INTERFACE SPACES:
Understanding the Interaction of the Corporation and the Community during the Mining Boom in Southern Peru

José Cisneros
[1458355]

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I, José Cisneros, hereby declare (a) that this Dissertation is my own original work and that all source material used is acknowledged therein; (b) that it has been specially prepared for a degree of the University of London; and (c) that it does not contain any material that has been or will be submitted to the Examiners of this or any other university, or any material that has been or will be submitted for any other examination.

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Abstract

This study explores the interactions between a transnational mining corporation operating in southern Peru and local mining communities. Situated in an isolated yet conflictual area in the Andes, Villa Botiflaca is a mining camp shaped by its inherent process of social and spatial heterogeneity. By exploring the nature of the relations inside and outside the camp, this dissertation examines the advancements of corporate responsibility in a context of social disturbance, the need of a refined definition of ‘the communities’, and the connections between conflicts and urbanization.
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List of abbreviations
CEO Chief Executive Officer
CR Community Relations
CSR Corporate Social Responsibility
HR Human Resources
ILO International Labour Organization
INEI National Institute of Statistics and Informatics, Peru – Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, in Spanish
KCL King’s College London
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
OCMAL Observatory of Mining Conflicts of Latin America – Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros de América Latina, in Spanish
SPCC Southern Peru Copper Corporation
UNECLAC Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
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Introduction

An increase in the demand for metals from emerging and industrialized nations and the consequent soar in prices have been often signalled as the engines for a mining-driven economic boom in Peru (UNECLAC & ILO, 2014), where mining products accounted for 57% of total exports in 2012. Copper with 23% and gold with 21% were the principal channels of growth of the Peruvian economy (Banco Central de la Reserva del Perú, 2012) that has become one of the fastest growing economies in the continent. The export-led economic acceleration enabled Peru to dispute first place against Chile over copper production in 2014 (Schipiani, 2014).

Previous governments successfully promoted foreign investment through flexible regulation and low taxation in industrial sectors and the mining industry in particular (UNECLAC, 2013). Opening the economy to transnational companies also encouraged a proliferation of mining concessions by which the government allocated territories of variable extension for private exploration and posterior exploitation. By 2014 estimates signalled that 20% of the Peruvian territory was allotted to mining concessions, most of which were located in the western flanks of the Andean cordillera (CooperAcción, 2014). In some of the most mining-inclined inner regions of the country, the proportion of mining concessions over the territory achieved higher figures such as 48% in the province of Arequipa, 59% of the province of Ancash, and even 68% in the Apurimac province (CooperAcción, 2014). Although the national government also participated of this partition, most of the mining operators were local subsidiaries of international corporate groups (CooperAcción, 2014).

Simultaneously, Peru became one of the most conflictual countries in the region with 35 reported ongoing conflicts opposing local populations to mining corporations (OCMAL, 2015). The environmental cause had been seldom used as an effective tool for social mobilization, hence gathering other claims to the environmental justice cause (Taylor, 2000). Moreover, 25 conflicts erupted after the year 2000 yet in 11 of them the initial episodes took place years before the end of the twentieth century (OCMAL, 2015), therefore, mining conflicts in Peru were likely to reveal deep, inherited structural disparities (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

Struggles over geographical space, whether from the perspective of corporate concessions or from the local defence of territories revealed a multidimensional, structural phenomenon of
encounter and opposition that has seldom been interpreted as the clash of profit-driven and anti-capitalist motivations (Martinez-Alier, et al., 2010). However, following Harvey’s (2010 [1973]) recognition that a spatial configuration is defined by inherent social processes, this investigation elaborated on a zoomed-in approach of mining conflicts and by analysing spatial dynamics, a contextually-defined understanding of social and political aspects of the conflict emerged. Located in a highly conflictual region, the mining camp of Villa Botiflaca is the object of study of this dissertation (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Location of Villa Botiflaca in a region of mining conflicts. Source: Environmental Justice Atlas, 2015

Mining camps usually provide the workers with a place to rest, feed, and live temporarily. The camp in Villa Botiflaca had been equipped with services that could be found in any urban settlement such as dormitories, recreational facilities, a church, a movie house, a store, a police and fire station, a bakery, laundry facilities, and a hospital (Kennedy, 1990). Villa Botiflaca is situated at 3.325 metres above sea level, the nearest city is Moquegua at 38 km, and is located 2 km west of the Cuajone mine. Mina Cuajone was the first operation of Southern Peru Copper Corporation (SPCC) founded in the 1970s, and it is now the second
largest mine in Peru and one of the most productive mining complexes in Latin America (Jacob, 2009).

Founded on the propositions of critical geographers (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]), this dissertation argued that Villa Botiflaca is a place caught between a mining camp and a mining city. The study of social relations in mining camps acknowledged the temporality of these settlements, which imposed a temporal limitation for the social links and denied every possibility for urbanization (Douglass, 1998). Interestingly, the camp has survived decades of mining exploitation in Mina Cuajone; moreover, Villa Botiflaca has arguably undergone minimal morphological modifications since its first instalment. However, past experiences of mining cities in southern Peru (Flores Galindo, 1974) and the initiation of a new era in capitalist development marked by conflicts (Svampa, 2013) indicated that urbanization is a conflictual process. Located in the most productive mining region of the country, it seems likely that Villa Botiflaca may already be developing potential triggers of urban and environmental conflict.

This dissertation attempted to provide an answer to the main research question: **how is Villa Botiflaca an ‘interface’ space?** Nearly forty years after its creation, it seemed important to question the invariability of its shape, which lead in turn to understand the dynamics between the corporation and the community in a wider context of social turbulence. An enquiry on the nature of the societal structure of the human group and their relation to the mining camp seemed pertinent to research dynamics of appropriation of space and urbanization. A secondary question is then: **what is the community in Villa Botiflaca?** This question allowed an identification of the relationships between the inhabitants of Villa Botiflaca, their relation to the company, and the significance given to the mining city/camp. However, throughout the research focus of the study was set on the corporation, a crucially important actor in the constitution of mining cities as well as in the development of environmental conflicts. Particularly, the existence of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) framework for dealing with employees and local populations was examined in the context of potential social turmoil. Another secondary question was focused on the meaning of ‘social responsibility’ and its role in possible scenarios of confrontation: **what is the role of CSR?**

The dissertation is structured in three following chapters. After discussing theoretical and methodological aspects (Chapter 1), the results of the research were exposed (Chapter 2) to then finalize with a concluding discussion (Chapter 3).
Chapter 1: Literature Review, Methodology, Limitations

1.1 Literature review

In physical chemistry, an interface is conceived as the space of encounter between two elements, for example a solid and a gas. The interface region enables exchange and transformation of the elements as it is the space where chemical reactions happen, therefore interface analysis allows a better comprehension of the interaction (Netz & Horinek, 2012), and when applied to the social sciences, the metaphor of the interface enabled to focus on the relations of actors shaping a place. Following Harvey’s (2010 [1973]) categorization of the ‘relational space’ as the conceptualization of space by the inherent processes that define it, in this study Villa Botiflaca was conceived as the interface where two actors interacted, the community and the corporation.

The purpose of this subchapter is to provide an overview of the relevant literature for understanding this interaction and the consequences on the mining city/camp. In the first section, the focus was the interface space. Starting by presenting the social and spatial peculiarities recurring in mining camps, critical geographies enabled an understanding of these spaces as part of a worldly expansion of the urban. Historical evidence from Peru were provided as support. In the second section, the focus shifted to understanding the interaction. For this, business literature was examined for analysing a particular way to comprehend local communities and corporate responsibility. Mining conflicts were then approached from a political ecology perspective, explaining how conflicts are triggered by structural causes against which social responsibility offers little remedy.

1.1.1 The interface space

Theoretical advancements about mining camps and urbanization processes allow to comprehend Villa Botiflaca as an interface space between a mining camp and a city.

Pre-conceived spaces

Mining camps are purposefully designed for providing amenities and services to the workers during the phases of mining exploitation (Perry & Rowe, 2015). Though their shape may vary, mining camps provide basic accommodation and services for workers and their families
in housing structures similar to quarter blocks, caravan parks, or motels (Carrington, Hogg, & McIntosh, 2011). The necessity of building a mining camp has been explained by the organization of labour; in order to ensure the perpetuity of mining extraction, labour is organized by a method known as ‘fly-in/fly-out’ rotation, which generally uses 12-hours shifts (Carrington, Hogg, & McIntosh, 2011). Moreover, the study of mining camps in Latin America has been principally approached through the historical analysis of colonial structures, which revealed that institutional mechanisms for exploiting indigenous labour in the mines were the basis for mining extraction. The study of the mining society in Zacatecas, Mexico revealed the importance of Mexican silver for the constitution of the mercantilist Spanish empire in the XVI century (Bakewell, 1971). Furthermore, Cole (1985) and Bakewell (1984) provided accurate illustrations of the importance of the Potosi mining sites in the colonial history of Bolivia. Cole (1985) and Bakewell (1984) also identified an important relationship between the organization of labour and the existence of mining camps. Labour was organized through the colonial institution of the ‘mita’, which forcibly imposed mining labour to indigenous dwellers in regions with mining potential. Historically, the organization of labour has arguably been the main reason for the construction of workers’ camps in neighbouring areas of the mining sites. Despite their remote location, mining sites are linked to global dynamics through urbanization processes.

What is urban?

Critics of mainstream urban studies that postulate an understanding of the city as a “fixed, bounded and universally generalizable settlement type” (Brenner & Schmid, 2015:1) promote a new definition of urbanization as a worldly process. Urbanization processes entail economic concentration and industrialization efforts, which expand the urban border from the typically self-enclosed urban shape to a ‘planetary’ phenomenon (Lefevbre, 2003 [1970]); moreover, as cities acquire demographic and economic importance, the boundary between urban and non-urban geographies becomes blurry. In the context of an acceleration of mineral extraction, planetary urbanization is likely to engender concentrated and extended shapes of urbanization (Arboleda, 2015). Densely populated cities constitute the concentrated type of urbanization, whereas extended urbanization is the annexation of places of energy production, transport, communications, tourism, extraction sites, and other through infrastructure development and enhanced exchange with dense agglomerations (Brenner & Schmid, 2013). Therefore, extended urbanization forces is likely to generate an understanding of mining sites as part of a wider urban amalgamation between the densely populated city and
other territories that provide the resources for consumption over which modern life is founded upon.

Arboleda’s (2015) analysis highlighted that spaces such as mining sites accurately illustrate the historical turning point of resource extraction caused by modern urban life. In other words, life in the city is powered by the consumption of metal resources transformed through various industrialization processes, creating strong connexions between the city and the mining site which is conceived as the explosion of the city over the territories of resource extraction (Arboleda, 2015). Furthermore, this explosion is likely to fabricate ‘hierarchized ghettos’ from the newly urbanized spaces through the reproduction of capitalist dynamics of marginalization and dispossession over to the new spaces, configuring a relation of dependence and subordination to the urban centre (Arboleda, 2015). However, urbanization is also likely to open up spaces for contestation as opportunities are generated for isolated populations to be included in worldly networks, for example, through the use of information technologies and social media. In these spaces, social mobilization and resource extraction are likely to produce close links of solidarity between local movements and global organizations (Svampa, et al., 2009).

Therefore, when approaching the analysis of Villa Botiflaca, critical propositions are likely to enable an understanding of these places as urban by placing them in the historical context of an accelerated resource extraction. Mining sites are intrinsically part of a planetary urbanization process, which reproduces capitalist inequalities and power structures within. However, while the contact of local struggles with wider audiences and global organizations is permitted and encouraged by planetary urbanization, the distinction of mining camps and mining cities arguably becomes a secondary discussion within critical geographies. In this aspect, historical experiences in two camps in southern Peru illustrated the material transition of a mining camp into a mining city, which is a process of antagonism and urban struggle.

**Peruvian experiences**

By 1940 abundant labour supply and rich mineral reserves in Cerro de Pasco allowed the homonymous U.S. enterprise to become one of the main metal exporters in the continent by producing 60% of Peru’s silver output and 25% of its gold (Ruiz-Castell, Guillem-Llobat, Simon, Herran, & Lanuza-Navarro, 2009), and so placing Peru as the fourth silver producer worldwide (Flores Galindo, 1974). However, segmentation of the labour force was a major source of discontent triggered by a privileged access to modern facilities, schools, and sports.
clubs exclusively reserved for foreign functionaries, while mine workers were given a residence in separate camps with less comfort options (Brown, 2000). For the majority of the population of mine workers in Cerro de Pasco, living conditions did not improve as the miners were poorly paid and recruited exclusively ‘to go to the bottom of the mines’ (Brown, 2000). The proliferation of miners’ strikes in the 1970s has been interpreted as an anti-capitalist movement for a greater control over mining resources as well as higher wages, leading to the expropriation of the site and camp in 1974 (Flores Galindo, 1974).

Nonetheless, Cerro de Pasco has struggled to provide its inhabitants with fair living conditions particularly because of the highly polluted environment inherited over generations of mining extraction; the city is now an impoverished urban centre with an open-pit mine that perpetuated deleterious socio-environmental conditions (Dold, Wade, & Fontboté, 2009) and caused dreadful impacts on public health (Pebe, et al., 2008; Pajuelo, et al., 2001).

Urbanization in the mining camp of Cerro de Pasco seemed particularly conflictual, however other urbanization processes in southern Peru have shown the importance of considering contextual specificities. For example, a different process happened in Villa Cuajone where corporate policies were put in place to build large-scale services and entertainment infrastructure and to control petty trade after being established as a mining camp in the 1950s exclusively for foreign skilled labourers (Becker, 1983:296). The separate development of the camps allowed Villa Cuajone to undergo a carefully planned urbanization process, and while the camp has also been managed by SPCC and is located a few km away from Villa Botiflaca, Villa Cuajone was transformed into an urban centre with suburban and industrial characteristics, inhabited mainly by foreign employees, corporate functionaries and managers from SPCC (Becker, 1983:296).

While mining camps are purposefully created for providing workers with a place to settle temporarily, urbanization processes are currently enabled by the explosion of the city into the sites of resource extraction, which in turn depend directly of urban consumption and reproduce inequalities in their own structure. From historical examples in the region, the creation of social tensions between higher-positioned functionaries and mine workers was enabled by the coexistence of unequal living conditions in the same camp.

1.1.2 The interaction

The interface approach enabled to understand spatial phenomena in Villa Botiflaca as the product of the interaction between the mining corporation and the community.
Understanding corporate responsibility

Although corporate benefits of CSR include an increase in profits (Kurucz, et al., 2008; Carroll & Shabana, 2010; De Schutter, 2008), motifs for adopting CSR also embrace moral duties, legal constraints, beliefs in sustainability (Porter & Kramer, 2006); enhanced reputation (Anguinis & Glavas, 2012); and the need to justify its existence (Jenkins & Yakovleva, 2006). Abundant business literature seem to suggest a diversity of motivations for corporations to adopt social responsibility practices, however this has not translated into the adoption of a single, proper way to ‘behave responsibly’ (Porter & Kramer, 2006). Following the proliferation of superficial practices such as excessive reporting and superfluous CSR advertising, corporations have been suggested to transit towards truthful practices of responsibility (Hamann & Kapelus, 2004).

In the mining industry, CSR has enabled the development of assistance programmes, the existence of a community relations department, and the incorporation of local residents into the corporations’ activities (Eweje, 2006); however, a historical analysis of corporate responsibility in Peru showed a different corporate behaviour. In his analysis of the constituency of an international mining bourgeoisie in Peru during 1950-1980, Becker (1983) sustained that SPCC behaved according to the ‘doctrine of domicile’, which enabled the corporation to be recognized as responsible because agreements with the military regime were discussed, signed, and implemented. The alignment of interests between international dominant classes and national aspirations of the military regime was translated in the generation of economic growth through metal production, the generation of foreign currency through copper exports, and the compliance of national laws and standards, which included paying taxes.

Social responsibility seems to encourage a diversity of practices with unclear motivations, moreover, business literature is also emphatic on how corporations should deal with local communities (Marquis, et al., 2007). From an institutional perspective, the appropriateness of CSR programmes depend directly the identification of ‘systemic patterns’ of the community (Marquis, et al., 2007). Such patterns constitute cultural norms and rules through which a programme would be recognized as legitimate and successful according to the community’s expectations of the programme (Eweje, 2006). Authors seem to vaguely reproduce the belief that outcomes of corporate, socially responsible programmes would be finally determined by aspects of local culture. When analysing business literature about the community, a particular understanding could be identified.
What community?

Following the business tradition, ‘the community’ is a term that represents neighbouring, pre-existing settlements in proximity of mining operations, whose expectations and cultural knowledge are included for CSR programme design and effectiveness (Marquis, et al., 2007). However, an abstract use of ‘the community’ often reveals an idealised, simplified version of reality and enables an uncritical use of the term (Cannon, 2008:12). Discussions on the identification, the boundaries, and the cohesiveness of particular community or communities are discarded when assuming the existence of a single community (Cannon, 2008:13). Moreover, by assuming a cohesive, harmonious community issues of inequality and power imbalance in human groups are unaddressed (Cannon, 2008:13).

During the Gold Rush era in the Western U.S., the development of human relations in mining camps was determined by the relational capacity of belonging to a ‘frontier settlement’ as well as by the temporal delimitation of the lifespan of the mining camp (Douglass, 1998:98). Strong bonds were sustained in mining communities among mine workers of the same site who developed a common identity, however, familial ties, religious links, and relations of neighbourliness were absent because they needed time to develop. This paradox, rephrased as the ‘focus without a locus’ (Douglass, 1998:97), explains why numerous mining communities disappeared before being politically recognized as municipalities.

A general conceptualization of the community is likely to fundament barren geographical analyses. Communities of miners are bonded by the belonging to the same mining site, yet these relations are temporally delimited. Outside of the mining site, however, local populations have often expressed their discontent of mining extraction during episodes of mining conflicts in the Andean region.

Structural conflicts

The historical acceleration in resource extraction (Arboleda, 2015; Svampa, 2013) is reflected in the expansion of extractive frontiers as new areas of the world are undergoing mineral exploration and extraction (Ozkaynak, et al., 2012). This expansion is likely to reveal power structures since natural resources and the environment acquire a multitude of values according to different ‘languages of valuation’ (Martinez-Alier, 2002:98). As an example, highland pasture near a mining pit is valued differently for national governments than local governments, which in turn differs for the human groups neighbouring a mining project (Ozkaynak, et al., 2012). Moreover, this concept acknowledges the existence of particular
interests of the actors involved in the valuation process, such as indigenous movements involved in the conflict seeking for notoriety and representation in electoral competitions (Acosta, 1998).

Mining conflicts are political confrontations that likely result of the clash of irreconcilable languages of valuation and the imposition of one over others by the use of power (Martinez-Alier, et al., 2010; Martinez-Alier, 2002). Furthermore, “in order to advance towards problem resolution, what is needed is not conflict resolution, but conflict exacerbation” (Martinez-Alier, 2002:69). The lack of focus on matters of environmental justice renders the perspective of conflict resolution and public policy (Humphreys, 2005) redundant and inappropriate, as it was assimilated to ‘pushing problems under the carpet’ after deep structural issues of environmental conflicts were untouched or deepened by this approach (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Environmental conflicts seem necessary to illustrate relations of domination in an increasingly unequal world, to gather forces in defence of the recognition of the violation of rights, and to advocate for political transformation (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

1.1.3 Overview

Mining camps serve a corporate purpose of organising labour in proximities of the mining operations, however, mining communities could exist inside as well as outside of the mining camp. Social responsibility is likely to address issues for the communities in the outside by acknowledging their expectations and cultural knowledge. However, inside of the mining camp miners’ communities are increasingly liked to urban centres of consumption. Outside, local populations resist the expansion of the mining frontier. Social responsibility would enable a general understanding of the community by the corporation, which seems inappropriate when the overall scenario is one of potential structural conflict on various sides.
1.2 Methodology

The scope of the problem required the adoption of a qualitative approach. In this chapter, the methodology, the choice of methods, and the positionality of the researcher are discussed, followed by an examination of the limitations and possibilities for further research.

1.2.1 Case study

The main research objective was to propose an understanding of the social and spatial phenomena of Villa Botiflaca, hence to generate an enhanced understanding of a particular phenomenon in a very specific context. Equally, the secondary research objectives aimed at identifying the community in Villa Botiflaca, and characterizing the role of corporate social responsibility in a context of potential mining conflicts. Case study methodology is useful for approaching such complex, contemporary cases with an ‘inherent interest’ (Johansson, 2003); the selection of the case is then a sampling exercise in itself (Curtis, Gesler, Smith, & Washburn, 2000).

The motifs for undertaking research about Villa Botiflaca are many. Though the mining operator Southern Peru Copper Corporation (SPCC) has been praised for historic and contemporary industrial development in Peru (Becker, 1983; Jacob, 2009), business responsibility practices need to be evaluated in the context of an accelerated metal extraction in order to find a truer meaning of the role of corporations (Banejee, 2008). Moreover, SPCC has also been the focus of negative attention from national and international media due to violent confrontations with local populations, such as the extension of operations in Toquepala (Environmental Justice Organisations, Liabilities and Trade, 2014) and the granting of concession rights in Tia Maria (Schipani & Chauvin, 2015). In a region of mining conflicts, a further understanding of spatial configurations in Villa Botiflaca seem necessary to inscribe these clashes within the movement of planetary urbanization (Arboleda, 2015). Conflicts reveal the imposition of power structures as well as potential for transformation (Svampa, et al., 2009; Martinez-Alier, 2002), therefore mining camps are likely to be conceived as incubators for anti-capitalist struggle (Flores Galindo, 1974).

Information requirements

Following the recommendations of ‘triangulation’ of techniques, data sources, and strategies (Johansson, 2003), the methodology combined qualitative and quantitative data as well as different strategies for collecting information. Quantitative information was exclusively used for capturing demographic information from census data in order to provide context.
information from secondary sources. The 2007 Census of Peru offered an adequate level of geographical disaggregation – i.e. the district level – and covered a variety of topics such as household and demographic characteristics (INEI, 2013). However, as it will be further explained, census data did not prove to be accurate enough for measuring demographic concentration in temporal residencies such as mining camps. Qualitative information was obtained from SPCC personnel through qualitative surveys and semi-structured interviews (Clocke, et al., 2004).

**Qualitative survey**

Qualitative surveys enabled to explore the diversity of answers within the group of study (Jansen, 2010), which seemed important as the main objective was to interpret responses within the given context and extract an understanding. Unlike interviews, however, qualitative surveys often lack of a recognition of the elements of context that influence the response, which seems vital for the interpretation of qualitative data (Marshall, 1996). In order to avoid this lack of context, semi-guided telephone interviews were carried among informed participants.

Surveys were administered to mine workers as well as functionaries in Villa Botiflaca during August 2015. Questionnaire design had implications on data collection as phrasing and vocabulary had an influence in the responses generated (Clocke, et al., 2004). By email communication it was often suggested that mine workers were unable to discuss complex matters such as social responsibility, so language barriers were replaced by the use of simple language and clear questions. These affirmations were based on past experiences of the corporation conducting unsuccessfully other surveys among mine workers.

**Telephone interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were carried to key informants in the corporation as well as mining experts, following the recognition that some informants are ‘richer’ and more likely to provide insight (Marshall, 1996). Although they often fail to provide satisfactory responses if the questions are long, complex, or boring (Dillman, 1978), telephone interviews also have the advantage of providing an enhanced quality of answers than face to face interviews, due to the minimization of social desirability responses, and the minimization of biases generated by the presence of the interviewer (Clocke, et al., 2004). Telephone interviews were carried in isolated conditions, therefore replicating as much as possible the environment of a face-to-face interview (Thomas & Purdon, 1994).
Following recommendations about the process of construction of knowledge through social relations (Baxter & Eyles, 1997), interviews were structured in three progressive sections in order to encourage a natural progression of the conversation. This structure seemed necessary to create a familiarity with the participant, which was particularly important when addressing corporate responsibility issues. After presenting the study and its aims, the interview entered a phase of questions and answers to then open up a discussion about relevant topics. This enabled the participants to express their thoughts and concerns in their own language, which was needed for posterior hermeneutic analysis and interpretation.

**Sampling**

During semi-structured interviews, informed participants capable to knowingly discuss CSR in the Andean mining industry would also provide context details for complementing survey information gaps. While informed participants were selected on the basis of experience and availability, the lack of available data about the mine workers encouraged the adoption of the snowball sampling technique. When conducting qualitative surveys, this technique allowed to identify subjects with desired characteristics by reference (Black, 1999).

The sample of miners was obtained during a compulsory, security-related training session which is part of the compulsory professional capacitation given to the miners. The training session, also known as the ‘055 course’, is obligatory by national laws for all workers in mining facilities who participate once a month (Int. 1). Usually the course has a duration of 8 hours and is attended by groups of 30 to 40 mine workers randomly selected.

**1.2.2 Negotiation**

When reaching for the miners in Villa Botiflaca, information barriers became visible and while some were surmountable, others constituted obstacles that needed methodological adjustment. Throughout the research process, bureaucratic power structures became visible and entailed a negotiation of the methodological process.

**Research approval**

Despite the iterative dimension of definition and evaluation in qualitative research (Clocke, et al., 2004), the investigation was introduced as a study about social responsibility practices in the mining industry, and its identity remained as such throughout for consistency reasons. The first e-mail contact was made with a corporate vice-president in amical terms during February 2015, however the formal request for carrying interviews among the miners that was approved by the College months later did not receive a positive response.
In this request it was specified that data collection would be achieved through telephone interviews guided by a questionnaire to the functionaries in the Community Relations (CR) department as well as 30 mine workers in Villa Botiflaca. Consecutive adjustments were negotiated throughout the research process, and the first set of adjustments were suggested by the vice-president concerning the guiding questionnaire. Since he would be in the position of pushing the request forward, the questionnaire was modified accordingly. Sensitive topics such as social issues in the camp, corporate practices of greenwashing, and the incompatibility of voluntary actions and corporate accountability were suggested to be eliminated from the questionnaire; moreover, it was argued that to address such questions would be considered offensive, and questions of my affiliation to anti-mining NGOs were raised by the vice-president. After pertinent clarifications of my non-affiliation to other organizations than KCL as a master’s student, modifications to the questionnaire were presented.

With the support of the vice-president, the new questionnaire was presented along with a formal request to the HR department. Weeks later, the vice-president informed me of the denial of the request and his lack of possibilities for pushing the matter further. This seemed unlikely given his higher managerial position in the corporation, however I decided to seek for alternative way in. After contacting a family friend in the corporation who worked as an operations manager in the mine, it was suggested to direct the request to the CEO who would in turn delegate responsibilities accordingly. Several weeks later the approval was granted, however the HR department designated two people to work in collaboration with me; these two helpers were the CR manager and the operations manager who was also the family friend.

*Data protection*

It was then explained to me that the miners were often unwilling to collaborate in any research process (Int. 1). Further suggestions for modifying the questionnaire were given, this time emphasizing that technical language would not be understood by mine workers who in most cases achieved secondary education. It was also emphasized by both helpers that the miners were ‘difficult people’ (Int. 1), underlining that workers were ignorant individuals reluctant to open up to strangers.

Following the recommendations for a negotiated construction of the research agenda between participants (Cochrane, 1998), a change in the methods of data collection was suggested by my collaborators. Arguments were given such as the difficulty for the worker to have a break
during the work day to answer questions on the telephone. Despite initial apprehensions, data was collected through qualitative surveys. Ethical considerations were discussed beforehand with both collaborators and indications were given to prevent that information was used against the miners, to prevent that the data was used with other purposes than my dissertation, and to ensure the best possible conditions for filling the survey. Moreover, my collaborators ensured that the data would not be used in any future opportunity as the survey did not contain relevant information for the corporation, which seemed unlikely as the survey requested an evaluation of social responsibility practices from the miners’ perspective.

At this stage, a corporate power structure that perpetuated mine workers at the base of a hierarchy became visible. A bureaucratic structure was put in place such that miners were inaccessible to reach, and despite my best efforts for reaching the miners directly, I understood that powerful intermediates would be placed between me and the mine workers. My research collaborators were first and foremost managers, an identity that came with a recognition of power within the corporate hierarchy. I was then situated in a position of being imposed to the miners through the managers, over which I had little control.

Analysis of the data

The consequences are likely to reflect on the data collected, as the existence of powerful gatekeepers are expected sources for data distortion and bias (Clocke, et al., 2004). The corporate hierarchy ensured that high managers, managers, functionaries, employees, and mine workers followed the chain of command in that order, which was a power structure being used to collect data for my research. However, the results were congruent with the information provided by informed interview participants, particularly when it came to define the community in Villa Botiflaca. Moreover, secondary sources such as historical analyses of mining camps in southern Peru were widely used for contrasting and interpreting results.

With this in mind, this research was inscribed within the traditions of critical interpretive research (Deetz, 1982), which affirms that though people are able to modify the conditions of their existence, various forms of domination impede them to do so willingly. Consequently, in any given social situation the construction of interpretations of reality is also a political process over some interpretations are preferred or imposed over others (Myers, 2013). When analysing the data collected through surveys, the use of words and language, the recurrence of expressions, the use of implicit and shared meanings, disagreements, and the lack of answer are important discursive elements that contribute to the of construction of meaning
The analysis of interview data is concerned with uncovering the antecedents to an action and the understanding of the elements of context, which would in turn adopt the form of a chronological description of a process (Clocke, et al., 2004). Spatial phenomena in Villa Botiflaca is likely to be understood through the meanings and the relevant processes informed by research participants.

Finally, the position of the researcher in qualitative interviews is an important matter as it influences the processes of data collection and analysis. The information exchanged throughout interviews generate an inquiry of the researcher’s ‘maps of consciousness’ (Haraway, 1991). In other words, the information received during interviews is highly influenced by my own perspectives, expectations, knowledge, and background –i.e. class, gender, nationality, ethnicity–, all of which would determine the way the research is approached, negotiated, interpreted, and presented (Scott, Miller, & Lloyd, 2006). This is the social process of the research through which the researcher and the participants construct knowledge and both form an integral part of the research process (Marshall, 1996; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

**Presentation of the results**

The results are presented in the form of a written argumentation. The information obtained in the interviews served as the main structure for the analysis over which the surveys were incorporated, which proved to be useful since the interview added the context by which an understanding of the miners’ meanings could be read. The plan varied as the analysis progressed, which is a reflection of the iterative process of qualitative interpretation (Marshall, 1996). Furthermore, partial anonymity was granted from interview participants, which allows to differentiate the role within the corporation and a brief professional description in the case they do not belong to the corporation (in the case of experts). The survey results were presented in an anonymous way (see Appendix) following the original metaphor of the interface space.
1.3 Limitations

The research could gain further depth with the acknowledgement of the elements of context that influence particular perceptions and meanings from community members as well as from corporate employees by undertaking fieldwork (Myers, 2013). The involvement of the researcher in the social process of investigation is fundamentally more important when carrying fieldwork as social norms, daily practices, language, and work habits become elements of the studied reality (Clocke, et al., 2004). The risk of losing objectivity in the field is a necessary step for undertaking more critical approaches of social research that enable the researcher and the research participants to gain awareness of structures inflicted upon them (Myers, 2013). In a context of high probability of social turmoil, this would in turn enable the analysis of the possibilities for corporate and social change, hence this dissertation serves as a preliminary, exploratory study. An important reflection would then be how to strategically access Villa Botiflaca. This dissertation presented an approach for data collection from the corporation because the mining community is principally composed of corporate employees, therefore the most accessible way to reach them seemed to be through the corporation; nonetheless, power relations were an obstacle as well as a vehicle when collecting data. With this in mind, further research could consider an approximation through local populations, the workers individually, or the syndicate.

Another possible way to improve this dissertation could be to further develop methodological triangulation by the use of quantitative methods. In this dissertation quantitative information provided valid context information, however the data used for interpretation and exposed in the results section is primarily qualitative. The qualitative survey did not collect quantitative data such as income or labour remunerations, moreover, the only quantitative information collected by the survey was the age as it enabled a more familiar survey format. Quantitative variables could be useful in other types of study, however issues of representation and significance of the sample in the population of study as well as sampling error and the distribution of population values would need to be taken into consideration (Clocke, et al., 2004).

Reflecting on Crang’s (2002) suggestion to include discussions over orthodox approaches and standards for evaluating methodological considerations, it seems important to consider that the research process was shaped and negotiated after being obstructed by a power structure. Despite this recognition it seems unlikely that this could have been timely planned for and handled accordingly from the initial stages of dissertation planning; in many ways,
the bureaucratic and corporate power structures were invisible until later stages of the research process. Therefore, it seems important that research methodologies allow for the flexibility of gathering information despite delays and lack of collaboration, which was one of the main reasons for adopting a case study methodology. Finally, the lack of acknowledgement of potentially conflictual situations by the mine workers is revealing of the exercise of the power structure in the research participants, who would strategically chose their answers when responding to the survey. When rigorously approaching the mine workers, further research could be conducted to identify the mechanisms of rejection and negotiation spaces within the corporate structure.
Chapter 2:

Findings

This chapter discusses the main findings in two sections replicating the metaphor of the interface space.

2.1 Interface space

In this first section the spatial phenomena surrounding the interface space of Villa Botiflaca are discussed and contrasted with evidence.

2.1.1 Quasi-urban

From the miners’ perspective, urban infrastructure in Villa Botiflaca had the main purpose of providing housing and amenities for developing family life. The possibility to create a common life between the worker and their family (S4, S13, and S16) was regarded positively from the miners’ perspective. The isolation of the mining site in the middle of the highlands was somehow abolished when building the camp, which has historically opened for hosting the families and providing them with a place to live (Int. 2).

Though services were “basic” (S30), the corporation was likely to be perceived as concerned for the “good performance” (S12, Int. 2) of their workers and their “quality of life” (S31). In other words, the provision of services was likely to be identified as the construction of an incentive for a better concentration and investment of the workers in their daily tasks. The existence of a mining camp that provided other services than housing caused it to be conceived as a “smaller city” (S17), where the workers feel residents of these areas. Carrington, et al., (2011) perceived this as a corporate strategy for communicating long-term commitment, which could be applied to the context of Villa Botiflaca as the creation of a mining camp with urban qualities seemed important to the workers.

Among various services such as schools, a fire station, a police station, a church (S30, S16), the camp has a medical station put in place (mentioned in 4 surveys) which was compared to hospitals in urban centres (Int. 2) in order to reveal a preoccupation for health and safety of the workers (Int. 2). The provision of education was also a matter of concern from the corporation. In fact, “each camp has its own high school” (Int. 2), referring to the camps of Villa Botiflaca, the miner’s camp, and Villa Cuajone, the functionaries’ city. The existence of
two schools could reflect a concern for security since the children would not wander from the camp to the placement of a central high school, but it also indicates that children of functionaries and children of workers were separately educated. A particular emphasis was given to the presence of recreational and sports facilities. Each camp counts with “a recreational centre, where the families can go to for distraction, each camp has sports courts” (Int. 2). More than a healthy habit, sports seemed to open the possibility for social integration. In fact, championships of different sports hosted in these facilities and organized by the corporation were events where workers and their families take part (Int. 2), such as the yearly Olympics that are organized among the schools of SPCC (Int. 2). However, participation in the Olympics is reserved exclusively to the schools of SPCC (Int. 2), which impedes that local settlements in the area are also integrated. Furthermore, the existence of sporting facilities in each camp also allows for the possibility to practice different sports. “For the case of Villa Cuajone it's a golf club where the functionaries can play golf, tennis” (Int. 2). This is telling of a certain acknowledgement of the social distinction that the practice of sports entails.

The description of the process of housing assignation revealed some important clues as how to interpret the quasi-urban infrastructure. Apartments were assigned after an evaluation of the workers and the number of dependents, and after considering if the family was visiting the camp which is a decision to be made by the worker (Int. 2). The assigned apartment was composed of a kitchen, a bathroom, a single furnished room, or a family apartment with multiple bedrooms (Int. 2). Appliances and other services such as TV and internet connection were not included but available to the worker at their own cost (Int. 2). While permission was granted to paint the walls no structural modification was allowed (Int. 2), which was explained by the fact that housing infrastructure in the camp is not owned by the resident as it is corporate property lent to the worker for the time of their engagement with the corporation (Int. 2). No mention was given to the existence of common rooms or public spaces besides the church and the canteen. The initial idea of creating a mining camp was to “bring people with experience in operations”; the camp was never intended for local residents (Int. 2; Becker, 1983), and housing and amenities were provided for qualified workers who lived elsewhere mainly because of the inhospitable characteristics of the neighbouring areas of Mina Cuajone. This purpose was perpetuated among generations and despite its quasi-urban features, Villa Botiflaca is first and foremost a mining camp (Int. 2). A future extension of the residential area was affirmed to be not in plans and the camp is not undergoing major changes.
due of technology advancements and the increased likeliness of a reduction of labour requirements (Int. 2). The principles behind the mining camp was then “logistic and operational” (Int. 3), as mining corporations need to maintain a labour reserve nearby the operations; therefore concerns about services and urbanity were taken into consideration for the attraction of labour into these isolated camps as the form of the constitution of “mutual benefits” for the corporation and the community (Int. 3).

When analysing the material conditions through which the mining camp is linked to ‘planetary urbanization’ processes (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]), contrasting evidence found that the construction of the city over the camp is a partial phenomenon. Moreover, the historical explanation of chaotic, turbulent urbanization in Cerro de Pasco (Vega-Centeno, 2011; Flores Galindo, 1974) seemed unfitted in the case of study for the main reason that informal settlements are non-existent in Villa Botiflaca. Moreover, although their commitment is long-term, residents are not permanently established in the camp and they often have different places that they call home, therefore the mining camp was a place symbolically constructed around the mine. This would allow to explain the dotation of basic amenities such as sports and churches, however it is likely that public spaces are absent and impede a true appropriation of the city/camp (Harvey, 2012).

2.1.2 Conflict potential

The foundation of SPCC during the expansion of large-scale Peruvian mining represented one of the most important investments in the Third World by the U.S. after 1950 (Becker, 1983:41). SPCC was formed by the capital contributions of four major U.S. mining corporations that struggled over the ownership of large metal deposits in the south of Peru, namely Quiruvilca, Quellaveco, Cuajone, and Toquepala. Located in the highlands in the Atacama Desert and with little impact over local populations, Villa Botiflaca was founded to support operations in Mina Cuajone which were highly capital-intensive and recruited over 2,000 people by 1972. The same year, Asarco, one of the founding enterprises was valued among the most important iron exporters in the country (Becker, 1983). With the expansion of operations and the aperture of Mina Cuajone, SPCC offered highly attractive working conditions and wages, which triggered labour migrated from the neighbouring department of Puno, several km to the east of the mining site where agriculture was used for subsistence and
peasant migration to cities started decades ago (Becker, 1983:97). The quickly approved and managed land reform of 1969 contributed to this migration from the coast, where an uneven distribution of land among sugar plantation workers pushed landless peasants to seek occupation in the highlands (Lowenthal, 1974).

Negotiations between the corporation and the government reflected an accordance of interests between a modern, oligopolistic transnational mining enterprise and a repressive, military regime (Becker, 1983). While the military regime sought for an increase in taxes and transfers, copper processing in the newly built Ilo refinery, and diversification of exports other than the U.S., the corporation was opposed to the increase in tax and in return consented to a monopoly of copper sales to the Peruvian government; therefore negotiation processes ensured the creation of mutual benefits (Becker, 1983). Moreover, despite maintaining taxation levels, the following expansion of copper production entailed an increase in SPCC’s contribution to the national treasure to 6% of tax revenues (Becker, 1983). And while indigenous movements were violently quieted down, labour legislation allowed for workers to own a share of profits and determine a place in management (Becker, 1983). The military government, which proved to be an ally when negotiating concessions, was replaced in 1981. By then, a “corporate national bourgeoisie” (Becker, 1983:331) grew of the mining enterprises as a powerful social sector.

During the following decades, public sector crises and a decline in public services was followed by waves of privatization (Kuczynski, 2003). By 1990 annual inflation rates exceeded 7.500%, growth was replaced by a decline in overall production by 30%, and violence and guerrillas were escalating pressures felt nationwide (Bury, 2005). Neoliberal adjustment came to Peru under the regime of President Fujimori who adopted a series of orthodox measures recommended by the World Bank and other international institutions and facilitated the writing of a new constitution in 1992 (Carrión, 2006). In 1996 the World Bank published a Mining Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean, where tax reduction, liberalization, and economic de-regulation policies were recommended with the purpose of attracting transnational investment in the region (Arboleda, 2015). Foreign investment had no barrier in Peru, which was supported by several trade and investment agreements. Consequently the Peruvian economy has been dominated by the private sector, regulated by market forces and linked to the global economy ever since (Arboleda, 2015).

The current mining boom was facilitated by the adoption of new neoliberal measures in Peru; this ‘commodity consensus’ constituted an important wave of energy and water infrastructure
projects as well as a renovation of roadways across the country to facilitate resource extraction in remote areas (Svampa, 2013; Arboleda, 2015; Ozkaynak, et al., 2012). The state has been characterized as “an observer” (Int. 2) of the negotiation processes between the corporation and the communities, yet military forces are often sent to ensure control extraction sites. The consensus also entailed an institutional reform by the adoption of new mining codes throughout the region that reflect the new alliance between the state and the corporations, allowing corporations to rely on the state for the use of force and strategic policy design and implementation (Fuentes, 2012). The informed participant often argued that lack of government-financed service provision in remote areas increases corporate burdens (Int. 2).

Water is a source of potential conflicts as local populations and provincial governments have accused SPCC of “using water indiscriminately” (Int. 2). Recent estimations of water use calculate that metal processing requires of 1 cubic metre per second to process a ton of material, therefore requiring approximately 32 million of cubic metres of water per year per ton (Cabrera & Fierro, 2013) (Cabrera & Fierro, 2013:102). The main source for operations in Cuajone is the lake Suches, where SPCC has a water licence of extended capacity (Int. 2) and is located approximately 40 km away from the site and 3km from the community of Huayturi. When addressing the issue of water in mining, little attention was paid to exorbitant levels of water consumption to highlight instead the remarkable work of the hydric resources department in promoting “campaigns for saving water” in neighbouring communities (Int. 2). The position of the Community Relations manager seemed to defend corporate interests of exploiting the mine despite the importance of water for neighbouring communities and future uses in an arid zone. The argument presented to defend the corporate position was the fact that “without water, we would not be then able to do nothing” (Int. 2).

Furthermore, waste generation after extensive use of chemicals for separating metals during the process of lixiviation (Padilla, 2012) is another source of concern for local populations worldwide (Ozkaynak, et al., 2012). However, in the case of Villa Botiflaca the environmental issue of concern was the production of dust because it directly affected the work environment (Int. 2). Few survey respondents identified environmental management as a positive aspect within SPCC, while the majority affirmed that dust was a problem. When discussing about this issue with the informed participant the belief that technology can save the mine from being a toxic environment was presented (Int. 2). The informant argued that “the corporation will be investing a very considerable amount in the coming years to attack
with engineering solutions the problems we have” (Int. 2); moreover, this solutions consisted in covering the pile of debris with plastic material in order to avoid dispersion by wind. There is, however, an importance given to environmental and social issues as it was pointed out that managers within SPCC and the mining industry have gained awareness of the fact that these kinds of issues “can stop operations” (Int. 2). Again, the argument seems again redirected towards the stopping of mining operations, therefore any conflict must be avoided for continuing operations.

In context of capitalist expansion to the Third World, the foundation of SPCC and the Peruvian military regime accorded the creation of mutual benefits. Following governments and public crises pushed for the adoption of neoliberal measures, which are currently being reinforced. The location in a highly conflictive area has arguable left the SPCC unaffected, which is shown by corporate arguments defending technologically enhanced mining extraction despite local claims of water use and environmental degradation.

2.2 Interaction

2.2.1 Communities

Following Canon’s critique (2008), two identifications of the community were asked, the first to identify the understanding of the term ‘the community’ and the second for defining ‘the community’ in the context of the mining camp of Villa Botiflaca. When addressing the issue of how to define a community, general definitions with an emphasis on the geographical location were recurrent. Terms such as “location” (present in 7 surveys), and related vocabulary as “territory” (S16), “geography” (S17), “place” (S20), and the “environment” (S31) were used to highlight the importance of the geographical milieu to define a community. Moreover, other elements emphasized different important aspects of the community which were likely components of a community ‘anthropologically defined’ (Douglass, 1998) such as sharing the same “culture” (4 surveys), “habits” and “customs” (4 surveys), “language” (S7, S17), and “religion” (S2). Other definitions emphasized the importance of the “interaction” (S16, S26), and sharing “common goods” (S12, S27). Though the ‘spatial element’ (Douglass, 1998) was important for the community, no particular mention was given to the issue of temporality and the limit of time; in fact, aspects of similar culture suggest a long-term understanding of the relationships in the human group. Furthermore, the existence of reliable institutions (S26), community organisations (Int. 3),
and activities of diverse kind including political activities (S23) were overall rarely mentioned which is likely to reflect perceptions of community ruling out political aspects.

The context of the study is a factor to have likely motivated a definition emphasising the environments of the mine (3 surveys, Int. 2, Int. 3) and the importance of labour relations (S23, S31) through which a mining community is identified. This allowed for a double definition of mining communities, either as “a group of people who live in a zone where economic, social, cultural, political activities take place, often where the workers of the company live” (S23), reflecting Douglass’ (1998) identification; or as “small settlements that are located in the surroundings of the mine” (S10) following the conceptualization by Marquis, Glynn & Davis (2007). Moreover, when focusing in corporate conceptions of the community, it was sustained that “the most important (...) is the community of Huayturi at the heart of the operations of Toquepala and Cuajone” (Int. 2). Based on the definition by Marquis, Glynn & Davis (2007), the mine seems to be the centre over which a spatial hierarchy of communities is drawn. However, other neighbouring communities were not excluded from negotiations, actually, distant communities seem to have a secondary importance insofar they pose a potential affectation to operations (Int. 2). Finally, it was suggested that the spatial hierarchy of communities is likely to translate into an uneven repartition of benefits from the corporation such that distant communities have always been discarded from labour opportunities (Int. 2).

According to census data (INEI, 2013), the district of Torata where the mining camp is located counted with less than 7,000 inhabitants by 2007, of which 51% was urban population. Despite the reliability of the official source of information, it is important to consider a lack of precision when measuring labour migration in population tallies. A recent study signalled that census data was an inaccurate source of information due to the migration of workers to and from mining camps according to work schedules, so when quantifying non-resident workers the Australian census opted for measuring the number of ‘visitors’ (Carrington, Hogg, & McIntosh, 2011). In other words, census data allowed for workers to be taken into account in the mining camp area if they were found to be working at the time of data collection, whereas workers on leave cycles were recorded in their home locations. The quantification of this ‘shadow population’ was suggested to be problematic as mining camps would not be considered urban areas according to traditional standards of demographic concentration (Perry & Rowe, 2015). As a matter of fact, Villa Botiflaca is counted among other dispersed rural settlements because of the relatively low population when the census
was carried which has consequences on the misidentification of this space as transitory (INEI, 2013). Census data in Peru would then be able to provide information from the neighbouring communities and other cities in the Torata department, however the main source of information would be the registries owned and held by the mining corporation, and inaccessible to the public or researchers. However, the characterization of the community of Villa Botiflaca acquired interesting features when defined by its members.

For half of the survey participants, the community of Villa Botiflaca was constituted by all the employees and their families. The use of first person suggested a feeling of belonging to the expanded family as strong as the individual families (4 surveys). Moreover, sentiments of affection were present among mine workers and functionaries alike, reflected by the use of expressions such as “it is united” (the participant wrote nothing else) (S22), “a family team” (S5), and families “that live in harmony” (S4). An informed participant reported that his personal family history was intertwined with the history of many families in the camp with whom shared pleasant living experiences (Int. 2). The family adopted new members as part of the community such as “professors, contractors, functionaries, etc.” (S30), “firefighters, policemen, (and) the church” (S16). This suggested that the community was open to the possibility to develop social relations with resident outsiders, who would then become part.

The existence of strong, familial bonds for half of the participants also meant that for the other half the family was not an obvious characteristic. Many participants gave a tautological response consisting in the idea that the community was composed by its inhabitants (8 surveys) which is likely to reiterate the importance of the location for defining any given community. Some definitions highlighted the importance of space and the residential areas (3 surveys), the surroundings (S1, S13), and the areas around Mina Cuajone (S5, S12). Unlike previous conceptions, the celebration of familial links was not present from these definitions that often relied on the ‘spatial element’ (Douglass, 1998). Moreover, an informed participant further explained the current state of relations with their contemporaries as nearly non-existent since solely “8 of 400 people” remained in the camp and were hired in any of the areas of the corporation (Int. 2), suggesting a deterioration of the unity of the community over time.

The identification of the community as the group of workers (S29, S18) is telling of a certain difference and distance, which could be the foundation of a social chiasm based, reproduced and enacted through work divisions. The existence of two separate camps and distinct educational facilities (Int. 2) suggested a work and social distinction enabled through the use
of space. By acknowledging the overall perception that “the director of SPCC is the director of SPCC, and the managers too but the worker is simply the worker” (Int. 2), the informant suggested that work positions are the basis for deep, transversal separations. Similarly, by suggesting that “a group” within the community is source of negative comments about the corporation (Int. 2), the informant acknowledged that there is a foundation of this social discontent among workers by saying that “we are doing things wrong so that people also speak ill of us” (Int. 2). Therefore, the community in Villa Botiflaca is composed of a variety of professional profiles which is likely to be the source of divisions and internal fissures.

Several definitions of the community seem to coexist in Villa Botiflaca, and while local pre-existing settlements are referred as the external communities, a hierarchy is imposed to them by their location to Mina Cuajone. Inwards, the mining community is arguably a heterogeneous professional group who either may affirm they belong to a wider, cohesive family or may recognise the social divisions enacted through professional and spatial relations.

**2.2.2 Responsibility**

As suggested by Eweje (2006), social responsibility often adopts the form of the provision of benefits and services to neighbouring communities which follow a process of diagnosis and socialization among members of local settlements neighbouring the mine (Int. 2). Local needs determined the variety of services provided (Int. 2) such as water infrastructure projects in Huayturi (Int. 2) which seems to be a small, impoverished isolated village (Planagumá, 2015). It was also mentioned the existence of internship opportunities to include young, unskilled labour in the expansion of operations in Mina Toquepala and Mina Cuajone as well as a scholarship programme that allowed community members to receive a formal, technical education in local universities (Int. 2). However, detailed information was not timely disclosed either about the projects, Huayturi, baseline studies, or socialization reports.

Although mining is detrimental to established rural communities in northern Peru (Bury, 2004), mining projects in the south of the country often take place in remote areas where remotely located human settlements present precarious living conditions (Int. 3). It was suggested by the mining expert that the incorporation of community members as unskilled labour and the provision of basic services such as road and water infrastructure are common practices in the mining sector to help these communities out of inactivity and oblivion (Int. 3). In words of the informed participant, in these areas “the state is delegating its functions to
different mining corporations” (Int. 2). These affirmations seem in line with the interpretation of the role of the neoliberal state in the new wave of accelerated resource extraction in the region (Svampa, 2013) (Arboleda, 2015) as well as with the increased preoccupation of corporations for issues beyond their business (Porter & Kramer, 2006). For the case of Huayturi, the corporation has adopted a role of replacing the state in service provision though the dotation of water infrastructure, the finance of superior studies, and the creation of labour opportunities. Moreover, it was suggested that neighbouring communities have often assimilated this new role of the corporation as the state, which was visible as communities directed demands and claims to the corporation and not government institutions (Int. 2).

The assumed role of the corporation as the state presented visible limitations in the exclusion of communities as beneficiaries of quasi-urban services provided in Villa Botiflaca and other camps (Int. 2). When asking for the possibility of incorporating children as students in the schools of Villa Botiflaca, the informed participant replied negatively, and further added that this is also a problem with regard to the provision of the services of health (Int. 2). By adding that “when measured by social profitability, these kinds of actions are very positive” (Int. 2) the informed participant implied that increasing coverage of health and education services was reasonable because likely to generate indirect benefits for the corporation, therefore it was clear that the corporation acted as the state for their own interest and reputation more than for the guarantee of the right to water for neighbouring communities. This would allow to explain that although health services provided in Villa Botiflaca have a capacity greater than the population of workers, the hospital remained exclusive to the mine workers until recently and solely to the most urgent cases (Int. 2). A similar phenomenon was identified in educational services as it was argued that the schools were capable to receive more students than the current affluence (Int. 2). Therefore, social responsibility is likely to generate distorted perceptions on the role of the corporation and the state.

By evaluating the workers’ involvement in corporate decisions, a different identity problem deriving from the identification as a mining community would become palpable; i.e., Villa Botiflaca is a mining community as well as a group of employees. With the respect to the latter, it has been suggested that social responsibility also involved an enhanced, transversal employee participation in order to achieve good governance (Daugareilh, 2008). Furthermore, survey data suggested that the workers were usually excluded from corporate decisions, as approximately 60% of the interviewees responded that they do not participate in decisions, a rate that is slightly higher when considering the mine workers, of which 70%
affirmed not to participate. The mentioned channels for participation were related to work functions such as working in corporate plans and objectives, attending meetings, presenting progress reports, responding well in the workplace, and overall by fulfilling the duties of the job; all of which is likely to reflect a misconception of participation mechanisms, however a survey participant mentioned their participation was channelled “through the syndicate” (S22). The affirmation that “many workers do not agree with the policies really because they have not participated in them” (Int. 2) suggested that corporate participation mechanisms seem underdeveloped for the workers of Villa Botiflaca.

Despite this private system, exclusion from corporate decision-making has not translated into a disenchantment in the workers who seem to have various other reasons to work with SPCC. Many survey participants affirmed that the motives were professional and personal improvement and assuming new responsibilities (9 surveys), economic benefits and improvement and money (8 surveys), and corporate prestige and reputation by working in one of the main corporations in Latin America and internationally (6 surveys). Due to their historic inclination for capital-intensive processes of metal extraction (Becker, 1983) (Southern Peru Copper Corporation, 2015), learning about technology and the use of advanced machines were also main motivations for working at SPCC (5 surveys). Permanency and job security (5 surveys) as well as family development and creating opportunities for the family are also motives (5 surveys). Though solely a survey participant mentioned corporate responsibility as one of the factors (S31), lack of participation does not seem to affect workers’ motivations.

However, the informed participant suggested that lack of participation was the reflection of an outdated corporate structure. When discussing corporate policy-making it was affirmed that policies are usually decided upon in adaptive manner after the occurrence of an event, decisions are taken exclusively by corporate managers and then socialized and “brought down” to the workers (Int. 2). Although this was not explicitly recognized, it was perceivable that this lack of involvement seemed particularly discouraging for managers that have a middle range of authority (Int. 2). Moreover, it was noticeable that departments worked autonomously and separately, which affected the level of knowledge of intermediate managers about other areas within the same organisation (Int. 2). This corporate structure was likely to reflect a “generational gap” and “a vision out of date” (Int. 2) that would cause a lack of understanding between the policy makers’ assertions about reality and how to deal with social responsibility.
Neoliberal measures opened the space for corporations to take over welfare responsibilities, such as the provision of basic services and infrastructure, yet this provision is far from universal and is driven towards the achievement of corporate objectives of social responsibility and reputation. Villa Botiflaca is located in a remote, isolated area where the neighbouring community is excluded even from the basic provision of health and education in the camp, emphasising the importance of distinguishing corporate from societal goods and benefits.
Chapter 3:

Concluding Remarks

3.1 Epilogue

Following Becker’s (1983) analysis of the alignment between corporate interests and national intentions during the military regime, the history of corporate ventures such as SPCC is revealing of corporate motivations behind social responsibility. While advancements on the ‘doctrine of domicile’ seemed to justify early advancements on responsibility of transnational corporations in the Third World, this is a worn-out, antiquated concept still present in the minds of corporate managers (Int. 2). From its foundation, SPCC was interested in avoiding the replication of corporate mistakes by other companies such as Cerro de Pasco (Becker, 1983), therefore it was in SPCC’s best interests to behave differently through the creation of a strategy with the military state. The generation of benefits for the state and the recognition of SPCC as a socially responsible corporation seem tightly linked, hence allowing an affirmation that CSR was initially used for the creation of mutual benefits with the state.

Generations later, this model has been qualified as outdated and in desperate need of change (Int. 2); however, yet again, the recognition of the importance of this change relied exclusively on corporate interests. Corporate adaptation is likely to generate inner tensions within the corporation, which is visible when collecting reflections about conflicts in other locations. Recent violent encounters in Toquepala and Tia Maria involved SPCC and local populations, “where a camp was taken and our plants were destroyed” (Int. 2) and though corporate reputation was severely affected, the resolution of problems came by enforcement (Int. 2): “co-participatory workshops were done thanks to the fact that we were obliged to sit down and talk. We didn’t sit voluntarily, we were enforced”. Moreover, reflections on corporate management were spoken with a tone of discouragement as “we have serious problems of corruption, centrally, regionally, and so on” (Int. 2). In a time of conflicts, the time for evaluating corporate governance and transparency is arguably over as cracks within the corporation unforceably appeared. Corporate intentions of quieting down conflicts in communities that have “evolved through time” (Int. 2) and reached for “political groups and anti-mining groups that have a lot of resources, that are more interested in politics, and that
can be well articulated” (Int. 2) seem unlikely to achieve a perpetuation of the alliances with a neoliberal state.

3.2 Conclusion

Undertaking a research of the social processes inherent of a spatial configuration such as Villa Botiflaca would allow to understand this space as the interface that enabled the encounter and the interaction of the corporation and the community. The analysis of this apparently simple, binary relation generated complex response elements for identifying the community in Villa Botiflaca and the role of CSR.

While business conceptions about local communities argued for an identification of the community in neighbouring territories of the mining site, historical analyses of the mining community identified it within the mining settlement. By contrasting with evidence from the perceptions of mine workers and employees, these propositions were found to be incomplete as several communities could be identified both inside and outside of the camp.

Propositions on how to deal with local communities from a business perspective would acknowledge that local populations outside of the camp have cultural knowledge and expectations that would need to be considered when achieving social responsibility, however, this acknowledgement was found to be limitedly applicable to the case of Villa Botiflaca and neighbouring settlements, as evidence suggested, are imposed a hierarchy of local communities according to their distance to the mine and the impacts from mining exploitation.

Previous analyses of mining communities revealed the strong links created from a commonly shared belonging to a settlement, links that were impeded to develop as the mining camp would be dismantled whenever the corporation judged adequate. Villa Botiflaca has been functioning for several decades, moreover, evidence was provided to contrast this affirmation and prove that mining communities are heterogeneous human groups, and while some community members would celebrate the cohesive, united features of an extended family, others would reaffirm the existence of social disparities enacted through divisions of work and space within the mining community. Fragmentation of the labour force seemed to be a recurrent characteristic in previous experiences of urbanization in southern Peru, where violent anti-capitalist disturbances pushed for an appropriation of the workplace; however, generalization is not encouraged as contextual factors are often determinant of urbanization processes.
Mining camps serve the purpose to ensure the provision and organization of labour in neighbouring locations of the mining sites. In accordance, it was found that the mining camp of Villa Botiflaca was symbolically construed as residences are owned by the corporation and only provisionally lent to the mine workers, public space is arguably non-existent, and urban growth is denied by the possibility of replacing labour with technology. Mining camps are also a symbol of the division between communities in the inside and in the outside. Since the main objective was social responsibility objectives and reputation, health and education services were provided in a non-universal manner in the form of corporate benefits and were exclusively built for the use by employees, hence denying access to neighbouring local populations situated in a remote, isolated area of the country.

Critical advancements about the expansion of cities to extraction sites seemed partially applicable to the case of the mining camp in Villa Botiflaca. While experiences in southern Peru demonstrated that extraction sites reproduce marginalization and dispossession through informal settlements around the mining camp, a social chiasm and a fragmented labour force was found instead in Villa Botiflaca. Moreover, while theoretically this explosion of the urban over mining sites would also mean that the mining site is urban, materially, the construction of the city of Villa Botiflaca is only partial and its nature as a mining camp is persistent. Finally, evidence suggested that the recognition of urbanization as a process that opens spaces for contestation of capitalist dynamics is also partially true since corporations defend mining extraction despite local claims. It was found that the mining community in Villa Botiflaca defends mining and corporate interests in spite of surrounding social turbulence and environmental conflicts.

The mining expansion of Peru has pushed extraction sites to be located in remote, undiscovered areas where local populations value things differently and have different expectations of the erection of a mining industry. Villa Botiflaca is now located in a highly conflictual region, where violent episodes of confrontation have shown relations of corporate domination and power alliances with the state. Social responsibility seems to be an inherited characteristic of outdated corporate structures that enabled the negotiation of mutual benefits with military regimes and now reinforce pre-existing and renovated features of neoliberalism.
Appendices

Geography Ethics Screening Form
Risk Assessment
Risk Assessment Approval Communication
College Ethical Approval Letter
Research participants
Qualitative survey questionnaire
Guiding questionnaire for interviews
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