Affective Mining: The Emotional Narrative around Social Consent for the Corani Mining Project in Puno, Peru

by

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Dedication Page

This thesis is dedicated to three outstanding women for whom I only have gratitude and admiration:

To my mother, Pilar;

To my godmother, Soledad;

To my mentor and friend, Liisa.

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Abstract

In 2018, the Canadian Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) obtained from the local rural population the social license to operate (SLO) the Corani mining project in the Southern Peruvian region of Puno. This was a major achievement, given the history of negative perceptions about mining in the area and the background of socioenvironmental conflicts to large-scale mining projects in Peru. This research adopts the affective approach to explore the emotional content in the mining company's discourse to achieve the SLO. I argue that BCMC subtly yet effectively manipulates emotions as one of the main strategies contributing to securing the SLO. The findings show that BCMC invokes positive feelings such as self-esteem, pride, prestige, love, and uniqueness as part of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) actions, aiming to engage with community members. The strategic use of these emotions can be understood as a way to diminish local opposition to the mining project.

List of Abbreviations Used

BCMC Bear Creek Mining Corporation

CTI Center of Technological Innovation

FPIC Free, Prior, and Informed Consent

EIA Environmental Impact Assessment

SLO Social License to Operate

VPCD Vice President of Corporate Development

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Chapter 1: Introduction

One of the major challenges for the implementation of large-scale mining projects in the Andean region consists in obtaining the required social license to operate (SLO) from the local population. Today, the SLO is essential for mining activities, as it grants the project legal and social legitimacy in its operations area. In Peru, one of the world's seven most significant areas for ore extraction (Oficina Nacional de Diálogo y Sostenibilidad, 2013), the SLO has been one of the main bastions of conflict between mining companies and local communities since the country's neoliberal era began in the 1990s. The neoliberal regime encouraged major foreign investments, such as large-scale mining projects, which were considered drivers of modernization and economic growth. However, this modernization process has faced limitations and contradictions on the ground (Bridge, 2004; Damonte and Castillo, 2010), such as the local communities' resistance to mining projects in their territories due to the various risks associated with their operation.

Since 2000, an increasing number of social conflicts began to emerge between mining companies and local populations. For instance, the local farmer's opposition to an open-pit gold mining project in Tambogrande, in the Piura region, was considered a successful case of local resistance to mining, since it managed to shut down the project (Muradian, Martinez-Allier, and Correa, 2003). In addition, in the northern Peruvian highlands, there was strong peasant resistance against the Conga mining project due to the high risk of water pollution (Melendez, 2015; Arce, 2014). As well, in the southern Peruvian region, the firm and sustained local farmer's resistance against Tia Maria's copper mining project for over a decade based on

concerns regarding the farmer's livelihoods and identity, has effectively blocked the required social license for over a decade (Arce, 2014; Martinez, 2017).

Canadian mining companies operating in Peru have faced socio-environmental conflicts stemming from local opposition to large open-pit mining projects in the territories of farming and Indigenous peasant communities. During the early 2000s, the Canadian-based Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) arrived in Peru to set up two open-pit silver mining projects. Named Santa Ana and Corani, both projects were located in the southern region of Puno. At the beginning of 2011, BCMC submitted Santa Ana's Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), a crucial technical national requirement for approving a mining project, to the local population's consideration for collective approval. However, the document was firmly rejected due to the project's high risk of pollution of rivers and lakes, and also the lack of local participation in decision-making about the project's viability. The massive popular demonstration that ensued, known as the "Aymarazo", is considered one of the most significant victories of Indigenous movements over extractive industries in Peru (Pinto, 2013; Quiñones, 2013; De Echave, 2011).

Interestingly, in 2018 the Canadian Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) obtained the required social license to implement the Corani's mining project in the same region of Puno (Ministry of Culture, 2018). The transnational company was founded in 2000 by US, Canadian, and Peruvian executives with mining experience in Peru (Baca, 2015, p. 47 as cited in Sucapuca, 2019, p. 72). Corani's mining project plans to extract eight million ounces of silver per year for about 18 years with an investment estimated at US\$ 585 million (Proactivo, 2018).

Located at 4800 meters above sea level, the Indigenous communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya are settled squarely within what is considered Corani's project area of direct social influence (Ministry of Culture, 2018). In Peru, most mining deposits are located in isolated rural Andean areas where Indigenous peoples and impoverished peasant communities are settled. In that sense, the arrival of mining projects generates expectations of economic benefits for the grassroots population alongside fears of pollution (Damonte, 2008). Both communities have similar characteristics regarding weather conditions and economic, environmental, and sociocultural patterns. The weather patterns are typical of the Andean highlands, with less oxygen in the air and cold weather most of the year. In addition, the communities' hydrographic network counts with surface water sources, such as rivers, streams, and melting ice that are consumed safely by the locals (due to the lack of drinking potable water) and their cattle animals (Sucapuca, 2019, p. 51). In addition, the natural resources possessed by the communities are distinctive of the high Andean zone. For instance, livestock production is based on alpacas and llamas. The economy around these animals is key because it is the leading resource to generate local economic incomes, given that alpacas' fiber is a staple commodity in the market and their meat is the primary source of protein for human consumption in the area. Both communities are well-known for being alpaca breeders, an ancestral economic activity in the Andes. Moreover, the local agricultural practices, such as growing potatoes, are devoted for local consumption. Regarding the demography, the number of family members is estimated at 109 for Chacaconiza and 150 for Quelcaya. Each family has seven members, roughly. Concerning the local infrastructure, both communities have an elementary and high school and a small health center with a few medical staff (Sucapuca, 2019, p. 51, 52, 54, 80).

One essential feature of the community members of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya is that they self-identify as "Quechua Indigenous population," meaning they are recognized as first-nations people by the national government. In addition, a majority of members in both communities are bilingual, speaking Quechua and Spanish (Sucapuca, 2019, p. 56). Being an Indigenous population is crucial in terms of the law regarding Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC). According to international (OIT 169 Convention) and national (*Ley 29785, Ley del Derecho a la Consulta Previa a los Pueblos Índigenas u Originarios*) laws, first nation peoples must be consulted regarding the arrival of foreign or national extractive projects in their territories. However, their decision over the viability of those projects is not legally binding.

To understand how Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) managed to obtain the social licence to operate (SLO), this research explores the emotional content in the mining company's discourse to achieve the SLO. I argue that BCMC subtly manipulates emotions as one of the strategies that contributed to securing the social license of the Indigenous communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya. Put it simply, I will show that the mining company invested a lot of energy to mobilize an emotional narrative rooted in the local *identity* that appears to be successful in securing the social license. In addition, this emotional engagement strategy emphasises the scientific and technological potential use of distinctive local natural resources as an autonomous and effective path for local development. In that sense,

the mining company uses an emotional narrative about the place and connections to their natural resources to reinforce the local identity and thus establish rapport with the local communities (Askland, 2020, p. 3). The strategic use of emotions by BCMC can be understood as a way to engage and establish rapport with the community members and minimize conflicts related to the environmental risk perceptions of mining operations and the vast demands of employment at the mine.

Furthermore, I will show that the success of this combination of technology and positive emotions such as pride, self-esteem, and prestige lies in aligning with identity values (material and non-material). It is worth mentioning that this emotional engagement strategy pivots on additional strategic technological investments in the localities, and on sharing expert-knowledge with the community members. The evidence shows that this identity emotional narrative was deploying during several company-community interactions ant at various stages of the process before the SLO was granted: during the first meetings, through the elaboration of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), during the implementation of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives, and after the social license was finally granted.

The promise of applying science and technology to produce value-added goods using local natural resources, and of thus creating new opportunities for income generation, has been a significant element of CSR initiatives in the communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2017, 2019; El Peruano, 2018). Both are settled squarely within Corani's project area of direct social influence (Ministry of Culture, 2018), and have relatively established a peaceful and meaningful community-company relationship so far. The creation of innovative products at more

than 4,800 meters above sea level, called the attention, among others, of ranking high authorities of Peru's national army, who invited the peasant patrol, the highest local authority in the those communities, to partake in the 2016 national military parade in Lima. In this patriotic event, televised nationwide, and where prestigious groups and organizations participate along with the president of the republic and ranking members of the army, sixty peasant patrol's members, who are the main local authority in the area and give social protection given the absence of the state, passed proudly wearing "smart and healthy clothing" made with alpaca fiber and silver threads in the Andean communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya (El Comercio, 2016)

The conception and production of those goods have been the result of a voluntary agreement signed between the communities and the venture in 2013. The agreement established that within the framework of CSR, and before beginning mineral ore extraction activities, the mining company would invest US\$ 1.5 million in local projects to improve the living conditions of the local population. This investment included issues such as health, nutrition, education and also improvements to alpaca breeding techniques, which is the main economic activity in the area (Municipality of Corani, n.d.). In addition, the venture committed to delivering US\$ 1.6 million per year during a twenty-three-year period to finance social projects in the local communities (El Economista, 2013).

Although one may be tempted to interpret that a pre-investment in community infraestructure and community-based businesses would in all likelihood generate social license for mining companies, this perspective reduces the complex mining

company-community relations to a "rational choice" interaction. In fact, the allocation of significant economic and material resources to communities has often led to tense and conflictive relationships, shaped by negative emotions such as fear, anger, and distrust that make widespread consent and long-term agreements even harder to reach (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Pinto, 2013; Quiñones, 2013; Martinez, 2017, Melendez, 2020). Even Bear Creek's vice president of corporate development (VPCD) acknowledged this concern when he stated that the vision of the company's social strategy was to encourage the local population to find independent routes to development, and not to depend directly on the resources obtained from mineral extraction and the company's presence such as revenues and employment. Instead, the firm seeks to empower them to use their natural resources, such as Alpaca fiber, to generate income and turn a poor area into a richer one regardless of the mining activities (CIP tv, 2019). Some have argued that this conception of local development has been the key that opened the door to Corani's social license to operate (SLO), obtained in 2018 (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2019; Revista Energiminas, 2019).

Researchers have tended to overlook the role of fostering positive emotions and reinforcing local values has been overlooked as an explanatory path regarding building peaceful relationships and achieving company-community consensus in mining contexts. The literature about the SLO has mostly focused on specific formal processes such as the Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC), and on rational choice inspired approaches such as the negotiation framework. Instead, this research project adopts an *affective* approach to explore the emotional content in the mining company's discourse during the process of seeking the community's acceptance and social license. The affective approach is an emerging perspective in mining

development debates that helps to understand novel dimensions of decision-making and explain things in terms of being embraced rather than avoided (Barclay 2021, p. 456). This inquiry reveals that Bear Creek taps into the community's positive emotions such as self-esteem, pride, and uniqueness by depicting the potential scientific use of local resources for autonomous development to motivate and engage community members. This reinforces local *identity* and makes community members feel that the venture shares their interests. Positive emotions are crucial to build and secure social relationships when they involve a process of identity verification. The quest for stable relationships in mining extraction involves a firm emotional engagement (Bjørst, 2020).

This research is significant for three reasons. First, while much of the literature on mining and development in the Andes focuses on the conflicts and tensions related to mining activity (often associated with job opportunities, environmental transformations, pollution, infrastructure requirements, community changes and profits) (Bebbington et al., 2008, Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Arce, 2014), less attention has been paid to understanding the factors that contribute to social consent and local development prospects in resource extraction contexts. Second, this study contributes to filling the gap concerning how mining companies use CSR programs to achieve consent at the local level (Perla, 2014). Third, this research discusses the relationships between emotions, technology, and identity as explanatory paths to achieving consensus in mining contexts.

The thesis is organized into five chapters. The first one is the introduction that exposes the research context, the research problem and questions, the hypothesis and

principal argument, and the research's relevance. The second chapter presents the theoretical framework that discusses the complex relationships between corporate capitalism, emotions, technology, and identity. This section opens by asking how does corporate capitalism, represented by mining companies, work to establish meaningful relationships with relevant groups to continue reproducing and expanding itself. In addition, I show how the successful role of technological innovations and positive emotions relies on aligning with local identity, which is crucial to building healthy relationships with communities and achieve consent. The section closes with an overview of the methodology used to collect data and explore the emotions and values mobilized in communications by BCMC to obtain and secure social license.

The third chapter presents a synthetic literature review on mining, development, and social consent in Peru. There, I focus on agreements and consent in mining contexts rather than conflicts, which has been the primary concern around mining development studies in the country. Moreover, I pay attention to the CSR initiatives adopted by mining companies in the country, and discuss to what extent the CSR programs undertaken by BCMC for Corani's mining project differ or not from the previous ones.

The fourth chapter contains the core analytical section based on a discourse research approach of the communication strategies and messages unfolded by BCMC for Corani's mining project. This section shows the emotional content related to the social license to operate (SLO). I focus on the emotional engagement strategies in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and the CSR initiaves. Finally, the fifth chapter outlines the conclusions and reflections that arise from this research.

Chapter 2. Capitalism, Emotions, Technology, and Identity

To understand how the mining company Bear Creek achieved the social license for mining operation, we should first explore how corporate capitalism works to build successful social relationships with relevant groups. In this regard, emotions play a crucial role. This chapter is organized as follows. First, I will provide a working definition of emotions and their role in building long-term relationships.

Then I will discuss the connections between emotions and contemporary capitalism, focusing on resource extraction industries. Specifically, I will address how corporate capitalism relies on particular emotions or affects to engage with relevant groups.

Finally, as an additional contribution, I will discuss the role that technology plays in producing emotional outcomes.

2.1 The Affective Approach

The interest in the role of emotions in human behaviour and motivation can be traced back to the Annales School, where the study of emotions arose from addressing history from the point of view of collective mentalities, motivations, and cultural variety (Barclay, 2021, p. 456) Later, in the 1980s, Carol and Peter Stearns (1985) returned to these ideas by rediscovering emotional life as crucial dimension of society and culture. In the Social Sciences, this approach was called the "emotional turn." It has become a new and promising lens to explore a critical dimension of cognition and decision-making, and to explain things in terms of being embraced rather than avoided (Barclay, 2021, p. 456).

Emotion is defined etymologically as something that provokes *moving* (Bjørst, 2020; Albrecht, 2019, p. 1). According to Hutchison and Bleiker (2014, p. 500) emotions are socially and culturally embedded, that is why "the more people associate with common beliefs or identities, the more they may share emotions". Thus, what matters for research is to understand what emotions *do* and to conceive them as relational and accumulative over time (Ahmed, 2014).

Illouz (2007) agrees that emotions entail cultural meanings and frame social relationships. She points out that "emotion is not an action *per se*, but it is the inner energy that propels us toward an act, what gives a particular "mood" or "coloration" to an act" (p. 14). In other words, "emotion can be defined as the "energy-laden" side of action, where that energy is understood to simultaneously implicate cognition, affect, evaluation, motivation, and the body" (p. 14).

Scholars inspired in the emotional turn developed new ideas to better understand the role of emotions in building relationships. Peter and Carol Stearns (1985, as cited in Barclay, 2021, p. 459) formulated the concept of "emotional styles" to emphasize how cultures promoted particular "styles" of emotional life that then became a signal of cultural difference. Furthermore, Barbara Rosenwein (2006, as cited in Barclay, 2021, p. 459) coined the phrase "emotional community" to describe a group of people who shared the same language and system of valuation of emotion.

In addition, Stryker (2004), based on the identity theory, points out that emotions are linked to the expectations that actors have in each interaction, that is, to the extent that an interaction validates or not such identity, individual will experience positive or negative emotions. Therefore, when others confirm our self-conception, we experience positive emotions such as pride. By contrast, when it is challenged or contradicted, we experience negative emotions such as distress, shame or anger (Burke and Stets, 2009; Stets and Turner, 2006, as cited in Bericat, 2015, p. 500)

What is important to highlight from the affective approach is that the access point to emotion requires an engagement with culture (Barclay, 2021, p. 459). In other words, "culture provides the framework for the labelling, classification, categorization, and interpretation of emotions" (Illouz and Shachak, 2014, p. 221). At this point, *place* has been considered as a matter of conditioning culture and identity. The relationship between place and *self* has been vital for ensuring "continuity, identity, and consciousness" as "place is seen crucial in the recreation of meaning" (Plumwood, 2008, as cited in Askland, 2020, p. 2).

2.2 Capitalism and Emotions

What can emotions tell us regarding capitalism's reproduction? A growing area of research is the history of emotions in capitalism, which addresses the role of emotions in economic systems. According to Illouz (2007, p. 11), sociologists have traditionally conceived of modernity in terms of the advent of capitalism and its process of rationalization of the day-to-day life aims to produce economic growth, but have taken little notice about the advent of modernity in terms of emotions. In other words, Illouz claims that the making of capitalism was accompanied by the making of an exceptionally specialized emotional culture (Illouz, 2007, p. 17).

To better grasp the relationship between capitalism and emotions, Illouz (2007) coined the term "emotional capitalism", that is, a culture in which emotional and economic discourses and practices mutually shape each other, and in which affect becomes a crucial aspect of economic behaviour (p. 18). Thus, the emotional capitalism articulates new languages of the *self* to seize capital (p. 153). Putting it more simply, emotional capitalism can be understood as a fusion of market repertories and languages of the *self* (p. 248).

What is interesting from Illouz's insights is highlighting that in the process of managing the *self*, capitalism has contributed to creating a "suffering" self, that is, "an identity organized and defined by its psychic lacks and deficiencies, which is incorporated back into the market through incessant injunctions to self-change and self-realization" (Illouz, 2007, p. 248). Conversely, "the emotional capitalism has invested with an unprecedented cultural attention to the linguistic management of emotions, making them the focus of strategies of dialogue, recognition, intimacy, and self-emancipation" (Illouz, 2007, p. 248)

Illouz's premise has a clear illustration in mining development in the Andean region. There, large mining project investments have been associated with the advent of modernity, in which development is conceived as economic growth and the market are the most efficient allocators of goods and resources. However, this notion of development is premised upon the need to change people's thoughts and livelihoods – that means, removing cultural barriers— to foster the most efficient use of resources and achieve higher economic growth (Schech and Haggis, 2000; Bebbington, 2000). In this line, the Indigenous and peasant community's claims against the installation of

mining projects in the Andes might be interpreted as a response to the continuous injunctions to "self-change" stressed by capitalism. I will discuss briefly this idea in the conclusion section by contrasting this case with the local opposition to the installation of the Tia Maria mining project in Peru (Martinez, 2017).

Nevertheless, as Illouz stated, one of the characteristics of contemporary capitalism is that is pays attention to the cultural elements on the ground level to continue reproducing itself, for instance, by employing a communicative management of emotions and local values as a strategy of dialogue, recognition, and negotiation. Radcliffe and Laurie (2006) support this idea as they consider that culture should be taken seriously in development thinking and planning. Thus, culture should be seen as a source of creativity that integrates tradition and modernity "to ensure that development deals with culture" (p. 232). The authors' message is that we must figure out how local agency shapes modernizing development projects. For us, this message could be presented in the form of the following question: how and to what extent do cultural factors shape corporate mining behaviour?

That being said, it is worth analyzing to what extent the mining company Bear Creek pays attention to and manages local cultural factors to engage with the population and obtain the SLO. The emotional capitalism framework provides a compelling lens to examine the issue of social license for the Corani mining project as it realigned emotional cultures "making much of the social arrangements also emotional arrangements" (Illouz 2007, p. 16).

Another important concept is "affective labour", described in terms of immaterial labour, as "the provision of goods such as knowledge or communication" (Michael Hardt, 1999, p. 94, as cited in Veldstra, 2020, p. 7). The function of affective labour is to cultivate particular affects to facilitate human contact and interaction and thus generate not only economic value but also social belonging (Veldstra, 2020, p. 10).

This point is particularly interesting for our case study since the quest for a sense of social belonging in the local communities was an important and early concern of the Bear Creek mining company. It is illustrated when Bear Creek Mining's Vice President of Corporate Development (hereafter the VPCD) states that a way to gain local trust is to convince them that the company has full knowledge of what exists in the community and around it (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2017). Here, the affective labour comes under the guise of scientific knowledge to encourage positive emotions. The quest for social belonging is linked to a process of identification of values, both material and subjective, and the allocation of positive affects. Thus, emotional capitalism requires producing the affects necessary to economic success (Veldstra, 2020, p. 11), and those affects are connected to the *place* in terms of values, as sources of identity and recognition.

Sara Ahmed (2014) is another important scholar who addresses the relationship between capitalism and emotions. She coins the term "happy objects" as objects whose function as a promise of future happiness, by accumulating positive affective value while they circulate through society. This term is particularly interesting to link with natural resources, especially minerals. Sejersen and Thisted

(2021, p. 379) point out that the future of mining cannot be established without "hope" and hence emotions become central in extractivism. The singularity in emotional capitalism is that those "emotions of hope are circulated in society by means of objects that are evoked as happy objects" (Ahmed, 2014). In other words, in emotional capitalism, affect "sticks" to objects. This notion is clearly presented in the Bear Creek's discourse when the VPCD states:

Creating added-value out of local resources, working with the supplies they have always known, people begin to not only become aware of the wealth surrounding them but, even most significantly, they begin to gain self-esteem, they begin to see themselves as a skilful, proficient, and clever individuals who can change their adverse situation without depending on anyone (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 10:47)

While emotions can be aligned with (happy) objects, they can also work to align diverse subjects, that is, individuals with communities. As Sara Ahmed (2014) says, "emotions play a crucial role in the surfacing of individual and collective bodies through the way in which emotions circulate between bodies and signs" (p. 42). This notion, for instance, is materialized in the participation of the peasant patrol community members in the 2016 military national parade held in Lima. In this event, the sense of feeling proud circulates between members of the community (and likely between members of the mining company) because they were exhibiting to a national and international public the "smart and healthy clothing" made with local resources such as alpaca fiber and silver thread from the communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya. As a community member stated regarding her husband's participation in the military parade: "I feel happy and proud of my husband" (Latina Noticias, 2016, 1:16).

Therefore, as Ahmed (2014) points out, we should pay attention to the "sociality of emotions", that is, the way they work to mediate the relationship between the individual and the collective. One of the most crucial qualitative outputs of the circulation of particular emotions aligned with objects, the affective labour, is the reproduction of social ties. What I mean to say is that the cultivation of particular affects generates not only economic value but also social belonging (Veldstra, 2020, p. 10). From this point of view, it is possible to interpret that the mining company's circulation of particular affects tied to the local natural resources, creates a double identification. On the one hand, there is a community-natural resources recognition process that recreates local identity meaning. On the other hand, a community-company dynamic of recognition that confirms the local identity and builds a trustworthy relationship.

Sara Ahmed (2014) pays special attention to the language of *love* and how it helps build relationships. Based on Freud's insights, she outlines, "identification is the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person (...) identification is a form of love, it is an active kind of loving, which moves or pulls the subject towards another" (p. 126). Bear Creek Mining Company used the language of *love* to successfully identify and engage with community members. The allocation of love is given in the form of "resources-based knowledge", so the community members can become aware of the unique and potential use of natural resources they have for autonomous development, and perceive them as "happy objects". The allocation of love over resources comes hand-in-hand with scientific knowledge to verify, preserve, and reinforce with positive emotions the local *identity* and, thus, generate healthy

social ties. This notion is depicted in the VPCD statement in which he encourages community members to appreciate their natural resources and become aware of the wealth surrounding them

Bear Creek's big challenge was to preserve the local values. We realized that the only way to do that was emphasizing the worth of what they have locally, to encourage them to appreciate their resources, to teach them to love what they have, not only with the heart but also with knowledge and understanding (...) So, how can we achieve this change? By promoting their cultural development without considering that mine as a giver of employments and revenues to reach development. It is not because the mine arrives that I will automatically improve my situation; it is because we collaborate with each other. Thus, creating value-added out of local resources, working with supplies they have always known, people begin to not only become aware of the wealth surrounding them but, even most significantly, they begin to gain self-esteem, they begin to see themselves as a skilful, proficient, and clever individuals who can change their adverse situation without depending on anyone. We are simply collaborators in that process (...) [Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 10:47)

The critical point in the language of love is that it comes attached to the idea of "embracing" something rather than "losing" *it*, and it is fundamental to engage the public. Through the language of love, Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) turned the negative emotions commonly associated with mining activities (e.g., the sense of losing resources) into positive ones (e.g., the sense of feeling proud of one's resources) by combining a discourse concerning the *self* with a scientific one to appraise the local resources. In addition, the language of love allows to associate groups with "good feeling", and "open personal and public spaces in which otherness

and difference can be articulated" (Oliver, 2011, p. 20, as cited in Ahmed, 2014, p. 140)

Fleming (2009) argues that the adoption of emotions and social values related to authenticity and the *self* is increasingly becoming part of corporate ideology and practice. He says that many large corporations are currently asking employees to simply be themselves, under the premise that employees are presumed to be more motivated if they can just be themselves. This motivation is in line with a discourse of freedom that underlies the managerial version of authenticity. In other words, Fleming depicts the adoption of a "be yourself" ethos in corporate management discourse "to embrace workers' authenticity as the basis on which to build brand identity and profit" (p. 19, 20, as cited in Veldstra, 2020, p. 4). In addition, McRobbie (2016) points out the relevance of the ethos of "passion" and "enthusiasm" among those seeking success in corporate practices. He states that the idea is moving from enthusiasm, an intense affective state, to capacity, which describes a sense of agency, "thus articulating positive affect with the ability to act" (as cited in Veldstra, 2020, p.

I stop by here to show that BCMC mobilizes the notion of "authenticity" and the "ethos of passion" in their communication to engage with community members. Those notions lie in the idea that communities posses unique natural resources in the world to take advantage for achieving autonomous development. It entails a set of positive affects such as passion, enthusiasm, and love to take action seeking positive change.

The fact that they have the chance of achieving development by themselves favors two elements: their self-esteem and their self-realization, and these factors motivate them. When you cover physiological, security, and integration needs, you do not motivate, you are simply fulfilling essential needs. What does motivate? Doing what you love. So, the fact that they build their first warm house based on their local resources is positive. It makes them feel satisfaction and being proud (*Author's translation*, CIP tv, 2019, 17:50)

The affective approach can contribute to unveil the social values beyond neoliberal economic values while it drafts a new theorisation of emotional capitalism (Tang, 2021, p. 12). Putting it differently, focusing on affects can elucidate the social non-capitalist elements on which capitalism depends (Tsing, 2015).

2.3 Resource Extraction and Emotions

Scholars argue that the emotional approach has been absent in resource extraction studies because they have typically been framed within a rational discourse that privileges technical control over nature and economic growth as staples of modern development. For instance, Sejersen and Thisted (2021) point out that mining debates have focused on "facts of science" and rational arguments, rather than on emotions, thus emphasizing scientific discourses and narratives while silencing alternative ones (p. 369). In addition, Lempinen and Lindroth (2021) argue that resource extraction has tended to be discussed using the language of "science, technology, economy and high politics and in terms of their accurate objective and calculable value" (p. 1). Such approach has overlooked the fact that resources are

inevitably linked with social needs, and thus entail an affective side that irreducible to technological and economic rationalities (p. 2).

Weszkalnys (2016) points out that *affect* has played an increasingly significant role in global debates about natural resources extraction. She suggests the notion of "resources affect" as "an intrinsic element of capitalist dynamics and as an object problematized by corporate, government, and third-sector practice." (p. 127). She carried out ethnographic research in Sao Tomé and Príncipe, central Africa, to explore the affective horizons produced by the expectations of hydrocarbon exploration. She depicts the way in which different stakeholders generate affective horizons that can be depicted as a "new resource politics that revolves around not simply the democratic and technical aspects of resource exploitation but increasingly their associated affective dissonances and inconsistencies" (p. 127).

Weszkalnys' contribution is important since it opens a discussion on the relationship between capitalism and emotions in resource extraction contexts. She focuses on the kind of affects that emerge from the unfolding of specific resource materialities (Richardson and Weszkalnys, 2014). In that sense, there is a close relation with Sara Ahmed's approach in the sense that Weszkalnys links affects with particular resources (objects) in emotional capitalism.

The literature about the relationship between mining and emotions has been recently embraced in mining development studies, specifically in the geographical areas of Oceania and the Arctic. Sejersen and Thisted (2021) adopt the *affective* approach to explore the emotions related to mining in Greenland and Northern

Scandinavia. They are interested in the role that affects play in empowering discourses that link resource extraction with community making and nation building (p. 369). The authors highlight the importance of the notion of "community" to understand the work emotions do in resource extraction contexts. They consider emotions as cultural practices, which serve to create specific social relations between past, present, and future (p. 387)

In addition, Sejersen and Thisted (2021) argue that mining process involve more than just geological and technological expertise. Successful mining needs an infusion of *hope* to mobilize positive emotions, which should be linked with particular social configurations and resonate with ideas of collective identities (p. 382). Furthermore, Lempinen and Lindroth (2021) research on the affective dimension of a prospective mining project in Greenland, demonstrate the existence of multiple affect states such as hope, prestige, and redemption along with fear, worry, and anxiety at work in resource extraction contexts (p. 2)

Mining can trigger different emotions according to the kinds of expectations it creates in people. Askland (2020, p. 2) highlights that mining extracts not only ore but also negative emotions in Australia, as a consequence of the displacement of the Wollar settlers, a village located in the Mid-Western region in New South Wales. In addition, Bjørst (2020, p. 8, 11) points out that uranium mining in Greenland evokes feelings of injustice and inequality that may be described as the feeling of "being less" or being positioned as "observers" of development. There, uranium is not just a mineral but also an object that triggers emotions accumulated over time concerning historical experiences of abuse and violence.

In the Andean region, Fabiana Li (2016, p. 114, 119) states that the various blockades with violent episodes against Yanacocha mining in the rural peasant community of Combayo in the northern Peruvian highlands, were the consequence of their frustration with the mining company. For community members, "development" represents those things they lack and people consider of greatest relevance, such as electricity, potable water, paved roads, technified irrigation systems, and job opportunities.

A significant point that emerges from the literature on emotions in resource extraction is that affects can be seen as a tool for government, thus something to be exploited for political purposes. This means, "affects are not politically neutral, but strategically encouraged, muted or overlooked" (Sejersen and Thisted, 2021; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021, p. 6). The constitution of resource affect can thus serve as an "object of ethical, political, and scientific though and action" (Weszkalnys, 2016, p. 133)

This section shows how the affective theory can be effectively applied in mining extraction studies (Sejersen and Thisted, 2021). The affective approach is useful to "examine the history of natural resource production under contemporary capitalism, not just in geopolitical terms but also in terms of the forms of affect generated by it" (Weszkalnys 2016, p. 128), and the emotions emerging from the discourses of modernization and progress deployed in extractive capitalism (Askland, 2020).

The various research works discussed below show the increasing value of the affective approach in understanding the dynamics of resource extraction, mostly debate in terms of rational choice and expert's technical language. The affective approach is quickly gaining relevance in debates over extractive capitalism, and helping to elucidate the non-economic factors that feed (or discourage) resource extraction. As Lempinen and Lindroth (2021) state, there is an entangled role that emotions and affects have in shaping societal mindsets around resource-based development.

2.4 Technology and Emotions

Shank (2014) addresses the relationship between technology and emotions from a sociological perspective. He argues that technology alters how people feel by creating means for emotional expression: "technology use can lead to both positive and negative emotions, conditioned on how often people use technology and for what purpose" (p. 512). The directionality of technology shapes the emotional outcomes due to, among other things, its social function (p. 514, 518).

There is a significant variable at play in the relationship between resource extraction and emotions: science and technology. The experts have mainly used the language of science in resource extraction contexts to legitimize the proper "sustainable" management of natural resources. Using a *techno-science* discourse, extractive companies have achieved access and control over natural resources based on the premise of having the trustworthy knowledge to undertake "sustainable" exploitation. However, the techno-science discourse, far from being a language of

ensuring reliability and trustworthiness, has been perceived as a strategic rhetorical tool to secure the exploitation of resources (Damonte, 2019; Li, 2015, 2016). As a consequence, the techno-science discourse in some mining projects has led to negative emotions such as suspicion, doubt, fear, and distrust that have prevented building meaningful community-company relationships, leading instead to environmental conflicts in the Andean region (Martinez, 2017)

At this point, the question that arises from this dilemma is: what determines whether the use of techno-scientific language in extractive contexts will promote positive or negative emotions, and thus contribute to agreement or disagreement over the social legitimacy of a mining project? Based on the Corani mining project case, I argue that technology evokes positive emotions when it avoids becoming only an expert matter, and aligns itself with an identity based emotional narrative about the local place and its people (Askland, 2020, p. 3). To ensure this connection with the specific place, the techno-scientific discourse turned the mindset focused on resource extraction into one of resource transformation. In other words, to turn the idea of destruction (of the place) commonly associated with mining operations, into the notion of creation (of a new and promising site) based on the local resources to achieve autonomous development.

2.5 Identity and Emotions

According to the identity theory, emotions emerge from the identity process (Stets and Trettevik, 2014, p. 33). It means that emotions are linked to the expectations that actors have in social interactions: "to the extent that an interaction

validates or does not validate their identity, they will feel positive or negative emotions" (Burke and Stets, 2009, p. 494). In other words, emotions arise from meeting –or failing to meet– the behavioural expectations tied to an identity (Stets and Trettevik, 2014, p. 34).

Stets and Burke (2014, p. 412) define identity as "a set of meanings that defines individuals in terms of the roles they occupy, the social categories or groups they belong to." Stets and Trettevik (2014, p. 36) underline that the central idea regarding the relationship between identity and emotions is rooted in whether individuals feel pride or shame in social interactions. At this point, they state something of primordial importance for this research case: "because positive emotions result from meeting the identity expectations or being verified in a situation, individuals continue to do what they are doing, leaving their behaviour relatively unchanged." (p. 36). The social licence for the Corani mining project shows that reinforcing identity, that is, building over the local economy, resources, and customs, helps promote positive emotions such as self-esteem and prestige. When there is identity verification, individuals feel no threat of altering their cultural patterns, and it is essential for establishing trustworthy relationships and achieving consensus. In addition, identity verification is essential to minimize perceptions of environmental risk posed by mining operations, since it is a mistake to assume that technical explanations will dispel the fears and concerns of community members (Oficina Nacional de Diálogo y Sostenibilidad, 2013, p. 16). Instead, positive emotions may fill the gaps in expert knowledge in community members. When non-experts deal with making sense of complex technical issues, they tend to make decisions based on the quality of the story –called "narrative

fidelity"— rather than the content itself (Walter Fisher, as cited in Marshall, 2014, p. 275).

Lempinen and Lindroth (2021, p. 5) highlight the importance of natural resources as a source of pride and prestige. They show that the oil and gas production and the extraction of mineral ore in harsh and difficult environments like Greenland evoke national and corporate pride, and this is essential to forging national values and identities. At this point, Barkow (2014, p. 43) underlines that the allocation of pride and prestige are crucial because they can boost self-esteem.

Stets and Burke (2014, p. 409, 411) define self-esteem as the negative or positive attitude individuals have towards themselves, outlining "worth" and "efficacy" as two primary dimensions of self-esteem. Self-worth refers to individuals feeling good and valuable about themselves, while self-efficacy alludes to an expectation tied to a particular task or about what "one can do." In addition to these dimensions of self-esteem, a third dimension has emerged lately: authenticity. Authenticity can be understood as the verification of the "true self" in social interactions when the meanings that represent and tie individuals are verified in a situation.

However, while some scholars argue that positive emotions result from a process of identity verification, others say that emotions arise from interactions shaped by two basic social dimensions: power and status (Kemper, 1978, as cited in Bericat 2015, p. 496). Actors with power in interactions are likely to feel positive emotions such as satisfaction, while actors with a low power level tend to handle

negative feelings like fear. As well, actors with a high level of status or whom others esteem will experience positive emotions such as pride. In contrast, those who suffer from that lack of status will experience negative emotions such as shame or anger (Kemper 1978, as cited in Bericat, 2015, p. 500). The question that arises from this perspective is: what is the power and status of the community of Corani? It is possible to argue that having one of the strongest peasant patrols in the Peruvian highlands and the being recognized as the largest alpaca fiber producers worldwide could have played a role in experiencing positive emotions in identity verification.

A negative emotion like anger emerges when individuals lose power and status (Jasper, 2014; Kemper 1990, as cited in Bericat, 2015, p. 502). Anger is expressed in the form of aggression of the *self*; caused by a negative outcome. There are four kinds of anger: frustration, resentment, reproaches, and anger itself. Anger is particularly interesting in the context of mining conflicts because social responses can be shaped by this negative emotion. For instance, Li (2016, p. 114, 119) states that the various blockades with violent episodes against Yanacocha mining company performed by the young in the rural peasant community of Combayo in the northern Peruvian highlands resulted from their frustration with the mining company. For those young people, "development" represents precisely those things they lack and people consider of the greatest relevance, such as electricity, clean water, paved roads, technified irrigation systems, and job opportunities. In addition, Melendez (2020, p. 103) points out that anger and distrust among the peasant community members settled around the Bambas mining project stem from the perception that the only beneficiaries of the entire mining business are the mining company and the local government.

The complex interplay between identity, natural resources, and positive emotions such as pride and self-esteem, can shed light on the process leading to the social license granted to Corani's mining project. I outlined that creating stable relationships, which can be materialized in terms of long-term cooperation, requires the presence and mobilization of positive emotions (Bjørst 2020). Thus, the key question is: how does the mining company managed to evoke positive emotions? The mining company mobilized an emotional narrative about the *place* and connections to this one by stressing the uniqueness and the practical use of local resources as an efficient path for achieving autonomous development. With the help and legitimacy of a technoscientific discourse that highlights the (previously untapped) possible uses of local resources to solve the locality's economic and development problems, the venture evokes positive emotions such as self-esteem, pride, love, and autonomy that reinforce local identity. These emotions are significant because they are linked to a process of identity verification (Stets and Burke, 2014), which is crucial for engagements. The emotional narrative over the place has recreated the local identity by shaping a "subject of emotions", "who must by necessity achieve its goals in relationship with others and other things in its environment" (Bericat, 2015, p. 493).

For instance, they started by realizing that the local communities are among the largest producers of alpaca fiber in the world, and that it is indeed their main economic resource. Then, they took silver, another widely available local resource. They then realized that, despite the locals not being aware of their potential scientific and economic value, both elements could be combined to produce "smart and healthy" clothing to be sold in international markets. Thus, turning the local resources

into value-added goods has been the key to mobilizing positive emotions such as pride and self-esteem that reinforce the local identity.

2.6 Methodology

To analyze how the Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) obtained the social license to operate (SLO) for Corani's mining project, I use the affective approach to encompass the emotional content of the mining company's narrative. I chose this methodological approach for two key reasons. Firstly, because the Covid-19 outbreak created unprecedented challenges to traditional on-site empirical inquiry. Secondly, because I sought to pursue a different analytical angle, focusing on agreement conditions and the rhetorical and communicative work behind it, rather than on conflict and the socio-economic logics around it. It is important to mention that even though the data collected depicts the mining company's discourse, which is the core analysis resource in this research, there was comparatively less access to material that directly captures the voices and perceptions of community members regarding the company's behaviour.

Thus, I focus on the contents of the company's discourse because it is the fundamental medium to emotionally engage the audience. The research narrative approach is crucial because it captures "the temporal dimension of emotion, restoring verisimilitude and fidelity to experience" (Beatty, 2014, p. 545). In addition, in this research, "affect" and "emotion" are both used interchangeably to refer to the collective, socially and culturally shared experiences (Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021, p. 2).

I do qualitative research based on collecting relevant secondary data (e.g., YouTube videos, local newsletter, mining newsletters, etc.) and triangulating the information obtained. For instance, I explore all types of videos on YouTube regarding the Corani mining project by using keywords: "Corani", "Corani mining project", "Bear Creek", "Chacaconiza", and "Quelcaya." This research method allows examining not only the mining company discourse, which is the primary resource of analysis in this research, but also captures, to a lesser extent, the voices and perceptions of some community members. I analyze the videos by coding in Microsoft Word with keywords (e.g., "emotions", "values", "local identity", "corporate's development conception", "environment", "EIA", "social consent", "fears", "technology", and "CSR"). Thus, I analyze nine (09) online videos to identify the emotional content in Bear Creek's communication. I focus on the Vice President of Corporate Development (VPCD) discourse because he is the most visible mining staff member speaking openly about the mining-company relationship. I also examine videos from the mining company related to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives. Furthermore, I review interviews made to the VPCD in mining newsletters and newspapers.

It is worth mentioning that even as the project is not focused on the tensions and conflicts generated by resource extraction, by exploring the social license (which is the prior step to extraction activities) it is possible to identify agreements and frictions that arise before achieving the SLO (which are different from the tensions and conflicts that arise from the process of extraction, not analyzed in this study).

To examine the conflicts between the mining company and the communities while interacting around the SLO, I review the ombudsman's monthly conflicts report and the Peruvian National Office of Social Communication dossier, which are the two primary data sources of conflicts at the national level. Regarding the first one, I searched for conflicts from March 2006 to April 2022, which is the available information on the ombudsman website. This data coincides with the period that Bear Creek Mining has been in contact with communities for the Corani mining project. Concerning the second one, I review the conflicts report from January 2009 to April 2022, which is the available data in the government website. There is no evidence of conflicts between Bear Creek and the communities in both reports. However, it does not mean that less visible disagreements or frictions could have occurred.

To analyze the legal and legitimacy of the social license, I review the minutes and documents of the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) to prove whether social consent is legal and widely legitimised. By asking for the legality and legitimacy of the social license, I seek to unveil if there was a transparent and majority community participation in decision-making on the mining project approval. "Legal and legitimate consent" means: a) the approval process followed the regulations established by the government of Peru to confirm Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) prior to starting resource extraction project in Indigenous communities, and b) Indigenous community members continue to support the project. These documents are published on the website of the Peruvian Ministry of Energy and Mines.

Chapter 3: Mining, Development, and Social Consent

3.1 Mining and Development in the Andes

There are two long-standing analytical approaches in development studies regarding the Andes. On the one hand, the neoliberal approach considers development as economic growth and the market as the most efficient allocator of goods and resources. Here, the notion of development is premised upon the need to reframe people's thoughts and livelihoods and transform them according to modern western practices and values. On the other hand, the poststructural critique explains development in terms of cultural domination and seeks alternatives in grassroots movements' cultural and political practices (Bebbington, 2000; Ferguson, 1994; Escobar, 1995).

Bebbington (2000) points out that such perspectives have limitations in elucidating the complex development dynamics in the Andes. The problem with the neoliberal critique is that it interprets development within capitalism and poverty alleviation only in economic terms. The poststructural review essentializes grassroots alternatives by considering the local as a monolithic notion. To better understand development dynamics in the Andes, Bebbington suggests that we should look at how people structure their livelihoods in their interactions with neoliberalism. He argues that people *encounter* development in interventions and engagements with the market, which can turn out in different ways: as resistance, as accommodation, or as instrumental. The idea of encountering development implies that "modernizing development is not necessarily resisted but is more often taken, transformed and used

to people's purposes. Therefore, almost everything about development is coproduced" (p. 513-514).

Radcliffe and Laurie (2006, p. 232) develop the "paradigm of culture and development" in which culture is taken seriously in development thinking and planning. Adopting this approach, development looks at culture as a crucial variable explaining the success of development interventions: "the culture and development paradigm is seen to emerge from ongoing contestatory efforts to ensure that development deals with culture." Therefore, culture is a source of creativity that integrates tradition and modernity "to construct culturally embedded and powering solutions to development problems" (p. 246).

Both the notion of encountering development and the paradigm of culture and development focus on the role of local "agency" in shaping modernizing development projects, and it is significant in terms of opening spaces to remake power relationships. This research project will examine the role of culture in shaping the behaviour of a Canadian transnational mining company.

The neoliberal development paradigm in Peru is clearly illustrated by the arrival of very large foreign investments in mining projects. Since the beginning of the neoliberal regime in 1990, successive Peruvian governments have opted for a mining policy that relegated the state's role to being a regulator in an open and diversified private economy. This situation led to a much more direct relationship between foreign extractive companies and local communities, reducing the state's participation in monitoring those extractive activities (Damonte, 2012). In Peru, most

of the mining deposits are located in rural Andean areas where Indigenous peoples and scattered peasant communities are settled, generating expectations of economic benefits for the grassroots population and, simultaneously, concerns about negative impacts on their environment and livelihoods (Damonte, 2008).

There are contrasting positions regarding whether mining encourages sustainable development in local communities. On the one hand, a widely accepted claim is that mining generates "environmental destruction, social disruption, and cultural deterioration" (Banerjee, 2001, p. 43). On the other hand, mining advocates argue that it creates opportunities for development by creating local employment and investments to improve local health and education services and transportation infrastructure (Littlewood, 2014). However, mining investments have faced many episodes of conflicts at the local level, either as resistance against the installation of these projects (Martinez, 2017; Melendez, 2015; Pinto, 2016; Arce, 2014; Quintanilla and Scott, 2013; Muradian et.al., 2003), or in the form of negotiations once the projects have been installed (Pinto and Luyo, 2017; Paredes, 2017; Gil, 2020). This literature about the relationship between mining and development in Peru has shown the limitations and contradictions of the successful installation of significant mining projects in the country and the constraints for encountering development at the local level.

3.2 Mining and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Mining companies tend to use sustainable development practices to ensure local acquiescence to extractive activities in the global South. The sustainable

development approach points to companies' vision statements and operational plans as core tools to achieve a harmonious balance between the extraction of natural resources and local economic development, with claims to improve local livelihoods for future generations (Vervaeke, 2013, p. 20). Practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) are the vehicles through which the sustainable development conception is operationalized. They are conceived as effective measures that refute the commonly held belief that transnational companies negatively impact local livelihoods. Hence, the company's ethical duty is to act responsibly to maintain social and environmental sustainability (Hamann and Acutt, 2003, as cited in Vervaeke 2013, p. 25).

CSR practices have been addressed in the anthropological literature as part of a new form of 'ethical capitalism' (Rajak, 2011; Dolan & Rajak, 2016; Sydow, 2016). Rajak (2011) points out that CSR is a robust discourse that provides companies with a "moral mechanism' to rule over the population. She argues that "CRS, rather than being a philanthropic and altruistic act, offers mining companies a way to increase their agency and control" (Rajak, 2011, p. 13, as cited in Sydow, 2016, p. 221).

Alonso (2014) addresses the impact of CSR programs adopted by Barrick Gold Corporation in the Northern Peruvian region of Cajamarca. She argues that CSR initiatives, rather than improving local development in the communities, serve fundamentally as tools to discourage local opposition to mining. She points out that "CSR may simply create the appearance that community needs are being addressed through the use of specific discourse about sustainable development and CSR" (p. 6). Vervaeke (2013) also analyses the effectiveness of CSR through the case of Barrick

Gold Corporation in Cajamarca, Peru. She concludes that CSR initiatives fail to promote development for the common population because the programs are limited in reach and timeframe and originate in a mistaken conception of sustainable outcomes for those communities.

Dashwood (2012) underlines that CSR has been chiefly understood from the firm's perspective, failing to understand how the local context also shapes CSR practices. In this line, based on a study of the mining industry in Malawi and supported by other studies in sub-Saharan Africa, Ngawenja and Meaton (2014) argue that an assemblage of social, cultural, political, and economic factors shapes CSR initiatives. In addition, Corrigan (2018) points out that ecological, social, and institutional conditions influence CSR decision-making in the mining industry in southern Africa. Thus, the constraints and failures in the practical implementation of CSR programs are related to overlooking the context-specific issues.

After a short review of the CSR literature, I identify two different core views concerning how CSR works on the ground. On the one hand, CSR is considered a domination strategy that ensures social consent by creating an illusion of progress at the local level. On the other hand, CSR is conceived of as a means for encountering development shaped by the local context. It is essential to mention that CSR programs are usually implemented after the social license is granted. For this reason such initiatives aim to, in addition to improve local welfare, diminish local opposition. However, the CSR programs related to Corani have two particular features. First, those initiatives worked for obtaining the social license before starting the extraction process and prevent opposition. Second, it is possible to think that (the promise of) a

significant monetary investment in local projects has been (is) the key to achieving social consent. Nevertheless, as I discuss through this research, the sole allocation of economic resources in communities does not guarantee social consensus and a healthy community-company relationship. For instance, despite the considerable financial contributions to the communities located in the southern Peruvian mining area where mining units such as Las Bambas, Antapaccay, and Constancia are placed, conflicts (with a vast level of violence and state repression) still continue. It shows a paradoxical scenario that can be summarized as follows: "more money, more conflicts" (Revista de la Sociedad Nacional de Minería, Petróleo y Energía, 2022).

Even though Corani's communities are pro-investment, as stated by the mayor of Corani (Abel Villalba, 2013), the sole allocation of considerable amounts of money has not been considered by the venture as the primary starting point to engage with people. Instead, the venture has been invested in allocating positive emotions in community members by highlighting the potential use of the local natural resources as a suitable path for autonomous development. This idea is plainly depicted in the VPCD statement

The vision of the company's philosophy is to encourage the local population not to depend directly on the resources obtained from mineral extraction and the company's presence such as revenues and employment. Instead, it seeks to empower them to use their natural resources (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019; 7:43).

It seems that the financial investment in CSR initiatives aims, in addition to contribute to improving the local living standard, to allocate pride and social prestige. In this line, it is possible to argue that assigning social prestige helps to minimize

environmental risk perceptions and thus diminish local opposition (since there is no evidence of social conflicts between Bear Creek Mining and the communities in Corani for the Corani mining project, according to the two primary database reports of social conflicts in Peru: the ombudsman's conflicts report and the Peruvian National Office of Social Communication).

3.3 Mining Agreements and Social Consent

Much of the literature on the relationship between mining and development in the Andes has focused on socio-environmental struggles over access and control of natural resources, the defense of livelihoods and human citizenship rights, and the disappointment over the distribution of mining royalties (Bebbington et al., 2008, p. 893; Bebbington and Humphreys, 2009). However, few studies have paid attention to processes of consent and cooperation between companies, the state, and communities (Ulloa, Godofrid, Damonte, Quiroga, and Lopez, 2021; Van Teijlingen and Dupuits, 2021).

The widespread literature on resource conflicts has led many to take for granted the idea that resistance and disputes are the single authentic social agency response in extractive contexts. However, doing inquiry that goes beyond resource conflicts allows analyzing "other types of spaces and interactions to defend their interests around territories and common goods. These strategies include negotiation processes with governments or corporations, multi-scale alliances, the co-production of knowledge, or the emergence of ecoterritorial alternatives" (Van Teijlingen and Dupuits, 2021, p. 8).

Scambary (2009, p. 200, 201) points out that the academic literature on mining agreements suggests that successful engagements between mining companies and the Indigenous population "depend on accommodation of existing Indigenous skills and knowledge while not compromising their innate cultural identity", as well as in working with local economies to generate shared benefits. Trebeck (2009) states that a crucial element through which mining companies attain acceptance is encouraging the local population to influence those decisions that impact them.

Altman (2005) affirms that the local aspirations in mining agreements are directed toward promoting more innovative economic relationships in terms of enhancing mainstream economic opportunities. In addition, Holcombe (2009) asserts that Indigenous initiatives arising from those mining agreements don't have to be reduced to employment in the mine but may include other ways of structuring and fostering local economic opportunities.

Based on the mining agreement between the Anglo American mining company and the peasant communities of Michiquillay and La Encañada in the Northern Peruvian region of Cajamarca, Burneo and Chaparro (2009, 2010) notice that disagreements can occur in the process towards consent if local expectations are not met. In addition, they suggest examining what makes agreements possible and sustainable, and what types of social relations arise through them.

Vervaeke (2013) highlights that mining companies typically use employment opportunities to gain consent from communities and discourage opposition to the

mine. The allocation of vast economic resources and job opportunities in the mine has been traditionally considered the blueprint for engaging with locals and building stable relationships in mining contexts. With these elements, the mine would be a key partner in the process of shaping a major positive change for the remote villages (Askland, 2020, p. 7).

However, mining's allocation of a vast amount of money and jobs has also triggered social disruptions within communities due to allegations of the municipality's irregular management of economic resources and community members' claim for employments in the mine (Melendez, 2020). This situation harms the company-community relationships by cultivating negative emotions such as anger and mistrust. Thus, granting these mining resources to communities has not been a guaranteed method to building meaningful and stable company-community relationships and establishing true rapport with community members.

The social license granted to Corani's project reveals that the allocation of economic resources and employment for local development should be accompanied by an emotional engagement to create cooperation and build stable company-community relationships (Bjørst, 2020). In addition, this case shows that mining companies have learned from previous experiences. Nowadays, they adjust their ideas and practices to the emerging national rules and community local values, showing to the audience as representatives of a "kindly capitalism" (Baud, Boelens, and Damonte, 2019, p. 199).

3.4 Partnership in Mining Contexts

The notion of "partnership" has been used to describe company-community engagements. The same idea takes several related forms such as "partners", "socios", and "collaborators". Bjørst (2020, p. 2) uses the notion of "partnership" to address the quest for stable relationships in Greenland's mining sector: "what does it really take to become, find and keep a good partner?" Using the affective approach, because relationships involve a wide range of emotions and affects, she argues that creating partnership is based on the mobilization of emotions linked to trust and love. The idea is to "look at the communications that occur around partnerships and what is made possible by the language of partnership" (p. 5).

Bjørst (2020) points out the importance of local values for building stable relationships between Indigenous peoples and mining industries. She describes a presentation made by the vice president of Planning & Development for Teck Resources Limited, a leading Canadian mining company, entitled: "The Opportunity to Secure Social License." The presentation showed Teck's approach to relationships and agreements with Indigenous peoples to help reduce business risk: "Build trust and mutual respect; Openly communicating interests and concerns; Improving community well-being; Being innovative and collaborative" (p. 7). One of the author's conclusions is that "partnerships come with benefits but also with obligations and expectations that call for emotional labour" (p. 7), which must demonstrate trust, understanding of local values, and show commitment.

Babidge (2013, p. 275) addresses an extended deal made between an a community and a multinational copper mining company regarding the company's use of territory and underground water resources in the Atacama dessert in Northern Chile. She uses the notion of *socios* to explore the company-community engagement. Babidge explains being "socios" in terms of a "partnership", in which the indigenous agreed to enter into a contractual relationship with the mining company as part of the process of Corporate Social Responsibility. This partnership seems to reveal that Atacamanian indigenous "consent" to neoliberal conditions, since they accept the risks involved in maintaining their livelihoods in light of the gains in access to community development resources. However, far from being engaged in a corporate partnership solely on market terms, the indigenous community is openly critical of the impact of mining activities on their territory, and is ready to monitor their activities and demand rightful compensation for damages. In addition, being involved in a partnership with the mining company does not only means being aligned with neoliberal assumptions. Beyond that, it also entails that the community has a role aiding the mining company to acquire significant knowledge regarding the place and its local cultural practices such as compadrazgo, which promotes honesty and selfrespect. In sum, the role of "socios" entails a relationship of mutual responsibility. Babidge depicts it as follows:

The head of community relations at the mining company asked me to provide him a short analysis of how he could improve relations between his company and the community. I first asked an older man what the company should do: he was regarded as having significant knowledge of territory, water, and traditional matters, and had been involved in negotiations with the company since the start. He said that it was very simple: the priority was the company "should tell the truth" (Babidge, 2013, p. 286).

A partnership is also understood as a "collaborative work". Robitaille et al. (2017) study the factors contributing to building collaborative indigenous partnerships in Canada's forest sector. They outline how modern technology supports traditions, accommodates preferred practices, and establishes mechanisms to influence decision-making. In addition, Andersen (2008, p. 43) points out that an ideal partnership "is not established from one day to next. It requires time, patience, and a shared vision to strengthen the inadequately resourced partner."

Bear Creek Mining Company relied on the notion of being "collaborators" to engage communities. As Bjørst (2020, p. 5) suggests, I will look at the communications and language of partnership used in the process of obtaining Corani's social license. I will pay particular attention to the emotions, values, and mutual responsibilities involved in building the company-community relationship. In addition, I will analyze whether technology supports traditions or rather breaks cultural patterns, and to what extent the mechanisms of decision-making influence the company's behaviour. Finally, I will discuss this idea of being a "collaborator" as one that breaks the traditional "provider" role in mining contexts.

Chapter 4: The Emotional Narrative around Social Consent for the Corani Mining Project

4.1 Engaging Positive Emotions in Expert's Knowledge: The Emotional Content of The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)

A crucial starting point for establishing long-term relationships between mining companies and communities is for both parties to acknowledge the environmental risks inherent in extractive activities, commonly perceived as threats to the local economic activities and livelihoods. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is a technical report that identifies the potential negative impacts of mining activities (e.g., environmental, geological, economic, socio-cultural) and establishes relevant procedures to mitigate them. Experts consulting hired by the mining companies usually elaborate this document. For example, for the Corani mining project, Bear Creek commissioned to a consulting firm to lead and develop the EIA. In addition, it is essential to mention that the EIA is a legal requirement established by the Peruvian government for mining companies to start extraction. Therefore, it also needs the approval of the communities involved in the extraction area.

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¹ In the Peruvian case, two main requirements must be met to obtain the social license for mining operations. The first one is the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The second one is the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC), also known as prior consultation. What differentiates each is that the EIA is a process led by mining companies to provide technical information to indigenous communities about the potential impacts of mining operations and the measures to minimize them in their jurisdiction. In this process, the participation of the national government is almost absent. In contrast, the FPIC seeks an agreement between the national government and the Indigenous communities (without third participation) on measures than could directly affect them, such as mining operations in their territories.

What is the role and weight of emotions in assessing the contents of the EIA? How can the EIA, which tends to be difficult to understand for an audience that is not used to technical language, and which has typically opposed and struggled politically against mining activities in the Andean region, be understood and evoke positive emotions among locals? To answer this question, I will explore the interactions that occur "behind the scenes" or at the margins of the production of an EIA. At the margins of Corani project's EIA, we find an emotional labour in verifying local values and cooperation and credible commitments between the company and communities that facilitate building stable relationships. The crucial point here is that those collaborative works and commitments are not easy to obtain, but happen once expert knowledge is collectively shared and accepted.

Corani's EIA was approved in 2013. Bear Creek deployed "emotional work" to mitigate the locals' environmental risks perceptions. The evidence of the emotional work undertaken by the mining company are depicted in educating community members about the mining process and including young community members in the elaboration of the baseline study, a primary component of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), which has been traditionally commissioned to experts. This time the company decided to include the communities in its formulation (Revista Energiminas, 2019). What is important to highlight is that, in both cases, there is a reconnection with the territory, in terms of interacting with local natural resources and inhabitants, which has been crucial to reinforce identity values.

The mining company recognized that the environmental topic was a generalized concern among community members. Therefore, the venture had to start

addressing this issue. According to the VPCD, the venture thought community members could acquire a meaningful understanding of the environmental work they planned to do in the communities (CIP tv, 2019). To do that, the mining company carried out collaborative work with community members by teaching them how the mining process works. From the company's perspective, instructing people about the mining process is key to reducing environmental risk concerns and dissipating doubts. In this regard, interaction with the territory played an essential role. The venture began explaining this process on the ground, by showing how to remove the mineral from small rocks. These interactions with local resources helped, on the one hand, explain the mining process at a small scale and, on the other hand, to recognize the unnoticed tangible wealth present in the communities. The Vice President of Corporate Development (VPCD) explains this situation

The fact of teaching locals about the mining process was a fascinating experience. On the ground, I showed a rock to the locals and told them it contained minerals worth five thousand dollars. I asked them to take out the ore so they can receive the money. They started to crush it, but they could not see the mineral. So, I explained to them that there is a metallurgical principle to extract the silver contained in the rock. Silver contains others mineral elements that allow it to float in water. So, when you swamp the crushed rock pieces with water, the ore floats, and that is what we sell. There are no more complex issues. When they understand this process on a significant scale, that is, when they know the function of each machine, obviously things become straightforward, and they feel the company is being much more honest and clear about what it is going to do. (Author's translation, LampadiaOficial 2013, 5:27)

In addition, the mining company undertook a collaborative work with young community members to elaborate a Baseline study, a primary component of the EIA

that outlines the area prior the development of a project to establish the level of impact expected. This study requires analyzing and identifying the problems community members face in different aspects, such as education, health, and economies initiatives. In addition, the venture educated youth regarding the technical content of the EIA, by providing elementary classes on physics, chemistry, explosives, and other topics, which was in charge of Peruvian professionals, because it is a central point that foreigners use as a stronghold of their opposition to the project (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2017). Once those trained were assured of a complete understanding of the mining process and the EIA, as part of an agreement made between Bear Creek Mining and the community members, latter was asked to explain the project to fellow villagers and external audiences who may have questions about its impact (CIP tv, 2019). It is stated by the VPCD

Typically, the same companies in charge of the environmental impact study (EIA) make the Baseline study as well. They have a staff of specialists in different fields that collect data from their respective areas. We decided to do something different: let's take the young people, the professionals, those who have some capacity in this regard, and ask them do the Baseline together with the specialists. So, the Baseline was elaborated with the specialists and the youth from the local communities. When we held workshops with all the community's members, the youth answered diverse questions about the project, such as whether people were now drinking contaminated water. They explained that the water was not contaminated because they had participated in picking up the samples together with the company, and they had themselves chosen the laboratory to test those samples, which produced the same results the venture issued in the final report. (Author's translation, RPP, 2013, 11:35)

As a result of providing the local youth with information, analysis, and the capacity to communicate the details of the EIA, members of the Corani Student Association successfully presented the report named "Baseline Study: Peasant Communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya" at the headquarters of Peru's prestigious Institute of Mining Engineers in Lima, demonstrating that it was a well-prepared document that meets the required national standards. From the mining company position, this event is an outstanding example for Peruvian rural youth. While for the local authorities, such as the mayor of Corani, it makes feel proud of the communities' youth that could elaborate this type of technical reports (Mining Press, 2014). In addition, local leaders recognized the value of this technical training as a significant resource for communicating the project details and their impacts (On Common Ground Consultants Inc., 2019, p. 5)

Community participation and environmental monitoring in mining activities is another way of redefining social roles, moving away from protests and conflicts that in the past were considered the primary channels for the local's agency against extractive activities (Van Teijlingen and Dupuits, 2021, p. 8). These roles empower locals, who become not only witnesses of the mining project installation process but also spokespersons, either in the face of controversial comments about the project or attending the calls of public institutions who want to know about the EIA, and supervisors of the mine's activities. For instance, the mayor of Corani says: "We have always been concerned about the environment. We are going to establish a vigilance committee." (Jobrame, 2016)

At this point, I want to highlight that the involvement of the community in expert knowledge allowed the creation of commitments between them and the mining company. Commitments are significant because they help to build healthy and predictable relationships. According to the theory of social commitments, even though people can opt to be in relationships because of instrumental incentives (e.g., being pro-investment as happened with communities in Corani), those incentives are not sufficient to create lasting social order. Instead, "in the long term, voluntary social order is possible only when people value the ties as ends in themselves as thus actively engage in the production of social order at deeper levels" (Lawer, Thye, and Yoon 2014, p. 80). This means that rationality is not sufficient to consolidate social ties. Therefore, people need to move from instrumental commitments to *affective* ones to secure long-term relationships. The question is: how does that happen?

The theory of social commitments outlines that "joint tasks" are essential for establishing and sustaining social ties because they generate a sense of shared responsibility. The notion that underlines this premise is that people tend to feel good when they accomplish tasks working collaboratively, and feel bad when they don't. At this point, "repeated interactions around joint tasks can lead to affective sentiments and ties to relational or group affiliations" (Lawer, Thye, and Yoon, 2014, p. 88). The theory of social commitments is not new. It goes back to the work of classical sociologists such as Durkheim, who stated that joint activities were a central basis for social order in small-scale societies because of the emotions and feelings that arise from those activities (Lawer, Thye, and Yoon 2014, p. 80).

So far, I have presented the literature about identity verification's role in fostering positive emotions and building stable relationships. I also outlined that being invested in relationships is related to modes of cooperation (Andersen, 2008, as cited in Bjørst, 2020). Collaboration or partnerships require assuming mutual responsibilities to fulfill specific tasks. In mining contexts, the debate about "responsibility" has mainly pointed to the corporate side as the main responsible agent for any environmental, economic, and social impacts related to its activities. We have also heard about the state's responsibility with mining corporations, for instance, by being a credible guarantor in the decision-making process on mining projects or by paying considerable fines in case of breaking signed contractual commitments. But little has been said about the "community's social responsibilities" to mining companies. This points to the notion that building stable relationships in mining contexts requires that both companies and communities meet expectations and responsibilities. This is important because as Mauss (2016 [1925]) underlines, putting people under obligations helps to secure solidarity and long-term ties. However, it is crucial to recognize the unequal power relations between the mining company and the local communities in building symmetric reciprocity.

Finally, I wanted to show in this section that Bear Creek Mining invested an emotional labour in explaining the environmental topic by opening the expert-knowledge, that is, educating community members in technical training and including them in the elaboration of the EIA. The fact that young community members had shown the capacity to cooperate in the elaboration of the EIA meeting the national standards, and assuming the responsibility to explain it to external audience, encourages self-esteem and self-efficacy in community members. However, it is also

important to underline that these practices (focused on the company's promotion of positive emotions in community members) seem to be aimed at reducing the environmental risk perceptions of mining operations because it is a mistake to believe that technical explanations will dispel fears in the community (Oficina Nacional de Diálogo y Sostenibilidad, 2013, p. 16). Even though the mining company shared its expert knowledge with community members, it carried out an outstanding "emotional labour" to diminish the negative perceptions surrounding resource extraction. In other words, it seems that emotions may be used effectively to fill or replace the expert-knowledge gap. This is significant because when non-experts deal with making sense of complex technical issues, they tend to make decisions based on the quality of the story rather than the content itself (Walter Fisher, as cited in Marshall, 2014).

4.2 Engaging Emotions and Values in Development Communication

This section outlines the theoretical ideas behind the methods to explore the emotional content in acquiring the social license for the Corani mining project. I use the affective discourse approach because it is a fundamental means to engage the audience emotionally. The mobilization of positive emotions is an essential public engagement strategy in development communication. For instance, Cameron (2015) suggests that humour can be helpful in engaging people in struggles for global justice when it is ethically applied. The advantage of using humour lies in its ability to engage people in non-rational arguments, making the presentation of serious problems more light to a diverse audience unaware of these concerns.

Andresen (2006) suggests that an effective way to engage an audience is learning about who the people are and identifying what motivates them. In addition, she points out that "we cannot change who our audience are, but we can change what they do. The trick is to show our audience a new way to get what they already want" (p. 39). In other words, a big point of connection with the audience relies on tapping into their identity and desires to create a sense of affiliation and cooperation (Center for Research on Environmental Decisions, 2009). Andresen (2006) underlines this notion as follows

People want to preserve their mental framework, their sense of self, and their autonomy, so they interpret the information received according to their framework. If the information doesn't fit within it, they ignore the information or assume it is unreal (p. 40).

Andresen (2006) asserts that according to the theory of human behaviour, people take actions they perceive as fun, easy, popular, and rewarding (p. 46). In that sense, connecting with audience's identity and desires should consider those elements to motivate them. The motivation is strengthened if those actions are linked to the idea that the solution to the problems people face in developing countries already exist in their own places (Jerry Sternin, 2000, as cited in Andresen, 2006, p. 48)

One crucial point to engage with the audience is to gain their trust. Lamb and Lane (2016, p. 9) highlight the "Aristotelian rhetoric" approach to earning trust. He points that distrust can be overcome using distinctive communicative capacities to engage the emotions of the audience. Distrust issues are associated with negative emotions (e.g., the sense of losing, anger, fear, shame) that arise from the suspicion

that speakers may be pursuing interests opposed to the values and desires of the audience. The idea thus is to convert them into positive emotions (e.g., mildness, confidence, and empathy) by communicating in ways that preserve the audiences' capacity for agency and judgment and treating them as political equals rather than passive recipients.

Marshall (2014) stresses the importance of using stories, social meanings, and values to engage with audiences. He argues that the current failure to motivate people to take action about climate change is primarily based on the rational arguments being used. The author quotes Walter Fisher, a communications theorist at the University of Southern California, who argues that when non-experts deal with making sense of complex technical issues, they tend to make decisions based on the quality of the story rather than the content itself. Therefore, a compelling story can be more emotionally engaging than a purely scientific account of the existing threats. In the same line, Corner, Shaw, and Clarke (2018, p. 13) mention as a principle for effective communication and pubic engagement is telling a story about the place relates to the audience, maintaining people's autonomy, and embracing what they love or care about that could be affected.

In the next sections, I will explore the emotional content of the social license for the Corani mining project. First, I will analyze the efforts of Bear Creek to appeal to the identity and values of community members and what kind of language the mining company uses to engage them. Second, I will examine if the initiatives promoted by the venture for local development within the CSR framework, are perceived as fun, easy, popular, and rewarding for community members and to what

extent those initiatives are related to the idea of overcoming local challenges. Third, I will scrutinize the mining company's communication around the idea of preserving the people's capacity for agency to encourage community members to be more than mere observers of development processes. Finally, I will explore the stories mobilized by the mining company to verify local identity and engage and establish rapport with community members.

4.3 "Mining Without Miners": Autonomy and the Corporate's Local Development Conception

Bear Creek Company's communication strategy is based on appealing to the social identity and values to engage with community members and build a meaningful relationship with them. It is plainly noticeable in the company's discourse when the vice president of corporate development (VPCD) states: "We realize that not only we have to understand and respect local customs, but we have to be integrated with them. If someone keeps working on that, the coexistence will be much better" (RPP, 2013, 2:25). This notion was entirely at work while acquiring the social license to operate: during the first encounters, in the elaboration of the Environmental Impact Assessment, through the implementation of Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives, and even after obtaining the social consent. It is essential to mention that this emotional narrative interplays with resourceful local development investments based on combining technology with local natural resources.

We can note in the VPCD's discourse that the effort of getting closer to the community members relies on appealing to the local identity and supporting them to

achieve their goals (Andresen, 2006; Center for Research on Environmental Decisions, 2009). One fundamental insight in Bear Creek Mining's communication is to tell community members that they can achieve success, that is, to achieve their aspirations without becoming miners, just being themselves and taking advantage of their natural resources using science and technology. The VPCD depicts this notion:

How to ensure that the local cultural elements do not change, the issue of idiosyncrasy, the way they have been working and developing economically, and how to improve these things? It was the most relevant question. So, we had as a premise not to think about how to satisfy people to agree with the mine's investment, but rather to think about how to help them achieve their own aims. We do not want any community member to work in the mine; we do not want any community member to depend on an enterprise around the mine. What we want is to build on their resources and customs, and the way to achieve that is through science and technology (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 7:00)

In addition, the mining company connects with community members by appealing to their identity as alpaca breeders, an ancestral primary local economic activity from which they feel proud. In the Andes, domestic economic activities such as small-scale agriculture and alpaca breeding, in addition to providing essential resources for social reproduction, allow community members to keep social ties.

Moreover, what is crucial to stress is that the venture recreates and amplifies the local identity by reconnecting community members to the natural resources in the territory. To do that, the use of the language of *love* has been significant in strengthening social ties and making community members feel proud of their land and the unique natural resources they have. The VPCD reflects on this idea:

We want the locals not to lose their alpaca breeder spirit. We want them to feel proud of their land and strengthen their love for each other. It was a way to tell community members that they need not focus on working in the mine. Instead, we wanted to tell them that they have lovely things surrounding them and should benefit from them. I hope none of the early residents will work in the mine. Still, they will be elaborating value-added products made with local resources because it is the best path to ensure a better future since the mining activity is transitory (Author's translation, La República, 2019).

This idea of "mining without miners" stated by the VPCD illustrates the company's local development conception, which is primary focused on encouraging autonomous development by generating value by the transforming local natural resources. According to the VPCD, encouraging autonomous development evokes positive emotions such as self-esteem, pride, and love that help to engage the audience because those feelings reinforce the local identity (Andresen, 2006; Stryker, 2004; Burke and Stets, 2009). He adds that the role of science and technology in turning the local resources into value-added goods has been the key to mobilizing these positive emotions and values. In addition, the promotion of autonomous development encourages in community members their capacity for agency and, thus, to be more than passive recipients of development (Lamb and Lane, 2016)

The fact that they have the chance of achieving autonomous development generates two elements: their self-esteem and their self-realization, and in turn these factors motivate them. When you cover physiological, security, and integration needs, you do not motivate; you only cover essential needs. What does motivate? What you love. So, the fact that they built their first warm house based on their local resources is positive. It makes them feel satisfaction and pride (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 17:50)

It seems that the idea of "mining without miners," which intends to illustrate the corporate's local development conception, and the emotions involved within this frame, are employed as a political tool (Sejersen and Thisted, 2021; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021; Weszkalnys, 2016) to reduce the demands for employment in the mine, which is another element of conflicts between mining companies and local communities.

To reinforce the engagement with communities, that is, to gain the confidence of community members to work collaboratively, the mining company shows them that it has a complete understanding of what they have around. For instance, by showing the potential hidden use of local natural resources or by telling stories about the place. This knowledge contributed to the goal of connecting the venture with the local values and being perceived as a community member that shares the local interests. In a practical way, having a full understanding of the potential scientific use of the local natural resources helps to show the community members a new way to solve their problems (Andresen, 2006). This idea is stated by the VPCD:

In the beginning, I asked myself: how can I engage with them to work collaboratively with us and earn their trust? The answer that came to my mind was to let them know that we fully understand what they have around them and its worth. We know how long the alpaca lives. We know the health issues the alpaca faces; their tremendous rate of mortality. How can you reduce this mortality without relying on antibiotics and without any support from the national government? So, we started thinking together, and we figured out a solution. We decided to use the llama's immunoglobulin and supply it to alpacas because the first ones were much more resistant and live longer lives. So, by doing that, we strengthen alpacas and reduce their mortality. We are providing them with new ways to solve their problems,

and we are doing these things using the local resources. (Author's translation, Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2017, 6:21)

Another way to engage with the audience is using stories and social meanings they identify themselves (Marshall, 2014). This notion is materialized in Corani's research case. During the first meetings, Bear Creek appealed to the alpaca story to engage locals. The alpaca is one of the most valuable animals in the Andean region, from which the locals obtain their primary economic resources. This story contributed to the community's perception that the mining company understands their local values. It is plain depicted in VPCD's statement:

We proposed an alpaca breeding development project to the locals. However, they had doubts about its success, as we are not alpaca breeders. Indeed, they are the experts in this knowledge area. The locals said that we are miners; we are not alpaca breeders. They defined themselves as being ancestrally alpaca breeders, and they told us what they needed to improve the alpaca breeding. So, to understand each other much better, we met with the locals to explain the origins of the alpaca so they may grasp what we knew about it. I told them "lets check your history". I asked the locals where the alpaca comes from. They replied the alpaca has always been Andean. I told them it has not always been like that, as forty million years ago they came from North America, and before that, alpacas had a five-meter neck. They told me they did not know about that. I realized that telling the alpaca origin story, that is, how they were in the beginning, how they evolved, was crucial to understanding each other better (Author's translation, LampadiaOficial, 2013, 12:00).

4.3.1 "The Evil Friend": A Holistic Engaging Approach

Bear Creek mining experienced some unpleasant meetings at the beginning of its relationship with communities. Understanding the local cultural patterns involves a holistic approach, and requires shifting ideas and practices traditionally performed by the mining companies to engage with communities across the Andean region. For instance, according to the VPCD, during the exploration stage, the male locals who worked for the company simultaneously increased their incomes and also developed unpleasant habits such as alcohol consumption. This situation caused female locals to perceive the venture as an "evil friend" who incites terrible habits in their husbands and provokes problems in the community's families. The VPCD states this situation

It is crucial to have a holistic perspective. I realized that local women were annoyed with the mining company at one point. So, I asked them what was going on. They told me that an "evil friend" had arrived. Adopting an anthropological lens, we understand that when a partner is starting to misbehave, it is because there is an external negative influence that would be harming them. In this case the evil friend was Bear Creek. Why? Because of the new incomes obtained through the mine, their husbands started increasing their alcohol consumption, which created other issues that we had not already had in mind. We realized that we should have had a holistic perspective, focusing on economic improvement and considering other factors such as the psychological, ethical, and moral. We had to deal with several aspects. In addition, I understood that we had to design programs for youth and women. We did it, and it was a vital issue to improve our relationship with them (Author's translation, LampadiaOficial 2013,3:10)

After this experience, the mining company understood three things. First, there is a cultural impact that must not be overlooked. Second, that the sole allocation of economic resources does not guarantee establishing a healthy relationship with community members. Instead, other factors such as dignity and self-respect are

crucial to build and secure a long-term relationship. Third, the participation of women and youth are significant in building meaningful relationships with the communities.

4.3.2 "Why do I Want a Mine?": The Moral Dimension

"Why do I want a mine"? It was a question made by a community member to a Bear Creek company representative. The most common answer to this question is that mining investments mean development in terms of economic growth. The allocation of private financial resources in impoverished communities is usually considered a significant opportunity to improve local living conditions. For that reason, resistance to large mining projects across the Andes is considered "irrational" and "anti-development" for a large sector of the public opinion. While some communities may consent to mining operations in their territories despite the significant risks associated to this activity, such as environmental pollution, water depletion, and local economy disruption, other communities are unwilling to endanger their livelihood. In addition to these concerns, there are different (overlooked and less discussed) motivations that may play a significant role in assessing mining investments, such as preserving moral elements related to "dignity," "self-respect," and "self-esteem" embedded in collectives identities. This means that mining development discourse has focused on the promise of economic growth and poverty alleviation but has lost sight of the local moral dimension as an essential factor that also drives development in the cultural terms of each society. Communities are not only concerned about the protection of the environment, the landscapes, and the economic assets but also with preserving identity and social bonds. Mining companies have invested many resources in addressing environmental impacts, but they have

given less importance to the "non-material" effects. Nobody wants to feel subordinate, ignored, or discriminated against in relationships, even if they are new "guests" who arrive to our home. Bear Creek understood this situation during the first encounters with communities, and it was crucial to develop social strategies to connect with the local values and establish rapport with the community. As the VPCD states:

I could not understand why they continue living in harsh and unfriendly environments over the five thousand meters above the sea level, enduring cold, and without an adequate health care system. We identified three reasons. First, they opt to stay living there because they feel valued in the community. They think their dignity is preserved there. Second, they say there is no discrimination among them. Third, they are proud of being alpaca and llama breeders, an activity learned from their ancestors. But then, one of them asked me, why do I want a mine? They thought the mine would bring foreigners who would discriminate against them. They were not so much interested in the economic benefits but rather in feeling valuable and not being discriminated (Author's translation, Revista Energiminas, 2019).

In addition, the VPCD stresses the importance of the local traditions as they help maintain dignity and social ties among community members. For instance, fostering local projects based on alpaca fiber help to dispel worries in adult community members about youth stop participating in the alpaca breeding economy activity as long as they mine hires them. It is expressed by the VPCD:

Their worries regarding the mining project were based on the assumption that foreigners would bring discrimination and the extinction of the alpaca breeding economy activity and thus their culture. In Corani, alpaca breeding is a proudly ancestral activity. They thought that young people would decide

to work in the mine and stop participating in this other activity. Those were crucial points that we had not realized before we arrived there (Author's translation, La República, 2019).

4.3.3 "They Want to Buy Me": From Giver to Collaborator of Development

The VPCD states that the company found three challenges at the local level: the perception that mining creates social disruption, the fear that the alpaca breeding might disappear, and the distrust of the local leadership. From the mining company's perspective, overcoming these challenges was possible by aligning with and reinforcing local cultural values and considering the company as a collaborator rather than as a giver of development. This turning is crucial for engagement with community members because the collaborator seeks to highlight the importance of local attributes to achieve autonomous development, and that message conveys positive emotions. It is plainly depicted in the VPCD's discourse, who use the language of love attached with the local natural resources:

Bear Creek's biggest challenge was to preserve the local values. We realized that the only way to do that was to emphasize the worth of what they have locally, encourage them to appreciate their resources, and to teach them to love what they have, not only with the heart but also with knowledge and understanding. So, how can we achieve this change? By promoting their cultural development without considering the mine as a giver of employments and revenues to reach development. It is not because the mine arrives that I will automatically improve my situation; it is because we collaborate with each other. Thus, creating value-added out of local resources, working with supplies they have always known, people begin to not only become aware of the wealth surrounding them but, even most significantly, they begin to develop a renewed self-esteem, they begin to see

themselves as a skilful, proficient, and clever individuals who can change their adverse situation without depending on anyone. We are simply collaborators in that process (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 10:47)

Changing the approach from "givers" to "collaborators" of development has been crucial for Bear Creek Mining's conception of local development. Traditionally, mining companies have been perceived as givers of employment, local infrastructure, and tax revenue, which are considered central arguments that justify the presence of large extractive projects. However, those kinds of "gifts" have not guaranteed stable community-company relationships, and sometimes have even led to social unrest. According to the gift theory, the fact of giving implies the obligations to receive, give, and return to build and secure social ties (Mauss, 2016 [1925]; Ferguson, 2021, p. 16). When the receiver does not have the capacity to give back the gift, it places the giver in a superior position, while the recipient is placed in an inferior and unworthy stance, creating asymmetric political relations and social disruptions (Mauss, 2016 [1925], as cited in Sejersen and Thisted, 2021, p. 380).

Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR) initiatives are usually considered drivers of development at the local level. Such programs are not mandatory for extractives companies, but represent the venture's commitment to the well-being of the local population. CSR initiatives are commonly perceived as yielding benefits out of generosity or empathy, as is often entailed in Western understandings of "giving to the poor" (Ferguson, 2021, p. 48). The main concern with this conception of "giving out development "is that it makes beneficiaries feel "being less" and positions them as mere "observers" of development (Bjørst, 2020, p. 9). In practical terms, this conception of development generates communities' dependency on mining companies

and a lack of concrete paths for local *agency* towards autonomous development. In contrast, by encouraging autonomous development motivates local agency to overcome community's challenges and, therefore, the feeling of self-realization and self-sufficiency. The VPCD states this idea:

We identified several problems to overcome in the communities, but we avoided attending them in the shape of providing a gift. Rationality says that human beings opt for the shortest and easiest way to achieve something, but science has proved that it is not true. When someone reaches something by putting in a significant effort, they get greater satisfaction. Instead, if somebody brings something in a quick and comfortable way, people do not get the feeling of self-realization and self-sufficiency (Author's translation, Revista Energiminas, 2019)

Bear Creek Mining opted for changing the traditional engagement strategy with communities, based on taking the mine as a *giver* of employment and revenues to advance local development. In this line, the VPCD stated that giving away meaningless things without having a solid argument for doing so generates distrust, as people start thinking there is something suspicious there; they think we want to buy their sympathy (LampadiaOficial, 2013, 1:58). The VPCD amplifies this notion as follows:

We had to break myths about company-community relations in extractive activities. Which one? Arriving with gifts. When someone suddenly offers you a gift, you immediately ask yourself for the reason behind it and the giver's expectations. This kind of action raises intrigues. So, our task, and focus, was to explain what we actually have to offer them, our product, and our product is mining exploitation. The fact that they understand what we are going to do is key to removing worries regarding the damage to the local

economy based on breeding alpacas (Author' translation, RPP, 2013, 8:25).

According to the VPCD, representing the company as a collaborator is an opportunity to "let the locals know that we fully understand what they have. It is a way of gaining confidence" (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2017). But even more significantly, it is a chance to tell them "what mines are" and "what mining can do" (Bjørst, 2020, p. 8). For instance, regarding improving the quality of drinking water in the communities given the lack of a general drinking water system, the venture proposed a creative solution using scientific knowledge and the local resources to eliminate natural water contaminants, which have caused stomach infections in local children. Paraphrasing Andresen (2006, p. 39), the mining company "shows the audience a new way to get what they already want"

How do we eliminate natural water contaminant elements? We proposed using a cysteine filter. Cysteine exists in the zone. Andean potatoes have a lot of cysteines. We mixed the cysteine with plastic, and obtained cleaner water. So, we are working on cleaning the waters and improve groundwater production for the population. People understand that we have to work as a team; that this synergy is vital to achieving success for the community (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2019, 7:50)

A collaborator seeks to highlight the importance of local attributes to achieve success, and that message conveys positive emotions. According to Bjørst (2020), becoming a partner or collaborator is a significant weakness in the mining sector. She shows this concern by citing a representative of the mining company Tanbreez: "One of our weaknesses is that we have not told and taught the locals what mining can do.

Mining companies have to understand that they are going to a place where people do not fully understand what mines are" (p. 8)

There are three main features of assuming the role of collaborator rather than of a giver of development. First, being a collaborator implies, somehow, becoming a new giver: moving from being a traditional giver of economic and material resources to one who prioritizes the allocation of knowledge and affection. Second, this new giver comes with a narrative of positive futures in which "extractive activities are not the goal, but, instead, are turned into the means for positive development" (Sejersen and Thisted, 2021, p. 381). Third, the partnership comes with benefits but also with obligations and expectations (Bjørst, 2020, p. 8).

4.3.4 The "Icy Hot" from the Andes: Rooting CSR Initiatives in Local Resources

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives are highlighted because of the creation of unique and innovative products from local resources. Those initiatives strive to conquer nature by using technological and scientific innovations to add value to local natural resources, aiming to overcome daily community challenges such as anemia, alpaca mortality, freezing living conditions, and creating business and development opportunities as well. To undertake CSR programs, Bear Creek Mining created the Center of Technological Innovations (CTI) in the community of Chacaconiza, which provides training to the residents, especially youth, by Peruvian professionals who teach physics, chemistry, and technology issues. In other words, the CTI works as a laboratory where villagers create solutions to their problems by

using technology to benefit from the local natural resources (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2020).

For instance, it is known that anemia is due to insufficient iron levels in the blood. According to the mining company's research about this issue, certain geographical factors produce anemia in those communities, such as the high exposure to ultraviolet rays due to altitude. The ultraviolet rays destroy red blood cells that carry proteins such as iron. To address this concern, the venture and community members decided to produce a *paté* food product made of alpaca that contains a high vitamin B-12 content, which helps generate red blood cells. In addition, they created a sunscreen made of Ichu grass, a local Andean grass resistant to high and low temperatures. It contains zinc, a main active chemical element of sunscreen products. This initiative is stated by the VPCD

We found anemia, and it was an opportunity to show people that miners can help overcome this challenge. First, we had to figure out the origin of the anemia there. We realized that the locals are exposed to high ultraviolet rays due to the high altitude. The ultraviolet rays destroy folic acid, which is an essential vitamin for the maturation of red blood cells, and this one, in turn, allows iron to be carried. So, you get anemia not due to the lack of iron but because of the altitude. Once we identified the problem, we looked for options available in the local natural resources. We figured out that the ichu contains zinc, the active element of sunscreen. So, we decided to make sunscreens made of Ichu grass (Author's translation, Rumbo Minero Television, 2019, 5:25).

Other health initiatives are being produced in the communities. The elaboration of a pain ointment made from Saliika, another Andean plant with

magnesium and analgesic properties to help alleviate body aches and pain. It has been labeled as the "icy hot" from the Andes (a popular over the counter pain ointment in Peru). Also, the production of shampoo made with Wichullo herb, which locals have traditionally used to alleviate mussels afflictions. Furthermore, due to the natural properties of Ichu, it is used to build healthy cabins and houses since it keeps the interior of dwellings thermally insulated (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2020).

These types of local project investments by using domestic natural resources aim to say to the community members that they already have the solutions to their problems in their land. In addition, it is a way to say that they should start appreciating what they possess as a culture. In simple terms, the mining company shows "culture" as the key of "development." We can see that attaching to the cultural elements for achieving autonomous development is essential to motivate and evoke positive emotions such as self-esteem and social prestige in community members. This idea is clearly illustrated in the VPCD's discourse:

We are figuring out that the solutions to the locality's problems lie in the community. The autonomous solutions will reduce costs and help them to value themselves as a culture. Bringing stuff there does not help. In turn, the fact that they have the chance of achieving autonomous development encourages two elements: their self-esteem and their self-realization, and these factors motivate them. When you cover physiological, security, and integration needs, you do not motivate; you only cover essential needs. What does motivate? What you love. So, the fact that they built their first warm house based on their local resources is positive. It makes them feel satisfaction and pride (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 17:50)

Regarding local business ventures, community members are producing artisan beer using a unique herb that grows locally called Humpikusawa, which has distinctive nutritional components such as magnesium. The fact of having installed a small-scale factory to produce this product conveys pride, as it is considered the highest brewery in the world, at over five thousand meters above sea level (Rumbo Minero Televisión, 2017).

Alpaca breeding is the main economic activity in Corani. The "Alpaquero Simeaje project" is one of the leading projects developed in the communities, aiming to provide an integrated protection system for alpacas. For instance, they created a device that measures the alpaca's body temperature, heart rate, and location to prevent them from getting sick or lost. In addition to this initiative, they strengthen the alpaca's immune system by supplying immunoglobulin from the llama, another domestic Andean camelid present in the communities. It goes through a hydration process that is then turned into capsules to deliver to the alpacas (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2020).

In addition, a textile program was designed to encourage women's participation in the communities, who usually play an invisible role in mining operations. In Corani, the population is self-identified as Quechua Indigenous people, and crafting artisan fabrics is an ancestral activity that provides identity verification among other groups and communities. In addition, this activity is an essential factor in building interpersonal relationships. For instance, they are given as gifts of marriage and in traditional ceremonies (On Common Ground Consultants, 2019, p. 8)

The emblematic local business enterprise is the creation of "healthy and smart clothing," incorporating silver thread into alpaca fiber garments. Silver is a raw material in the localities, which has antibacterial properties that can easily complement alpaca garment fabrics. In addition, silver allows better blood circulation. For this reason, they create garments capable of measuring the human body temperature, heart rate, and oxygenation of the blood and breathing (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2020).

Adding value to the garments made from alpaca fiber has been a way to get closer to the audience's desires: to show the world the quality of alpaca fiber they produce. As Andresen (2006, p. 39) underlines: "we can't change who our audience are, but we can change what they do. The trick is to show our audience a new way to get what they already want." The community members do not have to give up their identity as "alpaqueros" and turn into "miners." They will continue doing what they already know, but they are changing their way of producing alpaca fiber, hoping to get better economic benefits, and gaining international recognition simultaneously. A community member illustrates this situation:

We are no longer going to sell alpaca fiber for seven soles a pound. Nowadays, we can sell value-added garments made from alpaca fiber in dollars. These products shouldn't stay in Peru. We have a dream: they have to go abroad. We want to show the world the alpaca fiber we produce here. We have to export it. Bear Creek and its Corani project have pledged to search for markets abroad. That is our goal as artisans in training at the communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya (Author's translation, Davidson 5G, 2016, 2:15).

So far, we can see that CSR initiatives are designed around natural resources that aim to reconnect community members with their land. In addition, these programs encourage community member's agency because they are perceived as fun, easy, popular, and rewarding (Andresen, 2006). They are considered feasible because villagers use the resources they interact daily to overcome life challenges. In addition, as a result of adding value to the local natural resources, the community members' reap not only economic benefits but also boost their community's reputation.

It is worth underlining that CSR initiatives favor allocating knowledge instead of material and economic resources for local development. The provision of knowledge is a kind of "affective labour", understood as immaterial labour, which works to cultivate particular affects to facilitate human contact and interaction (Veldstra, 2020, p. 10). From the community members' position, the allocation of this expertise boosts hopes for a better future. One member illustrates it: "What we learned will generate work for us. This knowledge, this wisdom, nobody will take it away" (Davidson 5G, 2016, 5:40). From the mining company's side, affective labour has been crucial in the communication strategy to engage with community members. It, along with creative local project investments using local natural resources and technology, has produced emotional outcomes related to self-esteem, social prestige, and self-efficacy. The VPCD depicts this idea

When asked if you prefer money or knowledge, definitely the latter will be more significant because it allows you to get money. So, we are giving knowledge to communities. For instance, they design smart key locators that can be tracked using a mobile phone with an Android program. So, they are doing things that can be done in other countries, but they are doing it at five thousand meters above sea level. Thus, this kind of initiative provides them

with pride, and we, as a mining company (Author's translation, CIP tv, 2019, 24:55)

4.3.5 Second Baptism: Legitimizing the Social License

One of the significant challenges global society has recently faced is the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak that started at the beginning of 2020. Multiple societies and cultural groups have responded to this outbreak according to their resources and capacity for social organization. For instance, in Corani, the peasant patrols, the core local authority institution, took control of taking care of the population to avoid the spread of the virus. In addition, the community members of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya, in line with the framework of CSR, started taking advantage of the local resources to create products that help prevent the proliferation of the Covid-19 transmission. For instance, they produce masks made from Ichu grass imbibed with silver nanoparticles, which have passed safety standards of protection against the virus. Furthermore, they built ecological domes from Ichu grass to isolate potentially infected people and keep them thermally insulated (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2020).

After a year of struggling with the Covid-19 pandemic, national elections were held to elect a new president. Pedro Castillo, the leftist candidate, won the election and took office in July 2021. However, Castillo's election could jeopardize of the arrival of new foreign investments and the implementation of extractive projects already approved by the state, since he represented a nationalist government. For Bear Creek and the communities of Corani, this new election was relevant. In October 2021, the new president held a meeting with community representatives and the major of the town of Corani to learn about their position regarding the Corani mining

project. The attendants expressed their support for Bear Creek Mining's construction and operation of the Corani silver deposit. President Castillo welcomed their statement of support and declared that he "will take Corani as an examplar for future investment plans" (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2021). One of the Bear Creek Mining representatives stated that this support coming from the communities and authorities reasserts the commitments made by the company and the locals:

We will develop the Corani project in a way that protects the environment and contributes to the sustainable development, growth, and quality of life of local communities, with respect for the traditions and customs of the indigenous people of the area. We take great pride in working hand in hand with local communities and celebrate the accomplishments achieved to ensure a brighter future for the people of the Corani District. We are also grateful to President Castillo for his support of the Corani District communities and are honored by his recognition that Bear Creek and the Corani project exemplify the ideals of responsible mining and social benefit" (Bear Creek Mining Corporation, 2021).

This statement highlights two important things. First, preserving cultural values is as fundamental as taking care of the environment and improving the economic growth of community members. Second, the mining company treats villagers as political equals rather than passive recipients of development in terms of stressing mutual collaboration to reach local aspirations (Lamb and Lane, 2016, p. 9). This discourse is significant because it is openly communicated to the national government and Peruvian citizens.

In this chapter, I outlined the pieces of evidence of the emotional content in Bear Creek's communication to engage with community members and to obtain and

secure social consent for the Corani mining project. I showed how the mining company appeals to the local identity to build a meaningful relationship with communities. A language of love shapes the discourse on identity, which focuses on reconnecting people to their land by stressing the "hidden" potential qualities of local natural resources for autonomous development. The language of love is an "affective labour" that comes in the form of (new) knowledge that encourages embracement rather than losing cultural values, either material or immaterial, and evoking positive emotions and values such as self-esteem, respect, and social prestige.

In addition, the initiatives implemented by Bear Creek Corporation, as part of the CSR frame, promote new ways of experiencing options to solve the community's problems and reach their goals. Since those initiatives are framed on preserving and reinforcing the local identity, they are perceived by community members as familiar and easy, allowing them to continue to do what they already know, such as sewing garments made of alpaca fiber. Furthermore, those initiatives are conceived as popular and rewarding since it makes community members gain a reputation and increase their incomes beyond the mine's resources.

Moreover, Bear Creek Company's communication emphasizes the local agency through the discourse of autonomous development, and thus, positions community members as active participants in reaching their goals rather than being mere observers of development processes. Finally, I also noticed that stories are included in the mining company's discourse to facilitate identity verification with community members.

The main critique regarding the strategic use of emotions by the mining company is the charge of subtle yet well planned political manipulation of emotions to obtain and secure social consent (Sejersen and Thisted, 2021; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021; Weszkalnys, 2016). The key of this strategy is rooted in aligning and reinforcing the local identity. It is illustrated in two essential aspects that usually lead to social conflicts in mining contexts: the environmental risk perceptions and the issues related to finding employment in the mine. Regarding the first one, it gives the impression that the allocation of social prestige aims at reducing the environmental risk perceptions of mining operations because it is a mistake to believe that technical explanations will dispel fears in the community (Oficina Nacional de Diálogo y Sostenibilidad, 2013, p. 16). In other words, it seems that emotions may be used effectively to fill or replace the expert-knowledge gap. It is significant because when non-experts deal with making sense of complex technical issues, they tend to make decisions based on the quality of the story rather than the content itself (Walter Fisher, as cited in Marshall, 2014). Concerning the second one, it seems that the idea of "mining without miners," which intend to illustrate the corporate's local development conception, and the emotions involved within this frame, are employed as a political tool to reduce the demands for employment in the mine, which is another element of conflicts between mining companies and local communities.

In the next chapter, I will outline the findings and conclusion of the research, and I will briefly contrast this research case with a long-term opposition against a mining project in Peru. It is worth it because it may be helpful to understand why mining capitalism has produced different local responses in Peru. Finally, I will share some research items that could open further research discussions about the topic.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

5.1 Affective Mining in the Peruvian Southern Andes

The social license for Corani's mining project was obtained after a long dialogical process between Bear Creek Mining Corporation (BCMC) and members of the communities of Chacaconiza and Quelcaya. This research adopts the affective approach to explore the emotional content in the mining company's narrative to obtain and secure the social license to operate (SLO). I focus on discourse because it is the fundamental means of engaging an audience. I argue that BCMC subtly manipulates emotions as one of the strategies that contributed to obtaining and securing the SLO. The findings show that the relative success of Bear Creek in securing the social license was partly a result of mobilizing an emotional engagement discourse about the local identity by connecting the community members with their land, especially with their domestic natural resources. This emotional engagement strategy contributes to obtaining and securing the social license by working in tandem with strategic investments in local projects and making expert-knowledge available and relatable to community members. In addition, a techno-scientific language highlighting the uniqueness and capabilities of the local natural resources for autonomous development further supports the emotional narrative. In this way, the success of combining technology and positive emotions lies in tying them to identity. Finally, I noted that this emotional narrative was consistently deployed during several distinct phases required to obtain the social license to operate (SLO): during the first meetings, through the elaboration of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), in

the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives, and even after the social consent was granted.

I used the notion of "emotional capitalism" (Illouz, 2007) as a critical lens to analyze the emotional content in Bear Creek Mining's communication in acquiring the social license for Corani's mining project. This notion helps to understand that contemporary capitalism (mining capitalism, in this case) needs to evoke positive emotions to keep reproducing itself. One of the main features of emotional capitalism is articulating new languages of the *self* to seize capital. That means, appealing to the values attached to identity, including autonomy and self-esteem. Bear Creek Mining tapped into those communities' identity to create a sense of affiliation (membership) and increase cooperation. Therefore, this research shows the role of culture and the ways in which corporate capitalism seeks to merge with it. Putting it differently, we can say that capitalism needs, today more than ever, culture(s) to reproduce itself.

In resource extraction debates, Weszkalnys (2016) introduces the notion of "resource affect", as an intrinsic element of capitalist dynamics in global natural resource extraction, to explore the affective horizons produced by the expansion of hydrocarbon exploration in central Africa. While the affective approach has played an increasingly significant role in global debates around natural resource extraction, specifically in geographical areas of Africa (Weszkalnys, 2016) and Oceania and the Arctic (Askland, 2020; Bjørst, 2020; Sejersen and Thisted, 2021; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021), this notion has been scarcely used in the analysis of resource extraction dynamics in the Andean region. For this reason, this research aims to contribute to filling the gap in the literature about resource affect in the Andes by

focusing on understanding agreements and consent rather than conflicts in mining contexts in Peru.

To finish this section, I want to underline that emotions are important because they facilitate human contact and interaction (Veldstra, 2020, p. 10). This research shows that emotional capitalism requires the production of particular emotions to establish social exchanges and ties necessary for economic success (Veldstra, 2020, p. 11). Moreover, those emotions are usually connected to identities. Therefore, focusing on affects can elucidate the non-capitalist elements on which capitalism depends (Tsing, 2015). What is crucial to highlight is that emotions can be subtly used as a political tool to manipulate and secure social consent (Sejersen and Thisted, 2021; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021; Weszkalnys, 2016). In resource extraction contexts, as Lempinen and Lindroth (2021) state, there is an entangled role that emotions and affects have in shaping societal mindsets around resource-based development.

5.2 The Emotional Content of the Social License

The research findings show that the mining company subtly and effectively manipulates emotions by evoking positive feelings such as self-esteem, love, prestige, pride, and uniqueness, which are related to happiness, to engage and obtain consent of community members. The allocation of these elements reinforces the local identity and allows settlers to feel that the venture shares their interests. As Bear Creek Mining's executive vice president stated: "We want to preserve their customs as alpaca breeders and reinforce their pride by showing them the unique resources they possess" (La República, 2019).

The study also shows that the mining company uses social marketing communication strategies to engage the local population. Katy Andresen (2006) points out that communication should appeal to the audience's values by strengthening their self-esteem. In Corani, alpaca breeding is a proud ancestral economic activity that villagers fear losing due to mining activities. Considering what the community members want to keep and the desires behind that, Bear Creek Mining used the language of love to engage with them and reaffirm their connection to their place. "Loving" comes attached to technoscientific knowledge, in which community members learn to appreciate the uniqueness and the unnoticed capabilities of the local natural resources to achieve autonomous development. The critical point in the language of love is that it comes attached to the idea of "embracing" rather than "losing" something, and it is fundamental to engage the audience. Through this communication strategy, Bear Creek Company turned the negative emotions commonly associated with mining activities (e.g., the sense of losing natural resources) into positive ones (e.g., feeling proud of one's resources). In addition, the venture turned the mindset focused on resource extraction into one of resource "transformation". In other words, they are turning the idea of destruction (of the place) into the notion of creation (of a new and promising site) by combining a discourse concerning the self with a scientific one to appraise the local resources to achieve success.

The emotional narrative mobilized by Bear Creek Mining also helps to understand how the mining company gained "trust" from community members and how it deals with environmental risk perceptions of mining operation, another

essential point in acquiring a social license in mining contexts. Bear Creek Mining strives to reach identity verification with community members by showing them that (the venture) has a complete understanding of what they have around. In other words, the mining company lets community members know that it has solid local-based knowledge. This is illustrated in highlighting the unique properties of the local natural resources and telling stories about the place to establish a point of connection with community members. Another way of garnering trust from community members was establishing shared mutual responsibilities. In the Andean region, it is a known fact that community members used to develop strong social ties and loyalty with close parents (e.g., nuclear family, neighbourhood, godfather, etc.) by sharing responsibilities and resources. Therefore, Bear Creek Mining's management of local-based knowledge and traditional Andean practices contributes to being perceived as a community member who shares their same interests and aspirations.

Having solid local-based knowledge and sharing mutual responsibilities are strategies deployed by BCMC to gain social trust and verify community members' identities. These strategies are shaped by an "emotional labour" to minimize the environmental risk perceptions because there is a misconception that technical explanations will dispel community fears (Oficina Nacional de Diálogo y Sostenibilidad, 2013, p. 16). To explain it better, when there is identity verification, individuals feel no threat of altering their cultural patterns, and it is essential for establishing trustworthy relationships and achieving consensus. Although the mining company opened and shared its expert knowledge with community members, it carried out an outstanding "emotional labour" to diminish the negative perceptions around resource extraction. In other words, it seems that emotions may be used

effectively to engage with an audience and to fill or replace the expert-knowledge gap.

Stets and Trettevik (2014, p. 36) underline that the central idea regarding the relationship between identity and emotions is rooted in whether individuals feel pride or shame in social interactions. At this point, they state something of primordial importance for this research case: "because positive emotions result from meeting the identity expectations or being verified in a situation, individuals continue to do what they are doing, leaving their behaviour relatively unchanged" (p. 36). The social licence for the Corani mining project shows that reinforcing identity, that is, building over the local economy, resources and customs, helps promote positive emotions such as self-esteem and prestige. When there is identity verification, individuals feel no threat of altering their cultural patterns, and it is essential for establishing trustworthy relationships and achieving consensus. The opposite happens, for instance, with the large-scale open-pit Tia Maria Mining project, located in the southern Peruvian region, which has repeatedly failed to obtain the required social license for over a decade. A solid and sustained local resistance has blocked this large mining project, which is perceived as a threat to farmers' livelihoods and identity. While in Corani's case there is an "embedded" narrative and practices linked to conserving and reinforcing the local identity, Tia Maria's mining project depicts the opposite, that is, narratives and practices that encourages disembeddedness and identity rupture.

What does Bear Creek Mining Corporation do differently in communicating its mining's local development conception that could explain the social consent?

Traditionally, in the Andean region, mining companies have communicated

development in terms of economic growth to alleviate poverty. However, this research case reveals that the Bear Creek Mining's development discourse of economic growth and well being needs an emotional narrative focuses on reinforcing identity and allocating social prestige to community members.

5.3 The New Giver of Development

Bear Creek Mining is a new kind of giver of development; one that provides knowledge, affection, and commitments to engage with communities and secure stable relationships in mining contexts. From the mining company's perspective, assuming the role of a "collaborator" rather than being the traditional giver of development contributes to building a long-lasting relationship. This occurs by breaking with the traditional giver practices in mining contexts, focused on the many allocations of economic resources and control of expert knowledge. In contrast, the role of collaborator highlights the importance of local attributes to achieve success, and that message conveys lasting positive emotions.

In addition, the collaborator offers benefits but also poses obligations and expectations. For instance, the local business partnership between the mining company and the community members to add value to local products and put them in the international market is one of the benefits offered by the enterprise to the localities. At the same time, community members assume obligations such as being the formal spokespersons regarding the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). In that sense, the notion of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) discretely introduces the idea of "shared responsibility." This notion assumes that "responsibility" lies not

only in the corporation's practices but also in the community's agency. It is essential because putting people under mutual obligations helps build long-term relationships and secure collaboration (Mauss, 2016 [1925]).

The allocation of social prestige has been fundamental in acquiring the social license. For instance, the community's youth participation in the elaboration of the EIA and its presentation at the Institute of Mining Engineers of Peru made the community and its leaders be proud of the capacity of their young people to elaborate and explain this kind of report. In addition, the peasant patrol's participation in the national military parade event by wearing "smart and healthy clothing" made from alpaca fiber and silver threads in their communities was considered an honour for the community. Moreover, having the chance to exhibit creative and innovative products using their natural resources, and exporting and getting economic benefits from this, makes locals feel satisfaction, self-esteem, and self-efficacy.

It seems that the emotional strategy used by BCMC appears to have been successful in securing social license before extraction began yet even in the long term, it may not contribute to the well being of those communities. The allocation of social prestige by the mining company to community members could help minimize environmental risk perceptions and high demands for work at the mine, thus diminishing local opposition to mining operations. According to the Ombudsman office and the National Office of Social Communication, there are no social conflicts reported between Bear Creek Mining and the communities for the Corani mining project (again, at least before mining operations begin). However, it is essential to mention that conflicts may emerge when extractions start if there are negative impacts

on the environment and the local livelihoods, unfulfilled commitments, and the loss of local identity values which the mining company supported while seeking to obtain and secure social consent.

It is essential to underline that the emotional strategy is only part of a large picture regarding the global political economy of resource extraction and control of natural resources. This research aims to highlight the emotional strategy as a less explored factor that proves to be relevant to secure social consent in otherwise highly conflictive mining contexts. Furthermore, the affective approach may be helpful not only to our understanding of agreements and consensus over mining activities, but also applicable to other socio-environmental conflicts involving distrust, negative emotions, and concerns about broken local values and identities.

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