

## Socioeconomic Impacts Of Mining-Induced Resettlements In Peru: Differences In Age And Gender

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### ABSTRACT

The expansion of mining activities in Peru has resulted in the displacement of a growing number of rural populations. Although some companies adopt the World Bank policies for resettlement, the lack of productive lands in the Peruvian Andes and the absence of legal mechanisms and policies to protect affected people lead to many communities being dispersed in both rural and urban environments without consistent assistance during the process of adaptation to the new environment. The subsequent impact is the weakening of previous socioeconomic organisations without the building of the necessary cultural resources to adapt to the new circumstances. However, these impacts are unequally experienced by community members. This study examines the differential impacts of resettlement on different segments of the population, divided by age and gender. It explores how key resources, especially land, education and jobs, are differently controlled by men and women as well as young adults and elders. Findings demonstrate that segments such as the young educated can take advantage of the compensation schemes offered by mines. Jobs and business opportunities in mining nearby areas can be appropriated by male leaders and many of them see these resettlements as opportunities for self-development. For the elders, especially women, displacement and land loss takes out a key source for their subsistence. For them, resettlement under a land by land approach is fundamental only if complementary infrastructure and services are provided to serve their needs.

**Keywords:** Resettlements, Mining, Socioeconomic impacts, Self-development.

### Introduction

Economic anthropology and social geography illuminates how domestic and capitalist economies have historically divided productive and reproductive activities within families and how men, women, children, adults and elders manage different resources and responsibilities. In particular, the analysis of productive activities in a number of societies around the world shows how resources such as land, water and wood are appropriated differently not only along class lines but also along gender and age lines (Herskovits, 1954, p.121-135; Sahlins, 1974, p. 66-84; Meillasoux, 1979, p. 110-127; Harvey, 1996, p. 226-229; Massey, 1994, p.167-172).

The context where resettlement takes place is typically land-base. Considering that not everyone in a rural family or community shares the same roles and manage the same resources, these impacts should vary according to gender, age, class and ethnicity. While this fact has been acknowledged in several resettlement guidelines (Asian Development Bank, 2003; World Bank, 2004; IFC, 2002) as well as by previous studies (Tukhral, 1996; Mehta and Srinivasan, 2000; Cuadros, 2010), research and policy measures on the subject remain insufficient, leaving a number of questions yet underexplored. In a community or family, where social spaces and resources are shared unequally, how does development-induced displacement and resettlement affect each individual? Who makes the decisions in relation to land and resettlement? What can be done to encourage more equitable outcomes for men and women as well as for adults and elders?

This study examines differential impacts of resettlement in a particular context of mining-induced displacement in Peru.

Before 1992, mining activities in Peru applied land expropriation mechanisms. In 1992, however, the new Constitution excluded mining from the set of activities that could use expropriation, and since then projects have had to negotiate the use of land with owners. At the same time, since 1990, Peruvian public policies have privatised mining activities and promoted investment in extractive industries by offering a series of incentives including legal stability and free capital mobility (Decretos Legislativos 662 and 757). These policies along with higher metal prices since 2002 have expanded mining activities in Peru massively. Whereas mining projects generally rent land for exploration, they have to acquire it for exploitation. The consequent process of land acquisition has led to the displacement of both rural and urban populations. Using a case study approach, this research analyses how mining-induced resettlements can generate different impacts according to gender and age and how different legal frameworks and company standards can create differential outcomes for the displaced population.

### Impacts on whom?

In her critique of how certain geographers have tended to reify the idea of "locality" or "place", the geographer Doreen Massey calls for a revision of male-adult discourses about "locality" and proposes a view that includes the variable of time, thereby introducing an historical review of what a place has been and how local and extra local constructions of place and identity have evolved. Under this view a "place" is a social construction historically redefined by social relations. Among those relations, gender definitions of roles create certain skills, resources and places that are "gendered". For instance in certain societies the gathering of wood and cocking are

female activities transforming the woods and the kitchen in "female" areas.

The literature on displacement and resettlement has shown differential impacts according to gender and age. According to the Asian Development Bank, "economic and social dislocation could, and often does, exacerbate existing gender disparities and inequalities. In many societies, women do not enjoy land and property rights, have lower levels of education than do men, work in the informal sector, experience restricted mobility, and carry responsibilities for meeting basic needs such as water, fuel, and fodder. Hence, economic and social disruption may result in greater hardships for women than for men" (2003, p. 4). In her analysis of displacement and gender, Tukhral (1996) finds many sources of vulnerability for women and children. Among them, gender biases favouring male land ownership, the loss of natural resources such as wood and water that used to be managed by women, fewer job opportunities for women in new capital intensive investments, the loss of local social networks linked to agricultural activities and marriage breakups due to family divisions in two or more houses whereby men move to urban areas, while women and children are left behind in the countryside. However, the final impacts are not clear, as new industrial jobs offer some women the possibility of obtaining more freedom and escaping traditional positions in their places of origin (Tukhral, 1996, p. 1500-1503).

Other studies have shown how displacement and resistance movements have actually leveraged women's situation, as they became an opportunity to alter gender inequalities (Agarwal, 1994a; Mehta and Srinivasan, 2000). Likewise, research on migration (Gaetano, 2008) indicates that relocation can imply an improvement in women's conditions, as it enables them to shift social class and subordinate place-based identities through education and new sources of income. A United Nations study shows how gender social impacts cannot be fully understood without acknowledging both the different resources and capacities of those resettled and the risks and opportunities provided by the wider socioeconomic context (United Nations, 1991). A long-term study of migration in Nepal (Poertner, Junginger and Müller-Böker, 2011) underlines the importance of analysing both gender and age in order to determine different patterns and links of migration strategies in a family's lifecycle. According to the authors, although migration severs women's networks linked to agricultural and household activities, it opens paths to finance children's education, who later sustain their own children's mobility strategies. After three generations, the spatial pattern of family migration is similar to a network linking the original rural household to nearby towns and cities. The former provides a safeguard for retiring (and cultural symbols of identity) and the latter jobs and education.

The literature review aforementioned underlines the need to analyse not only how resources are managed along gender lines but how this appropriation changes among generations in wider regional and national contexts. Therefore I concentrate on the relation between key subsistence resources (land, education, jobs), their appropriation by gender and age in rural Peru and the impacts displacement and resettlement create on these complex relations, based on a case study.

### *Women's and Men's resources*

Gender analysis in rural areas proposes a reconceptualization of family as a complex matrix of relations where continuous negotiation, subject to restrictions of gender, age and kinship, takes place (Agarwal, 1994b). Homes, especially in rural areas, have been characterized as institutions dominated by hierarchy and inequality which tend to favour adult males over women and children. This would be the outcome of the institutionalisation of patriarchal societies (Meillasoux, 1979; Deere and Leon, 2000) that seek to maintain family patrimony (especially through land) through patrilineal and virilocal kinship systems (which favour inheritance from father to son and marriages where the bride moves to the community of her husband).

Literature on gender inequalities in rural areas of Latin America has tended to focus on limitations of land property and land access for women. According to these studies, the continent has shown a tendency towards gender equality for land property in its legal frameworks (Deere y León, 2000, p.233) but of discrimination in practical terms (Borquez, 2011, p. 81). Legally, both sons and daughters may inherit land and pastures, but decisions on inheritance are up to the parents, and studies in Latin America and Peru show a customary preference for male inheritance (Deere and Leon, 2000; Cerruti, 2007; Borquez, 2011). Legally, marriage entitles women to access their husbands' lands; however, this access is only secured in case of civil marriages and is confined to privately owned land. For community-owned land, separation or widowhood might imply the retrieval of that land by the community and the subsequent risk of impoverishment for the widow or the separated woman (Diez, 2011). Being the land owned by the whole community, plots from deceased members can be retrieved and reassigned by communal decision.

But to fully understand the set of resources available to rural men and women we would need to analyse differential gender access to markets and education, and income levels. Studies on migration in Peru have shown patterns of male mobility which follows labour regional markets linked to different agricultural cycles and to mining and industrial urban activities (Golte, 1986, 2001). Female mobility has been less studied but fairs and certain labour agricultural and urban markets are open for women throughout the country.

Data on education and income shows many shortcomings for women. Women's illiteracy is three times higher than men's in rural Peru (33.9% versus 11.0%), rural women study for fewer years than rural men (6.6 years versus 7.4 years) and they have a lower income (US\$ 104 vs. US\$ 184) (Ruiz Bravo and Castro, 2011). Access to credit, technical assistance and water, among other key inputs that make land valuable, is also limited for women due to their lower formal education and limited opportunities to participate as beneficiaries in agricultural development projects (Deere and Leon, 2000; Cerruti, 2007). In this context, land acquisitions and resettlements due to mining projects can create a set of differentiated impacts for men and women.

## Resources and Age

Economic anthropologists have long studied how the division of labour among hunter gatherers, agriculturalists and pastoralists is also divided by age. Children help in different productive and domestic activities around the world, from scaring off crows to taking care of babies, and from helping to graze the cattle to cooking (Herskovits, 1954, p. 127). In peasant economies, elders still play an important role due to a "paternal ideology" linked to productive reasons. Meillasoux (1977) traces this ideology to a notion of time associated with agricultural and lifecycles. Working adults owe their earlier subsistence, land and seeds to their elders. They generally also owe them their own marriage, as elders arrange alliances as part of a larger reproductive strategy that involves other communities. Elders only have a debt with their ancestors. The moral authority of elders places them in key activities such as harvesting, storing and even redistributing. The idea of the caring and feeding father comes from this pre-eminence and the family becomes the institution where the ideology of age-respect and ancestor worship flourishes (Meillasoux, 1977, p. 74).

A successful peasant family has to produce enough to sustain their productive and unproductive members (smaller children and elders), and has to decide who takes care of the aging parents. Studies in Latin America show that this latter task is commonly assigned to the youngest son or daughter (Deere and León, 2000).

In the last decades, rural Latin America has experienced important changes. Rural-Urban migration, access to education, health and transport services and the rise of non-agricultural activities in rural areas are changing the resources available in the countryside (Giarracca, 2001). Younger generations have access to services unavailable for their parents, especially education. Between 2007 and 2012, rural poverty in Peru has decreased from 74 per cent to 53 per cent (INEI, 2013a) and between 2001 and 2011 the rural population who has finished secondary and higher education has increased from 22 per cent to 31 per cent (INEI, 2013b). In this context, a resettlement process impacts will vary depending on the resources available to different generations. Compensation schemes can provide further education and business opportunities for the young but can threaten the subsistence base of less educated elders, especially women, whose capacities are more dependent on agricultural and cattle ranching activities and whose social and economic networks are mostly local.

## Mining and Land Acquisition in Peru

The mining sector is one the most important sources of fiscal income in Peru. On average, between 2010 and 2013, 26 per cent of revenue taxes came from mining and in 2013, mining represented 55 per cent of Peruvian exports (EY Perú, 2014, p. 22-23). In the face of a high need to improve social services and infrastructure, the government has an interest in increasing fiscal income from mining, even though the risks of this activity are felt by local populations, mostly from the Andean region of the country. Projected mining investments in Peru are expected to reach US\$ 59 billion in the next 10 years (EY Perú, 2014, p. 23). These projects need the use of

water and land resources, and in some cases may bring about the displacement of rural as well as urban populations.

Between 2002 and 2013, mining rights delivered by the Peruvian government increased from 7,452,232 hectare to 26,752,220 hectare (Cooperación, 2013). This expansion of mining activities in Peru is related to a higher level of social conflicts (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2011). In 1982, before the land expropriation for private mining projects was banned by the new Constitution, the Peruvian government expropriated land from 86 families for the Tintaya mining project. In the subsequent decade, as the project expanded, the new private owners of the project resettled another group of families. Since 1992, mining projects have started to resettle rural populations in larger proportions than before. Between 1992 and 1998, Yanacocha, the largest South American gold mine, acquired land and resettled more than 500 families. In 1999, Antamina, the largest Peruvian mine, resettled 186 pastoralists and agriculturalist families. Similarly, Toromocho, a copper mining project located just four hours from Lima, Peru's capital, is now in the process of relocating more than 6,000 inhabitants to a new town. Las Bambas, another copper mining project, is relocating 700 families. Among these cases, this study takes the Tintaya mining project as its case study because it allows us to analyse the long-term impacts of resettlement in the context of different legal frameworks.

## Tintaya Mining Project

The Tintaya mine is located in the south of Peru, in the Cuzco Region and Espinar Province. The project was originally developed by Empresa Minera Especial de Tintaya, a state-owned company, in the early 1980s. At that time, the Peruvian Constitution allowed land expropriation for mining and started such a procedure in a sector of the Antaycama peasant community known as Tintaya. More than 2,300 hectare was claimed for the mining project (De Echave *et al.*, 2009, p. 129).

The expropriation process included the identification of compensation subjects, the valorisation of the property affected (land, houses, infrastructure and crops), a payment for the amount due and a deadline to leave the property. According to those expropriated, the compensation was not enough to buy new lands and to build new homes. Some families decided to stay to confront the mine but were violently forced to leave their homes, which were immediately destroyed.

Using a snowball approach, I interviewed 26 household heads (out of the 86 households whose assets were expropriated to learn how they experienced the expropriation process and what were the impacts thereafter. I also gathered previous studies about the region and this mining project as well as documents of the Tintaya Marquiri community regarding the expropriation and resettlement process.

The Peruvian government decided the expropriation of 2,360 hectares of the Antaycama community (Tintaya Marquiri sector, later becoming an independent community) on June 26<sup>th</sup> 1981. The community objected the decision arguing a low valuing of assets lost. These objections were not accepted by the government which paid the compensation and started to forcibly expel local families. One interviewee told me his

memories of that day: "I was 15 years old, very young. Surprisingly, they came with trucks and tractors. They told us that we should go away. They took down the house. We said, 'where are we going to carry our little sheep.' 'It doesn't matter where, my friend, it doesn't matter where,' they said. From one day to the next, they tore down our house. Where could we go? I lived that moment with desperation."

A private owner donated a piece of land at the side of the mining project and the families moved there (this place has since become a town called Tintaya Marquiri). They built their houses with their own resources without any help from the mine. A particularly painful moment was the relocation of the cemetery and, according to the interviewees, the loss of some coffins. This displacement brought about the loss of all pastures and agricultural land for this group of families. During this process, they were offered permanent jobs in the mine and the creation of businesses that would offer activities such as transport, restaurant services and security. According to those interviewed, all displaced families obtained temporary jobs during the mine's construction. But when the project started, jobs were very limited and those available were only temporary and low skilled.

The mine was privatised (as with all mining activities in Peru) in the early 1990s. The population in the area started to protest, accusing the mine of soil and water contamination and demanding compensation. The mine was violently invaded by the population in 1990 and 2001 (De Echave *et al.*, 2009). One of the demands was the proper resettlement of the population originally expropriated. In 2002, the new owner, BHP Billiton decided to relocate those who were displaced earlier along with more families whose land was required for the mine's expansion.

Many options were studied by the company with community leaders and NGOs overseeing the process. Finally, three places were chosen: Copachuyo, Jayuni and Buenavista. These locations allowed the affected families to retake their cattle ranching activities but at higher cost. None of those places had health facilities (a key issue as all family heads were old), schools or proper communications and transport systems (only a few families were located near highways). With the exception of Copachuyo, these families were not provided with houses and therefore they built small huts where they slept and cooked. Some interviewees complained that the community leaders who negotiated the resettlement took over the best new lands (especially those close the local highways).

One of the most important impacts I witnessed was the breaking up of family social networks. All these families maintain a house in Tintaya Marquiri, on the mine outskirts, because it is there where their sons and daughters can follow their studies in local schools and in the technical institutes of the province capital, Espinar (located only 15 minutes from Tintaya Marquiri). All job opportunities are there too, in the mine and in Espinar. The family then has to divide itself in order to take advantage of newly offered resources: one household head, generally the mother, stays in the country house (Copachuyo, Jayuni and Buenavista) to manage the family cattle. The other stays in Tintaya to take care of their

sons and daughters and to work in the mine and in other businesses.

This situation has created stress for the families as they have to live and work separately. Some marriages have broken up as men have started new relationships and the workload for those staying in the countryside (mostly women) has increased. The decision over land acquisition and resettlement was taken in specially designated commissions representing the community and the company. Lands were acquired with no consideration on health, education, transport, and communications infrastructure, leaving those who moved under very precarious living conditions.

The subsequent family division between male household heads moving away to the city and female household heads staying in the country is consistent with studies in Latin America of the process of land "feminisation" in which men move to cities or villages to work for mines or to perform urban activities along with their children who seek education. Women are therefore left alone, managing the poorest asset available (De la Cadena, 1991; Deere and León, 2000).

Differential impacts by age are also evident as the younger generation migrates to urban areas seeking job opportunities and education while their parents, especially their mothers stayed in the family lands. As a company document underlines: "inside the family group agricultural and cattle ranching activities are mainly the task of the elders while the rest of the family have other activities and other sources of income" (De Echave *et al.*, 2005, p. 30).

This pattern of resettlement (agricultural and cattle ranching lands far away, housing close to the mine) seems to be replicated in other projects in nearby regions. Projects such as Las Bambas, Haquira and Constanza all imply resettlements with this same pattern. Maintaining houses close to the mining project allow the younger members of the resettled families to profit from jobs and businesses linked to the mine while lands are managed by the elders or, in some cases, by hired herdsmen.

## Discussion

The Tintaya mining project started with the expropriation of communal lands in 1982 by a then state-owned Peruvian company. It was only in 2002, after many protests, that new owners BHP Billiton accepted the implementation of a resettlement scheme, negotiated with the community affected. This study retraces the process of both displacement and resettlement of the Tintaya Marquiri population and the subsequent impacts in different segments of the population.

The fieldwork findings show some differential impacts of the process of resettlement depending on age and gender. Most household heads are cattle ranchers and farmers with incomplete school education. For those whose work skills, social organisation and cultural identity are linked to their landholdings, the expropriation and displacement removed their subsistence source. The subsequent resettlement divided the family geographically along gender and age lines. Fathers and children stayed in Tintaya Marquiri, close to the mine and the provincial capital, to take advantage of education and job opportunities, while mothers moved to the

resettlement areas to take care of lands and cattle. The resettlement was negotiated without an analysis of the impacts of this agreement on resettled families and women. As a consequence, women now have a heavier labour burden, as they have to manage their rural assets with limited help from their families and no provision of basic infrastructure.

For male household heads and family descendants, the compensation schemes provided by the mine included temporary job opportunities and training. This helped them obtain the education needed to become employable and made them less dependent on their land. For the second generation, gender differences are less clear, as I could observe almost no difference for education access for young men and women. Surveys also show job positions in the mine being held by daughters among resettled families. As mentioned earlier, younger generations have access to more public services than their parents, especially education and health which creates new opportunities of employability, especially for women. Descendants of resettled household heads still enjoy certain priority to obtain temporary jobs in the mine. Education leverage women's chances to benefit from those schemes.

The interviewees proposed differential types of compensation according to each family member's needs. For elders, they saw two possible solutions. One is a complete development program in the resettlement areas including proper housing, road access, mobile network and phones and development programs aimed at improving their cattle output. The other is the provision of a pension and health insurance that would allow them to leave their rural homes and re-join the rest of the family. For their sons and daughters the options preferred include education scholarships and privileged options for permanent work in the mine. Another alternative proposed is the acquisition of lands in the irrigated valleys of the Peruvian coastline which have successfully introduced certain crops in national and international markets.

This case shows the importance of the legal frameworks under which these projects operate. The forced displacement led by the state-owned company in the early eighties is no longer possible in Peru for mining activities. The resettlement implemented by BHP Billiton in the early 2000s (although insufficient and incomplete as we have seen) is due to the mine's own policies, which are influenced by the international standards on resettlement proposed by the World Bank. Nowadays, mines have to negotiate attractive compensation proposals in order to obtain acceptance of proprietors to sell their lands. However, development programs are dependent on the mine's budget, linked to the company's yearly revenues and international metal prices. Unless specified in a contract or enforced by law, these jobs and programs offered by companies lack the permanence in time and necessary budget to guarantee rebuilding the family's sources of subsistence in the long-term. This situation raises the question of whether states should enforce legal mechanisms that can provide displaced citizens with long-term development programs to help them improve their standards of living. Left to the company's standards, adequate resettlement measures have no means of being independently elaborated, executed and assessed.

Resettlement processes with no gender and age awareness risk worsening the situation for the vulnerable and disempowered members of the community. Left to community decisions in agreement with the mining companies, resettlements may be negotiated with little consideration for women's and elder's interests. It is the responsibility of governments to enforce gender and age considerations within resettlement management to protect the well-being of all parties, especially those most affected.

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