A golden future?
A qualitative field study performed in the Peruvian town Celendín about the local youth and the geopolitical event of mining.

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ABSTRACT
This study explores how young people in the Peruvian town Celendín experience the proposed mining project Conga. In order to understand the complexity of the geopolitical events of mining and how these give marks on a personal and local level, the geographical scale based on global and local perspectives was used. To achieve the objectives a qualitative field study was conducted during eight weeks in Celendín. Semi-structured interviews with ten young people living in Celendín were held to collect the empirical material. The young people’s worries and thoughts about the project were analysed and organised through the theoretical concepts of place and space and also through three different coping strategies. Some of the young people see possibilities with the project, others are worried and frustrated, due to their different ideas and meanings of the place Celendín. Different perspectives and interests between the state and the individual are also prominent. The study emphasises that what the global geopolitical event of mining project Conga is creating, i.e. an actual conflict, is truly affecting young people’s everyday life at a local level in the town of Celendín in one way or another.

Keywords: Mining, Conga project, Peru, coping strategies, place and space.

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RESUMEN
Este estudio explora cómo los jóvenes de la ciudad peruana de Celendín experimentan el proyecto minero Conga. Con el fin de comprender la complejidad de los acontecimientos geopolíticos de la minería y cómo estos dan marcas en un nivel personal y local, se utilizó la escala geográfica basada en las perspectivas globales y locales. Para lograr los objetivos se realizó un estudio cualitativo de campo durante ocho semanas en Celendín. Se realizaron entrevistas semi-estructuradas con diez jóvenes viviendo en Celendín para recoger el material empírico. Los preocupaciones y pensamientos de los jóvenes sobre el proyecto fueron analizados y organizados a través de los conceptos teóricos de lugar y espacio, y también a través de tres estrategias diferentes de afrontamiento. Mientras algunos de los jóvenes ven posibilidades con el proyecto minero, otros están preocupados y frustrados, dependiendo de sus diferentes ideas y significados del lugar Celendín. Las diferentes perspectivas e intereses entre el Estado y el individuo también son prominentes. El estudio enfatiza que lo que el acontecimiento geopolítico global del proyecto minero Conga está creando, por ejemplo, es un conflicto real, cual está afectando realmente la vida cotidiana de los jóvenes en un nivel local en la ciudad Celendín, en una forma u otra.

Palabras clave: Minería, el proyecto Conga, Perú, estrategias de afrontamiento, lugar y espacio.

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the United Nations (UN) millennium goals is to secure a sustainable development in the world. Some important steps on the road to reach this goal are to preserve water flows and also to lower the emissions of carbon dioxide and energy consumption (UN, 2013). The efforts and regulations made by UN intend to work towards a better world for as many as possible, not just today but also for coming generations. However, there are different opinions of how to proceed in order to get there. Some of the many challenges to reach this goal are the problems that occur in the exploitation and use of the resources of the Earth. Natural resource exploitation can on one hand lead to increased welfare and development, but may also result in pollution and degraded or even destroyed landscapes. This in turn can lead to conflicts and other complications for the people living in these areas. How to handle this and try to find solutions is a task for the politicians today, for example how natural resources should be used and who has the right of decisions over these. This type of politics can be referred to as geopolitics which is a term used for describing what impact geography have on political events and decisions. For example how the distribution of natural resources, like gas and mineral resources, as well as natural barriers, like rivers and bordering countries, affect the politics and therefore also the people of the world today (Dodds, 2007).

Mining is one of the world’s most lucrative natural resource extracting divisions and is an example of a complex geopolitical event. It is a sector where great profits can be obtained which leads to many interested actors, like governments, multinational companies and private investors. The worlds increasing demand for minerals opens up for economic development for countries rich in these, but at the same time it challenges environmental sustainability and livelihood in the local areas of extraction. There is often a great risk for social and environmental problems, like conflicts, contamination and threatening of livelihood of local population in the areas of mining (Hinojosa, 2007).

Peru is a country rich in natural resources such as minerals in the Peruvian Andes. The change to economic neoliberalism, from the early 1990s and onwards, has in combination with the entry of transnational mining companies made Peru one of South America’s leading exporters of minerals on the global market. Transnational companies have become one of the largest and most influential landowners in the country. One of Latin America’s largest mining projects, the Yanacocha gold mine, situated in northern Peru (Bury, 2004) generated over seven billion dollars during the mine’s first decades, and it is estimated to continue generating money (No dirty gold, Eartworks, 2013). The price of gold set by the global world market is continuing to increase and the GDP of Peru has strongly increased during the last couple of years, largely due to mineral exports (Embassy of Sweden, 2014). There have also been problems around the mine, mostly local problems concerning the water situation and the water shortage that has affected farmers in the area. Other serious problems are for example heavy contamination of the area and disputes concerning the economical profits from the mine and were those benefits go (Swedwatch, 2011).
There are now plans to expand the Yanacocha project so that it will be the biggest in Latin America, which implies that even more land and water will be needed. The proposed area for the new mine, which is called Conga, is located in the same area as water reservoirs that supply thousands of people with water. If the project is executed, it is assumed to affect five rivers, four mountain lakes and hundreds of hectares of wetland. One of the cities close to the proposed area for the expansion of the mine is the small Andean town Celendín. The town has during the latest years experienced many events related to the conflict around the project. There are regular demonstrations and strikes performed by different organisations, and 2012 three people got killed during violent clashes between the police and the citizens (Echave, Diez, 2013). The disagreements between the citizens, the authorities and the mining company are present in town and have created a conflict.

Is the Conga project a step in the right direction for the UN millennium goal for a sustainable development for the people and the Earth? In terms of future and potential development it is interesting to look in to young people and their lives, since they are the one that are of the most importance for future development and therefore form a strategic part of the population in these questions. What do they think about the Conga project; what hopes and worries do they have? What interests are prioritised on the way to the goal of sustainable development? If we look at the geographical scale: is it the local perspectives; a wish for a beautiful and safe place with opportunities to work and live? Or is it the global perspective with a goal to keep on the track of economical growth for the country and make progresses on the global neoliberal market?

1.1 Aim and objectives

The overall purpose of this thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of how global geopolitical events affects young people in their everyday lives at a local level. This study aims to explore how young people in Celendín experience the proposed mining project Conga. In order to understand the complexity of the geopolitical event of mining and how it gives marks on a personal level among the youth, the geographical scale based on global and local perspectives is used.

In order to fulfil the objectives the following guiding questions are used:

- How do local youth think that the Conga project affects Celendín?
- What are the young people in Celendín worried about concerning the Conga project and how do they cope with these worries?
- How can the young people’s perception about the Conga project be explained through the lens of geographical scales?

Conga is one of Peru’s most studied mining projects. Various environmental and social impact studies have been executed the last 14 years (Newmont, 2013). However, the local youth’s experience of the proposed mine has not been investigated (Sanchez Cuba, 2014-04-12). Generally, there is a lack of research about young people’s thoughts and feelings related to geopolitical events (Pain et al, 2010). This is how our study can contribute to the field. Further,
the thesis also has a wider purpose for us, the authors. Our background as engineering students makes it interesting for us to get an insight into how technology and society can affect each other. This field study of the proposed mining project will hopefully prepare us to become responsible and take social, cultural and environmental conditions into consideration in our profession as engineers.

1.2 Limitations
The study is based on narratives of youth in Celendín. The study is thus based on their subjective thoughts, perspectives and ideas. We are interested in understanding how young people perceive the situation. As a result, we have no ambition to value the received information in terms of “trustworthiness” in relation to facts about the actual situation. The empirical material essentially consists of personal narratives from semi-structured interviews with ten young persons, which implies the study is not representative of all young people living in the area or in the country. The study mostly focuses on the young people’s thoughts about the possible negative outcomes of the Conga project and the worries related to that. However, since both people for and against the Conga project are interviewed hopes around the project are also mentioned but the analyse focuses on the worries related to the project. Further it does not consider how other parts in the conflict, such as the involved companies or the government, think that the project could affect Celendín and its youth.

2. METHODOLOGY

In this section the process of selecting method, study area and informants is presented. The data collection through semi-structured interviews and our own impact of the study are also described. The section ends with an episode about how the analysed empirical findings are structured together with the theory.

2.1 Selection of method
To fulfil the objectives of this thesis, eight weeks of fieldwork were conducted in the Andes in Northern Peru during April through May 2014. The study was funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, SIDA, who also provided knowledge of field studies in the Global South. The main part of the study was conducted in Celendín, a town in the province of Celendín located about 50 kilometres from the proposed site for the mine Conga. Since the aim of the study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the life situation of the young people in the area and to understand and interpret the outcome, a qualitative research method was chosen. Cooper & Schindler (2011, p.163) argue that this is to prefer in studies based on people’s feelings and thoughts. Unlike a quantitative method, a qualitative method does not focus on numbers and statistical connections. Instead a qualitative method is focusing on behaviour and people’s ideas that cause their actions. In this way it is also possible to find thoughts and ideas
that are “hidden” and do not show in a quantitative research (Fraser, 2004). To operationalize a qualitative research method, we chose to conduct interviews and participatory observations.

The reason to conduct this kind of field study was that it gives the opportunity to meet and observe the studied people in their natural setting and everyday life. This gives a more holistic description of the situation (Mikkelsen, 2005). For the same reason we chose to live in the town of Celendín where the people of the study lives. We participated in different gatherings and meetings concerning the mine activities and people’s own interests. Meetings with non-political organizations like REDEESS (Red de Emprendedores Empresas Social Sustentable) and the umbrella organization PIC (Plataforma Interinstutucional Celendín) that comprising 40 associations and people involved in the activities against the Conga project was an important part of understanding the social aspects of the conflict and how some people in Celendín were organized in their everyday life.

Since we were studying an on-going conflict an extra dimension in terms of safety for the informants was added. We gave the option to be anonymous to all informants, however most of them wanted to publish their names the thesis. So as the wish from the informants, one of them is anonymous and the rest figure with full names in the list of informants.

2.2 Selection of study area
The geographical division of Peru is done so that the country is divided in regions, which in turn are divided in provinces. Cajamarca is the name of one of these regions and have a total of 1,380,000 inhabitants. The region of Cajamarca in turn, consists of 13 provinces, one of them also called Cajamarca, and the regional capital with 174,000 inhabitants is also called Cajamarca. Another province in the region of Cajamarca is called Celendín, and the capital in that province is named Celendín (Echave & Diez, 2013). This study took place in the town of Celendín and this is the town that we refer to by using the name Celendín in this thesis, if nothing else is stated. The province and city of Celendín is one of the places most affected by the conflict around the mine Conga, due to its geographical position, see figure 1.

Celendín, with 22,000 inhabitants (Echave & Diez, 2013), is home to various groups active in the field concerning the mine industry and its effects on the society and the people living there. The town is located a tree hour drive from the city of Cajamarca, a city heavily affected by the mine Yanachocha, one of the largest gold mines in the world. It has operated in the area for more than 20 years with reports of contamination, environmental destruction and poor working conditions (Swedwatch, 2011). The relationship between the company and the people in Cajamarca can be seen as a worst-case scenario in this type of natural resource extraction and there have been several violent confrontations between the population and the police (Arellano, 2008). Both the people we met in Lima and Celendín confirmed this statement. The people in Celendín have experienced the outcomes of Yanacocha from a distance but close enough to get an insight into what would possibly come for them if the Conga mine will be realised. This makes the area interesting for this thesis and therefore we decided to carry out the study in Celendín.
2.3 Selection of informants
Arguable, it is important to understand and empower young people in order to achieve a world that is developing to a more sustainable and better place. Therefore we wanted to focus on the young people of Celendín in order to understand their situation and thoughts about the future. We wanted to interview young people with different backgrounds, gender and with different opinions about the mine Conga in order to get a wide range of young people in the study. Through our contact person who is the leader PIC, who also has been active in youth movements on local and regional levels working for human rights, we got in contact with people to interview. Of those young people some were engaged in social and environmental issues regarding the proposed mine project. To avoid getting a too homogenous group of people to interview and also to get in contact with young people that were not a part of anti-mine movements, it was important to find other ways of contacting people. However, we started with conducting interviews with young people against the mine since it was easier for us to find this kind of people through our contact person. As the time went on, and we got more used to the area and got to know more and more people, we could finally get in touch with people in favour of the mine. We got in touch with these people through our landlord and some of our friends. It was however a bit harder than to get in touch with people against the mine because we felt that it was not as socially accepted to be in favour of the mine. It can also have to do with the fact that all informants, regardless opinion about the mine exploitation, believed that Conga would affect the environment in a bad way. But the people in favour of the mine stated that it is maybe necessary to sacrifice one land
area the nature in order to develop the area and the country. This kind of controversial statement can be hard to stand up for in public.

Ten interviews were carried out with four boys and six girls between 15 and 28 years old. Five of the informants were clearly against the mining project and five of them had a positive attitude to the project even if they additionally could see some possibly negative outcomes from the Conga project as well. The exact age of the interviewed persons was not considered significant in this study since a wide age range increased the possibilities to get a heterogeneous group of people with different experiences and thoughts about the mining project. We were also aware of the fact that the definition of young people differs a lot in different cultures, depending on cultural norms related to e.g. the ideal age of giving birth, getting a job and finishing school and hence wide ranging differences in terms of being considered young in different places in the world. However, drawing on the Peruvian law of youth, “La ley de juventud”, we considered all people between 15 - 29 years as young, and all the people we interviewed in Celendín falls within that range. The fact that the informants and we, the interviewers, belonged to the same generation may be seen as a positive effect since it reduced the socio-cultural distance between us.

2.4 Data collection
The empirical material in this study was essentially collected through semi-structured interviews. Further, five meetings and informal talks were held at Universidad Nacional de Ingenería in Lima and at Universidad Nacional de Trujillo in Trujillo. We got in contact with these universities through our home university in Sweden, Uppsala University, thanks to previous collaboration between these universities. These meetings gave us an understanding about the complexity of the situation with mining in Peru and provided us with knowledge about the situation. The material gained from these interviews are not presented or a part of this thesis. It functioned as broad background information about technical and political aspects that would have been hard to gain in field. These informal talks made it easier and faster to get in place and start the fieldwork when reaching Celendín.

In Celendín ten semi-structured interviews were carried out with young persons living in the town. A semi-structured interview means that it exists a previously prepared interview guide with themes and questions which however leaves space for the individuals to express their thoughts and ideas and make it possible for them to point out what they think is extra important (Saunders et al., 2009). A semi-structured interview is also flexible and the questions can be asked in another order than planned (Denscombe, 2007, p. 176). Our interview guide is attached in Appendix 3. By using this method during the interviews a dialog was developed between the participant and us. It was important that the interviewees felt that there was no right or wrong answer to any question. To ensure that the participants felt safe and calm during the interviews, they were conducted in a calm environment, in the homes of the participants or in the offices of their organizations, all depending on the choice of the participants. By coming to their homes for the individual interviews, we made an explicit effort to come to them, instead of having them
coming to us. In the beginning of the interview, the most important thing was to gain trust from the participant. We started the interviews by presenting ourselves and explaining our study objectives. We asked how much time the informant had for the interview and if he or she had some questions to us. All interviews with the young people in Celendín were prepared in the same way, regardless of the person being against or for the mine.

2.5 Our own impact on the study

All interviews were held in Spanish without interpreter. We command Spanish very well but are not totally fluent, which of course may have affected the results. It is conceivable that the interviewed persons used a simpler language and in that way limited the answers in some way. Sometimes the interviewed persons used some English words, maybe to make it easier for us or maybe because they wanted to practice their English. It is also possible that we missed some nuances in their answers because of language limitations. All interviews were recorded, with permissions by the informants, which facilitated the post-work of the collected material since it made it possible to repeat and go through difficult parts of the interviews as many times as needed.

We are aware of the importance of understanding as much as possible of what the informant states during an interview in order to process the material in a valid way. But even though we are not perfectly fluently in Spanish we found it better to make the interviews without interpreter because of the extra dimension of complexity it implies. With the presence of an interpreter the interview questions would have been needed to be translated three times in both directions; from Swedish, to English, to Spanish and back again. Since English is not the mother tongue of neither the interviewers nor the informants this might have affected the result and information might have been lost in the process. The social background of the interpreter as well as of the interviewers affects the psychological factors and thereby the behavioural factors of the interviewed person. This additional dimension needed to be taken into account, since if an interpreter is involved it does not only consider the spoken languages but also the cultural differences (Jentsch, 1998). Without interpreter the psychological factors are less present. It also prevented the scenario that a private conversation could be formed between the interpreter and the interviewed person leaving the interviewers outside, which according to Edwards, (1998, p. 201) is a significant risk associated to the use of interpreters. According to these arguments the study was carried out without an interpreter.

People’s interpretations of things often include their own biases. This is why it is also important to have an ethnographic approach in this kind of empirical field studies. An ethnographic approach entails that social structures and processes are conceptualized as embedded in wider social, cultural and historical contexts (Fife, 2005). The fact that we are two white visiting Western women, makes it important to reflect on potential effects and bias during interviews and when meeting people. It is possible that we would have gotten another treatment if we were two men, or if we were native Peruvians. The history of colonial empire and repression of Peruvian people by the Spanish and economic inequalities also have to be taken
into consideration. Power structures still remain from the history of colonialism and can affect meetings between people living in the area of the study and us because we are Europeans (Fife, 2005). We were very clear with describing our purpose of study and why we wanted to interview the informants. We felt that our informants assimilated to that information in a good way, and therefor we felt that they trusted us and did not put too much weight to the fact that we were from the western society. Some of the informants were also interested in the history and life in Sweden, which we told them about. The interest to learn about each other’s countries put the informant and us in a good mood and created a good atmosphere.

2.6 Analysis of empirical findings
The empirical findings in this study are presented interwoven with the analysis. This is because we found it easiest to process the material continuously with the theoretical framework. This was done in order to identify an interaction between the theories and the results. When the answers were analysed, the interviews were studied broad in the beginning. By doing so, similarities or dissimilarities could be found among the answers and be categorized and analysed in sub-groups. This preserves the important aspect of not getting to fixed by the perspectives in the theories, which could lead to that new aspect that do not necessarily fit in to the theoretical framework are lost. Based on the study’s objectives, the analysis is divided into three themes related to the project Conga: young people’s thoughts about Ceilindín, young people’s worries and young people’s perception about the project.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapter presents the theoretical framework used in this study. To answer the objectives of the study, relevant theories will be introduced in three sections. The first section describes the concept of geopolitics together with the geographical scale of global and everyday. To further explore how geopolitical events affect young people in their everyday lives at a local level, the concepts of place and space will be introduced in the second section of this chapter. These two concepts help to give a deeper understanding of the young people’s perception and are useful in the analysis of the different meanings and thoughts about Ceilindín and the Conga project. In order to get a tool that helps to understand how the participants handle the stress and worries derived from this project the third section will introduce the concept of coping.

3.1 Geopolitics and “everyday”
In order to understand the complexity of the geopolitical events of mining and how global geopolitical events give marks on a personal and local level, the use of the geographical scale of global and local is essential. Mentioned in the introduction, the intense natural resources extraction in the world today makes the importance of globalization, national boundaries and claims to sovereignty as pressing as ever. Therefore the term “geopolitics” is vital to understand. There is no easy definition of geopolitics since this is a wide term used for describing many
different occasions and events. However, briefly geopolitics can be understood as concept where politics, history and sociology is analysed in terms of geography. What impact does the geography have on political events and decisions? For example how the distribution of natural resources, like oil and mineral resources, as well as natural barriers, like mountain ridges and bordering countries, affect the politics of the world today. Not seldom, these subjects trigger conflicts between different actors like nation-states, companies and organizations, due to different interests (Dodds, 2007).

It is also important to keep in mind that geopolitics, even though it is often performed at a global level, highly affect the individual and should be seen as something experienced on a local and personal level (Pain et al, 2010). The state is often seen as the producer, administrator and ruler of geopolitics. However, geopolitical events like war, natural resource extraction and multinational economical agreements, most of all affect the inhabitants. This is why it is important to consider agents, companies and governments, at all scale, and last but not least the regular people and their everyday life (Hörschelmann, 2008). Pain et al (2010) look into how young people’s emotional geographies are affected by geopolitical events and changes. Their study explores how young people in different parts of the world navigate fears and hopes that can be seen as global and everyday and how the relationship between geopolitics and everyday emotional geographies looks like. With fears and hopes that can be seen as “global” Pain et al (2010) bring up events like terrorism, war, immigration and peace. These global fears and hopes can often be interconnected and linked to historical events, like colonialism. Fears and hopes related to “everyday” are racism, bullying, discrimination, employment, education, housing and health. There are also worries that can bee seen as both global and everyday depending on context and agent, for example environmental issues. Even though present geopolitical events affect young people’s worries, Pain et al (2010) state that personal experiences, or the experiences of friends or family, often affect their worries rather than more distant events that are more unlikely to happen. They also argue that emotions and worries can feed back in to wider politics, in terms of that these feelings can trigger a person to get political active. The assumption is that the state leads and people’s emotions follow, but also that the actions that these emotions trigger in turn can affect the politics (Pain et al, 2010).

As stated above Pain, et al (2010) stress the importance of connecting “everyday” with geopolitics and ground and locate geopolitical events. Our study aims to explore how a geopolitical event can affect young people in their everyday life. We want to investigate how a proposed geopolitical event; natural resource extraction in the form of mining, is affecting young people in their life. Just like Pain et al (2010) we want to connect geopolitics with “everyday” and ground geopolitical events at a local level. Geopolitical events can trigger different worries, which some of them can be categorised as global and some of them as local or everyday. The terms “global” and “everyday” will in this thesis be used to categorise worries that the young people have concerning project Conga.
3.2 Place and space

The geographical scale does not only consist of the levels of global and everyday. To further understand the lives of young people in Celendín and how it can be related to geographical levels the concepts of *place* and *space* will be used. These two concepts give a deeper understanding of the young people’s perception and is useful in the analyse of the different meanings and thought about Celendín. To define an area by using these two concepts is a way to try to understand why people have different thoughts about the same area (Tuan, 1979).

For human geographers, aspects of place and space are essential and are commonly used concepts within the field (Tuan, 1979). The two concepts are complex, but an attempt to define them in a simple way is to see space as something that refers to a location somewhere and place as the occupation and/or subjective experience of the same area. For example you could say that space is about having an address and place implies to live at that address. It is also stated that space in this sense is more general whereas place is more specific (Cloke & Johnston, 2005). The two concepts have a close connection to geographical scale were place is seen as the local and space is seen as the global (Helgesson, 2006).

Space can be seen as people’s spatial feelings and ideas combined with the tools we have to understand the world. The tools we have to understand the world are feelings, perceptions and concepts. The concept of space is constructed of how we perceive our own experiences, for example the spatial understanding of a woman on the street. But space can also be taught. For example few people have personal experiences of that France is bigger than Italy, that is something you are formally taught (Tuan, 1979). Space also alludes to the fact that a place requires a location somewhere. Space is the abstraction of places into a coordinate system as if an observer is looking down on the places that constitute it. This observer could for example be a state that operates on an area. Space can in this way be seen as something commanded or controlled, whereas place as mentioned before is something lived (Taylor, 1999).

Place is not only to be explained in the broader frame of space, but is also a reality to be understood from the perspectives of the people who gave it meaning. Place is a unique entity and has a history and meaning. Place incarnates the experience and objectives of people and have sometimes more substance than space (Tuan, 1979). Both place and space are connected to the same physical area, but are created by the user, which implies that an area can be seen both as place and space, depending on who is talking about it. They constantly interchange and neither space nor place can exist without the other. At the same time there can occur interest conflicts between the two (Cloke & Johnston, 2005). Actions at space-level can collide with actions on place-level. A state can for example make actions from a space context that does not benefit the place context. Related to the subject of this thesis we can see how natural resource extraction, like mining, can be beneficial at a space level but at the same time devastating at the place level. This conflict in interests of the two concepts can in turn generate concrete conflicts between people and truly affect people’s everyday life. The terms place and space will in this thesis be used to analyse the young people perceptions about the project Conga.
3.3 Coping strategies

The chapter 3.1 presented how worries can be categorized and considered global and everyday in nature. In order to analyse how worries that the young people in this study emphasise are affecting their lives, the theoretical tool coping is used. The psychological process in which a person struggles to manage psychological stress is called coping (Folkman & Lazarus, 1984). Folkman and Lazarus define coping as constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person (Folkman & Lazarus, 1984, p.141). According to this definition coping is process-oriented and the definition limits coping to conditions of psychological stress that are considered to extend the persons resources to handle events. By using the word manage, Folkman and Lazarus (1984) avoid equating coping with mastery, coping includes anything that the person does or thinks, regardless of the result. Climate change, social conflicts and economic crises are some of many factors that can trigger stress among young people. There are three common strategies of coping, which all are presented below.

Problem-focused coping concentrates on defining and confronting the problem by searching for information and possible solutions. This way of coping strategy takes form in direct action and also preparations to take direct action, for example to join organizations and work together towards a goal. Usually a problem solving approach focuses on the close surroundings to generate alternative solutions. A problem-focused approach can also have more of an inward focus, looking for solutions inside the person. One example of that is when a person changes one’s own behaviour in order to avoid what is causing the worries (Folkman & Lazarus, 1984). However, it can be hard to have a problem focused coping strategy for problems related to big social threats on a global scale because these problems seem more or less uncontrollable and “too big” to handle. If there is a feeling that nothing can be done, another type of coping strategy is more likely to occur, namely emotional-focused coping (Ojala, 2013).

Emotional-focused coping is about trying to find ways to deal with the negative emotions related to the worry instead of doing something about the basic problem. This can be done by distancing oneself from the negative emotion and avoid the problem. Avoidance is a common form of coping when the problem seems uncontrollable and is used with the purpose to defense oneself from the emotions that are creating the worries (Ojala, 2013). Other behaviours that are connected to the emotional-focused coping are minimization, distancing and wrestling positive values from the negative event (Folkman & Lazarus, 1984).

The third way to deal with environmental stress is called meaning-focused coping and this way of coping has been added to the coping strategies during recent years. Meaning-focused coping includes finding meaningfulness and benefits from the stressful situation, e.g. through spiritual beliefs or attempts to achieve individual goals (Folkman, 2008). It is a way of trying to see that you and what you are doing is important and meaningful. That in turn will give you calm and reduce your worry. Meaning-focused coping also implies a trust in societal actors, like scientist, technical solutions, politics and organisations. This way of using trust to handle worries therefore falls in to this coping strategy (Ojala, 2012).
How the young people are coping with their worries concerning the Conga project will be analysed through these three coping strategies in order to understand how the geopolitical event gives marks on a personal level among the local youth in Celendín.

4. THE MINING INDUSTRY IN PERU

In this section background information about Peru and the mining industry is presented. Peru is introduced and mapped in order to put the study in a geographical context and help to understand the following empirical chapter. Further the mining industry and related economical, social and environmental issues are described. The last part in this chapter will give a more detailed description of the history of mining in the area for this study, with focus on the Yanacocha mine.

4.1 Peru

Peru is the third biggest country in South America and borders to Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile. Spanish and the Indian languages Quecha and Aymara are the official languages. The population consists of 58% mestizos (a mix of Spanish and Indigenous heritage), 27% Indians, 5% Caucasian and 1,5% coloured. Peru thus has a rich mixture of cultures but is mainly characterized by Spanish and Indigenous influences. The inhabitants in the highland have strong indigenous traditions, while the population at the Peruvian coast has a stronger connection to Europe and Western culture. The educated elite at the coast sometimes see the Indigenous culture as underdeveloped and with influence of savage behaviour, which has led to a division between the two cultures. The state schools are free but the standard is low, especially on the countryside where the absence of schools, educated teachers, and schoolbooks is noticeable. Social inequalities and income differences are high, but the amount of poor people has decreased significantly after the turn of the century, as a result of the government’s measures (UI, 2012). However, 2012 it was estimated that more than 25% of the population lives below the poverty level (CIA, 2014). The current president Ollanta Humala, elected in 2011, and his administration is considered left orientated. The next national elections will take place in 2016. The freedom of the press is declared in national constitution but is not respected in practice. Violence against journalists is common and every year over hundred cases of violation against the law about freedom of the press are reported (UI, 2012). The corruption in the country is extensive and on the Corruption Perceptions Index Scale created by Transparency International, Peru scores in the middle which indicates that the corruption is fairly high in the political and the public sector, such as police, education, healthcare systems and business with the industry (Transparency International, 2013).

4.2 Modern history of the mining industry in Peru

Since 1990 Peru has been transformed into one of Latin Americas most neo liberal states. Previous president Alberto Fujimori’s administration introduced a wide range of privatization programmes to open up for international investors and companies. Until then, most of the
mineral market was dominated by national firms and interests, but after that powerful international actors entered the market (Bury, 2004). Peru has since then experienced rapid economic growth, a large extent due to the mining boom in the country. Minerals account for almost 60% of the exports from Peru and it is a sector predicted to grow further (Bebbington, 2009). With its neo liberal politics and the statement from the Ministry of Energy and Mines that mining today is the agenda for national development, Peru has attracted many multinational companies the last years and has become a global centre of mining expansion (Swedwatch, 2011).

Today the active mining covers 11% of the country’s area and almost 90% of that land was claimed through concessions. Due to this, Peru has also experienced a rise in social conflicts around the sites for the mines. In 2007 the country had 78 recorded conflicts of which 37 were related to socio-environmental concerns and 33 related to mines. 2009 there was 250 recorded conflicts, where 125 were related to socio economic issues and 89 related to mining, according to the Peruvian Ombudsman's office (Bebbington, 2009). Concerns about livelihood security, water supply, environmental problems and the unequal distribution of the profits from the mines are some of the issues that cause the conflicts (Bebbington & Williams, 2008). The way in which concessions are distributed is cause for conflicts. Most of the concessions have been done without consulting the local population even though Peru has signed the International Labour Organization Convention 169, which says that the right of indigenous people is prioritized and that they should always be informed and consulted before resettlement from their land (Bebbington, 2009).

Other controversies related to mining are environmental problems that can occur. There are examples from mining where whole ecosystems have been destroyed, species eradicated and people poisoned (Bebbington & Williams, 2008). However, the biggest issue is usually the access to clean water. Today 29% of the population in Peru have no access to piped water and many of the rivers used for water supply are contaminated by the mine activity in the country. Since the majority of the population in the areas for mining usually are farmers this heavily affect their livelihoods and opportunities to provide for themselves. This leads to migration from the countryside into the cities, which in turn experience rising problems with poverty. Another problem is the relation between the mining companies and the population. The facts from the two parts often differs a lot when it comes to reports about water quality and work conditions. Even today when the companies promise to use the most modern and best techniques available, they are met with great scepticism due to the dark history of mining in the country (Bebbington, 2009).

To further understand the complexity of natural resource extraction it is also important to consider political organization. The nature of the political system in a country impacts how the state manages their natural resources. The state of Peru is heavily centralized to Lima where a majority of the country’s industrial production, commercial activity and private investments take place. This centralization of the Peruvian state conflicts with the country’s disposition of natural resources and cultural diversity (Arellano-Yanguas, 2008). For example the areas richest in
natural resources are also the poorest areas in terms of capital and investments. Rural areas of the Andes and some parts of the Amazon, where most of the mining activities take place, are among the poorest areas in the country, still experiencing increasing poverty. For example, the department of Cajamarca, where the Yanacocha gold mine is located, has a poverty level at 64%. There is also a lack of representation of the population’s interest in all levels of politics and corruption is a big problem (Arellano-Yanguas, 2008).

4.3 The mine Yanacocha
The region of Cajamarca hosts many of the country’s mines. The region is the second largest receiver of the total investments in the mining industry in the country, see figure 2. The Yanacocha mine is one of the mines located in Cajamarca. Yanacocha is one of the largest gold mines in Latin America and is a transnational joint venture between the Canadian-American company Newmont (51%), the Peruvian company Minas Buenaventura (44%) and International Financial Corporation, IFC, (5%), which is a part of the World Bank (Swedwatch, 2011). Newmont is one of the largest gold companies in the world and is also one of the lowest cost producers of gold in the world (Bury, 2004). Mining in Yanacocha begun in 1993 and consists of 13 open casts at the elevation between 3500 and 4100 meters (Aralenno, 2008). Yanacocha was the first large foreign investment in the country since 1976 and was supposed to be a pilot project for the “new way of mining” (Bury, 2004). The owners argued that the participation of the IFC would warrant good practice and good work condition (Aralenno, 2008). In 2010 the mine produced 46,7 tonnes of gold and with its calculated lifespan of 30 years, it is estimated to produce 155,5 tonnes more (Swedwatch, 2011).
Yanacocha has had a profound impact on the region, with almost 10,000 people working in the mine. Services related to the mine, like healthcare and restaurants, have also employed numerous people. In terms of production, the mine stood for 40% of the regional GDP in 2006 and the activity has turned the area into an economic important place. In 2005, the owners of Yanacocha donated 23.4 million dollars for community projects and have promised to give another 45 million dollars (Aralenno, 2008). However, there have also been a lot of problems in the area due to the mine activity. Ever since the mine started, there have been conflicts between the population and the companies, mostly concerning the water situation and the water shortage that has afflicted the farmers in the area. The mining project is allowed by the state to use 570 litres of water every second for their activities, and the site is located in the head water area of four important rivers. In the province of Cajamarca, almost 70% of the population are farmers and many of them have witnessed water contamination and water shortage. Many farmers have been forced with violence and threats to sell their land for a small amount of money and without land.
and work they are forced to move to the city to find a job (Bebbington & Bury, 2009). The city of Cajamarca has also experienced an increasing rate of crimes such as robberies and prostitution. Other serious problems concerning ethics and environment around the mine is for example the case of a big mercury spill in the year of 2000 in the town of Choropampa, poisoning over 1000 people (No dirty gold, Eartworks, 2013). The region of Cajamarca is still one of the poorest in the country, even though the mine has operated in the area for more than 20 years. It is also stated that the poverty has increased since the mine started. The company claims that the increased poverty has nothing to do with their way carrying out their activities. Instead they argue and that it is the local authorities’ way of handling money in an ineffective way that is the problem. There has also been critique of the police and the local government. During manifestations against the mine, the protesters have been met with strong police violence. The Yanacocha companies pays the police in order to get their protection and many policemen work for the company during their free time to earn more money, which makes the role of the police questionable (Swedwatch, 2011).

5. YOUNG PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES OF THE CONGA PROJECT

In this chapter the empirical findings from the field study are presented and analysed. The chapter is divided in to five main themes. The first part gives a description of the conflict around the Conga project and chronological resume of the development of the conflict. The second part concerns how the young people describe their town Celendin and how they believe the town would be affected if the Conga project will be realised. The third part concerns the analysis of how the geopolitical event of mining can be related to young people’s worries at a global and everyday scale. The fourth part describes the young people’s way of handling these worries, based on the concepts of coping. The fifth and last part uses the concept of place and space, which are described in the theoretical framework, in order to understand the young people’s thoughts about the project Conga and why they have that perception. Different geographical perspectives and the dependency between the two concepts are defined to further analyse the created conflict. Once again we would like to state that the study is based on young people’s subjective thoughts and all following chapters except the first is based on the young people’s narratives. We do not analyse the received information in terms of “trustworthiness” in relation to facts about the actual situation.

5.1 The mining project Conga and its associated conflict
The mining project Conga is an expansion of the Yanacocha mine, located about 75 km northeast of the city of Cajamarca (Conga, June 2013). The mine has an estimated gold reserve of 190 tonnes and extraction is scheduled to commence in 2014 (Swedwatch 2011). The project has a leasing at 40,000 hectares of land and will affect more than 30,000 people in over 200 communities, in terms of water issues, changing landscape and economical redistribution (United Press International, 2013). The area is considered a “fragile ecosystem” according to Peruvian
law. The head water areas of five major river basins, fragile wetlands and more than 600 springs used by the local communities are located within the project area. There are many concerns about how this will affect the environment and people living in the area. The Environmental Impact Assessment, EIA, presented by the directorate of the project has been strongly criticized. For example, it consists of 9000 pages and most of the information is presented in a way hard for public or regulators to understand and the trustworthiness of the information has been questioned by the project’s adversaries. This has led to that the project has met massive protests and created a conflict (Moran, 2013). Various manifestations and strikes continuously take place in the area, see figure 3.

![Manifestation in Celendín, 2014-04-22](image)

*Figure 3, Manifestation in Celendín, 2014-04-22, Source: Photo taken by the authors.*

The first phase of the Conga conflict was related to the process and treatment of the EIA. The document was delivered in February 2010 and approved by the Ministry of Energy and Mines in October the same year. The EIA was criticised by the project’s adversaries and the EIA was reviewed and reformulated by their request (Echave, Diez, 2013).

In the end of October 2011 there was a march to the lagoons, prospected for the Conga project, performed with the participation of two to three thousand people from the concerned districts. The people showed their refusal and the assembly resulted in an eight-day ultimatum to
Newmont to withdraw their machinery (Echave, Diez, 2013). Due to the protests the construction of the project was suspended in November 2011 (Newmont, 2013). As a response to the mining project another mobilization in form of a march, the National March for the Defence of Water and Life, was carried out. The march, advertised by radio and social networks, took off from the lagoons the 1st of February 2012 and arrived to Lima the 9th. The march received adherence and support from organizations around the country and completed with a national forum in Lima about water, development and mining in Peru (Echave, Diez, 2013). In a public message in the end of June 2012, President Humala said that the Government was going ahead with the Conga project if the water supply is guaranteed and complied with the recommendations made by international experts. The presidential announcement generated a wave of protests and communications, resulting in several demonstrations and marches against the project in various parts of the country (Echave, Diez, 2013).

On the third of July 2012 confrontations and mobilizations evolved in Celendín, Bambamarca and Cajamarca. Several leaders were arrested and state of emergency was declared in the three provinces. The escalation of the conflict resulted in five deaths and various injured (Echave, Diez, 2013). In the city of Celendín three people got killed, including one 17 years old boy, and over thirty people got wounded because of the clash between the protesters, the Army forces and the National Police (La Republica, 2012). During the state of emergency, various marches and demonstrations were developed in solidarity with the opponents to the project Conga. On July 20th and 21st, series of events and protests occurred in front of the embassies of Peru and also in Brussels, New York and Stockholm (Echave, Diez, 2013). Currently, Newmont is taking a slower, “water first” approach. The construction on the first water reservoir, Chailhuagon, was completed in May 2013. Moreover a camp construction with 2.300 bed capacity to support the reservoir construction workforce is completed (Newmont, 2013).

When we have talked to the young people in Celendín about the conflict, the term La lucha has been used by the anti-Conga youth when they referred to their struggle against the mining companies and the authorities. “Lucha” is the Spanish word for fight or struggle and in the thesis we chose to use the Spanish translation because it indicates more than a fight when the people use it. La lucha is a fight for their rights to their land and water but also a form of fellowship. To be a luchador or luchadora is a part of their identity. One can be active in la lucha in many ways and from different places, for example by supporting in relief committee from another country or other cities in Peru. The youth that was not a part of the struggle referred to it as a conflict instead of using the term la lucha. In the discussions about the conflict informants have also used “Lima” as a concept referring to their thoughts about peoples attitude in Lima, the centralized political system with its base in Lima and also other juridical apparatus that they feel all have the perspective of the “elite” at the coast. When referred to “Lima” in this thesis, it is not always the physical city that we have in mind, rather the broader meaning that the youth refers to.
5.2 The place Celendín – what the youth think about their town

In this part the local youth’s views of Celendín as a place to live in and work in are retold. The first section tells how the young people described Celendín. The second part describes how the young people thought that their town would be affected if the Conga project realises, first from the view of the young in favour of the mine and thereafter from the view of the young against the mine. These chapters introduce the area from the eyes of the young and also start mapping possible changes of the city due to the Conga project that the young people are concerned about. These thoughts will be analysed further in the chapters about Worries and Coping.

Young voices describing Celendín

All our participants described Celendín, known as “El cielo azul del Eden” (the blue heaven of Eden), as a very calm and beautiful place. They were all very proud of Celendín’s characteristics; the production of natural chocolate, diary production and the hat foundation. They also portrayed Celendín as an inexpensive place where one can live without spending a lot of money. A town where the inhabitants help and take care of each other and welcome foreigners with open arms. Some of the informants meant that the city nowadays is very united due to la lucha. Others meant that Celendín’s people have been divided in pro-Conga and anti-Conga because of the conflict.

Seven out of ten informants mentioned the lack of work opportunities in Celendín today. One informant said that he always has enjoyed to live in Celendín but to be able to grow professionally and economically he felt that he has to move. He and one other participant, both studying engineering, told us that if they took a job as an engineer in Celendín they believed the salary would be much lower than if they worked in another place. One girl raised in Celendín is currently studying Medical Techniques and when she graduates she believes that she will need to search for jobs outside of Celendín. She thinks that she will be forced to go to Cajamarca or further away because of the lack of work even though she most of all want to stay and work in Celendín. Two of the young men expressed plans to start their own business, one in the car manufacturing and one in the field of land use and risk analyses. They believed that this would contribute to develop Celendín, and also create new types of work opportunities for the people living there. Many of the other informants stated that education and healthcare were important things that would make Celendín grow and develop. The informants that were born and raised in Celendín and had parents from the area all wanted to build their lives there, mostly because they wanted to live close to their families. The majority did however not think that this was possible due to the current labour market. The three youth that had moved to Celendín for studies, together with their families or alone, did not express any special town or place where they wanted to live in the future. Where the wind takes me or a peaceful place is where they said they dreamed to live.
Youth thoughts about how Celendín would get affected by the Conga project

When we talked about Celendín and what the informants believed would happen in the area due to Conga, they had a lot of different ideas and worries. One of the informants stated that the project is already affecting the town in terms of the actual conflict.

Some of the informants saw opportunities for the city. Half of the informants believed that Celendín would develop and get benefits if the Conga project would be fulfilled. These are the same that are in favour of the mine. They meant that this would create jobs, both in the mine and services around the mine like hotels, restaurants and health services, which imply that more people would move to the area. The lack of services like specialized hospital and a wider range of banks and juridical institutions was something they believed would change if the project realises. During the eight-week field study we conducted in Celendín, the one and only ATM was broken and no one knew when it was going to be fixed. This would never happen if the Conga project realises one of them said. Four of these informants in favour of the project said that Celendín has been developed to a great extent during the last ten years. Before the plans for the project were presented, business activities were low in the area, but now they are moving forward. The four informants believed that this was thanks to the planned mining industry. When the plans of Conga were spread many project started, for example the road between Cajamarca and Celendín was expanded. Two of those informants in favour of the mine are planning to study Engineering and if Conga accomplishes they will have a chance to work there, which they would liked to do. One girl hoped that the University would expand and get more departments during the years to come thanks to the project. This could make it possible for her and her family to stay in Celendín even when it is time for her daughter to start her university studies.

Among the informants against the mine there were also ideas about how the project would affect Celendín. Three of them believed that Conga would destroy the environment and Celendín to that extend that there would be fewer jobs in the area than now. Two other informants believed that even if the mining project would create jobs, the mining company would bring their own workforce and the jobs would thereby not go to Celendínian people. One informant believed there would be enough work opportunity even without the mine. Some of these informants believed that they would have to move from Celendín if the Conga project fulfils. One girl, that also is a mother, expressed that even though she loves her village and even though it would hurt, she would have to move if Conga realises. She said that she could not stand to see her home getting destroyed. She said that as a mother she wants her son to grow up without getting sick due to pollutions and contamination.

Two of the informants declared that the Internet communications in Celendín is poor. There are a few Internet cafés in the town of Celendín, but Wi-Fi-areas are hard to find and Internet in the households are uncommon. They did both complain on how slow the Internet connection was. One of them told us that the Spanish broadband and telecommunications company; Telefónica, has been visiting Celendín to see over the connection. He said that the company thought about making the connections wider and faster but that this only would be prioritized if Conga realises. He also said that they had even been promised this, but only if they accepted the
mining project. He felt irritated that the authorities tried to bribe them so that they would be more positive about the project and all it could bring to the area.

5.3 The young people’s worries

The informants in this study emphasized worries of different scale and size regarding the Conga project. General worries that were over all stated were concerns related to the growth of Celendín due to this project. Growth is usually associated with hopes, for example hopes about economical benefits, but there are also worries around potential growth, and that is what we focus on in this thesis.

One of the aims with this thesis is to connect global geopolitics with local everyday life. The terms “global” and “everyday” will be used to define and structure the general worries that the young people in Celendín have regarding to the project Conga in order to ground the geopolitical event of mining at a local level. Below, global and everyday worries related to the project Conga are presented. Global worries that the youth stated are divided in worries regarding corruption, the Peruvian soul, economical development and the environment. Everyday worries that they expressed were worries regarding water, the environment, social problems, job and family, which are all described more in detail below.

Global worries

With fears and hopes related to geopolitical events, that can be seen as “global”, Pain et al (2010) bring up events like war, immigration and peace. In our study we could see that the geopolitical event of mining triggers different worries among the youth and some of the worries regarding Peru’s future development that were brought can be seen as global. Peru as a nation-state in the global world performs and cooperates with other nation-states, economical and political strategically, in order to develop. All informants stated that the development and future of the state Peru most of all is dependent on how well the politicians performed. Not many of them believed that the politicians would make a good job and they feared that the corruption, which is a major problem in Peru, would be an even worse and bigger problem in the future. They believed that the money from the project would trigger more corruption since the politicians are hungry and greedy and always want more.

One of the girls stated that Peru would lose its soul if Conga realises. She explained it as more and more transnational companies would enter Peru, take what they want and destroy the land, without anyone saying anything about it. Peru as an actor in the global world would lose its authority and respect. She was afraid that it would break down the culture and the pride of the country. That people would not stand up for their country and keep the Peruvian history and soul. One other girl brought up similar ideas and said that this could be seen as when the Spaniards came and colonised the country; Solamente quieren nuestro oro y no les importa el resto, y la gente que compra este oro no sabe de donde viene o lo que ha causado. (“They just want our gold and do not care about anything else, and then the people that buy the gold have no idea where it comes from and what it has caused.”) She claimed that the mining destroys many ecosystems and damages landscapes all over the world. She felt sorry for the people working
with mine extraction because of the toxic environment that they are exposed to and for the people that are forced to move since the mines want their land. She felt desperate because this is happening in vain. As Pain et al (2010) discuss in their study, global worries are often related to history and reflected by people in terms of earlier experiences. This is an example of how these two young girls feel worried about issues on a global level and how they relate these worries to their history and feelings about that.

The young people that we interviewed that were against the Conga project were all worried about the governments’ way of thinking around economical development. They meant that the mining project for Peru is a short-term thinking of generating money as a nation-state at the global arena. They were worried that the economical profit would be prioritised over the environment. That the mine would destroy the environment and thereby also destroy future possibilities of other industries in the area which would be a more long-term way of thinking about the country’s possibilities for economical development. One young man said that Conga would generate money today but that they would need to pay for it tomorrow; *Pan para hoy - hambre, muerte, destrucción para mañana para las futuras generaciones, (“Bread for today - hunger, death, destruction tomorrow for the future generations”)*

Two of the boys told us that the cost of taking care of the destroyed landscape and soil would be as costly as the generated income from the mine. Therefore the region would go plus minus zero with this project. Also the informants in favour of the mine believed that if Conga is realised it would destroy the environment. However, some of them expressed it as the environmental effects were “a necessary evil” if the country wants to develop. The anti-mine informants were worried about the environmental effects, although mostly in their area, which will be described under 5.3.2 “Everyday worries”, but they were also worried about the environment on a global level. Three of them stated that environmental problems are very grave in many places of the world and that it is a global problem. They stressed that we today use the resources of the Earth in a non-sustainable way. For example, one of the boys told us about 20 present mining projects with name and corresponding mining company in the region of Cajamarca and summarized all mining projects in the region to a quantity of 55. He stated that it appears equal projects in other regions in Peru and furthermore in other counties and he questioned the sustainability in that. He opined that the people and the governments should take responsibility and start to value the nature and respect our planet. Some of the young people’s worries around the environment related to the Conga project can therefore be categorised as global. According to the theoretical framework of this thesis, environmental worries can be seen as both global and everyday.

**Everyday worries**

Among the anti-mining informants the concerns for the water were definitely the strongest and most emotional issue regarding the proposed mining expansion. They referred to bad experiences from nearby villages with experiences of mining development. One participant told us that the region Hualgayoc, which borders to the region Celendín, is contaminated because of mining and that the population now has to get their water from plastic cisterns. Now he was worried that the
same would happen to Celendín. Some of the informants believed that there are good techniques for mineral extraction with less contamination, but that it is so expensive that the company would not consider investing in it. Further they did not trust the company’s promises about not contaminating the water. As Bebbington (2009) shows in his work, the people neither believe nor trust the information from the mining companies due to the dark history of mining in the area. One informant expressed a worry concerning the province’s water supply in another way than just the risk of contamination. He argued that there already today is a water shortage in the area. He said that even if the mining do not contaminate the water, they are going to use a lot of water for their activity. The households in Celendín do not have tap water all day and he questioned how the water would be enough if the town grows. Other worries about the environment at a local and everyday scale that were brought up concerned the vegetation and plants that they thought would be destroyed. They were worried that if the vegetation is destroyed that would cause serious problems for other industries like agriculture and tourism. These worries are related to environmental worries on a local and everyday level. In combination with the environmental worries brought up under global worries, this shows how environmental worries can be both global and everyday.

50% of the informants felt sure that if the Conga project is realised it would bring social problems like prostitution and increase the level of crime, begging and poverty in Celendín. They argued that employees of transnational mining companies come with bad habits that they establish wherever they arrive and they were worried that this would bring social problems to Celendín. They referred to Cajamarca’s mining experiences that generated some negative development of the city, with more prostitution and increased poverty among the people as examples. One boy stated that even the authorities connected to the conflict caused bad things and gave the example of how the military, during the state of emergency 2012, abused young Celendínian girls, raped them and made them pregnant. Three of the informants mentioned that earlier there were no nightclubs in Celendín, now there are a couple. They were worried about it and they did not like what comes with it. All participants were concerned of the young people and their behaviour; teenagers that get drunk and beat each other up on the streets outside the clubs. Drugs in the area have also increased, they believed. A couple of years ago they never heard about drugs but now they thought that it is quite common. These young people are worried about what bad social effects the project Conga will bring. This is an example of how geopolitical event of mining is reflected in the young people’s sense of security and everyday worries.

As many young people around the world, the youth in Celendín worries about future job and career. Overall they stated that there are not many jobs in Celendín today, and especially not if you do not have an education. One of the anti-mining-informants had graduated with a master degree in Environmental Engineering. She wants to find a job that is developing and challenging, a job where she does not have to destroy the nature but will be able to earn enough to support herself and her parents. She said that if the Conga project realises, she was worried that it would lead to a conflict in her family. She meant that the majority of the employers that offer jobs for
environmental engineers cooperates with the mining companies in one or another way. Her siblings think that the mining companies offer good jobs that she should take, but she does not want to work in favour of the mining industry. She said that the mining industry attracts many environmental engineers, but their philosophy is not compatible with her beliefs. This once again illustrates how external and geopolitical decisions affect young people’s worries at a personalised and local level.

Half of the informants expressed a worry that the conflict would get tense again. They did not want to go through violent confrontations again, and they did not want to see more death, foremost they were scared that a family member would be wounded. One informant, lost a cousin in a manifestation, and was worried that someone from the mining company or the law enforcement would kill him or his mum because he is active in la lucha. Another boy also active in la lucha was filming how the polices beat and repressed the people on the streets during some manifestations. He was punished hard for this when he one time during the state of emergency got beaten up by five policemen so hard that he lost his consciousness. He was taken from Celendín to Cajamarca and on the way there he was threaten with a gun at his head by a police. Sometimes he still dreams about this moment and sometimes he wakes up with the noise of rifles ”Tatatataka” and the fear he felt during the period of state of emergency. One girl was worried that the conflict would get tense again and that it would harm her daughter. She emphasized that the intense part of the conflict 2012 was traumatic for all in Celendín but worse for the children. Her daughter got affected by the hard period. She got very worried and afraid of everything and did not want to go to school and therefore she had to go to a psychologist. The mother also felt very bad during the most tensed period the summer 2012 because she did not like to choose side in clashes and this made it really stressful for her. She said that she received notes written by the anti-mining people where they begged for support in la lucha and it made her feel pressed. All informants described the summer 2012 as horrible and very violent. Two of the girls that we interviewed are daughters to the owner of a radio station and they too are worried that the conflict would get intense again. The family is in favour of the mine and due to the radio station that sends from their house they were very vulnerable when the manifestation was as most intensive. The demonstrators threw stones at their house, crashed their window, infused gasoline and tried to burn the house down. All of these stories reinforce what Pain et al (2010) states in their study, that young people’s worries often is closely rooted in personal experiences, or the experiences of friends or family.

5.4 Strategies for coping with worries
The informant’s worries regarding the Conga project that are described above, affect them in their everyday life. The psychological process in which a person struggles to manage psychological stress is usually described with the term coping as stated in the theoretical framework. In this chapter the theoretical concepts of coping are used to show how the young people in Celendín handle their worries. The chapter is divided in to three parts, identifying problem-focused, meaning-focused and emotional-focused coping strategies that the informants
Organise and take direct actions – A problem-focused strategy

The most prominent worry among the anti-mine youth was that the Conga-mine would be realised. All worries that they expressed concerning the project were environmental and social worries which has led to this all-embracing worry among them. To manage this worry, problem-focused coping strategy was commonly used. Four of five anti-mine informants were part of an anti-mine association in order to prevent that the mining project would progress and since the Conga project, due to the narratives of these young people, officially is on ice they believed that the work of all the organizations against the mine actually is paying off. Through this participation they take direct action in different ways. They hoped that they could influence and make their voices heard in the politics. But as one of them stated; this would only work if they were organized and worked together, no one is heard alone. The fifth anti-mine informant is also using problem-focused coping but rather than taking direct actions, he was rather in the preparation of taking direct actions, which is also a part of the strategy as stated in the theoretical framework. This boy was the youngest informant and he said that he had a hard time trying to make his voice heard and to get people to take him seriously, which he believed was due to his age. He was still in high-school and he told us that right now he had to focus on his studies but when he finishes school he will be more engaged in la lucha. He was also planning on starting a group with his friends in school regarding the Conga project, which could be associated to PIC where his dad was active.

One boy founded a politically independent organization for young people who want to be engaged against the Conga project. He and one of the girls we met were active in this group and they work with the aim to spread information and enlighten people about the environment and mining industry. Since the most intensive parts of the conflict took place in 2012, they felt that it is important to show that they have not forgotten what happened and that they still struggle for their right to water. This boy and girl fairied that the government and mining company is waiting until it gets quiet enough, and then they will go on with the project again. They are worried that a great amount of people in Celendín has forgotten about the Conga conflict and they distress that Celendín’s inhabitants are not struggling hard enough. The problem-solving approach often includes an effort to define the problem. These informants had defined the passive population as a part of the problem and they work to solve that problem by taking direct action. They talked about the importance of working together and unite around the problem and they felt that it is important to get involved in la lucha.

One of the other interviewed girls identified the lack of alternative business as a problem. Therefore she was active in REDEESS that is an organization that works with different projects in the area, such as running a small fruit shop, arranging tourist activities and working with a solar water-heating project. Their purpose is to show people what they could do instead of working for the mine and prove that there exist sustainable and responsible ways of developing the area. This is once again an example of problem-focused strategy since she takes direct actions
in forms of devising alternatives to the planned mine that was worrying her.

Another boy, who is active in PIC, participates in manifestations and is active in social networks such as Twitter. The first pictures that reached the world from the 3rd of July 2012 were shot with his camera from the window in his room. This informant is the one who got beaten up by the police so that he lost his consciousness. Even though he is still active in la lucha he told us that he had stepped back a bit after the incidence. To avoid situations where he could get in trouble again, he tries not to get too exposed, for example by keeping a distance from the police when he is documenting manifestations. This way of changing behaviour to try to avoid what is causing the worry is an example of inward directed form of problem-focused coping.

**Avoidance and twist the negative feeling – An emotional-focused strategy**

Among the people that were worried that the conflict would become violent again, emotional-focused coping were used in forms of avoidance. Both the girl that felt pressed due to her neutral standpoint and the daughters of the radio station owner tried to live as normal as possible during this period, and nowadays they try not to think about that it could happen again. When we asked the young mother about the authorities and government in Peru she answered that she do not like to think of those things and that she used to avoid these kinds of topics. Avoiding is one of the main parts of emotion-focused coping. Avoidance is a common form of coping when the problem seems uncontrollable and is used with the purpose to defense oneself from the emotions that are creating the worries, and in that way feel better.

Another form of emotional-focused coping was used by one of the anti-mining informants. He tried to romanticize the tensed situation with the conflict by saying that Celendín thanks to la lucha had become more unified. He said that earlier the citizens mostly gathered at celebrations but now they meet more often and stays and talk when they meet on the streets. This has created friendship bounds between the people, which had made the area to a friendly place. The way that he twists and tries to find a positive outcome of an actually quite anxious state could be seen as emotional-focused coping. Through this view he protect himself for facing the more problematic and stressful truth.

**Finding trust in leaders and spiritual beliefs – A meaning-focused strategy**

The girl that is engaged in the organization for youth against Conga stated that she loved la lucha. She gets energy from it and she loved when there were gatherings and manifestations. Of all the people we interviewed she was one of the most dedicated in la lucha. She was also one of the people who had most personal experiences; she participated in the March of Water and had visited and fell in love with the lagoons. However, she had also experienced the dark side of la lucha since she had been beaten and arrested by the police. She also knew one of the young boys who got killed on July 3rd 2012 and she saw him dying after being hit by a bullet from a police helicopter. In one way her coping could be seen as problem-focused because she takes direct actions but in the same time she is also using meaning-focused coping. Her participation in manifestations is giving her positive emotions and is cheering her up. By being involved she gains self-confidence and she believes that she is important for la lucha and for her town. These
ways of trying to find meaningfulness in stressful situations are characteristics of meaning-focused coping.

The girl who mentioned before that she is afraid that there would be a conflict in her family if Conga realises since her family thinks that she should take a job at the mine, said that this situation is stressful for her. To handle this stress she prays to God that he should help her find tranquillity. This girl’s way of handling her problem falls in the category of meaning-focused coping strategy because she is focusing in her trust to God and puts trust in spiritual beliefs, in order to handle this stress and feel better.

Even though all informants were sure that the Conga project would bring environmental problems two of them were not concerned about it. They trusted the investigations and studies that stated that the project is viable and sustainable. Thanks to this trust in researchers and technique these girls manage and also master these worries. This way of trusting authorities and politics, putting trust in sources outside one self, is also a way of meaning-focused coping. Some of the anti-mining informants also used this way of meaning-focused coping since they trusted the leaders of the organizations that they were a part of. They felt that they could trust that the leaders would do everything they could to stop the Conga project, and they believed that if the leaders did so, the project would not be realised. Therefore they felt calm and handled some of their worries with this type of coping.

5.5 Defining Celendín through the concepts of place and space
As described in the theoretical framework, geography of places and humans can be explained and analysed through the concepts of place and space. Defining an area through these two concepts is a way to try to understand why people have different thoughts and ideas about the same area. In this chapter the concept of place and space is used to understand the young people’s thoughts about the project Conga and why they have that perception. It shows how the lives of young people in Celendín in this way can be related to geographical levels, such as the national context and global trends. First the different geographical perspectives of the state and the individual together with politics and corruption are described and analysed. The second part analyses how the information about Conga in media and the information about Conga through own experiences can create different meanings of place and space. The last section describes how the dependence between place and space implies that if there is a change in the meaning of place it results in a change of space.

Control by the state – politics, corruption and economic development
The next election on a regional and provincial level will take part in September 2014 and the coming election is apparent in the area. Several speeches and campaigns have been held during the latest months and many households have had their houses painted with political parties’ logotypes in exchange of money. Also the slogans of la lucha “Conga no va!” (No Conga) and “Agua si, oro no!” (Water yes, gold no!) could be seen on many buildings and walls. Some participants mentioned that the next election could be significant for the evolution of the Conga
project and thereby also for la lucha. At the same time some of the participants in this study felt that la lucha and the politics are something that should be separated. They meant that some politicians used the water-argument to gain support from the people but the water issue was not their true core question. All informants that were against Conga said that local authorities get bribes and only listen to the national government and the mining companies. Three of them expressed that they were deeply disappointed with president Humala who promised that water would be the most important question, and that he would not allow the Conga mining project to be realised if he got their votes. One of the informants told us that Humala came to Celendín on his election campaign and asked “What do you want? Water or gold?” The people yelled “Water” and he gained the people’s trust and votes. However, since he became the president in 2011 he has changed his opinion to “Water AND gold” and is now in favour of the mines. All informants except one think that the authorities promise things that they never keep. In our interviews we could see that the lack of confidence and trust for the government machine is prominent among the young people in Celendín. One of the ten informants trusted the government on a local and national scale, the other nine informants did not trust politics at any level in Peru. These nine thought corruption is the biggest social problem in Peru and they believed it is massive in all levels of politics and societal institutions. They felt that the government does not listen to the people or to what is best for the villages; they just want to earn money and put it in their own pocket. As one boy expressed it; politics is Peru’s Achilles’ heel.

This can be understood through the concepts of place and space. The state and legal system is functioning as observers and are operating on an area, trying to control it. However, the people, living and creating the meaning of this place, think that the government machine perform in a corrupt and a self-interested way. They feel that the government do not listen to the people and only want to use the people’s place for the governments own good. This show the importance of not only using place from the broader frame of space, but that it is also necessary to se place as a reality to be understood from the perspectives of the people who gave it meaning. If this perspective is ignored it can create an actual conflict, as in the case of the project Conga.

One of the participants said that people in the bigger cities like Lima believe that the people in Celendín just want all their resources by themselves and are against the mine because they do not like money. They do not want to develop and they do not care about the country’s economy and opportunity to develop. When in reality, according to the informants, the people of Celendín are against the mine because of concerns over how it could destroy the environment and water, which are recourses important for developing the area. This thought is also something that can be understood through the concept of place and space. All the participants meant that they sure believe in economic development, but all of them did not believe that the mine industry in Celendín is the right way. This is probably because people living in Celendín are more concerned about the everyday life in Celendín and they perceive that the authorities in Lima see Celendín from another perspective, from above, where the natural resources that could turn into economic gain is the primer thing they see. These different geographical scales and different views about an area’s use create a conflict. Lima’s interests in Celendín as a space collide with the
Celendínian people’s interests in Celendín as a place.

*Media and own experiences create different meaning of place and space*

One of the participants said that the National March for the Defence of Water and Life was very important and made some more people in the country realise and learn about the complex situation with mining in Peru. He still believed that most people in the country were against the people who are fighting against the mine companies, but he also believed that there is a minority that support them in their situation. However, some of the participants expressed their disappointment about how little attention the march got in media. Most of the informants felt that other Peruvians, not living in Celendín, look at Celendín as a town that is against development and that this is mostly because of how Celendín is portrayed in media. They said that the majority of newspapers and television channels are owned by pro-mining people and that TV and media rarely reports about what is happening in the area. When they do, they often portray the people in the conflict as terrorists and primitive Indians. They felt that they also write things about the Conga project that is not true. When there are manifestations against the mine, the people in Celendín are portrayed as hooligans and the possible outcomes of the project are described as only profits for the country and the people. Nothing is said about the possible contamination and destruction of the area and of the environment. One participant had personal experiences concerning this type of corruption when he got fired from the radio station he worked at because he had talked about possible problems around Conga and expressed that he was against the mine. The informant that told us that some households in Celendín only are supplied with water a couple of hours every day also reflected about the fact that the households in Lima have water supply all day. He and one other informant said that the people in Lima are living in a “bubble” and just because they have water all day in combination with the misinforming news, they think that there is water all day in Celendín as well. He said that not many people have been in Celendín, it is not the first place you go for vacation and therefore they have no idea what they are talking about. These false assumptions make the people in Lima not realise how important the water issues in the country are. Once again the different perspectives are prominent and the concepts of place and space can be used. As stated in the theoretical framework, space is either constructed of how we perceive our own experiences or is something that we been formally taught. Few of the informants think that many people in Lima have been in Celendín and perceived the information they have about Celendín through their own eyes. Instead the perception of Celendín and the issues around the Conga project is something that the people in Lima are formally taught trough reproduced information and media. Celendín for them is seen through the concept of space. The concept of space is not necessarily something associated with negative attributes, but since some of the young people in Celendín think that this concept of space is taught through information that is wrong, they feel that space is conflicting with their place. They are the people living and creating Celendín’s meaning on a local scale, which makes them see Celendín through the concept of place. These two different meanings of the areas as place *and* space create a conflict.
The dependence between place and space

The girl that we wrote about earlier, who believed that Peru would lose its soul if the Conga project realises, also mentioned things that can be related to the relation between place and space. She thought that if Conga realises, Peru would not be autonomous anymore: “No habría Perú, Perú ya está comprado por todos... no va a dejar a Perú un espacio Peruano, sino va a ser de otros países.” (“It would not be Peru, Peru would be bought by all...Peru would not be a Peruvian space, but a space for other countries”). This could be related to the spatial and temporal dimensions of place and space. The spatial and temporal aspects could be applied in order to illustrate the dimensions of how the entrance of transnational companies can affect a country and its population. She believed that if Conga realises, Peru would not exist anymore. The nation Peru with its traditions and characteristics would belong to the past. To open up for foreign investments and multinational companies is today the modern way of thinking about a country’s opportunity to progress and develop. But the informant feared that more and more transnational companies would enter Peru and Peru would just become an exploited space on a global scale and lose its soul on a local scale. This girl fears that if the Conga project realises maybe some of the bad consequences happens that some of the young people fear of. This would destroy the place Celendín and the meaning of that place. The destruction of the place would lead to a changed and hollowed space. Place and space are related and interchange with each other, which implies that a change in place would lead to a change in space. This girl’s thoughts about Peru’s soul can therefore be seen as if here place is destroyed, that will affect the space Peru as well.

6. CONCLUSION

The overall purpose of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of global geopolitical events and how it affects young people’s everyday lives. Through the examination of young people in the Peruvian town of Celendín and their thoughts and worries related to the mining project Conga, this can be explored. In order to understand the complexity of the geopolitical event of mining and how it gives marks on a personal level among the youth, the geographical scale based on global and local perspectives is used.

Young people feel worries about things in their life and common worries are about job, family and the environment. To what extent geopolitical events can be blamed for causing these worries is probably an issue of disagreement and is something that is a matter of discussions. However, this study emphasize that young people in Celendín feel worries around the geopolitical event of mining and that it is something that affect their life. This will be stated in this concluding chapter.

If we start at a local level on the geographical scale with the young people in Celendín, they all proudly described their town as a very calm and beautiful place with its characteristics of chocolate and diary production. It is a friendly place and also characterised by la lucha. However
the lack of work opportunities was also mentioned and was something that concerned them. All of the informants stated that they thought the Conga project would affect their town. One of the informants stated that the project is already affecting the town in terms of the actual conflict that it has created. The informants believed that if the project realises, it would make the town grow, which some felt hopes around due to the possibilities for more jobs and economical development. On the other hand, some felt worried about the project in terms of environmental problems and social implications of the project and the conflict. This implies that the project causes worries among the young people in Celendín and these mostly concern the actual conflict or the possible effects of the project.

These worries can be categorised by the idea of global and everyday, as stated in the theoretical framework of this thesis. We started this concluding chapter at the local level of the geographical scale. This scale is now expanded with the global level by using these concepts. Worries in our study that could be related to the global level were worries regarding corruption, the Peruvian soul, economical development and the environment. This since these worries concerns Peru as a nation-state and how it performs with other nation-states in a global world. Everyday worries that the young people expressed were worries regarding water, the environment, social problems, job and family. The young people described different ways of coping with these worries, coping strategies that we could identify based on theory of coping; Problem-focused, emotional-focused and meaning-focused. We could see that the anti-mine youth mainly used direct action (problem-focused) strategies to cope with their worries about that the projected would be realised. We also found that meaning-focused strategies were close connected to problem-focused strategies and almost interconnected in these cases. The way of organizing (problem-focused) created a positive value and sense of their own importance and trust in the organization’s leader (meaning-focused).

The connection between the concepts of global and everyday worries, and strategies of coping is also prominent in our study. There is a connection between the worries and the coping strategies that confirms the arguments that emotions and worries can feed back into wider politics as Pain et al (2010) discuss in their study. To get involved in organizations in order to cope with worries will hopefully affect the politics. In our case this can be seen through the people that are active in organizations against the mine and how this have contributed to that the project now officially is on ice. Worries on an everyday level affect the outcome on a global level trough the way of coping with that worry.

As we have seen, the conflict and the Conga project create worries in young people’s lives. This establishes that global geopolitical events do affect young people in their life in one way or another and that this can be understood through the geographical scale. Our study explains the effects on a local level i.e. an actual conflict, which the global geopolitical event of mining causes through the conflict between the concept of place and space. By using the concepts of place and space we found that different geographical perspectives used by the state and the individual together with corruption, are contributing factors of the effects of the outcome of the project Conga. The reproduced information about the project Conga in media and the
information about Conga through own experiences create different meanings of place and space which also contribute to this outcome of the project. Defining an area through these two concepts is a way to try to understand why people have different thoughts and ideas about the same area. Since an area can be understood both as place and space depending on who is talking about it, it implies that a conflict can be created through the different purpose of seeing Celendín as place and of seeing Celendín as space. This implies our conclusion that the actual conflict around the project Conga can be understood through the conflict between the concepts of place and space. It is also stated that some of the problems around the project can be understood trough what Bebbington (2009) shows in his work about people neither believing nor trusting the information from the mining industry due to the dark history of mining in Peru. In our study this is shown by the history around the mine Yanacocha. This study emphasise that what the global geopolitical event of the mining project Conga is creating, i.e. an actual conflict, is truly affecting young people’s everyday life at a local level in the town of Celendín.
REFERENCES


**Web pages**


APPENDIX 1

TABLE OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH YOUTH IN CELENDÍN

The interviews held in Celendín are shown in the table below. The table includes name and age of the interviewed persons together with the date of the interview.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age (years)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nilton Vargas Vásquez</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2014-04-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Héctor Jhon Hamilton Yachay Silva</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2014-04-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deyci Rojas</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2014-04-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge Jesus Chávez Ortiz</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2014-04-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Claudia Medina Vereau</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2014-04-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanna Jesus Medina Saldaña</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2014-04-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leydi Elizabeth Diaz Chávez</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2014-05-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leydi Carolina Diaz Chávez</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2014-05-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilton Livaque Chávez</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2014-05-08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2014-05-09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 2

TABLE OF MEETINGS

The table includes title and name and university or organization of the interviewed person and the date and town of the meeting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Walter Estrada, PhD, Principal Professor</td>
<td>Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería</td>
<td>Lima 2014-04-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulisis Humala</td>
<td>Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería</td>
<td>Lima 2014-04-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Ibarra Gonzalez</td>
<td>Former member government of Peru, department of economical development</td>
<td>Lima 2014-04-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo Aguilar, PhD, Lecturer</td>
<td>Universidad Nacional de Trujillo</td>
<td>Trujillo 2014-04-08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Vega Gonzalez</td>
<td>Universidad Nacional de Trujillo</td>
<td>Trujillo 2014-04-09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton Sanchez Cuba</td>
<td>Plataforma Interinstitucional Celendina</td>
<td>Celendín 2014-04-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3
INTERVIEW GUIDE

ABOUT THE PERSON
How old are you?
Where do you live?
How do you live? (With who...)
What occupation do you have?
What do your parent’s work with?
Do you have siblings?
   If yes: What are they doing?
Are you member in any organization?
   If no: Why not?
   If yes: Why did you chose that organization?
      What is the motive of the organization?
      How do you work to reach the objectives?
      What is your role?

THE PLACE
How long have you lived here?
How long have your family lived here?

Celendín
Can you describe Celendín?
What is good with Celendín?
What is not so good with Celendín?
Is there anything that Celendín miss?
Are you satisfied in Celendín?
How do you think that other Peruvians look at Celendín?
In Celendín, what industry or sector do you think should be invested in?
How do you look at your opportunities in Celendín?

Do you feel that you can make a different and influence at a political level in Celendín?
What do you think of the authorities and the government in Celendín?
Do you trust them?
   If no: Why not?
   If yes: How?

Peru
What do you think of the authorities and the government in Peru?
Do you trust them?
   If no: Why not?
   If yes: How?
Do you feel that you can influence the politics at a national level?
   If no: Why not?
   If yes: How?
What do you think of the mining industry in Peru in general?

THE CONFLICT
Could you describe the Conga conflict?
How do you keep updated about the situation?
What personal experience do you have from the conflict?
How do you think that the conflict will develop?
Do you think that there exists a solution to the conflict?

THE WELL-BEING OF THE PERSON
How would you describe yourself?
What do you think about your well-being?
Are you worried about anything in this moment? What?
Are you worried about anything in a longer-term? What?
If yes: What is your strategy to handle your preoccupation?

THE FUTURE
Do you think that the Conga Project will be fulfilled? Why?
   If yes: In what time period?
If the Conga project fulfils
   How could it affect your opportunities in the future?
   How would it affect Celendín?
   How would it affect Peru?
If the Conga project not fulfils;
   How could it affect your opportunities in the future?
   How would it affect Celendín?
   How would it affect Peru?

What is your dream job?
What occupation do you think that you are going to have in the future? (more realistic)
Where do you dream to live?
Where do you think you are going to live? (more realistic)


**Celendín**
How will Celendín be in 15 years?
How will Celendín be in 15 years?

**Peru**
How will Peru be in 15 years?