Mining Migrants: Transnational Mining and Migration Patterns in the Peruvian Andes*

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This article evaluates the linkages between transnational mining corporations and local migration dynamics in Peru. Changes in migration patterns in the Cajamarca region of Peru over the past decade are examined via a case study of the gold mining operations of Newmont Mining Corporation. The study considers household migration behavior in communities surrounding the mine as well as transformations in regional, national, and international migration patterns. Also examined are the temporal nature of these changing patterns across short, medium, and long-term time periods. Key Words: Cajamarca, livelihoods, migration, mining, Peru.

Over the past decade there has been a dramatic increase in mineral exploration and exploitation activities in the Andes. In Peru, transnational mining corporations have transformed the country into one of South America’s leading exporters of mineral resources. New transnationally-based “mega” mining operations have become some of the largest and most influential landowners and agents of change in regions of the country that have traditionally been plagued by high rates of poverty and unemployment.

As new large-scale transnational mining operations have scaled the Peruvian escarpment in search of mineral resources, they have introduced large quantities of capital, people, and new mining technologies that have initiated wide-spread ecological, economic, and social change in the areas surrounding their operations. These new mining operations have initiated large-scale displacement of households and communities. Moreover, these operations have also contributed to significant shifts in the movement of peoples between the coastal and highland regions of Peru and the international movement of people to and from the Andes.

This article evaluates the new processes of migration that large transnational mining operations have spurred in the Andes. In doing so, this article seeks to contribute to studies concerned with the impacts of the new mining industry in the Andes and migration studies by linking discussions of environmental transformations, broad political change, and processes of migration. An examination of Newmont Mining Corporation’s gold mining operations in the Cajamarca region of Peru illustrates the complex nature of migration transformations that have been taking place in the region.

New Geographies of Migration in Peru

During the 1990s many countries in the developing world were opened to new foreign investment and transnational corporations seeking to establish opportunities for growth and profit. For more than a decade many countries in Latin America pursued these changes through a host of neoliberal economic and political reforms. The goals of these “neoliberal” projects have been the integration of Latin American economies into global markets, increased foreign direct investment to the region, the creation of new export-led economies, and the restructuring of domestic economic and social policies intended to foster positive economic growth and development.1 In Peru, President Alberto Fujimori initiated a series of neoliberal reforms in the early 1990s that sought to integrate the country into the rapidly globalizing international economy by opening all sectors of the economy to foreign direct investment and

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lifting restrictions on remittances of profits, dividends, royalties, access to domestic credit, and acquisition of supplies and technology abroad. In addition, the government offered investment incentives and tax stability packages, it privatized major sectors of the economy, and it ratified bilateral and multilateral investment-guarantee treaties.

Since Peru began its neoliberal transformation, it has been rapidly integrated into global economic capital flows. Comparatively, the country has not only become one of the most open and liberal countries in Latin America, but in the world (IMF 2001). Consequently, it has also become an important destination for new transnational foreign investment. In addition, it has also recently ratified major trade agreements with the United States and other countries that will most likely intensify the country’s linkages with international trading and commodities networks.

One important element of the neoliberal reforms that have swept through the Andes has been a marked increase in the flow of mineral investment into both Peru and the rest of the region. As Bridge (2004b) has noted, the “extensity” of the neoliberal mining “bonanza” during the 1990s resulted in substantial increases in global mineral investment into Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Venezuela. These new flows of mineral investment have also tended to be restricted to just a few commodities such as gold and copper and, in many cases, to large investment projects that are often referred to as “mega” mining projects due to their sheer size and mineral production goals. This is particularly important in Peru as there was almost no transnational investment in the country between 1976 and 1992, yet by 1995 a handful of new transnational gold mining projects surpassed the total output of all small and medium-sized operations and by 2000 they accounted for more than two-thirds of the country’s total production (Ministry of Energy and Mines 2000).

As the mineral investment boom of the 1990s has given way to the production boom of the 2000s, the magnitude and quantity of environmental and social impacts related to these new global mining projects have rapidly increased. Recent research has begun to examine these impacts (e.g., Ross 2001; MMSD 2003; Bridge 2004a; Bury 2004, 2005).

Previous research by scholars concerned with the impacts of mining on migration has demonstrated how mining operations intensified migration rates to mineral production centers in Africa and across Latin America (Long and Roberts 1978; Cole 1989; Crush, Jeeves and Yueldeman 1991; Godfrey 1992; Moodie and Ndatshhe 1994). Long and Roberts (1984), for example, illustrated how new transnational mining in Central Peru radically altered the region’s economy and increased migration toward the mines from both highland and coastal areas. Dore (2000) examined the ways in which mining historically altered migration processes in mineral production areas and contributed to the restructuring of the Peruvian labor force in greater depth and across a broader historical time horizon. Becker (1983) also demonstrated how the movement of foreign mining firms and employees formed new class structures prior to the 1980s in Peru. More recently, research concerned with the behavior of transnational corporate elites has examined the ways in which their migration behavior is transforming global cities and strengthening economic and political networks between these global centers (Sassen 1994; Perkins 1997; Beaverstock and Boardwell 2000). However, little of this research has linked the behavior of transnational corporations, particularly extractive operations, and their employees to local processes of change.

This article seeks to build in several ways on previous research efforts concerned with the impacts of transnational mining operations on migration. First, it extends previous research by examining the impacts of transnational mining on patterns of migration during the most recent period of neoliberal economic change in Peru, which has been marked by a rapid increase in large foreign operations. New research is just beginning to address this topic (e.g., Szablewski 2002). Second, it provides a rich qualitative case study as a further example of the interrelationships between transnational mining and migration. The use of a case study in this research also seeks to address a renewed emphasis in migration studies (e.g., Castles and Miller 1993; Silvey and Lawson 1999; Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold 2000; Lawson 2000; Hays-Mitchell 2002; Silvey 2004) on situating the decisions of people to move within rapidly changing social, political, and economic contexts and provide, as Lawson (2000, 174) argues...
“a rich account of the social and cultural costs of neoliberal development.” Finally, by focusing on one particular place where transnational mining operations are dramatically altering both environmental and social geographies, this article integrates its discussion of migration behavior across multiple scales of analysis. In doing so, it broadens the examination to include not only changing international and intranational migration patterns, but also the impacts of mining operations on local households and communities.

The following sections illustrate the ways in which transnational mineral extraction activities have affected migration processes in the Peruvian Andes. These changes are addressed through an examination of transnational gold mining operations in the Cajamarca region of Peru and their effects on migration processes.

**Migration Patterns in Northern Peru**

During the past fifty years the population of Peru has undergone a profound spatial reordering. From a predominantly rural population in the first half of the twentieth century, more than 70 percent of the population now lives in urban centers (INEI 2002). This shift in population occurred primarily through the movement of people from rural settings to urban coastal centers. The country’s capital city, Lima, has experienced a huge inflow of migrants from throughout the country; in 2000 more than one-third of the country’s 28 million inhabitants lived in the Lima metropolitan area, of which approximately 40 percent were recent immigrants (INEI 2002).

Although Lima has been the single largest urban destination of migrants throughout the country, migration to secondary urban coastal centers has also been significant in the past few decades. These secondary urban centers, which include Chiclayo, Trujillo, and Piura in the northern portion of the country, have become important destinations for migrants from the highland areas.

The northern Peruvian Department of Cajamarca has also experienced significant shifts in population (see Table 1). Migration rates from the Department of Cajamarca to other areas in the country have been one of the most significant population change features over the past few decades. Generally, the Department is predominantly rural as 96 percent of the population lives outside of urban areas (Indacochea et al. 1998).

**Minera Yanacocha and Cajamarca**

In 1992, in cooperation with its Peruvian partner, Compania de Minas Buenaventura, S.A., and the International Finance Corporation, Newmont Mining Corporation began operations in Cajamarca at one of the first new transnational gold mining projects in Peru since 1976. Since then, Newmont’s Yanacocha (known as Minera Yanacocha or MYSA) has become the largest gold mine in Latin America and one of the lowest-cost gold mining operations in the world (see Figure 1).

As the first new large-scale investment in mineral production under the new neoliberal regime of President Alberto Fujimori in the early 1990s, MYSA assuaged international investor concerns over instability in Peru and consequently became a harbinger of the privatization and transnationalization of mineral production that has swept through the country in the past decade (Bury 2005). As one of Peru’s new neoliberal mining projects, MYSA also received significant new incentives including investment and private property rights guarantees, tax stability plans, and substantial profit repatriation assurances.

MYSA is often referred to as the “crown jewel” of Newmont’s operations due to its significant reserves, high production, and low cash costs. From 1993 through 2004, MYSA produced more than 17 million ounces of gold (Newmont 2005). In 2004, the mine had an estimated 12 million ounces of gold reserves and produced 3 million ounces at a cash cost of US$142 per ounce.

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Growth rate (%)</th>
<th>Population density (per sq. km)</th>
<th>Net migration (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>204,218</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>212,746</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>494,412</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>746,938</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>919,161</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,045,569</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1,259,808</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INEI (2002).
MYSA’s operations are located in the northern region of Peru at elevations ranging from 3,500 to 4,000 m and approximately 35 km from the city of Cajamarca. MYSA began operations in 1993 and quickly became one of the largest mining facilities in the world and in the process has changed land cover and land use in the Cajamarca region. The mine has spurred large-scale environmental transformations in the region though its use of massive open pit mining in several locations and cyanide heap leaching technology to exploit the gold deposits of the region. (In 2001, MYSA became the largest heap leaching operation in the world.) In 2003 MYSA’s mineral rights claims amounted to 1,572 km² throughout the region (Newmont 2005). Presently, its operations occupy approximately 10,000 ha of land.

Newmont’s MYSA operations have introduced a wide variety of resources into the region. From 1992 to 2002, Newmont invested more than US$3.5 billion into the mine’s operations. This included investments in mineral exploration, mine facilities, labor, supplies, concession fees, and taxes (MYSA 2002). As these resources flowed into the region they spurred a diverse array of physical and human geographic transformations. In addition to its mining operations, Newmont has implemented a variety of “socially and environmentally responsible programs,” which the corporation states are intended to positively affect rural livelihoods and urban development. Between 1993 and 2002, MYSA invested approximately US$21 million in these programs (MYSA 2002).

Alongside MYSA’s operations in Cajamarca are the households and communities of the region that are situated within the larger physical and human geographies of the region. Physically, the region surrounding the mine is located high in the northern inter-Andean valleys of the Peruvian Andes. The climate of the region is punctuated by two important seasonal variations, and the human population of the region surrounding the mine is distributed vertically.
among four altitudinal life zones. The human population of the region is almost entirely situated in a rural and highly impoverished social and economic context. For example, per capita income in the Department of Cajamarca is less than one-half the national average and less than one-third of per capita income in Lima. 86 percent of houses do not have water or electrical services, nearly two-thirds of all children in the first grade of primary school suffer from chronic malnutrition, and roads and motorized transport are very limited in the region (Indacochea et al. 1998).

Research Methods and Design

In order to evaluate the linkages between Newmont’s mining activities and changing migration behavior in the region, case study research was conducted in the region for 24 months during three field periods of 1999, 2000–2001, and 2003. This includes archival research, key informant interviews, and two separate questionnaires with case-study populations.

The first household questionnaire was administered during 1999 and 2000 and utilized a research design based on a quasi-experimental case study evaluation of the impacts of MYSA’s activities on households in three communities. The first community, Ladera, has experienced the largest cross-section of impacts from the mine and the mine’s social programs. The second community, Jalca, approximates an intermediate range of impacts. The third community, Control, was selected to provide experimental control, where there have been few indirect and no direct impacts from MYSA and thus it approximates baseline conditions prior to MYSA’s presence in the region. Within each of the three case-study communities, interviews using participatory mapping procedures were conducted with a random sample of twenty households. Overall, fifty-nine households were interviewed during the course of the field work.

The second questionnaire was conducted in 2003 with former landowners in the area of MYSA’s operations. Overall, twenty households were sampled in the Cajamarca region using a snowball methodology. The snowball method was utilized because many former landowners had migrated to other locations throughout the region and were very difficult to locate. Based on this sampling methodology, households from twelve communities were interviewed, which represents nearly one-third of the communities that have been affected by MYSA’s land-purchasing activities between 1992 and 2000. Because a large cross-section of households from communities affected by MYSA was sampled, the dependability of the findings presented in subsequent sections has been significantly improved.

Both questionnaires utilized qualitative and quantitative components in order to evaluate changes in household migration behavior, access to resources, and livelihood strategies. The first questionnaire was comprised of 123 questions that assessed household characteristics, livelihood activities, changes in access to resources, and migration activities between 1992 and 2000. The second questionnaire was comprised of 45 questions and evaluated changes in household migration behavior, access to natural resources, income, education, and livelihood activities related to land transfers initiated by MYSA between 1992 and 2000. As much of the data collected from households during the entire research process are potentially sensitive, the identity of individual respondents has been protected and all of the research was conducted in accordance with human subject protocols. Guarantees of anonymity greatly reduced the anxieties of households involved in the research and thereby contribute to greater confidence in the research findings.

The following sections evaluate the changing nature of migration behavior in relationship to MYSA’s mining operations in the Cajamarca region. The discussion surrounding these relationships is divided across both temporal categories and between scales of analysis. Thus the following sections take up questions of short-, medium-, and long-term migration changes in the region as well as local, regional, national, and international migration scales of analysis. This provides for a more detailed analysis of changing migration behavior in the region as well as an understanding of how the complex geographies of migration vary across these categories.

Household Migration Changes

Migration is a key element of household livelihood strategies in the Cajamarca region. Historically, household members have migrated to the coast, to Lima, and within the region to generate income. Both male and female house-
hold members engage in short-term (less than six months) and often interseasonal migration to Cajamarca, coastal areas, or the Amazon Basin to work as manual laborers on rice, sugar, coffee, and fruit plantations, to tend livestock, or to work in unskilled service positions. Male and female household members also engage in medium-term migration activities (greater than six months, but less than one year), which generally tend to involve migration to Lima or larger urban centers to live with relatives or family acquaintances and often includes the remittance of income to families through banking and informal financial networks. Long-term household migration activities (greater than one year) are almost exclusively limited to children who migrate to Lima or other large coastal urban centers for work or education and these moves often becomes permanent as the young people do not return, or if they do return, it is not until many years later. These migrants also engage in income remittance activities, but they are usually intermittent, delayed, or depend upon the age and activity of the migrant.

In the case-study communities, an average of 27 percent of households indicated that at least one family member migrates to generate income for the household. Table 2 elaborates some of the important migration findings for the case-study communities.

The most significant changes in household migration behavior since MYSA began operations in the Cajamarca region pertain to short-term and short-distance activities. These changing migration activities are directly related to MYSA operations, particularly the construction of new roads. Between 1994 and 1999, MYSA either constructed or improved more than 133 km of road surface in the region (Martinez et al. 2000). In Cajamarca, similar to the findings of other scholars concerned with the impacts of roads on rural migration patterns (e.g., Udall 1981; Rudel and Richards 1990; Godfrey 1992), road construction has spatially intensified household circulation into larger economic and social processes.

The most important linkage between road construction and short-term migration has been through increasing household access to markets for agricultural, livestock, and dairy products, which constitute the majority of household livelihood pursuits in the case-study communities, which Table 3 illustrates. The case-study community most impacted by the improved infrastructure resulting from MYSA’s road construction activities was Jalca, whose residents reported significant increases in migration to local and regional markets. Residents of Ladera and Control, where road improvements had not been implemented or maintained, reported much smaller increases.

Although MYSA’s activities have contributed to increases in short-term and short-distance migration activities in the region, there have been fewer significant impacts on medium- and long-term household migration behavior. Mine representatives argue that road improvements have also allowed for the integration of rural communities into regional labor markets and that this has generated new employment opportunities, thereby decreasing out-migration from the region (e.g., Martinez et al. 2000). However, interview responses directed toward

**Table 2** Migration features in the case study communities, 1999–2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migration features</th>
<th>Ladera ((n = 19))</th>
<th>Jalca ((n = 20))</th>
<th>Control ((n = 20))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of households with at least 1 migrant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members who migrate</td>
<td>Male household head ((n = 2))</td>
<td>Male household head ((n = 4))</td>
<td>Male household head ((n = 4))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male children ((n = 1))</td>
<td>Male children ((n = 5))</td>
<td>Male children ((n = 1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female children ((n = 2))</td>
<td>Female children ((n = 4))</td>
<td>Female children ((n = 1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant destinations</td>
<td>Cajamarca</td>
<td>Cajamarca</td>
<td>Cajamarca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jungle</td>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Regional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant occupation</td>
<td>Manual labor</td>
<td>Manual labor</td>
<td>Manual labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant duration</td>
<td>Less than 6 months ((n = 1))</td>
<td>Less than 6 months ((n = 5))</td>
<td>Less than 6 months ((n = 3))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 months to 1 year ((n = 2))</td>
<td>6 months to 1 year ((n = 3))</td>
<td>6 months to 1 year ((n = 2))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greater than 1 year ((n = 1))</td>
<td>Greater than 1 year ((n = 5))</td>
<td>Greater than 1 year ((n = 2))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual income</td>
<td>800 Soles</td>
<td>400 Soles</td>
<td>925 Soles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>US$229</td>
<td>US$114</td>
<td>US$264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
this question do not sustain this argument as 95 percent of respondents in all three communities indicated that medium- and long-term household migration behavior has either remained the same or has actually increased.

Increases in migration activities were attributed to the fact that households have been able to utilize new transportation networks to facilitate migration to coastal areas and to Lima. Thus, despite the mine’s impacts on short-term migration activities there have been negligible impacts or even, in many instances, increases in longer-term and long-distance out-migration rates.

**Shifting Regional Migration Patterns**

Another important shift in migration patterns in the region has been a significant and long-term movement of households away from communities surrounding the mine or where the mine is now operating. These displacements are the direct result of the large-scale environmental transformations related to MYSA’s mining operations as well as increasing pressure on remaining land resources in the region.

In order to exploit the gold deposits of the Cajamarca region, MYSA has been required under Peruvian law to file mining claims for subsoil mineral rights as well as purchase surface land rights from landholders. Between 1992 and 2000, MYSA purchased more than 11,000 ha of land in the region for approximately US$5 million (MYSA 2002). This included 259 different land purchases in forty-four different communities for parcels ranging from less than 1 ha to more than 1,000 ha (Martinez and Oblitas 2002).

The prices that MYSA has paid for its land purchases in the region have also been an important factor in landowners’ migration behavior. Over the past decade land prices have increased dramatically, to an extent that has limited household ability to obtain new land. In 1992 MYSA began purchasing land for less than US$80 per hectare; however, between 1992 and 1996 land prices surrounding the mine increased 600 percent (based on household responses in the case-study communities). These large increases in land prices spread rapidly throughout the region. Consequently, when households sold their land to MYSA, because land prices were increasing so quickly, they were, in many cases, either unable to purchase new lands or the same quantity or quality of land in the region.

Overall, due to MYSA’s large land purchasing activities, inflation in land prices, and rapidly increasing mineral rights claims, many landholders have had to migrate to new locations in the region. Generally, this has resulted in a large shift of population in the region to either communities at lower elevations or to the city of Cajamarca. For example, 75 percent of households in the forty-four communities that sold their land to the mine between 1992 and 2000 have moved to neighboring communities at lower elevations. In addition, 17 percent of households that sold land to MYSA moved to the city of Cajamarca (Martinez and Oblitas 2002).

According to interviews with ex-property owners in Cajamarca, households that sold land to the mine during that time period have either permanently migrated to the city or plan to retain their accommodations in the city as their primary residence. More than half of the respondents indicated that they were unable to purchase new lands equal to their previous holdings in surrounding communities due to price inflation, which forced them to move to the city in search of housing and new livelihoods. Overall, in response to MYSA’s gold mining activities, regional migration strategies have shifted spatially downward in elevation and toward the city of Cajamarca.

**Changing National Migration Patterns**

MYSA’s operations have also affected migration patterns between Cajamarca and the rest of the

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**Table 3**  
*Increasing household access to markets in the case study communities, 1992–2000*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihood activity</th>
<th>Ladera (n = 19)</th>
<th>Jalca (n = 20)</th>
<th>Control (n = 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of households that indicated increased access for agricultural products</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households that indicated increased access for livestock products</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households that indicated increased access for dairy products</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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country. As mine production and the scale of MYSA’s operations have increased since 1993, there has been a significant inflow of short- and medium-term migrants into the region for employment. MYSA direct employment and subcontractor-related employment have increased to more than 7,000 people (see Figure 2).

MYSA employees and contractors are more than 90 percent Peruvian, but only 44 percent of them are from the Cajamarca region (MYSA 2004). This indicates that substantial new migration flows are moving from coastal areas, particularly from Lima. The demographic profile of migrants moving to the region largely reflects the nature of MYSA’s activities (see Table 4).

An overwhelming majority of MYSA employees are male and are between twenty-six and fifty years of age. In addition, more than half of the mine’s employees are by origin of birth or migration location from outside of Cajamarca. This is primarily because MYSA’s operations draw on highly skilled mining engineers, heavy machinery operators, and professionals from outside of the region. Both Newmont and its primary partner, Buenaventura, directly employ personnel in the region, but a large majority of these people are drawn from either international operations around the planet, professional mining schools in Lima, or large mining operations throughout the country. Subcontractors that have long-standing relationships with both of these companies have moved to the region and have relocated management and supply facilities, and associated employees, to the region as well. Direct employment from the region tends to be low-skilled, low paying, and temporary work for either the operating partners or established subcontractors providing services for the mine. Consequently, the national-scale movement of people tends to be tightly linked to the particular labor requirements associated with the mine operations and are highly concentrated within well-established employment networks between the mine’s operating partners and subcontractors.

Overall, MYSA’s activities have contributed to increasing population growth in the region that is outpacing departmental and national growth rates. Population growth rates for the Department of Cajamarca have averaged under 2 percent annually for the past decade, but according to Peru’s national statistical agency the population increased in the three administrative

![Figure 2 Minera Yanacocha (MYSA) employment 1993–2002. (Source: MYSA 2002)](image)

Table 4 Minera Yanacocha employees and migration—2003 (total N = 1857)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Migration location</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Location of birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Cajamarca 44%</td>
<td>Single 34%</td>
<td>Cajamarca 48%</td>
<td>18–25 years 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Other locations 66%</td>
<td>Married 66%</td>
<td>Other locations</td>
<td>26–36 years 55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(including foreign)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37–50 years 37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51 years or more 3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

districts surrounding the mine by 8.8 percent, or roughly 22,000 people (INEI 2002), between 1995 and 2000. This reflects movement away from the mine as well as the arrival of new migrants from the rest of the country. This is also most certainly a conservative estimate as many employees and mine workers migrate seasonally from other areas of the country.

### International Migration to Cajamarca

MYSAs’s activities do rely substantially upon Peruvian employees and subcontractors, but the highly technical nature of the mining operation, as well as its relative magnitude in relationship to global mining operations, has also spurred significant flows of short- and medium-term international migrants to the Cajamarca region. These international migrants reflect the global nature of highly specialized extractive operations as well as new types of social and economic relationships that are being established between Cajamarca and larger scales of analysis.

The source of this internationalization is related most importantly to the flows of goods and services into the region to accommodate MYSAs’s activities. The mine employs only a very small number of foreign staff, but it is those employees who are responsible for both the management of the mine’s operations and its materials and services acquisitions, which are still significantly reliant on global sources. Table 5 summarizes these relationships for 1993–1998.

The majority of foreign employees in the region represent important global mineral extraction business interests or contractors including Newmont Mining Corporation, Odebrecht, Zublin, Bechtel, Ingersoll Rand, Baker Hughes, and Atlas Copco. The majority of foreign employees representing these interests come from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the United States.

These international migrants have initiated important changes in the region, primarily due to where they have chosen to live. Because they represent global operations, interact in many different countries, and are paid significantly higher salaries than Peruvian nationals, they have tended to settle in Cajamarca’s smaller neighboring community, Baños del Inca, whereas most Peruvian nationals working for the mine have chosen to live in the city of Cajamarca. The foreign employees have formed an international settlement that reflects traditional enclave patterns of past mining operations in the country (e.g., Becker 1983; Long and Roberts 1984).

Substantive data on the numbers and types of foreign employees relocating to Baños del Inca have not been documented, but secondary evidence clearly illustrates the magnitude of changes in the community. Over the period 1993 to 2002, the population of the community increased more than 20 percent (INEI 2002). There have also been large increases in land prices in the community, as well as significant changes in land use as new types of housing and accommodations have been developed around the historic thermal baths of the community.

Finally, in addition to the international migration of employees and contractors for MYSAs, the region has also been integrated into a host of other international migrant flows. Because of the enormous size and technical nature of MYSAs’s mining operations, the dramatic social and environmental transformations it has effected in the region, the widespread social unrest and conflicts associated with its activities, Newmont’s innovative social and environmen-
tal programs and its position as a harbinger of
the new mining revolution in neoliberal Peru,
the region has also become an important focal
point for other international environmental,
academic, nongovernmental, and industry mi-
grants. Although many of these migrants are in
the region for only a short period of time, they
have contributed to an increasingly global in-
tersection of migrant flows in the region. In a
sense, since MYSA began operations in the
region, Cajamarca has become one of the new
international gold mining boom towns of the
twenty-first century.

Conclusions

MYSA's transnational mining operations have
spurred a number of important shifts in migra-
tion patterns in the Cajamarca region. As the
case-study findings illustrate, a variety of new
international migrants have moved into the re-
gion following the opening of the mine. These
new international migration patterns have im-
portant implications for research concerned
with the impacts of transnational mining oper-
ations in the Andes. First, the highly skilled
global mining workforce that MYSA draws on
has tended to cluster into new enclaves in the
region, which is very similar to the findings of
research that examines previous mining periods
in Peru. This suggests that there are important
historical continuities in international mining
migration patterns and also indicates that the
local social and economic impacts of interna-
tional mining elites tend to be geographically
concentrated. Second, the region has also be-
come an important destination for international
mining-related migrants concerned with the
environmental and social impacts of "mega"
mines utilizing new mining technologies. These
migrants have integrated Cajamarca into a va-
rity of increasingly global environmental,
economic, and civil society networks that
are likely to affect the future of mining in the
region.

The case-study findings illustrate that
MYSA's operations have also had important im-
pacts on national migration patterns. There has
been a rapid influx of migrants seeking employ-
ment or providing services for the mine from
coastal areas and, most importantly, Lima.
However, in contrast to previous epochs of
mining investment in the country, rather than
unskilled laborers seeking to perform manual
labor these new mining migrants are generally
highly skilled and their movement is tightly
linked to mining operations and contractors.

Finally, MYSA's mining activities have initi-
ated shifts in regional and local migration.
These are particularly important as the size and
scale of MYSA's gold mining operations are un-
rivaled in Peru, making its impact quite differ-
ent from previous impacts of mining on
migration in the Andes. Households formerly
living where the mine is now located have been
displaced downward in elevation and toward the
city of Cajamarca. In addition, households sur-
rounding MYSA's operations have experienced
increases in short-term and short-distance mi-
gration related to access to markets for livestock
and other products.

The changing nature of migration behavior
in relationship to MYSA's mining activities also
illustrates the value of situating migrant deci-
sion making and behavior in local places, par-
ticularly as Peru's neoliberal restructuring has
been rapidly altering household access to envi-
ronmental, social, and economic resources. As
the case study illustrates, the changes taking
place in migration are complex and diverse and
are more fully accounted by situating or "plac-
ing" households within a geographic context.

Further case studies and ethnographies could
treat these questions in more detail in both rural
and urban areas in order to further our under-
standing of these differences and the types of
changes taking place related to migration be-
havior and processes. The case-study findings
in this research are also relevant to new mining
operations spreading throughout the Peruvian
highlands. MYSA was the first large-scale min-
ing operation to begin in Peru; now, under the
current round of neoliberal reforms, a host of
new mining operations have begun across the
highlands. Further research is needed to under-
stand whether the findings presented in this re-
search are unique or whether these changes are
taking place throughout the region. This is also
an important question as new transnational
mining operations have spread not only
throughout Peru but throughout the Andean
countries. Understanding the impacts of this
new mining boom on migration in the Andes
would greatly enhance our understanding of the
current geographies of social and cultural
changes taking place in the region.
Notes

1 A host of recent literature has addressed the nature of neoliberalism and neoliberal reforms in Latin America. For further reviews of the concept and changes taking place in Latin America see Deere and Leon (2001) on the impacts of neoliberal reforms on gender, Kuczynski and Williamson (2003) on analysis of these reforms from policymakers, Chase (2002) for interdisciplinary discussions of these changes, and Gwynne and Kay (2004) and Klak (1998) for general regional treatments of the concept and broader analyses.

2 The general trends of migration in the region over the course of the past century have been extensively treated by Deere (1990), Mayer (2002), and Taylor (1994).

Literature Cited


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