration of my fieldwork, it became apparent that this was not of civil

society's own volition. In particular, the fraught and telling tale of one particular organization began to reappear during my conversations – that of Cooperacción.

Founded in 1997, the national NGO has been at the forefront of promoting the protection of social, political and environmental rights amongst Peru's most marginalized groups. The organization believes strongly in alternatives to extraction and has been highly active amongst current and prospective mining zones throughout the country. In 2006, with the initiation of the Bambas project gaining momentum, Cooperacción established an office not far from *la plaza de armas* in Challhuahuacho. According to Julia Cuadros, a prominent and founding member of the NGO, the goal for expanding into the region, as it had been elsewhere, was to begin to insert counter-narratives into the nascent local debate on mining futures dominated by corporate and government voices. Thus, while the social teams of ProInversión and Xstrata were walking from door to door throughout the province, expounding the potentiality of a copper project and the progress it would bring to the region (see Chapter 1), Cooperacción was organizing *capacitaciones* on the reality of *contaminación* that was well documented in other mining regions throughout the country. However, hostility to the organization's presence mounted. Over the coming years 'incidents' became more and more frequent: stones tossed at the office windows; loosening of the bolts and nuts that attached the tyres to the organization's truck; peculiar attempts to 'lamp' their vehicle while driving at night to cause temporary blindness; even an accusation coordinated between the mine and police force that Cooperacción employees were driving drunk.[74] In 2011, the organization was forced to relocate its office to the more distant town of Tambobamba for reasons of security, where it remains to this day, tucked in the back of a tranquil municipal building and infrequently occupied by a single agronomist.

When I interviewed Julia over coffee in the headquarters of the NGO – located in the Lima suburbs of Jesus Maria - she was quick to highlight the shady alliances that existed between corporate mining and the national police force (again mentioned in Chapter 4) as well as the corrupting potential of illicit funds: pockets lined, pacts made, and voices buried using tactics of enticement and threat. This was partly to blame for the NGO's inability to breach the local environmental barricades in Challhuahuacho. However, running parallel to this corrupt quasi-security alliance, she acknowledged, was the spectre of progress and development that accompanied the announcement of the project; ill-defined but exceedingly alluring. 'There were grand promises in the minds of the people in those early days', she stated. 'Environmental issues

[74] Accusations, it should be stated, that both *Julia* and the organization vehemently deny.

and mobilization will always be running up against them'.

It was and remains a vital point and forces us to return to arguments made throughout this dissertation; namely the affects of resource-making - aspirations for and crises in social becoming. *Contaminación* is but one 'impact' or 'externality' of open-pit mining which cannot be easily disentangled from the other social, economic, and imaginative shifts caused by contemporary extraction in Peru. Environmental consciousness and politics will be forever playing out amongst the competing social and economic realities produced by mining. Further still, the resulting calibrations of environmental concern, in tune with maturation and discordance, are susceptible to shift over time.

Toxic endurance and legacies on the maturing frontier

'*La mina dice que no esta contaminado*' (The mine claims it is not polluting), Manuel is at full pitch, nearly yelling. 'But obviously it is happening.'

We are sitting on the knoll above the plaza in Ccahuapirhua. Another community assembly carries on, spiking in intensity as Mariano (the community president) requests more donations to be made by the gathered *comuneros*. Lawyers in Lima and Abancay, those handling civil and criminal cases tied to the community's sorrowful recent past of land disputes and deaths, have requested payment. His petition stirred unrest, latent frustration within the community on current states of development stagnation.

'Look at Cerro de Pasco', he continues. 'children with mercury in their blood!'

There are murmurs and nods of agreement from the assembled *comuneros* sprawled across the *ichu* mound. They are not only acknowledging the veracity of his claims, nor simply the historical ties between themselves and the people of La Oroya, but also approving the connections that Manuel is drawing - his trajectory of argument and vehement disapproval.

'You' – he points not only at his brother Mariano, but the other members of *la junta directiva* that sit in front of the assembled – 'have not delivered'. Manuel pauses to give the declaration dramatic weight.

'For two years you have been in charge of the community. No projects have arrived from the municipality since the completion of the school. There is no work here. Most of us do not have animals to subsist from. How are we to continue supporting you?' Mariano is nearly in tears listening to his brother condemn his presidency.

Manuel wraps up his admonishment, returning to the issue of contamination. 'The mine say that they are not contaminating, but they are. Why do you not lobby them for more employment opportunities?'.

The mumbles of approval from the audience turns to applause as Manuel finishes and returns to his seat on the grass. I broke my self-imposed rule to never open my notebook during the governance meetings and began to scribble frantically. It was the first time *contaminación* had every come up in an *asamblea* – indeed in conversation without my prompt. Manuel had not gone into depth or detail about the extent of pollution that was impacting the community but was trading in the popular perception of its presence and an ominous historical precedent that supported such claims. Further still, he had struck a trembling cord amongst the community as a whole – one that seemed to state ambivalence was not impermanent or to be taken for granted. The denunciation proved that despite confusion, contamination was not without political potential. It was merely a calculative input amongst the many considerations which orbited projects of social becoming (jobs, opportunity, money, etc.). Manuel's speech placed *contaminación* within a framework of trade-offs in the name of development and opportunity; an orientation that had demanded individuals and communities, I would argue, to practice a form of 'toxic endurance'.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the arrival of copper to the region had not only ignited and stoked mineral optimism, but created new social geographies amongst the communities that surrounded the Bambas mine. The dramatic rise and demographic dominance of *retornantes* (like Manuel and many of the others who applauded his speech) were spurred by the potential of development, professional employment, and progressive notions of social mobility. However, as also noted in Chapter 1, imagined horizons were often located beyond the region. It was an orientation to futures that demanded embedding oneself within the unspecified economic flows and opportunities that extraction would spur, before eventually moving on to various urban 'elsewheres'. Accordingly, it was little wonder that, amongst the early years of resource-making, environmental concerns and the 'impacts' of contamination would be de-prioritized; indeed, that 'lithospheric dreams of wealth and progress' (Weszkalnys 2016, 127) might create antagonisms towards environmental activism altogether (as the example of Cooperacción attested to). Toxins and *contaminación* were simply to be endured as a pre-requisite to the better life that extractive development was originally thought to offer (cf. Povinelli 2011); ambivalence as a necessity for success on the margins of the mine. However, since the onset of production, and the maturation of mining, social becoming faltered and progressive imaginaries were left wanting.

Recalibrations were being made by individuals and communities living with and amongst pollution.

Yet, Manuel's illuminating speech during the community *asamblea* in Ccahuapirhua did not only reveal the frustrations imposed upon individuals by states of waithood and crises in social becoming, but alluded to the popular image of Cerro de Pasco. The evocation of the century-old mining region of central Peru also revealed ancillary inputs and considerations which I had become attuned to amongst my explorations of environmental consciousness throughout the province; adding to factors at play amongst the calculations of endurance and the temporalities of resources.

The first time I heard word of Cerro de Pasco within Cotabambas had occurred months prior. I was sitting in the back of a small *tienda* off the main thoroughfare of Challhuahuacho, drinking a coffee on a late afternoon of a hectic Sunday. I was accompanied by Pedro, a friend from the community of Chila, who was working as an informal *taxista* for the market-going members of his natal community. I had asked him about *contaminación*.

'In twenty years, nothing will be the same', he declared without trepidation; indeed, without much emotion. 'We have seen this happen before, you know. Cerro de Pasco for example', he continues. 'I will not stick around to see it a happen again'. Pedro, like the majority of his community, was a *retornante*. He returned to the region during the great construction boom and had since maintained a precarious livelihood in transportation: delivering produce from Arequipa to the restaurants of the service economy at irregular intervals and moonlighting with taxi work as he was today. He was still holding out hope for a professional position with an MMG contractor, driving heavy equipment around the open pit. But, as he stated, he would not wait around forever.

After sharing silence and a slurp of beer, I asked him to expand. *What do you mean nothing will be the same?*

'Animals will die. The grass will not grow or turn green. People will have to leave,' he stated, not a single false tremor in his voice as he placed his cup on the table. It was a nebulous depiction of an ominous future.

Yet, Pedro was not alone in his ideas of ecological diagnosis and prospects. Some interlocutors I spoke with believed that the air passing over the communities would become unbreathable (a strange smell was often cited within certain regions in close proximity to the open pit of production). Others spoke of the main provincial rivers becoming undrinkable; frogs were already said to be a thing of the past, fish were fewer, and, if you looked closely at streams

running off *cerros* near the mine, you might find unusual colorations and sparkles. Further still, *polvo* (dust) produced my mining activity and the transportation of copper was thought to be progressively making the region browner; an expanding blanket of dirt that would eventual cover the region, its *chacras,* corrals, and houses. They all pointed towards imagined landscapes devoid of life and even its potential: *impending deadscapes*.

These depictions of *contaminación* on the march drew upon popular legacies of mining activities throughout the country. During my conversations with locals, in which I pressed to ascertain a clearer idea of what was causing and would produce these lifeless landscapes, our conversations threatened to spiral back into toxic confusion and debates on practicalities. However, many individuals, perhaps fearing I might not be taking their convictions and opinions seriously, attempted to end petty squabbling by invoking any number of historical and contemporary examples: Tintaya in Espinar, Yanacocha in Cajamarca, and most recently Tia Maria in Arequipa. They were used as argumentative proof that environmental degradation was unavoidable and advancing. These concrete examples of mining legacies worked in the popular imagination to dispel and mock the discourse of 'sustainability' propagated by government and industry officials espousing the 'newness' of the contemporary mining boom. Equally, they impregnated the information gap and silence that defined *monitoreos* and their performative gestures towards accountability. Across these many invocations of mining's devastating end-point for Cotabambinos, there was no more forceful image and oft-repeated example than that of Cerro de Pasco. Its popular power requires some context.

In 1901, following years of exploration, a group of American mining investors purchased 80 percent of the available mineral concessions in the district of Pasco amongst the Western hills of Junín. The Cerro de Pasco Corporation would become the largest mineral operation in Peru for the majority of the 20th century and foreshadowed the potentiality of foreign mining investment. The rich silver and copper veins transformed local economies and migration patterns within the country becoming a site of great academic interest for sociologists, anthropologists, and historians interested in Peru's development trajectory (see Bonilla 1974; Long and Roberts 1984; DeWind 1987). Initially, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation had established a smelter – a metallurgy processing plant which separates metal from ore using chemical agents - in Tinyahuarco, a short distance from the open mining shafts. However, in 1919, a large central smelter complex was built in La Oroya, closer to a dense labor pool and where the Montaro river provided water use and waste disposal (Li 2015, 41-42). Its completion in 1922 was followed lockstep by a backlash from powerful *hacienda* owners in the region whose agricultural interests were adversely

affected by the lead, sulfur dioxide, and arsenic substances that billowed from the complex smokestacks. A 'Smoke Commission' forced the corporation's hand towards compensation packages and a re-evaluation of company strategy moving forward. Large land purchases were made in the area to mediate agrarian concerns and a corporate hygiene division was initiated to deal will local populations, shifting blame and mitigation away from toxic smoke (see Li 2015). Following these contentious early years, ecological debates and unrest were largely pushed underground and out of the public eye.

However, in the 1990s environmental issues had become a national and global concern for government and civil society alike. It was in this political atmosphere that the ecological transformation of the central Andean mining region became more legible. NGO actors descended upon the region which included organizations such as Cooperacción, Oxfam America and an ecumenical network of partner churches from the USA. The major breakthrough in emerging environmental advocacy came with the publication of a vigorous scientific study by St. Louis University's School of Public Health following investment linkages to Missouri. The St. Louis study was a comprehensive inquiry into traces of lead and other contaminants in the blood levels of selected populations in La Oroya and other towns along the Mantaro River valley. Predictably, the results demonstrated a region and its residents riddled with a noxious inheritance (again, for overview see Li 2015). By 2006, the Blacksmith Institute had listed the smelter town of Cerro De Pasco as one of the top ten most polluted places on earth.

Accordingly, the site became a 'national and international symbol of pollution' (Li 2015, 69). Its notoriety spread throughout the country; its 'toxic legacy' (Li 2015, 35-70) was a contagion and prism for a new generation and locality of Peru's mining marginalized. For all of MMG's (and national advocates more generally) pronouncements of new and sustainable mining techniques, mineral extraction had been affixed with degradation and disaster in the popular imagination. It's legacy re-focused eyes, becoming a dominant optic through which environmental change and objects were seen and understood; dust, rivers, potatoes, and smells became saturated with its popular narrative. It did not produce concise and airtight narratives to epistemological questions (i.e. toxic confusion), however it maintained a form of toxic consensus beyond agreed specificities. In this light, it is no wonder why Tio Luis's judgement of omnipotent contamination (something in the wind; *el polvo*) required no explanation; nor that Mayu was concerned for her son and planned on leaving (opening vignette). The ghost of La Oroya (and to a lesser extent those of Tintaya and Yanacocha) haunted the shadows of the government's new extractive jewel.

Yet, the toxic legacy of Cerro de Pasco, did not only fill the informational vacuum produced by the everyday detachments of Peru's new environmental framework of regulation, but supported the popular perception of impending *deadscapes*. Accordingly, I would argue, toxic endurance was not only being frustrated by states of waithood, low-labor realities, and a lethargic project cycle, but challenged by alternative horizons, adding weight and depth to the 'multiple temporalities' of resources (discussed in Chapter 3). If the race between and towards 'better lives' and 'impending deadscapes' was assumed to only have one winner amongst the early days of resource-making, toxic endurance - as encapsulated in the Manuel's *asamblea* address - was now showing cracks, exhaustion beginning to surface, and environmental ambivalence and trade-offs were being called into question. Would toxic endurance *exhaust* itself amongst the frustrations of restricted opportunities and impending *deadscapes*? Would alternative avenues of social becoming be discovered to re-balance the race? How would any of these new questions and realities be distributed throughout the region?

Distribution of endurance and the challenges of activism

I sat down at a *cantina* table under the shadow of a large umbrella, anxious; the nervous tic of a bouncing leg making the table hop and my beer bottle tremble. I was waiting for Christian, a friend from Chumille that I had made on the festival circuit at the *aniversario* of his community. He had called me earlier that day, sounding very distressed and demanding that we meet. I had suggested this cantina for its open air. The sun was shining. There was a conversation emanating from the table beside me about the forging of signatures by *la empresa* (the company) for unverified documents, re-affirming the *cantina* as a masculine space for constructing narratives and political dispositions; rumors making sense of resource-making's frustrating maturation.

Suddenly, Christian turned the corner and plunked himself down in the seat beside me. '*Estamos jodidos'* (we are fucked), he states with a blunt finality. '*Polvo* and *contaminación* are everywhere'. It is a common observation, but I have rarely encountered it hang so heavily, nor elicited with such political undertones. Before I am able to inquiry about how it is that contamination is *jodeando* the community of Chumille, Christian launches earnestly into my potential connections beyond Cotabambas; in particular, experts and specialists I might know that work for environmental organizations. 'Do you have contacts in Spain? Organizations or specialists in environmental issues?', he queries. The rationale behind our reunion begins to surface.

Christian's time in the region was drawing to a close. He had left his children and wife in Arequipa and was planning on returning in the near future now that the mining enclave had settled into its reduced labor realities. As someone who self-identified as a leader of his community, he did not wish to abandon quotidian politics before first providing for its imagined fate. As we took turns drinking small glasses of Cusqueña I did my best to once again adequately define my academic project in the region in light of his questioning: the anthropologist bereft of requisite scientific knowledge and tools; the difference between universities and NGO's or advocacy groups. It was a bumbling effort, but the point seemed to land. His mood turned dour, verging on dejection. He half-heartedly responded to further questions I offered, ranging from the trivial to the sincere, staring at the wall opposite in a distracted manner. I was overcome by a severe sense of political inadequacy. During a silent pause, I scoured through my backpack in search of a list of contacts I had been developing. I found the number and e-mail address for the Cooperacción office in Lima and wrote it down for Christian. I told him about their work, their potential international connections, as well as their difficult past in the region. I encouraged him to contact them, and that I would be willing to pass on word in-person the next time I was in Lima. He forced a smile, thanked me, and soon left.

The exchange, though disheartening, also struck me as ironic. No more than two months prior, in this very cantina, I was assumed to 'have' or 'be of' activist connections. Furthermore, the possibility of being an *ambientalista* (environmentalist) was viewed much less favorably.[75] I had returned from a number days in Ccahuapirhua and had stopped in for a beer and a bite to eat before retiring to my room. As I waited to be served, I retrieved my notebook from my backpack. I leafed through the pages from the previous day before beginning to write down a journal entry on an informal interview I had just carried out in-transit.

Moments later, my peaceful moment of reflection was interrupted, a long shadow cast across my table and notes. I looked up to see the president of the *comunidad campesina de Pararani,* standing before me, anger beginning to contort his mouth. I had known him only through a few passing comments from my friends in Ccahuapirhua while we waited on the sidelines of a football pitch, analyzing our competitors during local tournaments, but we had

[75] Recall the quotes from Alan Garcia in the dissertation's introduction directed towards '*anti-mineros*' in his famous 'Dog in the Manger' op-ed. In the article *Garcia* drew a historical trajectory of ideological divisions pestering development prospects: 'like the old communist anticapitalists of the 19th century, who disguised themselves as nationalists in the twentieth century, they have changed shirts again in the 21st century to become environmentalists' (quoted from translation in Li 2015, 14).

never formally met. There would be no introductory pleasantries today. He was quite drunk and in a quarrelsome mood.

'What are you writing?', he demanded to know. Alarmed but proactive, I attempted to disarm his aggressive posturing, speaking about events where he may have seen me before, attempting to show that I was not some random *gringo* but an individual who had been here for months under the auspices of other communities. A person to be trusted, with no devious intentions. He did not allow me to finish.

'You foreigners come here to Peru with your NGOs and write terrible things about mining', he slurred; a venomous lisp. 'This isn't your country. This isn't your future!'. With a staggering open-fist jab he lurched across the table, attempting to grab the notebook which I was already moving towards my bag. Quickly, an individual in his drinking party intervened, physically constraining the bellicose president. '*Tranquilo*', he said, attempting to ease the escalating tension. 'He is a university student, studying in Ccahuapirhua. He doesn't work for any NGO'. I was thankful for the interjection, but did not bask in my fortune, nodding to the *cantina* matriarch who was eyeing the situation from the background. As I left for the street I could still hear the president's voice over my shoulder demanding to see my notes.

The disparate events and gaze placed upon me by the two community leaders was a pointed reminder that toxic endurance - and its attendant *exhuastability* - are not evenly distributed within the mining zone. Inequality, and perceptions of it, abound amongst the precarious realities on the Las Bambas margins (Chapter 2), altering the calculative inputs for environmental trade-offs. Indeed, the fact that the truculent inquisitor was from Pararani is deeply significant. Resting on a 'mineralized mountain' to the south of Ccahuapirhua, the community fell within a concession of First Quantum, neighbouring the Bambas project. For the previous year and a half, Pararani had remained in tumultuous negotiations with the Canadian company First Quantum over the future of a mine laying under their *chacras*. Compensation demands, following the precedent set by the relocation of Fuerabamba for the Bambas project, were inflated, reaching exorbitant levels. It was now commonly rumored throughout the region that Pararani was stipulating 5 million USD per *comunero* before relinquishing property rights to the community. In turn, *la empresa*, witnessing the ever-escalating ultimatums, had issued their own final offer, stating that any compensatory package handed to communities would be capped (at a figure the *relacionista* refused to give me) so as to stem the increasing flow of *retornantes*

to the communities.[76] In sum, tensions were high, and the promised futures that had impregnated the community very much hung in the balance; toxic endurance still very much present following the *cargo-ization* of land. The prospect of compromising these negotiations by sullying mining reputations through environmental activism tainted the viewing of my presence at the *cantina*.

Similar cases could be made for the majority of communities laying on to the southern and western perimeters of the Bambas project. It was here where the majority of mineralized mountains maintained the potential of absorption into corporate extraction models (not only those of the prospective Haquira project but also the unprocessed *yacimientos* of the Bambas concession). Further still, following the work of geologists passing through the region, a number of communities had begun to burrow into the hills themselves, exploring the potential and searching for investors in artisanal mining projects (more on this in the following chapter). Such projects, though often precarious and fleeting, had the potential to absorb idle labor and inject communities with illicit cash flows, tiding hope over states of waithood for corporate negotiations. As such, social becoming within these communities maintained a pulse, feeding toxic endurance in the moment, and working against environmental activism that might challenge or compromise these tentative futures.

The precarity and exhaustion, however, which now weighed down upon Christian, Chumille, and its neighboring communities along the eastern transportation corridor was of a different variety. These communities, stretching into the district of Mara towards to the Cotabambas border with Cusco, were not within the reach or direction of the mine's projected expansion. Accordingly, future land sales and relocation were not hopeful pegs on which expectations could be hung or affixed (see Chapter 2). Beyond this, the contentious secondary road constructed during the exploration phase of Las Bambas did not pass through community territory, meaning, unlike Quehuira or Pumamarca, there were no on-going negotiations that might temper the frustrations of betrayed mineral optimism. Thus, the imagined development and economic transformation received little to no outlets beyond floundering in low-skilled and temporally dispersed royalty projects.

Furthermore, as communities on the frontlines of the cooper convoy, rushing daily towards the Port of Matarani and back again, the thunder and *polvo* (dust) tossed up by passing

[76] The logic being – as metaphorically explained to me by Mario – that by offering a defined pie, you dissuade continuous parceling, and may even hasten negotiations by the fear of inevitable further divisions. If communities could not stem the flow of re-migration to the mountains, then they in turn would feel the impetus to hastily resolve their evaluations.

tucks was a loud and visible reminder of alternative futures informed by toxic legacies. If mineral optimism was dramatically diminishing, the one poignant consistency of maturing extraction for Chumille and its neighbours was incessant dust and prospective spills, threatening land, water, and air – *jodeando* these communities. It was a daily reminder, not just of encased riches leaving the region, but of impending deadscapes and the deleterious trajectories of environmental degradation. Accordingly, toxic exhaustion had arrived, and Christian was an early emissary in reversing trends of ambivalence, exploring avenues for environmental activism, and potentially making *contaminación* legible. Yet, the process for these eastern communities of Cotabambas would inevitably be a long and difficult endeavor, as they would be forced to work within and against the gauntlet laid down by the EIA.

As alluded to above, environmental regulation for mining in Peru largely bypasses communities despite its participatory pretences. It also defines the terms of environmental impact, legitimacy, and legibility. As argued by Fabiana Li, these practices of accountability dictated by the EIA framework 'prioritize mining interests and enable corporations to define the standards of performance that government will use to establish compliance' (2015, 186). During the early years of resource-making – amongst the mineral optimism of frontier creation - such asymmetrical distortions did not much matter; communities themselves were active in supressing NGO actors and potential activism. However, as toxic endurance expired amongst certain communities, to rupture the industrial-government consensus required, ironically, the support and interjection of once shunned civil society actors. Though communities along the eastern transportation corridor were cognizant and certain of *contaminación*, their 'need for costly scientific studies and expert knowledge' (Li 2015, 207) to pass through 'the obligatory points of passage' (see also Latour 1987) which determined the validity of claims was daunting. Would Christian and eastern community allies be successful in enticing Cooperacción or another NGO into an advocacy network in the future? Would such attempts be stymied and stifled by other communities with reserves of endurance? They were questions beyond the duration and timing of my fieldwork but did highlight the messy, contradictory, and unconventional entwinements of environmental consciousness amongst the Bambas mining zone, worked as they were through the particularities of resource-making and social becoming, toxic legacies and imagined futures, beyond the essentialized imaginary of peasant or poor and noble ecologists.

Environmentalism of the forgotten

I could barely hear Ruben. A ceaseless convoy of trucks rumbled over the pock-marked road where we sat as half-hearted hitchhikers. Their entire metal bodies rattled with each pot-hole and their engines flared with excursion, mixing together to produce the sonority of extraction – copper-in-motion – that dominated so many conversations along the road. Ruben gave up yelling, waiting for the fleet to pass, before he would try to converse again about the football match we had just played in Quehuira. The small grassy ledge where we sat, along the eastern transportation corridor, continued to vibrate.

As the last truck passed a young lady emerged on the road, pushing a wheelbarrow weighted down with gallons of *chicha*. She stopped in front of us and offered a drink. We paid a single *sole* each for a heaping plastic cup. Rosa was her name; from Quehuira. She too was on her way into Challhuahuacho hoping to sell the fermented maize drink she had completed the night before. As we waited for a passing vehicle to stop for us, she began to converse with Ruben – loose declarations on the politics of the mine's shadows that constituted bonds and points of references between communities and strangers: work opportunities; absent projects; corrupt leaders.

After another convoy of contracted transfer-trucks groaned by, they broached another theme: *contaminación*. The passing *encapsulados* sent dust billowing into the air and Rosa cursed the incessant *polvo*, tossed up and blown to rest upon their homes and fields. Ruben immediately interjected, claiming he believed that, despite the declarations of MMG, there is something toxic, some number of particles, present within the dust. I inquiry as to what it might be. 'Mercury, lead,' he replies, 'something!' Rosa herself is not sure about the material make-up and contents of the dust that hangs daily between the rows of houses within her community, but she is suspicious. When she was young, prior to migrating and beginning a new life in Arequipa, she remembers the river below full of *trucha* (trout) and *rana* (frogs). They are all gone now. As I ask her questions about the source of the ecological change she expresses uncertainty whether it is toxic tailings from the Las Bambas mine proper, or due to the chaotic expansion of Challhuahuacho. What she is certain of though - jumping from her assertions on trout and rivers - is that the *planta molibdeno* is polluting the air. 'The same happened in Espinar', she claims. 'It has only just begun operating here but it will impact the whole region before too long'. Ruben nods his head before cutting in: 'We will all have to leave at some point'. Questions of endurance and exhaustion linger in the mind.

Rosa soon broke the silence as I reflected upon their revealing claims. 'So many of us had returned with great expectations', she pauses. 'We had thought that *desarrollo* (development) was finally about to arrive to Cotabambas. *La mina* came and all we got was *contaminación*'.

'And *los viveros*', I add - the only project offered to all communities under the company's sustainability model of engagement (see Chapter 4). She and Ruben both laugh, 'And *los viveros, por supuesto* (of course)'. A new convoy of trucks on the way to the coast soon drowns out our macabre chuckles.

As stated earlier in this chapter, amongst the powerful global ecological imaginaries active in critiquing the mining industries, there was perhaps no more powerful thesis than that of an 'environmentalism of the poor'. In the late 1990s, Joan Martinez-Alier, in collaboration with the Indian scholar Ramachandra Guha, grew dissatisfied with the content and scope of debates occurring within the academy surrounding environmental politics. In their book *Varieties of Environmentalism* (1997) they began to disaggregate the dominant forms of environmental concern and their historical and regional roots, establishing 'environmentalism of the poor' as a 'third wave' in global thought and activism. Due to its powerful conceptual insights, the thesis has since been incorporated into and fallen under various other rubrics: livelihood ecology and liberation ecology (Peet and Watts, 1996) to name but two. For Martinez-Alier, the concept itself boils down to the fact that, 'in ecological distributional conflict, the poor are often on the side of resource conservation and a clean environment, even when they themselves do not claim to be environmentalists' (2002, viii). Though an academic argument, produced, contextualized, and elaborated over hundreds of pages in both books and articles, the idea has seeped beyond the boundaries of the ivory tower, dissolving into the principles, and orientations of many movements and organizations pushing environmental justice agendas around the world, including those working to critique mining and its local consequences (Kirsch 2014).

However, the thesis encounters particular challenges and peculiar refractions when shone upon the communities of Las Bambas shadows; both hitting and missing the mark. Certainly, it can be said that the individuals and communities in the mining zone of Cotabambas do not develop nor exhibit the characteristics of unintended, yet forced environmentalists. Indeed, the forms of toxic endurance on display, though unequally distributed, demonstrate, perversely, a willing bystandership to environmental degradation. Toxic legacies surmount and usurp regulatory methods of 'stewardship' as contamination becomes an inevitable by-product within the popular consciousness. Environmental considerations are computed and relegated amongst

progressive calculations of social becoming that prioritize economic potential and windfall, fueled, in part, by mineral optimism that wash over regions where resources initially arrive. It is only following maturation, where experiences begin to belie expectation, that the prospect for environmental activism begin to be considered and taken seriously – though, not to protect livelihoods, but as points of leverage in the ongoing asymmetries of resource-making. One could argue, thus, using the Bambas case study, that the thesis ('environmentalism of the poor') is without analytical purchase for extractive zones.

Yet, there are also certain aspects of Martinez-Alier's argument which require more attention. The assumptive pillar that structures the 'environmentalism of the poor' thesis is a livelihood framework where groups depend upon resources – reproduction is the implicit normative desire and little room is given to alternative imaginaries and horizons. However, an equally prominent and implicit column within the concept is the weaving together of 'the social' and 'the environment'. Relationality is at the core of the thesis, where nature and resources only take on meaning and importance through social, historical, and political layers of consciousness. The same principle is at play in Cotabambas as resource-making matures, only that the social imaginary is progressive and expectant, bounding beyond reproductive considerations. Following the 'arrival' of extraction, resources (here we might include both copper and land) are seen more for what they can become or lead to rather than what they can maintain. It amounts to what I will refer to as an 'environmentalism of the forgotten', where the social projections placed upon nature, landscapes, and resources, is influenced as much by historical marginalization and desirous futures as 'poverty' itself. The environmental politics produced by this framework is less straightforward than the global imaginaries and discourses of the noble ecological peasant so prevalent today. *Contaminación*, after all, is but one of many material and affective externalities caused by resource-making, and it is only through their relationality that environmental activism may or may not emerge.

Conclusion

'We will have to leave', Mayu declared, nodding beyond Chucruni mountain towards the Bambas pit, signalling her concern. If I was not surprised by her imagined future elsewhere, I was taken aback by *contaminación* as an input for her migratory calculations. It was one of the first times I had encountered reference to extractive pollution caused by mineral production, and certainly the first to portend dire consequences. Sitting there together in a eerily quiet community, the cleaning of agricultural produce occupying Mayu's hands, my eyes and mind

were free to wander over the landscape in search of *contaminación*. It's importance had been stoked and stirred prior to my arrival to the region, yet its logic, interpretations, and politics had remained one or two steps removed; an illusiveness I was eager to overcome.

Indeed, as this chapter has demonstrated, throughout the communities of the Bambas mining zone - and contrary to media representations, popular activist convention on poor and noble ecologists, and even scholarly accounts in Peru that propound conflict in 'environmental terms' – the realities of degradation were not much talked about. When prodded and forced, environmental consciousness appeared first as ambivalent and confusing, second as inevitable and unremarkable. Politics and perspectives on changing landscapes were produced amongst the shadows of a regulatory regime that by-passed communities (despite its participatory overtures), where legacies on mining's historical toxicity circulated and informed popular certainties of 'impending deadscapes'. The absence of environmental-based activism, despite these portent projections, was dictated by development and ecological trade-offs deemed necessary in the search for the better life. Toxic endurance, it is argued here, becomes a local element of resource-making that, though it is unstable and unequally distributed, continues to challenge grand reversals in the avoidance of making pollution legible. Futures, once imbued with optimism, become challenged not just by development trajectories, but by the inevitable march of *contaminación*.

Thus, the chapter, in problematizing assumptions and associations of forced environmental action caused by poverty, posits instead what I have referred to as an 'environmentalism of the forgotten'; weighty and shifting considerations of mining's many externalities in relation to social becoming. It forces us to once again consider the many local forms of politics and sociality that permeate the oxidized green nuggets of copper in Cotabambas, and their entanglements over time. Yet, if the environmental regulatory regime in place to monitor and guide 'modern mining' can be seen to have unintended and peculiar outcomes amongst the realities of social becoming and its crises, other 'new' appendages to the 'responsible' edifice of contemporary extraction also require attention. The dissertation moves on to its final empirical chapter which investigates the multicultural turn in Peru, its fraught historical antecedents, and their potential for indigenous mobilization amongst the Bambas mining zone.

Chapter 6. Indigenous Ideas and Mining Realities

I sat upon a ridge on the margins of an *asamblea* in the community of Congota, fiddling with my pen and hands, slightly anxious. To my side was a travelling salesman of sorts, Ricardo Chavez, the honored invitee for a special amendment to the formality of the bi-weekly community meeting. I tagged along in the hopes of understanding his pitch to communities and their reception. Waiting as we had been for nearly two hours, Ricardo had become agitated, his anticipation to speak endlessly delayed by a set agenda of community issues. He scribbled on the brown envelope containing forms and papers he always carried with him, sighing intermittently. 'They just talk to talk', Ricardo muttered towards me. 'They are more interested in family feuds than taking action for their future'. As his guest, and appreciative to be a witness to his movements, I choose not to challenge his opinions, understanding them as reflections of his momentary impatience. I nodded, maintaining an air of distraction.

As an outsider to the community and region, Ricardo was eager to capitalize on the invitation to speak to the *comuneros* of Congota. His emerging project was straight forward: to solidify a nascent regional-based organization of communities affected by the Bambas mining project. The principle of empowerment to which his vision depended was that of indigenous identity. He was soon beckoned to address the gathered crowd. Rising to his feet and clearing his throat, his restiveness was channeled towards productive animation.

'Our problem is that we do not know our rights!', he bellowed before the onlookers. In his right hand, he held a small grey booklet, published by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, summarizing ILO Convention 169. He waved it as he spoke, bringing gravitas to a concise and energized lecture on the dormant potentiality of legal doctrine for those in the shadows of the country's newest mega mining project. 'Here are your rights!' - a pause for dramatic effect - 'here are your rights!', his voice cracked, a testament to exertion and exhaustion. 'Rights for *los pueblos indigenas y originarios* (indigenous and native peoples)!'

He had been touring the region for months, giving similar lectures to *comunidades* across the rural hinterland of Cotabambas. His fledging organization – UCCAMBA – depended upon local support and embracing forms of consciousness and collective action protected under the multicultural framework of governance that coincided with the country's shift to extractive development. It was still early days in the prospective regional transformation he envisioned. The speech he gave today was not long-form or in-depth, simply a taster; seeds of terms and laws that he hoped would spark interest, leading to further *capacitaciones* and workshops for the

community; a latent indigeniety to enact and flourish.

His curt talk finished without fanfare. Weary *comuneros* quickly stood and disappeared into private realms of work and leisure; asking no questions and making no commitments. I waited for Ricardo on the outskirts of the dissolving congregation. We soon walked in silence to the road that led back to the mining town of Challhuahuacho. Contracted *camiones* carrying copper concentrate rolled by, sending tremors through the earth and throwing up dust. The tepid reception to his presence and proposal in the community weighed heavily upon him. He grumbled in frustration repeatedly, 'they do not know their rights'. As we waited for a passing truck or taxi to take mercy on us, sparsely dispersed as they were throughout the corporate convoy, we were both left to wonder if a mobilized indigenous future awaited the region. *Would indigenous rights and consciousness take hold? Could they be taught to communities? What realities of resource-making would 'indigeneity' clash and mix with? And what would the outcomes of such elixirs be?*

The return and threat of the Indian

During the early 1990s, Latin America was rocked by a number of social mobilizations under the banner of indigenous rights and demands. From marches on Quito and La Paz in the Andes, to the Zapatista uprising in Mexico, indigenous politics entered the global consciousness suddenly and irreversibly. To a certain extent, the dramatic rise of indigenous politics was an unthinkable occurrence in historical perspective (de la Cadena and Starn 2007). According to the teleology which dominated development thought for much of the twentieth century, 'native societies' were a progressive hindrance to the nation-state and doomed for extinction. From *mission civilizatrice* in the French colonial world to projects of *mestizaje* in post-independence Latin America, indigenous and 'backward peoples' were expected to whither under the forward march of history (de la Cadena and Starn 2007, 1).

The rise of indigenous mobilization in Latin American was rooted in decades of transition, travelling through global forums and international institutions, resulting in the expansion of 'identity' based agendas and constitutions. Since the 1980s, revalorization of the 'Indian' had begun to sweep across the globe, as cultural shifts, advocacy campaigns, and environmentalism (see Chapter 5) reworked attitudes towards and perceptions of marginalized peoples (for overview see Brysk 2000). Gradually, the emerging prominence of 'global indigenism' (Niezen 2000; 2003), worked its way into the consciousness and statutes of international forms and institutions. The ILO, the United Nations, and the World Bank all

adopted positions, conventions, and policy mandates. Many of these legal frameworks and norms began penetrating Latin America as part of structural adjustment packages, creating 'new citizen regimes' (Yashar 2005), where corporatist arrangements - those found throughout the region prior to the 1990s, characterised by active government roles in rural credit programs, agricultural subsidies, and land markets - were disassembled by neoliberal cutbacks. In their place, multicultural and pluriethnic constitutional reforms presented new organizing principles on identity politics and cultural rights. Accordingly, these new citizenship regimes provided opportunity for rural peasantries to rethink their own classification - 'processes of re-indigenization' ensued (Greene 2006, 331) – igniting large-scale mobilizations and electoral politics across much of the continent (see Lucero 2008; Madrid 2012; Van Cott 2005). The 'return of the Indian' (Albo 1991) marked a sharp dismembering of that which was once unthinkable.

Amongst these norms and patterns, Peru sits as an anomaly. The 'citizen regime' enacted by Peru was not exceptional in comparison to the rest of Latin America. The 'Fuji-shock', with its slashing of public spending and preoccupations in transnational investment, put the final blows to corporatist tendencies lingering since the 'revolutionary' administration of General Velasco. A new 'multicultural' constitution was enacted in 1993 which promoted cultural and identity rights. Following this, in 1995, Fujimori signed and ratified the International Labor Organization's Convention 169. The convention was seen as a progressive move, erasing the assimilationist goals of previous conventions (Garcia 2005, 51),[77] while foregrounding collective rights and respecting indigenous cultures (Engle 2010, 107; Van Cott 2000, 263). In the 'emerging international regime of norms that legitimated indigenous demands', the convention sits paramount (Garcia 2005, 51). Further still, in 2007, after over a decade of development, Peru also ratified the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The foundation for an indigenous revival amongst *la sierra* was granted opportunity.

Yet, despite these normative steps and legal nods towards a multicultural framework, identity-based mobilization throughout the highlands of the country did not follow suit (as was the case in Ecuador and Bolivia). Political scientists studying social movements, political

[77] ILO Convention 169 replaced Convention 107 (*Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries*) which had been drafted amongst the current of progress that marked development thought at the time, aimed at the 'destruction and absorption' of indigenous peoples (Barsh 1987, 759) which were understood as 'less advanced' and 'in need of modernization and integration' (Sanders 1983, 19; see also, Rodriguez-Pinero 2005).

mobilization, and the 'return of the Indian' along the Andean chain of Latin America have posited various caveats to explain 'Peruvian exceptionalism'.[78] Suffice to say, 'indigenous' ideas had not travelled well, failing to hook into the consciousness of *serranos*.

Notwithstanding these scholarly claims, the Peruvian state has not taken its exceptionalism for granted. As a country that has tethered its development prospects to extraction, the power of indigenous identity, its legal mechanisms, and its international cache, has, to a degree, ominously lingered over presidents and government institutions alike.[79] The prospective potency of extractive-indigenous brews was represented most poignantly in the Bagua massacre. Following trade agreements between the United States and Peru that came into effect in early 2009 – a treaty which threatened to expedite private investment and further exploration of hydrocarbons in the country – an indigenous-based mobilization challenged the expansion of oil interests further into *la selva* (the jungle). The battle at 'devil's curve' along the highway linking northern Amazonian provinces with the rest of the country resulted in the death of 32 people.[80] The event has persisted and festered within the popular memory of the country (more on this below).

Accordingly, the government of Peru, across administrations, has worked tirelessly to limit – through both discursive and legal means - the potentiality of the multicultural framework it began ushering in at the behest of international norms and donors during its neoliberal transition. Alan Garcia was perhaps the most disparaging of extractivist presidents, publicly denigrating any and all groups he deemed to stand between the nation and economic growth. Though his successor, Ollanta Humala, made initial overtures to multicultural rights, he would eventually declare that *campesino* communities of the Andes could not be considered indigenous.[81] Though it was under his presidency when Peru finally passed the *Signature of the*

---

[78] Two recurring hypotheses emerged. Firstly, there is the argument which propounds the historical efforts at 'de-indianizing' the country, particularly under the regime of General Velasco, which entrenched class-based identities within regions where ethnic identities might have flourished after the shifting of citizenship regimes (Gelles 2010; Garcia 2005). Secondly, and most widely cited, were the impacts of Peru's brutal civil war which ran into the 1990s and diminished both the capabilities and opportunities for rural mobilization (Albo 1991, Yashar 1998; 2005).

[79] Indeed, Ximena Málaga Sabogal and María Eugenia Ulfe, anthropologists working in the Espinar region of Cusco, have noted the creative 'construction' of a K'ana indigenous identity amongst communities demanding further consultation and participation in the context of international legislation to contest mining realities in the province (2017).

[80] Significantly, Congress repealed two of the controversial decrees in response to the tragedy.

[81] In doing so, Humala adopted the arguments proffered by the Ministry for Energy and Mines which declared that Andeans were 'too mixed' (vis-à-vis the blood of Spanish colonizers), unlike their Amazonian neighbors (Taj and Cespedes 2013; see also Renique 2013).

Prior Consultation Law (a national amendment to the implementation of ILO Convention 169), the law itself was accompanied by an article which established the Vice Minister of Interculturality as adjudicator for defining groups as indigenous or not, including the promotion of a national database to register such groups (see Sabogal and Ulfe 2017, 162-163). Thus, although the legal expansion of indigenous potential cannot be seen as an official pillar of 'modern mining' espoused by the national government, it was indeed a neoliberal reform that coincided with the extractive imperative following international norms of responsibility. The ominous shadow of an indigenous awakening, organic or strategic, hung over the country's mountainous mineral belt, threatening to add new dimensions and numbers to the list of *conflictos mineros*.

To an extent, these disjoints between policy and desire – between standards and intent - echo the interpretations of Charles Hale who summated the correlating rise of legal identitarian politics and market liberalization under the rubric of 'neoliberal multiculturalism' (2002; 2004; 2005). For Hale, the extension of multicultural agendas found within national constitutions and ratified international treaties were not innocuous, nor even principled upon goodwill for 'disadvantaged' cultural groups (2005, 12). Rather, they acknowledged the awkward tensions these communities would now face under market-oriented reforms. It was a 'paradox of simultaneity' where 'cultural affirmation and economic marginalization' went hand in hand (Hale 2002: 493). Importantly, as further argued by Shane Greene, neoliberal multiculturalism maintained the authority of the state to 'deem certain forms of indigenous struggle acceptable and others, notably those that seek to question the very structures of asymmetry associated with neoliberalism, as "radical" and thus unacceptable' (2006, 330). As identified above, the government had no interest in instigating and legitimizing indigenous identity within the Andes; as radical groups would tempt radical suppression. Where once multiculturalism had been embraced in Peru as one of many normative dictates by international agencies, it would become a sore-spot – indeed a threat – following the mineral super cycle and the onset of the extractive imperative.

Accordingly, if Peruvian 'exceptionalism' was to be overcome - if the international cache of indigeneity was to be utilized amongst extractive locales - it would require fomentation and cultivation by rogue actors; individuals, groups, or organizations beyond the state, interested in using the contemporary and multicultural moment to rethink the classification of the Andes as rural peasant communities (Greene 2006, 331). If indigenous politics and legality were to become cogs within the assemblage and motion of resource-making in Cotabambas, mixing with

and encountering affects of cooper and projects of social becoming, they would first have to travel across the practical, imaginative and discursive divides of Peru which had stymied indigenous mobilization for decades. Enter Mr. Ricardo Chavez.

Indigenism's arrival to the contact zone

I had met Ricardo by chance, the way strangers do. Very early on during my fieldwork, on a cold October night on the dirt thoroughfare of Challhuahuacho, I sipped a scalding *emoliente* to heat my bones before retiring to bed. Ricardo, at that moment, was another weary client with the same desire for warmth. As he waited to be served, he approached me, surprised like others to see a gringo in these parts. He shook my hand, and introduced himself as '*el asesor de las comunidades de influencia afectadas por Las Bambas'* (advisor to the communities affected by Las Bambas). It was a rather grand title which, as I would discover, masked troubled relationships and frustrated aspirations. As innocuous as the encounter first appeared, a relationship emerged between us. Over coffee and beer, amongst down moments in our days, we shared our personal histories and the purposes of our presence in Cotabambas.

Ricardo's journey to the region was, as he told it to me, a fantastical tale bordering on the surreal. Fleeing Peru as a young man following a few years of military service, he travelled through Latin America with only change in his pocket, weaving fables of yarn and relying on the goodwill of strangers to obtain food, shelter, and bus tickets. He eventually landed in Argentina, where he studied journalism and lived between the library and a small 'tree house' near his campus in Buenos Aires. He would eventually move on to live and work on a kibbutz in Israel and even claimed to have spent time in Angola organizing political projects within rural peasant communities. Many of his ideas around communal solidarity were forged through these international experiences which also infused his character with ample levels of idealism and optimism. He eventually returned to Peru (Arequipa) to be closer to his family, where he ran unsuccessfully in the local elections of Camana (both in 2010 and 2014). Unable to inject himself into the political establishment, Ricardo soon turned intention and action towards the growingly contentious – and nationally significant – issue of large-scale mining. As *conflictos mineros* grabbed an ever-increasing number of headlines throughout the country, he saw his political calling and believed indigenous rights to be a powerful framework for mobilization against the deleterious local impacts of extraction.

Following connections and conversations carried out with various NGO groups and networks concerned by the realities of Peruvian mining, Ricardo first travelled and worked

amongst disgruntled individuals protesting against the Tia Maria project in Arequipa. Following a decision to re-visit the environmental impact assessment and a cooling of the political waters, Ricardo turned his attention to another tumultuous mega copper mine in the country: Las Bambas. He arrived in the region in 2015, just after the major *enfrentamiento* in September that had left three people dead, dozens injured, and many imprisoned. Initially Ricardo relegated his work to one particular community – Pumamarca. While not professionally trained in law, he at times presented himself as a lawyer and went about informally advising *comuneros* within Pumamarca in their efforts to re-negotiate the sale of land to the corporation for a new mining road that ran through their territory.

In this regard Ricardo was not entirely unique. It was quite common for opportunistic individuals of 'mestizo' or urban background to become *asesores* (advisors) or temporary *abogados* (lawyers) to communities in mining zones throughout the country. Proficient in formal or managerial Spanish and carrying the social clout of a university degree, these roving men (the gendered discrepancy of representation is enormous) of letters and law might be requested or appear according to their own interest and volition. Their nominal mandate, associated with the prestige of expertise they were attributed (rightly or wrongly), involved advising rural communities on contemporary legal statues relevant to particular local issues, drafting formal documents (legal or declaratory) to be distributed to various 'stake-holders', and standing alongside communities during compensatory negotiations or public media campaigns. These *asesores* ostensibly worked for the historically marginalized, but the lure of financial gain could never be ruled beyond the pale. In many instances, they were a thorn in the side of government and corporate interests, paternalistically labeled agitators or '*anti-mineros*' who would dupe communities for fee and profit while fomenting discontent that stifled the march of Peru's extractive development model. What made Ricardo beyond immediate reproach was his interest in organizing communities who often stood no prospect of compensation from the corporation, but also, his interest and preoccupation with indigenous identity.

Through a historical lens, Ricardo and men of his ilk represented a contemporary incarnation of the *tinterillo* – the legal bridge of an unfinished colony and state. As Lauren Benton points out, colonial Spanish America operated a 'notoriously fractured' legal system (2002, 211) which mapped onto the dichotomies of *la costa* (the coast) and *la sierra* (the mountains or highlands), enclaving *la republica de indios* and promoting their protection and religious conversion through state intermediaries (*protectores de indios*). Independence exacerbated these fractures. At once a new nation of citizens based on the universality of law was

created. In turn, many elite families throughout the highlands rejected the liberal elimination of racial purity and cultural superiority and began to use violence and oppression at ever increasing rates to reinforce their privileged positioning (see Nugent 2001). All of these trends were exacerbated by the fact that this volatile legal landscape, still burdened by colonial notions of race and status, was birthed with minimal legal manpower (Aguirre 2012, 121). In the words of Carlos Aguirre, 'the legal mandate to create a national structure of justice was not met by the existence of a community of lawyers able and willing to operate over the entire national territory' (2012, 128; see also Becker 2012). Accordingly, the gap was bridged by *tinterillos*[82]; informal attorneys or legal practitioners without training or diplomas that nonetheless performed the duties of a lawyer amongst communities and individuals unfamiliar with *Limeño* legal codes and technical Spanish (ibid 2012, 120). These mediators lubricated the legal functioning of a still divided postcolonial republic.

As contemporary *asesores* in mining zones attest to, carrying on as they do in the historical shadow of *tinterillos*, legal intermediation remains a reality in the 21st century Peru. As stated above, identity rights imbricated in the country's multicultural shift required labor and initiation that a reluctant and recalcitrant state was unwilling to provide for fear of politicization. Following his work with Pumamarca, Ricardo began to attend and sit down in the *mesas de diálogos* that had been set up by the government and corporation following the 2015 *enfrentamiento*. Meeting a number of leaders from other communities he soon organized and launched UCCAMBA (*Asociacion Union de Comunidades Campesinas de Influencia Afectadas por la Minera de Las Bambas*), believing that the organization might become a springboard for coherent and sustained mobilization and struggle. Under its banner he led a march on Lima ('*una marcha de sacrificio'*) attended by a smattering of community leaders from the mining zone. He gained the attention of the state and became attacked by media sources as an agent whose 'anti-*minero*' outlook was radicalizing the population. Their accusations were largely premature, however, as Ricardo had not yet secured the support and affirmation of all 47 communities that UCCAMBA claimed to speak for. When I met him for the first time in October 2016, he was still in the process of lobbying for popular support, waving his booklet on ILO convention 169, eager to teach people their rights. His activities and struggles become a salient prism from which to view the contested valleys of indigenous politics within the country following its neoliberal turn,

[82] Etymologically speaking, *tinterillo* is derived from the Spanish word for ink (*tinta*) since many of their duties depended on the preparation of documents/petitions (or *memoriales*) to be sent to authorities in Lima or Cusco.

as multicultural rights travelled through time and space across the festering divisions of the country to arrive at extraction sites in the throes of transformation. As a contemporary indigenous *asesor* he was both an inciter and witness of collision. The fate of indigenous politics rested upon the terms and particularities of his arrival; the entangling moments of legal and ideational exchange.

In her analysis on imperial 'meaning-making' across Africa and the Americas, Mary Louise Pratt develops the idea of the 'contact zone' (1992). The concept, as she states, is an 'attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect' (1992, 7). It is an exceptionally useful framework for understanding these early days of indigenous politics in the Bambas mining zone. As a contemporary indigenous *tinterillo*, Ricardo was at the forefront of 'bringing' the multicultural and pluriethnic Peruvian state, along with its international prejudices and imaginaries (more on this below), across a lingering post-colonial divide. In entering the communities and taking the podium he was creating 'contact zones' of indigeneity where mediation was to unfold. It was this process of mediation that was still in question. As a reluctant and precarious appendage to the politics of resource-making, indigenous rights and ideas were required to work their way through the contradictions and consequences of extraction-in-motion; affects and cycles, social becoming and its crises. Ricardo's downcast presence on the side of the road in Congota suggested that he was at a loss for what gulf existed within the nascent contact zone; what other forces and ideas were working against his own, and whether a vibrant indigenous mobilization might ever be achieved.

Imagined and experienced indigeneity

Ricardo stated immediately that he was in need of a beer. As an advocate and organizer moving in and out of the region, constantly chasing after his latest bus and meeting, we had a flexible and tentative schedule which usually involved meeting for dinner in Challhuahuacho after a phone call as he passed through town. We would sit through a set menu, moving eventually to the street for an *emoliente*, and discuss the progress of his mobilization efforts throughout the region. Tonight, the optimism that seemed to imbue his demeanor regardless of circumstance was visibly sapped. His face tired, his voice hollow. I had not seen his energy this depleted since our solemn moment on the side of the road following his lackluster meeting in Congota. As he said, a beer might help his mood.

Finding an empty table in the corner of a *cantina* Ricardo began to voice his frustration

with the *comuneros* of Cotabambas. Again he admonished communities for their apparent ignorance and disinterest in the rights that had been granted to them following Peru's recent multicultural turn. Tellingly, he admitted that, following a number of his reunions and workshops with communities, he had been approached by individuals interested in ascertaining his financial connections and the potential for investment in communal projects. 'It's all about money here', he repeated a number of times - troubling concerns on the opaque workings of resource-making within the local imagination.

However, following a few minutes, as the first beer worked its way through our bloodstreams, liberating inhibitions and alleviating anxiety, he found his excitement and animation once more. Mobilization, he believed, would not be easy, but it would be worth it. 'There is so much history in Peru, before the Spanish; powerful civilizations!', he quickly became embarrassed, catching himself. 'Well as an anthropologist, I am sure you know all about *los Inkas*'. He regained his composure and continued, 'Now look at us. Poor and ignorant. Begging for crumbs from mining companies. We must discover our roots, our culture, our dignity, our rights!'

I was not entirely surprised with Ricardo's figurative allusions to the past, as I had seen him espouse Andean mythology in many other encounters with prospective recruits; hoping to hook potential allies into his nascent project. I was, though, interested in the direction of his vision; the particularities of mobilization. I asked him as much.

'Are you familiar with Bagua?' he returned my question, a smile growing across his face. He did not allow me to respond. 'Hundreds of *nativos* (natives), wearing their head dresses and only carrying spears faced off against the government and won. They knew their culture, they were connected to the earth'. His eyes remained immense as he watched me process his depiction of the event. He did not mention the deaths and the injured - the immense cost that came with 'winning'. Rather, he presented a righteous image of indigeneity at work against the forces of Peruvian extraction.

In many ways, Ricardo's portrayal, both that evening and at other community meetings, ran with and drew from a powerful global imaginary of the contemporary 'Indian', lurking behind much of the political work that drove the rise of indigenism over the past number of decades. It was an image bound up in essentialized tropes: ecologically responsible, affixed with distinct cultural practices and dress, and often enough nodding towards some 'paradise lost'

(Ramos 1994, 163; see also Conklin and Graham 1995; Ramos 1998; Shah 2010).[83] It was a model 'Indian' learned and circulated through international conventions, delegations, and conferences (Brysk 2000) that provided a powerful berth for strategic politics (see Conklin 1997; Jackson 1995; Jung 2008; Tsing 2007). The potential for this type of political project in Peru had plenty of historical mythology to draw upon, as Ricardo was wont to do.[84] Yet, as a travelling idea, arriving to a region that neither celebrated their indigeneity, nor 'knew their rights', it would be subject to the unruly politics of the 'contact zone'.

Indeed, as anthropologists have continued to engage with the global imaginary of indigeneity, they have raised important questions about its replicability. As pithily stated by Anna Tsing, the learned voice of indigenous politics 'must speak in a way an audience can hear' (2007, 38). Indigeneity, as 'a concept that is "out there" transnationally' (Yeh 2007, 92), is subject to processes of translation when it descends upon locales of potential. It is a vital point for further interrogating the contact zone of indigenous politics in eastern Apurímac. In what ways was the 'voice' of indigeneity, funneled as it was through Ricardo, speaking to the realities of a forgotten region in the throes of extractive transformations? What did ILO conventions and constitutional articles, Incans and Bagua, have to offer the people of Cotabambas?

During the first months of my fieldwork, when we often met up for dinner or *emolientes* in the streets of Challhuahuacho, Ricardo began to move beyond celebratory lectures of Incan history and would lay forth his envisioned 'political awakening' that UCCAMBA could offer the region. Speaking with excitement and conviction, he consistently referenced 'sustainable futures'. When pushed on the subject he was not entirely sure what this would entail. A return to a past of subsistence agriculture, involving a mobilization that would close down the mine, or the development of agricultural associations which would feed into the service sector of Challhuahuacho were both aired but quickly left to the side. He also wished to have international conferences here in the region and was in the process of contacting friends from prominent indigenous organizations in Bolivia and the United States. He had expressed his hope to more fully develop the idea of '*la Nacion Chanka*',[85] which was to be the cultural identity that would

[83] The reader will obviously be familiar with these citations given their presence in the previous chapter. Indeed, there are many overlaps and connections between ecological and indigenous imaginaries circling today. Having already addressed the issues of environmentalism, I continue on in the deconstruction of its indigenous brethren.

[84] Indeed, the use of Inkan mythology has a long political history in Peru (see Galindo 2010).

[85] 'Los Chankas' have been identified by historians as a people found within the region of present day Apurímac that were conquered and incorporated into the Inkan empire not long before the arrival of the

legitimate UCCAMBA in the eyes of Peru's constitution and international institutions. The organization, its creator, and its ideological underpinnings had all the trappings of a global and essentialized indigenism; 'sustainable' agriculturalists with historical linkages to a pre-colonial ethnicity.

Yet, in due course, it was to all fall apart. By the end of the 2016, a document was written and signed by the communities of Pumamarca, Quehuira, Allahui and Choquecca, denouncing Ricardo as an outside agent ('*persona extraña*') with mischievous interests hiding behind indigenous banners ('*escondiendose tras banderas indigenistas*'). The document itself was released to the press and fit the historical narrative of the *tinterillo* as a devious opportunist. The fledging public activity of UCCAMBA itself had withered away as well. I would visit the official president of the organization (whom Ricardo had put it place and 'trained') in the community of Ccasa. He pulled documents from under his bed written beneath a UCCAMBA header which had been sent to various government officials in Lima without a word of response. He had stopped putting any effort into visiting other community leaders and dedicated himself full time to running a taxi in and out of Challhuahuacho to maintain the basic needs of he and his wife.

Within the community of Ccahuapirhua, where Ricardo had developed strong connections over the previous year, enthusiasm for his project had dwindled as well. He became known as '*la boca*' (the mouth) by some, referring to his long lectures and a perceived absence of deeds. Others referred to him as '*el loco*' (the crazy one), a depiction of his flamboyant flaunting of legal doctrine and historical precedents; statutes and ideas perceived as too distant from the realities of the mine's shadows. His refrain of '*con calma*' (lit. 'with calm'; patience) – often used at the end of his presentations, imploring community expectations to not run rampant; that mobilization and the work of UCCAMBA required resolve – became a running joke affixed to the end of any quotidian statement: *'are you going to town today?', 'Si, pero con calma'*. The realities of exclusion found within the communities rendered patience a privilege; a non-virtue.

Ernesto, once a keen disciple of Ricardo's work in Ccahuapirhua, sat down with me one day for lunch in Challhuahuacho and proceeded to recollect the months that preceded my fieldwork. When Ricardo had first arrived in the community he gave frequent and long *capacitaciones* on the *Ley de Comunidades Campesinas* (law of Campesino communities) and ILO convention 169. Ernesto remembered how riveting those early days were. He would sit

Spanish. As an anthropologist from the University of Oxford, Ricardo had made many advances to me in the beginning about putting my authoritative stamp on this ethnic identity he was in the process of resurrecting.

down every time that Ricardo arrived in the village and frantically tack notes in a small blue booklet on the theme of the day. His uncle soon purchased and leant him a reference book on the various laws that applied to *campesino* communities in Peru that he would peruse after Ricardo's talks. He noted that his enthusiasm for Ricardo's initial presence and lectures in the community was relatively unique. Very early on Mariano (the president of the community), Oscar (the vice president) and other members of the *junta directiva* stopped attending his workshops. Key members from other communities that engaged in UCCAMBA reunions and protests in Abancay and Lima began to fade away as well. Ernesto himself would become disenchanted by Ricardo's lectures, believing them to be 'just words' ('*sola palabras'*). He would eventually lose the notebook that he had used to document the 'rights-based' lectures, cram his legal reference book under his bed in Ccahuapirhua, and move permanently to the town of Challhuahuacho to look for work and 'fuck around' (*huevear*).

The fleeting existence and success of UCCAMBA challenges us to dismember global indigenism in search of what vast distances exist between it and the lived experience of the *potentially* indigenous on the margins of extraction; between the 'model Indian' and the 'lived Indian' – these mercurial subjects at battle within the contact zone of indigeneity. In her prescient work in the 1970s, Judith Friedlander began to tackle the representational politics of indigenous peoples even before global indigenism had reached its zenith. Her book, *Being Indian in Hueyapan* (2006), deconstructs the idealized image of the Indian then popular amongst intellectual and urban leftists in Mexico (those she labels as 'cultural extremists' [171]) in the hopes of discovering an 'unforced identity' amongst the daily lives of individuals in the town of Hueyapan. She notes that the majority of the practices commonly associated with an indigenous heritage (e.g. cooking, weaving, speaking, etc.) had only tenuous links to any prehistoric past. Culture, after all, is an unfolding process, and colonial structures drastically bore down upon her interlocutors to produce something far more bare than vibrant cloth and traditional dances. In her analysis, to be Indian in Hueyapan meant, more than anything else, 'to be poor and uneducated' (2006, 71). This redefinition depended heavily upon pulling back the multiple and historical layers that created Indians in the first place and has been echoed in the research of Abercrombie (1998) and Canessa (2006; 2012), working in the Andes. Importantly, it reveals the stark gap that exists between the contemporary global fervor in celebrating cultural rights associated with indigeneity – those that often informed multicultural amendments to neoliberal lending - and the legacy of the colonial encounter and its festering impacts of marginalization.

Within the historically 'forgotten' region of Cotabambas, where poverty and state neglect stretched back centuries, Judith Freidlander's argument reverberates. It might be seen as little wonder why Ricardo's ideal and essentialized engagements were running out of steam; floating amongst international image and discourse, drastically detached from marginalized Andean ears. Further still, this disjuncture between understandings and interpretations of indigeneity was also playing out amongst the maturation of resource-making. The people of this marginalized region not only defined their history in terms of neglect but were also in the process of navigating frontier transformations in 'search of a better life'. Thus, the idealized global Indian that Ricardo implicitly conjured in his mobilization efforts - locating it as he did in the multicultural 'rights' adopted by Peru, allusions to an Inkan past, and ill-defined 'sustainable futures' - were also weaving themselves amongst mineral optimism (Chapter 1) and low labor realities (Chapter 2); amongst crises in social becomings (Chapter 3) and impending deadscapes (Chapter 5). 'Neoliberal multiculturalism', as found in Cotabambas, was a confluence of identity opportunity and extractive exclusion. These entanglements of historical and contemporary marginalization were also working against mobilization efforts in the contact zone, leaving Ricardo a frustrated figure in search of solutions. His political endeavors in the region were not just about bridging postcolonial legality in Peru, but also the evident gulfs in what indigeneity could and should do for individuals and communities in shadows of Las Bambas.

Indians, copper, and the continued search for a better life

It was mid-morning and mid-November. I was walking along a mountain face that overlooked a *caserio* of *la comunidad campesina de Yuricancha*. Below a transistor radio blared *huayno* as women dropped selected potatoes into the drills of a recently tilled *chacra*. I was walking with Francisco who was chatting to me about his adolescence in Arequipa and Lima, when we came upon a cavernous hole in the face of the mountain. It was a mine shaft. We stopped and Francisco soon led me into the opening. There were ropes, empty beer bottles and discarded helmets and picks. Various tubes were hooked up to a water pump used to empty the shaft during the rainy season. Large timber poles ran between its rock walls.

Popular history dated these tunnels to *la epoca de los españoles* (Spanish colonialism). Francisco claimed coerced locals would lead colonial agents to mountains and hills known to contain gold and silver, which were subsequently looted and left abandoned. 'But', Francisco stated with a grin, 'they didn't take the copper!'. He bent down to pick up small stones colored bluish green. Here, in Yuricancha, the picks, helmets and beer bottles confirmed that Francisco

and others had been re-entering the abandoned tunnels in search of the leftovers of colonial encounters. New days, new opportunities. As he allowed the chipped stone to sift through his fingers and fall to the ground, he proclaimed '*todos estes cerros estan mineralizados'* - the popular refrain of aspirant and progressive social imaginaries activated by copper's arrival, impregnating mountains with potential and desires from the margins of power.



[**Figure 30.** ***The mouth of an artisanal mine in Cotabambas*****. Source: author.**]

Yet, the claims of Francisco spoke to more than just a 'gaze' – mineral optimism and desirous subjectivities (Chapter 1) – but unfolding activity and agency amongst the mineralized hills of Cotabambas. Historically speaking, informal mining was nothing new to eastern Apurímac. Further afield, in the province of Grau, artisanal activity had been carried out for decades by locals in and around the municipality of Progreso, following the discontinuation of formal exploitation at Ccochasayhuas.[86] These small-scale projects had fostered an incipient transportation network between the region and copper processing plants in the coastal city of Nazca. Adventurous entrepreneurs with enough capital to purchase a flatbed truck, traversed the dangerous rural roads of Progreso to buy sacks of minerals from communities boring into the hills. However, despite this historical precedent, lasting connections did not spill over into the province of contemporary Cotabambas where formal large-scale mining projects did not yet

[86] Ccochasayhuas was one of the few large-scale mining operations which existed in eastern Apurímac during the 20th century. The *beta* itself had been known and worked throughout the colonial and precolonial epochs but had reached its zenith in the early decades of the 1900s under corporate stewardship before fizzling out of production following World War II.

exist. This all began to change however, following the great re-migration to the region in the lead-up to the commencement of Las Bambas. Not only was bounding expectation beginning to hone in on the potential of subterranean resources, but large and youthful labor reserves were building up, enticing investors from neighboring regions to engage communities on the prospects of establishing artisanal projects. Over the intervening years, just as corporate geologists began passing through the 'forgotten' corner of Apurímac, so to were small-scale investors, inquiring about copper for sale. Enterprises began and collapsed in tune with precarious connections and finances. Yet, despite the frustrated and inconsistent ventures of most artisanal endeavors to date in Cotabambas, the potential of informal projects maintained hopeful undertones, fostered in no small part by the example of Pamputa.

Pamputa was a community in the district of Coyllurqui (part of the province of Cotabambas, to the northwest of Challhuahuacho). The concession of Las Bambas stretched underneath its land, including the *beta* (vein) from the mega-project's third *yacimiento* (mineral deposit). With the huge influx of *retornantes* to the community, investors soon followed and a nascent informal economy burgeoned into a prosperous precedent known throughout the region.[87] Oscar himself had worked the informal mines of Pamputa. Returning from Lima at the behest of his father, he used family connections (his mother was from Pamputa) to gain a position in one of the many new *laborales* (labor groups). John and Renán arrived from Abancay in 2010 and 2011 to work in the artisanal mines of Pamputa as well. All three eventually settled in Ccahuapirhua after rigid rules for the absorption of *retornantes* into communities was drawn up, and took their experiences with them. On certain evenings, having finished hours of communal labor in Ccahuapirhua and rewarding ourselves with a few beers, Renán would speak openly about the money he had amassed in those early years working in the informal copper trade. And even though only a smattering of *comuneros* in Ccahuapirhua worked in the mines of Pamputa, its legend spread. During the resting breaks of *faenas* or agricultural work, conversation would break out on the accrued wealth of the neighboring community: 'every comunero [in Pamputa] has 3 new trucks!', Victor declared one day as we sat around the recently dug holes of the community's *viveros* project smoking cigarettes and drinking Inka Cola. Diego followed his lead, 'they are millionaires. Ccahuapirhua needs to find investors'. When

[87] In 2010, as the informal mines in Pamputa were beginning, the owner of the Las Bambas project had the local branch of the national police intervene. The ensuing *enfrentamiento* led to widespread unrest and a number of unreported deaths. An unofficial agreement was reached between company and community that stated informal *laborales* could continue so long as no heavy machinery was used. To date, the truce has held.

Ccahuapirhua might find the financial connections and expertise to follow in their footsteps was a simmering question as lives lurched through crises in social becoming. However, its very presence on the lips and minds of individuals in the region had important consequences for the work of Ricardo. Running parallel to his mobilization efforts, was not only the aspirant 'Indians' enveloped in mineral optimism, but an inconsistent stream of artisanal investors who also stood on the sidelines of community *asambleas* seeking an audience.

Accordingly, it should come as little surprise that Ricardo constantly referenced the 'moneyed interests' of communities he was not yet familiar with; nor why *comuneros* approached him after his speeches and *capacitaciones* to enquire about his connections to investors, continuing as they were to navigate the extractive frontier in search of opportunity. If he was encountering unruly identity politics within the region, the contact zone of indigeneity, overtime, began to give back; revealing alternative realities and expectations than those he had first assumed and carried with him. Slowly, Ricardo's moaning on UCCAMBA's faltering mobilization gave way to serious considerations on factors orienting the politics and desired futures of communities throughout the region. In the conversations we continued to have over dinner and on the side of the street, I began to notice shifts in Ricardo's loquacious ramblings. He was less quick to patronize and admonish communities and seemed more open to rethinking his strategies of engagement. He even began to speak about seeking out investors in his home department of Arequipa and to scold me for not challenging his audacious adventure to create and sustain a regional indigenous organization more forcefully.

Nearly 7 months after meeting Ricardo for the first time, I was invited to travel with him once more. I sensed in his invitation an eagerness to demonstrate something to me; potentially the maturation of his own project. It was mere speculation as we piled into the back of a truck to make the long journey around the mine, northwards, towards *la comunidad campesina de Ccasacancha* in the district of Tambobamba. The community bordered the Las Bambas concession but was not considered to be indirectly 'affected', meaning expected benefits from the mega mining project were minimal. Ricardo had previously made contact with the president of the community and, having given his more compact spiel on the various legal doctrines he saw as relevant to the region, was programmed to give a long-form presentation to the community at large.

We left early in the morning and upon arriving in Ccasacancha were seated in *la casa de vigilancia*; a communal building that served multiple functions. We were served crackers and soda as we waited for *comuneros* to return from work in the fields. The walls of the building

were spattered with posters from various government initiatives on governing poverty: proper eating and cleaning techniques; child rearing guidelines; symptoms and recognition of tuberculosis, etc. I helped assemble chairs and benches while Ricardo tested markers on a large easel pad at the front of the room. After a slow trickle, the building was full of individuals whose daily chores had been completed.

Ricardo began his workshop in the same way I had known him to do in months gone by. He began with a broad history lecture, dividing the first sheet of his easel pad with black marker to create two columns: '*Our Ancestors (Los Inkas)*' and '*Los Españoles*'. Beneath each, words and ideas were listed that created a distinct dichotomy; an ideal image and its negative. Under Spanish colonialism were the words '*mentirosos*' (liars), '*corruptos*' (corrupt), and '*ladrones*' (thieves). Under the Inkan column stood their inversion ('*no eran mentirosos*', '*no eran corruptos*', etc.). He spoke of the communal practices like the *ayni* and *minka*, the extensive varieties of potatoes cultivated by the Inkas, and again restated the values of *ama swa, ama llulla,* and *ama kella*.[88] He was expounding, in ways I had seen him do before, a pre-colonial utopia that erased complexity and grafted onto post-colonial grievances (see Galindo 2010). It was a functional introduction that garnered many nods and murmurs of agreement from the crowd.

He then moved onto the topic of legality. The *Ley de Comunidades Campesinas,* ILO convention 169 were written first, soon followed by the *Derecho Consuetudinario* (common law, a concept referred to throughout Peru's multicultural constitution). [89] The addition of the *Derecho Consuetudinario* was interesting for the lecture's direction and framing (Ricardo had not referred to common law during our times together in the past). Indeed, by underlining 'common law', Ricardo was trying to make distinct connections between the past and the present; unruptured continuations of '*costumbres*' (customs – article 8 of the constitution) that might be worked strategically. Following this twist, Ricardo delved into popular history once again, declaring that prior to the arrival of the Spanish, people of the Andes strolled through the *sierra* with large gold earrings and bracelets. 'Is anyone wearing this gold jewelry today?', he asked those assembled. Laughter and emphatic 'no's' roared forth. His intention – though rather dubious – was to present an uninterrupted historical practice of small-scale mineral extraction by local people and

[88] Quechua terms, meaning 'don't lie', 'don't steal', and 'don't be lazy'.

[89] Fujimori's 1993 constitution made judicial nods to *las rondas campesinas* and forms of justice meted out in communities that did not infringe on basic human rights (article 149). However, there is no single article that mentions *derecho consuetudinario* specifically.

communities. In doing so, he believed that 'common law' grounded in 'customs' would give legal credence to the creation of informal mining. Indeed, he pointed out that the current Peruvian administration under Pedro Pablo Kuczynski had created a new formalization process to register and legitimate informal mining operations in the country.[90] This was their opportunity, he stated repeatedly. If historical injustice had robbed Andeans of silver and gold bracelets, opportunities existed to ensure the same was not done today with regards to copper. He closed his lengthy presentation by drawing these proposed artisanal mining projects into his imagined 'sustainable' future, where wealth was created and kept within communities; small-scaled extraction replacing multinational mining companies. No mention was made of *UCCAMBA*, nor marches on Lima as indigenous subjects.

Though some concerns were raised near the end of the meeting, Ricardo's new pitch, crafted as it was after over a year of engagement, was exceptionally well received. Drawing upon lost Andean utopias that spoke to historical inequality and contemporary exclusion, Ricardo's new lecture had tapped into lived experience, the social imaginary of a forgotten region now enfolded into the extractive-development model, and notions of historical debt. Arguing that the capacious nature of 'cultural rights' found within Peru's pluriethnic constitution and its international bedfellow (ILO 169) protected 'customs' which included small-scale mining, Ricardo was able to put forward a practical alternative to sitting around under the banner of an indigenous organization (UCCAMBA) issuing demands that may or may not be heard. Suddenly, indigenism was shedding many of its international ideals and images, and instead speaking to the lifeworlds of Las Bambas shadows, proposing alternative and practical projects for social becoming that had elided the majority in the region since extraction had matured, entering its production phase. The shift in strategy would have wide reaching consequences for the region.

In her ethnographic work on understanding global connections, Anna Tsing rightly claims that all transnational exchanges are grounded in the idea of friction: 'the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference' (2005, 4). Refusing the image of global power as a 'well-oiled machine' (2005, 6), Tsing metaphorically uses the

[90] It should be noted that *el proceso de formalizacion mineria* was designed (like those by various administrations before it) only to legitimate unregistered small-scale or artisanal mining activities that did not fall within larger concessions already sold on to larger entities. As such, Ricardo's belief that the process offered opportunity for the communities in becoming legal entities was unfounded. However, on the occasions when I brought this point forward, worrying that creating these competing claims to subterranean minerals might lead to bloodshed (as happened in Pamputa), Ricardo simply stepped back to 'common law' that protected 'usos y costumbres', believing that the legal system would have to recognize communities over powerful concession owners.

idea of friction to focus more fully on where the 'rubber meets the road'. It is within these frictional exchanges - messy and negotiated - that certain ideas and experiences 'grip', amongst 'the sticky materiality of practical encounters' (2005, 1), and become dragged into being.

Friction, in its broad strokes, becomes a productive tool for understanding and describing what occurs within the 'contact zone' of neoliberal multiculturalism. If the zone is brought into creation by the initial intermingling of ideas and peoples that embody distinct realities, then only when grip occurs can the transnational motion of indigenous politics occur. As noted above, the arrival of global concepts, embodied by the contemporary *tinterillo*, revealed stark differences between the imagined Indian and the lived experience of *comuneros* navigating the affects and structures of resource-making in the Andes. Ricardo's initial *capacitaciones* on the rights of indigeniety relevant to Peruvian *serranos* constrained action and futures around further waiting – organizing coherently and publicly, but nonetheless pining from the sidelines, demanding inclusion in the transformative movement of the Bambas project that might only be granted by the recognition of others. Only when he had acknowledged the powerful ways that artisanal mining had captured imaginations, desires, and intentions throughout the region did he tailor his legal indigenism to routes of inclusion in the present moment. Grip occurred when 'right to culture' became seen and heard as a 'right to action'; the walls between historical debt and natural *riquezas* (riches) finally being broken down - not marches and petitions, but copper and labor. It was the beginning of a new stage and type of mobilization throughout the region of Cotabambas.

Toiling, not articulating

And so it was. From the meeting in Ccasacancha onwards I rarely saw Ricardo without accompaniment. He arrived at Ccahuapirhua frequently with friends and contacts from Cusco who were willing to invest manpower, equipment and expertise into the hills above the adobe houses. They would sit in their 4X4 trucks in the plaza waiting for an *asamblea* to wind down before being beckoned to come forward and address the gathered community. The expectant financiers would present their investment plan, citing their credentials and experience in small-scale mining ventures in other parts of the country, and their proposed terms of profit sharing. Community members would in turn demand time for deliberation. Accordingly, the bi-monthly communal *asamblea*s in Ccahuapirhua would become increasingly dominated by mining discussions – work demands; labor and profit division; etc. Ricardo would also return to Yuricancha to facilitate a meeting between the president of the community to a group of artisanal

mining specialists from Arequipa. Our evening dinners and *emolientes* became less frequent as he shuttled himself about the region following a swell of requests from community leaders who heard of his new ventures and intentions.

It was the beginning of wind of change that swept across the region. Artisanal mining was in the mouth of everyone. Conversations in the cantinas of Challhuahuacho became engrossed in the topic. It was a form of cross community dialogue where one could ask how work was going in another area, where potential investors could ply community leaders with beer to remain in good standing, and where an individual might reach an informal agreement to work in the *laborales* of friends and cousins. Investors and buyers not associated with Ricardo became more visible in the region. Having been seen with Ricardo on various occasions in the past, my phone would ring or I might be stopped in the street, and questions about his whereabouts and a particular community's desire to have a meeting would be put to me.

UCCAMBA had withered and died; merely a header to various documents tucked away in the houses of *comuneros* amongst land titles and other formal documents. The 'mobilization' vacuum (that characterised Peru's exceptionalism), for the moment, was filled by an energetic and more pragmatic effort to put pike to rock; to sack minerals that were understood to be their rights; a local championing of constitutional customs over the convention of national subsoil rights.[91] By the fall of 2017 Ricardo claimed that the number of prospective and current communities engaging in artisanal mining projects in the region had risen to 17. In many ways, it marked the unforeseen maturation of indigenous politics in Cotabambas.

A strand of anthropological literature dealing with indigenous questions has begun to tease out consensus around issues of emergence and process. Putting aside the 'authenticity question' that concerned so many authors critiquing the 'model Indian', 'articulation' has become a much-cited concept in describing the rise and maturation of indigenous identity (Clifford 2007; Starn and de la Cadena 2007; Tsing 2007; Yeh 2007). Perhaps the most influential paper published on the topic came from Tania Li who describes articulation as 'the process of rendering a collective identity, position, or set of interests explicit' (2000, 152), drawing from an investigation of indigenous issues within Indonesia. These studies of articulated indigeneity find their theoretical foundation in the work of Stuart Hall (1990; 1995; 1996). Hall considers articulation as the 'form of connection that can make a unity of two different elements,

[91] In the words of Eric Hirsch, 'mineral extraction emerging as a new form of indigenous entrepreneurship' (2017, 259).

under certain conditions' (1996, 141). The 'unity' which matters 'is a linkage between the articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, be connected' (1996, 141). Identity, for Hall, is not the product of an 'eternally fixed and essentialized past, but instead is the subject of the continuous "play" of history, culture and power' (1990, 225). In many ways, articulation becomes the politics of strategic essentialism; the way in which the power of the model Indian is tapped into. No study can therefore be said to undermine subaltern political projects through historicizing, as all identities are articulated structures.

Yet, if Hall's theory of articulation presents a very thorough understanding of the process and purpose of presentation, it says much less about the unarticulated; about identities that are not espoused but may still motivate action. Indeed, Li's analysis of Indonesian indigeneity simply situates the unarticulated as outside of the 'tribal slot', a grey zone of identity where indigeneity becomes more obscure and connections across difference are not made. As such there is a particular bias within the concept of articulation to prioritize the ways indigenous knowledge and identity are 'made explicit, alliances formed, and media attention appropriately focused' (Li 2000, 163). Stuart Hall prioritizes social formations as articulated structures, while others like Tania Li (2000) and Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn (2007) narrow the social down to issues of activism. These limitations are not condemnable. They simply present a challenge; calls towards a next step in academic focus and analysis.

Certainly, elements of articulation are found within the Bambas mining zone. The subjectivities found within the extractive zone elide stable essences and should therefore be seen as temporary positionings. And indeed, there are connections and linkages made between two distinct elements as indigeneity unfolds over time (between lived experience and legal indigenous precepts). However, these positionings and connections are not concretized into a consumable package or discourse to be articulated beyond the region. UCCAMBA's fleeting existence, the abandonment of formal organization along cultural lines, leaves articulation in wait; lite - almost there but not quite. Further conceptual tools are needed to capture the particularities of indigenous agency in Cotabambas.

I would argue for a return to Mary Louise Pratt's interpretation of the 'contact zone' where the notion of transculturation is paramount (1992). Transculturation as an idea had first appeared within literary circles to apprehend the manners in which 'subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture' (1992, 7). Global indigenism's arrival at the Las Bambas frontier, carried forth by the

contemporary *tinterillo* and encapsulated within essentialized imaginaries, enacted a minor tremor of commonality between the conjured and the lived Indian. However, the cavity was always perniciously undermined by stagnation and the potentiality of mineralized hills. It was only when local realities became more intelligible, following the friction of the contact zone, that the multicultural tools of the neoliberal turn could be re-represented by the indigenous *asesor*. The capacious nature of 'custom' was soon directed towards artisanal life projects. In this new light, individuals and communities began appropriating – or in the words of Pratt, 'selecting and inventing' – the perceived prospective of indigenous power. Legal codes and protocols were pilfered, in the name of historical debt and contemporary extractive exclusion, providing impetus for dynamic life projects that did not require more waiting. Global indigenism was stripped of useful reference points and put to work in the material world rather than articulated in the ideational or representational realm.

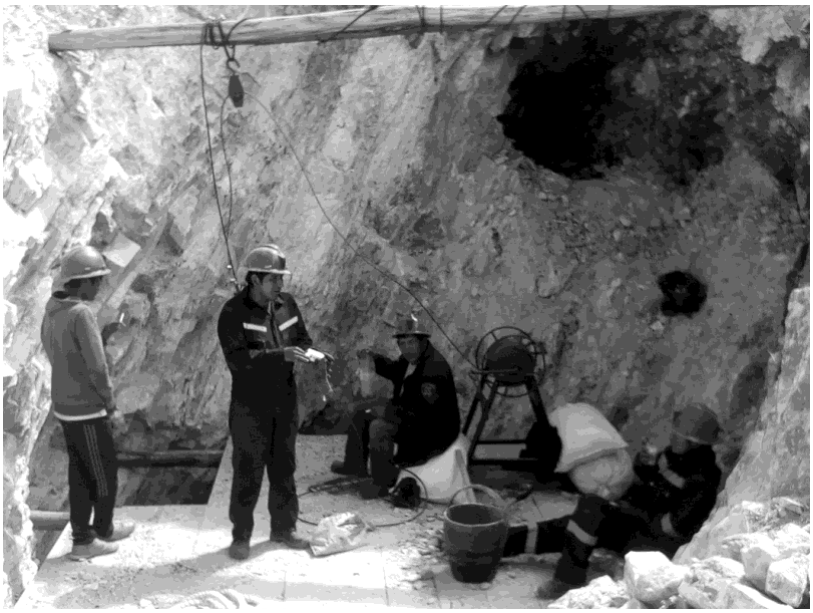
Real Indians as mining Indians

On a cool evening in September 2017, having just watched a World Cup qualification match between Peru and Ecuador in the house of Joel, I joined another eager caravan of *Ccahuapirhuanos* up Chucruni mountain once more. We travelled on foot and motorbike along a crude road recently dug into the side of the mountain by an excavator brought to Ccahuapirhua; compliments of an investor from Cusco. We were off to work in the community's recently re-invigorated artisanal mines.

It was dark when we arrived at the informal camp (various small bungalows constructed from eucalyptus poles and plastic tarp). We were served *chuño* soup by a young cook hired through family connections from the district of Mara. We soon dawned helmets and head lamps and braved the cold, hiking up a worn footpath before reaching the mine's entrance and assuming positions. Oscar descended below a wooden platform by rope with the *perforista*[92]. His father and brother-in-law weighed down a steel crank and pulley with sandbags. I grabbed the wheelbarrow before shimmying down various tools to Oscar and his partner below. The work soon commenced in Fordist fashion. Rocks were chipped and chunked from the *beta* below by the individuals in the pit, piled into the rubber basket, and pulleyed to the platform above the

[92] Translated directly as 'driller'. *Perforistas*, when it comes to small-scale or artisanal mining, are generally in charge of explosives and machinery used to burrow into the rock face. However, their position and title usually derives from a history of experience. Their duties go beyond mechanics and entail 'reading' the walls and ceilings of a mining shaft in search of dangers and security concerns.

cavern where the contents were spilled into the wheelbarrow. I would then push the mineralized cart along a short path to the mouth of the mine where the rocks would be dumped into a mound in need of sorting. When all the loose stones were pulled to the surface, sticks of dynamite were carefully placed and detonated. The process would resume anew with breaks taken to chew coca, smoke cigarettes, sip *caña*, and sort through the extracted mounds in search of those verdant nuggets that contained the oxidized mineral. Those rocks considered to have enough copper content were placed into large plastic sacks and stacked out of the way where they would someday be collected by buyers. We carried on until nearly midnight before laying out mattresses in the camp and searching for sleep under layers of wool blankets. At sunrise, we would begin again.



[**Figure 31.** ***Artisanal mining in Ccahuapirhua*****. Source: author.**]

The community divided itself into eight different labor groups that mapped onto family lines. Over the course of a few months that marked the end of my time in the field, I divided my own toil between various groups hoping not to alienate any family from my unpaid sweat. Each group was assigned its own mining site – 20 to 50 meters separating each one – and was charged with securing its own investors and connections (either through the artisanal groups that passed through the community in search of opportunities or by phone calls placed to friends and associates outside the region). As such there existed disparate levels of production on the hill. The labor group of Oscar had quickly procured the support of an artisanal mining outfit from Cusco who, beyond providing labor and expertise, supplied the group with equipment that

ranged from strong wooden planks and steel cables to sophisticated drills used to burrow into the rock face for the planting of dynamite. At the other end of the spectrum was the labor group of Ernesto, Victor, their father Selestino, and a few *tios*. During the months in which I worked with them before the arrival of the rainy season, they had not yet been able to procure financial or logistical support and were thus resigned to extracting copper by pick and hand; a much slower and burdensome process. Their sacks of copper piled up very slowly.



[**Figure 32.** ***Taking a break from mining to chew coca.*** **Source: author.**]

The entire community was involved in the process; young and old alike; male and female; first generation *comuneros* and *retornantes*. Women and girls carried out the gendered domestic work that supported the labor of men, whether in the camps themselves or below in the house. *Viejos* and *tios*, some hunchbacked from decades of *campesino* labor, hauled large rocks from the beta towards the sacking area, passing their grandsons along the way. Younger cosmopolitan *cholos* born in the cities lowered their heads in respect when coca leaves and *caña* were taken by the wind or poured on the ground as offerings to *pachamama* (‘earth mother’). The spectrums of gender and age, urban and rural upbringing, washed away amongst a communal desire to see their lives in dynamic motion; social imaginaries, finally, in *becoming*.

The majority of large and productive artisanal mining projects occurred along the western reaches of the Bambas concession, burrowing into the *beta* that the open pit had yet to consume. While working in the hills above Ccahuapirhua the thunder of dynamite roared over the

landscape; the work and activity of Chicñahui, Huancuire, Cconccacca, Escorno, and Pamputa acknowledging one another with explosive echoes. *Los pagachos*, once deemed to be disappearing or increasingly unimportant by elders of the region (see Chapter 1), were revived with gusto as labor groups dedicated entire days to festooning the mouths of their mines with balloons and streamers, inserting coca leaves and cigarettes to the crevices of their tunnels, tossing beer and *caña* across the rock floor, and transporting *chamans* from their Challhuahuacho businesses (see Chapter 2) to community *cerros* where they performed rituals and legitimated the *pagos* to *los apus* (mountain spirits); offers of respect in the hopeful exchange of safe work amongst dangerous endeavours. They were 'indigenous' practices completed for local prosperity rather than international audiences (cf. Hirsch 2017). Thus, in many communities where artisanal mining took hold, the frustrated waits for infrastructure projects and land negotiations that dictated pathways of extractive development were reprieved. A bifurcated system of extraction emerged: tunnels and pits, modern and ancient, formal and informal, resolving (at least momentarily) the discordances of resource-making on the maturing Bambas frontier.[93]



[**Figure 33. Pagacho *in Ccahuapirhua – Asking permission from the mountain to work its* beta. Source: author.**]

[93] As noted in Chapter 2, the professionalization of mining in Peru diminished opportunities for direct professionalization amongst 'affected communities'. However, the corporation's implicit sanctioning of artisanal tunnels was a recognition that large frustrated labor reserves were dangerous to profit and mineral flow. As such, and ironically, the functioning of mining capitalism in Apurímac can be argued to depend on a formal-informal 'complementarity'.

One afternoon, sitting with Oscar on the ridge of the plaza in Ccahuapirhua, we returned to the topic of his future. His labor group had just finished a few hard weeks in the mine and over a hundred 50lb sacks of copper sat in wait for collection. He had been doing some mental calculations on what they might expect to share between them when the informal buyers arrived. His demeanor was once again animated by hope. In the months before informal mining had begun in Ccahuapirhua he had descended into an alcoholic malaise, stumbling through the streets of Challhuahuacho from bar to bar, often drinking on credit or from the generosity of others. I would stop in to see him from time to time and he would complain about the pressure wearing down on him from his partner, Yeny, and daughter back in Lima. He felt duress, lost between precarious futures and decisions, *hueveando* doing what it could to keep despair at bay (Chapter 3). If he was unable to find work and money in the region, Yeny bemoaned, he should consider leaving his post as vice-president of the community and pickup part-time construction work in Lima. He had now regained his confidence and bearings, and spoke with pride once more about investing his money into an apparel store in Abancay near the house of his brother, moving his family there, and starting a new and stable life. Thus, after over a year of fieldwork, as sacks of copper were accumulating near the hilltops of Ccahuapirhua, I became privy to an optimistic future that had largely been illusive and fleeting. It was not a result of government investment, nor the millennial wealth that maintained visions of land sale. Yet horizons containing agential roadmaps had finally emerged for individuals and communities living in the shadows of Las Bambas.

At first glance, it seems an unusual journey: from lectures on indigenous rights and a march on Lima, to the spread of informal mining and disposable income. Indigenous politics will always be grounded within the locales of messy practical encounters, warping through travel and renegotiation. We should never expect the current extractive practices of '*Yanahuara*' or '*Chanka*' communities to be celebrated in the workshops of international conferences. Indeed, many indigenous activists may be shocked and dismayed at the way cultural rights have been interpreted, reworked and put to use in the shadows of the Bambas project. Yet, had UCCAMBA flourished as an organization, galvanized region-wide mobilization, and begun articulating a particular global indigenism that gained them allies and applause, it would have undoubtedly been forced to wait for recognition; to sit in economic exclusion in the hopes of cultural accreditation. This alternative requires a brief discussion.

Recognition, particularly in the context of indigenous identity, has its own dark underbelly. Far less acknowledged within activist circles outside of the academy is the 'double

bind' that global consciousness around indigenous issues has unwittingly unleashed. Elizabeth Povinelli, in her provocative account of Australian multiculturalism (2002), shows the way that national reconciliation policy forces indigenous subjects to 'desire or identify with a lost indeterminable object; to be the melancholic subject of traditions'. An invisible asterisk emerges as indigenous people engage with recognizing powers (in the case of Povinelli's research, the state). Processes of accreditation and stamps of authenticity are relinquished to outsiders: this is indigenous; this is not. The deleterious effects of this double bind have been found elsewhere. In the United States, as documented by Jessica Cattelino (2008), the casino success of Seminole groups of Florida 'flies in the face of dominant American images of Indians as poor and antimaterialist' (10), leading to backlash campaigns and suspicion that 'money pollutes, instrumentalizes, or erases art and culture' (63). In the Amazon of Brazil, indigenous NGO's have withheld hospitals and schools deemed to be the product of 'un-Indian decisions' (the selling of land; see Ramos 1994). Thus, the model or hyper-real Indian that structures global imaginaries does not only make difficult the process of articulating local realities, but offers deleterious repercussions should the performance not be struck or maintained. International cache is often extended in exchange for discipline.

Recognition and the debates of authenticity in the Peruvian context, we can assume, would be no less fraught. As stated above, president's such as Alan Garcia have initiated scathing national debates on who is and who is not indigenous within the country. The Peruvian congress, during the administration of Ollanta Humala, worked doggedly to conceptualize rural highland populations as non-indigenous for fear the label could be weaponized against extraction and mining investment (as Ricardo had initially attempted to do). Activism within the country has grown equally adverse towards the environmental impacts of artisanal mining ventures, particularly in Madre Dios. Thus, fortifying UCCAMBA as the voice of the 'Chanka Nation' would expose the people of Cotabambas to the pernicious debates of whether Quechua peoples are indeed 'indigenous'. Promoting artisanal mining as a historical custom or tradition using the UCCAMBA platform would not only formally challenge national laws on subsoil propriety, potentially engulfing impoverished communities in legal battles, but lay bare the region to attacks by environmental groups and activists on the ecological impacts of unregulated small-scale mining and its 'un-Indianness' (a core of indigeneity is environmental custodianship, after all).

In light of this difficult paradox, we should not be so quick to regret or condemn the direction of indigenous politics in Cotabambas as it manoeuvres through the challenges and

discordances of resource-making. Contemporary indigenism is, after all, not a 'space that every local group is able or willing to occupy' (Li 2000, 170). Given that 'indigenous historical experiences are layered and fundamentally relational, ethnic or racial *absolutes* (my emphasis) foreshorten lived reality and foreclose crucial possibilities' (Clifford 2007, 215). In it is this light that Kaushik Ghosh (2006) speaks of the dangers of transnational indigeneity as presented today, and the ways it may not attend to the nature of 'specific sites'; unwittingly ironing out the openings that populations have 'created in the folds of domination' (503).

In this regard, Peruvian exceptionalism (considered by scholars as an absence of indigenous mobilization) has left Cotabambinos in an unexpectedly advantageous position vis-à-vis collective desires for a better life (*una vida mejor*) and social becoming. In the case of Las Bambas, by abandoning UCCAMBA, the travelling ideas of *indigenism* are not foreclosed by demands of a peculiar authenticity by national or international gatekeepers. They can and have been reworked through the process of arrival, contact, friction and appropriation in line with local realities structured by continued marginalization and exclusion. The organic and indeterminate unfolding of this 'articulation lite' remains unruly to institutionalization and thus frees individuals and communities from the trappings of accreditation. In this way, dramatic 'returns of the Indian' have been avoided. In its place, indigenous politics and contestation plays outs in the shadows and valleys, presenting a capacious space for the lived experience of those on the margins of contemporary extraction and resource-making to dictate, to a degree, their own forms and methods of inclusion, momentarily reconciling prolonged states of waithood and despair, reinjecting them with temporal direction and certainty (Chapter 3), legitimating returns (Chapter 1), alleviating the pressures of toxic endurance (Chapter 5), and by-passing the sustainable livelihood mold of corporate responsibility (Chapter 4). In sum, fomenting a tolerable but unexpected local stream of development; allowing for the literal and figurative extracting of potential from the verdant copper stone beneath community land, despite the structures that push towards foil.

Conclusion

Standing on the side of the road outside the community of Congota, Ricardo had disparaged the *comuneros* of the community following their tepid reaction to his political project of indigenous awakening. 'They do not know their rights', he grumbled. Still early on in his endeavor to organize rural communities under the banner of identity politics, the idea that these communities were not interested in the rights on offer, or saw no utility within their presentation,

had not yet crossed his mind. The point is vital, for although Ricardo arrived to Cotabambas with enthusiasm, carrying with him both idealist international images and a rich national mythology, the 'contact zone' of indigeneity was fraught with more friction than he had anticipated.

Indeed, as this chapter demonstrates, Ricardo had not only begun to engage a region of 'Peruvian exceptionalism', but a locale where, historically speaking, 'identity' had been structured by centuries of racial hierarchies and the crippling persistence of economic marginalization. Further still, the commencement and maturation of the Bambas project had at once produced a number of different affects – as well as shifting experiences - that worked upon '*forgottenness*' and against international indigenous prescription. While Ricardo labored to 'teach' shadowed communities the potential and power of global *indigeneity*, alternative ideas, opportunities, and individuals had floated through the region. In particular, the 'voice' of artisanal mining investors spoke productively to mineralized mountains, frustrated development, and social becoming, in ways that ILO conventions and indigenous rights had not. The 'monied interests' that Ricardo bemoaned early on during his mobilization efforts, over time, began to reveal an 'identity' that was degrees removed from his idealistic perceptions. It was only following a shift in his project's presentation, an alteration in line with the progressive possibilities of minerals, that productive dialogue would begin. Indigeneity was given life only after it engaged historical debt and posited action through a discursive legal dance that presented elusive material benefits to communities; 'development' and the potential of copper being placed within their own hands.

The arguments presented in this chapter build upon critical interpretations of global indigenous politics and its local translations, bringing them into conversation with extractive transformations. The empirics and claims of this final chapter expose more than the contentious seeds of that which structures indigenous experience in Peru, but how articulation, projects and collaboration work across unsuspecting nodes of contact. These products of engagement and friction demonstrate that the search for the better life amongst Andean peoples rarely ceases, and is constantly at the forefront of agential maneuvering and navigation. In many ways, this aspiration for social becoming is *the* low frequency of extraction's shadows, challenging and complicating the assumptions of 'modern mining' and its outcomes.

Conclusion: Rethinking Mining Discordance in Peru

Since the turn of the millennium, the demand of resources throughout the world has led to an unprecedented 'mineral age' (Jacka 2018). The basic functioning of societies and economies the world over have become utterly dependent on the continuous extraction and processing of minerals. While these substances become dispersed and largely anonymous at the consumer end of global commodity chains, their politics and power at the point source of exploitation can be lithospheric (Weszkalnys 2016). Part of this raw potential stems from the importance governments within the 'Global South' have begun to place on resources. As economies have been restructured in accordance to neoliberal precepts, extraction and development models have become imbricated. An imperative has emerged in which resources have begun to take on a 'teleological primacy' (Arsel, Hogenboom and Pellegrini 2016); demand driving the expansion of frontier creation, drawing ever increasing numbers of communities into the vortex of promise and production.

Peru is but one of many countries throughout the world to have hooked its development cart to the reins of resources. During the 1990s, following years of stagflation, the liberalization of the economy prioritized investment and huge swaths of the national territory were offered up for exploitation to foreign corporations. Mining in particular was seen as a fruitful pathway towards an elusive development trajectory; one that would enfold hinterlands such as the Andes into 'modern' Peru, dragging its impoverished populations into new worlds, across persistent divides. While the country has enjoyed unprecedent economic growth in the two decades which have followed the 'Fuji-shock', contestation has proliferated simultaneously, rupturing the assumptions of what resource-development models are said and thought to do. The rise of conflicts throughout the highlands of the country has produced a plethora of activist and academic attention, often floating above and beyond the social fiber and demands of the imperative's shadows. Questions persist in Peru as to what indeed is causing such frustration amongst communities within the Andes. While events and 'incidents' may grab fleeting media attention, voices within mining locales remain muffled, reverberating faintly; background notes in contemporary representations.

It was partially this alluring absence which piqued my interest in the Bambas copper project – the most recent mega mine to commence production in the country. As fate would have it, only a few months into my fieldwork, a confluence of tragedy and coincidence bore down on Cotabambas, placing the recently arrived anthropologist amongst the throes of a national event.

In early October 2016, the disgruntled communities of Pumamarca, Quehuira, Choquecca-Antio and Allahui were confronted by the national police in the hills above the mineral corridor. The ensuing death of Quintino Huisa would rumble through the country amongst radio broadcasts, television programs, and newspaper headlines. After nearly a year of 'peaceful' discussions, Peru was once again awoken to the problematics of resources and development; the Las Bambas mine producing yet another '*conflicto minero*'. The disparaging labels of 'beggars', 'dogs', and '*anti-mineros*', offered themselves to cynical and annoyed outsiders.

The calamitous event had followed on the heels of a recent election in Peru. The new administration of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski was eager to secure the economic growth numbers and projections of the new mega mine, to return Cotabambas to a state of normalcy, and to distance itself from their predecessors. They moved swiftly to promise an important reunion within 45 days, where delegates would travel to the province and deliver a generous 'solution'; a product of bureaucratic toil and policy prescription; a sincere attempt to ingratiate. The communities of the region waited in somber and hopeful anticipation for the end of November, when they would travel to the *comunidad campesina de Quehuira* and shade the hill which overlooked the road with flesh and gravitas. In a dramatic gesture, they would face the patch of dirt on the rural boulevard where Quintino's coffin had previously sat in solemnity.

Amongst the interlude of days that separated the events, I had begun slowly embedding myself within the community of Ccahuapirhua. I had sown potatoes for the coming rains, participated in my first *faena,* and commenced journeys of intimacy. Though still hopelessly immature in my orientation, I was invited, nonetheless, to travel with my adopted community to the momentous reunion in Quehuira. We arrived following a chain of *combis* and taxis along the mineral corridor from the boomtown of Challhuahuacho. Trudging up the steep slope and finding a patch of grass amongst the swelling numbers of eager travellers, we awaited the arrival of Martin Vizcarra, then vice-president of Peru.

We hardly had time to purchase and begin pouring a *gaseosa* (soda) when the motorcade approached the stage from around a mountainous bend in the road. Heavily escorted, the prominent government emissary exited his vehicle and strolled along the foot of the hill to raucous applause, flanked on either side by the ministers of justice and agriculture. In that flickering moment, the hope that a resolution to the disjuncture between local and national understandings might be bridged took form in an audible roar. The crowd was on its feet and remained there for some time, clapping, as Vizcarra stood before them, waving with appreciation and certainty, even taking time to shake hands for the cameras and passing journalists.

Yet, the celebratory mood did not last long. Having climbed onto the rudimentary stage made especially for the event and taken the microphone, Vizcarra quickly moves to castigate the previous administration's handling of mining tensions, while subsequently imploring those gathered to not immediately cast their frustrations on to the new government. To demonstrate the sincerity of his claim - the magnitude of his arrival - he holds forth a large document in his hand, the 'tireless' work of government experts over the past 45 days. It is the *El Plan de Desarrollo de Cotabambas*. Rather than read from the over 200 pages which constitute the document, the vice-president descends from the stage and stands before a huge collage of precariously planted placards, stapled to tall wooden posts; a rural fence of government intent. It runs along the road and beside the stage, containing thematic phrases of interventions, figures, flow charts, diagrams, and images. 158 prioritized '*proyectos*' (projects) are promised, totaling 2,860 million Peruvian *Soles*. 'With this', Vizacarra declares, 'we will have guaranteed progress and development. You will see the benefits within the coming year.' The main billboard amongst the chain of placards shows four quadrants of development stages, ranking regions of the country based on poverty and income statistics. Cotabambas is positioned amongst the lowest group, however, a large arrow seems to propel the region forward along the color-coded sections of *desarrollo*. The details themselves are obscure and the vice-president leaves the mystical march onwards to the imaginations and cynicism of the assembled.



[**Figure 34.** ***Martin Vizcarra presenting*** **El Plan de Desarrollo de Cotabambas** ***to the communities of the province.*** **Source: author.**]

As the presentation of Vizcarra culminates, the murmurs of frustration and disapproval circulate within the crowd and begin to mount. Loud and spontaneous shouts sporadically erupt from the audience for 'renegotiation!'. Others demand to know where the representatives from MMG are. The claims are continuously applauded.

Beyond those assembled on the hill, near the road and stage, individuals from various communities and local organizations begin to form a line, preparing to take the microphone and shift the discursive flow of the reunion. Following comments from the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Agriculture, the voices that boom from the speakers become more agitated and less conciliatory. Local representatives, one following the other, bemoan the 'progress' to date, the promises of the past, and the demands thus far unheeded. The message of dissatisfaction, of unfulfilled desires and expectations that neither charts nor words can assuage, is clear and oft-repeated. References to '*nuestras riquezas*' (our riches) form a through line, weaving unison between disparate orators and claims.

Eventually, seeing no probable end to the queue of disgruntled *comuneros*, the vice-president pushes his way through the congregation towards the police convoy that will accompany him to his helicopter and a hasty return to Lima. Shouts of 'renegotiation' rise once more from those assembled on the hillside, petering out only after the dust of his motorcade has settled back onto the road. The crowd lingers in an uncertain hesitation. I huddle amongst a group of friends who reflect on the benevolent-turned-hostile encounter. They search for meaning in the vice-president's ambiguous departure.

We eventually pile into the waiting mini-vans and taxis which will take us back to Challhuahuacho. As we wind our way along the mineral corridor, I reflect in frustration on the differing concepts of development and futures that have collided here. Having arrived back to the outskirts of Challhuahuacho, standing on a bustling sidewalk with Oscar at my side, I remember his thunderous voice beside me minutes before, at the forefront of chants for 'renegotiation'. I ask him, in a forthright manner: 'What is it you wish to renegotiate?'. I have in mind contracts and agreements, proposals and papers with names and dates. He shakes his head and can only say, '*todo* (everything)'. We carry on standing in silence, watching the swarm of people who have returned to Challhuahuacho rushing to find transportation, searching for family and empty cars, eager to make tracks towards their communities. Just before parting ways, Oscar begins to mumble in frustration - whether to me or the friends which surround us, I am not sure - 'There were no representatives from MMG there today.' It is left there between us, seemingly

disconnected from my initial inquiry; a departing refrain as we resign ourselves to carrying on our days.

Later that evening, alone in my rented room, the idea of such a momentous event taking place during my initial months in the field weighed heavily upon me. Time seemed to have teased me, placing the dissonant stakeholders of Peru's extractive imperative within my grasp (a truly rare event) at a moment when I could not discern their claims, offers, and grievances fully; stabbing at I was at flies or phantoms passing as words. I obsessively mulled over the chants of renegotiation and Oscar's obscure response of 'everything'. I was forced to recognize my misplaced eagerness, stemming from early ignorance. My question had come from a rush to know, to encapsulate, to solve the complexities of the extractive development model and its local consequences. The answers, which I would be forced to look for and be patient in finding, are tied up in the minutiae of his days, his past and his aspirations, escaping the sentence or paragraph I demand in the moment.

And it is that which existed beyond the elusive and concise sentence that this dissertation has chased after. For 13 months, following the grand reunion with the vice-president of Peru, I continued to live, work, and converse amongst the communities who congregated on the hill above the mineral corridor that fateful day. I developed numerous intimates, explored life histories, precarious presents, and imagined futures. New questions began to form on who these assembled Andean peoples and communities were and wished to be. New understandings emerged of corporate operations and government processes linked to the projects and investment on offer within *El Plan de Desarrollo de Cotabambas*. However, perhaps the most salient reflection which appeared following the *longue durée* of fieldwork, involves copper and the peculiar absence of mining talk amongst the momentous meeting in Quehuira. *Why was Cotabambas being ear-marked for a 'development' plan and not any other province of the country? What great importance did eastern Apurímac have for a travelling vice-president if not its minerals?*

The centrality of resources and their compelling associations with wealth and transformation for extractive locales cannot be overstated. One should, perhaps, be embarrassed to posit such a banality; to structure debate with such triteness: mining zones and frontiers as being determined by minerals. Perhaps not though. As alluded to above, the literature that has today attempted to make sense of extractive discordance in Peru - dominated as it is by geographers and political scientists - has followed particular trends in abstraction that prioritize the distorting potential of state and market for development outcomes, or otherwise emphasize

peasant communities and livelihoods that are one or multiple degrees removed from resources proper. These shadows of scholarship, demand not only a social embedding of methods and analysis - delving into the fabric, history, imaginations and lifeworlds of mining regions - but also serious considerations on resources and their making; on how locales and minerals relate to one another; on how both are made and constituted; on how these entanglements shift over time.

Indeed, as this dissertation has shown, more than a decade prior to the region's fractious spiral into contestation, long before *paros* (stikes) and *enfrentamientos* (conflicts) brought the vice-president and his envoy to the province, the wanderings of geologists and corporate social teams through a 'forgotten' region had begun to reconfigure mountains and their potential. These particular 'arrivals' became fused with desires for social mobility; progressive elements of both creating potent alloys that pulled people from across the uneven development geography of Peru onto the aspirant margins of the Bambas project. For the communities of Cotabambas, the presence of minerals and the international demands of a hungry Chinese economy had been refracted through historical marginalization and the persistent search for a better life; expectation and mineral optimism amongst communities had surged and spilled beyond the unstated confines of that which extractive development was structured to provide. The seeds of dissonance had been planted; *anti-mineros* yet to be harvested.

It is a central point to the arguments put forward within this ethnography: the entwinement of resource and social becomings, tentatively echoed amongst the work of anthropologists thinking with and of materials anew. However, though the nascent and emerging theory of resource materialites has helped situate a foundation of divergent perspectives on resources amongst various actors, it has yet to convincingly expand beyond the deconstruction of modernist convention. Resource-making, of course, is pulled beyond conception and through the structures, techniques, norms, and practices of mining proper. Original affects, perceptions, and expectation are re-worked through time, as extraction matures, to reveal and politicize discordance.

Throughout the communities of Cotabambas, the approval of the Bambas mine was succeeded by a construction boom and technical training programmes that had begun to implicate copper's potential with professionalized outcomes and desired futures beyond the region following the amassing of skills and money. The onset of production ruptured horizons and their imagined trajectories; demanding new considerations, maneuverings, projects and experiences. In navigating the maturation of mining, communities were forced into recognizing the perverse moral order of copper's standard development outcomes and pursue alternatives

amongst allotted space. The *cargo-ization* of land, though sustaining hope for the better life beyond a lethargic and low-skill royalty project scheme, reworked enclave temporalities. Precarious waiting established contentious relations between individuals, families, and communities, and demanded daily release from the encroaching affect of despair. While copper output and investment tabulation marked the Bambas project as a standardized bearer of extractive development, lifeworlds amongst its shadows were drifting towards crises in social becoming. Contestations simmering, threatening to flare.

The mere presence of despair and crises mocks the persistent and recurring claims of 'modern mining' propounded by government and industrial proponents of the extractive imperative; advocates of extraction's technological sophistication; of its 'new' social priorities. Indeed, the 'sustainable' and 'responsible' pillars of contemporary resource governance regimes, enacted and practiced in Peru following their global normalization, were but further elements within discordant alloys. CSR gifts and techniques, stepping into a state governance vacuum, worked under a logic of temperance, aiming to channel the expectations stoked by copper towards standardized infrastructure payments. Environmental regulation, institutionalized through impact assessments and participatory monitoring schemes, by-passed communities, leaving consciousness and activism to be perverted by toxic legacies and endurance tied to mineral pasts and futures. Indigenous rights and legal structures arrived to the region as blunt impracticalities, only to gain pertinence when they could be applied to frustrated realities; legitimating artisanal ventures into the hills of the province in search of resources and their elusive promise. The unintended and divergent outcomes of these responsibility regimes force us to re-evaluate conventional understandings of modern mining; of what it is and does to rural highland locales; of the relations between people and copper that it can never truly encase.

In light of these realities and arguments, and as I return to my notebook once more, the shouts and claims for 're-negotiation' - booming from the hill above Quehuira, and trailing the vice-president's hasty retreat – take on new significance. Not only had 45 days of deliberation promised nothing more than low-skilled labor projects for frustrated communities in search of 'the better life', but, as stated above, the topic of copper and mining had been strangely absent. Oscar's voice, cocooned within those of the crowd, was not interested in more 'gifts' and investment residuals. They wished, I would argue, to re-negotiate the very terms of what minerals should become; to address the discordances and contradictions between futures they imagined and the 'development' trajectories of the present; to bring *resource-making* in line with *social becoming*; the 'everything' that spilled beyond the concise sentence. Perhaps the

government sensed a threat to the extractive imperative and thus avoided the politics of resources altogether. Perhaps the vice-president and his aides understood the province as a backwater of ignorant indigenous peasants to be appeased with schools and hospitals. Undoubtedly, they avoided, whether deliberately or not, the fearsome potential of desires and materials. It was this potent elixir, I would argue, that animated the reunion's descent into frustration and distrust. A moment amongst many in the fraught trajectories of copper and progress.

Its lessons are not to be ignored. As natural resources continue to form the bedrock of economic policy in Peru the importance of ethnographic explorations of extraction grows. While the challenges of minerals as development engines has been glossed and rendered by government and industrial elites as the work of 'beggars' and '*anti-mineros*', activists, journalists, and social scientists have been eager to offer counter narratives; interpretations less interested in disparaging rural communities but equally constricting in their analysis. The claims of this thesis have attempted to not only socially embed questions of extraction and conflict in Peru, but reformulate thinking on resources and development anew; eliding assumptions and conventions thus far on offer; elucidating the desires and frustrations of the shadows. It is my hope that this work contributes in some way to resetting the debate on the problematics and entanglements of minerals, development, and highland locales. And while the arguments developed in this dissertation present, I would hope, a compelling depiction that complicates the status quo, there are evident avenues for further exploration. Limitations produced by timing and position leave work to be done across generational and gender divides. Equally, multi-sited approaches might further elucidate the complexities of other stakeholders within the extractive imperative seminal to the making of resources (i.e. consumers, corporations, government ministries, development banks, etc.). For now, the thesis, limitations and all, sits as a foundational contribution to the experiences of mining's most marginalized; a portrait of lives seated on a bench of gold.

Bibliography

Abercrombie, Thomas. 1991. "To Be Indian, To Be Bolivian." In *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America*, eds. Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, 95-130. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

———. 1998. *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Acosta, A. 2013. "Extractivism and Neoextractivism: Two Sides of the Same Curse." In *Beyond Development: Alternative Visions for Latin America*, eds. Miriam Lang and Dunia Mokrani, 61-86. Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.

Adorno, Theodor. 1991. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. London: Routledge.

Aguirre, Carlos. 2012. "'Tinterillos', Indians, and the State: Towards a History of Legal Intermediaries in Post-Independence Peru." In *One Law for All? Western Models and Local Practices in (Post-) Imperial Contexts*, ed. Stefan B. Kirmse, 119-151. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Albó, Xavier. 1991. "El Retorno del Indio." *Estudios y Debates*, no. 2: 299-345.

Allen, Catherine. 2002 [1988]. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2013. *The Future as Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition*. London: Verso.

Appel, Hannah. 2012a. "Offshore Work: Oil, Modularity, and the How of Capitalism in Equatorial Guinea." *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 4: 692-709.

———. 2012b. "Walls and White Elephants: Oil Extraction, Responsibility, and Infrastructural Violence in Equatorial Guinea." *Ethnography* 13, no. 4: 439-465.

Appel, Hannah, Arthur Mason, and Michael Watts, eds. 2015. *Subterranean Estates: Life Worlds of Oil and Gas*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Arce, Moises. 2014. *Resource Extraction and Protest in Peru*. London: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Arellano-Yanguas, Javier. 2008. *A Thoroughly Modern Resource Curse? The New Natural Resource Policy Agenda and the Mining Revival in Peru*. Working Paper. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

———. 2011a. "Aggravating the Resource Curse: Decentralisation, Mining and Conflict in Peru." *The Journal of Development Studies* 47, no. 4: 617-638.

———. 2011b. *Minería sin Fronteras? Conflicto y Desarrollo en las Regiones Mineras del Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

———. 2012. "Mining and Conflict in Peru: Sowing the Minerals, Reaping a Hail of Stones." In *Social Conflict, Economic Development and Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*, ed. Anthony Bebbington, 89-111. London: Routledge.

Arsel, Murat, Barbara Hogenboom, and Lorenzo Pellegrini. 2016. "The Extractive Imperative and the Boom in Environmental Conflicts at the End of the Progressive Cycle in Latin America." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3, no. 4: 877-879.

Ashforth, Adam. 2005. *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Auty, Richard. 1993. *Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies: The Resource Curse Thesis*. London: Routledge.

———. 2001. *Resource Abundance and Economic Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Auyero, Javier, and Debora Swistun. 2008 "The Social Production of Toxic Uncertainty." *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 3: 357-79.

———. 2009. *Flammable: Environmental Suffering in an Argentine Shantytown*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Avila, Gustavo, Claudia Viale and Carlos Monge. 2011. "Extractive Industries and their Imprint." In *Peruvian Democracy Past and Present*, ed. John Crabtree, 159-185. London: Institute for the Studies of the Americas.

Bakker, Karen and Gavin Bridge. 2006. "Material Worlds? Resource Geographies and the 'Matter of Nature'." *Progress in Human Geography* 30, no. 5: 5-27.

Ballón, Eduardo. 2011. "Decentralisation." In *Peruvian Democracy Past and Present*, ed. John Crabtree, 187-216. London: Institute for the Studies of the Americas.

Baran, Paul. 1968 [1957]. *The Political Economy of Growth*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Barry, Andrew. 2013. *Material Politics: Disputes along the Pipeline*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Barsh, Russel. 1987. "Revision of ILO Convention No. 107." *American Journal of International Law* 81, no. 3: 756-762.

Basadre, Jorge. 1978. *Perú: Problema Y Posibilidad*. Lima: Banco Internacional del Perú.

Bastien, Joseph. 1978. *Mountain of the Condor: Metaphor and Ritual in an Andean Ayllu*. St. Paul, MN: West.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Bayart, Jean-François. 2007. *Global Subjects: A Political Critique of Globalization*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Bear, Laura. 2015. *Navigating Austerity: Currents of Debt Along a South Asian River*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bebbington, Anthony. 2007. *Minería, Movimientos Sociales Y Respuestas Campesinas: Una Ecología Política De Transformaciones Territoriales*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

———. 2010. "Extractive Industries and Stunted States: Conflict, Responsibility and Institutional Change in the Andes." In *Corporate Social Responsibility: Comparative Critiques,* ed. Ravi Raman, 97-115. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

———, ed. 2012. *Social Conflict, Economic Development and the Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Bebbington, Anthony, and Mark Williams. 2008. "Water and Mining Conflicts in Peru." *Mountain Research and Development* 28, no. 3/4: 190-195.

Bebbington, Anthony, Anahí Chaparro and Martin Scurrah. 2014. "El Estado Compensador Peruano y la Persistencia del Modelo Neoextactivista: Seis Hipótesis Sobre el (no)Cambio Institucional," *Debate Agrario* 46: 29-50.

Bebbington, Anthony et al. 2008a. "Contention and Ambiguity: Mining and the Possibilities of Development." *Development and Change* 39, no. 6: 887-914.

Bebbington, Anthony et al. 2008b. "Mining and Social Movements: Struggles over Livelihood and Rural Territorial Development in the Andes." *World Development* 36, no. 12: 2888-2905.

Beck, Ulrich. 2000. *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Becker, Marc. 2012. "In Search of 'Tinterillos'." *Latin American Research Review* 47, no. 1: 95-114.

Behar, Ruth. 1996. *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Benton, Lauren. 2002. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Berg, Ulla D. 2015. *Mobile Selves: Race, Migration, and Belonging in Peru and the U.S*. London: New York University Press.

Besnier, Niko. 2009. *Gossip and the Everyday Production of Politics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

———. 2011. *On the Edge of the Global: Modern Anxieties in a Pacific Island Nation*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bessire, Lucas. 2014. *Behold the Black Caiman: A Chronicle of Ayoreo Life*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Blowfield, Michael. 2005. "Corporate Social Responsibility: Reinventing the Meaning of Development?" *International Affairs* 81, no. 3: 515-524.

Bolin, Inge. 1998. *Rituals of Respect: The Secret of Survival in the High Peruvian Andes*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bomsel, Olivier. 1990. *Mining and Metallurgy Investment in the Third World: The End of Large Projects?* Paris: Development Centre of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Bonilla, Heraclio. 1974. *El Minero De Los Andes: Una Aproximación a Su Estudio*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Borneman, John. 2011. "Daydreaming, Intimacy, and the Intersubjective Third in Fieldwork Encounters in Syria." *American Ethnologist* 38, no. 2: 234-248.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *Algeria 1960: Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bridge, Gavin. 2001. "Resource Triumphalism: Postindustrial Narratives of Primary Commodity Production." *Environment and Planning* 33, no. 12: 2149-2173.

———. 2002. "Grounding Globalization: The Prospects and Perils of Linking Economic Processes of Globalization to Environmental Outcomes." *Economic Geography* 78, no. 3: 361-86.

———. 2008. "Global Production Networks and the Extractive Sector: Governing Resource-Based Development." *Journal of Economic Geography* 8, no. 3: 389-419.

———. 2009. "Material Worlds: Natural Resources, Resource Geography and the Material Economy." *Geography Compass* 3, no. 3: 1217-1244.

Brown, Kendall. 2012. *A History of Mining in Latin America: From the Colonial Era to the Present*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Brown, Phil, and Edwin J. Mikkelsen. 1990. *No Safe Place: Toxic Waste, Leukemia, and Community Action*. Oxford: University of California Press.

Brysk, Alison. 2000. *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bury, Jeffrey. 2002. "Livelihoods, Mining and Peasant Protests in the Peruvian Andes." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 1, no. 1: 1-19.

———. 2005 "Mining Mountains: Neoliberalism, Land Tenure, Livelihoods, and the New Peruvian Mining Industry in Cajamarca." *Environment and Planning* 37, no. 2: 221-239.

Bury, Jeffrey and Timothy Norris. 2013. "Rocks, Rangers, and Resistance: Mining and Conservation Frontiers in the Corillera Huayhuash, Peru.' In *Subterranean Struggles: New Dynamics of Mining, Oil, and Gas in Latin America*, eds. Anthony Bebbington and Jeffrey Bury, 91-118. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Cameron, John. 2010. *Struggles for Local Democracy in the Andes*. Boulder, CO: First Forum Press.

———. 2009. "'Development Is a Bag of Cement': The Infrapolitics of Participatory Budgeting in the Andes." *Development in Practice* 19, no. 6: 692-701.

Canessa, Andrew. 2006. "Todos Somos Indígenas: Towards a New Language of National Political Identity." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25, no. 2: 241-63.

———. 2012. *Intimate Indigeneities: Race, Sex, and History in the Small Spaces of Andean Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1987. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Cattelino, Jessica. 2008. *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty*. London: Duke University Press.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. London: Harvard University Press.

———. 2007. "Varieties of Indigenous Experience: Diasporas, Homelands, Sovereignties." In *Indigenous Experience Today,* eds. Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, 197-223. Oxford: Berg.

Clifford, James and George Marcus, eds. 2010 [1986]. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. London: University of California Press.

Cohen, Daniel. 2006. *Globalization and Its Enemies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cohen, Roseann. 2014. "Extractive Desires: The Moral Control of Female Sexuality at Colombia's Gold Mining Frontier." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 19, no. 2: 260-279.

Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. 2000. "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming." *Public Culture* 12, no. 2: 291-343.

Conklin, Beth. 1997. "Body Paint, Feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and Authenticity in Amazonian Activism." *American Ethnologist* 24, no. 4: 711-37.

Conklin, Beth, and Laura Graham. 1995. "The Shifting Middle Ground: Amazonian Indians and Eco- Politics." *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 4: 695-710.

Crabtree, John. 2014. "Funding Local Government: Use (and Abuse) of Peru's Canon System." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 33, no. 4: 452-67.

Crabtree, John and Isabel Crabtree-Condor. 2012. "The Politics of Extractive Industries in the Central Andes." In *Social Conflict, Economic Development and Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America,* ed. Anthony Bebbington, 46-64. London: Routledge.

Crabtree, John, and Francisco Durand. 2017. *Peru: Elite Power and Political Capture*. London: Zed Books.

Craig, David and Douglas R. Porter. 2006. *Development Beyond Neoliberalism? Governance, Poverty Reduction and Political Economy.* London: Routledge.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1980. *Tuhami, Portrait of a Moroccan*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Cronon, William. 1996. "The Trouble with Wilderness: A Response." *Environmental History* 1, no. 1: 47-55.

Cross, Jamie. 2014a. *Dream Zones: Anticipating Capitalism and Development in India*. London: Pluto Press.

———. 2014b. "The Coming of the Corporate Gift." *Theory, Culture & Society* 31, no. 2-3: 121-145.

Côte, Muriel, and Benedikt Korf. 2018. "Making Concessions: Extractive Enclaves, Entangled Capitalism and Regulative Pluralism at the Gold Mining Frontier in Burkina Faso." *World Development* 101: 466-476.

Danielson, L. 2006. *Architecture for Change: An Account of the Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development Project*. Berlin: Global Public Policy Institute.

Dargent, Eduardo et al., eds. 2017. *Resource Booms and Institutional Pathways: The Case of the Extractive Industry in Peru*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Davidov, Veronica. 2014. "Land, Copper, Flora: Dominant Materialities and the Making of Ecuadorian Resource Environments." *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 1: 31-58.

de Echave, José. 2005. "Peruvian Peasants Confront the Mining Industry." *Socialism and Democracy* 19, no. 3: 117-127.

de Echave, José and Estela Ospina. 2002. *Condiciones de Trabajo, Seguridad y Salud Ocupacional en la Minería del Perú*. Geneva: International Labor Organization.

Defensoría del Pueblo. 2015. *Reporte Mensual de Conflictos Sociales N. 136*. Lima: Defensoría del Pueblo.

Del Castillo, Laureano and Pedro Castillo. 2003. *La Servidumbre Minera y la Propiedad de la Tierra Agrícola*. Lima: Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales.

de la Cadena, Marisol. 2000. *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*. London: Duke University Press.

———. 2010. "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections Beyond 'Politics'." *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 2: 334-370.

———. 2015. *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice across Andean Worlds*. London: Duke University Press.

de la Cadena, Marisol and Orin Starn, eds. 2007. *Indigenous Experience Today*. Oxford: Berg.

de León, Jason. 2015. *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*. London: University of California Press.

Degregori, Carlos Iván. 1993. "Identidad Étnica, Movimientos Sociales Participación Política en el Perú." In *Democracia, Etnicidad y Violencia Política en los Paises Andinos*, eds. Alberto Adriazn et al., 113-133. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

———. 2012. *How Difficult It Is to Be God: Shining Path's Politics of War in Peru, 1980-1999*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Degregori, Carlos Iván and Pablo Sandoval. 2008. "Peru: From Otherness to a Shared Diversity." In *A Companion to Latin American Anthropology*, ed. Deborah Poole, 150-173. Oxford: Blackwells Publishing.

Descola, Philippe. 1994. *In the Society of Nature: A Native Ecology in Amazonia.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2013. *Beyond Nature and Culture*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Devereux, George. 1967. *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

DeWind, Josh. 1987. *Peasants Become Miners: The Evolution of Industrial Mining Systems in Peru, 1902-1974*. New York: Garland.

Dolan, Catherine, and Dinah Rajak, eds. 2016. *The Anthropology of Corporate Social Responsibility*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Dore, Elizabeth. 2000. "Environment and Society: Long-Term Trends in Latin American Mining." *Environment and History* 6, no. 1: 1-29.

Drinot, Paulo. 2011. *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State.* London: Duke University Press.

Durand, Francisco. 2010. "Corporate Rents and the Capture of the Peruvian State." In *Business, Politics and Public Policy: Implications for Inclusive Development*, ed. Jose Carlos Marques, 184-207. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Edelstein, Michael. 2004. *Contaminated Communities: Coping with Residential Toxic Exposure*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Ellen, Roy F. 1986. "What Black Elk Left Unsaid: On the Illusory Images of Green Primitivism." *Anthropology Today* 2, no. 6: 8-12.

Engle, Karen. 2010. *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*. London: Duke University Press.

Escobar, Arturo. 1999. "After Nature: Steps to an Anti-Essentialist Political Ecology." *Current Anthropology* 40, no. 1: 1-30.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fairhead, James, and Melissa Leach. 1996. *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. London: University of California Press.

———. 2006. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. London: Duke University Press.

———. 2013. "Declarations of Dependence: Labour, Personhood, and Welfare in Southern Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19, no. 2: 223-242.

———. 2015. *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. London: Duke University Press.

Ferguson, James and Tania M. Li. 2018. "Beyond the 'Proper Job': Political-economic Analysis after the Century of Labouring Man." *Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS)*, Working Paper 51.

Ferreira, Francisco, and Billie Jean Isbell, eds. 2016. *A Return to the Village: Community Ethnographies and the Study of Andean Culture in Retrospective*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies.

Ferry, Elizabeth Emma, and Mandana E. Limbert, eds. 2008. *Timely Assets: The Politics of Resources and Their Temporalities*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School for Advanced Research Press.

Flores Galindo, Alberto. 2010. *In Search of an Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Flores Ochoa, Jorge A. 1977. *Pastores De Puna: Uywamichiq Punarunakuna*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Fort, Ricardo. 2007. *Property Rights After Market Liberalization Reforms: Land Titling and Investments in Rural Peru*. Wageningen, the Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers.

Friedlander, Judith. 2006 [1975]. *Being Indian in Hueyapan*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frynas, Jedrzej George. 2005. "The False Developmental Promise of Corporate Social Responsibility: Evidence from Multinational Oil Companies." *International Affairs* 81, no. 3: 581-598.

Gaibazzi, Paolo. 2015. *Bush Bound: Young Men and Rural Permanence in Migrant West Africa*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Gallagher, Kevin. 2016. *The China Triangle: Latin America's China Boom and the Fate of the Washington Consensus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

García, Alan. 2007. "El Perro del Hortelano." *El Comercio*, October 27.

García, Angela. 2010. *The Pastoral Clinic: Addiction and Dispossession Along the Rio Grande*. London: University of California Press.

García, María Elena. 2005. *Making Indigenous Citizens: Identities, Education, and Multicultural Development in Peru*. Palo Alto, CA.: Stanford University Press.

Gardner, Katy. 2012. *Discordant Development: Global Capitalism and the Struggle for Connection in Bangladesh*. London: Pluto.

Gedicks, Al. 2001. *Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Corporations*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gelles, Paul H. 2000. *Water and Power in Highland Peru: The Cultural Politics of Irrigation and Development*. London: Rutgers University Press.

———. 2002. "Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity, and the State in Peru." In *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States*, ed. David Maybury-Lewis, 239-266. London: Harvard University Press.

———. 2010. "Cultural Identity and Indigenous Water Rights in the Andean Highlands." In *Out of the Mainstream: Water Rights, Politics and Identity*, eds. Rutgerd Boelens, David Getches and Armando Guevara-Gil, 119-144. London: Earthscan.

Geschiere, Peter. 1997. *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*. London: University of Virginia Press.

Ghosh, Kaushik. 2006. "Between Global Flows and Local Dams: Indigenousness, Locality, and the Transnational Sphere in Jharkhand, India." *Cultural Anthropology* 21, no. 4: 501-534.

Gilberthorpe, Emma. 2013. "In the Shadow of Industry: A Study of Culturization in Papua New Guinea." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19, no. 2: 261-278.

———. 2014. "The Money Rain Phenomenon: Papua New Guinea Oil and the Resource Curse." In *Natural Resource Extraction and Indigenous Livelihoods: Development Challenges in an Era of Globalization*, eds. Emma Gilberthorpe and Gavin Hilson, 75-92. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.

Gilberthorpe, Emma, and Dinah Rajak. 2017. "The Anthropology of Extraction: Critical Perspectives on the Resource Curse." *The Journal of Development Studies* 53, no. 2: 186-204.

Gilberthorpe, Emma, Sarah F. Clarke and Paul Sillitoe. 2014. "Money Rain: The Resource Curse in Two Oil and Gas Economies." In *Sustainable Development: An Appraisal Focusing on the Gulf Region*, ed. Paul Sillitoe, 153-177. Oxford: Berghahn.

Gluckman, Max. 1963. "Papers in Honor of Melville J. Herskovits: Gossip and Scandal." *Current Anthropology* 4, no. 3: 307-316.

Goldstein, Donna. 2003. *Laughter out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. London: University of California Press.

Golub, Alex. 2014. *Leviathans at the Gold Mine: Creating Indigenous and Corporate Actors in Papua New Guinea*. London: Duke University Press.

Gorriti, Gustavo. 1999. *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru*. London: University of North Carolina Press.

Gottlieb, Alma. 2016. "The Anthropologist as Storyteller." In *The Anthropologist as Writer: Genres and Contexts in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Helena Wulff, 93-117. Oxford: Berghahn.

Gose, Peter. 1986. "Sacrifice and the Commodity Form in the Andes." *Man* 21, no. 2: 296-310.

———. 1994. *Deathly Waters and Hungry Mountains: Agrarian Ritual and Class Formation in an Andean Town.* London: University of Toronto Press.

Greene, Shane. 2006. "Getting over the Andes: The Geo-Eco-Politics of Indigenous Movements in Peru's Twenty-First Century Inca Empire." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38, no. 2: 327-54.

Gudynas, Eduardo. 2010a. "Si Eres Tan Progresista ¿Por qué Destruyes la Naturaleza? Neoextractivismo, Izquierda y Alternatives?" *Eduador Debate* no. 79: 61-81.

———. 2010b. "The New Extractivism of the 21st Century: Ten Urgent Theses about Extractivism in Relation to Current South American Progressivism." *Americas Program Report*: 1-14.

Guha, Ramachandra, and Joan Martínez Alier. 1997. *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*. London: Earthscan Publications.

Gupta, Akhil. 2012. *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India*. London: Duke University Press.

Gustafsson, Maria-Therese. 2016. "Private Conflict Regulation and the Influence of Peasant Communities over Natural Resources." *Latin American Research Review* 51, no. 2: 86-106.

———. 2018. *Private Politics and Peasant Mobilization: Mining in Peru*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guyer, Jane I. 1995. *Money Matters: Instability, Values and Social Payments in the Modern History of West African Communities*. London: James Currey.

Guzmán-Gallegos, María Antonieta. 2012. "The Governing of Extraction, Oil Enclaves, and Indigenous Responses in the Ecuadorian Amazon." In *New Political Spaces in Latin American Natural Resource Governance*, ed. Havard Haarstad, 155-176. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hage, Ghassan, ed. 2009. *Waiting.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.

Hale, Charles. 2002. "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 3: 485-524.

———. 2004. "Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of the 'Indio Permitido'." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 38, no. 2: 16-21.

———. 2005. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28, no. 1: 10-19.

Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

———. 1995. "Negotiating Caribbean Identities." *New Left Review*, 209: 3-14.

———. 1996. "On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall." In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, 131-150. London: Routledge.

Haraway, Donna. 1997. *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan_Meets_OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience*. New York: Routledge.

Harms, Erik. 2013. "Eviction Time in the New Saigon: Temporalities of Displacement in the Rubble of Development." *Cultural Anthropology* 28, no. 2: 344-368.

Harris, Olivia. 1978. "Kinship and the Vertical Economy of Laymi Ayllya, Norte de Potosi." *Actes du xiii Congres International des Americanistes, Paris* 4: 165-178.

———. 1994. "Condor and Bull: The Ambiguities of Masculinity in Northern Potosí." In *Sex and Violence: Issues in Representation and Experience*, eds. Penelope Harvey and Peter Gow, 40-65. London: Routledge.

———. 2000. *To Make the Earth Bear Fruit: Essays on Fertility, Work, and Gender in Highland Bolivia*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies.

Harvey, Penelope. 1994. "Domestic Violence in the Peruvian Andes." In *Sex and Violence: Issues in Representation and Experience*, eds. Penelope Harvey and Peter Gow, 66-89. London: Routledge.

Heatherington, Tracey. 2010. *Wild Sardinia: Indigeneity and the Global Dreamtimes of Environmentalism*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1993 *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Himley, Matthew. 2013. "Regularizing Extraction in Andean Peru: Mining and Social Mobilization in an Age of Corporate Social Responsibility." *Antipode* 45, no. 2: 394-416.

———. 2016. "Mining, Property and the Reordering of Socionatural Relations in Peru." In *Mining in Latin America: Critical Approaches to the New Extraction*, eds. Kalowatie Deonandan and Michael Dougherty, 210-226. London: Routledge.

Hirsch, Eric. 2017. "Investment's Rituals: "Grassroots" Extractivism and the Making of an Indigenous Gold Mine in the Peruvian Andes." *Geoforum* 82: 259-267.

———. 2018. "Remapping the Vertical Archipelago: Mobility, Migration, and the Everyday Labor of Andean Development." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 23, no. 1: 189-208.

Höjdestrand, Tova. 2009. *Needed by Nobody: Homelessness and Humanness in Post-Socialist Russia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Honwana, Alcinda. 2012. *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa*. Sterling, Virginia: Kumarian Press.

Husserl, Edmund. 1964. *The Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

ICMM. 2016. *Sustainable Development Framework: ICMM Principles*. https://www.icmm.com/en-gb/members/member-commitments/icmm-10-principles (Accessed April 11, 2019).

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. London: Princeton University Press.

Isbell, Billie Jean. 1985 [1978]. *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

———. 2009. *Finding Cholita*: *Interpretations of culture in the new millennium*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Jacka, Jerry K. 2018. "The Anthropology of Mining: The Social and Environmental Impacts of Resource Extraction in the Mineral Age." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 47, no. 1: 61-77.

Jackson, Jean. 1995. "Culture, Genuine and Spurious: The Politics of Indianness in the Vaupés, Colombia." *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 1: 3-27.

Jackson, Michael. 2011. *Life within Limits: Well-Being in a World of Want*. London: Duke University Press.

———. 2017. "After the Fact: The Question of Fidelity in Ethnographic Writing." In *Crumpled Paper Boat: Experiments in Ethnographic Writing*, eds. Anand Pandian and Stuart McLean, 48-67. London: Duke University Press.

Jansen, Stef. 2005. *Yearnings in the Meantime: 'Normal Lives' and the State in a Sarajevo Apartment Complex*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Jeffrey, Craig. 2008. "Waiting." *Environment and Planning* 26, no. 6: 954-958.

———. 2010. *Timepass: Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Jenkins, Heledd, and Natalia Yakovleva. 2006. "Corporate Social Responsibility in the Mining Industry: Exploring Trends in Social and Environmental Disclosure." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 14, no. 3: 271-284.

Jenkins, Rhys. 2005. "Globalization, Corporate Social Responsibility and Poverty." *International Affairs* 81, no. 3: 525-40.

Jung, Courtney. 2008. *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics: Critical Liberalism and the Zapatistas*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kapelus, Paul. 2002. "Mining, Corporate Social Responsibility and the 'Community': The Case of Rio Tinto, Richards Bay Minerals and the Mbonambi." *Journal of Business Ethics* 39, no. 3: 275-296.

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kelly, Patty. 2008. *Lydia's Open Door*. London: University of California Press.

Kirsch, Stuart. 2010. "Sustainable Mining." *Dialectical Anthropology* 34, no. 1: 87-93.

———. 2014. *Mining Capitalism: The Relationship between Corporations and Their Critics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Klarén, Peter. 2000. *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kleinman, Arthur, Veena Das, and Margaret M. Lock, eds. 1997. *Social Suffering*. London: University of California Press.

Kohn, Eduardo. 2013. *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*. Oxford: University of California Press.

Kuper, Andrew. 2004. "Harnessing Corporate Power: Lessons from the Un Global Compact." *Development* 47, no. 3: 9-19.

Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Krupa, Christopher, and David Nugent, eds. 2015. *State Theory and Andean Politics: New Approaches to the Study of Rule*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

La Serna, Miguel. 2012. *The Corner of the Living: Ayacucho on the Eve of the Shining Path Insurgency*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Larsen, Peter Bille. 2015. *Post-Frontier Resource Governance: Indigenous Rights, Extraction and Conservation in the Peruvian Amazon*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Larson, Brooke and Olivia Harris, eds. 1995. *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in The Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*. London: Duke University Press.

Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

———. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Law, John and Annemarie Mol. 1995. "Notes on Materiality and Sociality." *The Sociological Review* 43: 275-294.

Lazar, Sian. 2008. *El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia*. London: Duke University Press.

Lefebvre, Henri. 2008. *Critique of Everyday Life*. London: Verso.

———. 1991. *The production of Space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Leinaweaver, Jessaca. 2008. *The Circulation of Children: Kinship, Adoption, and Morality in Andean Peru*. London: Duke University Press.

Li, Fabiana. 2009. "Documenting Accountability: Environmental Impact Assessment in a Peruvian Mining Project." *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 32, no. 2: 218-236.

———. 2015. *Unearthing Conflict: Corporate Mining, Activism, and Expertise in Peru*. London: Duke University Press.

———. 2016 "Engineering Responsibility: Environmental Mitigation and the Limits of Commensuration in a Chilean Mining Project." In *The Anthropology of Corporate Social Responsibility*, eds. Catherine Dolan and Dinah Rajak, 199-216. Oxford: Berghahn.

Li, Tania M. 2000. "Articulating Indigenous Identity in Indonesia: Resource Politics and the Tribal Slot." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 1: 149-179.

———. 2017. "After Development: Surplus Population and the Politics of Entitlement." *Development and Change* 48, no. 6: 1247-1261.

Limbert, Mandana. 2010. *In the Time of Oil: Piety, Memory, and Social Life in an Omani Town*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Lloyd, Peter. 1980. *The "Young Towns" Of Lima: Aspects of Urbanization in Peru*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Long, Norman, and Bryan R. Roberts. 1984. *Miners, Peasants and Entrepreneurs: Regional Development in the Central Highlands of Peru*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lucero, Jose Antonio. 2008. *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes*. London: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Lucht, Hans. 2012. *Darkness before Daybreak: African Migrants Living on the Margins in Southern Italy Today*. London: University of California Press.

Luykx, Aurolyn. 1999. *The Citizen Factory: Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Madrid, Raúl. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mains, Daniel. 2012. *Hope Is Cut: Youth, Unemployment, and the Future in Urban Ethiopia*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

———. 2007. "Neoliberal Times: Progress, Boredom, and Shame among Young Men in Urban Ethiopia." *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 4: 659-673.

Marcus, George. 1984. "General/Theoretical: Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object" *American Anthropologist* 86, no. 4: 1023-25.

Marcus, George and Michael Fischer. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Martínez Alier, Joan. 2002. *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Masquelier, Adeline. 2013. "Teatime: Boredom and the Temporalities of Young Men in Niger." 83, no. 3: 470-91.

Matos Mar, José. 1986. *Desborde Popular Y Crisis Del Estado: El Nuevo Rostro Del Perú En La Década De 1980*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986.

Mayer, Enrique. 1991. "Peru in Deep Trouble: Mario Vargas Llosa's "Inquest in the Andes" Reexamined." *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 4: 466-504.

———. 2002. *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes*. Oxford: Westview Press.

———. 2009. *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*. London: Duke University Press.

McClintock, Cynthia, and Fabian Vallas. 2003. *The United States and Peru: Cooperation at a Cost*. London: Routledge.

McNeish, John-Andrew. 2012. "More than Beads and Feathers: Resource Extraction and the Indigenous Challenge in Latin America." In *New Political Spaces in Latin American Natural Resource Governance*, ed. Havard Haarstad, 39-60. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McNulty, Stephanie. 2011. *Voice and Vote: Decentralization and Participation in Post-Fujimori Peru*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett Neilson. 2013. *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. London: Duke University Press.

Miller, Daniel, ed. 2005. *Materiality.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Millones, Luis. 1975. "El Mundo Sobrenatural de Yaután." *Folklore Americano* 19: 141-150.

Milton, Kay. 1996. *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory: Exploring the Role of Anthropology in Environmental Discourse*. London: Routledge.

Mitchell, William P. 1976. "Irrigation and Community in the Central Peruvian Highlands." *American Anthropologist* 78, no. 1: 25-44.

MMG. 2017. *Las Bambas Sustainability Report*. http://www.mmg.com/en/Sustainability/Sustainability-Reports.aspx (Accessed April 11, 2019).

Murra, John V. 1975. *Formaciones Económicas Y Políticas Del Mundo Andino*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

———. 1984. "Andean Societies." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13: 119-141.

Narayan, Kirin. 1999. "Ethnography and Fiction: Where Is the Border?" *Anthropology and Humanism* 24, no. 2: 134-147.

Nash, June C. 1979. *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Newell, Peter. 2005. "Citizenship, Accountability and Community: The Limits of the CSR Agenda." *International Affairs* 81, no. 3: 541-57.

Niezen, Ronald. 2000. "Recognizing Indigenism: Canadian Unity and the International Movement of Indigenous Peoples." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 1: 119-48.

———. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. London: University of California Press.

Nordstrom, Carolyn. 1997. *A Different Kind of War Story*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nugent, David. 1994. "Building the State, Making the Nation: The Bases and Limits of State Centralization in 'Modern' Peru." *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 2: 333-69.

———. 2001. "Before History and Prior to Politics: Time, Space, and Territory in the Modern Peruvian Nation-State." In *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the*

Postcolonial State, eds. Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, 257-283. London: Duke University Press.

O'Neill, Bruce. 2017. *The Space of Boredom: Homelessness in the Slowing Global Order*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Orta, Andrew. 2004. *Catechizing Culture: Missionaries, Aymara, and the "New Evangelization"*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Paerregaard, Karsten. 1997. *Linking Separate Worlds: Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru*. Oxford: Berg.

Palmer, David Scott. 1992. *The Shining Path of Peru*. London: Hurst.

Pandian, Anand, and Stuart McLean, eds. 2017. *Crumpled Paper Boat: Experiments in Ethnographic Writing*. London: Duke University Press.

Peet, Richard, and Michael Watts, eds. 1996. *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*. London: Routledge.

Perreault, Tom. 2013. "Nature and Nation: Hydrocarbons, Governance, and the Territorial Logics of 'Resource Nationalism' in Bolivia." In *Subterranean Struggles: New Dynamics of Mining, Oil, and Gas in Latin America*, eds. Anthony Bebbington and Jeffrey Bury, 67-90. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Piot, Charles. 2010. *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Poole, Deborah. 1988. "Landscapes of Power in a Cattle-Rustling Culture of Southern Andean Peru." *Dialectical Anthropology* 12, no. 3: 367-398.

———. 2004. "Between Threat and Guarantee: Justice and Community in the Margins of the Peruvian State." In *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, eds. Veena Das and Deborah Poole, 35-65. Oxford: University of Oxford Press.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1991. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Posey, Darrell. 1985. "Indigenous Management of Tropical Forest Ecosystems: The Case of the Kayapó Indians of the Brazilian Amazon." *An International Journal incorporating Agroforestry Forum* 3, no. 2: 139-158.

Postone, Moishe. 1993. *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Povinelli, Elizabeth. 2002. *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*. London: Duke University Press.

———. 2011. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism*. London: Duke University Press.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.

ProInversión. 2005. *Las Bambas: Un Modelo de Desarrollo Sostenible*. Lima: Agencia de Promoción de la Inversión Privada.

Rajak, Dinah. 2011. *In Good Company: An Anatomy of Corporate Social Responsibility*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ralph, Michael. 2008. "Killing Time." *Social Text* 26, no. 4: 1-29.

Ramos, Alcida Rita. 1994. "The Hyperreal Indian." *Critique of Anthropology* 14, no. 2: 153-171.

———. 1998. *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rasmussen, Mattias Borg. 2017. "Tactics of the Governed: Figures of Abandonment in Andean Peru." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 49: 327-353.

Rasmussen, Mattias Borg and Christian Lund. 2018. "Reconfiguring Frontier Spaces: The Territorialization of Resource Control." *World Development* 101: 388-399.

Redclift, Michael. 2006. *Frontiers: Histories of Civil Society and Nature*. London: MIT Press.

Redford, Kent. 1991. "The Ecologically Noble Savage." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 15, no.: 46.

Reed, Kristin. 2009. *Crude Existence: Environment and the Politics of Oil in Northern Angola*. London: University of California Press.

Remy, María Isabel. 1994. "The Indigenous Population and the Construction of Democracy in Peru." In *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin* America, ed. Donna L. Van Cott, 107-130. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Renique, Gerardo. 2013. "Peru: Humala Submits to the United States and the Mining Industry." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 3: 12-17.

Richards, Paul. 1985. *Indigenous Agricultural Revolution: Ecology and Food Production in West Africa*. London: Hutchinson.

Richardson, Tanya. 2015. "On the Limits of Liberalism in Participatory Environmental Governance: Conflict and Conservation in Ukraine's Danube Delta." *Development and Change* 46, no. 3: 415-41.

Richardson, Tanya, and Gisa Weszkalnys. 2014. "Introduction: Resource Materialities." *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 1: 5-30.

Riles, Annelise. 2006. *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Rival, Laura. 2012. "Planning Development Futures in the Ecuadorian Amazon: The Expanding Oil Frontier and the Yasuní-ITT Initiative." In *Social Conflict, Economic Development and Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*, ed. Anthony Bebbington, 153-171. London: Routledge.

Rodriguez-Piñero, Luis. 2005. *Indigenous Peoples, Postcolonialism, and International Law: The ILO Regimes (1919-1989)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosaldo, Renato. 1993. *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Rubbers, Benjamin. 2019. "Mining Towns, Enclaves and Spaces: A Genealogy of Worker Camps in the Congolese Copperbelt." *Geoforum* 98: 88-96.

Sabogal, Ximena Malaga and María Eugenia Ulfe. 2017. "Ethnicity Claims and Prior Consultation in the Peruvian Andes." In *Resource Booms and Institutional Pathways: The Case of the Extractive Industry in Peru*, eds. Eduardo Dargent et al., 153-173. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sadler, Barry. 1996. *Environmental Assessment in a Changing World: Evaluating Practice to Improve Performance*. Final Report, International Study of the Effectiveness of Environmental Assessment. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Sallnow, Michael. 1987. *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco*. London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Sanders, Douglas. 1983. "The Re-Emergence of Indigenous Questions in International Law," *Can. Hum. Rts. Y.B.*: 19-20.

Sawyer, Suzana. 2004. *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*. London: Duke University Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1995. "The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 36, no. 3: 409-440.

Schielke, Joska Samuli. 2008. "Boredom and Despair in Rural Egypt." *Dynamics of Muslim Life* 2, no. 3: 251-270.

———. 2015. *Egypt in the Future Tense: Hope, Frustration, and Ambivalence before and after 2011*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Schutz, Alfred and Thomas Luckmann. 1974. *The Structures of the Life-World*. London: Heinemann.

Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. London: Yale University Press.

Scurrah, Martin. 2008. *Defendiendo Derechos y Promoviendo Cambios: El Estado, Las Empresas Extractivas y Las Comunidades Locales en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Seligmann, Linda J. 1995. *Between Reform & Revolution: Political Struggles in the Peruvian Andes, 1969-1991*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Shah, Alpa. 2010. *In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India*. London: Duke University Press.

Sharp, John. 2006. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Development: An Anthropological Perspective." *Development Southern Africa* 23, no. 2: 213-222.

Shever, Elana. 2012. *Resources for Reform: Oil and Neoliberalism in Argentina*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Sidaway, James D. 2007. "Enclave Space: A New Metageography of Development?". *Area* 39, no. 3: 331-39.

Sillitoe, Paul. 1998. "The Development of Indigenous Knowledge. A New Applied Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 39, no. 2: 223-52.

Sillitoe, Paul, Alan Bicker, and Johan Pottier, eds. 2002. *Participating in Development: Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Singer, Hans W. 1950. "The Distribution of Gains Between Investing and Borrowing Countries." *American Economic Review* 40: 473-485.

Skar, Sarah Lund. 1994. *Lives Together - Worlds Apart: Quechua Colonization in Jungle and City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Gavin. 1989. *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru*. Oxford: University of California Press.

Smith, James. 2011. "Tantalus in the Digital Age: Coltan Ore, Temporal Dispossession, and 'movement' in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo." *American Ethnologist* 38, no. 1: 17-35.

Snow, David and Robert Benford. 1988. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization." In *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research*, eds. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi and Sidney Tarrow, 197-217. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Sosa, Milagros, Rutgerd Boelens, and Margreet Zwarteveen. 2017. "The Influence of Large Mining: Restructuring Water Rights among Rural Communities in Apurimac, Peru." *Human Organization* 76, no. 3: 215-226.

Spalding, Karen. 1974. *De Indio a Campesino: Cambios en la Estructura Social Del Perú Colonial*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Starn, Orin. 1991. "Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru." *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 1: 63-91.

———. 1994. "'Rethinking the Politics of Anthropology: The Case of the Andes'." *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 1: 13-38.

———, ed. 2015. *Writing Culture and the Life of Anthropology*. London: Duke University Press.

Stokes, Susan. 1996. "Economic Reform and Public Opinion in Peru, 1990-1995." *Comparative Political Studies* 29, no. 5: 544-565.

———. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Stoller, Paul. 1989. *Fusion of the Worlds: An Ethnography of Possession Among the Songhay of Niger*. London: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1997. *Sensuous Scholarship, Contemporary Ethnography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2016. "Writing for the Future." In *The Anthropologist as Writer: Genres and Contexts in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Helena Wulff, 118-129. Oxford: Berghahn.

Strathern, Marilyn. 2000. *Audit Cultures: Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics, and the Academy*. London: Routledge.

———. 2000. "The Tyranny of Transparency." *British Educational Research Journal* 26, no. 3: 309-321.

Svampa, Maristella. 2013. "Resource Extractivism and Alternatives: Latin American Perspectives on Development." In *Alternative Visions for Latin America*, eds. Miriam Lang and Dunia Mokrani, 117-143. Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.

———. 2015. "Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 114, no. 1: 65-82.

Szablowski, David. 2007. *Transnational Law and Local Struggles: Mining, Communities and the World Bank*. Oxford: Hart.

Taj, Mitra and Teresa Cespedes. 2013. "Peru Rolling Back Indigenous Law in Win for Mining Sector." *Rueters*. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-peru-mining-indigenous/exclusive-

peru-rolling-back-indigenous-law-in-win-for-mining-sector-idUSBRE9400CG20130501 (Accessed August 8, 2019).

Tanaka, Martín. 1998. *Los Espejismos de la Democracia: El Colapso del Sistema de Partidos en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

———. 2005. *Democracia sin partidos: Perú, 2000-2005.* Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Taussig, Michael. 1980. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Public Planet Books. London: Duke University Press.

———. 2002. "Modern Social Imaginaries." *Public Culture* 14, no. 1: 91-124.

Tilley, Christopher. 1994. *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*. Oxford: Berg.

Thompson, E. 1967. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." *Past and Present* 38, no. 1: 56-97.

Thorp, Rosemary. 1991. *Economic Management and Economic Development in Peru and Colombia*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Thorp, Rosemary, and Geoffrey Bertram. 1978. *Peru, 1890-1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Thorp, Rosemary, and Maritza Paredes. 2010. *Ethnicity and the Persistence of Inequality: The Case of Peru*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Thurner, Mark. 1997. *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. London: Duke University Press.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 2003. "Natural Resources and Capitalist Frontiers." *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 48: 5100-5106.

———. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

———. 2007. "Indigenous Voice." In *Indigenous Experience Today,* eds. Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, 33-67. Oxford: Berg.

———. 2015. *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Turner, Simon. 2004. "Under the Gaze of the Big Nations: Refugees, Rumours and the International Community in Tanzania." *African Affairs* 103, no. 411: 227-47.

Turner, Frederick. 1920. *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Holt.

Valderrama, Ricardo and Carmen Escalante. 1992. *Nosotros los Humanos: Testimonio de los Quechuas del Siglo XX*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos/Bartolomé de las Casas.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America*. London: University of Pittsburgh Press.

———. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Vansina, Jan. 1985. *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Veltmeyer, Henry, and James F. Petras, eds. 2014. *The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism of the Twenty-First Century?* London: Zed Books.

Vigh, Henrik. 2006a. *Navigating Terrains of War: Youth and Soldiering in Guinea-Bissau*. Oxford: Berghahn.

———. 2006b. "The Colour of Destruction: On Racialization, Geno-Globality and the Social Imaginary in Bissau." *Anthropological Theory* 6, no. 4: 481-500.

———. 2008. "Crisis and Chronicity: Anthropological Perspectives on Continuous Conflict and Decline." *Ethnos* 73, no. 1: 5-24.

———. 2009a. "Motion Squared: A Second Look at the Concept of Social Navigation." *Anthropological Theory* 9, no. 4: 419-438.

———. 2009b. "Wayward Migration: On Imagined Futures and Technological Voids." *Ethnos* 74, no. 1: 91-109.

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4, no. 3: 469-488.

Wafer, Alex. 2017. "Loitering: Reassembling Time in the City-of-the-Global-South." *Social Dynamics* 43, no. 3: 403-420.

Walsh, Andrew. 2003. "'Hot Money' and Daring Consumption in a Northern Malagasy Sapphire-Mining Town." *American Ethnologist* 30, no. 2: 290-305.

Waterston, Alisse, and Maria D. Vesperi, eds. 2009. *Anthropology off the Shelf: Anthropologists on Writing*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Watts, Michael. 2001. "Petro-Violence: Community, Extraction, and Political Ecology of a Mythic Commodity." In *Violent Environment*, eds. Nancy Lee Peluso and Michael Watts, 119-212. London: Cornell University Press.

———. 2018. "Frontiers: Authority, Precarity, and Insurgency at the Edge of the State." *World Development* 101: 477-488.

Weismantel, Mary. 2001. *Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Weiss, Brad. 2002. "Thug Realism: Inhabiting Fantasy in Urban Tanzania." *Cultural Anthropology* 17, no. 1: 93-124.

———. 2009. *Street Dreams and Hip Hop Barbershops: Global Fantasy in Urban Tanzania*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Welker, Marina. 2009. "'Corporate Security Begins in the Community': Mining, the Corporate Social Responsibility Industry, and Environmental Advocacy in Indonesia." *Cultural Anthropology* 24, no. 1: 142-179.

———. 2014. *Enacting the Corporation: An American Mining Firm in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

West, Harry. 2005. *Kupilikula: Governance and the Invisible Realm in Mozambique*. London: University of Chicago Press.

West, Paige. 2006. "Environmental Conservation and Mining: Between Experiences and Expectation in the Eastern Highland of Papua New Guinea." *The Contemporary Pacific* 18, no. 2: 295-313.

Weszkalnys, Gisa. 2016. "A Doubtful Hope: Resource Affect in a Future Oil Economy." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 22, no. 1: 127-146.

White, Luise. 2000. *Speaking with Vampire: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*. London: University of California Press.

Wise, Carol. 2003. *Reinventing the State: Economic Strategy and Institutional Change in Peru*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

———. 2016. "China and Latin America's Emerging Economies: New Realities Amid Old Challenges." *Latin American Policy* 7, no. 1: 26-51.

Wogan, Peter. 2017. *Corner-Store Dreams and the 2008 Financial Crisis: A True Story About Risk, Entrepreneurship, Immigration, and Latino-Anglo friendship*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wolford, Wendy. 2006. "The Difference Ethnography Can Make: Understanding Social Mobilization and Development in the Brazilian Northeast." *Qualitative Sociology* 29, no. 3: 335-352.

Wulff, Helena, ed. 2016. *The Anthropologist as Writer: Genres and Contexts in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 1: 23-42.

———. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Yeh, Emily T. 2007. "Tibetan Indigeneity: Translation, Resemblances, and Uptake." In *Indigenous Experience Today,* eds. Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, 69-97. Oxford: Berg.

Zalik, Anna. 2004. "The Niger Delta: 'Petro Violence' and 'Partnership Development'." *Review of African Political Economy* 31, no. 101: 401-24.

Zimmermann, Erich. 1933. *World Resources and Industries: A Functional Appraisal of the Availability of Agricultural and Industrial Resources*. New York: Harper and Row.

Zuidema, Reiner Tom. 1964. *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.