



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

**EXPLORING THE DYNAMICS OF FAIRNESS IN THE RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN MINING COMPANIES AND AFFECTED COMMUNITIES:
A CASE IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationships between mining companies and the communities affected by their operations. It explores issues of relational justice in the way parties articulate and negotiate their interests with each other. This research investigates the nature of these relationships and develops a framework to assist in the identification of factors that enhance or hinder greater fairness in the relational processes.

While mining companies are increasingly investing in strategies both to address the socio-environmental impacts and maximise the opportunity for mutually beneficial relationships with affected communities, these relationships still appear to be characterised by injustice. Yet, from a theoretical standpoint, it remains unclear what it is meant by relational justice in the context of these relationships, and how it can be investigated empirically.

This research addresses this gap by investigating the relationships between the people of Juruti, a municipality located in the Brazilian Amazon, and Alcoa, a multinational mining company that operates a large bauxite mine in the region. Ethnographic methods were applied so that the mechanisms, structures and characteristics of how parties communicate and interact with each other, and of how Juruti people are socially organised to engage with the company could be explored. Using an interdisciplinary approach, this thesis proposes a conceptual framework to explore relational justice in the mining context. The Juruti-Alcoa relationship was analysed using a negotiation lens, while fairness was examined from the perspective of the 'voice', 'capabilities', and 'trust' of affected individuals.

As this research indicates, relational injustices in the Juruti case are mainly driven by the difficulties that community people have in critically and strategically engaging about mining-related issues, and performing under the company's required procedures. The practical implications of enhancing fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship are presented, and methodological considerations for approaching and exploring relational justice in the context of community-company relationships are also discussed.

This thesis contributes to the existing knowledge about the nature and morphology of community-company relationships and its embedded dynamics of fairness. It also advances current understandings about mining in the Brazilian Amazon, negotiation and community-engagement practice, community empowerment, and the means by which issues of social justice can be explored in the context of natural resource management.

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This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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Publications during Candidature

Gavidia, M. (2013). *Mining, communities, and the concept of sustainability: How lack of mutual understanding can foster frustration and distrust*. Paper presented at SR Mining – International Conference on Social Responsibility in Mining, Santiago, Chile, 05-08 November, 2013.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the *filhos e filhas* (sons and daughters) of Juruti. And to my family, always.

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Justice, fairness, Brazilian Amazon, mining, relational sociology, community engagement, negotiation, voice, capabilities, trust, framework

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“A man must go forth from where he stands. He cannot
jump to the absolute, he must evolve toward it.”

The Sojourn of Arjuna, Béla Fleck and the Flecktones (from the
album *Left of Cool*, 1998. Song based on the Bhagavad Gita)

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List of Symbols and Abbreviations

ACORJUVE – Regional Association of the Communities in the Juruti Velho Lake
(*Associação das Comunidades da Região de Juruti Velho*)

CE – Community-Engagement

CDA – Community Development Agreement

CONJUS – Sustainable Juruti Council (*Conselho Juruti Sustentável*)

CR – Community Relations

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

EIA-RIMA – Environmental Impact Assessment

FGV – Getulio Vargas Foundation (*Fundação Getúlio Vargas*)

FUNBIO – National Fund for Biodiversity (*Fundo Nacional para a Biodiversidade*)

FUNJUS – Sustainable Juruti Fund (*Fundo Juruti Sustentável*)

GVCes – Centre for Sustainability Studies at FGV

HDI – Human Development Index

IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

MRN – Mineração Rio do Norte

OJ – Organizational Justice

PAE-JURUTI VELHO – Agro-Extractive Project in Juruti Velho (*Projeto Agroextrativista em Juruti Velho*)

PCA –Environmental Control Plans (*Planos de Controle Ambiental*)

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis explores factors that enhance or hinder fairness in the way mining companies and affected communities relate, negotiate, and manage interests. The objectives of this research are to explore the characteristics of community – company relationships, and to identify potential ways to minimise relational injustice that often arises in the mining context. Accordingly, I investigate the relationship between Juruti, a municipality located in the heart of the Brazilian Amazon, and Alcoa, an American multinational that has been mining bauxite in the region since 2009.

While mining is one of the most important economic activities of our society, it is also one of the most controversial. If we look around us, almost everything we have is made out of minerals, or made by a machine made out of minerals, or was transported by a vehicle made out of minerals, and so on. Mining is of high importance to the economy, not only to provide industry with the basic materials for sustaining the lifestyle of modern society, but also to provide jobs, improve infrastructure, and boost economic development in the regions where mining projects are installed.

At the same time as lifestyles and the global economy depend highly on minerals at the local level, mining activities impact upon the environment and society significantly, which is often interpreted as ‘injustice’ against affected communities (Morrice & Colagiuri, 2013; Romero et al. 2012; Segal, 2012; Whiteman, 2009; Hamman & Kapelus, 2004). These impacts can include an uncontrolled influx of population, loss of livelihood, prostitution, risks to human health, violence, involuntary resettlement, as well as contamination and misuse of water sources, the degradation of vegetation, and death of wildlife.

To address and mitigate these adverse impacts, mining companies are increasingly introducing Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) frameworks so as to foster participatory and mutually beneficial relationships with affected populations. The rationale for this is that social responsibility would enhance corporate reputation and potentially minimise operational risk, since dealing strategically with community issues has become part of the mining business (Franks et al. 2014; Humphreys, 2000).

However, the ability of companies to implement such policies, avoid causing harm, and to promote responsible development in affected communities, continues to be criticised (Kemp et al. 2011). Despite the advancements of community relations practice in the mining industry, the relationships with affected communities are still characterised by injustice. Such discussions indicate that a significant gap remains between what companies claim to do, and what they actually do on the ground (practice).

The presence of mining projects tend to be even more controversial when they are located in regions with sensitive environments and high levels of social vulnerability, as these places are particularly prone to environmental and social injustice. The Brazilian Amazon is one of those places. While mining is seen by the Brazilian government to be an important activity to foster economic development, the Amazon is also the largest rainforest in the world, and one of the richest and most threatened biomes on Earth. The Amazon is also home to traditional rural communities and hundreds of different indigenous groups, known to be socially vulnerable with limited access to basic rights. These contextual features, together with the inevitable impacts of mining, contribute to the creation of a complex relationship between affected communities and the mining companies that are implementing large and long-term mining projects in the region.

Before the arrival of Alcoa, Juruti was a quiet municipality located on the banks of the Amazon River. The main social and economic activities included the production of cassava flour, fishing and hunting for subsistence, alongside a very small and underdeveloped local commerce sector. In 2005, Alcoa began the construction of a large scale bauxite mining project in the region which caused numerous social-environmental impacts such as deforestation, contamination of water sources, violence, influx of population, resettlement, and so on (Sampaio, 2013; Borba, 2012). At the same time, the implementation of Alcoa's project was also linked to the promotion of jobs, economic development, and improved local infrastructure. The negative impacts, together with the promise of benefits, have generated a complex set of interests and impacts which communities and the company began to manage and negotiate.

Both the academic literature and industry-produced guidelines that are focused on mining and community relations strongly argue that relational aspects are essential for promoting justice and fairness in the way interests are managed (e.g., Zandvliet & Anderson, 2009; ICMM, 2012). Yet, from a theoretical perspective, it is not clear how justice and fairness can be assessed in these relationships. Justice is both a relative and subjective concept and, although it is easy for observers to sense and point to what they see as injustice, it is harder to explore these aspects analytically. In this context, specific discussions about methodologies to identify why and how relational injustice occurs are rare.

This research proposes a conceptual framework to systematically explore relational fairness in the mining context as a means of expanding our understandings about justice and fairness in the context of community-company relationships. Fairness is explored from the perspective of the elements of 'voice', 'capabilities', and 'trust' of affected people to engage with the company to manage their interests. The framework uses a "negotiation lens", meaning that relationships between Juruti and Alcoa are analysed as if they are parties continually negotiating a myriad of interests that vary from environmental impacts to opportunities for local development. This perspective helps to analyse more explicitly the structures through which communities and companies relate to each other to manage issues that are relevant to them. It is also useful from a strategic point of view to identify factors that are promoting inequalities and disadvantages in these relational processes.

An ethnographic approach was used to apply the conceptual framework in the field, and to analyse the ways Juruti people and Alcoa communicate, interact and are socially organised to manage their interests. From the analysis, some of the factors enhancing or hindering relational justice were identified and discussed. I provide examples of how the relational structures in place can put community people in disadvantageous and unfair positions when managing their interests with the company. This research expands our knowledge about the nature and morphology of the relational processes between mining company and affected communities. It also advances existing understanding of community engagement, negotiation, informed consent, decision-making practices, and methodologies for exploring issues of social justice in the context of natural resource management. The thesis also contributes to the still limited research into the social aspects of mining in the Brazilian Amazon.

The Juruti-Alcoa relationship was selected to be the case study of this research for four main reasons. The first is that the company, at least according to their rhetoric, has signalled their intention to operate under a socially responsible framework. Following a worldwide trend among mining companies, Alcoa has invested in building an image of a 'socially responsible corporation' by developing numerous initiatives to address mining-related impacts upon Juruti. The company has, for example, developed a quite sophisticated model to promote sustainability and to build a participatory relationship with affected communities (Abdala, 2010). Alcoa has presented the Juruti Mine project as a benchmark, and has used the project as their main business case and platform for promoting CSR.¹ The company itself has highlighted the social aspects of the operation, which makes it a particularly interesting case for analysing justice and fairness.

Second, the majority of the population in Juruti viewed the arrival of the Project as an opportunity for improving their quality of life. In the mining context, issues of justice and fairness are often discussed in situations where there is resistance to mining, and injustice is apparent. In Juruti, the relationship of the population with Alcoa has been essentially non-violent, notwithstanding some disagreement and tension between the community and the company when the mine was being installed. To some extent, Juruti people were willing to build a relationship with the company to create opportunities for benefit sharing, and win/win situations.

However, even where company-community relationship is not characterised by violent conflict or strong community disapproval, injustice may still be present. Injustice does not only manifest itself through violent conflict, or disagreements; it can also be found in the structure of the relationship and have a relational nature. This research shows that justice is impacted upon in a variety of ways, including some aspects of the interpersonal interactions between company employees and affected individuals, ineffective communication processes, and poor representation by community leadership.

¹ Alcoa was, for example, a finalist in the 2012 Corporate Citizenship Awards organised by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for its initiatives in Juruti (<http://www.uschamberfoundation.org/corporate-citizenship-center/best-international-ambassador-finalist-alcoa> - accessed in 08/12/2014)

A third reason for the selection of the Juruti case relates to the timeframe of the mining project. Although the bauxite prospecting studies were initiated in the 1970s, the construction of the mine by Alcoa only started in 2005 with operations beginning in 2009. This means that perceptions about the relational processes, and how they were created and evolved, are still fresh in the memories of people.

Lastly, the selection was influenced by my strong personal interest in the Amazonian region and its population. My connection with the region was developed through previously living in the region, and involvement in volunteer work with rural and indigenous communities. From the time of my first visit to the region, I observed much social injustice against traditional populations and, since then, I have been interested in how to minimise this. My thesis testifies my commitment to this goal.

In this thesis, I do not do not seek to engage the broader questions about whether or not mining the Amazon is 'just', or whether the net balance between the positive and negative impacts of the Alcoa project is just or fair. This is not because these issues are unimportant, but rather that such a focus would distract from the main purpose of this thesis, which is to approach justice from a relational perspective. As argued by Emirbayer (1997), more attention could be paid to relational processes when researchers explore social phenomena. I extend this argument by suggesting that the same attention to relational processes should be paid to the social interactions that occur between mining companies and the affected communities.

This research also does not intend to 'solve' the problem of injustice in the mining context either. From a practical point of view, a thesis with 'solutions' to the problem of justice in the way communities and companies relate to each other would be as idealistic and utopian as the concept of justice itself. As pointed out by Sen (2009), injustice is part of our society, and therefore cannot be fully eliminated. This can be observed in the context of mining, where the relationship between companies and communities may always contain injustice in the form of a lack of freedom, inequality, and an imbalance of power and in communities' opportunities to manage their interests. However, injustice can surely be reduced, and even though community-company relationships may never be ideally 'just', they can certainly be less unjust than they currently are. This research proposes that, once the relational dynamics between community and company are mapped, issues affecting fairness can potentially be identified, and opportunities to improve justice can be created.

As suggested by Freire (1970), a pragmatic way of minimising social injustice is by empowering community people to become critically aware about the situations they are exposed to. Although communities and companies may never be equal in their power and capabilities to manage this relationship, fairness can potentially be enhanced when community people become more aware of their position in the relationship with the company, and aware of their rights and responsibilities in regards to the mining project. Fairness can also be improved when people can effectively access information and develop critical thinking about situations and topics relevant to their relationship with the company. For this reason, the major focus of this study is on the performance of affected communities in the community-company relationship. Greater awareness by company employees is also relevant to promoting greater fairness, although it is not explored in this research. While I also analyse and discuss Alcoa's performance, the opportunities to enhance relational fairness are focused on opportunities to empower the Juruti population to improve the way they deal with Alcoa's operation.

1.1 Research context – community-company relationships and the problem of relational fairness

In this research, fairness is explored by analysing how mining companies and affected communities relate to each other. More specifically, it investigates the processes through which interests and expectations are communicated and managed between the parties on a daily basis (named 'relational processes'). From a relational perspective, it can be argued that, when a mining company arrives in a specific location, the company and the local population begin a long-term relationship to manage their interests over time. These interests mostly involve matters related to the impacts of mining and mitigation initiatives, as well as opportunities for economic benefits. These relationships are constituted by a dynamic network or web of actors, interests, and interactions that together comprise what I call in this research, a 'community-company relationship'. Focusing on the relational processes of such relationships is argued to be a fundamental aspect for exploring the nature of such social phenomenon theoretically (Donati, 2010, Emirbayer, 1997). My objectives, however, are not only to explore these relationships, but also to use such knowledge as a means of exploring what affects justice and fairness in these relational processes.

To attain these objectives, in the following sections I provide the research context, and explain how my research sits within the contemporary literature on mining and community relations. I begin by discussing some of the reasons why mining companies are concerned about fostering fairness in their relationships with affected communities. Understanding the interests behind mining companies' initiatives to engage communities provides an important background to investigate relational fairness. It also helps to explain the negotiation lens that is applied in this research. Some of the mechanisms used by mining companies to foster a fair relationship with affected communities, and challenges to implementing them, are then examined. As further discussed, it has been strongly argued that efforts to build participative, dialogical, and transparent community-company relationships foster relational fairness. Nevertheless, companies still struggle to put this discourse into practice, and as a consequence these relationships remain characterised by injustice.

1.1.1 Why and how mining companies and communities relate to each other

In the last few years, increasing pressure on mining companies to address social and environmental impacts of their operations has meant that building and maintaining fair relationships with affected communities has become an important part of the mining business (Humphreys, 2000). There is a variety of reasons for why companies are increasingly investing in community-related initiatives, and a central one is the concern for mitigating reputational and operational risks, which can be very costly to mining companies (Franks et al., 2014; Sohn et al., 2007). Companies are also concerned with obtaining and maintaining a 'social license to operate', a term used by the industry to signal that a company has obtained community consent about the mining project and its implications (Owen & Kemp, 2013; Thomson Boutilier, 2011). Therefore, from a strategic perspective, when mining companies approach affected communities to improve these relationships by engaging with them, the main driver is not necessarily the 'good intention' of the company in taking care of affected people's needs and interests, but – above all – to protect the company's own interests.

The argument that companies' initiatives towards society are driven by economic considerations is not new in the academic literature. The concept of CSR and the theoretical basis that sustain arguments favouring it have been argued to be mainly a matter of achieving economic ends (Dahlsrud, 2008, Kakabadse et al., 2005, Shamir, 2005, Garriga and Melé, 2004, Carroll, 1991, Friedman, 1970). Carrol (1991) in particular argues that CSR has legal, ethical, moral, and philanthropic drivers, although economic considerations behind CSR initiatives are the primary reason for why companies engage with communities. CSR has become a commoditised product of company management used to improve their reputation (Shamir, 2005). In the mining context, CSR policies and related initiatives have also been regarded as a product of business interests (Hamann and Kapelus, 2004, Guerra, 2002, Labonne, 1999). From this perspective, CSR can be seen as an industry in itself that focuses on promoting corporate self-regulation for ethical conduct aimed at developing affected communities, but also seeks to build a business case and potential opportunities maximising the profits that these activities may raise (Welker, 2009). As shown in this research, the Juruti case exemplifies this very well.

Because of the nature of the mining industry, the primary interest of companies for engaging with affected communities is to obtain advantages (which could potentially mean economic advantage), and not necessarily to improve social justice as an end in itself. The economic and business ramifications of CSR affect not only the nature of community-company relationships, but also the perspective through which we can investigate fairness in the way these relationships are managed on a daily basis. It is also an important point to be clarified to affected communities, so they can understand better who they are building a relationship with, and what are their main interests, which could be hidden behind the friendly discourses of corporate citizenship.

1.1.2 Mechanisms to foster relational fairness and implementation challenges

Building and fostering fair relationships with mining companies became part of the mining business, and industry guides, and academic literature, have proposed, discussed, and criticised some mechanisms to achieve such aims. The initiatives concerned with building a relationship with communities, and establishing a space for dialogue to improve management of mining impacts and opportunities for benefits, are referred to as community engagement (CE). What follows explains this by discussing the idea of engaging with communities in the mining context. I also make reference to the concept of free, prior and informed consent, which is likewise a mechanism aimed to support a fairer relationship between communities and companies.

Briefly, CE can be defined as the process of involving communities in decision-making about matters that may affect their lives, and that require greater articulation among people in order to be managed. Approaches for engaging communities have been used in a diversity of other fields than mining, such as health (Kilpatrick, 2009), education (Walshaw, 2004), safety and justice (Dickey and McGarry, 2005), governance and governmental initiatives (Taylor, 2007, Head, 2007, Blake et al., 2008), and community development (Shaw, 2011, Eversole, 2010). In practice, it could be said that CE ideally embodies the characteristics of public participation, which is usually implemented following the model developed by the International Association of Public Participation (Head, 2007). This model comprises a sequence of actions: *informing*, *consulting*, *involving*, *collaborating* and *empowering* communities, seeking to promote democratic, inclusive, and empowering participation, with the overall aim of improving fairness in decision-making (IAP2, 2007).

In the mining context, CE is argued to be an initiative for improving fairness in the way that mining business is conducted (Mutti et al., 2011, Lertzman and Vredenburg, 2005, Zandvliet and Anderson, 2009). CE in mining includes initiatives such as: disclosure of information; better identifying and accommodating stakeholders' concerns, expectations and priorities; and a greater involvement and influence of communities in decision-making about topics related to social and environmental impacts, relevant to communities' welfare and interests (Harding et al., 2001, Beach et al., 2005). These initiatives allow both the company and the community to manage mining impacts and CSR-related initiatives in a more participative way and to promote a fairer relationship.

Drawing from the structures of CE in different fields, mining companies have also developed models to engage with local communities to promote a greater dialogue. The Australian Department of Resources Energy and Tourism (2006), for example, proposes using the IAP2 model for community-engagement in the mining industry. Other industry guidelines to managing relationships with affected communities have also been published to assist companies (ICMM, 2012, 2010, IFC, 2012, 2007, Hebertson et al., 2009). Alongside the academic literature, these guidelines strongly argue the importance of engaging with communities for fostering fairness in the mining context.

The World Resources Institute's (WRI) guidelines for community engagement in the mining sector state that engagement is fundamental for a fair community-company relationship, and proposes several principles to be considered by mining companies to foster relational fairness (Hebertson et al., 2009). These are: (1) prepare communities before engaging; (2) determine what level of engagement is needed; (3) integrate community engagement into each step of the project cycle, (4) include traditionally excluded people, (5) gain free, prior and informed consent, (6) resolve conflicts through dialogue, and (7) promote participatory monitoring. In theory, if these principles are applied effectively, the community-company relationship is able to become fairer, more meaningful, and conflicts and operational risks are likely to be diminished.

Because these guidelines aim to be useful in different contexts, they may be helpful in assisting companies to build their own CSR strategies, but provide only limited guidance on managing these relationships on the grassroots level. As an example, while these guidelines support the perspective that companies should share information with affected communities, practical and operational challenges that arise from the implementation of such a principle are not really explored. These challenges pose important questions when it comes to fostering relational fairness on the ground, as companies inevitably face contextual and cultural challenges that require specific and creative actions in order to maintain their commitment to promote a fair relationship with communities.

The literature on mining and community relations has discussed these challenges, also showing a variety of operational and context-driven challenges for fair community-company relationships. O'Faircheallaigh (2013, 2012, 2010, 2003, 1995), for example, extensively analysed relational procedures between mining companies and aboriginal people in Australia, and identified many challenges when it comes to engaging and negotiating interests. These challenges include: ensuring that community members are represented; developing culturally appropriate engagement structures to foster communication; and promoting clarity and understanding of the issues raised. While O'Faircheallaigh focuses on the negotiation of formal agreements with indigenous groups, these struggles are also present in the relationships with non-indigenous communities, and in the context of non-formalised negotiation of benefits (Zandvliet & Anderson, 2009).

Implementing engagement initiatives can also be threatened by company practice, which may be reflected in the lack of company employees on the ground capable of conducting and managing engagement activities (Armstrong and Baillie, 2012, Kemp et al., 2011). Other examples of the practical challenges are actually defining ‘community’ and the groups to be engaged (Kapelus, 2002), and managing different interests within the communities which themselves are not necessarily homogeneous nor harmonious (Deleon and Ventriss, 2010).

Kemp (2010) analyses the engagement practices of mining companies and, after organising different models of engagement (as shown in Figure 1.2) concludes that the majority of companies still practise traditional methods driven by risk and unilateral communications. The four models discussed by Kemp begin with a one-way communication approach (Model 1), with low levels of dialogue and participation of communities, and evolve towards what are called ‘emergent’ models, which increasingly include engagement of a more participatory, dialogical, and equitable approach (Model 4). Although way companies implement CE activities has improved, in practice, most still use less participatory models of engagement (as in Models 2 & 3). These do not include dialogue and a fair relationship typical of CSR polices.

<i>Model</i>	<i>Primary driver</i>	<i>Dominant work 'space'</i>	<i>Main disciplinary orientation</i>	<i>Key aim</i>	<i>Main methods</i>	
Traditional	1	risk	within company	media and communication	target audience message consumption	information production and dissemination
	2			public relations	protect and promote corporate reputation and goals	control and contain issues, problem solving and positive profiling
Emergent	3	risk and rights	within and across community and company	inter-disciplinary	mutual understanding and organizational change	inclusive dialogue, relationship building and influencing within the organization
	4		within community	community development	benefit sharing and empowerment	developmental processes, participation

Figure 1.1 – Models of community engagement in the mining industry (Kemp, 2010)

In the context of community-company relationships, the promotion of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) in the communities before mining operations are installed is also an increasingly important aspect for fostering fairness in the mining context (Owen & Kemp, 2014, Oxfam, 2014, Mahanty, & McDermott, 2013). The linkage between FPIC and relational fairness relies on fostering informed consent so that communities are better prepared to understand the potential impacts and benefits of mining, and are enabled to build a critical perspective about the project's implementation (Macintyre, 2007). While FPIC has emerged, and is mostly discussed within the indigenous and human rights context (Lehr & Smith, 2010), the idea of building consent in non-indigenous communities is also an important and essential aspect of the 'social license to operate' (Owen & Kemp, 2013).

Nevertheless, like other forms of CE practice, building consent in communities has also been criticised because it lacks implementation methods that are culturally and contextually appropriate enough to generate knowledge (Macintyre, 2007). Macintyre also argues that building consent is significantly challenged by how to deal with bias in the information provided, as the company (the provider of the information) is primarily concerned with obtaining consent for the mining project to go forward.

These examples of implementation challenges strengthen the argument that relational fairness in the mining context is strongly affected by the dynamics that take place on the ground, and not only by the existence or not of written corporate commitments to engage in fair relationships with affected communities. In this context, I argue that fairness in community-company relationships can be better explored if the relational aspects of such relationships are analysed in detail, considering daily practices.

1.2 Justice, fairness, and mining: opportunities for research

In the academic literature, and in available industry guidelines and standards, while it is acknowledged that companies should develop initiatives to foster fair relationships, the idea of fairness is often used vaguely. What 'fairness' actually means in these relationships is rarely clarified. From an aspirational perspective, a concern for maximising fairness can be easily accepted, but unless we understand the concept of fairness to an extent that it can be supported empirically, conclusions can be mistaken for biased perceptions and arguments, rather than evidence. With this in mind, this research aims to expand existing knowledge about how to approach and explore the concept of fairness in the mining context, especially from a relational perspective.

What follows identifies works that discuss issues of justice and fairness in the mining context more objectively, in the sense that they argue that the relationships between mining and communities are permeated with injustice and unfairness. However, the fact that authors have documented and discussed existing injustices and unfairness does not mean that the theoretical links between the concept of fairness and community-company relationships has been explained in detail. Moreover, the literature still tends to discuss unfairness and injustice from the perspective of outcomes (or what communities get from the arrival of companies), rather than relational processes (how communities and companies manage interests to reach outcomes).

Hamann and Kapelus (2004) discuss unfairness in community-company relationships by applying Rawls (1971) theory of the 'differentiate principle'. The authors explain how companies' CSR strategies are at times 'greenwashing' and are thus not necessarily concerned with fostering social justice. However, this exemplifies a focus on outcomes, as the injustice discussed refers to what communities receive or not in terms of economic development and other benefits (substantive matters). Injustice related to the way communities and companies negotiate their interests was not part of their study. While the authors discuss an important dimension of justice, there is space for deeper investigation on the relational aspects of these relationships.

Similarly, within the mining industry in Bolivia, Bebbington et al. (2009) discuss issues about fairness in community-company relationships, but also with a strong focus on outcomes. The authors analyse the characteristics of the mining industry in that country to discuss inequality and inequity (injustice), especially from a perspective of territories, land use, and benefit sharing. They question what fairness means in mining and find that perceptions of fairness can change depending on the stage of the mine and who owns it, the current benefits to the community, and other contextual factors. The study suggests that fairness is a dynamic, mutable, and relative concept in the mining context. Nevertheless, the discussion is focused on the distribution of benefits, jobs, compensation, and so on or, in other words, the outcomes of these relationships rather than their relational processes. Although it is mentioned that access to information and decision making are relevant factors for greater fairness, the relational dynamics between community and company, and how these create relational unfairness, for example, are not discussed in detail.

Injustice in the mining context has also been discussed as it relates to environmental justice, with Romero & Smith (2012) specifying the problem of water access in Chile. They argue that companies are favoured in the battle for water because of the economic benefits to the national government. While they discuss what causes such injustice, detailed information about the relationship between communities and companies is lacking as is how this injustice is managed by the parties. Urkidi & Walter (2011) have also analysed cases of environmental injustice in Latin America to find that administration procedures are relevant to environmental justice in the mining context. Important points are made about mining companies and the government building trust in the information they provide, and the problems associated with citizens understanding technical information. However, the study essentially focuses on how indigenous organisations respond to mining projects, and does not investigate the characteristics of the relational processes in the case studies selected in Chile and Argentina.

Morrice & Colagiuri (2013) discuss the injustice of coal-mining operations by focusing on the health issues suffered by local populations. They also argue that injustice is intensified by power asymmetries generated by the economic strength of companies whereby the needs of local communities are not considered, resulting in injustice. Likewise, Saha et al. (2011) focus on health issues in India to provide empirical evidence of environmental injustice in the mining context. While these studies help us to understand the characteristics of social injustices in the mining context, they do not focus on the relational processes between communities and companies to explain how this injustice unfolds and is managed over time.

Some scholars focus on the relational aspects of fairness in community-company relationships by empirically researching the way communities and companies relate and engage to each other is affecting fairness. For example, Whiteman and Mamen (2002a) studied justice and fairness in the relationships between mining companies and affected indigenous communities in Panama. They explored the community's perceptions of justice about mining activities using a theoretical framework based on studies in organisational justice. They analysed local perceptions about procedures, interactions, and outcomes of the community-company relationship, and discussed how these relate to indigenous concepts of justice. The authors provided empirical evidence of relational injustice, and showed that these are driven by companies and communities having significantly different perceptions about the same issues. These conflicting perceptions support the link between lack of dialogue and mutual understanding between the parties and relational injustice.

This thesis builds on Whiteman and Mamen by detailing the characteristics of the relational processes between communities and companies, and discussing how to explore the concept of fairness in such a context. In their study, the characteristics and mechanisms of the relationship that have driven people to perceive injustice are unclear, and the structures of the community-company relationship, which inevitably provide the basis for understanding the perceptions of affected people about justice, are not discussed in depth by the authors. To expand this, I propose to investigate the characteristics of the relational processes in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship as a way to expand knowledge about how relational (in)justices unfold in the mining context.

Lastly, Kemp et al. (2011) discuss justice and fairness by highlighting the conflicting nature of community-company relationships. Using Whiteman and Mamen's (2002a) framework for their investigation, they analyse the procedural and interactional dynamics of companies and associated challenges. Although their work contributes to a discussion about fairness in community-company relationships, the focus is on companies and their internal dynamics, and how organisational structures may affect the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships. Community dynamics and the details of interactions between communities and companies are not explored. Therefore, although this work also contributes the research into justice and fairness in community-company relationships, it too also leaves room for further investigation on the relational processes.

In sum, although some studies discussing issues of justice and fairness in community-company relationships are available, there is room for expanding this literature in different ways. This should involve more philosophical discussions about what fairness means in the context of mining and community relations, and more refined analytical frameworks to explore issues of relational fairness in empirical situations.

1.2.1 Further contributions of this research

By developing a framework to explore the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships, this research contributes to research into mining and community relations.

A hallmark of this thesis is that community-company relationships are interpreted as a continual negotiation of interests, which extends throughout the life of the mine. In other words, the relationship between the Juruti people and Alcoa exists through negotiation, whereby the community and the company continually manage the dynamics of the positive and negative impacts of mining. By linking the strategies that mining companies use to engage with affected communities, and the concept of negotiation, I propose a different means to understanding community-company relationships. This enables a diversity of literatures to be reviewed to identify what is important in the dynamics of these relationships, and what is relevant for fairness when it comes to the processes of negotiation and decision making.

A negotiation lens is also used to view what is relevant for relational fairness, as the existing literature on negotiation is extensive with many works dealing with processes (rather than solely on outcomes). In the mining context, the negotiation lens is used mainly to view companies and affected communities negotiating formal agreements, known as Community Development Agreements, or Impact Benefit Agreements (O'Faircheallaigh, 2012, CSR, 2011, Fidler and Hitch, 2007, Sosa and Keenan, 2001). While the literature details how the structure of negotiation may lead to unfair processes and outcomes, these works are largely restricted to formal documents that focus on broader aspects of negotiation. Informal and smaller negotiations of potential benefit, and impact management are known to constantly occur in such relationships (Hodge, 2002), but are rarely explored in detail. In Juruti, no legal mandate exists for companies to negotiate formally with affected communities, but this does not mean that parties do not negotiate interests with each other. In this sense, applying the negotiation lens can improve our understanding of how the interests of mining companies and communities are managed over time, and how the processes of managing these interests affect the fairness of community-company relationships outside the formalised agreement-making context.

Research into mining and communities often focuses on the practice of mining companies in these relationships, using CSR as its focus, this entails considering the management of relationships from a company perspective rather than the affected communities (e.g., Kemp and Owen, 2013; Hamann, 2003; Hilson and Murck, 2000). The struggles of communities to perform in such relationships, and their responses to mining, are well reported (e.g., Golub, 2014; Morrice & Colagiuri, 2013; Filer & Macintyre, 2006; Oxfam 2002, 2004), and this research is often used as a basis for discussing how companies and governments can address these challenges.

Relationships are formed by two parties, companies and affected communities, and each of the parties follows certain behaviours and internal dynamics that influence the way the relationship is being managed overtime. While the literature strongly focuses on how companies manage the relationship with communities, the reverse, or how communities can be empowered to better manage their relationship, is neglected. O'Faircheallaigh (2010, 2003) is an exception in that his research guides how aboriginal communities can better negotiate agreements with companies. Accordingly, this thesis also addresses how the Juruti communities could improve their performance in the community-company relationship to foster relational justice, instead of only focusing on the performance of the company.

Moreover, the negotiation lens provides a perspective of empowering communities by re-interpreting these relationships. Instead of constructing these relationships as companies as givers, or providers, and communities as receivers and victims, the negotiation perspective equates the rights and responsibilities of the two parties in the relationship. As a result, this perspective allows communities to identify directly their needs so they may organise more effectively, and use their agency to improve their performance and strategies in the relationship.

Lastly, research into justice, fairness and negotiation in the mining context often focuses on indigenous people (and existing cross-cultural conflicts), or situations where communities oppose the mining project (e.g., Bebbington et al., 2008, Langton & Mazel, 2008, Doohan, 2007). In Juruti, by contrast, communities do not self-identify as indigenous, and the majority of the population were in favour of the Alcoa mine being implemented. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the discussion about justice and fairness in a broader array of contexts that has not received attention in the literature.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

In view of the research context and gaps identified in the sections above the present research is guided by the following question and objectives.

Research question:

What factors are enhancing or hindering fairness in the way mining companies and affected populations relate to each other?

Objectives:

- To develop an analytical framework to guide a structured exploration of the dynamics of fairness of the relational processes between mining companies and affected communities.
- To apply the framework in a particular context in order to investigate and map relational processes of community-company relationships and unfold the main characteristics and mechanisms in place;
- To identify key factors that are enabling or hindering fairness in the way companies and communities manage, articulate and negotiate their interests.

A two-step methodology is used for this research project. The first was to develop a conceptual framework to organise the theoretical basis for exploring justice and fairness in the context of community-company relationships, and to identify which aspects of the relationship should be analysed. As discussed above, this research applies the negotiation lens to the analysis, meaning that it focuses on the negotiated nature of these relationships. Fairness is explored from the perspective of the dynamics of voice, capabilities, and trust (called the elements of fairness), of community people in the ways they manage and negotiate their interests with the company. The factors affecting these elements are analysed using the communicational, interactional, and organisational dynamics in place as the domains of analysis.

The second step of this research involves applying the framework to an empirical case study of community-company relationship in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. Ethnographic methods were used over a three-month period of fieldwork to understand the cultural characteristics of Juruti society, and the nature of the relationship local people have developed with Alcoa. A suite of well-established qualitative methods was used to collect data, with the main concern being building field relations.

I was interested in engaging local people in organic and flowing conversations about their experiences and perceptions, rather than conducting rigid and formalised interviews. The opportunity to be with the communities living close to the mine project allowed me to develop an understanding of the relational dynamics between Juruti people and Alcoa. I also had the chance to return to Juruti two years after the fieldwork to run community workshops and to share with the population some of the findings of this research.²

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as such: in the next chapter, I present and discuss the conceptual framework developed to explore the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships. This includes an analysis of a variety of different theories and concepts relevant to investigating fairness in relationships in the mining context. In Chapter 3, I present the rationale and methodology used to collect and analyse data. Chapter 4 presents Juruti and provides an overview of contextual and cultural characteristics of that society. The focus is on understanding how Juruti people traditionally live, relate to each other and manage their interests. In Chapter 5, I present the characteristics and mechanisms of how Juruti people and Alcoa relate to each other in both the pre- and post-operations stages. In Chapter 6, I present and discuss the factors identified to be affecting relational fairness between community members and the company. In chapter 7, I present my conclusions and identify opportunities for future research.

² This return trip does not form part of the data collection for the thesis.

Chapter 2 Exploring a Community-Company Relationship and its Dynamics of Fairness

In this chapter, I present the framework developed to guide the exploration of the dynamics of fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. From a methodological point of view, a variety of different approaches could be taken to explore fairness in the relational processes between mining companies and affected communities. For this research, I used an interdisciplinary approach to identify what is relevant to relational justice. I reviewed literature in negotiation, public participation, conflict management, social psychology, philosophy, sociology and anthropology. This exercise aimed to identify shared perspectives in these bodies of literature about relational justice in the articulation of interests, which are organised as a framework with elements of justice and domains of analysis. Ultimately, this exercise also contributed to deepening our understanding about the nature of community-company relationships and their daily mechanisms.

In the next sections, I describe what I call the 'negotiation lens' and discuss how the negotiation perspective guides this research. Then, I discuss the concepts of justice and fairness, and the elements identified to be relevant for relational fairness: voice, capabilities and trust. The chapter thus leads to an explanation of the domains of analysis, or the aspects of the community-company relationship in which the elements of fairness are explored.

2.1 The Negotiation Lens

Community–company relationships in the mining are often characterised by expectations, promises, conflicts of interests, tension, disputes, and claims for rights and benefits (Jenkins, 2004; Ballard & Banks, 2003). Throughout the life of a mining project, there are many situations in which the parties enter into formal and informal negotiations to discuss a variety of topics that reflect their interests about the mining operation. For these characteristics, in this research, I explore the dynamics of fairness of community-company relationships by viewing these as negotiated relationships, or a relationship where parties continually negotiate their respective interests.

From the negotiation angle, even routine interactions (e.g., meetings, informal exchanges) can be seen as comprising a strategic part of the negotiation process as they help to manage the relationship of the parties, and to set the tone of proper negotiation situations. Due to the business nature of these relationships (discussed in section 1.1), any sort of purposeful interaction between companies and communities involves opportunism and self-interest. Companies are concerned with risk and reputation, while communities are concerned with the risks and impacts associated with the mining operation, and how they can potentially benefit from it. Viewing these relationships using a negotiation lens provides an opportunity to explore justice in the relational processes by focusing more directly on how parties are continuously managing their interests.

The application of the negotiation lens to explore community-company relationships is also informed by some general principles of the Social Contract theory, which provides an interesting perspective to illustrate the negotiation nature of these relationships. In this theory, persons, even if implicitly, negotiate the conditions from which they are able to share the same space to manage their survival and therefore benefit from the situation (Boucher & Kelly, 2004). Social Contract theory, which became popular through the works of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant, has been widely used as a perspective of analysis to discuss social relations as well as issues of social justice (Riley, 1982). The application of Social Contract theory to relationships between companies and stakeholders is not new, with many other authors having applied the idea that both company and locally affected communities have interests, rights and responsibilities that need to be organised (Golub, 2014; Carroll, 1999; Sacconi, 2007).

Social Contract theory tells us that communities and mining companies can be seen as parties continually negotiating a kind of relationship or coexistence. This approach suggests that this contract is not validated merely when mining companies acquire a legal license to operate, but rather endure throughout the life of the mine as negotiations and renegotiations of existing interests continue. A scenario of the two parties in a symbolic negotiation table, community (composed by locally affected people) and company (composed by employees and shareholders), getting together to manage their interests are represented in the Figure 2.1 below.

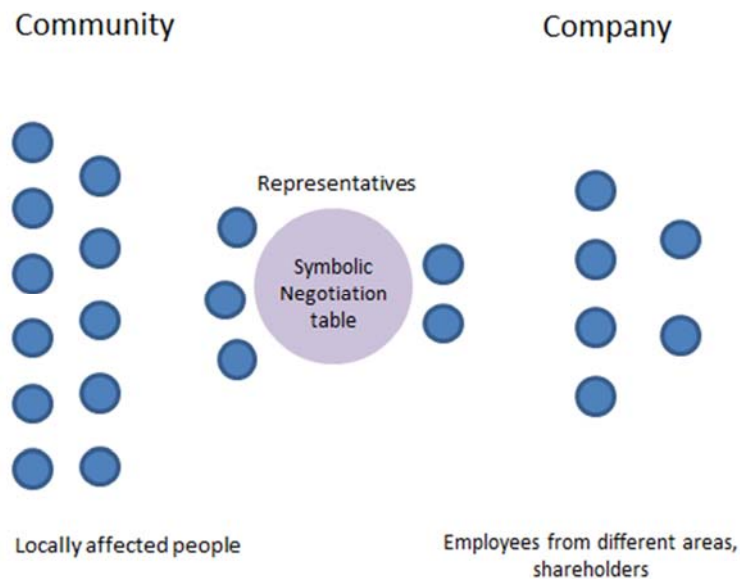


Figure 2.1 – Symbolic negotiation table – relationships as an ongoing negotiation

The negotiation lens was also developed considering the theoretical similarities between negotiation and community engagement in the mining context. By approximating these two concepts not only a creative perspective to investigate community-company relationships was proposed, but a variety of different social theories could also be applied in the mining context to support the framework of analysis. This section is organised as follows: first, I discuss the concept of negotiation and its links to the concept of community-engagement; second, I discuss how the negotiation lens can usefully contribute to the exploration of the dynamics of fairness.

2.1.1 Negotiation and Engagement – theoretical similarities

In general terms, the negotiation literature states that negotiation situations arise when there is a conflict of needs or interests between parties that impede them from getting what they want, or restrict their liberties. This situation requires the parties to communicate about solving the impasse and discussing potential outcomes. These discussions then become negotiations. Table 2.1 takes from the literature some definitions of negotiation which support this idea.

Table 2.1 – Some definitions of Negotiation

Author	Definition
Lewicki et al. (2007)	“Negotiations occur for several reasons (1) to agree on how to share or divide a limited resource, such as land, or property, or time; (2) to create something new that either party could do on his or her own, or (3) to resolve a problem or dispute between the parties. [...] Sometimes people fail to negotiate because they don’t recognise that they are in a negotiation situation.”
Harvard Business School (2003)	“Negotiation is the means by which people deal with their differences [...] to negotiate is to seek mutual agreement through dialogue.”
Lax & Sebenius (1986)	“Negotiation is a process of potentially opportunistic interaction by which two or more parties, with some apparent conflict, seek to do better through jointly decided action than they could otherwise.”
Carnevale & Isen (1986)	“Negotiation is a process by which two or more people make a joint decision with regard to an issue about which there are initial differences in preferences.”

These definitions in Table 2.1 show that the factors attributed to negotiation are well-aligned in proposing that it is a process by which people articulate and manage their interests so as to reach a solution to an existing problem. The Harvard Business School (2003), for example, defines negotiation as dialogical processes in which parties manage their differences. Similarly, Lewicki et al. (2007) explain that negotiations take place when interests in sharing or dividing resources, creating something new, or solving conflicts have to be managed. By identifying that negotiation situations take place much more often than we might perceive, the authors argue that failure to manage interests may result from not identifying that the situation requires a negotiation perspective.

That the negotiation is a process whereby people interact opportunistically to jointly solve issues that have different preferences is a long-standing perspective in the negotiation field. Table 2.1 shows two definitions formulated in the 1980s (Carnevale & Isen, 1986; Lax & Sebenius, 1986) which remain in line with current contemporary definitions. In fact, all existing definitions of negotiation seem follow common ground even though negotiation theory has recently evolved considerably. This common ground particularly relates to negotiation not being limited only to situations involving formal and/or monetary transactions, but also a diversity of other situations in which interests, expectations, and perspectives need to be managed and adjusted over time. This is relevant in a mining context when there are, among others, environmental and cultural considerations at stake.

A commonality between the concepts of negotiation and engagement is that both frame a situation in which interests are articulated by the parties. Community engagement in mining exemplify such a situation in which purposeful relationships can create a space to share information and interests, but also deal with issues requiring joint decision making. One could, for example, in a simple exercise, swap the word 'negotiation' for 'engagement processes' in the definition given by the Harvard Business School (2003) without proposing any change in how community engagement in mining is already understood: "Engagement processes [are] the means by which parties [company and affected communities] deal with their differences. To engage is to seek mutual agreement through dialogue". This exercise demonstrates that adopting the negotiation lens does not require any radical change in the perspective currently adopted to conceptualise community-company relationships in mining.

Introducing a negotiation lens thus provides a tool to rethink community-company relationships and to assist in identifying issues related to relational fairness. Because negotiation remains important to our social activities and economic dynamics, various scholars contribute to the knowledge about negotiation including its processes and strategies. The literature on negotiation is also theoretically extensive in that it encompasses many different layers and angles of analysis that are relevant for the mining context. The negotiation lens has, for example, been applied to the context of public participation and environmental planning. This literature emphasises that these processes can be more comprehensively analysed using a negotiation perspective (Syme & Eaton, 1989). The literature also discusses fairness at the practical level openly and directly (e.g., Albin, 1993; Cordero, 1988; Welsh, 2003; Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler, 2008) as discussed in next section. Whereas negotiation theory provides a rich and detailed level of analysis of procedures and fairness, the literature in community engagement in mining is still developing and currently lacks deeper theorised understanding about practices on the ground. Therefore, using the negotiation perspective to analyse community-company relationships is useful to expand our knowledge on how parties relate to each other over time and manage their interests.

The proposal to use the negotiation lens arises not only because the available theory about the practice of CE in mining is limited, but is also motivated by the argument that community-company relationships also need to encompass more strategic analysis. As discussed in the previous chapter, the literature about community engagement in mining has been mainly informed by engagement initiatives applied by governments and NGOs in different contexts of decision-making. Although these contexts differ from community engagement by the mining industry, the specificities of engaging in the mining context has not been challenged theoretical and pragmatically yet. While applying general principles of community engagement is obviously beneficial to implementing CSR initiatives for fairer relationships between company and communities, the nature of the engagement is different due to the business-driven characteristic of community-company relationships. Therefore, considering the dynamics of these relationships, and that the company runs a corporate, profit-driven business, existing perspectives on engagement should be expanded to include the specifics of relational practices in the mining context.

Although much of the existing literature does not deal directly with community engagement from a negotiation perspective, researchers in the field have already recognised that negotiation is fundamental to engagement strategies. As an example in the mining industry, Hebertson et al. (2009) find that such engagement is associated with continual and inevitable trade-offs. Similarly, Hodge (2002) stated that sustainability in mining relates to, among other things, building and maintaining good relationships with locally affected communities and that the operational level involves many obvious “small trade-offs between interests, between components of the ecosystem, across time, and across space” (p. 1667). While understanding that negotiation involves trade-offs is straightforward, it can be seen that negotiation remains essential to the relational practices that compose community-company relationships.

A potential limitation for the adoption of the negotiation lens is that it could be interpreted as applying only to formalised situations wherein people sitting congregate for high-level bargaining in the presence of lawyers, even according to legislative requirements. In the community-company context, negotiation can be envisaged as an event involving mining company's representatives, community leaders or representatives, and maybe government representatives working through clauses of formal agreements. Negotiation could be likened to, for example, the negotiation of community development agreements. These usually concern broader objects to be negotiated such as royalties payments, resettlement, land acquisition, community development programs, investment in public infrastructure, and so on.

While these are clearly negotiations, if we limit our perspective to such events to determine what may define negotiation in this context, we are missing many other situations. Negotiation in mining also includes those exchanges that occur informally and outside a mandatory framework, and also the practical and constant trade-offs when ascertaining non-monetary interests. These situations occur at a smaller level and on a daily basis between parties. For these reasons and in the context of this research, I go beyond a focus on overt and explicit negotiation examples to explore a range of routine interactions between the company and the community.

2.1.2 In a negotiated relationship every movement is important

It is acknowledged that some community engagement entails activities that do not involve actual negotiations, such as, for example, during informal visits by company employees, or to promote events which are not directly related to mining. However, it can still be argued that these moments are components of a broader context of negotiation, in the sense that even routinized aspects of community-company relationship are often planned and strategized by companies. Because communities and companies are relating and negotiating in a continual mode, it can be argued that these activities are also key to their establishing and sustaining a long-term relationship.

If community-company relationships are not managed, this may put at risk the mining operation as a whole (Harvey & Brereton, 2005). Therefore, engagement is practised in an effort to build better conditions to ensure proper negotiation because, if parties have a good relationship, their negotiation tends to be less stressful on both sides. Therefore, the inclusion of such interactions without obvious negotiation remains relevant because they contribute strategically to a company seeking advantage and to attain to its business interests. This means that no relationship exists outside the negotiation or, in other words, a relationship and its associated negotiation are inseparable.

This section has argued that the negotiation lens is fundamental to the conceptual framework developed to explore the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships. I also illustrated how this lens offers a new means to understanding the mechanisms and functions of community-company relationships and related engagement practices. Considering this discussion, I conclude that, for the purpose of the framework, community-company relationships will be understood as negotiated relationships with a variety of informal and everyday situations. It has been argued that the adoption of the negotiation lens could be useful in identifying factors affecting fairness in the way community-company relationships are managed on a daily basis. The following section focuses on the elements of justice and fairness and how these are conceptualised for the purpose of the framework.

2.2 Defining a perspective on justice and fairness

This section discusses how justice and fairness are understood and approached in this research. This involves defining elements that are considered to be relevant to enable or hinder fairness in the way mining companies and affected communities manage their interests. These elements are voice, capabilities, and trust, and these are derived from different bodies of research relevant for understanding the nature of community-company relationships. Before itemising the elements of justice, I discuss the concepts of justice and fairness and how can they be applied to the context of community-company relationships.

How to define and approach justice is a fundamental question in a research that seeks to empirically explore justice in community-company relationships. This exercise may become very challenging considering that justice is a highly subjective, mutable and, to some extent, a utopic social ideal. Justice is a topic that has been discussed in society at least since the Greek philosophers like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Over the centuries, it has been analysed using philosophy, economics, sociology, psychology, politics, anthropology, and the law (see Cohen, 1986). There is no single and universal meaning of justice or a single perspective through which it can be analysed, although the concepts of freedom and equality are often linked to it (Kelsen, 2001, Bobbio, 1997).

When it comes to relationships, especially in a negotiated space, justice can be analysed from the perspective of the Social Contract. Using Rawls' (1958, 1971) 'contractualist' perspective on justice as an example, in an ideal world, community and company would be free and equal in negotiating mutual benefits within a social contract in which they organise their diverse interests. Applying this notion practically suggests that justice can be explored by analysing how parties are positioned to manage this social contract on a daily basis to ensure just relationships.

Besides equality and freedom, Rawls (1958, 1971) also proposes that mutual understanding among the parties is also central to fair relationships. He points out that shared understanding and about the principles of justice by each party is necessary for fairness to be achieved. In the mining context, for example, it means that fair relationships will be achieved when communities' and companies' interests are shared according to a clear notion of what each other expects from the relationship. In other words, if parties are not able to communicate their own expectations, and to understand the expectations of the other party, fairness remains limited because interests cannot be fairly reasoned and managed.

While Rawls' ideal provides a guiding principle for fair community-company relationships, in the everyday world, societies are complex and dynamic to the extent that justice may be an impossible dream (Kelsen, 2001, Fitzpatrick, 1992). Social injustice is inherent to our society, and cannot be removed despite our efforts (Sen, 2009). The same impossibility of justice can be observed in the relationships between companies and communities.

Because of characteristics of our economic, political and legal systems, community-company relationships are essentially unjust, as they take place in a context full of injustices and inequalities. Community people cannot be free to choose whether or not they want the company; there are inherent and significant imbalances and inequalities of economic and institutional power between the parties; and communities and the company do not negotiate about, or benefit from mining activities equally nor equitably.

Therefore, working towards justice requires social injustices to be identified, and initiatives to reduce these developed. The idea of minimising injustices is drawn from the works of Sen (2009), which in many ways respond to the idealistic theories of justice developed by Rawls (1971). In contrast with the virtual just society that Rawls suggests, Sen (2009) concerns himself with the pragmatic application of justice. Considering that injustices are not able to be fully eliminated, he argues that, in practice, the demands for justice in our society require identifying opportunities in which injustices can be, if not eliminated, at least minimised. It is the exercise of minimising injustices that maximise justice in the world. While this approach does not lead to ideal justice, it is certainly a more practical way to approach justice in empirical situations. Even though community-company relationship may never be just, it can certainly be less unjust. Sen's (2009) approach is considered to be an important way to explore issues of justice within community-company relationships once justice in this context have greater chances of being advanced if discussed in the sphere of maximisation, rather than in the sphere of idealisation.

In this thesis, I call the conditions under which justice is maximised or minimised ‘dynamics of fairness’. Relational fairness is not static, and it is constantly affected by different factors that are contributing or not to its maximisation. I also use the terms justice and fairness concomitantly, although I recognize that they are not necessarily the same thing. In Portuguese, my first language and the language spoken in Juruti, the words justice and fairness are the same³. However, in English these two concepts differ. The challenges of translating fairness into languages other than English have been previously discussed in the literature (Wierzbicka, 2005). In this research I deal with such issue by identifying in the literature how other researchers have approached and differentiated justice and fairness in their work.

While justice seems to be used more as an ideal, fairness has a more pragmatic meaning. Albin (1993), for example, in her analysis of fairness in negotiations, holds justice to be an absolute ideal, while fairness is as a potential justice, or the best that can be done, considering contextual limitations of negotiations. Her work does not discuss how negotiations can be totally ‘just’ but rather suggests opportunities for them to be fairer. Rawls (1958) also distinguishes justice from fairness in that he defines fairness as sort of possible justice that is inevitably limited by contextual specificities. Thus, in the context of this research, fairness is understood as a potential justice in a determined situation, in a way that fairness is interpreted as the advancement of justice.

2.2.1 The elements of fairness: Voice, Capabilities and Trust

To organise a structured perspective of how fairness is conceptualised in this thesis, I deconstruct it into what I shall call the elements of fairness. The interaction of these elements provides the dynamics of fairness. That is, instead of defining fairness, I seek to identify in the literature some of its properties that emerge in negotiated relationships. The literature that I reviewed comes from philosophy, social psychology, public participation, conflict-resolution, and negotiation; and I also built a link between these and contemporary literature on mining and community relations. From these sources, I found agreement that voice, capabilities, and trust are central to fostering relational fairness.

³ The word *justiça* was used in the field to discuss the research with informants.

The main limitation of this approach is that, inevitably, fairness is influenced and determined by many other elements, which I have not considered. However, I find that, narrowing the focus on fairness provides consistency and structure in the analysis. Research into social justice often provokes controversy and opposition because of the subjective nature of justice (Charmaz, 2005). To address this challenge, I argue that fairness can be explored more systematically if some the elements known to advance relational justice are identified and explored in empirical situations. In the following sections the elements of justice and how they relate to fairness in negotiated relationships are discussed.

2.2.1.1 Voice

Relationships between companies and affected communities by definition involves an exercise in communication, in that communication is fundamental to parties' capacity to engage with each other, get to know each other's interests, and negotiate these. In this context, voice is the exercise of expressing perspectives, expectations, and individual interests. As a procedure, voice is what allows individuals to participate in society. As explained in Aristotle's *Politics* (Aristotle & Barker, 1946), voice can be differentiated politically and linguistically. It is the voice that produces speech of a political character that, in turn, affects justice in our social contracts. Voice is the instrument through which communities and companies are able to discuss their community-company relationship and interests.

Voice is related to justice in a diversity of theories. Voice is discussed in political sciences as an elementary tool for a democratic society in that, without an effective voice, people do not have opportunities to influence the way their lives are evolving (Couldry, 2010). In the theory of public participation and in conflict resolution, voice is recognised as a tool that can assist people to engage in decision-making to foster a more inclusive and cooperative participation (Dukes, 1993; Furlong, 2005; Susskind & Cruikshank, 1987). Without possessing voice, people are not able to articulate their perspectives and concerns about issues. In addition, conflicts of interests cannot be sufficiently managed to arrive at potential mutually beneficial solutions. In philosophy, Sen (2009) reinforces the relevance of giving people voice to create opportunities for overcoming injustice. In other words, unless people have voice, they are not free to participate and choose their preferred life courses. Therefore, voice is fundamental to relational fairness.

Considering that justice is a human sense, psychologists have for many years explored how people created their perception of fairness over relationships and decision-making situations (Colquitt et al., 2001; Thibaut & Walker, 1978). In this field of research, voice is acknowledged as being central to shaping individuals' perceptions of justice. The correlation between voice and justice occurs because people want to contribute to discussions of matters that somehow affect their lives. Having a voice in these discussions is necessary to address interests and expectations in the outcome of a negotiation. When exercised, voice promotes a feeling of process control (Lind et al., 1990), or a perceived capacity to participate and influence the outcome. Applying voice to contest organisational justice has been done in different situations such as making decisions about natural resources (Lawrence et al., 1997; Smith & McDonough, 2001); in negotiations (Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler, 2008; Lewicki et al., 2007), as well as in the mining context (Whiteman & Mamen, 2002). In all these studies, strong evidence can be found to support the correlation between the amount of perceived voice and perceptions of fairness.

A challenge in using voice arises because it is not something that one has or does not have, like a black and white situation. The exercise of voice means undertaking complementary stages that together are able to enhance fairness. Voice is activated when the individual realises that something needs to be expressed, and are aware of the channels available to use it. The content of the voice and the ability it has to influence the outcome also impacts how the voice is used and whether it is influencing fairness.

In the Organizational Justice field, for example, the voice effect has been divided into four components: available voice opportunity, perceived voice opportunity, voice behaviour, and voice instrumentality (Avery & Quiñones, 2002). These components are distinct and yet come together to form a voice process over four steps that are show in Figure 2.2, proposing an analysis of voice that goes beyond a dualistic perspective in which parties merely have or not do have voice.

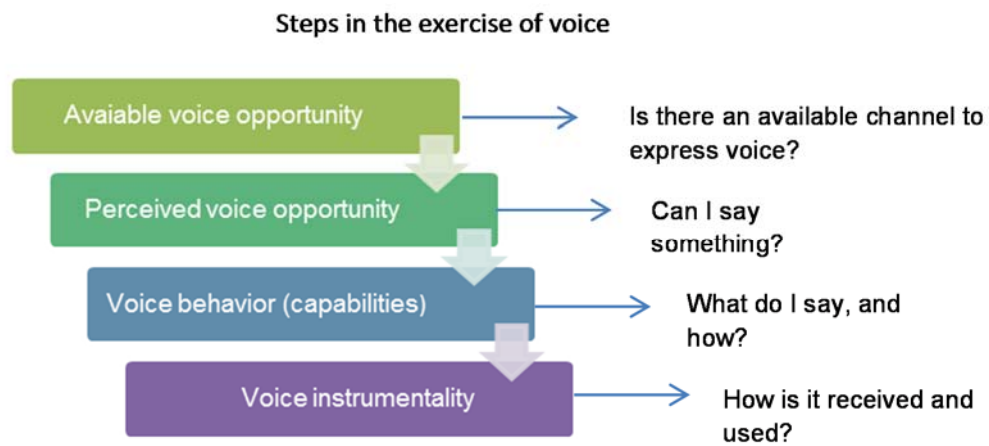


Figure 2.2 – Steps in the exercise of voice (adapted from Avery & Quiñones, 2002)

When applied to community-company relationships, the steps of voice involve a sequence, and individually they have specific factors that enable or hinder fairness. Having the opportunity to express voice within the community-company relationship requires people to be aware of four conditions: first, the availability and structure of these communication channels; second, whether the company has established mechanisms to facilitate the community and company people to communicate and negotiate interests; and third, how will this work to their advantage. The fourth condition regards the extent to which the voice influences on the final outcome.

However, these conditions will not lead to success if the individuals concerned do not feel willing to express voice, or are unaware of the channels and how to use them. The ability to voice interests and negotiate better outcomes depends on what they have to say and how the structure works for them. One could thus consider the extent to which people know and understand the relationship and the matters negotiated. Therefore, expressing voice to maximise justice is strongly related to the capabilities that parties have to use their voice, and to perform in the relationship to negotiate successfully in their own interest.

Figure 2.3 is an artistic representation of ‘voice’ made by Sirmano, (2014) to illustrate the elements of relational justice in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship⁴.

⁴ The image was used in the workshops conducted by the researcher to communicate research results to Juruti population.

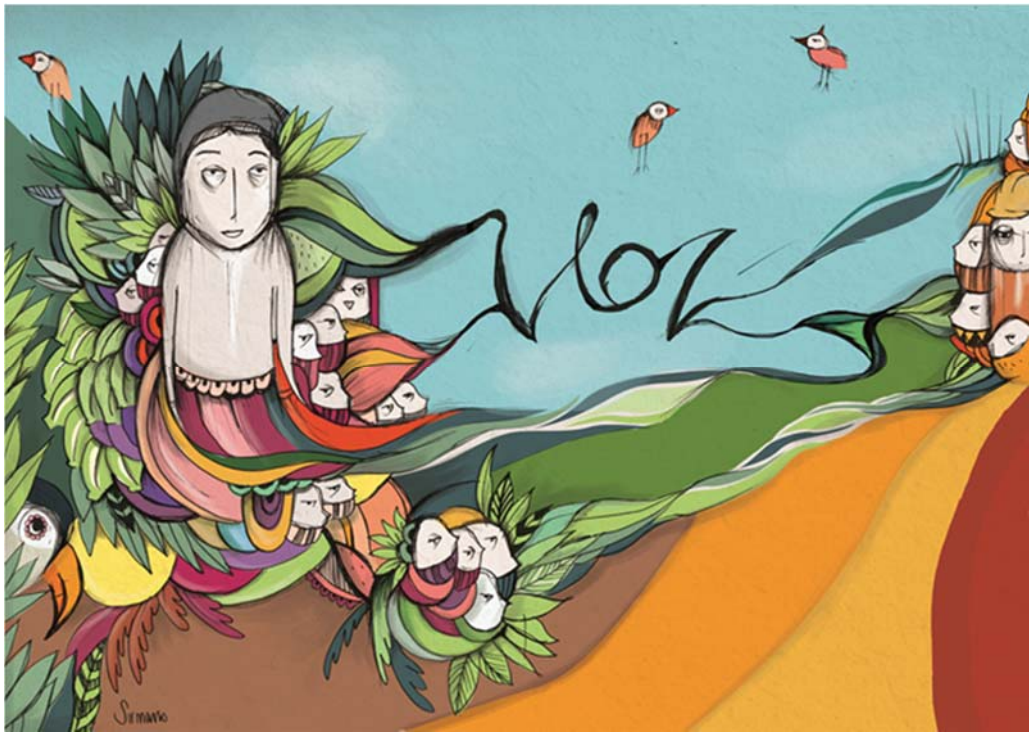


Figure 2.3 – Artistic representation of ‘voice’ (Sirmano, 2014)

2.2.1.2 Capabilities

The set of capabilities of the individuals participating in community-company relationships is another key element of relational fairness. As shown in Sen’s (2009) frameworks on justice, freedom and equality can be maximised by expanding people’s existing sets of capabilities. The rationale behind it is that in the case where individuals are more capable, the demands for justice are more effectively translated into social choices. In other words, capabilities can be seen as “perspectives in terms of how advantages and disadvantages of a person can be reasonably assessed” (Sen, 2009, p. 296). Capabilities in this regard relate to how well those involved in negotiation understand relevant issues, and their level of critical thinking behind their voice and informed decision-making. Capabilities relate to fairness because they influence people’s choice of existing opportunities to express voice and thus shape how these opportunities are used. How well parties express their interests and negotiate their relationships depends on their existing set of capabilities. Likewise, the set of capabilities that affected people have impacts upon their ability to understand the changes caused by the arrival of the mining company, how they will affect their lives, and how people can potentially benefit from it.

The level of understanding that people hold is also at stake because capabilities empower them to better manage and be more strategic in the negotiation. Using Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Cordero (1988) argues that, for negotiations to be fair, parties must be negotiating willingly and wittingly at least from an equitable (if not necessarily equal) position. In other words, parties should be able to enter the negotiation freely and capably with an awareness of the situation and the objects negotiated. Unless this is the starting point of negotiation, the less capable party is likely to remain disadvantaged. Consequently, the inequalities of capabilities maximise injustice in the negotiation in that capabilities open the door to parties negotiating strategically because they have greater control over the processes in place (Liss, 2011).

The importance of maximising capabilities for social justice is also observed in the theories of Freire (1967, 1972). Although he concerns himself mainly with research into disadvantaged adult literacy, his arguments can also be applied to community-company relationships, given that mining companies often operate in contexts of social vulnerability. Freire believes that, in order to foster justice in society, individuals should be empowered to think critically about the conditions facing their lives. Furthermore, justice is maximised when individuals' capabilities correlate positively with their freedom to perform in society. It is only through their determination to be more aware that people become able to express their voice in society. The empowerment begins when the individual becomes aware that s/he is part of a greater whole with rights and responsibilities, and may legitimately participate in matters affecting their lives. Empowerment is also achieved with such individuals are better able to understand their political, cultural and economic context.

While Freire's (1967, 1972) ideas are most directly relevant to affected communities (because of their situation of social vulnerability), his arguments can be applied to companies. The lack of awareness goes both ways: by community members about mining, and by mining employees about the community. For example, Armstrong and Baillie (2012) discuss the lack of awareness about community dynamics from engineers, who most often are ranked more highly in the company's hierarchy. The authors also found a lack of cultural sensitiveness and understanding about social aspects of the communities when the mine project was implemented, and how these threatened the establishment of a greater and fairer relationship between the parties. Although this thesis focuses on the community's sets of capabilities, this idea can also be applied to the capabilities of employees to understand the other party's characteristics, interests and expectations, and thus maximise fairness in community-company relationships.

Figure 2.4 is an artistic representation of ‘capabilities’ made by Sirmano (2014) to illustrate the elements of relational justice of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship⁵.

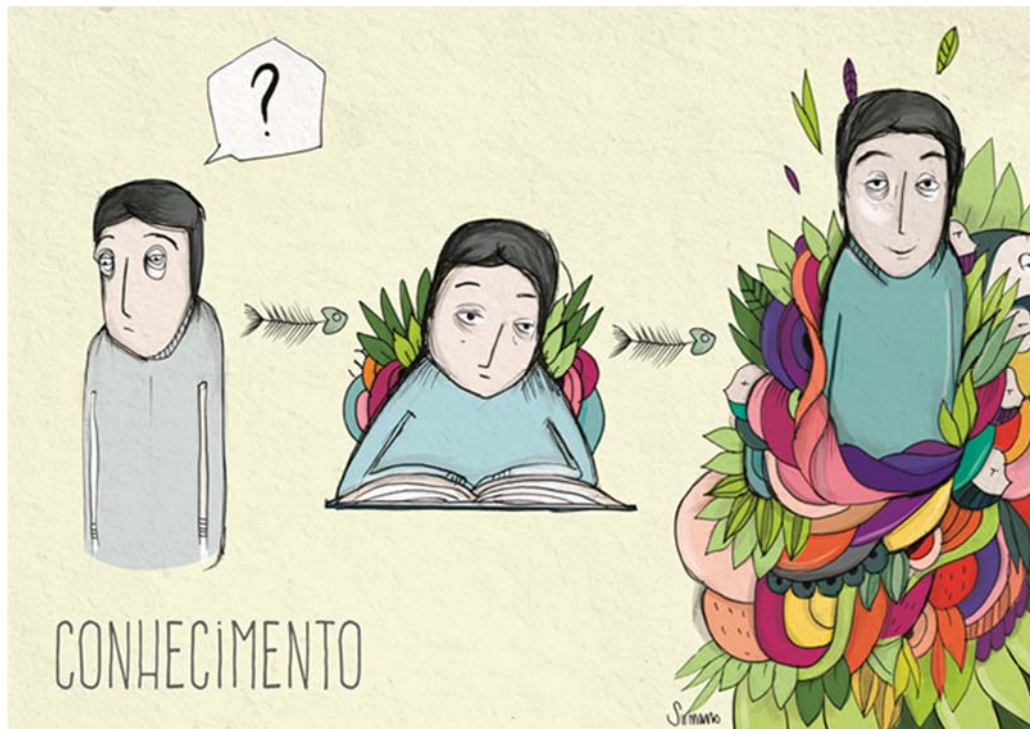


Figure 2.4 – Artistic representation of ‘capabilities’ (Sirmano 2014)

2.2.1.3 Trust

The concept of trust is the third element of fairness suggested in the literature to be relevant to fairness in community-company relationships. In fact, trust is crucial to enabling the maximisation of fairness in negotiations, conflict-resolution, and decision-making (Deutsch et al., 2011; Lewicki et al., 1998; Ross & LaCroix, 1996). If trust between parties is built, people are likely to perceive that they do not need to worry (or worry less) about exploitation and manipulation from the other party (Ross & LaCroix, 1996).

⁵ The image was used in the workshops conducted by the researcher to communicate research results to Juruti population.

Similarly, Sen (1997) also discusses the relevance of trust in the business arena, arguing that “transactions and trade are much facilitated by the trust that people have in each other's words. Confidence in the reliability of offers and promises made by others helps the efficiency of exchanges in a way that relentless self-seeking cannot” (p. 9). While there are numerous definitions of trust, in this thesis trust is generally used to refer to both the quality of information shared between the parties and the resultant interactions and emotions (Butler, 1999).

As discussed in the Organisational Justice theory, trust is one of the main criteria to consider when individuals are forming their perceptions of fairness (Bies & Moag, 1986; Tyler & Bies, 1990). Trust is associated with respect, politeness and also communication exchange and quality. Furthermore, human trust can be understood as the protective means that people seek to feel safe, certain and comfortable; the essential ingredients of cooperative social relations (Goffman, in Misztal, 2001). In the context of community-company relationships, it can be argued that a sense of justice is intrinsically related to trust in that companies are expected to act in good faith and be willing to promote mutually beneficial (or win-win) outcomes.

While trust must be a long-term quality, mining companies have historically failed in building and maintaining trust in the affected communities (Hamann et al., 2005; Liss, 2011; Muradian et al., 2003). The dynamic between expectations, promises, and actual outcomes in mining companies' performance often results in mistrust that affects negatively the relationships and alternatively causes conflict. Because a lack of trust characterises the widely held opinion in the communities about social injustice caused by mining companies, trust can also be considered an important element of the fairness of community-company relationships.

Figure 2.5 is an artistic representation of ‘trust’ made by Sirmano, (2014) to illustrate the elements of relational justice in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship.⁶

⁶ The image was used in the workshops conducted by the researcher to communicate research results to Juruti population.



Figure 2.5 – Artistic representation of ‘trust’ (Sirmano, 2014)

2.3 The Relational Process: establishing the domains of analysis

As discussed in the last two sections, this research analyses the community-company relationships using a negotiation lens, with a focus narrowed to three elements of fairness. Then, this section establishes the domains of the framework which indicate which aspects of the community-company relationship are investigated, so that the dynamics of fairness can be consequently explored.

Although the domains are explained and analysed individually, in practice they should be understood as interconnected. Analytically, the individual investigation of the domains allows a more detailed study of mechanisms and structures in place. But the way people communicate, interact, and are organised overlap, so each domain is frequently affected and influenced by the dynamics of the other domains.

On the ground, community-company relationships are performed by individuals and operationalised by human action. Therefore, the first domain of analysis focuses on the communication between the parties. It includes the channels through which they articulate interests, and the procedures through which information flows from community to company and vice versa. The second domain focuses on behavioural and interpersonal characteristics of the way people relate to each other, which includes issues such as self-identity and self-esteem. The third domain of analysis focuses on the forms of social organisation of communities. In community-company relationships, because not all individuals affected are able to participate in the negotiation of interests, how the group is structured and represented affects the elements of fairness. Finally, since the community-company relationship always occurs in contexts, its characteristics and its location is essential when exploring the relational processes. In the following sections, the domains are explained and how they relate to the dynamics of fairness in the relational processes between community and company are discussed.

2.3.1 The way parties communicate

From a practical perspective, interests cannot be managed and negotiated unless they are communicated between the interested parties. The elements of fairness are defined, at least theoretically, by the existing means of communication set by the parties. Expressing voice depends on communication because the way parties understand the topics they communicate impacts upon how they can negotiate their interests. Because levels of trust are also associated with what is communicated between parties and how, it becomes an important domain of analysis for exploring the communication dynamics between the parties. This includes the channels and the means by which the community communicates both internally and externally with the company, the kind of information shared, and the levels of understanding of the individuals involved.

While interests need to be communicated from one party to the other, it is the comprehension and mutual understanding entailed in the communication that provides a foundation for greater fairness in the community-company relationships. In theory, the building of mutual understanding translates communication into dialogue, and allows parties to engage with each other (White, 2008). This idea of mutual understanding and dialogue is, for example, what shapes the emerging models for fairer engagement discussed in the previous chapter.

Ideally, for communication to be fair, individuals need to be aware of the topics discussed and free to express their voice. Such conditions for expressing voice can be described as an ideal speech situation wherein the nature of communication is, above all else, fair (Habermas, 1970). According to Mezirov (1985), Habermas' concept of ideal speech requires that participants have (i) accurate and complete information about the topic discussed, (ii) the ability to argue reasonably reflectively about disputed validity claims, and (iii) proponents' self-knowledge sufficient to assure that their participation is free of inhibitions, compensatory mechanisms, or other forms of self-awareness.

Therefore, it can be seen that communication is deeply related to the capabilities that individuals have to communicate their interests effectively. Habermas' theories are similar to Freire's (1970) work, in that both focus on the emancipation of individuals, and recognise that their awareness and ability to communicate begin with individual action (Jacobson & Storey, 2004). This is similar, for example, to the sequence of voice previously discussed in this chapter in which the first step is an internal feeling (or capability) of recognition that there is something to be said, and awareness about the topic and the available channels for communication. The aim of fostering an ideal speech situation is to avoid communication that manipulates and to endure contexts of ignorance.

Negotiation theory, on the other hand, holds that information sharing in negotiations may have a strategic dimension; for example, relevant information may be withheld or released to gain leverage (Lowenthal, 1982). From an ideal perspective, when communities and company negotiate their relationship, parties act under the principle of good faith, meaning that parties share relevant information from each other (Bristow & Seth, 2000). However, although effective communication may increase fairness, parties may not be willing to share information if disclosure may risk some of the interests. In the mining context, the sharing of limited information could be either strategic, or the company may lack the capability to provide sufficient information to communities. Whatever the underlying reason, the reality is that communities are still not receiving enough information (Mabudafhasi, 2002). For example, to be informed enough about mining, community members still need sufficient access to information about the company and its activities and motivations towards them (O'Faircheallaigh, 2003). In this sense, a greater understand of the communication domain is necessary to be capable of identifying opportunities to maximise relational fairness.

Research shows that the characteristics of communication structures and the amount of information shared amongst the parties shapes the level of trust between the parties and affects fairness (Baron & Mellers, 1993; Bies & Moag, 1986; Butler, 1999). While limited information to assist negotiation may lead one of the parties to perform better in achieving their own interests, it may also lead to error and misunderstanding, therefore increasing cognitive bias, perceptions of unfairness, and the chance of conflict (Lewicki et al., 2007). The party missing information may either make choices from a position of ignorance or believe that the other party is purposely hiding something, both of which can be detrimental to the negotiation. This would indicate that, at least theoretically, the more information a community and company share with each other, the more likely it is that fairness will be maximised.

In contrast, although sharing information may increase the overall fairness of the relationship, it does not necessarily follow that people will perceive greater fairness as a consequence. Camerer and Loewenstein (1993) relate information sharing to fairness in negotiation situations to argue that disclosing information may be prejudicial to perceptions of fairness. The authors explain that, in some instances, if one of the parties becomes more aware of the situation and the associated negotiation, participants may feel that they are actually in an unfair position. In other words, in some case, information and awareness may make unfairness apparent.

If communities, for example, obtain more information about a company's activities and interests, the value of the mineral deposits, and the likely impact on the communities, they may become aware of their position of disadvantage and even feel manipulated. Thus, in some circumstances, sharing information may actually lead to perceived unfairness and potentially increase the risk of conflict. This scenario may encourage companies to withhold information, or disclose biased information to communities so as to minimise the risk to the mining project. So how does this sit with the previously discussed views of Freire and Habermas that information and capability building allows negotiation situations to be critically comprehended emancipation and social justice to be fostered, and fairness to be maximised? I argue that while information disclosure may enhance perceived unfairness in psychological theory, these perceptions will signify that people have become more aware of their situation and thus contribute positively to social justice in the long term.

2.3.2 The way people interact

Negotiation, communication, decision-making, conflict-management and all kinds of participative approaches to dealing with individual interests demand high levels of personal interaction. Likewise, community-company relationships often require high levels of personal interactions so parties can manage their interests. While, in practice, community-company relationships are operationalised by human action, how individuals perceive themselves and others, and interact and react to situations, is central to understanding the relational processes between parties. Interaction also shapes the environment whereby people may feel empowered or disempowered to act and behave strategically in negotiation situations.

Social psychologists investigating the dimensions of procedural justice have found that people's perception of how they are being treated by others is also a relevant criterion of whether or not they judge a situation as fair (Bies & Moag, 1986; Colquitt et al., 2001; Tyler & Bies, 1990). However, interactional justice theory argues that how people feel they have been treated affects their view of whether they were treated fairly, independently of the substantive outcome (Beugre & Baron, 2001). This is because people, in general, want to perceive respect, politeness and worthiness when interacting with others. That is, they want to have their own sense of dignity supported by those they are interacting with.

The idea that individuals want to feel worthy, and that this affects justice in society, has been a theme in the literature for centuries. Adam Smith's (1759) theory of moral sentiments, for example, asserts that every individual wants to feel loved, accepted, and worthy. It is this inner esteem that drives the characteristics of individual action. However, these feelings are generated comparatively, and thus they also rely on how others interpret us and our actions to be developed and felt. Individuals often rely on personal interactions not only to manage life and daily needs, but also to build self-identity in the social context. Self-esteem and the dynamics of power among people are shaped by the characteristics of interpersonal interactions (Granovetter, 1973). Personal interactions influence the way individuals interpret themselves, interpret others, and how the interactional rituals take place in different situations (Stryker and Statham, 1985).

In a more contemporary discussion, Tilly (2005) argues that the identity of individuals emerges from the relations they have with others, and that these shape action. The relevance of this to community-company relationships is that, if people believe they have been treated with disdain, for example, their self-identity is threatened and their participation in the relationship may lose power. As discussed by Freire (1970), if vulnerable communities experience low self-esteem, this diminishes their ability to become aware of and participate in their circumstance, exercise voice, and build a critical view in the situation.

Researchers into symbolic interactionism also argue that people's behaviour depends on how they interpret and feel interpreted by others (Goffman, 1967, 1969; Mead, 1934). Moreover, everything that is part of an interaction has meaning that shapes behaviour and the characteristics of self-identity and responses in human's social interactions, to the extent that "persons act with reference to one another in terms of the symbols developed through their interaction, and they act through the communication of these symbols" (Stryker & Statham, 1985, p. 314). Goffman (1967) adds that:

During direct interactions, unique informational conditions prevail and the significance of faces becomes especially clear. The human tendency to use signs and symbols means that evidence of social worth and of mutual evaluation will be conveyed by very minor things, and these things will be witnessed, as will the fact that they have been witnessed. An unguarded glance, a momentary change in the tone of voice, an ecological position taken or not taken, can drench a talk with judgmental significance. Therefore, just as there is no occasion of talk in which improper impressions could not intentionally or unintentionally arise, so there is no occasion of talk so trivial as not to require each participant to show serious concern with the way in which he handles himself and the others present. (p. 33)

Consequently, every behavioural characteristic by which individuals interact with others becomes part of our perceptions about us and them that depend on the symbols created when participants exercise of voice in sharing information. If the interactions between employees and local people, for example, are not able to create a context where locals perceive they are worthy to express their opinions, and to engage in discussions about issues, the community-company relationship may not be enabling relational fairness.

Although some works on mining and communities touch on interactional issues between employees and community people (i.e. Whiteman, 2009; Golub, 2014) there is still a vast space for further research focused on this topic. A reason for this might be that interactional matters are not addressed in legislation and CSR guidelines, and also because understanding and accounting for interactional elements is difficult because of their 'soft' nature. As suggested by Kemp et al. (2011), interactional elements are 'soft' in nature, non-linear and heavily context driven. It does not mean, however, that interactional issues do not play a very important role in the way community-company relationships function over time (Zandvliet & Anderson, 2009). Therefore, with the evidence that the characteristics of interpersonal relations are relevant to fairness, the interactional domain has been established as a domain of analysis in the framework of this thesis.

2.3.3 The way people organise

In this section, I discuss the third domain of analysis, namely, the social organisation of communities.

Mining companies usually prefer to form relationships with communities through the leaders who represent them. The strategic approach that companies take to engage with local communities often includes mapping and identifying local groups and representatives (Kapelus, 2002). Therefore, an investigation of forms of social organisation, representativeness, and how these impact upon relationships is a relevant angle of analysis for exploring issues of relational fairness.

A major problem for representation arises because only a minority of the population has the opportunity to meet and engage directly when negotiating with company people. The extension of the individual voice in the community-company relationship ultimately depends on the performance of who are positioned to represent. This scenario is common not only in the negotiation of interests between mining companies and communities, but also in other contexts of decision making in the public space:

[...] the great mass of people privy to a dispute are not particularly active in the conduct of the negotiations, formal or informal, but tend to rely on the local activists who call meetings, disseminate information and generally speak out [...] It seems probable that most people rely on visible activists most of the time for the voicing of group concerns. (Allen, 1998, pg. 307)

This representation is critical to the fairness of decision-making in the natural resources field (Smith & McDonough, 2001), to the success of negotiation, feedback and consultation within the community, and on the level of trust that those 'represented' place on their representatives. Representation, by definition, must include as much as possible all people affected so that their individual interests are addressed and represented (Leach, 2006). However, this is often not the case when representatives manage effectively the myriad of interests of whom they stand for. There is often a gap "between the desire that public participation should be balanced and representative and the reality that it is often unbalanced and unrepresentative" (Leach & Wingfield, 1999, p. 55) and consequently unfair.

All things considered, a community is not a homogenous and cohesive group, but composed of different groups with different interests, which have a complex interconnection (Kapelus, 2002; Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). Furthermore, those who represent different communities are individuals who may be of various neighbourhoods or ethnic origins, and be organised differently within their community's particular structure, formality, and the way it changes in response to different situations and interests. Considering the diversity mentioned here, understanding how people are organised helps to determine how the people concerned perform in the negotiation processes, and how different interests and perspectives play out in negotiations with the company.

While one of the main problems is with representatives' legitimacy, this is not the primary concern in this thesis, the major focus is on the processes of representation. Even more particularly, I seek to understand the different forms of social organisation and how these affect relational fairness in negotiation processes. Therefore, this thesis explores how people in Juruti are organised, and how these forms of organisation affect their relationship with Alcoa. I also investigate how the internal dynamics of one specific association impact upon the way the individuals in that region have their interests negotiated.

2.3.4 The context of the relationship

Context is a manifold concept that can define a person's location, identity, strategic intent, frame of mind, interests, and others within his or her environment (Bryson & Bromiley, 1993). Because community-company relationships obviously occur within such a context, it is fitting that the cultures and sense of purpose of the parties involved, and the physical location of their negotiations should be relevant variables for exploring relational fairness. Both communities and companies can be defined by their variety of cultures shaping how they are organised and communicate. Many of the injustices that arise in community-company relationships mentioned earlier in this chapter are also driven by contextual and historical factors which, consequently, influence the analysis undertaken within the framework of this thesis.

Context, such as cultural, economic, environmental and political backgrounds are relevant to determining the sort of interests parties have in a negotiation, and procedural dynamics under which it takes place (Gelfand & Dyer, 2000; Macduff, 2006). Culture affects the dynamics of information flow between the parties and power, including what kind of behaviour and relationship negotiators expect from the other party (Brett, 2000). Cultural values and norms lead to different expectations and interpretation of events, influence participants' self-evaluation in decision making processes, shape perceptions about the quality of interpersonal treatment (Tyler & Bies, 1990). Accordingly, literature on negotiation demonstrates that cultural aspects influence perceptions, cognitions and behaviours of the negotiators (Brockner et al., 2000; Cai et al., 2000; Gelfand et al., 2002). If cultural aspects are not considered, significant barriers to effective communication and conflict management may be created (Ross, 2000; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998), consequently affecting the dynamics of fairness.

In the mining context, cultural aspects are also regarded as sensitive aspects to be considered when engaging with communities (ICMM, 2010; Harding et al., 2001). Acknowledging cultural differences are therefore critical when mapping these relationships. Cultural characteristics of affected communities are known to directly influence both decision-making and communication processes (Deleon & Ventriss, 2010). Culture-related conflicts are mainly discussed in relation to indigenous people because of the insensitivity that companies often have towards the cultural difference of these groups (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013; Whiteman & Mamen, 2002; Yagenova & Garcia, 2009). Nevertheless, other non-indigenous communities (e.g., in Juruti) may also have different values, perspectives and lifestyles that are not necessarily aligned with the ones characterising the company.

As a result, contextual and cultural characteristics are relevant to the exploration of the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships, and are therefore added as a domain of analysis in the framework of this thesis. To achieve this, contextual and cultural characteristics will be explored in order to understand how traditionally affected communities are structured by information flow, voice, personal interactions and social organisation. Once these are understood, they can be compared to the way communication, interaction and organisation occur in the community.

2.4 Framework overview

This section outlines how community-company relationships and issues of relational fairness are understood and explored in this research. Each aspect of the framework was discussed in the above sections.

In the framework, a community-company relationship is defined as a negotiated, or long-term opportunistic relationship in which the population (the community) affected by the mining company (the company) comprise the parties who continually manage and negotiate interests. Using this negotiation lens, the elements of fairness, namely, voice, capabilities and trust, are explored especially from the perspective of the community members.

The framework, which is illustrated in Figure 2.6, seeks to explore the relational mechanisms and structures of the community-company relationship. By mapping these relational dynamics, I seek to find how they enable or hinder the ability of affected people to have more voice, capabilities and trust in the relationship. The domains of the relationship that are analysed here are: (i) the way parties communicate; (ii) the way parties interact to each other; and (iii) the way communities are socially and politically organised to negotiate interests with the mining company.

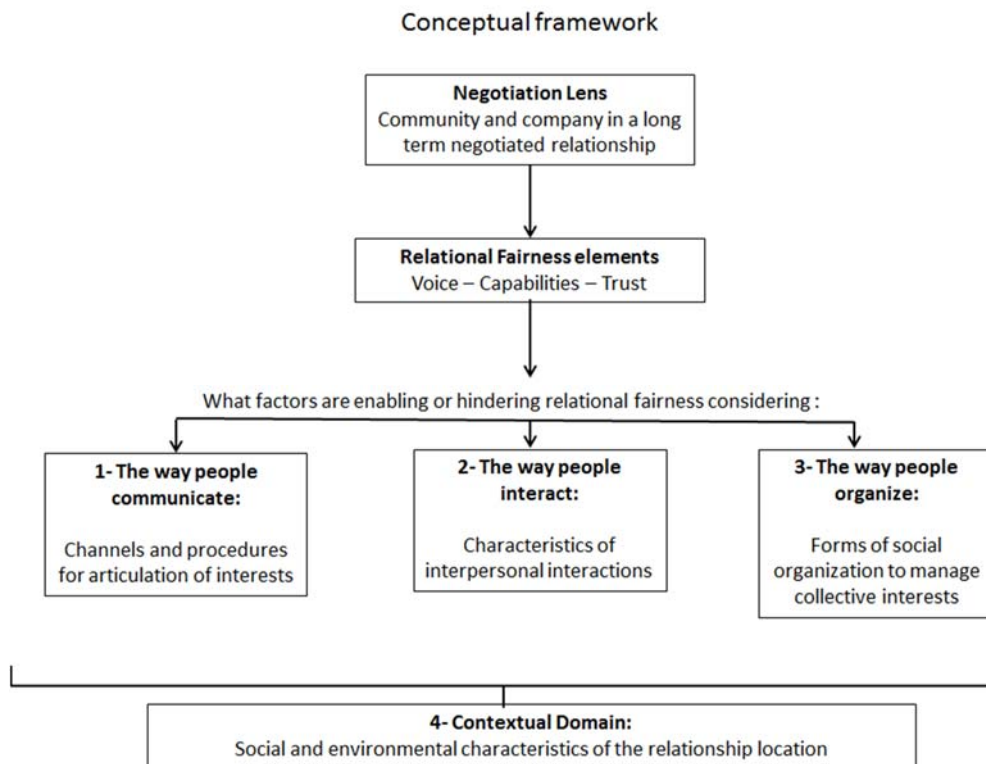


Figure 2.6 – Conceptual framework for exploring the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships

As a first step, I analyse how community people traditionally relate to each other and manage their interests. I also analyse the specific physical locations of these relationships so as to understand the cultural and contextual dynamics of the affected population, as such a domain inevitably affects how people express voice, develop capabilities and to build trust. As a second step, the characteristics of the way the community and the company relate to each other are investigated. Once the community relational dynamics and community-company relational aspects are both mapped, these two structures can be compared. This exercise fosters the identification of the factors affecting fairness.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework developed to guide the exploration of fairness in the way communities and companies relate to each other. I use this framework to understand how the community-company relationships are negotiated and to categorise fairness into the operational elements of voice, trust and capabilities. The relational domains of analysis of the community-company relationship were outlined and the focus of analysis of the dynamics of fairness was described as the communication, interaction, and organisation of the parties involved in the community-company relationship.

Figure 2.7 displays a symbolic negotiation table discussed in the beginning of this chapter to provide an overview of the domains of analysis and how they relate to each other. It aims to illustrate that the domains of analysis are dynamic and interconnected. In the community setting, the different individuals and groups exchange information and interact on an ongoing basis. The same dynamics happen within the company and between company and community individuals. When parties are negotiating, these situations involve individuals who represent both the community and the company, with these negotiations determined by certain structures and procedures. In addition, the relationship entails a specific context defined by specific cultural and physical characteristics which inevitably influences the relational processes of the community-company relationship.

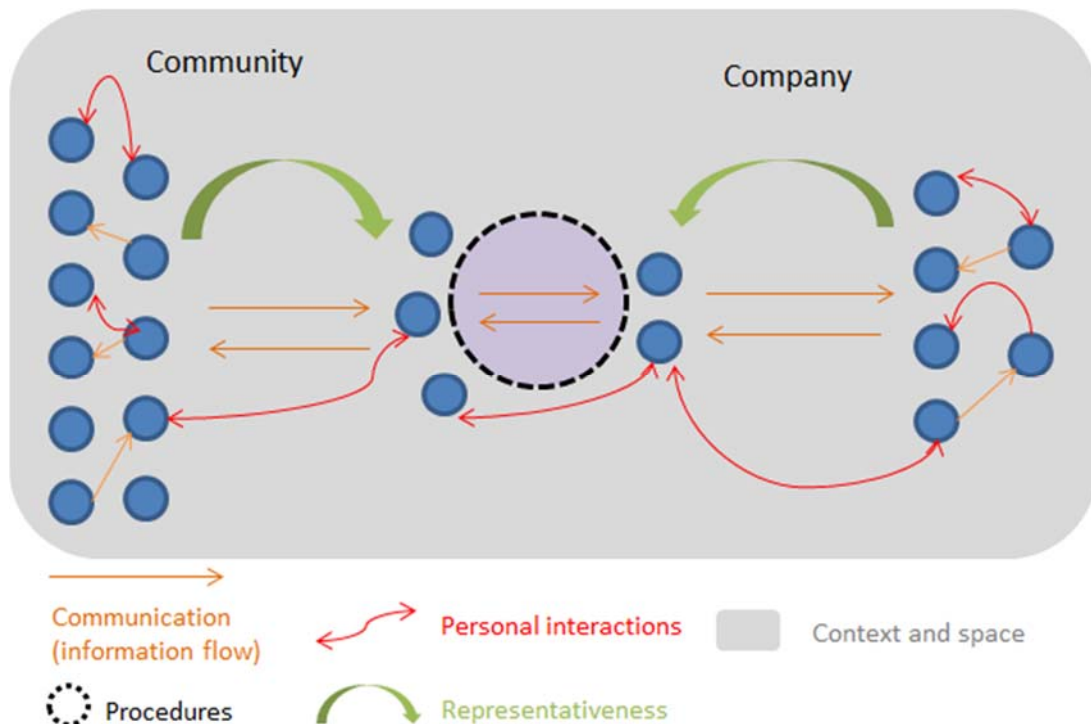


Figure 2.7 – Overview of the domains of analysis and how their dynamics take place on a daily basis

The framework functions by first unfolding and mapping how community people traditionally communicate, interact, and are socially organised. Then, the relational processes with the company are analysed so as to map how the community and the company communicate, interact and are organised to manage both their interests. Once these characteristics are presented and discussed, the factors affecting the fairness of the amount of voice, capabilities and trust of the parties emerge. The following chapter discusses the methodology of how the framework was applied to the Juruti context.

Chapter 3 Applying the Framework: The Case Study and Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used to apply the conceptual framework in an empirical case of a community-company relationship. The case study of this thesis is the relationship between the population of Juruti, and Alcoa, a multinational company mining bauxite in the municipality. The field work focused on mapping and unpacking the relational structures of the Juruti population, and the structures in the relationship between Juruti and Alcoa. Once the relational structures and mechanisms in place were analysed, it became possible to identify factors enabling or hindering relational justice from the perspective of voice, capabilities and trust of the parties.

This chapter begins by outlining the ontology and epistemology underlying this research. It then describes the Juruti region, how the data collected there were analysed, and finally addresses the ethical considerations and limitations of this work.

3.1 Methodological considerations to explore fairness

A relevant methodological consideration to explore fairness involves discussing the ontological and epistemological positions taken by the researcher, as these influence how justice and fairness are researched. Sen (2009) describes positionality as those perspectives about the social phenomena that affect what a researcher is able to see and know. In other words, what a researcher observes and trusts in the data s/he chooses to be important depend both theoretically and practically on “the position of the observer” (p. 156). Similarly, Guba and Lincoln (1994) say that a researcher is epistemologically influenced by the positionality of knowledge and perceptions that s/he brings to the research.

For example, the fact that I had graduated in law influenced me to look at a community-company relationship from the perspective of two parties with rights and responsibilities trying to manage their coexistence in the same space, and to deal their conflict of interest over time. I have also worked in a multinational financial institution assisting clients, including mining companies, to improve their economic growth, and this experience also shapes my perspectives about corporate social responsibility and the relationships companies build with affected communities. These experiences have influenced the discussions about community-company relationship being negotiated and business-driven in nature.

A significant ontological consideration of the framework proposed in this research relates to how 'justice' and 'community-company relational processes' are understood and investigated in empirical research. In this thesis, the reality of a community-company relationship is determined by the way participants — or affected people and employees — perceive and understand it. Therefore, the mechanisms, processes, and structures of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship are mapped considering how the individuals of the community and the company perceive this relationship. Reality is thus constructed by how participants experience the relationship on a day-to-day basis.

However, I look further than individuals' constructions of justice and fairness to a more transcendent perspective of analysis. In the context of this research, the exploration of justice does not depend on the people's conceptualizations and perceptions of justice and injustice for these to exist. Even though the social reality of community-company relationships and injustices require human action to exist, it does not mean that these do not exist independently of our identification (Fleetwood, 2005). By assuming a critical or transcendent realist ontology (Easton, 2009), the framework accommodates the view that injustices are real and able to be identified, regardless of the ability of affected people and employees to perceive and communicate them to the researcher. It is expected that this position will allow the exploration of the dynamics of fairness to be done without losing important angles that may not be evident solely from within the perspective of informants.

Justice is a primitive moral notion (Rawls, 1958) that can be seen as both psychological (individual) and social (collective) constructions (Colquitt et al., 2001, Kolm, 1996). Justice is also a central moral standard that lead us to differentiate 'rights' from 'wrongs', or 'acceptable' from 'unacceptable' in line with existing ethical and moral values of society (Cohen, 1986). Because this sense of justice is inherent to humans, people are capable of applying it to specific situations, especially those that affect their own lives. However, as existing moral and ethical values vary over different people, the perspectives of what practices and behaviours are relevant to interpret a situation as just or unjust also vary (Buchanan & Mathieu, 1986). In this case, individual perceptions of justice depend on context and position leaving justice to remain a highly subjective and mutable principle, which could significantly inhibit its exploration in empirical research.

In the field of Organisational Justice, for example, focus is given to individual perceptions as a way to explore matters of justice and fairness in decision-making and negotiations (Besley, 2010, Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler, 2008, Welsh, 2003). Researchers in this field have explored what kind of criteria people consider when building a perspective of fairness. While this approach is interesting to explain how people construct their perceptions of justice, it has significant limitations. Organisational Justice researchers have been criticised, for example, for not considering, nor linking, individual perceptions and normative and ethical perspectives on justice (Fortin and Fellenz, 2008). Fairness in this field is interpreted as a human perception, and therefore what is fair in a situation is limited to the individual's or groups' perspectives and information shared.

By using such a constructivist perspective, fairness could be explored in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship by asking locals what they understand by a fair relationship, and what factors enhance or hinder opportunities for greater fairness. This should lead to an understanding of the criteria that people use to assess fairness, and how much it applies to their particular situation as their views and interpretations emerge.

From this methodological perspective, the factors affecting the dynamics of fairness also strongly depend on the moment and mood of the people who participate in the research. In the mining context, this can become complicated because perceptions about mining are known to vary significantly over time. Communities and companies deal with both positive and negative events concomitantly, forming in many cases a “love-hate relationship” (Kepore and Imbun, 2010, p. 222). As a result, the exploration of fairness would be strongly influenced by what individuals were feeling at the time of their participation. A researcher would thus not necessarily be able to distinguish relational injustices beyond momentary, context-driven, and individual perceptions, unless a longitudinal study is conducted and the researcher returns to the field over the years.

Another reason not to rely solely on individuals’ views is their possible propensity to perceive fairness under the weight of false consciousness. In simple terms, false consciousness involves the possibility of people being alienated and unaware of their own social realities and contexts (Gabel, 1975). False consciousness may be driven, among other things, by a lack of critical understanding about one’s social context, and this may also camouflage the identification of social injustices. People may not be aware of the extent to which they are disadvantaged in the relationship with their company, whereas these disadvantages may be clear if the relationship is analysed taking a different angle of analysis.

The fact that people are not able to perceive injustices arising from their particular circumstances does not mean that such limitations do not exist (Fleetwood, 2005). While relying on people’s perceptions as to what fairness means to them can be seen as an empowering and emancipating approach, these perceptions may be limited to their individual and specific positionality. This perspective is relevant in the context of community-company relationships as affected people are often located in remote places with low access to information, which also influences the way people reason and judge their relationship with the company. For example, people may be in unjust situations without being necessarily aware of this especially as it relates to relational fairness. This accords with the view that people may tend to focus on the justice of the outcomes of situations (distributive justice), and not take into account justice in the processes that lead to such outcomes (procedural justice) (Tyler & Lind, 2002).

Therefore, in this thesis, I look beyond the limitation of how individuals perceive fairness to thus focus on justice from an ethical and transcendent perspective that is based on ideals. It means that the concepts of justice and fairness were not defined inductively through engagement with field data, but rather, were defined theoretically, drawing on established literature on what a 'just society' would ideally look like. The idea that injustices may exist beyond human perception and that they should be explored in more holistic ways set the boundaries of the framework of this thesis. The solution lies in being more systematic and straightforward when approaching issues of justice and fairness by both selecting elements known to be relevant to relational fairness, and by exploring these with regard to the way community and company relate to each other. The elements of fairness (voice, capabilities and trust) that are seen as variables in the framework were discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

3.2 The case study: Juruti and the identification of the regions explored

This research explores the relationship between the population of Juruti and the Alcoa organisation so as to expand existing understandings about how these relationships operate on the ground. The Dictionary of Sociology conceptualises a case study as a "detailed explanation of a single example of a class of phenomena" (in Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 220). This definition treats each community-company relationship as one case study, having specific relational dynamics. The singularity of these dynamics is determined by the people participating (both in the community and in the company), how people relate to each other, the physical location of the mine, the cultural, political, and legal contexts, and so on. I do not seek to compare different relationships, but rather to immerse in one case study in order to unfold its characteristics in detail.

Juruti is a municipality in the northwest side of Pará State, in the heart of the Brazilian Amazon, and located on the banks of the Amazon River, in an area of 8.400km² with numerous creeks (*igarapés*) and large lakes. Figure 3.1 shows where Juruti is localised in Brazil. The total population is around 47,000 people, distributed in more than 200 rural communities located both in the *várzea* (i.e., flooded) areas, as well as in *terra firme* (does not flood). Around 40 per cent of the population live in the northwest of the municipality, particularly the urban area called by locals as *cidade* (town), or “Juruti Novo”.⁷



Figure 3.1 – Brazilian Amazon map and Juruti location (Funbio, 2013)

⁷ As focused discussion about what configures an urban area in the Amazon can be found in the work of Azevedo, 2012.

Figure 3.2 shows a complete map of the Juruti municipality, and the location of the Alcoa mine. For this research, I focused specifically on the communities located closer to Alcoa installations. Figure 3.3 shows the infrastructure of the Juruti Mine Project, including the location of the mine, the road, the train line and the port. It included both the communities in the Juruti Velho lake region, which are located closer to the mine, and the communities located along the transport corridor built by the company (rail and road). Another point of exploration was the Town, for which had evolved a great concentration of impacts from its infra-structure and social dynamics. The Town is also the place where the majority of the community population is concentrated, including Alcoa employees, making it an important place to study communicational and interactional dynamics. Figure 3.4 shows the regions of Juruti explored in the research, which are described in detail in the next chapter⁸.

⁸ Not all communities are represented.

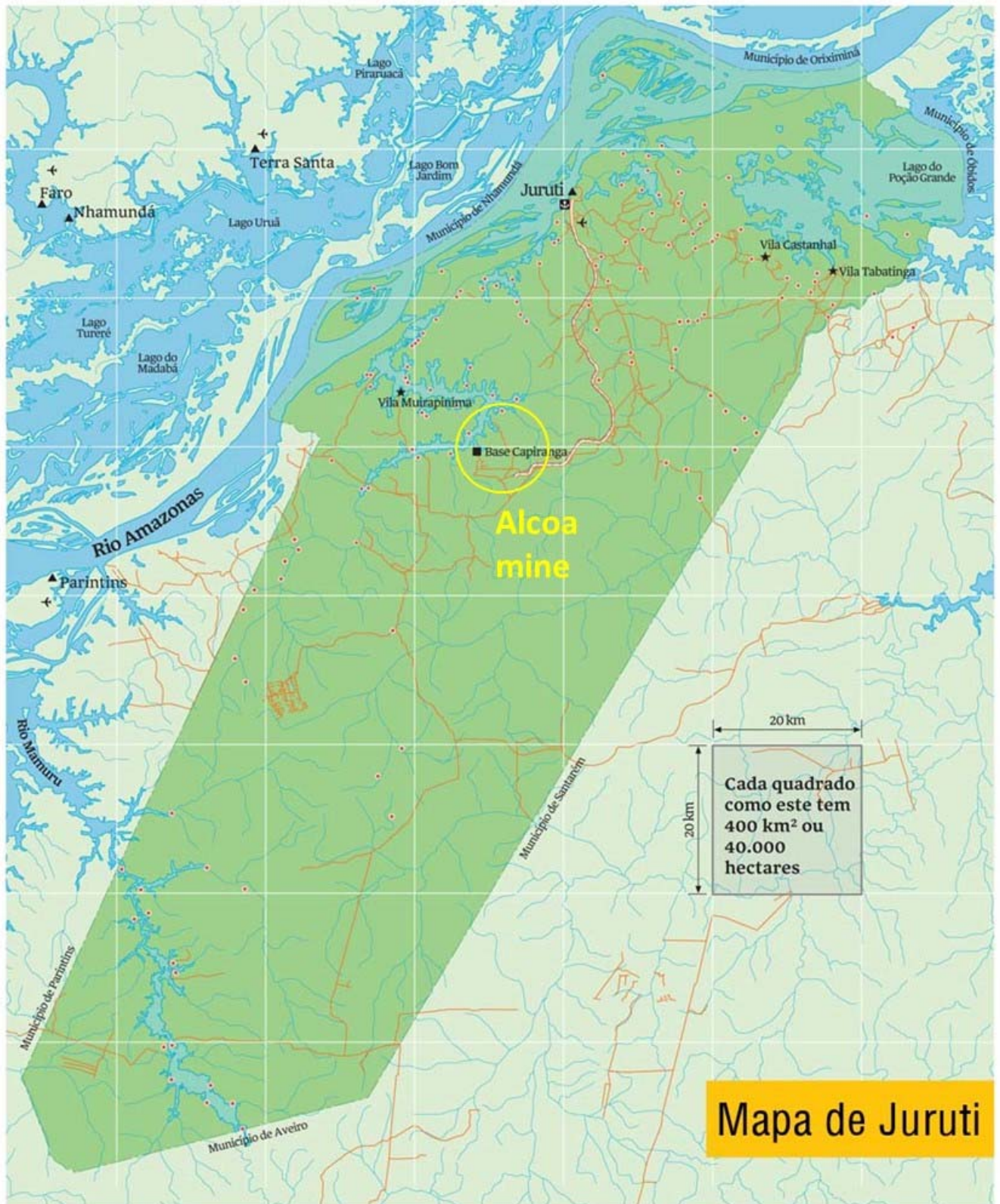


Figure 3.2 – Municipality of Juruti and the location of the Alcoa mine (adapted from FGV, 2011)



Figure 3.3 – Map with the identification of the installations of the project (Alcoa 2012)

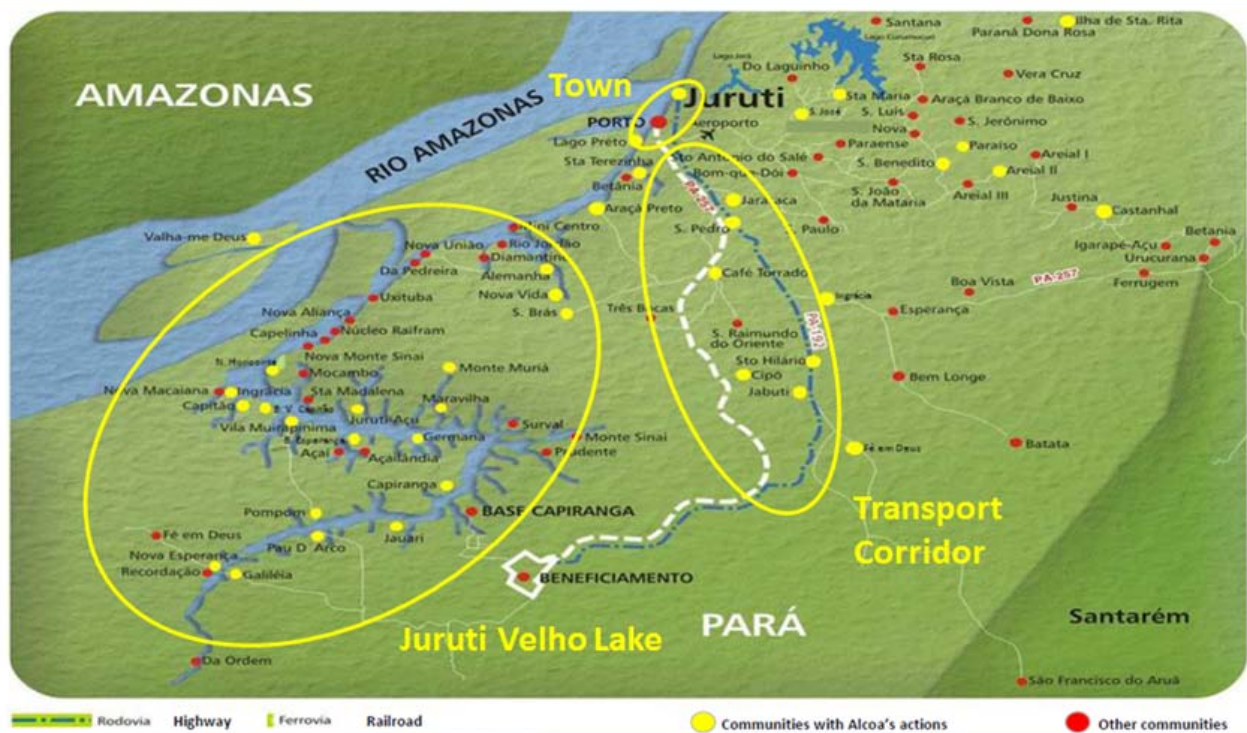


Figure 3.4 – Identification of the three regions explored (adapted from Alcoa, 2012)

3.3 Ethnographic approach and considerations for building field relationships

The aim of this study is not to build an ethnography of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship, but to explore the dynamics of fairness in that relationship by applying the conceptual framework proposed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, well established ethnographic methods were used as means to collect and analyse data. Ethnographic research is often used to explore the nature of social phenomena and its cultural systems by focusing on the interpretation of meanings, actions and processes of human activities gained through participant-observation and interviews (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Whitehead, 2004; McLeod & Thomson, 2009). Because processes, actions, and interactions were highly relevant to the conceptual framework proposed for this thesis, using an ethnographic approach was most suitable.

Ethnographic studies strongly depend on fieldwork and require the researcher to be highly involved, and to relate closely to locals as research participants. Therefore, I was continually concerned with developing and managing the relationships with Juruti people. As discussed by Georges and Jones (1980), an interesting issue about field work in social sciences is that the subjects of the research are human beings, just like the researcher. In this context, careful attention to human interactions is central to data collection so that the research accommodates the full complexities of human behaviour and reaction that occur in researcher-participant relationships.

This shared humanness meant that, during data collection, I was building an image of the community people and company employees while they were building an image of me. Mapping these symbols, messages and interpretations is therefore crucial to the researchers' gaining and maintaining access and use of qualitative data in social settings (Burgess, 1984, McCall and Simmons, 1969). This is because such data are inevitably influenced by the kind of relationships established with participants (Burgess, 1984, Hammersley and Atkinson, 1989, Dean et al., 1969). In turn, the stronger that these relationships are, the higher the quality and rigor of the study is (Rubin, 2000). Therefore, to achieve this, great attention was paid to the relationships built with informants and how the data were collected.

However, in practice, building relationships with informants, especially in cross-cultural contexts, and from socially vulnerable societies is challenging. These relationships can be faced with issues of ethnocentrism, power imbalances between researcher and informant, manipulation, and reactivity (McLeod and Thomson, 2009, Thomas, 1993, Hammersley and Atkinson, 1989). I approached the research of the Juruti region confident that these issues could be overcome if I remained ethically committed and self-aware of my behaviour and the potential (mis)interpretations of my actions.

Another way to improve field relationships with informants is through what Georges and Jones (1980) call the principle of humanity. The principle of humanity means, in few words, that although researcher and informants surely share cultural differences, they also share many similarities considering the humanity that is shared by all of us. We are all humans who have the same basic needs and react similarly, for example, when people smile or treat us badly. It is on the level of greater assimilation of equalities that one person understands better the other. In this sense, the writers suggest that a way to avoid such research-informant dichotomies is to focus on the similarities that people share in order to create a more genuine bond with informants. It is this bond that helps to foster the creation of a comfortable environment for conversations and observations and to minimise the cross-cultural barriers that could potentially affect negatively the informant-researcher relationship.

Finally, there are other factors that I needed to consider to ensure viable data collection. That I am from a 'big city' (São Paulo) and had been educated to tertiary level may have been problematic in that I was different to the Juruti population and could thus be seen as mismatched to them. At the same time, such difference was apparently less because, both being Brazilian, the Juruti population and I share the same language and many cultural characteristics. This shared similarity also lessened the distinction between the 'outside' researcher and the 'inside' research participant.

By using this humane approach with its concern for fairness, these similarities allowed me to adapt my behaviour to increase assimilation, gain trust, and provide the tone that would encourage discussion about the Alcoa mine. I was careful to use language by speaking the Portuguese the way it is used in Juruti, dressing similarly to locals, eating the same foods, and even living for a time the everyday life and activities of locals. Overall, I believe that I built positive and sensitive relationships with Juruti people to the extent of gaining easy access to the region despite from being 'a white girl from the big city', as they would see me. I learned quickly to put aside my own needs and perspectives and be open and honest with locals.

This concern for fair and human relationships has also afforded me insight into the research topic by becoming emotionally involved with my material. This concern and its outcomes are often a rich but often unexplored way to uncover deeper levels of analytical thinking (Whiteman, 2010b, 2010a). I believe that involving oneself in the relationships with participants is a way of improving the connection with participants and with the topic researched.

3.4 Data Collection methods

Data were collected during the three months from June to August 2012. The Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining financed transportation and accommodation costs while other costs were self-funded. No financial or logistical support was required, nor offered by Alcoa. I had no previous relationships with employees or locals, nor any kind of involvement with Alcoa. I did not seek Alcoa's involvement because of the risk of such involvement limiting the trust I wished to build with community people. In fact, numerous participants questioned my relationship with Alcoa, and it was positive for the data collection to respond to their concerns, and to show that there were no arrangements with the company.

During fieldwork, I arranged accommodation in a hotel owned by a local in the Town, and travelled often to communities in the Corridor and Juruti Velho region. The time in the communities varied from day to week trips. Outside the Town, accommodation was organised in a house owned by locals, which promoted greater opportunities to experience their daily lifestyle, and the dynamics of the communities. The generosity for hosting me was repaid by assisting locals with daily work both in the fields and with housekeeping duties. In cases of longer stay, I have also shared in the locals' provisions bought in the Town. I took this course to keep money from upsetting the researcher-informant power relations.

The following three methods that were used concomitantly to collect data are described as follows.

3.4.1 Participant observations

Observing participants has been a central method of ethnographic studies in which observers gather data through a social, face-to-face relationship with those observed within which s/he participates with them in their natural life setting "for the purpose of scientific investigation" (Winthrop, 1991, p. 98). Thus, the observer is "part of the context being observed" and "both modifies and is influenced by this context" (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955, p. 344). Also important in participant observation is that the field worker has the options to play or not play an active part in events or even to merely interview participants in the events which may not play a part in the observations" (McCall and Simmons, 1969).

Some authors also propose distinguishing between participant and direct observation arguing that such distinctions are based on the actual level of involvement with what is being observed (see Yin, 1994). Others also distinguish between complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant (Burgess, 1984, Moore and Savage, 2002) insofar as the characteristics of the research's participation vary with each level of involvement. Even if the researcher is not actively participating, the mere presence of an external person will somehow influence, even if indirectly and inadvertently, how the activities and events are being conducted.

Observations were conducted in three situations: in the communities of the Lake and Corridor area, as well as in the Town. I felt it was important for local people that I was attending and participating in their different events to show that I was not only interested in the matters related to my research but also in their lives as a whole (Georges & Jones, 1980). In addition, taking part in locals' day-to-day life and engaging in numerous of their conversations helped to expand my network. Besides such general participation, I also attended a few meetings of associations (such as ACORJUVE and Colônia de Pescadores), an event promoted by Alcoa in Town during *Sustainability Week*, as well as a workshop run by an Alcoa partner, *Conservation International*. Data were collected as pictures, videos and written notes, following the advice given by Emerson and colleagues (1995)⁹.

3.4.2 Interviews and conversations

Interviews have traditionally been seen as an effective method to collect qualitative data, although they might have structural differences (Burgess, 1984, Burnard, 1991, Williamson, 2006). For example, Yin (1994) considers interviewing to be one of the most important ways of obtaining data in case studies. Merriam (2009) also recognises the importance of interviews in qualitative research in general, and says that, in all qualitative research, at least some data should be collected through interviews.

⁹ This advice consists of, among others, making quick notes of central themes and key words of the conversation (or memorizing them), and completing the field notes in another moment (preferably in the same day), when the researcher has more privacy and can be more dedicated to writing.

The literature discusses different ways of conducting interviews; for example, using structured, semi-structured, or unstructured approaches. Such differences relate to the variations in the level of formalisation and the pre-formulated structure of questions to be asked (Lofland, 1971, DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). For this research, I used semi-structured interviews because the elements to be explored in the interviews were already pre-determined in the conceptual framework. This meant that I developed an interview guide prior to the field trip with questions that would cover these elements. The questions used to guide the semi-structured interviews are detailed in Appendix A. I did use this guide, nonetheless, with great flexibility, in line with the circumstances and issues being covered in the conversations. Nevertheless, I sought to ask the same questions to all informants, in order to maintain consistency in the data collected.

As previously mentioned, I sought to build relationships with a diversity of individuals living in Juruti in order to understand their lifestyle and social dynamics, as well as how the relationships were formed with the company. In this sense, it can be argued that to some extent every person I met in Juruti was an informant. Not necessarily all these people were fully interviewed, although they did contribute valuable information to the extent that a considerable amount of data were collected in informal and unstructured conversations. This approach was taken especially to ensure that informants were comfortable sharing their experiences as I bore in mind that some informants seemed uncomfortable when invited to a proper interview, worrying they would not have the 'right answers'. In this sense, I believed that keeping an informal approach to discussions would increase the quality of the data collected because they were able to flow more naturally. In other moments, while participating in community activities and even interacting with employees, I found that interesting points were raised and discussed — data collected through field notes were written at another time — when these individuals were interviewed more informally.

To identify the informants who were interviewed in more structured ways, I used a snowball technique whereby original informants point to other informants who may have relevant information and opinions about the researched topics (Burgess, 1984). I also used purposive sampling, in order to include people with a range of characteristics. In my sample, I sought to listen to people from a variety of backgrounds: from different communities in the regions of interest; of different age and formal education levels; and of different relationship levels with Alcoa, varying from constant interaction with Alcoa employees and active participation in the relationship, to a lower interaction or participation level.

In addition, the number of males and females was balanced even though it was not intended. I also engaged with different community and association leaders to explore their representativeness. On the company side, the sample was significantly smaller once the aim was to focus on the community. Nevertheless, I sought to engage with employees working in a diversity of fields (engineers, technicians, administration etc.), although I prioritized employees working more directly with community issues. Some individuals working for institutions in partnership with Alcoa (NGOs) were also interviewed.

Approximately 120 people, being 95 from the community and 25 from the company, engaged in informal and unstructured conversations. From this group, 46 people were interviewed using a semi-structured approach. Semi-structured interviews were recorded, transcribed and translated from Portuguese into English. The distributions of these informants according to different classes in the company and community are respectively shown in Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.6.

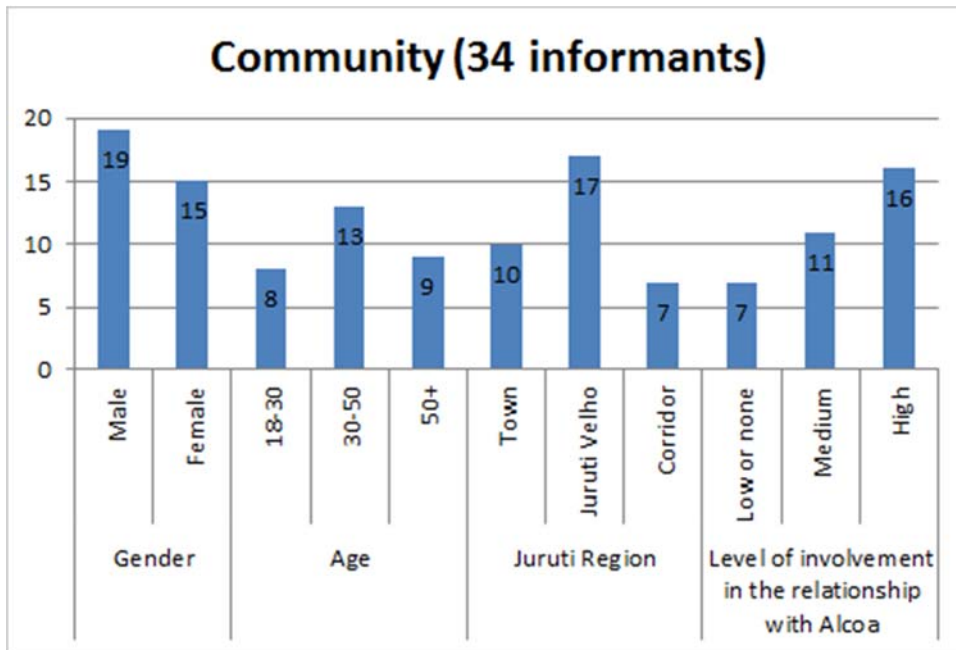


Figure 3.5 – Distribution of interviewed informants in the community¹⁰

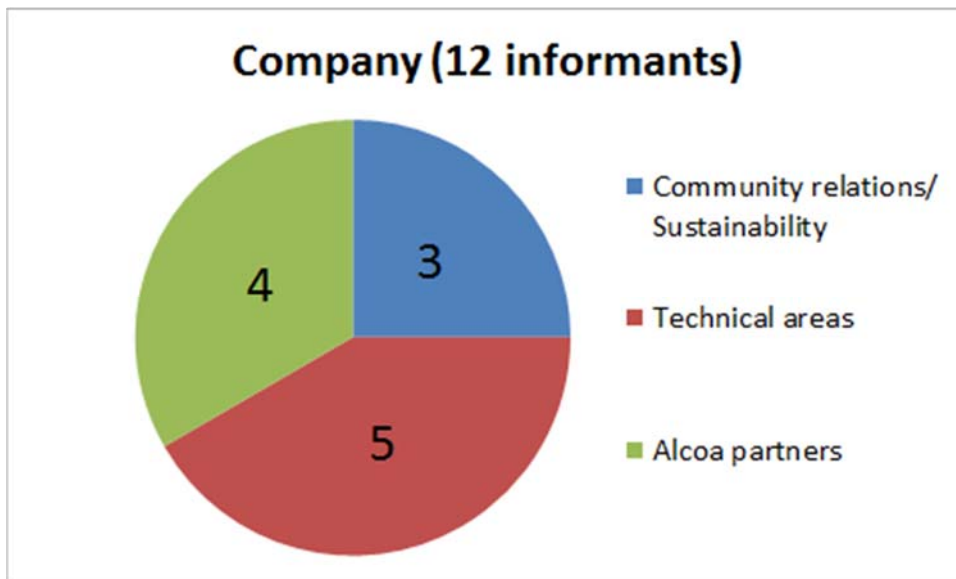


Figure 3.6 – Distribution of informants interviewed in the company¹¹

¹⁰ Level of involvements:

Low and none – people with rare contact with Alcoa employees and participation in Alcoa initiatives. Medium – people with some degree of involvement, mostly during the construction (negotiation of compensations, participation in community meetings), and participants of Alcoa social projects. High – constant interaction with employees (community representatives and people with greater engagement levels in Alcoa initiatives).

¹¹ Partners are NGOs employees hired by Alcoa to implement social projects in Juruti.

3.4.3 Document analysis

While in Juruti, I also collected documents related to the Alcoa project and its CSR initiatives, maps and other documents and maps obtained in the offices of the local government, and also statutes and documents of local associations. I analysed previous research conducted in Juruti to strengthen the context of the research (Sampaio, 2013, Schroering, 2008, Whelan, 2008, Barros, 2012, Borba, 2012). To ensure rigour in my analysis, I followed the recommendations of Merriam (2009) and Guba and Lincoln (1981) by considering the history of the documents and their purpose, how they came to researchers' hands, whether they have been edited and/or showed clear signs of bias, and who the author was. The focus was to draw relevant information while considering, for example, that documents produced by Alcoa tend to be promotional and thus shouldn't be taken at face value.

3.5 Data analysis and Narrative Rationale

The data were analysed using a thematic analysis approach (Aronson, 1994, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2008), in which the data were coded in themes relevant to the research questions. In this case, codes that arose from the analysis were organised into subgroups in line with the three domains of the conceptual framework. Interviews were transcribed in Portuguese and then translated into English. My notes and fieldwork diary were analysed in Portuguese but codes were organised in English. The focus of the analysis was to map the relational processes by unfolding characteristics and mechanisms assessed at the level of daily activities. The factors identified as shaping the dynamics of fairness of the relational processes were selected empirically, based on their pertinence and frequency of use in the collected data (Lofland, 1971). In other words, it could be said that the findings were based on the saturation of the topics, or the continual presence of the codes in the conversations and observations¹².

¹² Themes that were mentioned by more than half of the participants are indicated in the study by the words 'majority' and 'most'. The word 'all' is used to indicate that all participants mentioned a specific theme in their communications with the researcher. Words such as 'often', 'many', and 'several' are used to indicate that the theme was raised by a significant number of participants, but not necessarily the majority of them. Data chapters also contain numerous ethnographic observations and quotes to explain themes discussed, and also to give 'voice' to participants.

I also compared the factors to differentiate the three areas explored, although this was not the main focus of the analysis.

The way the framework was applied is illustrated in Figure 3.7, and the questions that guided the analysis were:

- How are the domains of analysis structured in Juruti; what are their main characteristics and mechanisms in place?
- How are the domains structured in regards to the relationship with the company?
- What are the factors in these processes and how do they affect the operational elements of fairness (voice, capabilities)?

Applying the conceptual framework in the field

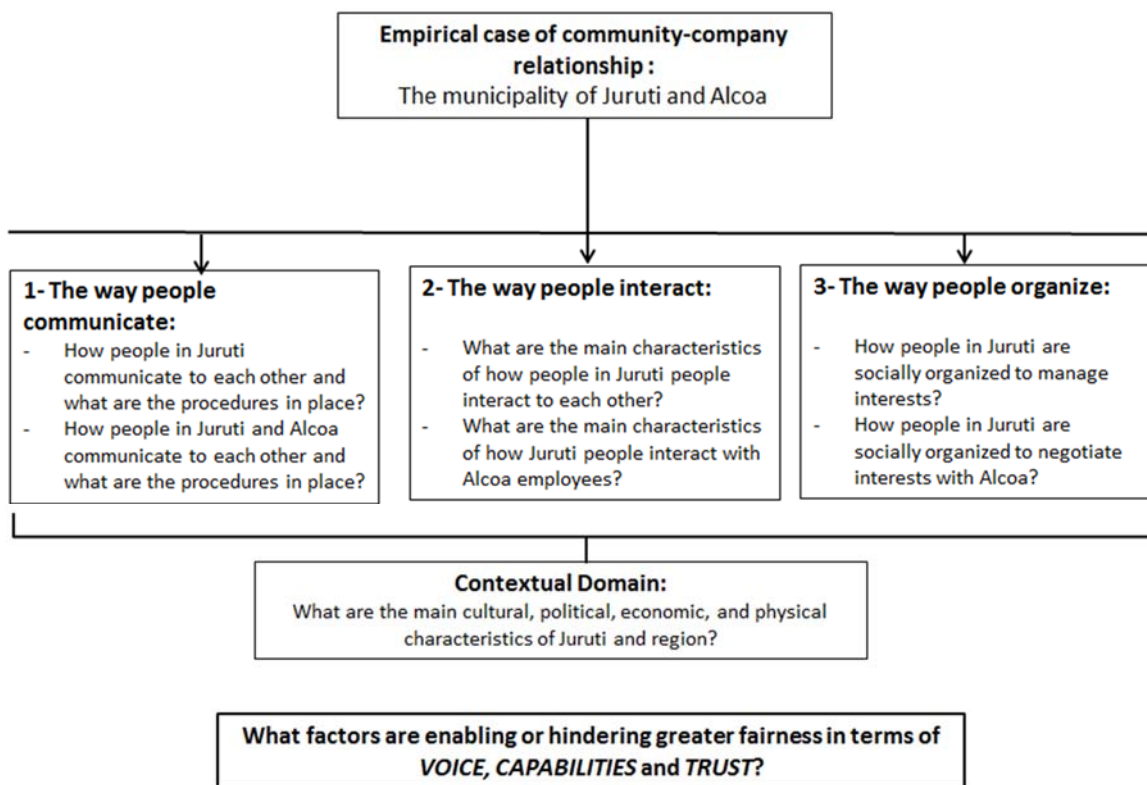


Figure 3.7 – Applying the framework in the field

By mapping the relational processes between Juruti and Alcoa, I sought to provide a rich background to readers, effectively allowing them to 'travel' to Juruti. My aim was to build a picture of how the place is (Chapter 4), and how the society and the relationship with the company are structured and functions routinely, mainly from a community perspective (Chapter 5). To achieve this objective a descriptive narrative was developed. Some informants were presented to add a more individual and personal layer to the narrative, but for confidentiality purposes, descriptions of people and situations were kept more general. Although the Juruti population is relatively large, inferred identification (Anastas, 2004) could easily happen considering that the social networks are extensive and that individuals more engaged in mining related issues are easily identified by the Juruti population.

Three works in particular of an ethnographic nature provided secondary research and inspiration for this thesis: First, Harris (2000) studied rural communities in the Amazon and their cultural dynamics, which also serves to inform about local practices and social structures. Second, Scheper-Hughes (1992) also developed an ethnographic study in Brazil, but in a different region, and about different topics that are less relevant to the focus of this research. Nevertheless, her work serves as an important example of the sensitivity and respect needed when researching in socially vulnerable communities, without targeting informants in a pejorative way. Third, the seminal work of Banfield (1958) undertaken in an Italian community provides an inspirational narrative to describe Montegrano, the individuals, and the social dynamics of an ethnic community.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The field work commenced after the approval of the Ethics Committee of the University of Queensland. In this sense, most of the formal ethical concerns about the research, such as confidentiality, safety of the data, and information about the research, were cleared prior to my trip to Juruti. I also paid constant attention to my conduct in the field to ensure that I was relating to informants, and managing the information obtained, in the most ethical manner (Marshall, 1992). I maintained the confidentiality of participants at all times, and acknowledged the risk of inferred identification among the communities of Juruti, particularly because people in the communities in some situations shared with each other what they had spoken of during our conversations. In view of this, I treated the data with sensitivity and security, even by, at times, generalising some information (as previously mentioned) to avoid unnecessary exposure of any of the informants.

3.7 Limitations

The research had several limitations that should be discussed. The first involves the length of time in the field. As I stayed in Juruti for only three months, my perspectives and knowledge about local dynamics may not be entirely accurate, although I did attempt to learn as much as possible while there. A second limitation lies in the nature of the research sample: although I sought to involve a mixed sample of informants, some alternative perspectives may have been missed. Nevertheless, the findings of the research to some extent can be considered to represent the general feelings and characteristics of those people I spoke to, especially because the points discussed in the following chapters were mainly based on saturation of the data.

Even though I present the data using the terms 'Juruti people' and 'Juruti population', allowance should be made of the sample limitation I have identified. A third limitation was that, although the research is concerned with community-company relationships, the company was not explored in depth. A greater exploration of the internal dynamics of Alcoa, as well as how this was reflected in the way the company related to affected communities, is identified in the conclusion to Chapter 7 as a potential topic for future research.

In general, even though this work was conducted with much care and attention to rigour, I acknowledge that I may have unintentionally missed or misinterpreted the depth of people's feelings when analysing and their discussions. However, I believe that, despite the methodological limitations, this work presents a substantial amount of good quality data which have allowed a rich discussion about issues of justice and fairness in the context of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship.

Chapter 4 The Contextual Domain

This chapter describes the culture and geography of the Brazilian Amazon and of the Juruti population, which characterises the ‘community’ in the community-company relationship. Using well-established qualitative methods, I build a picture of ‘the community’ within the geographic and political context of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. In describing the characteristics that shape the mechanisms and structures of the relationship-building processes with the company, this chapter represents the contextual and cultural domain of analysis proposed by the framework described in Chapter 2.

This chapter is organised as follows: first, I outline the Brazilian Amazon and Amazonian communities; and second, I present the characteristics of the regions of Juruti explored in this research, particularly the way that individuals in Juruti interact, communicate, access information, and organise themselves politically.

4.1 Brazilian Amazon: social and spatial landscape

The Amazon forest — the world’s largest tropical rain forest in the world — is formed in the basin of the Amazon River and its numerous affluent rivers, which together represent the largest amount of fresh water and biodiversity in the planet¹³. The Amazon River is so wide that in some points the other bank cannot be seen, and the water reaches the horizon. For this reason, locals sometimes call the Amazon River, *rio-mar* (river sea).

The amount of water and the immensity of the forest are the most prominent characteristics of the Amazonian landscape. The Amazon has two seasons, the wet (January to May) and the dry (June to December), called as *inverno* (winter) and *verão* (summer) by locals. In the rainy season, the region floods (*enche*) significantly covering the vegetation, and when the rain stops and the water dries out (*vaza*), white sand beaches are formed along the rivers, lakes, and *igarapés* (creeks). The seasons that reconfigure the entire landscape of the forest are a key factor determining the lifestyle and dynamics of local populations and their access, transportation, interaction, and also how they use land for subsistence and their economy (Harris, 2000).

¹³ 60 per cent of the Amazon is located in the Brazilian territory.

To better understand the lifestyle and the conditions of the Juruti population, it is necessary to point to some relevant historical details of the people who have lived in the Amazonian region. Because the Amazon has been treated as 'peripheral' by the Brazilian government, the resulting long-term exploitation of its natural resources has followed a different model of exploitation, and even immigration to other Brazilian regions. For example, Ribeiro (1995) explains that, in contrast to other regions of the country, where economic development was mainly agriculturally based, the economy of the Amazon region is built on extractive resources like wood, rubber, and minerals (gold). Ribeiro also points out that the main historical interest of the Portuguese was to protect the Amazonian territory against the invasions of English, Dutch and French. Therefore, only over time was commercial value derived from goods extracted from the forest. This history also saw the immigration policy for the Amazonian region mainly following government initiatives to protect the territory, and to use the forest to foster Brazilian economic development.

Environmental discourse about the Amazon became increasingly expressive in the 1990's, especially with the influence of the Brundtland report in 1987, and the UN Conference 'Rio 92.'¹⁴ While the increase in environmental awareness has diversified considerably with the many interests in the region, for decades, it has been characterised by intense conflict of interests. In fact, one of the main challenges for the management of the Amazon region is how to accommodate such conflicting interests, and to explore the region in a way that it can be preserved while generating economic development (Becker, 2004). Becker adds that these challenges are exacerbated by the lack of policies, the inability to address the specificities of the region, and weak implementation and control of existing legislation.

¹⁴ The document is also a key reference used by the mining industry to define Sustainability and Sustainable Development.

Notwithstanding most outsiders' perspectives, the Amazon is not an empty place populated only by indigenous people but rather significantly populated by 24 million people, or 13 per cent of all Brazil even though it appears to have comparatively low population. Amazonian population and urbanisation rates are growing (Laurance et al., 2001), and nowadays the Amazon has large urban centres such as the cities of Manaus, Belém and Porto Velho, each of over one million people. Distinctively, the Amazon comprises a "rainbow of social categories" that encompass numerous indigenous groups diversely integrated with the Brazilian wider society, but also including heterogeneous rural occupations, people from other parts of the country, and the southern Brazil-oriented elites in the large urban centres (Harris, 2000, p. 13).

This research focuses on the Amazonian rural communities characterised by a specific life-style referred to in Brazil as a 'regional type'. Although these communities are often called 'traditional' (because of enduring social and cultural structures over time), they are not recognised by the State or by themselves as indigenous communities. In Juruti, for example, there are no indigenous areas and the majority of population do not identify themselves as indigenous people. Certainly Amazonian rural communities carry a strong indigenous heritage both genetically and in how they manage survival; however, according to Brazilian legislation, these are part of the dominant society. With the exception of some specific policies, these communities do not have special rights because of their culture, or in how they access basic services considering their geographical location.

Rural Amazonian populations are known as *caboclos* or *ribeirinhos* (Rodrigues, 2006). Because nowadays *caboclos* can be understood as a pejorative term that may exacerbate conflicts of self-identity and self-esteem (see Lima, 1999 for a comprehensive discussion), rural Amazonians are often called and self-identify as *ribeirinhos* (or people who live on the banks of rivers). According to Parker (1989) and Ross (1978), the origins of the *caboclos* date back to the colonial period of Brazilian history, and are initially the result of miscegenation between Portuguese and indigenous peoples. Parker (1989) explains that this miscegenation, together with cultural detachment caused by the Portuguese influence and that of the Catholic Church, has resulted in what the author calls '*detrribalisation*' and '*caboclization*' of the indigenous people.

Thus, the cultural and biological ‘fused’ identity of these people is known as the origin of the *caboclos*, a term which, according to Parker, was firstly used to refer to ‘domesticated indigenous’. Throughout the centuries, especially during the rubber boom and the military government (1964—1985), the Amazon received an intense influx of people who were attracted by economic opportunities. These influxes have reshaped the characteristics of rural communities. As immigration was significantly undertaken by *nordestinos* (people from the northeast), the *nordestina* identity and culture also became strong in these communities.

Amazonian rural communities have developed a relatively independent lifestyle that has enabled their survival. However, up to the present day, these communities still live in highly vulnerable conditions compared to the majority of the Brazilian population. Such vulnerability is present even though the participation of the Amazon in the national economy is growing. Most of the income from the Amazon flows to governments, companies, and to the people from the urban areas, perpetuating the exploitation of the vulnerable local populations that has characterised Amazonian history (Simões, 2010, Schaefer and Studte, 2005). Most rural populations still live in semi-subsistence systems and face challenges accessing basic services like education and health, as well as government services.

Once we recognise this reality, it becomes clear that the social challenges faced by the Juruti population are part of a much broader historical context of social and economic struggle. As observed in following sections, when it comes to negotiating interests with Alcoa, the contextual characteristics of Amazonian communities affect their ability to perform in the community-company relationship, inevitably impacting existing dynamics of fairness.

4.2 Mining context in the Brazilian Amazon

Mining represents the largest private sector in Brazil with the Amazon region being particularly significant. It produces, for example, 85 per cent of its aluminium, 80 per cent of copper, and 74 per cent of manganese, all of Brazil’s tin (Marini, 2007). While all the Amazon States have mineral deposits, the Pará state, where Juruti is located, is most significant for current production, the variety of mineral resources, and potential exploration.

Pará State is the second largest in Brazil with 1.253,164 square kilometres, or 14.6 per cent of Brazilian territory, distributed in 143 municipalities. However, a significant amount of these lands are allocated to different policy initiatives: 22 per cent of the state is legally demarcated as indigenous lands, 1.63 per cent is fully environmentally protected and 8.63 per cent dedicated to sustainable use (Enríquez and Drummond, 2007). Despite its large area, Pará is relatively lightly populated with only 3.6 per cent of Brazil's total population. When compared to the other 26 Brazilian states, Pará's Human Development Index (HDI) ranks 15th, while according to the World Bank's criteria, 52 per cent its population lives below the poverty line. In fact, there is a significant discrepancy between the current HDI and the level of poverty relative to Pará's economic condition and the profits made from mining activities (Cornejo et al., 2010).

Pará is the second biggest mineral producer in the country, representing 26 per cent of the entire country's production. Besides the bauxite mine in Juruti, Pará also has other large mining ventures that have been operating for longer periods of time. The most emblematic example is the iron-ore mine in Carajás, the biggest in the world, which has been operated by Vale since late 1970s. Ever since the exploration stage, the project has been subject to strong criticism both in terms of the environmental and social impacts on local indigenous people (see Treece, 1987). Another example is the MRN (Mineração Rio do Norte), a joint venture composed of Vale (40%), Alcan, BHP, Alcoa, Norsk Hydro, CBA, and Albaco that, in the 1970s, opened the third biggest bauxite mine in the world, located in the municipality of Oriximiná.

Schaefer and Studte (2005) explain that MRN has built a company town called Porto Trombetas for employees and their families, and the 'artificial city' contrasts significantly with the misery and lack of infrastructure and opportunities of surrounding regions. Pará also has a large mine operation in the municipality of Paragominas. In 2006 in the region, Vale began mining bauxite, which is transported to Barcarena through an underground 230 kilometres pipeline.

Because of the relevance of Pará State to the Brazilian mining industry, a close examination of the social impacts of these operations is necessary. This is especially pertinent in that there are few relevant studies in this area focusing on the Pará context.

4.3 The community: A picture of Juruti

This section examines the municipality of Juruti where the community-company relationship takes place. This involves not only those central cultural characteristics that affect the negotiation processes with the company, but also the factors affecting fairness. Accordingly, the present section first generally describes some information about Juruti landscape and social dynamics with an emphasis on the three regions analysed. Following this, it focuses separately on matters of personal interactions, communication processes for information flow, and social organisation. It concludes by organising relevant cultural aspects that are shaping the way community and company relate routinely.

Juruti is a municipality located in the northwest of Pará State on the banks of the Amazon River, on the border with Amazonas State. Juruti is located at the heart of the Brazilian Amazon. According to the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE, 2012), Juruti was founded in 1818 as a missionary village in a land of the Munduruku people. The village was located by the Juruti Velho Lake, where the Vila Muirapinima is nowadays. A catholic church was built there, both as a sign of institutionalisation of the territory, and to progress the catechisation of the indigenous population. If it were not for the presence of the Alcoa's mine in its territory and its impact on the citizens' social life, Juruti could be considered similar to many other Amazonian municipalities in view of its structural and cultural characteristics. In its total area of 8,400 square kilometres, Juruti's current population is approximately 47,000 people (IBGE, 2012) distributed over more than 200 *comunidades* in the rural areas (interior), three Vilas (central areas in the rural areas), and a Town (*cidade* or *Juruti Novo*), in the so called 'urban area'.

4.3.1 Juruti regions

This section describes the three regions of analysis of this study, which were selected due to their proximity to the installations of the Project, and consequent disturbances felt by those population. Because the rural communities more closely represent the traditional lifestyle of Juruti population, I start by describing their characteristics. The communities located along the transport Corridor and those in the Lake region have similar characteristics and are therefore discussed together. I also explain some of the specific characteristics of Vila Muirapinima, as it is the former regional centre for the communities in the Lake. Finally, I provide some insight into what the town looks like, and how life takes place in that area. These different areas are illustrated in Figure 4.1.



Figure 4.1 – Juruti community map – north area (FGV, 2009).

4.3.1.1 Rural Communities

According to reports from Juruti people, their rural communities are formed by the process of family members moving to an area in the forest, building houses, and establishing their activities. The communities are then constituted by families, and organised by family and kinship (Gillingham, 2001). The rural communities, which are distributed throughout the territory, could be compared to neighbourhoods of Juruti. They are known as *comunidades de várzea* (in the floodplain area) and *comunidades de terra firme* (in the flood-free area) depending on their location. The sizes of the communities vary significantly; while I visited communities with only eight families, there were also ones with more than 100 families.

Each of the communities is characterised by a central (mostly Catholic, but nowadays some are Protestant) church, a community centre — a shed that also works as a school in some communities — and a soccer field. The houses are built around the church, and are traditionally made out of wood and straw. However, most houses in the Lake area are made out of *alvenaria* (bricks). These houses have toilets inside, while the others usually have a fossa (cesspool) outside. Most communities also have a water tank (*microsistema*) and an electricity generator. In the Lake communities, power is supplied from 7 to 10 pm daily. In the Corridor, many communities have already benefited from the federal government program, *Luz para Todos* (electricity for all), and have a 24-hour electricity supply. Families further away from the road still operate with generators. In many houses I visited in the rural areas, there is almost no furniture apart from hammocks, a stove, a television, and sometimes a freezer and/or a bed. Most families own an engine that is used for crushing cassava to produce flour, and to fuel for the canoes (*rabeta*).

Whole families engage in daily work to subsist, and there is a gendered division of labour regarding responsibilities, similar to the characteristics outlined by Harris (1998). While men focus on the heavier work in the fields, hunting and fishing, construction and maintenance of houses, boats and tools, women's work is focused on domestic tasks like cooking, washing clothes, and taking care of children. However, some activities are shared, for example, the production of the cassava flour, the traditional main sources of income in the communities, is often done together as a family. The children and adolescents also participate in the daily activities of the communities.¹⁵

¹⁵ Although it could be seen as a form of exploration, it has also been argued to be a significant exercise for their social integration in the community. It could also be said that children are likely to help their parents in view of lack of other activities. CARDOSO, L. F. C. E. & SOUZA, J. L. C. D. 2011. Viver, aprender e trabalhar: habitus e socialização de crianças em uma comunidade de pescadores da Amazônia. Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas, 6, 165–177.

In the majority of the rural communities, both in the Lake and Corridor areas, commerce is almost non-existent, and many families live in semi-subsistence modes. The level of participation in local markets in Juruti and surroundings varies depending on the ability of each specific community and family to generate and transport its produce to market. The majority of families with children under 18 years old receive welfare payments from the Brazilian Federal Government (*Bolsa Família* program). Some families in the Lake also receive another payment from the government called *Bolsa Verde* (a government initiative aimed at protecting the forest). In addition, families of the Lake receive royalties from Alcoa (see Chapter 5). Some people have temporary and permanent jobs in the Town, and depending on the work arrangement, spend time working in both regions.

From Figure 4.2 to Figure 4.15, I present some images that illustrate Juruti and its lifestyle:



Figure 4.2 – Example of community structure in the Lake area – church often located in the centre and houses built around it.



Figure 4.3 – Example of a typical wood house in the Lake area



Figure 4.4 – Straw house – another traditional method of construction - in the Corridor region, where communities haven't received government funds for building brick houses.



Figure 4.5 – Example of inside a house in the Lake area – limited furniture and appliances.

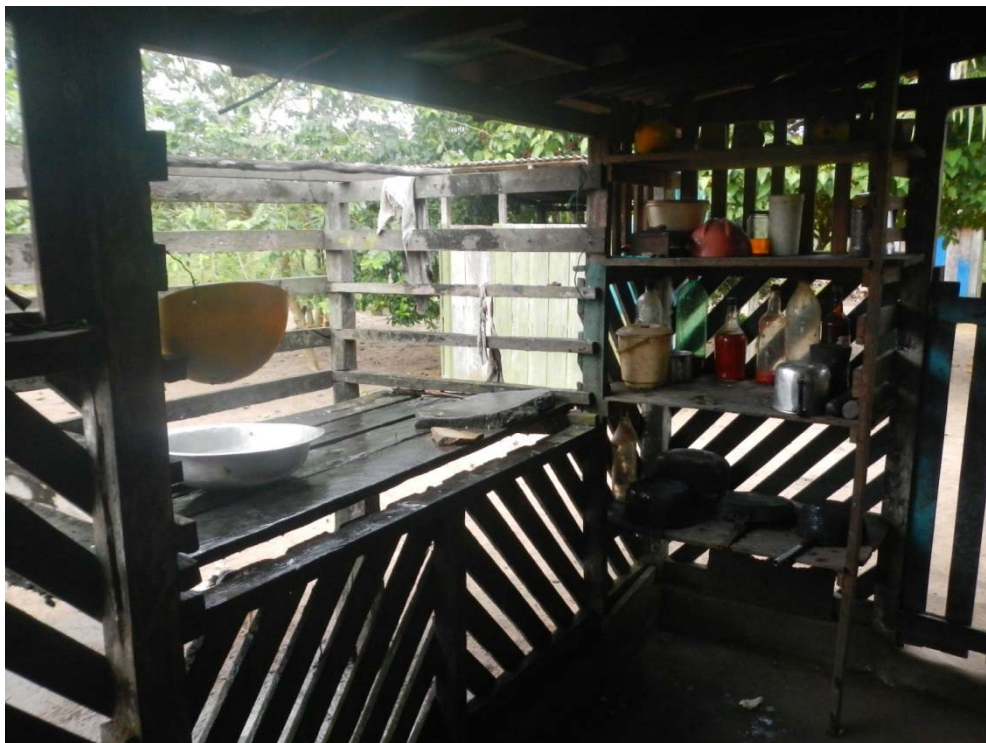


Figure 4.6 – *Girau* – kitchen sink/bench - example in a house in the Corridor



Figure 4.7 – Cassava flour production – toasting stage.

4.3.1.2 Vila Muirapinima

The second area in focus is Vila Muirapinima in the Lake area. Vila is different from the other communities: it is a larger size community populated by more than 600 families. It is the central point in the Lake region and where the regional leadership is located. Therefore, it is a relevant place for people in the region for gaining access to and from the Town, and also for communication and organisational purposes. The place is slowly becoming more urbanised, and the number of houses and new streets are increasing. The Catholic Church built by the Munduruku people centuries ago has been rebuilt, but continues to face the lake. At the time of the fieldwork, Vila had a small port in front of the church, bicycles, motorbikes, and two cars. Vila has a small health centre, a high school, a *delegacia* (police station), and other Protestant churches like the *Assembléia de Deus*. Also found there is a small infrastructure of buildings, and small business in which industrialised food, basic hygiene and cleaning products, tools, and clothes can be bought, although stock is limited. There are no bank agencies and no post offices. The energy supply remains limited in that the generator is turned on twice a day from 7 to 11 am and 4 pm to midnight. More houses there look like the ones in the *cidade*, in that they have more furniture and appliances, which is rarer to see in the houses in the *comunidades*. Economic activities in the region are similar to those found in the communities although, because of its structure, some people work in the local businesses and provide services.



Figure 4.8 – Vila Muirapinima and the Port where boats from the Town arrive.



Figure 4.9 – Vila Muirapinima street – the population is growing fast as well as expansion of streets



Figure 4.10 – Vila Muirapinima central street

4.3.1.3 Juruti Novo – the Town

A significant proportion of the Juruti population (around 40%) is concentrated in the Town, where the *prefeitura* (local level government), other government buildings (e.g., *secretarias*, *câmara dos vereadores*, *delegacia*), and most infrastructure and services available in Juruti are located. There are some options of schools in Town and a new hospital that has been built by Alcoa. The church is the central point, together with the *praça* – a small square with trees and seats – and most commerce is close to it. Juruti has three bank agencies, and a *Casa Lotérica*.¹⁶

¹⁶ Place where people, among others, receive the payments of the *Bolsa Família*.

Although all the streets in Juruti have a name, there are no signs, and directions are given by reference to the church, or another larger building. The Town has 24-hour energy and mobile reception. Juruti has a daily food market close to the Church, and the *Mercado do Produtor Rural* (rural producer market) on Friday mornings, where communities (mostly from the Corridor) sell their seasonal produce. Juruti has two small supermarkets and various kinds of manufactured products, like clothes, electrical goods, furniture, stationery, motorbikes, and material for civil construction. This variety correlates with the arrival of Alcoa. Locals explain that some years ago commerce was much more limited and people had to travel to Santarém and Manaus to find products. Because of transportation costs, goods are expensive in Juruti, but even more expensive in Vila. The movement of commerce varies significantly between the beginning of the month — when most people receive wages and government payments — and the end of it, as by then, their money is often gone. Around 11 am and 12 pm, there are fewer people in the Town centre as many businesses close for lunch for two or three hours; by lunch time it is too hot, and people need some time to rest and digest lunch (similar to the Spanish concept of *siesta*). Although it is the Town and thus the urban centre, Juruti Novo is still a place where, in the afternoons, people put a chair on the path to watch people passing by and to chat. The overall feeling is that, in Juruti, nobody is in a hurry and time flows smoothly.



Figure 4.11 – View of Juruti Town



Figure 4.12 – Commerce in the Town

4.3.2 Access and transportation

The main transportation method in the Amazon region is via water, and Juruti is no exception. In terms of proximity to cities with airports, Juruti is located nine hours from Santarém in a slow boat, and five hours on a fast boat called *lança* (a catamaran); approximately three days from Belém; and approximately two and a half days from Manaus. Because of water transport's dominance, the port in the Town is a busy place all day and night. There are all kinds of boats, from little canoes to big ships, travelling to and from different places in the region such as Óbidos, Oriximiná, Parintins, Faros, Terra Santa, Trombetas, etc. As a result, the port is an important trading centre for the local economy with an intense flow of people and products (*mercadoria*) arriving and leaving the Town at all times. The boats bring products, people, and clients from the rural communities. For people in the communities and Vila, a trip to Juruti Novo provides the opportunity for activities like shopping, going to the bank agency, paying bills and loans, receiving payments, going to see a doctor, and so on.

The transportation methods to access the Town vary depending on the area. In Juruti Velho Lake, the access to Town is mainly via boat, and although some people have their own boats, it is cheaper and faster to catch a public boats go to Juruti Novo. The trip from the Lake region takes place at least once a day on business days, and takes two and a half hours or four hours depending on the boat type (*lancha* or *barco*). These boats depart from Vila Muirapinima, with people from surrounding communities travelling on private boats to Vila. The boats also stop in communities located on the way to the Town, if someone wishes to board. There is also a bus that departs twice a week from the Porto Capiranga in the south region of Juruti Velho Lake. This way is more convenient for nearby communities. As the bus follows the road, it also is a better option for the communities in the Corridor as these have land access to the Town. In the case of these communities, however, many people more conveniently travel on individual motorbikes. To access the paved road built by the company, communities in the Corridor have to travel through unpaved roads that are administered by the *prefeitura* (local government) but are often poorly maintained. Both the bus and boat trips cost R\$10 (AUD5) each way but, because of lack of income, it is frequently the case that just one or a few members of the family travel to the Town at once while the rest stay in the community.

As can be seen, although transportation and access among the areas is possible, distances are far, and travel is not cheap considering the local prices of petrol relative to income. Travel is also slow and difficult. The dynamics of access and transportation are relevant as they affect the flow of information and communication, which is highlighted in the following chapters to be a relevant factor impacting the dynamics of fairness. As further discussed below, low access limits effective communication within the community and with Alcoa. Details on the communicative structures in Juruti and with Alcoa are discussed in the next section.



Figure 4.13 – View of the Juruti Port - Town



Figure 4.14 – People from rural communities travelling to the Town



Figure 4.15 – People from rural communities travelling from the Town with supplies and food

4.3.3 Education in Juruti

In the context of community-company relationships, level of education is inevitably linked to locals' capabilities to negotiate strategically with the company. Therefore, what follows is information about education in Juruti. As observed in the Amazonian regions, public policies on education have been poorly implemented and, as a result, levels of formal education are low. In the rural communities and Vila, there are the *cásulos* — schools for young children managed by a group of nuns in Juruti since the 1970s, which are common in the rural communities and which provide literacy to many citizens. Education is one area where the influence of the Church can be observed, particularly in 'empowering' communities and providing basic services not sufficiently provided by the government.

Most communities have a school covering Grades 1 to 4, while schools offering Grades 5 to 8 are only available in the Town, Vila, and larger communities. High school is only available in the Town and in Vila, where teachers stay for two months then move to another school in other areas of Juruti. At the time of my fieldwork, there were no universities and only distance courses available in Juruti offering mathematics, geography and pedagogy. Because there are no universities in Juruti, all students with higher degrees in Juruti have gained their qualifications in other municipalities. As such, higher education is accessible only to families with higher socio-economic status who can afford the travel expenses and costs of maintaining a student in locations away from Juruti. Juruti also has what is called EJA (Escola de Jovens e Adultos) — a school for the young and adults, providing education for adults who could not complete their studies when younger. Overall, the level of formal education is still very low, especially when compared to state and national rates. Figure 4.16 below illustrates this.

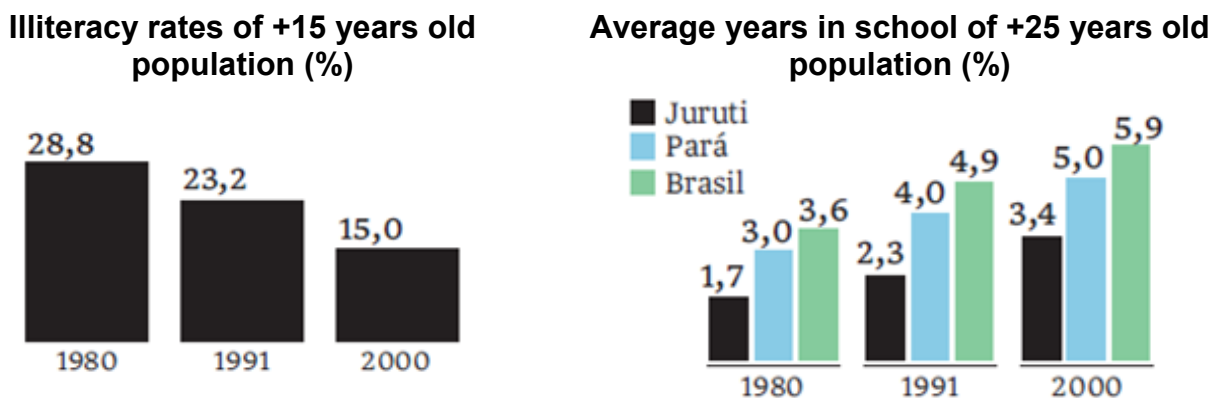


Figure 4.16 – Adult illiteracy rates in Juruti and years spent at school (adapted from FGV, 2011)

As shown in Figure 4.16, according to IBGE data, in 2000, Juruti remained 15 per cent of the population in Juruti was illiterate. School attendance in the region is not a good indicator for literacy. Many people in Juruti can be considered “functionally illiterate” in that they have been to school but can only write their names and read basic sentences. Another observation from the graph above is that, in comparison to Brazil, and the state of Pará, the Juruti population has historically spent fewer years in school. Although the numbers are slowly growing, low access to schooling, a lack of teachers and teaching material, and negligible infrastructure hinders the attainment of high quality basic education in Juruti.

Rural people commonly recount having to give up school to work or because the school was too far for everyday travel. It is also common to hear about young people finishing high school without the resources to keep studying in a larger urban centre, which limits future prospects for employment. Although this study does not focus on the structures of education in Juruti, it mentions the low levels of formal education and the lack of options for people who want to go to universities. These contextual characteristics are central foundations of why in many situations people from Juruti are found in disadvantageous positions compared to the company. Limitations and challenges to access education prevent people from building critical perspectives about mining-related issues, and therefore to negotiate more strategically with Alcoa.

4.4 Interactional dynamics and social networks

This section aims to illustrate the interactional dynamics of Juruti people, including the characteristics of interpersonal interactions and social networks in that society. As it can be observed, in Juruti, besides matters of identity, social acceptance and organisation, personal interactions also underlie communication processes and trust. Although my point is not to engage in a deep discussion of how people in Juruti interact with each other, some of their interactional characteristics are described below, as these are likely to be reflected in the way Juruti people interact with Alcoa employees.

Juruti shares a similar characteristic with other *ribeirinha* communities in the Amazon, in that these communities are formed by one or few, but large, extended families; it follows, for example, the idea of 'we are all family here' discussed by Harris (2000). In many cases, the whole or a big part of the community is part of the same extended family. While this kinfolk-style living can be identified in the Town, it is especially dominant in the rural areas, where families tend to live in the same community or close-by¹⁷.

¹⁷ Families are generally large, but not necessarily organised in nuclear families. It was identified many single mothers, in some cases children from different fathers.

As an example, one of the communities I visited in the Corridor is formed by 13 houses which all belong to brothers and sisters. Their parents were the first to arrive to work in that area, and the community is growing by building houses for their children and respective new families. In another case, one of the communities I visited in the Lake comprises 17 households all owned by two extended families. In another community in the Lake, there were 6 brothers and sisters living in the same community together with sons, daughters, grandchildren, nieces and nephews. In Vila, I engaged with one family with 11 children most of whom are already parents and even grandparents, and they all have very connected lives. In all the cases levels of interdependence could be identified in terms of working in cassava flour production, building and maintaining houses and agriculture fields, and even in sharing food and goods.

In the Town, families are also large with high levels of interdependence. However, as the Town's population is more diverse, interactions also extend to people who are not necessarily part of the extended family, but live close by, have a business relationship, or participate in groups that bring people together through church, school, or local meeting places and celebrations. In the Town for example, it is common to observe people waving to each other, and people give the impression that they know everyone in Juruti, including people from other regions, communities, and families. Because people have large families in Juruti, they are also known to each other and can easily identify other citizens in the streets. The maintenance of these interactions mainly occurs through informal conversations with the '*compadres*', or friends. In all regions, individuals are used to visiting people in their houses and the owners' usual greeting ritual involves offering coffee, or food if it is available.

As the dry and wet seasons require people to move homes to work in the fields, the networks and personal interactions of Amazonian rural communities vary depending on the season (Harris, 2000). While in one season a person may live in the Town, surrounded by people and information, in another season the same person may be isolated in the rural areas working in the fields. Irrespective of the season, however, people travel and migrate constantly between the Town and the rural areas to work, study and to visit family, and these trips are essential to expand their networks and put individuals in contact with others from different communities and regions.

Overall, there are good relationships among people from other communities and regions. This does not mean that there are no disagreements, but generally there are not serious conflicts between communities and regions (although there may be amongst individuals). It could be said that, overall, the Juruti population is connected, and interactions are peaceful. This is especially true if we consider that many people have relatives who have migrated to other communities and to the Town, thereby keeping family relations with people from other regions. It can also be observed that there is certain solidarity between people of different communities and regions. As an example, the practice of *puxirums*¹⁸ and community events indicate how people perceive the distribution of the royalties in the Juruti Velho region and how they relate to the community-company relationship.

In the communities, while people interact on a daily basis, these exchanges become more dynamic in community events like meetings at both the church and the community centre. The parties in the rural communities — usually linked to the date of celebration of the patron saint of the community or local soccer championships — also foster interactions as people mobilise to attend them.

For many people in the rural areas, these parties and games are amongst the few opportunities to engage with people from other communities. It is at these events, for example, that couples get to know each other, leading to marriages and thus migration between communities.¹⁹ Other events like the Cassava Festival in Vila, *puxirums*, the missionary week in the Town, and the great *Festribal* in July also exemplify occasions that intensify personal interactions amongst the Juruti population (including with people from other municipalities) as they create rich environments to connect people, build relationships and exchange information.

¹⁸ A traditional practice whereby people in a community, or region, get together for an initiative that brings advantages to all.

¹⁹ The decision of where to live when getting married is made based on available structure for accommodation and work, and not on specific cultural structures (i.e. based on gender).

Another interesting observation is that 'deals' in Juruti tend to be done informally. For examples, financial loans, sales (or *pendurar*, 'to pay later'), civil construction and maintenance services, and even renting properties, and job relations often take verbal agreements ('*de boca*'). According to the Indicators of Juruti (FGV, 2009), before the arrival of the mine, with a few exceptions, only people working for the government had formal jobs. As people are familiar to each other, and often consider themselves as *compadres* (friends), or members from the same family, formalisation seems not to be necessary, as people are more likely to trust in each other because of these friendship and family ties. However, as expected, many times deals are not honoured and it is common to hear people telling stories about how frustrated they became when people did not fulfil an agreement made. Small conflicts caused by money issues are common.

Although strong connections exist between rural people and those living in the Town, not all individuals, families and groups have the same characteristics and position in Juruti society. Rural people, or the *comunitários*, are often seen as more '*simples*²⁰', humble and, to some extent, more vulnerable because of lack of access to goods and services. In this sense, being in the Town (or having more access to services and structures only offered in the urban area) appears to contribute to a certain feeling of superiority amongst townsfolk compared to those living in the communities.

Of course, many people in the rural areas are very good public speakers, and have strong connections with people all over Juruti, but it is also clear that this does not apply to the majority. The extension of individual networks and interactions influence personal power in the society. For example, individuals with good relations with people working in the *prefeitura* may receive easier access to government employment and benefits. Depending on the existing networks, people may have more individual prestige in the society.

²⁰ The term '*simples*' is strongly used in the Brazilian context to characterize a person who comes from an economically poor background, and is not used to formalities. When someone is referred as '*simples*' it also means that the person has a humble approach to relating to other people, in terms of having a kind, respectful and considerate behaviour. In the thesis the term '*simples*' will be translated as 'simple', although it is recognized that the term in English does not capture the full meaning of the term in Portuguese.

From a relational perspective, personal interactions amongst Juruti society members are relevant because the structure of communication of that society is verbal, being based on networks and friendships through which people receive and share information about events and other matters there. This structure applies to all kinds of information, from *fofoca* (gossip) about neighbours to the initiatives of local government. Even though different channels of communication increasingly result from the advent of new technologies (e.g. *Facebook*), information flow is still mainly done verbally, or *boca-a-boca* (word of mouth). Such communication means that people are more likely to receive information from, and share perspectives with, people with whom they share closer relationships. Therefore, individual opportunities to exercise voice to offer opinion and criticism, and disseminate information depend on existing interactions and networks. They also rely on individual's social position in relation to others.

In addition, the characteristics of personal interactions between individuals also raise issues of trust. Existing interactions between individuals, and friendships, are also linked to the level of reliance and trust in the information received, as people tend to believe in what a closer person (or a friend) is saying. In a place where gossip is a powerful communication channel, and opportunities to verify information are scarce, the level of trust in the individual who is sharing the information affects how people interpret events and situations. The correlation between strings of friendship and trust can also be illustrated by the internal dynamics of how people in Juruti do business: the level of friendship and family connections determine the level of trust given when making an agreement (often informal and verbal). The characteristics of these interactions contribute to, or undermine, the level of trust in the information that is being shared.

4.5 Structures of communication and information flow

Communication and information use five main channels: verbal, written and printed, internet-based, radio, and TV. This section outlines these channels.

4.5.1 Oral channels

Under the traditional characteristics of Amazonian societies that for a long time have been remote and isolated, predominantly informal oral communication has always been the strongest channel of information for individuals and communities.

Not uncommon, however, is that this kind of structure often promotes what Juruti people call '*informação truncada*', or distorted, unfinished, and inaccurate information. For many people, especially in the more remote communities both in the Lake and in the Corridor, this is the only way to receive information with few possibilities to gain clarification or further information.

Where networks are extensive and information is spread individually and informally, gossip becomes a strong channel of communication in Juruti as in many small towns in Brazil. Locals often observe that gossip is a strong practice to create public opinion about people and facts. The content of such conversations are often focused on topics such as other's lives (e.g. '*she is dating him*'; '*they fought because of this*', '*he drunk a lot last night*'). It is also usual to listen people gossiping about money: '*he owes me*', '*I have to pay her*', '*they are in debit with him*', '*and I pay that much*'. Gossip about the local government and the activities of the *prefeitura* and the performance of government employees are also common and strong enough to shape political views and positions of the population. As further discussed, the recognition of gossip as a key communication channel is relevant because just as people gossip about each other lives, they also gossip about Alcoa and the Project. In this sense, gossip has directly affected how people receive information about Alcoa and the Project, how they understand matters related to the mining company and initiatives, and how they build their perceptions about them.

4.5.2 Written channels

Juruti does not have its own printed newspaper, and all kinds of written information are limited. While there is a regional newspaper with news from Juruti and other surrounding municipalities (e.g., *Tribuna da Calha Norte*), only a small number of copies are distributed in Juruti. The internal distribution of this newspaper is also unclear as Juruti does not have a shop that sells newspapers or magazines (there was a business selling national scale magazines but it was closed after the construction period). The only time I saw a copy of it was in the local government offices (*secretarías*). In other words, if accessible, written newspapers are basically limited to people living in the Town, or to rural people who can travel to the Town and are interested and pro-active enough to seek this kind of information.

The majority of the Juruti population does not read newspapers, magazines, or any journals that could increase access to information, although there are certainly exceptions. Written communication channels are also limited due to the fact that a significant percentage of the Juruti population is illiterate or has low levels of literacy as mentioned in section 4.3.3. It means that the habit of reading is uncommon, although it can be observed in other regions of Brazil where people have higher literacy levels. Although reading is not common, written information, when shared and accessible, is received positively. The observed advantage of written information over oral information is that it is often perceived to be more accurate and true because of its more formalised status.

4.5.3 Internet

Internet is a communication channel increasingly used by the Juruti population although mostly in the urban area. With the construction of the Project, Wi-Fi, which was installed in the main *praça* in the Town, has allowed people with computers to connect to and use the Internet.

Nowadays, some families and local business have Internet access, while some businesses also pay for Internet access. However, the most popular form of access to the internet is mobile. Once Juruti received mobile reception, people started to increasingly use internet on their phones. One notable example is the number of people using *Facebook* consistently. Although access is easier for Town people, many individuals in the rural area have also set up a *Facebook* profile and access it when possible. In Vila, people can access the Internet in the headquarters of the local association. News about Juruti can be found in the fairly well-organised and updated online independent newspapers, *Online Juruti*, and *Portal de Juruti*. The local association for the Lake has a blog with its main activities and the prefeitura also has a website, but it is not often updated (lately most of the government activities are being published via *Facebook*). In general terms however, although increasing in relevance and access, the Internet cannot yet be considered a central communication channel for the majority of the population as the levels of digital inclusion are still very low.

4.5.4 Radio and television

Radio reception available in Juruti is regional and based in Oriximiná, Santarém and Parintins. There is only one community radio station in Juruti, the community radio in Juruti Velho, for which all programs are developed and presented by locals.

Radio is popular in the Juruti Velho region as it is a channel to communicate main events in the region (such as community parties, *puxirums*, and various relevant events). The diversity of programming also includes religion, local music, and so on.

During the fieldwork, I observed that, in the Juruti context, television has a strong influence on the lifestyle of people. TV is a strong medium for influencing values and is clearly a factor in helping to shape the interests and aspirations of Juruti people. To some extent, high access to television also affects the community-company relationship as it influences the economic expectations and interests that the local population in terms of the potential benefits of their lives.

In the Town, all the houses and many businesses that I visited had at least one television. It was not surprising to see the number of televisions in Juruti Town as TV's popularity is usually high in every urbanised area in Brazil, even in the Amazon region. In the rural areas, however, it was surprising to note the enormous amount of televisions, even in the most remote rural communities visited. A television and its aerial, which is often shared by the extended family, is in many cases the only appliance in a house. One reason why television in Brazil is so powerful is that it uses oral communication to disseminate information (Silva, 2008). The information provided by television increases its relevance in the Brazilian society; first because it relates to traditionally oral communication; and second because it is easily accessed in areas where illiteracy rates are high (Silva, 2008).

TV shows, especially the *novelas* (soap operas), influence both individual and social behaviour as conversations about TV characters and dramas are common. The *novelas* also promote and influence trends such as local fashion, oral expressions and slang, and musical taste. TV is also the central channel through which the population has contact with other parts of the country and is informed about national politics. While TV certainly is a channel through which education and other relevant information is promoted (Codoner, 2010), it also compares and reshapes individuals interests. The *novela* stories, for example, always present in a very explicit way the dualities between being rich and poor and sell the image of how life can be better when there is high status and money available. If at the subconscious level, *novelas* promote a feeling of participation — even if illusory — in the reality of upper classes (Leal and Oliven, 1988), in practical terms they promote a change to the value people give to money and status, therefore influencing local culture. *Novelas* play a relevant role influencing people to protest their position of vulnerability.

The inevitable comparison of realities impacts on people's self-esteem once they realise their own position and context to be inferior in relation to what they watch on TV as a Brazilian reality. In this sense, it can be observed that TV creates a belief that what is seen in the realities and lifestyles shown in its programs is better than their own reality. *Novelas* also push the population to take part in a consumer society (Almeida, 2001) where people begin to desire what they see.

As a result, when Alcoa arrived and brought in its CSR package proposals for progress and development, it could have created an automatic perception that the arrival of the Project offered the potential channel to gain money and status. This is not to blame TV for the way Juruti people perceive the Project and the potential economic benefits of it, but merely to acknowledge that TV plays a strong role in promoting references to 'the good life', and thus perhaps affects people's interests and how they relate to Alcoa.

While TV has significantly influenced the cultural values of Juruti people, it could not be considered a relevant communication channel for the engagement processes between Alcoa and Juruti people. Although programs now and then present issues associated with sustainability, forest conservation, and even mining (although very rare), the distance between the information presented on TV and the reality of Juruti people minimises its capability to serve as a channel for increasing people's knowledge about mining and the issues facing community-company relationships.

In summary, this section has described some of the main channels through which information flows in Juruti and how communication processes are shaped. Although Juruti has a diversity of communication channels, they are limited with most information still being shared via oral forms and in informal conversations. Most limitations relate to access influenced by the geographical location, economic strength, and educational status of the individuals. The dynamics of information flow and the communication challenges between Juruti and Alcoa are heavily influenced by the contextual communication structure of the society in Juruti. This point is discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4, in which the communication dynamics between Juruti and Alcoa are explained in depth. With an understanding of the context of communication in Juruti, and the characteristics of how communication with Alcoa takes place on a daily basis, the issues affecting fairness in the way population engages and negotiates interests begin to be clarified.

4.6 Forms of social organisation and collective activities

This section briefly illustrates how people in Juruti are organised socially and politically. As discussed in Chapter 2, the forms of social organisation are relevant to how communities negotiate with the company. Traditional forms of organisation inevitably influence and shape the way people, as a community engage with the company. Before the arrival of Alcoa, Juruti already had some degree of social and political organisation. The way communities are geographically structured, the size of the families, and the mutual dependence among people for managing survival activities, have contributed to shaping how people are traditionally organised in Juruti. People in Juruti tend to foster initiatives that aim to benefit the collective rather than individual interests, particularly those determined by the nuclear family. Social action and initiatives also favor the interests of large extended families, neighbors and so on.

Aspects that exemplify the collective characteristic of the Juruti population can be seen, for example, in the form of *puxirums*. This is exemplified in the building of the community centre, doing maintenance work in the school, painting the church, and so on. *Puxirums* also help families with their individual problems, such as helping to harvest cassava and preparing the cassava flour; then the same is done to the helpers when is their time to work in the field. An old lady living in Vila explained to me: “do you know this thing of *puxirum*? We do *puxirum* for all kinds of work, and sometimes we help people and people help us, people invite us and we go”. This structure shows that part of community life is driven not only by individual but also collective interests. This collective characteristic of the Juruti population influences the way people organise internally to relate with Alcoa, as it can be seen that traditionally there is already an existent culture of association to deal with community needs and external actors.

While originally communities were formed by the processes of people moving to a specific area, the political recognition of communities by the government requires them to organise internally to formalise their existence. According to Azevedo (2012), the political recognition of the communities — or the recognition by the local government of the existence of a community in a specific location — happens in parallel with a traditional process based on Catholicism. The local population in the new community choose a patron saint. Once the local priest recognises the existence of the community, he writes a letter to the *prefeitura* asking for that recognition to be official. In cases where population has a different (e.g., protestant) religion, Azevedo says that the process is harder, longer and, at some point, inevitably requires the involvement of Catholic leadership in the region.

The communities have a president as the central leadership, who is chosen by the other members of the community. This political organisation shapes the structure of representation with government and other actors, like the company. The president may be the oldest member of the family, or the person with most capabilities of articulation, levels of education, and interests in community affairs. It may be a male or female, although more often males fill the position. All sorts of matters are discussed in the communities, from internal fights to initiatives related to local government. All people are welcome to participate in the meetings and raise points of interest. The meetings often include the participation of children and are conducted informally. The meetings often use the *centro comunitário* (community-centre), the school, or the church.

The president of the community is often also engaged in religious activities, or has a position of leadership in the local church. This shows that the church has a key role in the political organisation of the people and, at the same time, in the capacitation of individuals for positions of leadership. As mentioned by a leader in a Corridor community: “*the church has courses to teach the young ones to become community leaders*”. In the Juruti Velho region, the Catholic Church has also participated actively in the process of organising those communities. In fact, the Catholic Church has historically been a central actor in the Amazon contributing significantly to the health, education and leadership-building of populations (Hoefle, 2003).

Once the dictatorship in Brazil ceased in 1985, as part of the democratisation processes in the Amazon region, there was an increase in the number of local associations and cooperatives and other forms of collective groups. Nowadays, for example, according to a document obtained in the *prefeitura*, Juruti has around 65 associations. Communities realised that the formalisation of groups was necessary to better organise local activities, and to motivate initiatives and rights from government. Besides associations and cooperatives, people in Juruti are also organised in municipal councils and syndicates of specific work classes such as fisherman and rural workers. There are also other kinds of groups like church groups, women associations, an association for people with disabilities, the *tribos* (folkloric groups) of the Festival, and so on. In fact, most adults in Juruti (or at least one member of the nuclear family) are associated with at least one group such as those mentioned above. It is not uncommon for community members to participate in more than one group. Some of the structures that already exist in Juruti have been maintained to allow the collective representation of community interests relating to Alcoa.

The *politicagem*, or the involvement in local politics, was widely mentioned by people in all areas I researched to be a central characteristic of the Juruti society. The *politicagem* affects Juruti society once it divides the population into groups of support for political parties and candidates. Because each group has its own proposals and perspectives for what is best for Juruti, political disputes affect the relationship with the company and the ways local government understands how Alcoa could be contributing to local development. Each government has its own communication and administrative structures affecting trust in initiatives, for example, concerning the taxes paid by the company. Lobbying, political campaigns and the involvement of individuals in local politics have been widely observed, especially because the fieldwork was conducted in an electoral year. In October 2012, the new Mayor and *vereadores* (city council men) were elected for the next four years. Associations quite commonly have their candidates fight for the interests of the association in the council. As stated by a syndicate leader “if we don’t have someone there, we know it will be four years without receiving anything from the *prefeitura*”. People also recognise that leaders of associations use them to gain votes and become elected. Businessmen as well as religious leaders are also involved in politics.

People in Juruti ask politicians for goods that somehow become part of a campaign, building a kind of ask-and-get relationship with voters. Politicians distribute sets of t-shirts and equipment for soccer teams, as well as other kinds of favours for local populations. I observed a family asking a candidate for soccer shoes for the community soccer team, and the candidate (“because I had promised them”) organised to buy them in exchange for votes. According to reports, this is common practice. During the campaigns, as explained by a few candidates, politicians even expect people to visit them in their houses, saying that people from all different communities ask for favours. It is not rare to hear people mentioning — especially in the rural areas — that in election year many politicians go the communities, become their friends and promise support and improvements to the communities, but once elected they disappear, frustrating expectations. People elect whomever they believe will do something for their own or community interests, depending on the level of relationship with such candidates. Quite commonly, people support candidates from their own family, a friend’s family, or religious groups. The influence of this dynamic on the community-company relationship is that it reinforces the behaviour of people asking for favours and donations from parties that they judge to be more politically and economically powerful.

Before the arrival of Alcoa, existing positions in the local government were the only formalised jobs, and therefore desired by people because they provided a good position, status and power. The idea that the involvement of individuals in local politics is intense is seen in a statement made by an informant engaged in local associations in the Town: “here if you start to engage too much [in civil society groups or councils] people think you have political interests”, which means that if there is an opportunity, sooner or later individuals become candidates.

Although local politics surely affect the approach of Alcoa towards the municipality of Juruti — especially regarding investments with the money from Agenda Positiva and the amounts paid in taxes — there is no clear participation or connection of the company to one specific political party. The political dynamics in Juruti are tense, as they affect the way people organise, and shape the power dynamics of the population. Alcoa does not get publicly involved in political disputes. People in all the areas that I explored did not mention the political relationships of the company, and it was clear from conversations with employees that Alcoa does not intend to get involved in local politics. However, there is a misunderstanding in Juruti about whether Alcoa as a company is socially responsible for the municipality or whether the government remains responsible for public policy, especially in terms of physical infrastructure.

Overall, it can be said that traditionally the society of Juruti is prone to collectively managing some of their interests. Of course this does not mean that the society is free from conflicts of interests and position. However, a cooperative and associative behaviour is generally present to the extent that the presence of community leaders is socially relevant and that communities and groups are often represented by individuals. As observed in more detail in the next chapter, this tendency can be seen as a positive factor in the community’s relationship with Alcoa because the company usually finds it easier to deal with leaders representing other individuals than to engage with the population on an individual basis. In addition, because communities were fairly well-organised before Alcoa’s arrival – although not organised especially to deal with Alcoa– there is a sense of legitimacy in organisational structures that facilitates engagement activities.

4.7 Summary

The community-company relationship does not exist in a contextual vacuum. Therefore, as discussed in section 2.3.4, understanding the cultural and political background of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship is essential for the exploration of the dynamics of fairness, as cultural aspects are important determinants for relationships of this nature. This chapter has explained the main characteristics of the context in which the community-company relationship occurs, particularly by referring to the characteristics of the Amazonian population, namely; its historical social vulnerability, self-identity, and remoteness, which apply to the society in Juruti. I found that communities and their daily dynamics rely on family and community networks as well as collective approaches for better management of their own survival. Informality and limited access to general information and formal education have also been identified as central characteristics.

These contextual and cultural characteristics affect negotiation processes by helping frame who the parties are, and consequently how they tend to relate and negotiate. The element of social vulnerability, for example, is an important contextual aspect to be considered, because it affects the capacity of local populations to negotiate their interests with the company. How the Juruti people live and socialise is relevant to the analysis in following chapters, because some of the challenges of the community-company relationship depend on how relational processes fit the ways communities previously related and negotiated. The next chapter explores the relational processes between Juruti and Alcoa, unpacking the characteristics of the operational level of the community-company relationship.

Chapter 5 The Relational Processes

The objective of this chapter is to map the relational processes of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship to unfold its mechanisms, structures and characteristics. Following the rationale of the conceptual framework introduced in Chapter 2 of this thesis, I focus on the way parties communicate, interact and are organised, and provide some contextual information on how the relationship and related interests were established.

First, a timeline of the relationship is provided, showing that the context of the relationship, and the needs and interests to be managed by the parties, have changed over time. I also present the Sustainable Juruti model, and the main topics identified by the community to be relevant for the Juruti-Alcoa relationship, because the analysis of fairness in the relational processes is focused on how the parties negotiate these. This chapter continues by investigating the channels and mechanisms of communication used by community and company, and the characteristics of the interpersonal interactions between locals and employees. Following, I analyse some aspects of the organisational dynamics of Juruti, and explore the relational dynamics between one specific association and Alcoa in greater detail.

5.1 Installation of the Project and timeline

While the first explorations in Juruti were undertaken in the 1970s, it was only in 2000 that Alcoa bought the mining rights in Juruti, and the new relationship between the parties began. According to the company, the granted area has 700 million metric tons of high quality bauxite, and licenses are valid up to 2100. In 2005, Alcoa had the site's environmental impact assessment (EIA-RIMA) approved by the Pará State, and obtained the provisory license to begin construction. The Project started to be constructed in 2006 and, in 2007, Alcoa organised a public hearing in Juruti as a mandatory event required for the government to grant final licenses to operate. Operations began in 2009. Figure 5.1 shows a timeline of the project that highlights some of the important events.

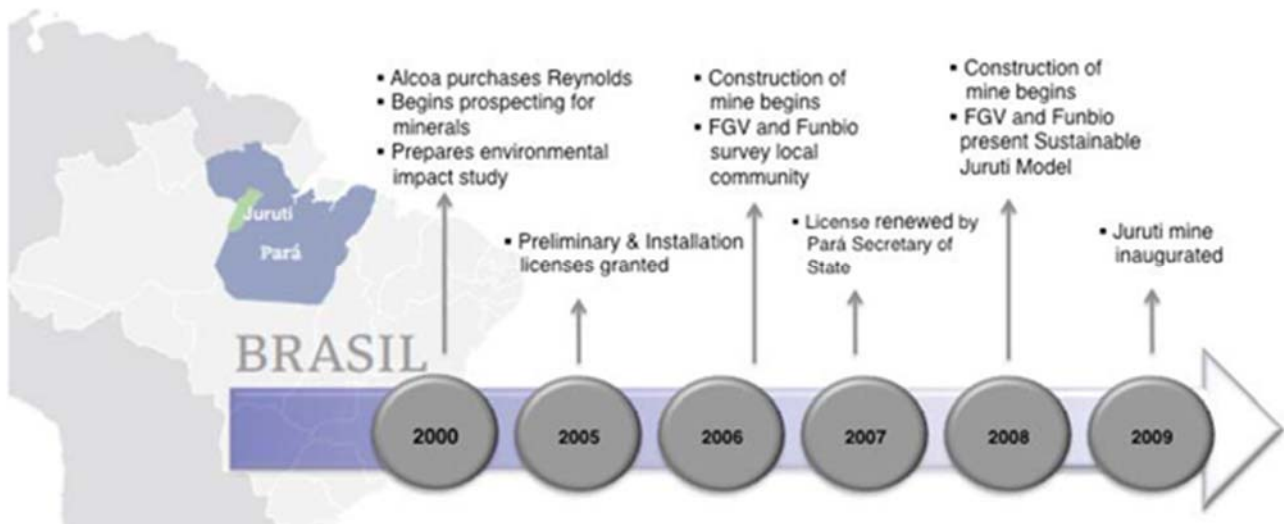


Figure 5.1 – Timeline of Mina de Juruti Project (after Bartolini et al., 2010)

From a negotiation perspective, following the preparation of initial environmental studies in 2000, the company and the community have both been articulating their interests and expectations about the Project. In each stage of the mine, Alcoa's specific interests have been, for example, to obtain and secure government and community approvals, and to manage construction and implementation issues efficiently. On the other hand, the Juruti communities have been more concerned with the possibilities for economic development, and how to manage the different impacts that have varied over the years.

Because the relationship is not static but develops over time, the characteristics of the relational processes between the parties have also evolved and changed. In the following sections, I show that there were relevant variances in communication, interaction, and organisational structures in the pre-operations and operations stages of the Project. It is important to understand the characteristics of different stages of the relationship, as they provide different contexts for the dynamics of voice, capabilities, and trust.

5.2 Alcoa CSR strategy for the Juruti Project

In order to attend to the social demands for a socially responsible performance, Alcoa has engaged with the Centre for Sustainable Studies (GVces) at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV), and FUNBIO (National Fund for Biodiversity)²¹ to develop a strategy for managing the impacts and promoting sustainable development in Juruti. By analysing the public documents published by Alcoa, it can be concluded that, at least rhetorically, Alcoa is following the guidelines of best practice in its CSR discourse and strategy (see below the commitments and principles adopted by the company).

In an interview which is part of Alcoa's CSR material, this idea is highlighted by the CEO who stated that "We want to have in Juruti the best mining project in the world" (GVCes et al., 2008, pg. 30). The CSR strategy was presented to be a 'benchmark' in the mining industry, and therefore a lot of expectations were built around this project. The Alcoa foundations for sustainability and some of the commitments made by the company to support a socially responsible performance are found respectively in Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3 below.

²¹ FUNBIO is a registered non-profit civil association which seeks to develop strategies that contribute to the implementation of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity in Brazil. FUNBIO has been a strategic partner for the private sector, different state and federal authorities, and organised civil society.



Figure 5.2 – Alcoa foundations for sustainability in Juruti

ALCOA Commitments

1. Declaration of the President's "Corporate Social Responsibility and Human Rights";
2. The Alcoa Code of Conduct;
3. The Business Pact for Integrity and Against Corruption – Ethos;
4. Charter of Principles Associated with the Ethos Institute for Business and Social Responsibility Confronting sexual violence against children and adolescents;
5. Covenant Action Defense Climate – CEBDS;
6. U.S. Climate Action Partnership or United States Climate Action Partnership (USCAP) (Alcoa Inc.);
7. Open letter to Brazil on Climate Change;
8. Position Paper on Climate Change CEBDS-developed by the Brazilian Business Council for Sustainable Development, joined the World Business Council for Sustainable Development;
9. Copenhagen Communiqué;
10. The principles and values of the Green Building Council;
11. The Letter of Commitment of the Members of the Sustainable Amazon Forum;
12. Business Movement for the Protection and Sustainable Use of Biodiversity;
13. Code of Ethics Institute of Environmental Lights Brazil;
14. The Principles of Aluminum for Future Generations program of the IAI (Alcoa Inc.);
15. The ICMM Principles - World Council for Mining and Metals (Alcoa Inc.)

Figure 5.3 – Alcoa commitments to a fair performance in Juruti

According to Abdalla (2010), a Sustainability Regional Manager at Alcoa, the main engagement strategy adopted by the company to deal with socio-environmental and social related challenges and impacts in Juruti, was to incorporate in their practice principles of sustainability and mutual cooperation between the company and civil society. These principles have resulted in the development of a model to foster local sustainable development of Juruti, called the Sustainable Juruti Model (GVCes et al., 2008), which is shown in Figure 5.4.

The model is what they call a 'Tripod' composed by the Juruti Sustainability Indicators, Sustainable Juruti Council (CONJUS), and the Sustainable Juruti Fund. These indicators are a compilation of information that maps and shows the main changes in Juruti throughout the years. The Indicators have been developed by the Centre of Sustainability Studies of Getúlio Vargas Foundation in São Paulo, and the aim of the Project was to develop a tool for Alcoa, Juruti, government, and civil society to understand and monitor the changes, impacts, and the development of Juruti.

CONJUS is a community Council created to discuss initiatives to promote sustainable development in Juruti²². The council has seven 'Technical Committees' that focus respectively on rural and urban development, health, environment, education, culture, tourism, and infrastructure. CONJUS was developed to function as 'a public space for dialogue and permanent action to improve the municipality composed of participants from the company, civil society and the local government'. The Council is currently managed through a partnership Alcoa has with FUNBIO.

The Sustainable Juruti Fund has been established to support initiatives and other projects prioritized by the Council which are managed by FUNBIO, Alcoa and CONJUS. At the time of fieldwork, FUNBIO was also building the capacity of local leadership, so in the future local people will be able to manage the council by themselves. Figure 5.3 below explains the rationale behind the model.

²² www.conjus.org.br

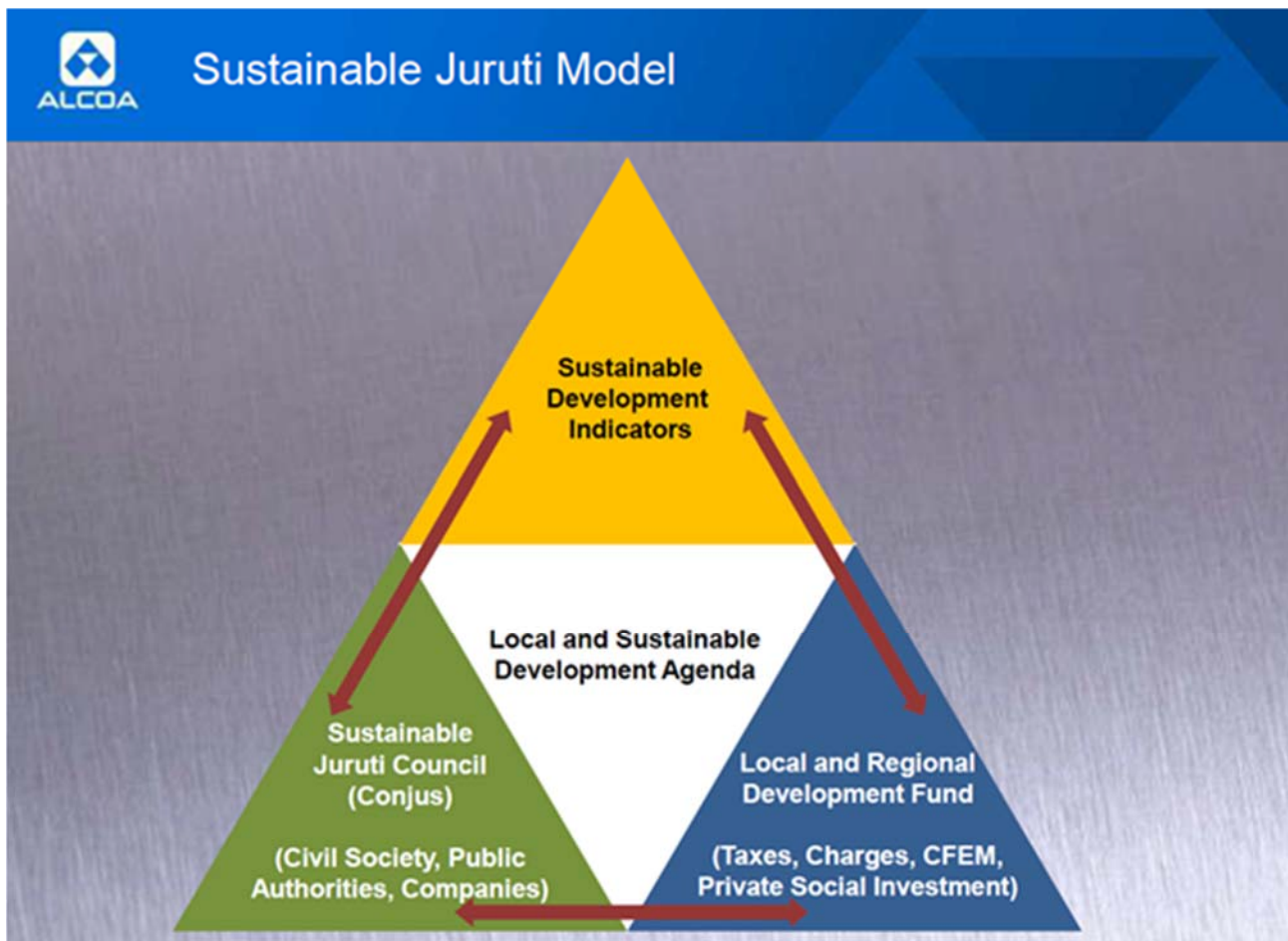


Figure 5.4 – Juruti Sustainable model developed by Alcoa and partner institutions (Alcoa, 2012)

Previous works conducted in Juruti suggest that while at the policy level Alcoa's CSR strategy can be seen as a potential approach to build a fair community-company relationship, and to contribute to sustainable development, in practice the reality seems to be far from such a goal. The implementation of the model has been regarded as ineffective and faulty overall, and researchers have questioned the ability of the Juruti Mine Project to foster sustainable development and social justice in Juruti (Sampaio, 2013, Barros, 2012, Schroering, 2008; Costa et al., 2011, Born, 2008). For example, Borba (2012) has argued that one of the greatest challenges of the Sustainable Juruti Model is the fact that local population lack the knowledge about the existence of the model and its objectives. Researchers from Columbia University have conducted an independent review to assess CONJUS's ability to provide Alcoa with critical feedback (Bartolini et al., 2010). They concluded that issues such as the fact that the council was created by the company and is not well known by population, as well as administrative challenges are functioning to limit the ability of the council to work as a channel for participative engagement with the company.

5.3 Objects of negotiation: interests at stake and topics of discussion

In this section, some of the central topics in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship are identified. Throughout the years, Juruti population and Alcoa have engaged in discussions about a variety of topics (called here the 'objects of negotiation'). These objects are related to the stage of the mine, but also vary depending on the region, as each of the three regions analysed has some specific interests and impacts.

During construction, for example, Alcoa and the communities in the Transport Corridor and in the region of Terra Preta (where the Port is situated today) negotiated for land access and compensation. Families in those regions needed to sell their lands to the company, while others were compensated once the road and/or the train paths crossed their agriculture fields. Once Alcoa began to operate, the company also negotiated the payment of royalties with the local association that represents the interests of the communities in the Lake region as the mine is located in the PAE-Juruti Velho (detailed information about this case is found in the section 5.7.2). Although these negotiations are finished, they represent important events in the relational processes between the parties.

The parties still have numerous objects of negotiation that are active because they have not been resolved. Alcoa and the Juruti communities still debate, for example, the environmental impacts of the Project. Although most of the impacts were felt during the construction, communities still complain about these environmental changes. For the dwellers of the Corridor region, for example in São Pedro community, the noise of the train was raised as an issue. In the Café Torrado community, the damages caused to the creek and compensation packages remain active objects of negotiation with the company.

In the Lake region, some informants mentioned existing concerns about the amount of water Alcoa is pumping from the Lake. People also complain about the deforestation and its impacts on activities like hunting and collecting Brazil nuts²³. Some informants in that region have also expressed concern about Alcoa's future plans after hearing that the company may be expanding the mining area to the region where some communities are currently located. Many promises made during the pre-operations stage were not fulfilled, and therefore remain active in the negotiation process. Issues related to insufficient infrastructure like roads, hospitals, and schools are also raised by people in the Town and in rural regions as continuing issues.

The CSR strategy developed by Alcoa, the Sustainable Juruti Model and its related initiatives, is another object that the Juruti populations and the company continually negotiate about. The implementation and management of FUNJUS and the CONJUS, for example, require constant engagement with the communities so they may implement their objectives. Negotiations also relate to the *Agenda Positiva*, the Plans of Environmental Control (PCAs), and the implementation of social Projects. The PCAs involve both the environmental activities of the company, and social activities, which include constructing and implementing infrastructure in the communities along the Corridor that have felt impacts. These negotiations were still in process at the time of research. The social projects implemented by Alcoa to foster the economic development of the impacted families also require continual attention and engagement between the parties (and NGOs working as partners).

²³ There is also a belief in communities closer to the Project, which I heard a few times, that the dust produced by the mine covering the trees is affecting their ability to generate fruits.

On a daily basis and smaller scale, Alcoa also negotiates with populations from the three regions about general requirements that usually involve financial assistance. According to one of the employees working directly with community issues, these requirements often involve support for infrastructure and material for community events. There are individual and family requirements for medicine, material for constructing houses, and community infrastructure. Some local associations also request assistance for implementing projects or buying material. Alcoa also negotiates with local businesses that have provided services for the company since the first stages of the Project. These businesses include, for example, the owners of the hotels that accommodate employees.

Lastly, as part of the promises made in the public hearing stage, employment is also a central object of negotiation. Many expectations about opportunities for work (and economic growth in general) were formed and remain an object of negotiation still not resolved by the parties. In summary, the main objects of negotiation between the people from Juruti and Alcoa are the following:

- License to operate – population approval
- Community support (events, infrastructure)
- Land acquisition and compensations
- Funding and participation in Social Projects
- *Agenda Positiva*²⁴
- Individual support (medicines, financial help, etc.)
- Royalties
- PCAs
- Complaints about environmental impacts and disturbances
- Association support
- Sustainable Juruti Model implementation and management (e.g. CONJUS, FUNJUS)
- Employment

²⁴ Negotiated directly with government without direct/significant population's participation.

As can be seen, the community-company relationship faces a variety of issues that are objects of negotiation between the parties. Once it becomes clear what kind of topics are negotiated between the communities and companies, fairness in the relational processes can be better identified empirically by focusing on how parties manage those. In the next section, I discuss the relational process and how the parties articulate such objects of negotiation.

5.4 Pre-hearings and Public-hearings: building expectations about the relationship

As a means to obtain its license to operate, in 2007 Alcoa organised a public-hearing in Juruti to discuss the Project's impacts and benefits with local populations and other key stakeholders. Before this hearing, however, Alcoa conducted what are called 'pre-hearings', or meetings in the communities to prepare the population for the official event. These hearings were very important to the Juruti-Alcoa relationship as they laid the basis for the population's expectations of the Project, and functioned as a communication channel for people to gain information and to ask questions.

According to reports, the pre-hearing meetings were done in some of the larger communities in the Lake, the Corridor, and other regions of Juruti. Some informants spoke of two objectives of these events: to share some initial information about the Project, and to encourage people to attend the official event. As the events occurred in the communities, many people found it easy to access them with some informants in the Lake area describing theirs to be like a 'party', and always with food provided. In a place like Juruti, where entertainment activities are limited, such an event is quite appealing, and was welcomed by the population.

From a relational perspective, it was at this stage of the pre-hearings and public hearings that most of the expectations about the relationship were created. In addition, having only preliminary licenses to operate, Alcoa was clearly interested in building a good reputation among the Juruti population because gaining a favourable corporate image at that stage would strategically help Alcoa to receive the approvals. This strategy would also help to minimise the risk of conflicts with the community and potential Project delays. The strategic nature of these events can be observed in the following words of an ex-Alcoa employee who had worked in the organisation and attended these events:

[...] Everything was engineered. [...] my work was somehow to encourage/incite the population to agree with the Project, to believe that the Project was the answer to Juruti, as I indeed believed at that time. [...]. I'd sold the Project. I'd sell all these ideas about Alcoa and mining, jobs, incomes, commerce, all this 'Christmas tree', everything. [...] Alcoa would sponsor t-shirts, caps and all other brindes [gifts], and also sponsor some communities' needs [in terms of infrastructure]. We could get money through Alcoa, to some financial support, and so on. That's why we²⁵ say that, in this way, there was some manipulation.

Alcoa was building a perspective that, with its arrival would come opportunities for 'economic and sustainable development'. Reports from informants in all three regions mention that Alcoa's discourse emphasised 'progress', 'development', and 'sustainability' for Juruti. The idea that the Project would be positive for Juruti was both explicitly expressed through the discourse of Alcoa, but also implicitly as Alcoa was being presented as a wealthy and rich company. For example, this image was reinforced when the company arrived at these community events in "*big and pretty boats*" with promotion material such as free food and gifts of corporate shirts and caps. Any negative community concerns and questions were thus curbed by Alcoa's approach to fostering the community-company relationship to raise the communities' hope in the Project. However, I also found that informants tended to interpret this approach as manipulative. Also significant was that some leaders I interviewed compared the arrival of Alcoa in Juruti to the historic arrival of the colonising Portuguese in Brazil when gifts were distributed to gain the confidence of the indigenous people.

²⁵ People sometimes make statements using 'we', not necessarily having a specific group of people in mind. The 'we' is used in order to show that the opinion is not only personal, but is also shared amongst other people. It is also used as a protective tool because when we using 'we' instead of 'I' there is less exposition of the self.

Nevertheless, data I collected in all regions showed that local populations were also strongly interested in the economic potential of the Project. This general interest has encouraged communities to negotiate with Alcoa. Because it was clear that people in Juruti wanted to earn more money, and to gain hospitals, roads, and schools for their children, their perception of the Project was positive. A couple of informants referred to Juruti as a very '*feio*' (ugly) place, and even 'non-existent' on the Brazilian map. The arrival of Alcoa was seen as an opportunity to improve the locals' quality of life, and 'to exist'. As mentioned by a lady from the Lake, '*Juruti was like: it is now or never that we develop! Alcoa was our chance*'.

For the official public hearing, which is a mandatory requirement for acquiring approvals to operate, Alcoa organised what came to be known as 'the first major event in Juruti' (apart from Festrival). The infrastructure built by Alcoa for the event was also seen as a symbolic example of Alcoa's power to bring benefits to Juruti. Around 7,000 people attended the event, and informants recalled that on that day '*Juruti was 100% Alcoa*'. There were very few people directly opposing Alcoa (mainly people from the Lake region), and there were no violent conflicts. The event has been described by a few participants as a 'big party'. In Table 5.1 I provide some of the characteristics of the pre hearings and the official public hearing in Juruti, and list some of their implications for relational processes.

Table 5.1 – Pre and Public hearings: characteristics and implications for the relationship

Pre-hearings: community meetings	
<i>General characteristics</i>	<i>Implications for relational processes</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undertaken in the communities in all regions (but not all visited individually) • Arrival in ‘big’ and ‘pretty’ boats • Food and gifts provided • High participation of locals • Alcoa explaining corporate strategies to bring benefits to population, and to address mining related impacts • Opportunities to ask questions • Invitations for the official public hearing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key events for expectation building • General promises of ‘development’, ‘progress’, and ‘sustainability’ • Strong information flow about the issues that matter for the relationship (impacts and benefits)
Public Hearing: the official event	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the Juruti Town • Perceived to be the major event ever done in Juruti (major infrastructure built) • More formalised due to legal requirements • Transportation, food, shirts and entertainment provided • Around 7000 people participated, and only a small number of people (mainly from the Lake region) were directly opposing the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly strategic events for: (1) acquiring government approvals, (2) reputation (Juruti as the business case for Alcoa), and (3) trust building with affected communities

5.5 Structures and channels for communication

During my time in Juruti, I asked individuals how they could access Alcoa in case they might want to say something or request information. The idea was to map the communication channels available during such cases, and how people perceive and use them. The channels most recognised were (i) going to the Alcoa’s office in the Port, (ii) sending a written *ofício* (official letter) to the company requesting information or an appointment to discuss the issue, or (iii) through a local association (this was especially perceived in the Lake region). In addition, some other means of communication were identified, though not as recurrent as the above: (a) community visits by Alcoa staff, (b) the Alcoa newsletter, (c) CONJUS meetings, and (d) gossip and informal conversations. As can be seen in Table 5.2, these channels of communication have written and oral forms, a distinction I found useful in organising the discussion of these channels.

Table 5.2 – Communication channels and structures of information flow

Verbal	Written
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community visits and meetings• Gossip and informal interactions with employees• <i>Centro de Referência</i> (closed)• Visits to Alcoa office in the Port• CONJUS meetings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Newsletter (one way communication)• <i>Ofício</i> (formalised communication)

5.5.1 Visit to Alcoa’s office

During the construction stage, Alcoa opened what was called the *Centro de Referência* located in the heart of the Town, with easy access for people in the urban area. The Centre was a relevant channel for oral communication as people could ask questions, and make requests to Alcoa. However, Juruti people say that after the construction stage, the Centre was closed and employees attend to people in an office located in the Port.

While the consulted employees working with community enquiries believed this change had no effect on the community-company relational dynamics, many community informants believed that closing the Centre negatively affected their access to Alcoa. Some individuals, especially from the rural areas, did not feel comfortable walking into a corporate space. One business man from the Town, for example, told me that some people felt intimidated going to the Port and having to face security guards. Evidence showed that people also felt intimidated because their everyday attire (e.g., simple clothes and sandals) contrasted with the attire of those working for the company (good quality uniforms and safety boots). In addition, while the Centre was more informal (people walking could simply enter and engage in a conversation), the visit to the Port seems to be more serious requiring visitors to prepare to go to Alcoa’s office. In other words, the closure of the Centre narrowed the opportunities for dialogue between the parties and thus the opportunities for the general population to exercise voice.

5.5.2 Community visit and meetings

A significant part of the communication between Alcoa and Juruti occurs through employees' community visits. In such meetings, people from the community are able to receive information from the company about relevant matters and talk with employees. Visits and meetings function as oral channels for communication, which are inevitably shaped by interactional matters (discussed in the next section).

According to many locals of both the Corridor and Lake Regions, the meetings were more frequent in the pre-operations stage as Alcoa sought to explain the impacts of the construction, and to negotiate land and land access. Because it served the interest of Alcoa, informants remember that it was easier back then to request meetings when community members wanted to communicate with the company. Informants also said the company was more willing to promote community meetings then than subsequently during the operations stage. Currently, visits can only be requested on written forms, in line with corporate bureaucracy.

5.5.3 CONJUS

There are some people in the Town, mainly individuals involved in the Council and Alcoa employees, who identify CONJUS as a channel for communication with the company. In the CONJUS meetings, there are always representatives from Alcoa, local associations, and government. Although the central aim of the Council is to discuss initiatives to foster sustainability in Juruti, some informants pointed out that the Council also works as a channel for letting the company know about disturbances and community complaints – as individuals meet company employees in these meetings. However, one informant said that the Council is not organised for this end, and therefore complaints and requests received at these meetings are not necessarily taken seriously and escalated internally within the company.

Another barrier to functioning as a channel for dialogue faced by the Council is that, in practice, not many people know of its existence; informants in the Town, but especially in rural regions, said they have never heard of it. Another barrier is a lack of clarity about the objectives of the Council, an issue that was raised by a participant who is a leader in the Town. Because the fragilities of the Council's operation have already been researched in an independent review conducted by Columbia University (Bartolini et al., 2010), further discussion is unnecessary in this thesis except to say that CONJUS remains limited as a viable channel of communication. The result is that the population is limited in how members express their voice, as is this a means of trust-building between Juruti people and Alcoa.

5.5.4 *Ofício* (written document)

While people can still communicate with employees orally, most types of requests are perceived by the population to be acceptable only if formalised via a written document. This formalisation involves the *ofício*, a written letter for (say) inviting Alcoa for community visits, to raise issues, and to seek support or information from Alcoa. Besides verbal channels, parties have used written forms to exchange information to the extent that locals in the three regions perceive written forms of communication to be the primary means for engaging with the company.

Alcoa employees see this formalisation of requests in written formats as the company's means to increase accountability and foster efficiency in internal management. One employee said about the period of construction that: '*things were messier and there was no internal control*'. Even though many promises were made to communities, there was no previous information to prove and track these promises leaving the potential for these commitments (e.g., Alcoa to buy water tanks for communities, or to build a school in the Corridor region) to remain unfulfilled.

Therefore, to organise community requests, and to 'stabilise the mining operation' (jargon used by employees), oral requests began to be denied with only written forms accepted. In the Corridor, for example, the written form has been acknowledged as the main way of contacting the company. As it has been stated in one of the communities, people can go to the company but this does not solve any problem. Informants in the region, including some house owners and a community leader, perceived that the *ofício* is often necessary.

Communities said that their access to Alcoa was easier during the construction period because the company saw it as in their interest to maximise their relationship with the community. Verbal forms of requests, promises and agreements were accepted by the company. This changed once the train line and the road were built, and operations began.

In the Juruti Velho region, most people have acknowledged that communication with the company is done via the Association of the Communities in the Juruti Velho Region, or 'ACORJUVE'²⁶. The standard process would be to inform the coordinator/president of the community who would then communicate with the leadership of the association about the case. The association then takes ownership of the matter and communicates it in written forms with Alcoa. As one leader said, feedback is then given to the community person who has raised the matter.

Under this structure, the individual does not have an opportunity to participate directly but has to rely on action from the association. Therefore, *ofícios* are prepared and sent to the company, shaping a more formalised structure for the negotiation of interests of the people in the Lake. In the association, leaders say that '*everything with Alcoa has to be written — they want it like that and we do too because everything gets registered*' reinforcing the perception that written and formalised forms of communication are better accepted by both parties. In addition, all the negotiations of royalties have also been undertaken using written and formalised structures.

5.5.5 Newsletter

Since the beginning of the implementation of the Project, Alcoa has created the *Jornalzinho*, a newsletter developed to inform people about Alcoa's main activities in promoting CSR strategies to deal with environmental and social impacts. This communication channel could be seen as a tool to spread relevant information and to promote awareness of the Project.

²⁶ Detailed information about ACORJUVE is presented in section 5.7.2.

At the time of my field work, the *Jornalzinho* was released every three months — according to reports the newsletter was issued monthly during the construction period — and the 3,000 copies printed were mainly placed in Alcoa's office, the CONJUS office, and in Town-based associations closely working with Alcoa. In the rural areas, it was rarely mentioned as a channel to obtain information about the company, showing that people either knew nothing about it or did not recognise it as a relevant channel.

In addition, while the information flow through the newsletter could enlighten the population somewhat, it could be described as one-way communication. In other words, while people may receive the information that the company judged to be relevant, such communication does not lend itself to proper shared dialogue; the newsletter merely disseminates information rather than encouraging two-way communication.

For example, some of the informants who acknowledged the newsletter as a channel for accessing information from Alcoa also perceived the publication to be self-serving and biased. As mentioned by a local in the Town '*it just shows the good side and the good things Alcoa claims to do*'. In addition, despite the efforts of the company to present information clearly, some informants also commented that the way some of the information is presented (for example, the amount of taxes paid to the *prefeitura*) is too technical to be clearly understood by the majority of population.

5.5.6 Gossip and informal conversations

Routinely, information about Alcoa and the Project is also communicated through informal conversations between locals and employees. Gossip is an important channel for information flow in Juruti, and much information about Alcoa is spread in the form of rumour. Such gossip may sometimes be generated in the community because of the diverse ways that individuals receive, interpret, and share information with employees and community members.

Gossip about Alcoa often results in perceptions and opinions that may not reflect accurately the situation; for example, gossip about the management of the tailings dam and the fear communities have that it could explode at any time. In the Juruti Velho region, people gossip that Alcoa steals money from the royalties, and does not pay the correct amount to the association. Another example relates to Alcoa's financial situation, with some people saying that it does not have resources left to invest in Juruti. Although employees in the CR area acknowledge the strength that gossip has in Juruti, it seems to continue unabated. Because institutions make little effort to prevent or clarify these rumours, they become truth for the people who lack other means to access or check information. Such (mis)communication impacts on the relationship by influencing perceptions and opinions about the Project, and raises issues of trust (or lack thereof).

We have seen in this section that Alcoa and Juruti have used both written and oral forms of communication to share information and ultimately negotiate interests. However, the oral form seems to be less effective for the community to negotiate with company even though the latter has an advantage in building public relations. The written information used by the company has been done inconsistently and thus has fallen short of being convincing and building their audience's trust. Other channels put in place by Alcoa, for example, CONJUS have not been recognised by the community as useful for articulating their interests and assisting their decision-making.

5.6 Community-company interpersonal interactions

The arrival of Alcoa in Juruti meant not only the arrival of a physical structure but also of a great number of people to the municipality. These migration processes impacted upon local's structures of interactions, and extended their existing network of relationships by creating new contexts for social interaction. Before Alcoa, Juruti people would rarely interact with people from other parts of Brazil, let alone people from other countries. With the arrival of the company, these kinds of interaction became common.

The immigration process of the Alcoa workforce had two different stages: construction and operation. During construction, although it was Alcoa's Project, most of the employees were working for other companies, the largest one being the Brazilian civil constructor, *Camargo Correa*. In this stage, there were many more employees from Juruti and Pará state (FGV, 2009) and, according to informants, many of them came from the northeast of the country. Once the Project was completed and operations began, the workforce changed causing a considerable decrease in the number of employees from Juruti and northeast of Brazil, and a significant increase in the arrival of employees from the southeast of the country. Although each stage contained specific dynamics, overall the processes of immigration have contributed to increase diversity of the population and the cultural background of the Juruti society. This applies especially if we consider the significant cultural differences between Amazonian local communities and large urban centres in the south of Brazil.

Because there is no fly-in fly-out work for the Alcoa Project, employees who moved to Juruti live in the Town. As has been mentioned by employees, Alcoa used this strategy to foster the integration of its workforce with locals. At the time of the fieldwork, employees were found in two kinds of accommodation: living with their families in Alcoa rent-assisted housing; and single workers (or workers who had travelled away from their families) living in temporary accommodation, such as local hotels. Some employees living in hotels said that such temporary living has caused them to feel and be seen by locals as not really belonging to the Town. These workers are obviously subject to different relationships with the locals which are characterised by unique structures and sets of interests.

In fact, the networks of relationships between Alcoa employees and the wider Juruti population are numerous and complex²⁷. Individual interactions involve different and multiple interests that are not limited to the objects negotiated with the company. On a daily basis, these interactions are also formed by social interests and other needs that may involve friendship and family ties, business relations, sexual interests, and so on. These differences determine the interactions people undertake and the networks they develop.

5.6.1 A new social class in Juruti — the ‘Alcoanos’

After exploring local interactions between locals and employees, I argue that Alcoa employees have created a new social class in Juruti in which they are known as *Alcoanos*. Locals know who they are and refer to them as such although the term is used for identification and not used pejoratively. The *Alcoanos* are known to always ‘*walk in group*’, and many of them stand out among the locals who have extensive networks and know each other well. Many *Alcoanos* also have whiter skin and different physical features and character traits²⁸.

As stated by an employee working with community issues “*here [in Juruti] you are not only X, but ‘X from Alcoa, Alcoa becomes your family name and everyone will speak about you calling you like this’*”. This shows that sometimes the identity of the self and the identity of the institution overlap (discussed in next section), and reinforces the idea that the *Alcoanos* are somehow differentiated from the locals.

²⁷ The complexity is also reflected on the fact that, in many moments, this dichotomy between ‘community’ and ‘company’ falls apart as there are individuals ‘sons of Juruti’ working for Alcoa, and therefore participating simultaneously in both community and company settings.

²⁸ This discrepancy is easier observed in the rural areas, where the cultural backgrounds and lifestyle of locals and employees are even more different. However, most employees that engage with people in the rural areas are ‘on duty’ and working with community related issues, and therefore the interactional dynamics are different, as discussed in the next section

Whereas employees need to build connections with locals in order to manage their lives in Juruti, these interactions have not necessarily fostered an organic integration between them. By observing local-employee interactions, it can be said that there is a sort of 'separation' — even if unforeseen and not necessarily conscious — between employees and locals. It is not a radical separation or exclusion, neither it is violent or threatening; however, it exists and is perceived both by employees and locals. An ex-employee who has worked with community matters during the construction of the Project stated:

There is no integration. If you go to the pubs and restaurants you see that the population did not follow the growth and evolution brought by Alcoa — especially because [the population] was not prepared for that — and so they [locals] don't have an integrated relationship with Alcoa employees, even though this was the initial idea, that employees would participate in the local life.

Working for Alcoa comes with a certain sense of prestige so that employees reach a higher status in Juruti society. Alcoa is undoubtedly the best place to work in Juruti both because of its better earning capacity and its working conditions, in that employees have formalised benefits and hours. *Alcoanos* in general bring with them higher levels of formal education and skills in contrast with most of the local population who have low literacy levels and skills and are mostly engaged in subsistence activities and basic services. In comparison, locals are aware that they are much more vulnerable because they do not have as much access to education and income.

A woman from the Town illustrated this perceived differentiation stating that:

Most people [employees] just want to hang out with people from Minas and São Paulo, because it is nicer and more interesting for them, and because the people are prettier, speak correctly, and so on. It is not that they think like that, but they act like that. And our actions send messages as well, sometimes they say things more than words. And [local] people feel that.

While both statements indicate some division between locals and employees, this division leaves Juruti people in an 'inferior' position. In other words, Juruti people feel they '*did not follow the growth and evolution*', and may '*not be as pretty and speak as employees do*', as it has been mentioned in conversations. Irrespective of the intentionality of these messages, their dynamics strengthen perceptions of inequalities and asymmetries among the people concerned.

These perceptions of inequality, and even mediocrity, became stronger when I began to explore what kind of perceptions locals believe Alcoa employees have about the local population. Many informants answered in a self-depreciating way, stating that locals believe employees think that *'we were all indigenous here'*, to be indigenous in this context is depreciative as it points to the idea of a 'savage' who cannot operate correctly in the 'white' system. Community people describe Alcoa as the *'all powerful'*, or that *'Alcoa is a big fish'*, *'Alcoa rules here'*, *'Alcoa has a lot of money'*, *'they are gente grande (big people)'*, etc. This perception of the company as a powerful and strong institution with employees who interact with local population from a position of superiority reinforces the interpretation that the community comprises inferior people and that the community-company relationship is unequal.

It was also stated in the Lake area that: *'they think we are stupid because we haven't been to school and we live in the communities'*. Similarly, in the Corridor it was perceived that *"they think we are ignorant because we are from the community and we're not used to the things they are used to"*. In the Town, a local man stated *"people think that in Juruti there are just indigenous people and this is disrespect"*. In Juruti Velho, an informant stated that *'they [Alcoa employees] think we are all stupid, but the communities have shown [through the royalties' case] that we are not'*.

This kind of depreciative perception about the Juruti population was observed both in the rural and urban areas, although it was particularly strong where the contrast is greater (for example in the smaller and most remote rural communities). Such a perception is relevant for relational justice because feeling inferior, or believing that others think you are ignorant is disempowering in every situation, especially when it comes to articulating relevant interests (Freire, 1972, Goffman, 1967). This is epitomised when many informants said that they are 'community people', and therefore they are 'simple' people. In this context, the concept of 'simple' encompasses the idea of humble, poorer, and economically vulnerable people who are not used to more formalised interactions. This can be observed in the statement below, made by an informant who works for the local government:

The problem is that when Alcoa employees arrive, they believe they will find just indigenous people and that they will find animals on the streets, and thus come with a southern and discriminatory vision. Because they [outsiders] perceive the simplicity of the [local] people, they realise that there will not be space for more technical and intellectual conversations.

Consequently, it is clear that locals feel upset and frustrated with the employees and their comments that Juruti is socially and civically not a good place to live. The statement below, from a lady who now lives in the Town but has moved from the Terra Preta neighbourhood, exemplifies the problem:

It is right to say that Juruti cannot provide the same comfort that a big city or a capital can, but many people come to us and say ‘this town does not have anything, it is a bad place. People here are ugly and ignorant’. We, who are from here, we get upset with this, we feel hurt. I think ‘Well, you came from far away, but it is here that you are living your life and earning money. You should not talk bad things about us and our place’.

This research does not aim to engage deeply in the characteristics and emotions expressed through the interpersonal interactions between employees and locals. Nevertheless, it was clear from the analysis of the data that these types of perceptions and comments function as barriers for the integration between the local population and employees. Ultimately, this perceived ‘differentiation’ and ‘inferiorisation’ affect the ability of the community and company to communicate with each other. These circumstances lay the groundwork for understanding the voice and trust of the population in negotiating with the company.

5.6.2 Interpersonal interactions in the community relations space — the interplay between individual and institutional interests

The interactions between locals and employees working closely with community issues have distinct characteristics. What underlies these employee-locals interactions are not only personal, but also institutional, interests. Part of the employees’ core responsibilities is to manage the relationship with the community, and perform more directly in the negotiation processes, which includes the way they behave when engaging with community people.

The way individuals working with the community interact with community members exemplifies what Goffman (1967, 1969) would call a 'performance'. He analyses social interactions from the perspective of dramaturgy, where people act as actors and managers of the impression of the audience. While any kind of interaction could be analysed through this perspective, the 'performance' lens is especially useful when the individual is dealing with institutional reputation.²⁹ In this sense, the employee-actors play roles in a kind of theatre, where Alcoa is the patron and the community people are the audience or spectators. These employee 'actors' are then left, not only to manage impressions relative to the human-human interaction, but also the interests and the impressions of the institution they represent. While these performances and what they portray affect the context in which interests are negotiated, they are also likely to enable or hinder information flow between the parties and impact negatively on voice, and trust.

Because Juruti employees undertaking community relations work have changed during the different stages of the mine, the identity of the human faces of the company have also changed, resulting in different interactional characteristics and networks. Many other employees, including people from technical areas, have participated in community meetings and other events where interests were being discussed. This means that employees other than those working specifically with community issues still often carry the responsibility of performing in such a way as to shape the interactional dynamics during periods when interests are being negotiated.

Overall, locals' perceptions about how they are treated by Alcoa employees in these situations appear positive, since locals have generally indicated that they treat them politely. These people would refer to the employees involved as 'good people'. *'They are always nice, pleasant people'*, said a lady from the Corridor. *'They are polite, always say 'excuse me' and ask for authorisation if they want to come to our community'*. Despite this apparent politeness and respect shown by employees, the perceptions that community and company people have about each other remain, which has not necessarily created an environment conducive to negotiation. In the next chapter, I explore how these interactions and differences affect the dynamics of fairness.

²⁹ Duarte (2011) has done a very interesting work applying Goffman's theories in the context of how mining company employees manage the impressions when communicating company's CSR-related work

Table 5.3 summarises the topics discussed in this section, highlighting the general characteristics of the personal interactions in the community, and between locals and employees. It also summarises characteristics of the interactions specifically between locals and employees working closely on community issues.

Table 5.3 – Characteristics of personal interactions

Community setting	Community-Company (employee interactions)	Community – Company (working with community)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive networks – large families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employees from different regions of the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different actors representing the interface between community and company
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main channel for information flow 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employees formed a new social class – the ‘Alcoanos’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different individuals, interests and interactions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust dynamics embedded in the characteristics and sets of interactions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactions represent diverse interests that go beyond the interests of the institution’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived decrease in institutional interests to manage reputation and to engage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban and rural have different dynamics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low levels of integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived change in the internal management procedures that affects interactions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family/friendship/business relationships overlap 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community perceptions of inferiority: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Indigenous ○ Ignorant ○ Simple 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition and evidence that ‘simple’, friendly and informal behaviour are beneficial
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impacts on self-esteem and self-identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception of asymmetry remains
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population consider themselves simple – especially in the rural areas 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different social classes and internal power dynamics 		

5.7 Collective organisation to engage with Alcoa

As discussed in Chapter 2, because not all individuals participate actively in the community-company relationship, those who do participate and the ways in which they go about representing collective interests has significant implications for relational fairness. This section explains how the Juruti population have been organised to engage with Alcoa regarding the relational dynamics within these groups and the participants' use of voice, sets of capabilities, and trust. This section analyses the structures of social organisation and representation in each of the regions explored. It also explores in greater detail the internal dynamics of one specific association in Juruti, ACORJUVE, focusing on how individual and collective interests are managed within the community, and negotiated with the company by community representatives.

5.7.1 Organisational structures in the three regions

Overall, the level of organisation found in Juruti was actually a surprise for Alcoa. As mentioned by an employee working closely with communities *"[...] for us it was a huge surprise when Alcoa arrived in Juruti and saw the number of institutions already formed, like associations. There are a lot of them in the Town. People were already quite well organised. I think it is because of the Amazonian characteristics. Amazonia requires you to get organised, and so on. [...] But still there are a lot of communities which are disorganised"*.

In different regions of Juruti, people organised themselves differently to negotiate with Alcoa, and some of the structures in place have also changed throughout the years. Table 5.4 summarises the main characteristics of the forms of social organisation of each area and how these lead to different relational processes.

Table 5.4 – Forms of social organisation in Juruti

General characteristics of social organization		
<i>Town</i>	<i>Corridor</i>	<i>Juruti Velho Lake</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of associations are located in the Town • Disseminated, diffused in specific interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional associations physically far from communities in the Corridor • Poor levels of regional organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centralised on ACORJUVE, the regional association
Perceptions on Representation in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship		
<i>Town</i>	<i>Corridor</i>	<i>Juruti Velho Lake</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low recognition of associations as a representation. • Individual and family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representativeness structures: community leadership and individual basis³⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centralised – ACORJUVE (leader and directors) • Some individual/family processes in communities closer to the Project
Support from external actors		
<i>Town</i>	<i>Corridor</i>	<i>Juruti Velho Lake</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No direct support from lawyers or other external actors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No support from lawyers or other external actors. • Moral support from close communities and some from ACORJUVE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong support from lawyer, and the group of nuns (more active in the pre-operations stage)
Changes overtime		
<i>Town</i>	<i>Corridor</i>	<i>Juruti Velho Lake</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation of CONJUS with Town-based associations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of smaller community and region-based associations to receive Alcoa's Projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of smaller community-based associations to receive Alcoa's Projects

³⁰ In communities where there is a local association (for example APRAS), the association tend to be recognized as the institution that give voice to the community.

In the Town, there is not one central group or association that represents the specific interests of the people living in the region. This decentralised characteristic was also observed in the Terra Preta neighbourhood. In this neighbourhood, there was less 'collectiveness' among the population meaning that processes were more individualised or family-centred (e.g., for negotiation of lands). According to informants, the negotiation processes that took place in this area were not supported by external actors, such as lawyers or any other skilled actor, unless the family could pay — and very few could.

In the Corridor area, negotiation processes were more community based, involving land acquisition, and compensations for houses and plantation fields. Negotiations in this region have also concerned the construction of schools and other infrastructure projects as a compensation for impacts. The processes of negotiating lands and compensations have occurred in community meetings with the participation of locals, meaning that outcomes were negotiated orally. This experience indicates that the broad population participated more actively when representative structures were less centralised. The formality of the negotiation processes also varied depending on how well the community was organised; some were represented by individuals who more aware about the objects of negotiation than others.

Communities in the Corridor have mentioned that, during the negotiations, they supported each other. As one dweller explained: *"we go to their meetings to give them support, and they come to ours"*. Overall, the negotiations in the region (i.e., about lands and PCAs) have been undertaken without the presence of external actors and external skilled advisors. According to some reports, people recall that in some situations ACORJUVE participated by providing some clarification of points.³¹ In order for social projects to be implemented, families had to organise themselves into formalised associations, and therefore some new collective groups have been created in the region. When present, these new associations are also acknowledged as channels of articulation by the company because of their more formalised structure.

³¹ The association has always reinforced that compensations prices should be higher.

In the Lake region, ACOJURVE was representative but in a more centralised way. When I asked individuals from different communities, *'if you have something to say to Alcoa how do you do it?'* the majority answered *'via ACORJUVE'*. The rationale behind the representativeness of the association is the follows: the individual the association of the issue, and the association is required to engage and discuss the issue directly with Alcoa. Once there is an outcome, the leadership should come back to the individual and provide feedback. In the negotiation of royalties, for example, the communities from the Lake region were represented by ACORJUVE.

As we can see in this section, different forms of organisation have led people to negotiate interests with Alcoa under different structures and procedures. There are differences among the different regions as to how much they are centralised and formalised, and how much external actors participate in the organisation and negotiation processes. How these structures have affected the elements of fairness is discussed in the following chapter. The next section describes some of the organisational dynamics of the communities in the Lake region.

5.7.2 The case of the Association of the communities in the Juruti Velho

An ACORJUVE leader at a community meeting I attended said, *"We can't face the company if we don't mobilise ourselves. We ask all to be together, organised, united because only like this we will get what belong to us!"* This quote is a good representation of the political discourse used by the leadership of the regional association of the communities in the Juruti Velho Lake, and how they relate to Alcoa.

ACORJUVE was officially created on 21 May 2004. At the time of the fieldwork, ACORJUVE represented 49 communities in an area of 109 thousand hectares and with 2.558 members. According to the leadership, the official aims of the association are:

First to organise the people; second to legalise the lands [to acquire landownership]; and third to obtain credit [from government] for these families [...] ACORJUVE was created with this objective, to fight against all injustice and exploitation in this area, and this is what we have been doing. It doesn't matter if it is Alcoa, loggers, soy farmers, fisher men from outside, or even the priest!

The arrival of Alcoa, however, is recognized by families in the region as the main driver, or contextual pressure, for the creation and expansion of the association.

The association comprises a president (democratically elected), a board of directors (named by the president), and a counsellor in each of the communities (chosen by the community and the administrative board in the assemblies). This counsellor may or not be the president of the community. Major decisions are made in meetings and assemblies, although increasingly the board of directors is acquiring permission to approve and act without associates' consent. Informants have mentioned that the creation of ACOJURVE was strongly influenced by the presence of German nuns, who have been in Juruti since the 1970s. The group was one of the main actors to bring awareness to communities about mining impacts, land rights, and the relevance of constituting an association. Although leadership claims itself to be politically neutral, ACOJURVE is known to strongly support the Labour Party.

The association organises government support for families, and is currently working to regulate the lands, and organise with INCRA the construction of *casas de alvenaria* (brick houses); these unlike wooden houses, do not require much maintenance, and endure for a longer term). The association also deals with internal disputes in the community, and assists individual cases that need financial support. More relevant to this research, ACORJUVE coordinates the relationship that these communities have with Alcoa. ACORJUVE is the main representative of the people in the Lake region (although there are parallel relationships with specific communities/families, as discussed in the previous section).

When Alcoa arrived in Juruti, the majority of people in the communities in the Juruti Velho area were not against the Project. According to the leadership of ACORJUVE, the association's change of mind about the Project happened after a series of visits that Alcoa organised to other operations and to the MRN operation (neighbour mining project in the municipality of Oriximiná) before Alcoa obtained a license to construct the mine. As explained by the leader, after observing the negative impacts, such as prostitution, poverty, and environmental changes, he realised that "*this development and progress' was not for us*". When he arrived from the trip, he said that he began to gather the people and say that they should be against the Project.

As a result, the ACORJUVE leadership started to disseminate information about the negative impacts of mining, and the fact that jobs available would exist only during the construction period, as Juruti people do not have the capacity to work in operations. The participation of the nuns in these meetings is part of people's memories. Informants reported that the group also warned the communities that they should organise themselves, and regulate their lands otherwise they could be disadvantaged when negotiating interests with the company.

With the assistance of a lawyer for ACORJUVE to regulate their lands rights on a collective basis, the Projeto Agroextrativista de Juruti Velho (PAE-Juruti Velho) became one large extension of land to be managed entirely by the association. This means that people in the Lake do not own their own land, and therefore cannot buy or sell property in the area unless ACORJUVE authorises it. As the leader says, *'it was very hard to talk about collective land rights as many people did not agree with it'*. However, it was assumed that strategically it would be better for communities to have a collective land title so that individuals could not be easily manipulated. The fear was that, with individual titles, Alcoa (and other outsiders like loggers) could negotiate with individuals based on these individuals' needs. On the negative side, power has since become centralised in the hands of the association and thus somewhat constrained some individual's liberties.

In 2009, ACORJUVE leadership mobilised the Lake population to invade Alcoa to negotiate royalties, and participants spent nine days and nine nights camping in the Base Capiranga. Lake-based families, including children of all ages, and supportive people from other regions participated. According to the president, this was the negotiation strategy developed by the association. When I asked whether ACORJUVE had thought about another means of negotiation, he said 'no', because this was the only option that would get a response from the company. He added, *"If we had sent them a written document they would rip it up and throw it away"*. Considering other events that had previously occurred between leadership and employees, (e.g., an organised consultation ignored by Alcoa representatives), trust between the parties was already damaged.

An informant from Vila, who at that time of the invasion was actively engaged in the association, remembers that, because it was challenging to keep people on the picket, food and other musical entertainment were provided. In informal conversations with locals, people have mentioned that the event was similar to a community party. It shows that many people who were present were not necessarily there for political reasons, but rather were pressured to participate, because *'everyone else was there too'*. However, the event became stressful when the population and police clashed sometimes violently, even to the degree that in one case pepper spray was used against community members.

By the end of the negotiation process, ACOJURVE acquired the right to receive royalties from Alcoa, and the association has, since 2009, been receiving 1.5 per cent of the profits. It is an emblematic case, since it was the first time in the Brazilian history that a mining company was legally required to pay royalties to a civil society association rather than only paying taxes to the local government. In an ACORJUVE assembly meeting, it was approved that the royalties would be managed as follows: 50 per cent for what is called the collective, to be invested in social projects and other improvements for communities and the association; and 50 per cent to be distributed equally amongst the association's members. Every member receives the same amount whether they live near or far from Alcoa's operation.

Payments of the 'individual' money, as it is called, were initially made monthly; however, once it was determined that the value would be small, another assembly decided to reorganise the payment to be paid every three months. It was also decided that at least half of the 'individual' money should be spent on encouraging the economic development of the family, while the other half could be freely spent. Families were required to keep the receipts of their expenses and present them in the ACORJUVE office on a date stipulated; otherwise the next payment would be withheld.

An issue that is unclear in the region is which members of the association are eligible to receive the benefits. While some people said that a member had to pay the association fee for one year before qualifying, others said that only one member of each nuclear family was eligible. Informants also pointed out that, in some cases, more than one member was receiving benefits, while other members who had paid correctly were eligible to receive benefits. One informant stated that, in her opinion, the recipients were chosen as preferred by the leader. A few people present in the conversation agreed with this statement. Considering the diversity of answers, it seems clear that there is a level of confusion and lack of clarity about who is or is not entitled to these benefits.

When I asked about the investments made with the 'collective' money, people mentioned that very little was achieved apart from the construction of the association's headquarters in Vila, a modern boat, and some financial help for community parties. No social projects or other initiatives had been implemented. Because the amount of money was substantial, there was much doubt about what is being done with the money was created in Juruti Velho region. People began to question the way the association was being managed and negative gossip about the association and the president had become common.

Figure 5.5 shows an image of the ACORJUVE headquarters in Vila Muirapinima, which was built using funds from the collective money.



Figure 5.5 – ACORJUVE headquarters in Vila Muirapinima

Considering how the majority of the people talk about the association and its performance over the years, once royalties began to be paid, some changes in the relational dynamics between the association and the population of the Lake area were bound to occur. Whereas in the beginning there were more meetings and the group had more opportunities to access information and to participate in decisions, over time, leadership became more distant from association members and the information flow narrowed.

Despite the strong discourse of opposition that the association leadership uses against Alcoa and the Project, many locals are becoming less aligned with these radical views and are not willing to oppose the company. Some communities have, for example, decided to accept Alcoa's social projects despite strong disapproval of the leadership. This shows that within the Lake region, there is not a unified perception about Alcoa, or agreement on how the interests and benefits can be managed. Nevertheless, in the current structure of the association there is not enough space to accommodate democratically the difference perspectives of all community members. This can be quite problematic when it comes to addressing and representing different voices and interests in the community-company relationship.

In this section, it was shown that the internal dynamics of ACORJUVE in terms of how they represent community members have relevant characteristics that affect voice, capabilities, and trust of people in that region. This is discussed in the next chapter.

5.8 Summary

Each of the relational domains explored in the previous sections possess characteristics that shape and compose the relational processes between Juruti and Alcoa. The specific structures and mechanisms of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship provide the context for exploring factors affecting voice, capabilities, and trust between the parties. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, the focus of fairer negotiation processes is to achieve an effective articulation of interests that is able to create a space for parties to manage their interests in the best way. The existence – or not – of such a dialogical space determines the opportunities of locals to improve their capabilities in terms of understanding the situation, to exercise their voice, and to eventually participate in decision making processes.

Considering these theoretical perspectives, it was identified in the data that, in the Juruti context issues of formalisation and centralisation of representativeness have positive effects in empowering individuals to negotiate with the company. They seem to have more impact than unstructured, individual and informal forms of organisation, although it was also identified that communities may struggle to operate in such circumstances due to their social vulnerability and poor levels of literacy.

On the other hand, however, strong centralisation in one institution — and therefore one group of people who represents the institution — also has negative aspects because of internal conflicts of interest. While community associations facilitate negotiation processes for the company, and to some extent provide a ‘more legitimate’ structure to engage with community groups instead of individuals, this structure may also camouflage individual’s voices, interests and perspectives when they diverge from those of the representatives of these associations. This becomes quite clear in the ACORJUVE case.

The way people interact at the individual level has also revealed an interesting and very complex dynamic that clearly has an impact on the way community and company negotiate interests. Although interactional issues are complex to be accounted for, they are very much felt, and issues of self-esteem and self-identity hold an important role in shaping the negotiation processes, even if they are in the ‘background’. As argued in section 2.3.2, the characteristics of interpersonal interactions affect significantly the elements of justice in community-company relationships. The Juruti case demonstrated this by showing that the way individuals interact with each other, for example, underlie the basis of how individuals perceive their opportunities to express voice and the terms in which it is done. The issues of self-esteem and self-identity that emerge from the interactions between community and company people arguably have a strong impact on the way communications and interactions take place in Juruti. Although some employees working in the communities have shown some sensitivity to these issues, Alcoa, as an institution, does not appear to be aware of these issues and how they influence the way in which corporate strategies are implemented.

The way the Juruti population and Alcoa exchange information and articulate interests is an essential aspect of relational fairness as negotiations are driven by communication processes. This chapter has discussed the main channels of communication and how the processes of information flow and the articulation of interests are shaped in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. Again formality was raised as a characteristic that appears to enable more efficient communication between community and company. Another important finding about communication is that with time the communication channels between community and company have narrowed, minimising opportunities for dialogue.

Although the three conceptual domains have been addressed individually, they are strongly interconnected, and their characteristics are deeply dependent on the dynamics of one another. Organisational structures are related to the way communication takes place. Interactions are responsible for the way people communicate and also the way they organise themselves. Connecting the relational dynamics to the cultural and contextual background is also an important exercise because of their intrinsic influence on the way relational processes take place and how individuals in that context behave. Thus, in order to reveal the relational processes in terms of its operational practices, it is necessary to build a holistic perspective of the community-company relationship and make these correlations clearer. Considering the characteristics of the relational processes described in this chapter, the next chapter identifies and discusses some of the factors that affect fairness in the community-company relationship.

Chapter 6 Identifying Factors Affecting the Dynamics of Fairness

This chapter presents the factors identified to either enable or hinder relational fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. These factors were selected based on the frequency of associated themes in the data, but surely do not represent all those affecting fairness within community-company relationships. This chapter also covers some practical challenges and their implications towards fostering relational fairness. While acknowledging the limitations of a bounded conceptual framework, time available in the field, and the amount of data collected, I argue that the Juruti-Alcoa case is applicable to other community-company relationships.

6.1 ‘We were not prepared’ — Insufficient understanding about mining, impacts, and other relevant topics for the relationship

Informants frequently said to me that ‘*Juruti was not prepared*’ to receive a large project, such as the Alcoa mine. The idea of being prepared suggests that Juruti was not ready or adequately structured to host a mine project, either physically or relationally. This reluctance by Juruti to enter into a relationship with Alcoa involved the population’s lack of capabilities to understand what was essential for the relationship and how to operate in such context. Some blame this reluctance on the Juruti people’s lack of adequate education and their consequent inability to understand the Project. Even basic information about mining and its social and environmental impacts was insufficiently understood. Lack of understanding in turn hinders relational fairness by reducing the opportunities of marginalised people to express ‘voice’, or to build mutual understanding with the company. In this section I provide examples demonstrating how these factors affect the dynamics of fairness.

For a start, Juruti was unable to prepare for the uncertainties of the future introduced by mining. This included comprehension of how individuals could maximise the potential benefits from the onset of the Project. In other words, Juruti people entered into a negotiated relationship with Alcoa without a strategic approach, in part because there was no formal structure to encourage this (e.g. no legal requirement to have an agreement).

For example, a man from the Lake region said that he was asked if an exploration team could drill in his backyard some years ago. He agreed after being told it was for Alcoa, a company interested in the bauxite in the region. When asked later how he felt when he had first heard about the Project, he explained:

Once they came here and dug holes in my backyard and then they disappeared. Years later this talk about mining started in the Town, and everybody was just talking about it. I said to people I was ok with the arrival of the mining, that it would be ok for us. You know, I thought that those holes were mining, that the company would come here, dig holes and pay us for that, so I said I was ok with it. Only after they started to construct the mine is that I came to understand what mining was about, and that they would devastate all the area we were used to work in.

This case clearly illustrates that the informant completely lacked initial understanding about mining or its environmental impacts in that he had absolutely no idea about what mining was but was swayed by the promise of economic benefits. His inability to understand the full impact of mining from his early experience rendered him unable to weigh how his life, and the life of people in the region, would change with the implementation of the project. Because of insufficient information, he believed that the negative impacts of mining would be easily managed. It was only when the mining became 'real' that he realised that 'mining' was a different activity from what he had previously experienced. This case exemplifies practical challenges related to knowledge sharing that mining companies face when trying to implement initiatives to build 'consent' in affected communities (Macintyre, 2007). When a party enters a negotiation without previous understanding of the situation, the chances of their being manipulated and disadvantaged are enhanced, therefore fostering unfairness.

This singular case aligns with different reports of people from the other regions who have also stated their difficulty understanding what Alcoa would do in Juruti, and what would develop subsequently. A second informant from the Town who now works closely to Alcoa said:

We had no idea about what would happen to us and to Juruti; they [the company] have explained in the public hearings but still we couldn't build the picture in our minds, that the Project would be like that, big and transformative like that.

A third informant from the Town has also stated something similar: *'I knew that there would be impacts, but I would never imagine that things would be like they are now.'*

Although people had some access to the information about what would happen in Juruti once the Project was approved, it did not follow that people were aware of the scale of the future changes. As a result, many people had listened to the discourse of the company talking about the positive impacts on local economy and development, without a realistic and holistic understanding of a broad range of impacts due to the scale of the mine. In this context, the community was acting as a party negotiating with the company from a position where affected people could not be argumentative, strategic, or critical about the Project.

Chronic misunderstanding of the mining project by affected people erodes the ability of the community and company to communicate with each other. Just because company people may be communicating to the community people, it does not mean that the subject matter has necessarily been understood. Communication about technical aspects of mining, environmental impacts, and certain concepts and words used in the CSR discourse was too sophisticated for Juruti residents' comprehension. Despite the apparent willingness of the company to communicate with locals, it was therefore sometimes hard to understand what employees were saying. In the Corridor, for example, people stated that they preferred not go to the community meetings organised by the company: *'people would not go to the meetings because they would say 'I don't understand anything they say, so why should I go?'*

Another example indicates that the population, especially in the rural areas, have struggled to comprehend the discourse used by Alcoa. When I asked a resident of a Juruti Velho community to explain what kind of discussions they have with Alcoa, he answered: *"Sometimes it was an easy talk, sometimes we didn't understand anything. One would look to the face of the other and ask 'do you understand what they are saying?' 'I don't know!'"* In situations where lack of information prevents comprehension, mutual understanding is hindered, and a central basis for a dialogue between the parties that could lead to a fairer negotiation of interests is obscured.

Company employees are also aware of existing barriers for communication. An employee responding directly to community demands stated that she tries to 'translate' the technical language to make it more accessible. Nevertheless, she recognised that many times this does not work and miscommunication continues despite her efforts. While her communication methods could be questioned, it is clear that decreased understanding by community people makes it all the more challenging for Alcoa to establish a dialogue with them.

Insufficient information also hinders trust building. In a conversation with residents in a Lake community, community people did not know whether they should believe what the company people say. People faced with insufficient information encounter difficulties knowing what to believe in, and how to react to the situation. If people decide to believe without understanding and questioning, they may be manipulated. However, if people choose not to believe, they may remain in a state of constant suspicion and doubt which characterise low trust levels. When trust is poor, there are negative ramifications on relational fairness. In addition, as there is no official and accessible information to increase understanding, people may more readily value gossip and rumour that increase the risk of misunderstanding.

Consequently, voice is affected as people tend not to communicate when they lack understanding to inform their arguments. There is evidence that, without information, people in Juruti feel disempowered to engage in dialogue. A quote by a local in the Lake region explains this well: *'If I know that I have my right, I can go and complain, and I'm not scared of fighting. But, if I don't know, I stay quiet'*. Thus, while insufficient comprehension of information affects fairness in restricting people's interests, it also hinders people's opportunity to form critical opinions about a situation.

Similarly, an informant in the Corridor explained that, on some occasions, even if there is time allowed for questions or debate in community meetings, people would stay quiet. As he pointed out: *"How can you tell that an engineer is wrong; how can you argue against mining people if they have studies and we don't? So people stay quiet."* This perception of knowledge asymmetry and how it affects fairness is also exemplified in the speech of another informant from the Corridor: *"We want to complain about the igarapé, because the water is not the same anymore. We tell the employees the water is dirty and they come here and say they did tests and the water is normal. The water is not normal but how can we prove they are wrong?"* Therefore, because community people feel inadequately prepared to question the company on these issues, they remain quiet and thus are not exercising voice in the relationship. These examples show that a lack of understanding also increases individuals' feeling of inferiority, or lack of power to act in the situation.

Company workers are also aware of this miscommunication, as illustrated by an employee:

I walk a lot here, both in the rural and urban areas, and I go to pubs, restaurants, communities' parties, everything, and I recognise in the eyes of the people when they are not understanding what I am saying. It is easy to perceive that, it is an empty look. And the worst thing is that people keep looking at you with a face full of admiration because they find what you are saying beautiful, even though they do not understand it. If you don't have this perception, you cannot advance in a real dialogue, to produce understanding. It will be a monologue, as it happens a lot.

Lack of mutual understanding was identified as a barrier towards establishing true dialogue between the parties. The informant added that people may not necessarily signal that miscommunication is happening. From the perspective of communication, this increases the risks of what Habermas (1970) calls 'systematically distorted communication' (p. 205). Unless the communicator is aware of this risk and addresses such issue with sensitivity, opportunities to improve relational fairness are hindered.

In Juruti, lack of mutual understanding can also be exemplified by how the community and the company interpret 'sustainability'. This term is widely used in Alcoa's discourse, and according to many informants, had been used by the company when meeting with communities since the pre-operations stage. Many communications emphasised the company's commitments to operate in a sustainable way, and to promote sustainable development in communities. Consequently, the concept became central to everyday communications between the parties.

Thus, the way locals interpreted this concept became vital for the company-community relationship, as the idea of sustainability became part of the communities' understandings and expectations about the company and the mining operation. However, after analysing how people in Juruti and Alcoa interpret the idea of sustainability, there was a lack of shared understanding between the parties. While community people perceive sustainability mainly in economic terms, company employees interpreted it as care for the environment and operating safely. Table 6.1 summarises the differences in interpretation seen in the data I collected in my field work:

Table 6.1 – Summary of themes in informants’ interpretations of sustainability

What does sustainability mean to you?	
Community	Company
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic growth • Implementation of social projects • Financial support, help • Better, easier life • Jobs • Community improvements, development • Harmony with the environment • Not causing environmental damages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective management of impacts • Recycling • Reforestation • Work safety • Following applicable legislation • Responsible performance • Respecting communities • Rehabilitation of lands

Even though sustainability can be a complex term in the mining context (Cowell et al., 1999, Fonseca et al., 2013), using Table 6.2, I argue that the differences in interpretation affected fairness by hindering opportunities for mutual understanding and dialogue between the parties. While both employees and community people used the term ‘sustainability’ in their discourse, they understand it differently.

Table 6.2 – Insufficient understanding about mining and other relevant topics

How is it affecting fairness?	Implications for the maximisation of fairness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hinders capabilities to develop a critical opinion about the situation, to negotiate interests, and to perform more strategically. • Hinders the exercise of voice as without information people tend to be quiet and resilient. • Affects trust as, without information, it is hard to believe in what the company is saying. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise lack of mutual understanding between the parties. • Community willingness to increase capabilities and expand awareness • Limited access to information considering contextual limitations – physical access, literacy levels, and educational structures.

Therefore, Table 6.2 shows that the information the company had already shared was not enough to empower the community to prepare and act strategically.

Practical implications for enhancing fairness

The two reasons why fairness is prevented are firstly that communities lack the capacity to understand and secondly that the company seems unable to improve information access and to promote understanding in a way that people can absorb it. Therefore, fairness could be enhanced if the existing set of capabilities of communities is improved, and if both parties develop a strategic and self-consciously dialogical approach to their relationship.

As explained in chapter 4, many contextual limitations in Juruti challenge the dissemination of information, such as: a poor level of formal education, the quality of local education, and lack of and opportunities to extend their education. As well as this limited access to information, the physical remoteness of communities makes it even more difficult. While Alcoa is not responsible for this remoteness, it is responsible for sharing relevant information with communities. However, empirical study in Juruti has shown that information shared through existing communication channels is not enough to allow the community to understand and encourage mutual understanding between the parties. Using the engagement model I described in Chapter 1, analysis shows that the information given to the Juruti population from Alcoa was not sufficient. Giving information is the first stage of the model and if this is not done properly, all the other stages of participatory engagement will be prejudiced, leaving fewer opportunities to maximise fairness in the relationship.

In real terms, sharing this information should be easy for the company. For example, Alcoa could prevent gossip simply by: first, clarifying information about its operation and its impact, and second, publishing more broadly the amount of royalties paid to the association, and taxes to local government. Lack of such information generates discomfort, misunderstanding, and distrust towards Alcoa from the Juruti people. When the information involves technical discourse for example, Alcoa could surely spread such news effectively by using a language that is more appropriate, and targeting the information to key informants who could share appropriately within the larger community.

From a negotiation perspective, sharing information may not be preferred by the company when it seeks to protect its interests, especially if it considers that being transparent may publicly expose it. However, such an approach is a strategic mistake in the long-term, as it shows Alcoa's short-sightedness in risking dialogue that will enhance negotiation. In the long term, greater transparency may make it easier for the company to build trust, mutual understanding, a positive reputation, and also lessen conflict. From a justice perspective, it is the Juruti people's right to know and to understand what is happening in their lives, and not feel alienated and ignorant; thus the objects of manipulation by the strongest parties. This observation could apply not just to the company, but also to the government.

This is not to say that everyone in the community needs to understand the mining project, impacts, and related interests, whether the information is expressed in technical terms or not. It goes without saying that people in different communities have different abilities to learn and different levels of interest in information, as is also the case in Juruti. Some people naturally take a leadership role in such relationships and seek to expand their understanding, whereas others take a more passive role, sometimes appearing to not to be interested at all, even though mining is directly affecting their lives. However, the fact that some people are more passive does not negate the argument that people deserve the choice of receiving information relevant to their interests, and the chance to understand and negotiate matters concerning their lives. If at least some individuals in Juruti communities — even extended family members — acquire the capacity to negotiate, greater fairness is more likely (Foster, 2008).

Information sharing has to extend to communities located in more remote areas, who need equal access to such information. Some initial thinking about practical opportunities to maximise fairness could include sharing more information through written forms. Although literacy levels in Juruti are relatively low (as discussed in session 4.3.3), this would probably be the best channel especially because of the perceived legitimacy of having the information *no papel* (in the paper), and thus welcome because it communicates outside the realm of gossip. While it seems that Juruti people prefer written information, local radios could also be more used for discussing and clarifying certain topics, with the advantage that it keeps the verbal form of communication.

6.2 Before and after operations — Transition to a more narrowed and formalised relational structure

Another factor identified as affecting fairness in the relationship between Juruti people and Alcoa is the perceived changes in the relational structures between the parties during construction and operations stages. These changes have resulted in decreasing opportunities for communication and interaction, with an increased formalisation of processes. As Bidart et al. (2013) explain, social processes should be related as a narrative whereby time can provide the dimension for unfolding the characteristics and stages of a social phenomenon.

For example, when people in Juruti talk about the Project, they often do so by sharing perceptions along the timeline running from the pre-operations to the operations stage. When they talked with me during my fieldwork, informants often used the words 'before' and 'after' to explain these differences, as if these were two distinct stages in the same relationship. However, this division clearly provided informants with the points of reference by which they could describe the impacts they felt at times when the structures and mechanisms changed. At these critical points, the structure of the community-company relationship became more formalised, often requiring reshaping of the behaviour of the actors.

Table 6.3 summarises the main characteristics of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship, and the changes in the relational processes perceived to have occurred between pre-operations and operations stage (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). It demonstrates that, with time, the channels for communication and engagement between the parties became narrower and more formalised.

Table 6.3 – Comparison between relational structures in the pre and post-construction stages

Stage	Pre-operation (construction)	Operations (current)
characteristics of the relational processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequent community visits and meetings • Company perceived to be more willing to satisfy community – and individual - requirements for goods. • Promises and expectation building. • Processes more individualised, informal and verbal. • In the company: low internal accountability for promises made and responsibilities taken. • <i>Centro de Referência</i> in the Town as the meeting and information access point. • Population starts to feel impacts. • High positive expectations amongst community members about future benefits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived fewer visits and less interest of the company in engaging with communities. • Perceived formalisation of the processes and less willingness in providing goods upon requests. • Focus on implementation and stabilisation. • Processes more collective, formal and done in written forms. • In the company, higher accountability and internal management of community issues. • <i>Centro de Referência</i> closed and meeting place moved to Alcoa office in the Port area. • Dialogue with communities channelled to CONJUS. • Increased frustration with expectations not met.

As several informants from the three areas and Alcoa employees have pointed out, the approach that Alcoa used to engage with communities, and to respond to community requests, has changed during these two phases of the mine life. Community people perceive that the relationship became narrower and constrained as access to the company became harder. I was told that, since the operations began, fewer community meetings and visits have ensued and people have to go to the Port if they want to speak with an employee, now that the *Centro de Referência* has closed.

The two quotes below, one from an informant from the Corridor, and one from the Lake, illustrate this point:

Before there were no weekends or holidays as soon as we called they would come. Now it's a huge bureaucracy. We have to write to them and wait them to schedule it to when they can do it. They just come when they want now. For us nights are better because people are back from work, so they can attend, but they just come in business hours.

They just come because we pressure them, because we request, otherwise they don't come, there is no interest anymore.

Informants also said that the community-company relationship became more formalised and bureaucratic. For instance, while in the pre-operations stage the relationship was managed more informally, the relationship became more formalised after operations began with communication with the company being accepted only in written forms. There was also pressure for communities, associations or other collective groups to become formalised with, for example, registering a tax file number necessary to access economic benefits and support. Also, as explained in Chapter 5, over time, communications were centralised in the form of *ofício*, which is written, signed, and seen as a formalised document.

Arguably, formalised relational structures reduce opportunities for parties to express their voice, and ultimately build dialogue and mutual understanding with the company. Juruti people are traditionally used to voice their interests verbally and through informal channels (see Chapter 4). Consequently, under a narrower formalised structure, parties have less chance to exchange ideas, feelings and expectations regarding the relationship and the objects of negotiation. This was observed especially in the Corridor area, where communities perceived that, in order to engage more effectively with the company (or to communicate and discuss interests), they needed to establish and formalise community associations.

The fact that people became aware of these changes in the relationship, however, does not mean that individuals and groups developed the capability to engage efficiently in Alcoa's formalised processes. For many individuals and communities, the preparation of *ofícios* is complex and costly. Most communities do not have infrastructure to issue *ofícios*, and very often individuals have to travel to the Town to prepare them. The associations' legal organisation is also costly, and requires a specific capability to undertake internal engagement and understanding of Brazilian legislation.

Another negative impact of these changes in the relational structures involves the element of trust. The change in the way Alcoa engages with local people has contributed to the perception that the company is less willing to negotiate mutually beneficial outcomes with communities. Locals thus struggle to understand why the relationship structure has changed, and why they cannot ask for the benefits they could in the past. Locals interpret this change as a sort of manipulation, especially considering that, for Juruti people, Alcoa seemed open to engaging with the communities when they first arrived. As mentioned earlier, Alcoa's perceived withdrawal increased gossip and suspicion about what Alcoa is doing, or planning to do, in Juruti.

While at one level the formalisation of procedures can be seen as hindering greater fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship, on another level formalisation can also be seen as a mechanism to enhance fairness. Formalisation helps parties track communications and agreements made in the past, as well as provide the basis for parties to monitor the relationship the negotiation of interests evolving over time. However, formalisation is only helpful if community people have access to this information and can use it to improve outcomes in the long term.

By formalising processes, Alcoa aimed to improve how it relates with the Juruti community. Before the operations, many commitments were done verbally, informally, and therefore there was limited accountability in the way interests were being continuously managed. According to employees, locals still come to Alcoa's office to hold it to these promises. However, without any kind of record, it becomes hard to manage such matters internally. In this sense, even in face of the low levels of literacy of the Juruti society, Alcoa employees realized that using written forms of communication with communities would improve the level of accountability, as both communities and company could track these communications (as discussed in section 5.5.4). Table 6.4 summarises how the changes in the structures of the relationship are affecting fairness.

Table 6.4 – Narrowing and formalisation of communication channels

How is it affecting fairness?	Implications for the maximisation of fairness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less trust as community interpretations correlate the withdrawn of the company with less willingness and interests in the relationship. • Fewer channels to express voice and to build a dialogue and mutual understanding between the parties. • Formalisation potentially enhances accountability and the ability to monitor the relationship and agreements made overtime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited capabilities to recognise the limitations of current structures. • Company challenge to use effectively verbal and informal structures to improve communication • Access to information and resources to better performance of the community in a more formalised setting.

Practical implications for enhancing fairness

In the case of Juruti-Alcoa relationship formalisation is a two-sided coin. At the same time community people struggle to operate under more formalised structures, formalisation also improves the relationship in terms of accountability. Considering this, Alcoa should be aware that keeping processes too formalised may be hindering opportunities of community people to express voice, especially if communities do not have the capability to perform comfortably under such structures.

Employees working close to community issues claimed that Alcoa is still adapting to the operations stage. While this adaptation required the company to increase their level of formalisation to better manage their relationship with Juruti people, it should not be done in a way that builds distance between community and company. The relational processes between the parties changed, but these changes were not mutually agreed upon; rather, Juruti people had to change their relational approach with Alcoa as a response to the way the company began to behave. If formalisation keeps increasing, and communication channels keep narrowing, Alcoa will lose opportunities to engage with communities. Informal communication increases opportunities for dialogue and mutual understanding and sets a more comfortable and confident environment for the expression of voice, and potentially a more productive relationship. Ideally, in the Juruti context, formalisation of processes should be a future step in the negotiation, not a first step for negotiation of interests. Maintaining some informal channels for communication would be more culturally appropriate, and would also open up more space for the community to access to the company.

This does not mean, however, that Juruti people have no responsibility to adapt to these new realities. The population in Juruti (and in the Brazilian Amazon as a whole) is developing and is thus increasingly exposed to situations in which higher levels of formalisation are required. Building the capability to understand and perform more formally empowers people beyond the limits of their relationship with Alcoa. Viewed more broadly then, the formalisation can also be positive for the social inclusion of the population by assisting people, for example, to participate in government programs and to access other kinds of benefits. The self-esteem of people can also increase, in that they start to feel more capable of operating towards their needs and interests. The big challenge for achieving this regards the question of how to expand the individual capability of Juruti people. Workshops about relevant legislation, and practical teaching on how to write *ofícios*, for example, could be very helpful for the Juruti people.

6.3 Participation of external actors — The lawyer and the nuns

The presence of actors coming from other regions, with different perspectives, and more access to information has helped some Juruti communities to extend their capability to negotiate. Such participation has improved understanding of the objects of negotiation, and the ability of people to use their voices to articulate their interests.

While not all regions in Juruti have received support from external actors, a comparison of regions shows that effective communication correlates positively with the presence of external actors. In the Corridor and the Town there was very little, if any, consistent support from external actors, whereas in the Juruti Velho region, there were two important sources of support as mentioned earlier: the group of German nuns and the lawyer. Their participation assisted those communities (or at least the community leadership) to negotiate better with Alcoa, and thus helped to build community awareness about mining, rights and responsibilities (the objects of negotiation). These external actors also assisted the communities in the processes of legalising the lands and the association.

The group of nuns has been central to the social organisation of the communities in the Lake areas. The nuns are said to be the soul of ACORJUVE, even though nowadays they have clearly distanced themselves from the association and its activities, mainly because of concerns about power and corruption (as discussed in the following section). The group of nuns were influential in the establishment of an association to foster the regularisation of the lands, and they supported the communities on this process (including dealing with government bureaucracy). The group was aware that having the land titles would improve the position of the communities in a future negotiation with Alcoa.

Moreover, according to reports of those living in the region, the nuns have also played an important role in disseminating awareness about mining and rights. When Alcoa first came to Juruti, the nuns alerted the population about the negative social and environmental aspects of mining. Locals reported that the group had a negative perspective about the Project. Their opinions and perspectives were valued by locals, who have inevitably been influenced to build their own perspectives, especially those families with close personal relationships with the nuns. It is likely that, without their participation, communities would probably have had even less access to basic knowledge about the objects of negotiation and thus less support to organise a strong association, and to negotiate royalties with Alcoa. In this regard, the nuns had a significant impact on the dynamics of fairness in the community-company relationship.

The lawyer that supported ACORJUVE was another key actor in the Juruti Velho region. The benefits of his support can again be seen when we compare the communities in the Lake area and Town regions, where no legal assistance was available. The lawyer worked for INCRA (government body responsible for regularising rural lands) before the association and was strongly involved in legalising the lands in the Juruti Velho region. He has also supported the association with legal counselling about its rights regarding royalties. Communities might not even have started the negotiation of the royalties with Alcoa, if it were not for the support of the lawyer in guiding the association.

It can thus be argued that the presence of a legal expert has increased fairness of the community-company relationship because people in the Lake region have both become more aware of their rights and how to legally and strategically engage the relationship to their advantage. The presence of a lawyer has shifted the power balance and allowed those communities to have a stronger and higher quality voice in the negotiation processes, to increase the capabilities of the association to articulate and manage their interests with Alcoa.

Table 6.5 summarises how the participation of external actors has assisted people in organising themselves and formally negotiating with Alcoa.

Table 6.5 – Participation of external actors

How is it affecting fairness?	Implications for the maximisation of fairness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhanced capabilities of the community (as a collective party) to perform in the relationship <p>More information about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to organise the population and the interests • Mining and potential impacts • Legal mechanisms to protect and access rights and interests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited if capabilities are not expanded to individuals in the community - ownership of capabilities to improve critical thinking • Access to external actors and trust building.

Practical implications for enhancing fairness

Although the participation of external actors can lead to better negotiation outcomes, it may be less effective in improving fairness if negotiation capabilities are not extended within affected communities. If external actors do not share their knowledge broadly with the population, affected people may not develop critical thinking or be able to assess what are the best options. For example, while the lawyer understands the community’s rights and how to access the legal system, if people do not get to share in this understanding, they will remain in a position of ignorance.

It is unreasonable to expect that every citizen should have the same capabilities as the lawyer for example; it is more realistic to expect that the capabilities of some can counteract insufficiency in others. One assertion of this chapter is that external actors can help meet that expectation and foster fairness of the negotiations and the community-company relationship. However, attention should be given to the risk of having communities subject to the interests of these external actors, in a way that this would result in manipulation rather than greater fairness.

Another relevant implication of having external actors supporting the communities relates to the amount of trust community people have in them. In the Juruti case, the relationship with external actors was not intermediated by the company, as these relationships existed prior to the arrival of Alcoa. In this sense, issues such as trust in what was being said by these actors seemed to be more organic.

The benefits of having external actors participating in the community-company relationship could have been diminished (especially from the perspective of trust) if they were hired by the company to do the same work. However, as the company has not hired other actors to assist the community, there is no basis for comparison of how people would react to the participation of external actors in different circumstances.

6.4 The internal dynamics of the community: Lack of transparency and centralised power

The internal dynamics of how community people organise themselves to manage their interests with Alcoa is a relevant factor for fairness in the community-company relationship. Juruti people identified a lack of transparency and centralised power between leadership and the people they represent, which hindered fairness from the perspective of voice, capabilities, and trust.

According to reports, the way ACORJUVE has operated in the past few years has changed. The association's decision-making has become strongly centralised in the hands of leadership. When Juruti residents talk about the association, the discourse of the majority of the informants often describes the beginning when people were more united for a collective fight for their rights³². People in the region were interested, in regularising their lands, and gaining economic benefits from the Project (especially through royalties). In this context, the association was a strong channel to represent and manage these collective interests. At the time of the fieldwork, however, people reported that once Alcoa began to pay royalties, leadership became increasingly distant. Consultation and participation in the association became more limited.

These changes were observed by an informant in one of the communities in the Lake area, who explained how the association was performing: *'before [the payments] they [the leadership] were always here when they needed our support for fighting against Alcoa. Nowadays, to talk to him [the president] is a nightmare; he is never available, never has time, he is always travelling.'*

³² The word 'collective' was used consistently by informants: 'collective money', 'benefits of the collective'.

Similarly, a woman from a community in the Lake area has said that *'in the beginning we were a united group; everybody was fighting together for the group. There were meetings all the time, and we could discuss and ask things. Now they don't come here anymore, and we don't know anything they [leadership] are doing.'*

These words represent what was reported to me in many conversations: that the internal levels of engagement between leadership and the population they represent have decreased over the years. In this context, while people remained represented by ACORJUVE in the community-company relationship, residents in the PAE-Juruti Velho are less aware of how their rights and interests are being managed by their representatives.

The quotations above also indicate that these changes have significantly impacted upon intra-community communication in the Lake area. Considering that the traditional communication structures of Juruti are based on oral and informal forms, the diminished number of meetings has reduced opportunities for represented people to access relevant information about the relationship of the association and Alcoa. People now have fewer opportunities to express voice to ask questions and contribute to decision-making, suggesting that the levels of participation of people in the Lake area with the association became very low. The case of the royalties is probably the most relevant example to describe this. Once the opportunities to meet representatives became rarer, it also became harder for people to understand and discuss how the association is managing the money paid by Alcoa.

Informants in the region explained that although people know that the royalties are divided into 50 per cent for the collective and 50 per cent for the individuals, people are not aware of the total amounts paid by Alcoa. People also lack information about how royalties are being invested recently because there are few established projects or promising initiatives. According to the Statute of ACORJUVE, individuals have the right to access this information; however, this information is not being properly disclosed, even under request.

In one example, a teacher who often attends ACORJUVE meetings said that information about the financial situation of the association is provided in a very scattered way. In his opinion, it is impossible to comprehensively understand the economic situation of the association from the information shared in these meetings. A few informants who work close to the group of nuns also pointed out that the information provided in these meetings is overcomplicated, and the level of understanding is very low.

In addition, people explained that these meetings are usually held in one day, and the list of topics for discussion and vote is long. As a consequence: *'towards the end, people [who have travelled to Vila from their respective communities] are already tired, they can't stay in the meeting anymore, so people vote in agreement to whatever the leadership is proposing just to finish soon so they can go home.'*

There is some evidence that people who have pressured the association for further information have been refused, or even threatened. People are allowed to ask questions, but when individuals raise issues that either contradict information given, or require more detail, informants have witnessed people being threatened, and humiliated in front of all. As a teacher pointed out: *'the answers to these questions are like: 'you would not understand anyway so it would be pointless to share more information with you''*. It was explained that these comments are made in an aggressive and ironic tone, in a way that people become reluctant to ask questions. Data collected in the fieldwork support the observation that the leadership does not like to be seen as untrustworthy or unskilled, and questions for clarity and more transparency tend to be interpreted as insulting. As a result, people often remain quiet rather than confront leadership. The opportunities to expand the set of capabilities of locals are therefore hindered, as people cannot access further information to become aware of the situation.

In light of the behaviour of the leadership, some people in the region developed a certain kind of fear of the president of the association. In one community where I was doing observations, many locals were gathered before a meeting with ACORJUVE. They were discussing how they should ask about the collective part of the royalties. However, when I tried to get more information about the conversation, I was told that one of the residents would have the 'courage' to ask the question. There was some tension in preparation for the meeting so that, when the leadership arrived and the meeting began, people became quiet and compliant with the discourse of the president.

The leader opened up time for questions, and the resident finally had a chance to ask about the money (as the leader had not mentioned it at any time). His body language translated his lack of comfort and confidence in communicating with the leadership. He was looking down and speaking in a low voice. After receiving a very shallow answer, he was deliberately interrupted by the leader, as if he was talking too much, and taking too much time talking about an issue that was irrelevant and not problematic. But it was relevant, and the people had been waiting for the situation to be clarified for months. However, because of the interactional dynamics and the power relations in place, the opportunities for expressing voice and building dialogue were constrained.

The leader of the association became a powerful person in Juruti. He is well-known in all regions and, because of his position he has had access to information and learned how to negotiate with people, government, and Alcoa. On one hand, people appreciate having someone skilled who represents their side of the negotiation. However, on the other hand people struggle at times when they might need to confront him. Because of the centralisation of power in the hands of leadership, and the historic informality in the way things were managed in Juruti, the kind of relationship that individuals have with the leader interferes with how individual interests are regarded by the association. People feel worried about arguing with him and losing their right to receive the payments or their chance of being considered in future business of the association. The existence of fear and insecurity functions as a barrier for individuals' expression of voice, and individual access to information. These disempowering factors are also hindering opportunities for greater fairness.

In a meeting in another community, I observed that people are not receiving comprehensive information allowing members to understand and develop a critical approach to negotiate their interests with Alcoa. The focus of the meeting was to explain the negotiation processes between the association and Alcoa in regards to a future compensation payment. Similar to what was described in earlier examples, information was shared in fragmented forms with no explanation about rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, the leadership continually requested attention and support from the population "*in order to sustain a big and cohesive group,*" asking people to become aware of their call to invade Alcoa (if the company were to deny the compensation).

Any other information about the negotiation was shared with people present at the meeting. For example, individuals did not receive explanations about the current situation of the negotiation, the strategies taken by the association, or the points of tension between community and company that could lead to a potential invasion. Under such circumstances, it could be argued that there was no basis for people to develop a critical opinion about the negotiation with the company, or the performance of the association.

Following Freire's (1972) rationale, without information and a basis for developing critical thinking, people become easier targets for manipulation, which perpetuates injustices in society. In Juruti, because of the way ACORJUVE leadership engages with locals, power centralisation and lack of transparency were seen by some informants as manipulative. These perceptions were present not only in the Lake area, but also in the Town, where many informants also believed that the association was manipulating people for the sake of the individual interests of leadership. For example, a woman in the Lake area said:

I think that there is some manipulation, because the discourse is that everything Alcoa does is bad, and everything the association does is good. But this is not true; things are not black and white. So they keep putting these ideas in the mind of the people, and because people do not have other ways to check the information, they believe and keep following the leadership as blind people.

The lack of transparency in the association also raised strong accusations of corruption. As people do not have access to reliable information, gossip increases. In the beginning of the negotiations with Alcoa, people in the Lake trusted the way ACORJUVE was representing their interests, but after these changes in the internal dynamics of the community, trust in the representation channel was damaged. As pointed out by a woman from the Lake region: *'because we do not know what the association is doing, and what is being done with the money, we begin to imagine things, to think about possibilities. [...] In my view there must be something wrong going on'*.

People in the Corridor and the Town also believe that the leadership is not performing ethically. The strong political interests of the president are often mentioned, including the accusation that the royalty money is being used for political lobbying, instead of promoting compensation and social programs for communities. Because people are gossiping and talking about alleged corruption as if it was already true indicates that the representation structures are damaged, indicating a lack of trust.

Lack of transparency and the increasing centralisation of power is not just a matter of perception. The association has changed its Statute a few times in recent to increase the range of decisions its leader can make without calling an assembly to consult other associates. The Statute has also been changed to allow the current president to hold the position for longer periods of time between elections. Table 6.6 summarises how the internal dynamics of the community affect the dynamics of fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship.

Table 6.6 – Internal dynamics of the community – lack of transparency and centralisation of power

How is it affecting fairness?	Implications for the maximisation of fairness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voice hindered due to increase in centralisation of power in the leadership and lack of transparency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to increase transparency in the performance of association leadership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voice reduced due to evidence of fear and asymmetric power relations between leadership and members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requires company’s recognition that community internal structures may be affecting the participation of affected individuals (virtually represented by leadership).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capabilities hindered considering unawareness about issues of interest (royalties) and poor internal feedback about the relationship with Alcoa. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges regarding the interests of the leadership to provide greater transparency and less centralisation of power considering political interests
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust damaged by lack of information and negative gossiping about accusations of corruption and manipulation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limitations in the management skills of the association.

Practical implications for enhancing fairness

Alcoa employees are aware about some of the problems of the association, and some have also shared perspectives about corruption, manipulation, and political interests. However, the company itself does not interfere in the internal issues of the association. I asked an employee in the sustainability team why Alcoa keeps relying on ACORJUVE even though they know the leadership communicates poorly with the people it is supposed to represent. I was told that the company wants to respect the legitimacy of the association. For this employee, engaging directly with locals without considering ACORJUVE means ignoring a representative body created and recognised, at least in principle, by the people.

For companies, it may appear easier to engage with formed entities regarding collective interests and initiatives, rather than address individual needs. However, it can also become problematic if there is no concern for the internal dynamics of the communities, and how these are affecting the opportunity of affected people (represented) to participate in the community-company relationship. While informants from the Lake area agree that Alcoa should not interfere in the way people organise themselves, solutions to minimise ineffective feedback that leadership is giving to communities could be developed to improve the community-company relationship and enhance relational fairness.

While the internal organisation of the communities from the Lake area is complex, the dissemination of information about the status of the negotiation and other matters could be improved for the broader population. Sharing this information more widely could counteract the limited feedback provided by ACORJUVE leadership. One solution might be that Alcoa could print the dates and amounts paid as royalties and distribute these to the communities. Once people are able to access more formal and objective information of this nature, they would be empowered to determine how much the association is receiving and whether the money is being properly invested. While this would not solve all the communication problems occurring between the community, ACORJUVE and Alcoa, it would be one step towards enhancing overall fairness.

Another aspect affecting the internal dynamics of communication and decision making within the community is that ACORJUVE leadership does not have the enough capabilities to properly manage communities' interests. After all, the leaders are also Amazonian locals lacking access to more sophisticated information about how to manage a large association, or how to manage and invest large amounts of money. Therefore, initiatives to expand the management and financial capabilities of community leaders in the Lake area would enhance the overall effectiveness of the association and potentially reduce tensions between the leadership and the community they are tasked with representing.

6.5 Simple behaviour – a fairness enhancer

[...] you have to go there, and you have to speak their language, and drink their coffee, and eat their fried fish. If you don't do like this, they will find you a fussy, a snob person, and they will keep just looking at you and you won't have a real relationship with them or any real interaction. (Local informant in the Town)

In Juruti, characteristics of personal interactions between community people and Alcoa employees were identified to be affecting trust and voice. In this context, the idea of 'being simple' (or in other words humble and friendly) is seen by local residents as an important interactional characteristic able to enhance relational fairness. This interactional characteristic was found to help community and company individuals to create a more comfortable environment for dialogue and trust-building. In this section, I provide some examples that show how interactional issues, and the idea of 'being simple' – or not, affect relational fairness.

The issue of employees working with communities not addressing the 'simplicity' of Juruti population was identified by several interviewees. For example, a man in the Town observed:

I know that Juruti does not have qualified people, and therefore they have to bring people from the outside. But they should make clear that this person will work with people from the communities. People in the communities have to be treated in a simple and humble way, otherwise it will not work.

People seek acceptance of the way they are, the way they dress and speak, without discrimination. Employees, in turn, also recognize that being 'simple' helps with integration and adaptation into community dynamics. An employee who works with community demands, for example, acknowledges the relevance of personal interactions for the work they do. She stated that:

[...] in the end is a very personal thing; people want to see a face and our role is very important because we are the ones who go there, and we think: 'what they will think of us?' And this is important.

She also points out that the coffee ritual is a must do when come to interactions:

Sometimes I go to the communities, and I have to drink so much coffee! But I have to, if I don't drink people think it is an insult, and this messes up the entire visit.

In this sense, she is aware of her own behaviour, and the need to adapt to the reality of community people. Therefore, being simple improves the relations with Alcoa to the extent that there is willingness in the employee to behave as such. This indicates that a closer consideration of interactional and human elements of the community-company relationship is able to maximise fairness in community-company relationships. Attention to common rituals allows employees to be both accepted in the community, and also better able to engage in more organic, trust-building conversations with locals.

Another employee who also works closely with communities recognises that her behaviour as an individual is strategic for her work at Alcoa. She says that behaving simply, as it applies to demeanour and language is essential for interacting with people. She also sees value in being from the region (Belém), so that her cultural background is less distinctive than people from southeast regions of Brazil. She has networks of friendship with locals that go beyond the scope of her work, and she participates in the life of the communities. She acknowledges that these are positive for enabling a better dialogue with people and to build trust because they know who she is beyond her work role. As a result, community people have mentioned her in many conversations, and these references are always positive.

Stronger evidence about interpersonal behaviour and its effects in the community-company relationship relates to an employee who worked for Alcoa in the pre-operations stage. While I was in Juruti, on numerous occasions when I mentioned to locals that I was interested in researching the community-company relationship, Y's name was cited³³. Because he had been responsible for community issues, his tasks involved negotiating lands with people in the Port area, road and train line, pre-hearings and public hearings, and so on.

³³ Y is a code to keep the employee name confidential.

Even though Y had left Juruti at least three years before my field work began, he had been cited consistently by residents, and always with affection. Y was often described to be a very 'simple' person. It was clear from peoples' reports that, in the three regions studied, he was able to build positive individual interactions with Juruti people, reflecting on how people perceived the company. For some informants, the approval of the Project by the local population occurred because he was a 'simple' and good person who could convince the people in a trustworthy fashion that the Project would have benefits for locals.

It appears Y was successful overall in enhancing the quality of the company-community relationship through his interactional performance. However, to some people in the Lake area, especially for ACORJUVE leadership, he was manipulative. People from the Corridor and Town mentioned things like "*he would come to visit me at home and have coffee with me*", and it was much appreciated. Another said he "*is my friend and friend of my family*" to indicate that this friendship has a special value which goes beyond interactions purely for work purposes. People liked him because he could integrate into the local dynamics, and could live his life as a local person by participating in local activities. According to people, he really enjoyed Juruti and the people, and he was not being nice just because it was part of his job (whether this was how he really felt about it is unclear). His simple behaviour was strongly mentioned, strengthening the argument that, for Juruti people, a simple approach positively enhances the quality of the relationship.

Because of the opinions that people had of him and his behaviour, he created a basis for easy access — and indirectly to Alcoa — as people could feel more comfortable to communicate with an integrated, simple, and friendly person. People from the Corridor and the Town report that they would feel comfortable to ask questions and discuss with him matters related to the Project. In this space, people were more willing to exercise voice and to trust how the Project was evolving. As well, community interests appeared to be addressed because of the way the employee behaved.

Interactions using friendship networks are also related to the level of access to the company. There is evidence from informants with closer relationships with employees that the access to Alcoa is easier compared to informants who do not have these relationships. After I asked people in Juruti how they can access the company, in at least two cases, people said that it was simple because they are friends of employees working with community issues. One person from Juruti Velho said *'I know everyone there, so if I want to get in contact I just give them a call, I ask for what I need and everything gets organised, if yes, if no, and how can we do it'*. In the Town, another informant said *'I'm friends with people in the team, so if I have something to say or to complain about I just call them and say what I want'*. On the other hand, people without these relationships perceive that access to the company is more complicated and formal to the extent that, unless communication comes via written letters and official requirements, attention is not given to their cause. This exemplifies the overlap between the domains of communication and interpersonal relations, but also the relevance of interactional aspects to facilitate the expression of community voice.

At the same time that people have reported positive cases of interaction, the behaviour of employees has also been reported as hindering fairness from the perspective of voice and trust. The case below was reported from the Corridor:

There was once a meeting that anybody [from the community] said anything. They were giving the prices for our lands because they would build the train line. They started offering R\$ 0,04 per meter and this is an absurd! And so I said to them, 'I don't know what Alcoa means and I didn't invite Alcoa to come here!' [...] So I expected that my people would be with me, but they all stayed quiet. The employees made a joke on me; they said I was just interested in the money and were laughing on my face. [...] I think they stayed quiet because they thought that they didn't know anything about it, that they knew less than company people, and also because they didn't want people to laugh on their faces.

Of course in this context, the idea of jokes has a negative tone, and this approach to responding to the informant has contributed to decreasing the self-esteem of Juruti people in the meeting. The joke was a disrespectful way of dealing with people's interests and rights, and sent a message that peoples' opinions about the price was worthless in the conversation. In this interaction, the employees' behaviour increased the sense of inferiority and so directly hindered opportunities for the locals to express their frustration with the land prices. It also negatively affected the dynamics of fairness of the community-company relationship by diminishing people's voice and the respect due to them.

A few informants used the word 'courage' to indicate what quality people felt was necessary to produce relational fairness in the interpersonal interactions in Juruti. As an informant from the Corridor reported: *'people do not have the courage to say what they think, because they are afraid of what others will think of them, they are ashamed and stay quiet'*. On a different occasion, I asked a resident in the Juruti Velho region what he would like to say during a meeting with the company and his answer was *'I would have the courage to ask them about the jobs they promised us'*.

The idea of courage to express voice in the presence of others is intrinsically related to issues of self-esteem and perceptions of power. Moreover, courage in this case illustrates asymmetry between the parties. If a person needs courage to speak to someone else, this implies that the individual feels disempowered or inferior compared to their interlocutor. Without courage, people would stay withdrawn and not express their voice, not because there is nothing to be said, but because there was no conducive environment to do so.

The idea that people are constantly interpreting each other, and that this affects relational fairness, was also demonstrated in the speech of a young woman from Vila. She stated that, when a specific employee who works with community issues goes to community meetings in her region, she keeps paying attention to how the employee behaves. In the woman's perception, the employee is not very happy to be there, and does not seem to be interested in the people, or in the event. Because of this employee's apparent lack of interest, trust is diminished, as explained in her words: *'it is hard to trust someone you see that is not giving any value to you'*.

In a different example, during an event in the Town, a person who knew I was interested in interactional dynamics came to me and said: *‘You see? The meeting is happening and she just stays playing with her phone, she is not interested in what is going on here. She is just here because is part of her work.’* Once the performance of individuals indicates that the company manages the relationship with community without care for individuals, trust in the organisation as a whole is likely to suffer.

Although people have indicated that they understand that Alcoa employees are expected to build good interactions with them, it is clear that locals expect interactions to go beyond pure professionalism in such undertakings. This perception is based on the cultural context in which family, friendship, and business (or professional) relationships overlap on a constant basis. In this context, it appears that people expect the same from their relationships with company people. The kind of relationship that is able to blend individual and professional aspects is seen as more genuine, and consequently more trustworthy. Networks of friendship are also likely to diminish the negative results of gossip as people tend to believe in what a close person (or a friend) is saying. Therefore, these behavioural characteristics may help to increase community trust in the information received by the company. Table 6.7 summarises how the concept of simple behaviour functions as a fairness enhancer in the Juruti context.

Table 6.7 –Simple behaviour: a fairness enhancer

How is it affecting fairness?	Implications for the maximisation of fairness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a conducive environment for the expression of voice and trust building • It is culturally appropriated, and improves adaptation and acceptance of employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build institutional value about the relevance of personal interactions • Adjust methodologies to measure and evaluate quality of employee performance • Extended to the institutional level, so that is not confused by manipulation and lip service

Implications for enhancing fairness

As explored in this section, people are more likely to feel worthy and comfortable to articulate their interests in an environment in which interpersonal interactions are managed with attention and sensitiveness. The idea of ensuring a 'simple' and integrative behaviour is likely to foster relational fairness as it may also enhance opportunities of voice and trust-building. Using this finding as a way to foster relational fairness in community-company relationships requires mining companies to approach interpersonal interactions between employees and community people more carefully.

However, establishing positive and integrative interactions is not an end in itself because this cannot solve the problem of fairness in community-company relationship. It would have been too naïve, for example, to focus on interpersonal interactions, and issues of self-esteem, without extending to the discussion to how the mining company – as an organisation – could address interpersonal issues in the corporate performance.

While company policies generally require employees to engage with local population in respectful ways to improve relational fairness, these suggestions do not address all of the challenges of building and managing positive interactions on the ground. So how might organisational issues related to human behaviour and human interactions could be better managed? The way employees behave in individual interactions with community people is very difficult to monitor. If personal interactions cannot be transformed into something accountable, measured, or objectively evaluated, they tend to be ignored. However, as the Juruti case has shown, ignoring interactional issues is a strategic mistake which may affect negatively fairness in the relationship. In this context, the development of methodological approaches for linking individual and institutional aspects of community-company relationships is necessary as a way to promote greater relational fairness.

The practical implication of using interpersonal interactions as a fairness enhancer in the community-company relationship is that both employees and the company - as an institution - must be prepared and willing to do so. Table 6.8 displays four different scenarios that exemplify this need of having employees and institution prepared to use interactions as means to foster relational fairness.

Table 6.8 – Interpersonal interaction – institutional x individual performance

Institutional Performance	Individual Performance	Implications for fairness
Negative – Lack of value of interactional approaches or lack of means to operationalise and verify them	Positive – Employees aware and willing to integrate with communities, respecting their own dynamics and limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Misuse of an open communication channel opened by the employee • May be seen as lip service or manipulation
Negative – Lack of value of interactional approaches or lack of means to operationalise and verify them	Negative – Lack of awareness about the impacts of individual behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor performance. • Structure that hinders relational fairness
Positive – Institutional willingness and capacity to encompass the value of interactional aspects in engagement activities.	Negative – Lack of awareness about the impacts of individual behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor capabilities and skills from employees. Training may be needed, but individual willingness is essential
Positive – Institutional willingness and capacity to encompass the value of interactional aspects in engagement activities.	Positive – Employees aware and willing to integrate with communities, respecting their own dynamics and limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideal scenario to maximise fairness in relational processes

The Juruti case provides another example of how interactional problem affects fairness, which is in line with other discussions focused on different community-company relationships around the world (Zandvliet & Anderson, 2009). Therefore, this finding strengthens the argument that more attention should be paid to the human side of community-company relationships as when negotiations are conducted in environments where parties, as individuals, feel comfortable and worthy to interact, fairer processes are more likely.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, factors affecting the dynamics of fairness were identified and discussed. These factors were selected based on the frequency of which themes and topics were raised in the narrative of the participants, in addition to researcher observations in the field. Following the conceptual framework outlined in chapter 2, these factors were found to impact on the elements of voice, capabilities, and trust of the communities in the processes of managing and negotiating their interests with Alcoa.

Some of these factors are driven by contextual issues (e.g., low levels of literacy, difficult transportation between the regions, and limited access to information), whereas others are related to the way Alcoa has performed throughout the years, including the procedures put in place, which have directly affected the way parties communicate with each other and share information. The assessment of the internal organisational structures of the communities has shown that the dynamics of fairness between Juruti people and Alcoa are strongly affected by the way that community people are represented in the negotiations with the company.

There are also some factors that are contributing positively to the dynamics of fairness of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. The representation of external actors, for example, was shown to be beneficial to communities by increasing their capabilities to perform more strategically in negotiations with Alcoa. The support has, for example, improved the quality of the community's voice in the process of negotiating the payment of royalties. The way some company employees engage and interact with local people, more specifically, through 'simple' behaviour was also identified as a fairness enhancer. Securing a comfortable environment where local people feel welcome to communicate was found to be positive for relational fairness, as it increases opportunities for voice, trust building, and mutual understanding between the parties.

Another relevant finding is that while all the elements of fairness are interconnected, capabilities in particular seemed to be the central determinant of relational fairness. For example, people may have channels to express their voice in their communication with Alcoa, but if they do not feel they are capable of understanding an issue, they may choose silence. It was also demonstrated that trust is also threatened by low levels of understanding about any matter discussed. It is harder for people to trust both the company, as well as their community representatives, when they lack the capability to understand and be critical of a situation. The research also indicated that greater capabilities contribute to improving community self-esteem, which fosters the exercise of voice by affected people when interacting with company employees and community leaderships. These findings suggest that any initiative to improve relational fairness in community-company relationships set in socially vulnerable contexts has to be fundamentally concerned with the maximisation of capabilities of affected populations.

In this chapter, I have discussed some practical implications of these factors for enhancing relational justice. These mainly concern initiatives to increase access to information as a way of empowering communities, and potentially improving their performance in the relationship with Alcoa, so that they may be better able to act and speak for their own interests. Alcoa could also better adapt their engagement processes to the customary mechanisms of the communities. This would entail greater adaptability of company's communication channels to the specificities of the Juruti context that are mainly verbal and informal. Although community people value written and more formalised processes to negotiate with Alcoa, the research also indicated that communities have difficulties operating in such context due to the contextual factors of social vulnerability and low levels of literacy, consequently putting them at disadvantage.

These findings suggest that greater attention from the company to behavioural aspects of employees-locals interactions is another potential initiative to foster the maximisation of relational fairness in the mining context. Interpersonal interactions are a relevant aspect of community-company relationships that deserves further exploration. The research also indicates that relational fairness can be fostered by a better understanding and accountability of community's organisational structures and potential threats to the representativeness of affected populations.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

In this chapter, I summarise the research, and discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this work. This involves critical reflection on the framework and findings, and limitations and opportunities for further research.

7.1 Summary of the research

This research sought to explore the dynamics of fairness in the relationship between mining companies and affected communities in terms of how they communicate and negotiate their interests with each other. As explained in Chapter 1, the objective of this work was to examine the structures and mechanisms that shape community-company relationships, so as to identify what factors enhance or hinder greater relational fairness. The first step was to develop the conceptual framework to define how relational fairness is interpreted and can be explored in empirical situations of community-company relationships. A 'negotiation lens' was used to analyse how the community and the company communicate, interact and organise themselves to manage their interests. Fairness was deconstructed into elements of voice, capability and trust, and the research sought to explore the factors that enable or hinder these elements.

The framework was applied to one specific context, the relationship between the municipality of Juruti, located in the Brazilian Amazon, and Alcoa, a multinational company mining bauxite in the region. Chapter 3 provided initial information about Juruti and the research areas, and also explained the methodology of the work and how the data were collected and analysed. Ethnographic data were collected with emphasis given to the researcher-informant relationships in terms of how they might increase rapport, trust, and an ethical and fair approach to engagement with local people.

Some contextual and cultural aspects of Juruti were presented in Chapter 4, including the social context and landscape of Juruti. I also described the Juruti regions that formed the focus of the study and provided an analysis of the internal dynamics of the communities. This was done by discussing how Juruti people communicate, interact, and organise internally. Numerous factors were identified as contributing to the social vulnerability of Juruti communities. These include historical poor governance, limited access to information, poor education opportunities, and unfulfilled political rights. Conditions such as economic situation and physical remoteness that affect the self-identity and self-esteem of population comprise the context of these communities. These conditions disadvantage those communities when they enter a community-company relationship and negotiate interests with Alcoa.

In Chapter 5, the mechanisms and structures of the relational processes between Juruti and Alcoa were investigated. The ways in which the communities communicate, interact and organise with the company and its employees were assessed. Since the project began to operate, the structures of relationships and their mediation between the parties changed with time. The general perception of Juruti people is that the company became more withdrawn and less interested in engaging with them once the operations began. Based on the evidence provided, I argued that these changes diminished existing opportunities for exercising voice for developing dialogue and participative engagement with the company. I also identified signs of frustration and dissatisfaction that arose over time because expectations were not met and people were not adequately informed about potential benefits and the impacts of mining. Chapter 5 also discussed the relevance of interactional dynamics shaping the way voice is exercised and trust is built in community-company relational processes.

In Chapter 6, I identified and discussed some of the factors that are affecting the dynamics of fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. To do so, I considered their impact on the exercise of voice, and the capabilities and trust of community people and concluded that capabilities are central to relational justice. Issues of voice and trust are strongly affected by inequalities and lack of capabilities and means for the parties to communicate. Another significant finding relates to how employees behave when dealing with community people and how this affects their self-esteem and self-identity.

The idea of being 'simple' was found to enhance fairness by creating a more conducive environment for the exercise of voice, and trust-building in the community. Inadequate access to information and understanding about relevant topics being discussed with Alcoa were also highlighted as important factors affecting the ability of Juruti people to manage their own interests. The participation of external actors was also demonstrated to be relevant 'fairness enhancers' when it comes to articulating and managing interests with the company.

In addition to the dynamics between community and company, the study demonstrated that the way communities are represented and organised internally to negotiate interests with Alcoa also affects relational fairness. While ACORJUVE has negotiated significant outcomes on behalf of the population in the Lake area, the performance of the association was also characterised by centralisation of power in terms of access to information and decision-making, lack of transparency and poor feedback from its leadership, and decreasing opportunities for community meetings and participation of people. Some examples were provided of how these characteristics are affecting the elements of voice, capabilities and trust of community people.

Practical implications for improving fairness on the ground were also discussed, considering the contextual and structural characteristics and limitations of the Juruti-Alcoa relationship. This research demonstrated that there is space for improving fairness in the relational process between Juruti and Alcoa, although translating opportunities from theory to practice is challenging and would require further research on how these could be implemented.

7.2 The conceptual framework – contributions, limitations, and future research

The study engaged different bodies of knowledge from the social sciences to the mining context and discussed the characteristics of community-company relationships from a variety of perspectives. A literature review was conducted to develop the framework, and it was shown that the elements of voice, capabilities and trust are relevant for relational fairness across time and over different areas of research and social justice in general. This analysis created a conceptual basis for exploring issues of fairness in community-company relationships that can be used in formal and informal situations in which these parties manage their interests.

In this regards, this study contributes to the body of knowledge that aims to explore social issues in the extractive industry. It builds interdisciplinary links between current theory in the field of 'mining and communities', and other relevant theories such as negotiation, public-participation, and conflict-resolution. By discussing issues of fairness and social justice, the thesis has also engaged different theories from philosophy, sociology and social psychology to expand theoretical perspectives about the social issues of the extractive industry.

Although the framework was a useful tool for exploring the dynamics of fairness, it also has several limitations. One of them concerns the boundaries established and the perspectives of analysis. As explained in Chapter 2, every community-company relationship is socially complex in itself, which means that the relational processes between the parties are formed by numerous factors interacting with each other in dynamic ways. In this context, the research could be expanded by using different elements of fairness, and approaching relational fairness by looking at different aspects of the community-company relationship not considered in the framework.

There is an extensive network of variables that comprise the social system that is a community-company relationship, and this study has explored only three of them. Adding other variables to the framework could strengthen its utility and enable a more comprehensive analysis on relational fairness. The framework could also have established a stronger link between processes and outcomes, which although are known to be deeply interconnected, are not explored in this thesis. Beyond these limitations, different opportunities to expand this research can be identified.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, ideally the framework would explore the internal dynamics not only of the communities, but also of the companies. The ways communication, personal interactions, and social organisation take place within the corporation are fundamental to understanding the dynamics of fairness in community-company relationships. However, because of time and access limitations, this study only focused on the community's internal dynamics with comparatively little data being collected about how Alcoa internally manages its relationship with the Juruti population. An understanding of internal characteristics of how the company manages community-related matter can be as crucial as the internal dynamics of communities (Owen & Kemp, 2014, Kemp, 2010), and therefore warrant further exploration.

Ethnographic approaches used to research the institutional dynamics of companies (e.g., see Welker, 2011; Rajak, 2011) could be used to explore these internal structures and mechanisms, applying the framework of this thesis. What could be undertaken is a systematic exploration of relational processes within companies and how these affect relational fairness in their relationships with affected communities. Such approaches could raise interesting discussions about the way companies develop and implement their CSR strategies and do or do not promote social justice through their performance.

Another important aspect that is not discussed in the framework of this thesis is inclusion of government as a relevant party in the community-company relationship (Ballard & Banks, 2004). As stated in Chapter 2, the focus was specifically on exploring the relational dynamics between the local population and the company. I did not involve the government because this would have expanded significantly the dynamics to be analysed, requiring more time in the field. Besides, this was not the scope of the thesis. Nevertheless, the role of the *prefeitura*, and how local government manages and invests amounts paid by Alcoa is certainly a relevant to the community-company relationship. This is clear from the intense political dynamics identified in Juruti (see Chapter 4), and because some of the benefits negotiated with Alcoa, such as the *Agenda Positiva*, are managed solely by the local government without participation of the population.

This study adopted a critical realist perspective in which the interpretations of locals about relational fairness were not considered central to the exploration. Instead I built a definition of fairness based on an interdisciplinary literature review, and then applied it in the field. However, from an anthropological and psychological perspective, my approach disregarded an important factor: how Juruti people interpret justice and fairness, and what is important for them in relational fairness (in contrast to what is important in the context of the framework).

Concerning the Juruti case, I found a significant change in the behaviour of Alcoa from pre-operations stage through the period of operation stage, and this change clearly was affected by the relational processes and the dynamics of fairness. This indicates that temporal analysis is a relevant aspect for exploring community-company relationships. In addition, these behavioural changes have important implications for the field of CSR, especially when it comes to criticism of manipulation and lip-service by corporations. More research into behavioural change of mining corporations during different stages of progress of the mine project could foster our understandings of relational processes and help in identifying factors affecting relational fairness.

While the framework was applied to only one case study, it could be easily applied in other kinds of community-company relationships because it provides a way of framing the relational processes and negotiation structures of a myriad of different objects of negotiation. It could also be adapted and used as a tool for companies to monitor and account for the way they are managing the relationship with the community in which they operate. The framework could thus help companies to be more aware of how they relate with their communities on a daily basis, especially when it comes to advancing relational fairness.

Finally, the framework could also work as a tool to help communities to better understand their relationships with mining companies, and to identify opportunities to improve relational processes in place. By understanding better the structures and dynamics of their relationship with the company, and the ways communities are performing, communities will be empowered with a more holistic and analytical perspective of these relationships. Such a perspective may help communities to evaluate their performance, and improve strategic behaviour towards their interests, to foster greater dialogue with the company, and to potentially increase opportunities for more integrative outcomes.

7.3 The negotiation lens: benefits, risks, and possibilities for community empowerment

One of the innovations of this research is its use of a negotiation lens to explore the relational processes between community and companies. Using this lens provided a new perspective on the engagement processes between the parties, and promoted a creative way to investigate issues of relational fairness. As discussed in Chapter 1, the negotiation lens has been applied to mining cases mainly when they have involved formal negotiation between parties bound by legally determined agreements. Less is known about negotiations between mining companies and affected communities when these relationships take place informally.

As observed in my field work, the Juruti population has experienced many situations in which it has been disadvantaged in its relationship with Alcoa because people are not well placed to manage their interests strategically. It was the negotiation perspective that enabled the identification of these disadvantages. However, there were moments when I felt that applying a negotiation lens did not make sense outside theoretical context, especially because, since Alcoa's operation first began, fewer explicit negotiations occurred between the parties.

Parties seem to stay for a long time in a mode where they (especially Alcoa) were only managing in a public relations sense to promote affable relationships and/or avoid conflict. In addition, when I was analysing the way community people interact with Alcoa community relations personnel, the negotiation lens seemed foggy, as employees did not seem to always behave strategically to pursue the company's interests. Nor, for that matter, did community people.

It was only when I came back from the field and started to analyse the data from a different environment, and from a broader level of analysis (considering for example time and institutional performance of the company), that the negotiation perspective made sense again. In its basic form, this can be expressed in a binary: the company continually seeks to build a positive reputation and to manage operational risks; the communities continually seek ways to gain better advantage from the presence of Alcoa in Juruti. The negotiated nature of these relationships became clear when I started to see how communities struggle to communicate and manage their interests, and how this lack of capability to behave strategically put affected people in a disadvantaged position. Therefore, I maintain my argument that looking at these relationships through a negotiation perspective is beneficial for exploring relational fairness as they help us to unfold the strategic aspects of how parties relate to each other.

Nevertheless, applying the negotiation lens also has risks and implications. As an example, viewing these relationships as a negotiated space is likely to be avoided by companies as it diminishes the idea of friendship, moral conduct, and even the role of the provider of benefits and sustainable development to affected communities. Although, the management of community-company relationships is increasingly rationalised and strategized by mining companies (Humphreys, 2000), the negotiation approach conflicts directly with the image of good and responsible neighbours that mining companies want to build. This image helps companies to build a good reputation in the global market. On the contrary, the negotiation perspective highlights the strong business essence of community engagement practices.

Use of the negotiation lens could contribute to liberating communities, a term which Paulo Freire (1970, 1967) would use to describe the processes where the consciousness of communities is expanded, and people are empowered to function in their social settings. Although Freire does not directly research negotiation, his arguments about the relevance of community empowerment for social justice relate directly to community-company relationships. As shown in this research, relational fairness can be increased if communities acknowledge these negotiation situations and increase their level of organisation to negotiate interests with company. Once communities acknowledge that, in practical terms, they are in an ongoing negotiation situation with the company, this could support and broaden their current perspective that internal empowerment strengthens their position in the relationship with companies.

By looking beyond building friendship and engaging merely 'to inform, consult, involve, collaborate and empower', to emphasise the important of negotiating communities' interests, the perspective illustrates in a more direct and clear way that people need to learn how to be strategic. This remains highly relevant, especially if we consider that people might fail in negotiation if the other party does not acknowledge that negotiation is occurring (Lewicki et al., 2007). Without this acknowledgement, community people are likely to be dissatisfied with outcomes and unfair relational structures are likely.

In situations where communities clearly resist a company, negotiating with the company may mean that they will need to develop a more strategic approach to manage their interests. In the cases where communities are not necessarily against mining, but are still expecting to secure benefits (i.e., the Juruti case), choosing negotiation could afford them the opportunity of improve the quality of the outcomes. This perspective also helps communities to see these relationships beyond the image of the company as the provider of the engagement and themselves as receivers or victims. Such an outcome thus switches the community's perspective of the relationship from giver and taker to two parties with expectations, interests, responsibilities and rights.

There are some empirical examples demonstrating the benefits of introducing the negotiation perspective to community leaders so as to empower them in engagements for decision making, and for increasing civic capacity (Shmueli et al., 2008, 2009). The negotiation perspective has also been applied in the negotiation of benefits resulting from natural resources extraction (Liss, 2011). Further research to explore ways to use the negotiation lens in the mining context should be developed. Nevertheless, I understand that in practical terms applying the negotiation lens may be challenging due to practical social, political and economic questions which, in practice, are not as simple to achieve as these are in theory. It is especially relevant when it comes to the political and economic power of companies, and how the asymmetries prevent the communities from negotiating in more equitable settings.

From a practical perspective, the question remains how to create awareness about the negotiation perspective of community-company relationships so as to empower communities to take the ownership of these negotiations. Would a greater knowledge about negotiation techniques improve the way Juruti people engage with Alcoa? While the Juruti case has shown that there is space for improving such techniques for communities to use, identifying how this could be done is complex, considering contextual and cultural limitations, and surely requires further research.

To conclude, further research could be undertaken to explore in detail the negotiation strategies used by the parties, and how they could be improved to foster more collaborative approaches and integrative outcomes. The development of culturally appropriate methods to create awareness about negotiation techniques would also be beneficial, especially when communities are managing their interests with companies, such as compensations, resettlement, and when managing other tensions or environmental and social conflicts.

Unless communities and companies become aware that negotiation is necessary to their relationship, enhancing relational fairness is unlikely. The path towards greater fairness in the community-company relationships includes acknowledging that to improve these relationships both parties need to perform with critical reasoning, strategic thinking and action. Developing these skills in negotiation in the mining context could enable communities and companies to better manage these conflicts. I see this initiative as a step further in the promotion of social justice for communities impacted by mining activities.

7.4 Individual behaviour and interpersonal interactions — focusing on the human side of community-company relationships

A contribution of this thesis is its focus on the role of individual behaviour and interpersonal interactions in the dynamics of fairness of the community-company relationship. The focus of the framework on the interactional dynamics between individuals in the community-company relationships has expanded existing knowledge about the effect of individual action and behaviour in the relational processes. While the literature tends to look at the community-company relationship institutionally in which community and company are the parties, this research has provided important insights that these relationships are formed by groups of individuals. After all, community-company relationships are formed by people, and people have feelings, emotions, and ideas that inevitably shape the course of the relationship with the company throughout time. As a consequence, I found that the role of the individual should be further explored when assessing relational fairness.

While in this research, I did initially apply to the mining industry some theories in social psychology and symbolic interaction, these and other behavioural sciences could be applied and explored in more depth. The knowledge generated by applying psychology to mining and its communities can foster our understandings of relational processes and fairness. It would also help us to analyse, in more detail, personal interactions that have been shown to be a relevant when exploring negotiation, conflict, and decision-making in the mining context.

7.5 Expanding capabilities and individual willingness – what if people don't care?

As I concluded in Chapter 6, expanding the set of capabilities is a central to enhancing relational fairness as it enables people to express their voice and build trust. It improves people's performance in the relationship by increasing their awareness and critical thinking. If focus is given to the relevance of individual capabilities to improving relational fairness, two challenges are encountered: the first involves the possibility of promoting capacity-building in the mining context; and the second considers the part of individual willingness in acquiring new knowledge and getting involved in the community-company relationship.

Theories of justice (e.g. Sen, 2009) strongly emphasise the relevance of capabilities for greater social justice, but the discussion remains more focused on the level of ideas; how to increase these capabilities at the community level remains unclear. On the other hand, Freire (1970), suggested practical ways to expand the capabilities of individuals, and developed a full methodology to promote such expansion and empower communities. While his methods focus on literacy and political awareness, the philosophical basis for the empowerment can surely be used in the community-company relationship. A specific methodology would still have to be developed to improve capabilities of populations affected by mining, considering the specificities of the mining context and the matters discussed with companies.

A challenge would be how to interest people in expanding their own capabilities. What if affected people are not interested in becoming more aware and participating actively in the relationship with the company? The exercise of voice, for example, is initiated by individual willingness, without which even where there is space and capabilities for dialogue with the company, dialogue would still not occur. While I was in Juruti, I felt that some of the people whom I met and engaged with were not very interested in learning more about mining, despite their insufficient understanding. Even though their reluctance was disadvantageous to them, they seemed to remain unwilling and unmotivated to change. However, it was not clear whether this lack of willingness was driven by lack of interest, or lack of actual opportunities to expand their capabilities. Whatever the reason, if people fail to see value in their empowerment for participating in the community-company relationship, there will be no space for capabilities to be expanded.

While this study has demonstrated that capacity-building of individuals is essential for fostering relational fairness and social justice, further research is required to develop a methodology to achieve this in practice. Such a methodology must take an anthropological approach to including cultural specificities of the affected community and their learning processes. Literature in the field of mining and community relations strongly argues that promoting understanding about mining related issues is a driver for greater relational fairness, but not much has been discussed about how such empowerment can be practically fostered.

This thesis has demonstrated the practical difficulties of building consent and promoting understanding in the communities, and the consequences caused by misunderstanding. These challenges are relevant not only for negotiation in the mining context, but also have important implications for the promotion of FPIC and a 'social license to operate'. In line with topical debates in mining and social responsibility (Macintyre, 2007, Boutilier et al., 2012, Owen & Kemp, 2013), there are many practical challenges about building consent.

Considering my experience in Juruti, I add that these challenges go beyond the performance and methods used by companies and governments. While the development of good methodologies to improve understanding and consent in the communities is urgent, attention should also be given to how to create value and foster individual willingness in the community. Building consent, and consequently expanding community capabilities, is only possible if all parties involved are interested in the process of sharing and learning.

7.6 Final thoughts – a manifesto for relational justice

This study has been underpinned by a strong interest in exploring issues related to social justice in the mining context. By analysing factors that enhance or hinder fairness in the Juruti-Alcoa relationship, I have sought to identify opportunities to minimise social injustice underlying the way communities and companies relate to each other. Academic research into justice and fairness, and the scientific knowledge it produces, can be complex because it ultimately has to deal with the subjectivity inherent in human affairs. But more than that, there is a risk of losing the rationality of the arguments in an ocean of utopian ideals. Justice is indeed an unreachable absolute ideal in our society, especially in the mining context. The contrast between communities and companies, and the structures of our capitalistic social system, do not give space for equitable and fair relationships. There is no total freedom, and no real equality, in community-company relationships. There will never be.

However, as I have tried to show here, there is a lot of space to improve justice that does not require us to transport ourselves to idealised scenarios. As stated in the quote that opens this thesis: *'A man must go forth from where he stands; he cannot jump to the absolute; he must evolve toward it'*. Applying this to the context of fairness in community-company relationships, means that, to evolve, and improve, we should first understand the details of our current context and social dynamics.

By doing this, we are able to find opportunities to improve fairness within existing limitations, and identify potential possibilities based on the existing dynamics. In view of the imperfections that permeate our world, it can be argued that there is always space for improvement and to evolve towards more justice and less injustice. We just need to be more focused on understanding the details of such situations, and identifying the possibilities.

Some initiatives in the company, for example, could help to improve the situation of the communities in Juruti from the perspective of voice, capabilities, and trust. Adjusting communication channels and structures, displaying greater care for individual feelings when interacting with others, and paying more attention to how communities internally manage their interests would all have positive impacts on fairness. While these initiatives would not solve the problem of justice in the mining context, they would definitely contribute positively.

There is also ample opportunity to improve the set of capabilities of communities so they can better manage their relationship with companies. The Juruti case illustrates this well. There is lack of understanding amongst the communities about the basic concepts of mining, the mining company is a neighbour, and people must deal with mining-related issues on a daily basis. If these capabilities are improved, relational fairness will increase along with community power to deal with their context and Alcoa from a position of greater awareness.

Independent of whether we are 'for' or 'against' the mining industry, the industry is likely to expand as global demand for minerals increases. Therefore, communities will continue to be pushed to enter relationships with mining companies, and injustices will remain if people do not develop their own capabilities to better manage the situation. Companies, of course, also have their challenges in managing their internal dynamics and social demands. Mining companies are mainly skilled in extracting, processing and selling minerals, and not necessarily in promoting social justice through their performance.

Communities and companies may be in conflict, and there might be frustration in the relationship; not necessarily because communities and companies interests are contradictory, but because they struggle to relate to each other. However, the ability to relate has to be increased on both sides of the negotiation, and not only the company setting. Because companies have capital available, they can afford skilled professionals to improve their capability to relate with communities, but they must first be interested. Communities, in contrast, mostly do not have the means to seek external assistance to improve their capabilities. The active participation of governments, universities, and NGOs in promoting social justice in the mining context is therefore urgent to address such inequalities.

Although these bodies are already participating in many community-company relationships, their activities are largely focused on outcomes rather than relational processes. Outcomes such as development benefits, and sustainability that mark global discourse of mining companies are the results of good and fair relationships and not only of good projects and creative initiatives. The relationship is what allows the outcomes to become concrete, and be positive. For these reasons, the quality and meaningfulness in community-company relationships should be an elementary concern for social justice in the mining context.

Appendices

Appendix A - Interview protocol

This is the interview protocol. It contains the general questions used to guide semi-structured interviews.

Domains	Community people (Town, Corridor and Juruti Velho Lake)	Community/ Association representatives	Alcoa employees
Demographic profile and contextual questions	<p>Name, age, social status, have children? How many? Original from, in Juruti/the community since when?</p> <p>How many years have you been to school?</p> <p>What do you do for work? Can you tell me about how is life in this community? How are the relationships here in this community?</p>	<p>Name, age, social status, have children? How many? Original from, in Juruti/the community since when?</p> <p>How many years have you been to school?</p> <p>Can you tell me how the association you represent was created? How did you become the leader of this association? What does this association do? How is it organised?</p>	<p>Name, age, social status, original from, in Juruti since when? What is your position at Alcoa?</p>
Arrival of Alcoa and mining related impacts	<p>Can you tell me when you first heard about the arrival of a mining company in Juruti? How the arrival of Alcoa in Juruti was? What were the changes/impacts? How did the community react to it?</p>	<p>Can you tell me when you first heard about the arrival of a mining company in Juruti? How the arrival of Alcoa in Juruti was? What were the changes/impacts? How did the community react to it? What about</p>	<p>How would you describe the relationship between Juruti/community/region and Alcoa? Was it always like that or something has changed? Could you give me an example?</p>

	How would you describe the relationship between Juruti/community/region and Alcoa? Was it always like that or something has changed? Could you give me an example?	the association? How would you describe the relationship between Juruti/community/region and Alcoa? Was it always like that or something has changed? Could you give me an example?	
Communication, information flow, and negotiation processes	<p>Have you ever talked to someone from the company? How often? How was it? Where? Who participated? What about? Who talked about it? What was the outcome of this meeting? Another example?</p> <p>What kind of benefits or compensations have you negotiated? How were/are these negotiations? Who participated from the community? Who participated from the company?</p> <p>Was it easy for you and others to understand what Alcoa people were saying?</p> <p>If you want to say something to Alcoa, how do you do it?</p> <p>How do you access information about the mine?</p> <p>Have you heard about</p>	<p>How this association relates to Alcoa? What are the main topics of discussions? How are they articulated/negotiated?</p> <p>What are the processes communication channels in place to engage with the company?</p> <p>What kind of benefits or compensations have you negotiated? How were these negotiations? Who participated from the community? Who participated from the company?</p> <p>Have you heard about Alcoa talking about sustainability? What is it?</p>	<p>What kind of benefits or compensations have you negotiated? How were/are these negotiations? Who participated from the community? Who participated from the company?</p> <p>What are the processes in place in case someone from the community wants to ask or request something from Alcoa? How do you deal with this demand internally? What are the internal processes? How feedback is given to communities?</p> <p>How community people access information about the mine?</p> <p>What are the challenges to communicate with Juruti people? How do you overcome this?</p> <p>Alcoa's approach to community relations is based on the principle of sustainability. What is</p>

	Alcoa talking about sustainability? What is it?		sustainability?
Interactional and interpersonal dynamics	<p>What do you think company people think of Juruti people/people from your community?</p> <p>How company people behave in community-company interactions? How community people behave?</p>	<p>What do you think company people think of Juruti people/people from your community?</p> <p>How company people behave in community-company interactions? How community people behave?</p>	<p>How do you see the characteristics of the personal interactions between employees and locals?</p> <p>What about the employees working closely to community issues?</p> <p>What do you think community people think of you and other employees?</p>
Social organisation and representation	<p>Who represent your voice/interests in the relationship with Alcoa?</p> <p>How the representation processes work? How do you get information and feedback about the performance of your leadership in regards to the relationship with Alcoa?</p>	<p>How decision making processes are made within the association? How information is shared and feedbacks are given to other participants?</p>	<p>How does Alcoa engage with Juruti people and local associations/ leaderships? What are the approaches to engage with communities and social demands?</p>

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