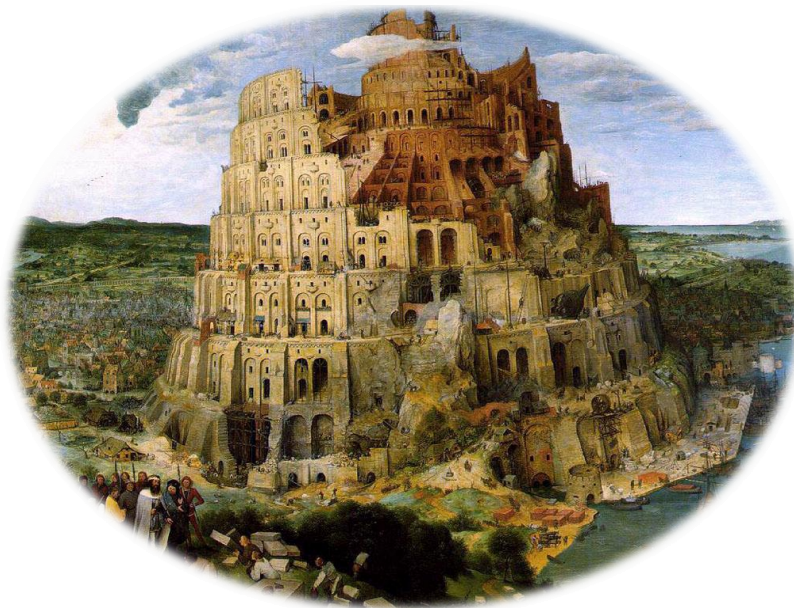René Brauer

Joining Babylon*: Opportunity or Curse

*Babylon refers to the white power structure of Europe and the Americas in the Rastafarian Religion

A Study about the local Population's Perceptions of the Mining Industry in Jamaica

Abstract

This thesis tries to give an accurate description of the perceptions of the local people in a developing country about big Multinational Corporations (MNC) operating within their community, in one particular case. The big MNC will be represented by a bauxite mining company that also refines bauxite to alumina. The study has been conducted in the close proximity to the alumina refining plant of that company. The plant is located roughly 10 kilometers outside Mandeville, Jamaica.

The methods used to establish the perception of the local population were primarily semi structured interviews that took place at informal meetings. The interviewed people were chosen both deliberately and at random to be able to capture people's perception in general. People were divided in subgroups of *directly connected*, *indirectly connected* and *no connection* at all in regard to the mining industry.

The results showed that the perception of the mining company was mixed, in what was emphasized. There was however a consensus about the issues touched upon. People were aware and grateful for the benefits that the mining company provided. People often pointed out the contributions in form of wages and other social benefits for the area, but there was substantial concern for the environment and health of the people. The level of awareness about different issues varied a lot. The current economic situation led to many redundancies in the area and that the plant shut down. The plant was being maintained, at the time of the study. Many people expressed concerns for the future, but almost everybody was in agreement that they wanted to see the plant up and running again.

So the future for the area remains unknown, but people believed that they were better off with the help of the mining company than without it. The Corporate Social Responsibility policy that the company was following did have some major positive contribution in the area.

Key Words: Jamaica, local population, perception, mining, Multinational Corporations (MNC), Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Acknowledgements

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Map and Picture List

1. Introduction

1.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter tries to give an overview about the study, and to define the underlying problem that gave rise to the study and the research questions. A brief introduction is given to the overall theoretical background of the study of globalization. This is in order to establish a basic understanding of the subject. The limitations for the study are outlined in the end of the chapter along with a short overview of the whole thesis.

1.2 Introduction to the Study

The study of globalization has become an integral part of our now globalized world. Everyone is familiar with terms like the global village or that the world is "getting smaller" as so elegantly summed up by Zygmunt Bauman (2000) in his book *Globalization*. This however has only lead to more confusion of what globalization actually is and what it incorporates which makes it sometimes hard to grasp and to understand (a.a.).

This thesis tries to give a small contribution to the understanding of globalization, by focusing away from all the abstract theories of globalization, of which there are many, and instead focusing on the micro level realities of people in the developing countries. Because, after all, these are the people that most of these developing theories are talking about.

The study involves informal interviews asking people about their perception of their situation in a globalized world. Their ties to the globalised world will be represented by the fact that they work and/or live in an area dominated by a Multi National Corporation (MNC) and how they are influenced by the implementation of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of that company. The study area is Jamaica that with its history and socio economic situation represents a very typical case for a developing country. The influence of MNCs will be represented by a bauxite mining and alumina production company. The mining sector was a natural choice because of its global nature. The global system of mining is well established and has been around for long period of time. An explorative approach is applied into establishing people's perceptions of their own situation according to the principles of post-colonialism and other similar school of thoughts.

In academic litterateur it is often ignored that it is people's realities, which these abstract theories talk about. Furthermore there is a need for interchanging of ideas and thoughts between individuals in different countries to break down prejudices. These are built into our social realities, which are at the bottom of many conflicts and misunderstandings among people (Sharp 2009).

The Famous Enlightenment thinker Immanuel Kant envisioned a peaceful world that he outlined in his essay "On Perpetual Peace" where he formulated a legal framework for it, but at the bottom of this framework was mutual respect and understanding among people (Kant 1795).

Act that your principle of action might safely be made a law for the whole world

Immanuel Kant
(BrainMedia.com 2010)

One of the Caribbean's most famous sons took this Kantian message of love and understanding and carried it around the world in his music. It only feels natural to quote Bob Marley in a study that wants to promote understanding and equality and took place in Jamaica. He appropriately put words to this when he said:

Me only have one ambition, y'know. I only have one thing I really like to see happen. I like to see mankind live together - black, white, Chinese, everyone - that's all

Bob Marley
(BrainMedia.com 2010)

1.3 Background and Problem Definition

The phenomenon of globalization is not a new one. Certain Scholars argue that the world went into its first stage of globalization as early as 1492 with Christopher Columbus discovering the Americana and the subsequent trade that resulted from this (Rourke et al 2002). Others define the starting point for early globalization with the rise of the British Empire, which for the first time incorporated a global trade network. These on the other hand were imperialistic endeavors. Involving the exchange of resources from the global colonized South for European manufactured goods and thereby no real free trade (Steger 2010).

These are just a few examples of all the different time dates that have made it difficult for scholars to pinpoint exactly when globalization started. But most scholars agree that the modern form of globalization that happened after 1944 (Bretton Woods Conference), is in stark contrast to the previous forms. The rise of the so called *Pax Americana* led to establishment of organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which later was reformed into the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Abrahamsson 2003).

These organizations were designed to secure international trade and ensure development of the underdeveloped world along with a clear US dominated world economy (the dollar became the international currency). This laid the foundation for today's modern form of globalization. Over time, the organizations turned into the agents of economy and helped to spread western style economic domination around the world (Andersson 2001). Previously globalization and world domination was led by military dominance, in today's world this need has greatly diminished and has been replaced by economic dominance. But sometimes the old practice of securing economic objectives by military intervention still occurs. This is exemplified as the economic reasons behind the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan become more and more apparent. This also serves a different purpose in demonstrating

the power of the *Pax Americana* to show its readiness to crush every enemy that dares to go against it (Fisk 2006). This along with the Truman doctrine during the cold war paved the way for today's US dominated global system (Chomsky 2000).

Today's domination, in this global world, is secured by economical might. The main economical actors being big companies, these are often called Multinational Corporations (MNC). Some of these companies have acquired an unprecedented influence and power in today's world since the onset of the neoliberal politics by Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s. Today's MNCs are on the forefront in promoting economic globalization around the world in the search for profit (Woods 2000). The interdependence between economy and state has led to an alliance where companies have influences on state decisions. Big MNCs have an active veto power to object state decisions by moving their capital abroad and leaving the state crippled. This rarely ever happens but the possibility is enough to influence the state on a national level and along with organizations like the IMF and WTO on an international level to make favorable decisions for these companies (Chomsky 2002).

This search for profit of MNCs is not always according to ethical and environmental standards as many of us would want it to be. Furthermore, the introduction of a very powerful economic entity in the weak economics of the developing world have unforeseen effects. One apparent example was the liberalization of the Soviet Union. The economical exploitation by big business was one of the reasons of the economic crises in 1998 in Russia. All this was only possible because neoliberal polices allowed the companies to act according to their own interest and diminishing the states influence (Stiglitz 2006). Developing countries with an undiversified economy cannot equal the economic power of some of MNCs. Thereby the MNCs become the economic overlords and have deciding power over state decisions, this makes it is very difficult for developing countries to challenge them (Manely 1987).

Unsecure world market prices further complicate the situation if a country is depending on exports of a single commodity or largely imports of its goods. Economic recessions hit very hard against countries like this, further complicating their struggle to diminish poverty. Even in times of economic stability real development does often not occur because the revenue generated is used for debt payments instead of funding socio-economic growth, thereby keeping these countries in poverty (Braidotti 1994)

Jamaica is often perceived as being a tropical island with lush sandy beaches and coconut trees, combine this with a good amount of reggae music, Rastafarian religion and people smoking marijuana, you have most people's popular version of Jamaica, far removed from any of these problems of globalization (Thomas & Vaitling 2007). However the reality for many Jamaicans is in stark contrast to this popularized imagine of the tropical paradise island. It is my belief that Jamaica is an excellent case for development studies, because it is an arc typical development country, both in history and current socio economic context.

Jamaica is dominated by bauxite mining, big mining MNCs are involved in the exploitation of bauxite. These big mining companies make a perfect analogy of how an MNC can influence the local people in the developing world. Mining companies are located all around the world, because their distribution is depended on geological process and not political ones. However political forces do come into play in the decisions if these recourses are profitable to extract. This is what makes the developing countries with its cheap labor force and sometimes lax environmental laws such an attractive and profitable location for mineral extraction (Stiglitz 2006).

Thereby these mining MNCs have become an engine of globalization and together with the oil industry make up a large part of the global economy. According to Fortune 500 these two industries branches were the most profitable ones for their respective shareholders in 2007 (Fortune 500 2008)

I believe the mining company's behavior can exemplify MNCs operations in the developing world.

Mining companies in the past have come under attack for violation of working standards, health standards and environmental standards (Råvarugruppen 1980). Even today reports of this nature can still be found (Zarsky 2002). The constant pressure of consumers and the outrage about scandals have lead to new phenomena that is called Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). The rise of CSR has lead to some improvements in these areas where now for the first time MNCs take responsibility for their actions and implement environmental safety, good working and health conditions from the start, to avoid negative press (Klein 2000, Kotler & Lee 2005).

1.4 Objective of the Study

As mentioned above there are many different theories trying to explain how development can be accomplished for developing countries. These theories make assumption about how globalization and the underlying economic and social framework work. To just mention two extremes of these developing theories, there is the Washington consensus, which has a stance of extreme neoconservative values and economic liberalization. Saying that the influence of the state should be minimized and if only the private sector (predominantly MNC:s) can operate on their own free will, development in developing countries will occur in so called trickledown economics (Abrahamsson 2003). This propagates trickledown economics; many scholars have criticized this approach for being too simplistic and propagate a more balanced approach (Hoogvelt 2001).

To contrast the Washington consensus there are scholars who argue along the line of the dependence school, they argue that even though official colonization is no longer in place, the economic colonization with its grid of dependence of the developing world on the developed world is stronger than ever. Therefore real development and progress can only be achieved if one breaks free from this nexus of dependence (Manley 1987).

These are just a short selection of the myriad of different development theories. One thing that all these theories have in common is that they focus on a macroscopic level which necessary leads to a high degree of abstraction and simplification. These may be applicable to broad economic decisions but in order to get an understanding about the perception of reality of individuals on the ground working or living in a global environment in developing countries, these theories miserably fail. This is rather odd because it is these people's intention and ambitions that will fuel the development. The incorporation of their perception into wider development schemes should come natural (Freie 1970).

In order to go around all these different theories and to see what people's perceptions on the ground are, instead of all these different assumptions that are necessary for the abstract theories. It seemed appropriate to study the perception of the local population in regard to a big MNC. In this study the big MNC was exemplified by a bauxite mining company in Jamaica. The people in the area around the refinement plant of the company came to represent the developing countries people perception. This tries to give a better understanding of what micro level experience is like in a globalized world. In order to get a better grasp about just what globalization means on this scale. I tried to summarize this by stating my objective for the study as answering the question:

What is the general perception of the local population in Jamaica about a bauxite mining company operating within their community?

1.5 Choice of Study Area

The choice of Jamaica as a study subject had primarily to do with my own interest in the country and its culture. I have always enjoyed listening to reggae music to relax and enjoy the better moments of life. I speak and understand English fluently and the fact that the main language of Jamaica is English, allowed me to conduct the interviews without using an interpreter. This contributed to my choice of Jamaica as study subject for my thesis. The adaption to the native Jamaican Patois accent took some time and put me in uncomfortable, but mainly comical situations.

My choice of Jamaica as a Study Area was mainly motivated by other reasons than the socio economic situation of the island. But it is my belief that Jamaica makes a good candidate for development studies. I will give reasons for this all throughout the thesis, but the main one would be that it is a typical developing country in almost every aspect.

1.6 Research Questions

As shown in the end of 1.3, the image of big mining MNCs has not always been a very positive one. So it seems obvious to ask how the local population perceives this and if this still is the case today or if CSR has changed this reality.

- *What is the perception of the environmental situation?*

- *What is the perception of the health situation and if they feel there is any relationship to the mining operation?*

- *What is the perception of the working conditions of the workers and how do the workers perceive their own situation?*

Due to the global financial crisis, there is a recession in the Jamaican bauxite industry (Gilchrist 2010, Gleaner). This issue should be addressed as well since there is no real alternative to the Bauxite Alumina Industry in Jamaica, which furthermore highlights the importance of the industry.

- *What do people think the future will be like?*

Most importantly is a general question of how an individual in the development world sees the company that is so dominant in his or her community.

- What is the perception of the local population about an MNC in their community?

1.7 Demarcation

The idea for the study came from the study of globalization. In order to grasp the whole situation of micro level experience of people, it would be necessary to conduct this kind of study all around the world. For reasons to keep the study manageable, the study tries to focus on one particular case, instead of focusing on the overall understanding of a micro level experience. Jamaica will be representing that particular case.

The same applies for the choice of the type of MNC. There is a myriad of different types of MNCs. By turning the focus on the mining industry in Jamaica this study still tries to catch the essence of this global phenomenon in a manageable format.

The term people is as broad formulation as one could get, it is obvious that the perceptions of some, will have to represent the perception of the whole. This does not seem like something very outlandish since it is a common practice in election polls and similar practices. So people were divided in different groups to be a representation of the overall population of the area, both choosing deliberately or at random to establish a good coverage.

Perception has the same flavor of generality to it as the term people; in order to be manageable a few key issues have been identified and will be studied. These are in regard to the mining operation and the situation the people find themselves in. These key issues were identified as the overall situation, the environmental situation and the health aspect. With the temporary closure of the industry the future aspect of the area was investigated as well.

1.8 Disposition

This thesis is divided in the following parts: In the next chapter (2) there will be a walkthrough of general approach taken. That was used to conduct the fieldwork in Jamaica, along with the methodology of the field interviews. The following chapter (3) tries to give an impression of the scientific framework what this thesis was built upon. The western discourse is fundamental for this thesis because it is at a stark contrast to the perceptions of the local population in the developing world. There has been criticism towards the western discourse and its ethical operation both inside the developed world and in the developing countries. CSR is an attempt by MNCs to lessen this criticism and behave more ethical. Also a representation of current mining practices is given in chapter three. In following chapter (4) the results of my own summarization of Jamaica and the specific study area are presented. In chapter 5 the results of the interviews will be presented and in the adjoining chapter these results will be discussed along with an evaluation of the methodology. The last chapter (7) will be the discussion about the general implications and my own personal views and thoughts about this study.

2. Methodology Chapter

2.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter tries to give an understanding about what epistemological and scientific approach has been used to conduct the study. As well as outlining the method used to conduct the study, along with a detailed description of the interview question. Lastly a few words regarding the method used to analyze the interviews.

2.2. General Approach

Like seen above there are many different theories about globalization and development. Just as well are there many preconceived ideas about how people in the development world "ought" to be. This has many different reasons, but one is as philosopher Michael Foucault points out, the need of another that is different from oneself to define oneself. This has been giving many different names in the academic litterateur, *Orientalism*, *The Others* and the study of *Post-colonialism* is an entire academic branch devoted to these differences (Said 1978, Sharp 2009).

The interest of the study is however exactly to go around these preconceived ideas. Therefore a hermeneutic approach seems to be most suitable, which allows for the establishment of new knowledge with an explorative approach. The collected material was interpreted on its own merit, without preconceived ideas. This was to get a deeper understanding on how people perceive the world around them (Hartman 2004), in this case people in the developing world.

The aim of the study was to establish new knowledge and not to test theories; this should also be reflected in the choice of interview techniques. A semi structured interview with a high degree of flexibility, but still a focus on the relevant subject. This seemed to be most suitable method to fulfill the task (Svensson & Starrin 1996) of establishing a credible image of the perceptions of the local population.

2.2.1 Epistemological Approach

The common accepted model of knowledge in education is the banking account of knowledge, were the students are seen as empty bank accounts that get filled by the teachers knowledge (Bloodsworth-Lugo 2007). This builds on Roseau and Locke's account of the *tabula rasa* way of thinking. According to this the child is a blank sleet and natural good, ready to be formed and shaped during childhood, Foucault says this epistemology is actually harmful and ignores important aspects. (Bergenlöv 2009)

In agreement with Foucault, Paulo Freire (1970), in his book "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" takes a critical look at these conceptions of knowledge and redefines it for education. He agrees with Foucault that that neutral education is an illusion. Education has a vital function in society; it is to establish order, it is to neutralize deviant thought and to justify the current system. But education also has the possibility to liberate to become the "tool of liberation". Not only leading men and woman to be liberated but also the poor of the world, this is why he thinks it is important that poor people should analyze their own reality (a.a.). This is compatible with the critical account of knowledge post-colonialism teaches. Research by the poor themselves about their own reality is unfortunately not always possible. There might a number of reasons why this is not the case, the next best thing to this approach is that the researcher should be at least aware of the cultural significance of the people that the research is about. To take these into consideration while conducting the study and be aware of the cultural significance (Scheyvens 2003).

Freire (1970) goes on to argue that the teacher student dichotomy must be completely abolished, because it is a tool that teaches kids authoritarian way of thinking. To be obedient citizens who accepts power without questioning. He advocates instead a democratic method of teaching. He admits that the teacher and student are not equal, but he thinks that the students should be allowed to question accepted knowledge. The educator now has to be humble enough to let his or her preconceived ideas be challenged and not to degenerate into an authoritarianism way of thinking (a.a.).

This is built on Hegel's dialectical materialism, with the postulation of thesis, antithesis and finally synthesis. This is not alien to the way of science works today; the constant challenging of scientific postulation is what gives sciences its strength. Adjustments have been made to this dialectical theory, but it is one of the pillars that falsification builds upon. One can never prove a theory with absolute certainty. The best alternative is to show that one particular theory is false (Hartman 2004). In this regard we should also regard research as learning process, or at least it should be. What makes good research is when the researcher discovers and learns in an almost playful way. The chief rocket scientist of the Apollo Program put it so elegantly when he said.

Research is what I'm doing when I don't know what I'm doing

Wernher von Braun
(BrainMedia.com 2010)

Meaning that good sciences come from the things that we do not know, the chief discipline that tries to incorporate this approach into its methodology is anthropology. In anthropology researcher and the researched have a teacher student relation. Instead of treating people as study objects and objectifying them, the people studied become the teacher. It is true that the researcher and the researched are not equal, because for once the researcher has the power of taxonomy and therefore an elevated power relation. But the researcher should at least be aware of this and try to as Freire puts it, be "humble" about it (Kutsche 1998).

The learning approach Freie talks about is overlapping with an explorative view of research. The best method to incorporate this approach is to have a qualitative approach. This allows for an incorporating of many different aspects of one particular case, form which is little know in prior to the study. This approach should be preferred instead of a positivistic approach to conduct this kind of study (Bjereld et al 2002).

2.2.2 Scientific Approach

The proclaimed art of a geographer is to be able to see the whole picture, in other words to have a holistic perspective on the situation. In this aspect the highest art of geography is regional geography. It exemplifies this *raison d'être* of geography like no other discipline in geography, to be able to describe the specific and still apply or conclude to the general (Johnston et al. 1990). A case study is conducted in the same spirit as regional geography and therefore a natural choice for a geographical approach of holistic understanding. A case study illuminates the specific, the particular and tries to contextualize it into a holistic picture of understanding (Stake 1995). For some geographers the region is just an analytical tool, a background framework in what the analyst can conduct its study. A more nuanced view of the situation reveals that the concept of region in geography and anthropologies human dimension of a place is very similar. The concept of regional geographers of social space, lived space and cultural space can almost be translated one to one into anthropology (Butzer 2009). Adding a human dimension to one case study in geography which builds on the principles of anthropology only feels natural. One could view this way of conducting research and inquiry, in simply introducing a new dimension of understanding a place (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003).

Furthermore it had a practical aspect to it is well. If the researcher gets familiar with the area and the customs of the local people, there way of expressing things, but sometimes even more importantly their way of avoiding things. This will make for a deeper and better analysis of the collected human data (Kutsche 1998). Living among the people that the research is about is the best way to make sure that Freies proscribed "humbleness" is accomplished. The anthropological approach seems to be the best one incorporating this in regard to studying human interactions. Because the anthropologist goes through great difficulties to make clear that anthropology is not a given set of answers that are static, but rather a series of engaged conversation which exemplify the fluid nature of what it means to be human (Kutsche 1998).

Taking the anthropologic approach also allows for nuanced view of what it means to be human that Foucault advocates. In going away from the simplistic postulation of what it means to be human and giving a better picture of reality. The anthropologist sees the relations to its informants not as that of subjects to be studied, but as one of teachers who teach the student (the researcher in this case) about the culture (Kutsche 1998).This led me to choose the anthropological approach that will be incorporated into a geographical study, but as explained above this only feels natural. The same goes for the notion of a case study. With geographies focus on the particular, doing research in this case study inspired way seems very appropriate.

2.3 Choice of Interview Method

The most appropriate method given this task to establish people's perception was to talk to them, in other words interviews. Semi structured interviews were the best suited method for this task. They allowed for flexibility in the conversation but still gave a high degree of comparability, because the informants talked about similar issues (Scheyvens 2003). This is why semi structured interviews seemed to be very fitting in light of the approach of explorative research.

The background information of the people interviewed is confidential to all but the researcher, meaning that I will not disclose any information about the identity of the people who praticpiated in this study. This allowed the people not to worry about negative repercussions that their testimony might have, but rather give truthful testimony. All material collected was regarded as sensitive material that could possible generate negative repercussions; confidentiality for all informants was a reasonable research ethical choice. This is in accordance with the confidentiality and the consensus principle that is being postulated by the Swedish Ethic committee of human and sociology studies (CODEX 2010). An individual recognizing their own quote or similar, cannot be avoided. But there will be no disclosure of names or who said what, informants will be referred to by their job title or other means.

2.4 Conducting the Interviews

Asking for someone's perception is a very vague concept. Most of our conceptions about the world are being formed by automatic processing; meaning we do not perceive them consciously. Individuals find it hard to explain their perceptions if asked about them. It is a lot easier to ask people how they perceive something in particular or in regard to something, to deduce their perceptions form the answers one got (Bordens & Horowitz 2002). This is reflected in the choice of issues that were touched upon during the interviews.

To avoid confusion about what issues are being talked about the questions were formulated in a rather informal language, a more everyday language. Both to avoid confusion and to make them easier understandable for the people that were being interviewed. A series of questions were formulated in this fashion and put together in a so called interview guide. This also gave the perception to the interviewed people that the researcher was well prepared, helping them to feel at ease and secure, but still not choking them with too many difficult questions (Bernard 2002).

In the same spirit the environment for the interview was deliberately chosen to be very casual, in order to get the person to relax and be spontaneous in their answers. The use of a Dictaphone was applied to record the interviews. This was done always with the consent of the interviewed person, if it was not desired by the person interviewed, notes were taken. Obviously there was the possibility that the person would be more reluctant to disclose information, knowing that a recording device was active (Bernard 2002). There certainly was a possibility for this, however the information that was desired was primary not of a sensitive matter. This plus the inherent benefit of using a Dictaphone , recording the interview relieving the researcher the pressure of trying to write down all the vital information. Instead of frantically trying to take notes, one can sit back; try to formulate the

questions according to the situation in the most appropriate way. More importantly of all it allowed more time to observe not only what is being said, but to how it is being said (Scheyvens 2003).

Certain Individuals were regarded as people with special knowledge on top of their roles in as normal informants. For example a doctor's opinion on health of the population was also been seen as information on how the health situation really is. There is a strong reason to belief that these two were the same. This was been done for all the background information that was needed, as far as it was possible (Potter and Desai 2006).

2.5 Getting Informants

Gatekeepers are an important aspect of a community. In sociology, anthropology persons with access to the community are regarded as gatekeepers. Gatekeepers can facilitate contact persons, meetings and other sort of vital information. A good relation to a gatekeeper can make or break a study (Scheyvens 2003). The main way I contacted people was by way of introduction from a gatekeeper. This allowed the person that was to be interviewed to have a perception of what kind of person I would be. This was beneficial because, a trusted person to the individual had already introduced me, making my appearance not as alien as it might otherwise had been.

I told my gatekeeper what kind of people I would like to interview and if she could facilitate a meeting with the persons of interest. When this was not possible I did the direct approach. I simply asked the person I would like to interview if they were willing to be interviewed.

2.6 Interviews

People within the industry became a double roll not only representing the industry but also the relation towards the public of the industry, if the industry regards people as inferiors, participants, valued assets or employees etc. As well as the relation of the people towards the industry, if they see it as a nuisance, opportunity, partner etc.

To be able to get a good coverage about all these different issues and power relations, I divided the local population into several subgroups:

- People who were directly involved with the mining industry, workers of the company etc

- People who were indirectly involved in the mining industry, suppliers of the industry, wives/husbands of employees, vendors that sell primarily to the workers, worker unions etc.

- People who had no relationship with the industry at all.

I believe this was a good coverage of the whole population form all aspects of society. I think I covered a good part of the population that is depended and not on the bauxite alumina industry. Also this kept the study on in a manageable size, because it allowed me to be selective with the people I interviewed and still have a broad spectrum of perceptions.

2.6.1 Subjects of Inquiry for the Interviews

I identified three groups of major interests, with whom I tried to capture the overall notion about the perception about the mining industry. The groups are as follows:

- What is the relationship between the people and the mining industry; did they feel exploited, did they feel as participants, did they feel as beneficiaries, did they think they are involved etc.

- What is the perception of the environment and health in regard to the mining industry; was there a concern about environment degradation or not.

- What were their thoughts on global situation, and in what aspect did they see the future of Jamaica and the area in it?

These three points describe aptly what it is I wanted to know. Out of a geographic and anthropologist perspective I felt that these points captured the perception about the relevant subjects. Obviously one could have studied even more aspects of the everyday life and perception of the population, but once again this restriction was made to keep the study manageable. These points were translated into an interview guide, in the picture 2.1 to the right is the corresponding page in my field notebook. Below is a short representation of the interview guide.

The interview guide was used as a kind of guideline to what I want to know in the interview. I rated the question to different weights; beginning with the main questions which I definitely asked. But the subsequent questions were only guiding posts, if the individual did not already answer these questions by its own account. One had to be prepared to do this with every question if the wording of the question was not understood.
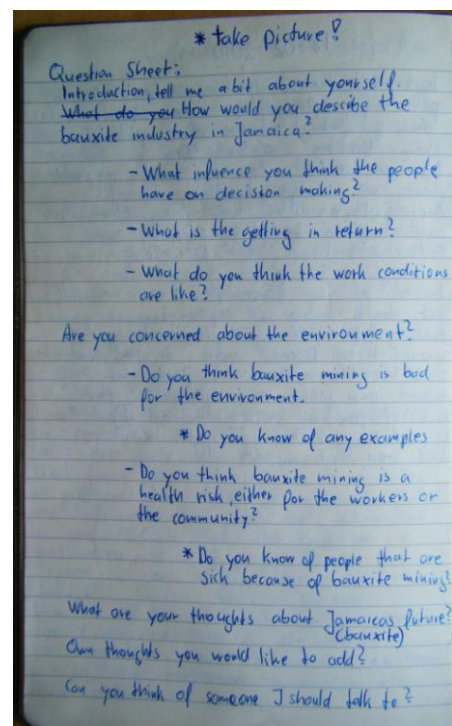
Picture 2.1 corresponding page from my note book

2.6.2 The Interview Questions

The aim of this method was not to disturb the train of thought of the person who was interviewed. Instead letting them freely think and articulate their own perception. Thereby getting the normal reactions and thoughts of the person and not trying to force upon them previous conceived idea. The interview took the course the interviewed person was heading on; I merely tried to focus them upon the areas of inquiry. Below follows a list where I try to motivate the importance of each and every question.

1. Question　　　　*Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?*

This was to get the interviewed person to relax and feel that I am interested in what they had to say. But also to establish a little background information about the person I interviewed, to enable me to put the answers I was given into context.

2. Question　　　　*What do you think about the mining industry?*

I straight out asked the interviewed person what his or her opinion was about the bauxite industry. This was a very open question and as expected the answer was almost general. I always specified which aspects I want to know about later on. But I wanted a spontaneous reaction and somewhat confront the interviewed person with this question to try to formulate their thoughts in way. This is the reason why I put it in the beginning.

3. Question　　　　*What influence you think the people have on the decision making?*

Mining companies as we have seen above have been criticized to have an exploitative way of dealing with communities. This question was to check if this was the perception of the local population. Obviously this question is motivated by the negative aspects of the industry. But it is also to check for the possibility that Social Corporate responsibility has extended to community participation.

4. Question　　　　*What is the community getting in return?*

This was to check if there was any benefit to the community from having a big MNC in their community and if there was implementation of the proclaimed SCR.

5. Question　　　　*What do you think the work conditions are like?*

The working conditions in the mining sector as explained above are not always ideal and there have been many reports to confirm this. This question was to check if this was the case or not. I only asked workers that worked inside the industry this question. Primarily because of the same reason of why I conduct this study. I am not interested in a second hand account. I wanted to ask the people who are directly affected.

6. Question　　　　*Are you concerned about the environment?*

Mining is often regarded as environmental degrading and this question might have been to bias to be asking it. But I want to check how the local population perceives the possible threat of environmental degeneration.

7. Question   *Do you think mining is a health risk, either for workers or the community?*

This was to check if there was a possible health issues that are being related to the mining industry, as some accounts seem to indicate from other developing countries.

8. Question   *What are your thoughts about Jamaica's future?*

Jamaica's Alumina Bauxite industry was in a peculiar state at the time when the study was being conducted. It was being shut down; most of the countries big companies had made their workforce redundant and only keeping a skeleton crew to maintain the plants. However there was no initiative in giving up on bauxite mining, it was simply a wait until the world market recovers. This question is to see how the people perceive this "waiting" period but more importantly if they deem the Bauxite – Alumina industry important and wanted it back or not. This question was designed that it maybe could give further insight into the reasons, why.

9. Question   *Own thoughts, comments you would like to add?*

This was the closing question of the interview with which I concluded every interview. This was to ask the interviewed person if there was something, they wanted to add or that they think I forgot to ask. This was important, because first of all I did not wanted to miss information that may have been vital, but also to check if the person felt that he or she was able to express their views during the interview. It also validates my choices of aspects of inquiry if the individual felt that he or she had been able to express all significant points regarding the subject.

The interviews were conducted as informal private conversations. The person was approached as an equal. The aim was to get the interviewed person into a familiar sounding, as far as possible, to give them the possibility to relax and spontaneous answer my questions. I was not interested in some doctrine, the interviewed person thought I wanted to hear. I did not particular look out for inconstancies in people's beliefs and point them out to them. But when I did find them I certainly took notice of them. The interviews yielded a mountain of background knowledge as well, which I tried to incorporate into the background information. But only when it could be verified by an independent source, in order to give a better context and to understand people's beliefs better.

2.7 Analyzing the Interviews

As most interviews had been recorded they also got transcribed word for word. This allowed for use of an analysis inspired by content analysis. In content analysis coherent parts of pieces of text are being collapsed into categories (Weber 1985). These categories in term can then be used to compare and analysis the interviews more thoroughly by allowing an easier way to compare. The researcher tries to condense that what has been said into fewer and fewer categories, too see if similar meanings emerge between what has been said (Burnard 1991).The use of categories in this analysis was conducted in a similar fashion to that in content analysis.

3. Theoretical Background

3.1 Chapter Introduction

In this chapter the Western Discourse is outlined, that so often colors the academic understanding of the world. The definition is given in order to establish my own preconceived ideas, which as shown above are always coloring one's own perception. This is followed by recent changes in the Western Discourse, with the implementation of CSR. As the end of this chapter is a short summarization about the general perception of the mining industry, in both developing and developed countries.

3.2 Western Discourse

Immanuel Kant tried to outline in his philosophy that an individual never can give an objective account of reality. Human beings are victims to what Kant calls *a priori* ways of thinking, meaning that the way in which we think is already predetermined before our birth (Kant 1781). This can be due to our evolutionary past or some other mechanism, but the most significant realization from this deductive reasoning is that objectivity is an illusion. This realization has been taken up in modern Feminism and Post-colonial theory. Stating that every human is also a result of his or her cultural background, therefore every interpretation we do will always be colored by our previous experience, hence our cultural background (Braidotti 1997).

Let's pause for a moment an think what this would mean in practice? In my personal case this would mean something like this:

I have a background as a German living and studying in Sweden, I am a white Caucasian male in his early twenties, I was born in the mid eighties and have traveled a lot, etc.

These are just a few of a myriad of different deciding factors which color my own perception of the world. To deny my own subjectivity that arises from these realities. Would be denying myself to what makes a researcher a researcher, or even more a human. We always interpret our surroundings from our pervious experiences.

These conclusions can also be applied to a far wider scale, Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* makes the case that power and the dominant form of knowledge are interrelated. Both are dependent on each other, power needs a framework to justify and propagate its claim to power and

knowledge follows along because that is the path of least resistance. Therefore knowledge is always dependent on the dominant form of power and will be biased towards it (Foucault 1975).

Post-colonial thought as outlined by Edward Said takes this idea and applies it on the west views of the Middle East. He postulates that the view of a homogenous unit as the Orient is a product of western imagination. Following Foucault's theory that science is not about understanding the world but normalizing it (Said 1978). There is a need for another to define oneself. This is no more apparent than in the definition of the most western form of organization, the nation state. A nation has famously been defined as a:

A society that nourishes a common delusion about its ancestry and shares a common hatred for its neighbors

Avishai Margalit
The Ethics of Memory, pp. 76

This satisfies the need for differences and possibly hatred to be able to define oneself in a meaningful way (Margalit 2002). This idea of the need of another is again taken up by Said and he claims this leads to the implementation not only what it is to be from the Orient, but also what it is to be western. The westerner is defined to be superior towards the people who inhabit the Orient. Positive attributes, like logic, courage and honesty are things that are attributed to be western. But negatives attributes like treachery, cowardice and irrationality are attributed to the people of the Orient. Said argues that this view is imbedded in all studies that concern themselves with the Orient, because they built on a western and colonial heritage (Said 1978).

This realization has become the foundation of what is called Post-colonialism. Said has been heavily criticized because he only focused on the French and British and American Orientalism, thereby ignoring German, Russian, etc forms of Orientalism. Also is this relationship in no way mono-directional. Later postcolonial theory that build on Said's findings have addressed many of these issues in examining not only north – south perceptions, but also south – north and south – south perceptions. The view of the orient can be seen to represent the whole of the developing world that further cements the view of superiority of the western discourse (Loomba 1998). Since there is a huge imbalance in power, with the most of the power being located in the global north, the analysis of the relation involving the global north are the most controversial. Antonio Gramsci introduced as a system of the dominant form of power that what he called hegemony. In hegemony the leader or the common form of power is accepted by the subjects to this power. This is in contrary to a dictator that rules by power and dominance, the difference is that a dictator does not have to care about the good will of his subjects (Laclau 2001). The hegemony on the other hand, needs an elaborate system of propaganda and inteligencia to continually interpret and reinterpret the world. To make it acceptable to the current ruling form that is in power. (Chomsky 2002) Or as Foucault put it, knowledge functions to normalize the world not only to yield understanding.

These theories together have yielded what in Post-colonial theory is called the western discourse, a set of commonly accepted truths that help to reinforce the system and keep it running smoothly. This gets reinforced by, education, popular culture and the media, often these things are not even on

a conscious level (Sharpe 2009). In a development context this has been taken to justify the interventions of developed nations in the affairs of developing nations, that the developed nations have a sort of responsibility to "*help*" the poor and underdeveloped nations, in a way like the famous poem by Rudyard Kipling "White Man's Burden" (Hoogvelt 2001). This proclaimed humanitarian intervention is always intertwined with economical interests and often is misused to justify economic exploitation as the Oil-for-Food Program in Iraq showed (Soussan 2010). Chomsky notes that it is peculiar that we have an obvious Duality in our viewing of the world. If trade and economic ministers make decisions at home, there are strict guidelines in place to secure the social, environmental and workers security. However when it comes to international agreements of the same nature the focus shifts away from the points and becomes more about economical profits. So big MNCs get away with things in developing countries for which they would be tried and crucified in their home country (Chomsky 2002).

3.3 Reaction and Changes and Social Corporate Responsibility

However the Western Discourse has changed somewhat in the recent past; consumers have become more aware of how companies behave in third world companies. Consumer decisions not to buy products from companies that exploit child labor for example have been very effective and have led to the companies revising their policies (Klein 2000). A way to forgo this kind of problem and criticism has become Cooperate Social Responsibility. Companies try direct from the start to be responsible and avoid criticism (Kotler & Lee 2005). The World Bank has implemented this in their official policies stating that every company that is involved in World Bank projects should behave in an ethical manor. The problem arises because there is no single definition on what CSR is and no definite definition of what behaving ethically is. Despite that there is a recognition that companies can contribute substantially to poverty reduction or even reconstruction after war situation, by providing capital and knowledge to do so. If all these goals are positively implemented a serious reduction in corruption and transparency, economy diversification and other desirable development achievements can be reached (Bennett 2002).

The companies are meant to do self interpretations of the principles and this obviously leads to different interpretations where one company behaves more responsibly than a different one. They are also no restriction or punishments for companies who do not act according to the principles of CSR. So participation is voluntary. This introduces a new power relation into the dependence on the company for the local population. The local population is now not only dependent on the company for wages to provide for basic living. Everything that the company provides above this falls under CSR, but this can be used as a tool of power as well. If the local population does not act according to the will of the company, they withhold the contributions otherwise provided by CSR. Screening methods used to monitor the benefit of CSR have often been flawed. By making assumptions about none existing progress or being biased because they are conducted by the companies themselves (Fonseca 2010).

All in all one still has to say that CSR is still a vast improvement about the way things have been handled previously. The implantations companies make are far more effective than development strategies implemented by the government and the institution like the IMF and the World Bank. Because the companies have a direct interest in it, also the idea of CSR is nothing new. In the newly industrialized England and Germany companies built big housing complexes to give their workers adequate housing and provided a staple diet. It was recognized that healthy, happy workers a more productive than the ones who are not (Gjølberg 2009).

3.4 Overview of recent Studies about Mining Cooperation's

Public opinion at least in the developed countries about mining industries is generally very bad to say the least. In a public poll taken in 1994 people placed the mining industry in the 24th placed in popularity, below the tobacco industry. This has certainly to do with the voluminous coverage of mining disasters, exploitation and environmental degradation both in media and academic litterateur around the world (Prager 1997). The same goes for public opinion in developing countries, the opinion of mining companies is very low, this has nothing to do with cultural background, level of education or other social factors as a study in India among students on different universities showed (Das 2007).

Nobody disputes the fact that these things are happening and they certainly do occur, details reports about exploitative mining operations in Suriname, Australia and Namibia can be found in the book "*Human Rights & the Environment*". These case studies give accounts where the local population is at the losing end. Demands of the local population to the mining companies are often ignored, almost ridiculed. In the fight for their rights the local population is in general left to fend for themselves (Zarsky 2002). But the possibilities of the mining sector are far wider reaching than just simple exploitations of people or environment. Mining companies have come to realize that a sustainable approach has to be taken if mining is to be feasible. Mining operations generate a net flow of capital into the region and together with the building of infrastructure that is necessary for mining operation can lead to the development of a community (Marcello et al 2001). Furthermore community involvement of mining companies has shown positive results in increasing knowledge, health standards and general living quality. If everything goes according to its best outcome, the mining community can go on living even when the mineral resource is exhausted. But there is always a question of how reliable these are statistics because they often come from the mining companies themselves (Fonseca 2010).

In the recent past sustainable development has become an integral part of most MNCs way of doing things. Great care is taken to avoid negative press about environmental degradation and exploitation, because consumer awareness in the developed countries has increased exponentially. The goal that every operation fulfils these goals is still far from reached, but good intention on behalf of the big MNCs can be felt and shows slowly to have effect in specific location (Rondinelly & Berry 2000).

4.Empircal Results

4.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter tries to give an independent account of the study area based on other sources than that of the local people's perceptions. First there is a walkthrough of Jamaica's history and economic situation. Followed by and introduction of the major town in the study area. Lastly there will be an overview about the specific study area with an attempt to illustrate all important aspects of it.

4.2 Jamaica general

Jamaica is the third largest island of the Caribbean's (see map 4.1 below) and its fourth largest country. The island is home to the Blue Mountain range that are of volcanic origin, the rest of the island is dominated by limestone geology. There is a long stable geologic history which has led to that major karst topology has been formed in the limestone dominated topology. Jamaica's has tropical climate with hot and humid weather, with cooler regions in the mountains zones. It's has a rich biological diversity and many endemic species. As a result the island has many different types of vegetation from costal planes with lush green vegetation to tropical rainforest and coral reefs along its coastline (Thomas & Vaitling 2007).

Map 4.1 General view of Jamaica and its 14 Parishes

The island population is currently around 2.5 million with the major part of the population being of African origin which is a direct result from slavery. Today Jamaica is divided into 14 different legislative zones called parishes. Its official language is English but Jamaicans primarily speak an English-African Creole language known as Jamaican Patois (Gleaner 1995).

4.2.1 Jamaica History

Jamaica is a cultural melting pot which is a result from its vibrant history. The island was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1494 and claimed as a Spanish colony. Many skirmishes with the British army lead finally to the capture of the island by the British in 1655. It was then turned into a crown colony of the British Empire and the current capital Kingston was founded in 1692 in the largest natural harbor of the world. Jamaica developed slowly into a very profitable colony for the English empire exporting sugar and other products to England. To provide labor in the ever growing sugarcane and banana plantations many slaves from Africa were forced to the island.

Jamaica as a former colony of the British Empire is very typical developing country. Since almost the entire so called developing world has been colonized under some point in time, this makes it a fairly common feature. But more importantly it leaves Jamaica with a strong heritage of this colonial period. For once the legal system is based on a British legal system, which may or not be appropriate for an island in the Caribbean. But more importantly the infrastructure of the island is built up from a colonial point of view (Gleaner 1995). This might not always be desirable out of a developing point of view, since colonial times had the extraction of goods as its primary objective not the developing of the country.

In 1942 bauxite was first discovered on the island and the colonial industry shortly after began with the exploitation of this natural recourse.

In 1962 Jamaica's Constitution was drafted and formally resulted in independence of the island. Jamaica's development since then has primarily been in the tourist and the bauxite industry. A decline of world market prices for agrarian production has led to a decline of Jamaica's sugar and banana industry. The island is still dominated by its colonial heritage with many of its major towns located along the coastline and an infrastructure designed for exploitation of its natural recourses (Gleaner 1995).

The recession that occurred after the oil crisis in the 70s hit Jamaica very hard. As the third largest producer of bauxite in the world and with an undiversified industry, Jamaica was very dependent on the international price for bauxite (it still is). During the recession the price for bauxite on the world market declined. It represented one of the triggers for the economic crisis, which followed in Jamaica. The country became indebted to the International IMF and the World Bank. This led to an ever growing international debt. In this regard Jamaica is like many other developing countries crippled by a heavy international debt that chokes its economy (Malaki1996).

4.2.2 Jamaica Economy

The recent economic depression hit not only hard against the bauxite alumina industry, it hit hard against Jamaica as a whole. Crippling the country even further and it is fair to say had Jamaica not been granted the new loan from the IMF than basic life in Jamaica would be very difficult and even more challenging for its population than it already is (IMF 2010).

Jamaica's gross domestic product (GDP) was almost entirely based on the mining and refining of bauxite, in 1992 it made up almost 87% of the GDP of the entire country (Malaki 1996). This has changed somewhat since then, but the dependence on the mining sector is still very high. Jamaica has in principle only two major industries, the bauxite alumina industry and the tourist industry. Both of them are highly depended on international stability and fluctuate a great deal for various reasons (Gleaner 1995). This creates a very unhealthy situation for Jamaica since stability and long term development is difficult to achieve under those condition. The Picture 4.1 below shows a very different picture to the popular image of Jamaica, with heavy bulldozers and earth moving equipment. This is something people usually do not associate with this tropical island. On top of that, the mining industry depended of a finite resource, so at some point in time it will cease to be a viable alternative; also this is very typical for developing countries (Stiglitz 2006)

Picture 4.1 Mining operation in Manchester, Jamaica mining bauxite soil for alumina production

4.2.3 Jamaica Drugs and Crime

Jamaica has a long and sad history of corruption and crime. Kingston had been in one point in time the murder capital of the world (BBC 2006). Today's this no longer the case, but the crime rate is still extremely high in the whole of the country. Jamaica has become a stepping stone for the cocaine trade from Columbia to the United States. The money gained from the drug trade does more often than not, get used to buy guns. Guns get imported from such places as the neighbor island Haiti among others. The influx of drugs and money leads to corruption and with a high supply of weapons and poverty is a recipe for disaster (Figueira 2004).

This is what seems to have happened to Jamaica as the recent incidents with the Jamaican drug lord Dudus Coke seem to indicate, the corruption may go as high as the prime minister (Gleaner 2009). Jamaica has a sad history of an interrelation between political violence and corruption which the garrisons in Kingston represent more than anything (Moser & Holland 1997). This unfortunately is a very typical situation of developing countries; even so that Jamaica might be a very extreme example for this, because of its high crime statistics.

4.3 Mandeville

Mandeville is located in the south middle of the island (see map 4.1). It is the largest town in the parish of Manchester. Mandeville was founded to be the capital of the newly established Parish of Manchester in 1816. Mandeville's higher altitude leads to that it has a relatively mild climate compared to the rest of Jamaica (Glimpses 1999). It had been a prominent destination for British retirees to settle down, because its climate was much more bearable than that of the hot humid costal planes (Paul 1999, Sunday Gleaner).

With the discovery of bauxite in the area, Mandeville experienced a boom in both economic and population. Its population rapidly climbed form a few thousand in 1960 to today's estimated population of 72 000. This was mainly because of the opening of the Kirkvine works for alumina production by the Alcan Bauxite Company and other similar in the area. The relatively high wages and need for educated personal led to a steady influx of people migrating to Mandeville. Many second hand businesses followed soon after. Alcan's active building policy lead to the construction of many cheap homes that were sold to the employees of the company below market prices (Mandeville Public Library 2008).

This and other investments form the bauxite companies in the area have led to that Mandeville is one of the areas in jamaica with the highest quality of living. Many Jamaican returnees that come back from abroad settle in this area. Because the service and the climate is much more remincant of what they have gotten used to in there previous devlopt nations home, primarily the United States and United Kingdom (Roberson 1995, Sunday Gleaner).

4.4 Study Area Disctiption

The Study area was roughly defined to the area of Mandeville and around. It had more to do with were the indivudals that were interviewed came from. But most of them livied in approximitlly 30 kilometers radius to the Kirkvine Works.

4.4.1 Bauxite Exploitation and Background Discription

When a process had been discoverd that was able to utelize the Jamaican Bauxite ore. Industry scale production could start in the area. Plans for a alumina plant located roughly 10 kilometers from Mandeville were brought in action. In november 1950 construction for the Kirkvine Works began as a part of Aluminium Company of Canada, Alcan. The plant was opperational in may 1952 and produced its first alumina in december that year. In 1968 an expansion was built to the Kirkvine Plant, further increasing its production capacity (Alcan 1994). In 2001 the swiss company Glencore purchased 93 percent of Alcan's intrest shares in Windalco, West Indies Alumina Company, the company that opperates the Ewarton works and Kirkvine works (Windalco 2004). With the global recession in and a declining price for bauxite and alumina Genlecore slod its shares of Windalco to the russian aluminium company Rusal, the corrent owners of Windalco (Shirley 2009, Gleaner). Bellow is a picture of the plant as it was durring time of the study, see picture 4.2.

Picture 4.2: The Kirkvine Works from a distant, in haze because of smaller bush fires due to drought.

The current economic ressesion has lead to that the major part of the operations of the plant have been suspended. Durring the time the study was made, the majority of the workers had been made reduandent. A caretaker crew had been installed that was servicing the plant in the meantime. The only operation that was still running was the agriculture unit that was occuping the mined out areas and to be mined areas with cattle (Gilchrist 2010, Gleaner)

When the plant was running it employed something around two thousand employees. The employess working in the basic operations like mining and driving haul trucks, mechanics etc. would get exchanged several times a year. Resulting in that the majority of its workforce only was part time employed, the rest of the time they were farmers or had other side occupations. The operation of the company included mining, processing, recelamation and an agricultural unit that occupied the land with cattle until it was ready for mining and keept the land occupied after it was reclaimed until it could been leased to farmers (Alcan 1994).

The mining is done in open pit mines with bulldozers and and trucks transporting the bauxite soil to the plant. There it is mixed with caustic soda to disolve the aluminium oxide in a process called the Bayer Process. This mixture is then dried and the disolved alumina is taken for further processing. The resendiue, the so called red mud is deposited in a mudstack, which is also known as a red mud lake (Red Mud Project 2005). Picture 4.3 is a close up shot of the mud stack in the study area.

Picture 4.3: close up of the red mud lake, with sprinklers trying to keep it moist. But due to wind dust plumes are forming.

With the plant not operational there is no steady supply of fresh wet red mud to the mud lake. The result is that the mud is slowly drying and this forms dust plumes with the slightes braeeze. Windalco tried to counteract this with an istalation of sprinklers that pumped out water onto the surface to keep it dry, but this has only modaerate success. Closeby communites like Kendal often got ingulfened into these dust plumes (Strife 2010, Observer).

4.4.2 Health and Bauxite

Bauxite mining is usually associated with shaver's disease, pneumoconiosis or bauxite fibrosis. If this relation is because of the aluminium content of the dust or because of the dust alone is not conclusive. Exposure of fine particle dust in general leads to adverse effects on the respiratory system. It is clear that these conditions usually express themselves in shortness of breath, adverse lungfunction and in extreme cases can lead to asthma. The dust in the air is simpy a health hazard regardless if there are toxic properties associated with substances making up the dust (Beach et al. 2001).

Other studies have shown that the respiratory system might pose a possible intake of aluminium into the body (Priest & O'Donnell 1997). Long time exposure can also lead to deposition of aluminium in the lungs. The effects of long time aluminium exposure are still inconclusive, but adverse effects like Alzheimer's disease have been suggested. (Garnot 1986, Beach et al. 2001)

4.4.3 Bauxite and the Enviroment

The mining operation itself existes in three phases, where the land is occupied by cattle before mining. This allows for great flexibility in choosing what ore body to mine. Because moving the cattle is far less difficult than that of possible squaters that might have occupied the land. After mining is completed the company has an obligation to restore the mined out land (see picture 4.4 and 4.5) in the matter of two years, otherwise penalties have to be payed.

Picture 4.4: Mined out ore body with the erosion   Picture 4.5: Former pasture land after mining

If the mined out areas are not reclaimed erosion and flooding can occur. Furthermore if these pits remain open for long period of times they become full of waste products like pet bottles that got blown in by the wind (as seen in picture 4.4) or things that are intentionlly dumped there. When the areas finaly get restored the method used is called open ball shape method, which as the name suggest reshapes the pits into bowl shaped pits that either get recultivated or are used for grazing as seen in picture 4.6 and 4.7 below.

Picture 4.6: Reclaimed area used for grazing   Picture 4.7: Reclaimed area used for farming

If areas that are going to be mined are beeing occupied by permant residents these residents get restelled into new structues specially constructed for them. As well many of the houses constructed for the miners themselves were constructed on former mined out areas (Coke et al. 1987). Below is a map (map 4.2) that gives a quick overview of the area.
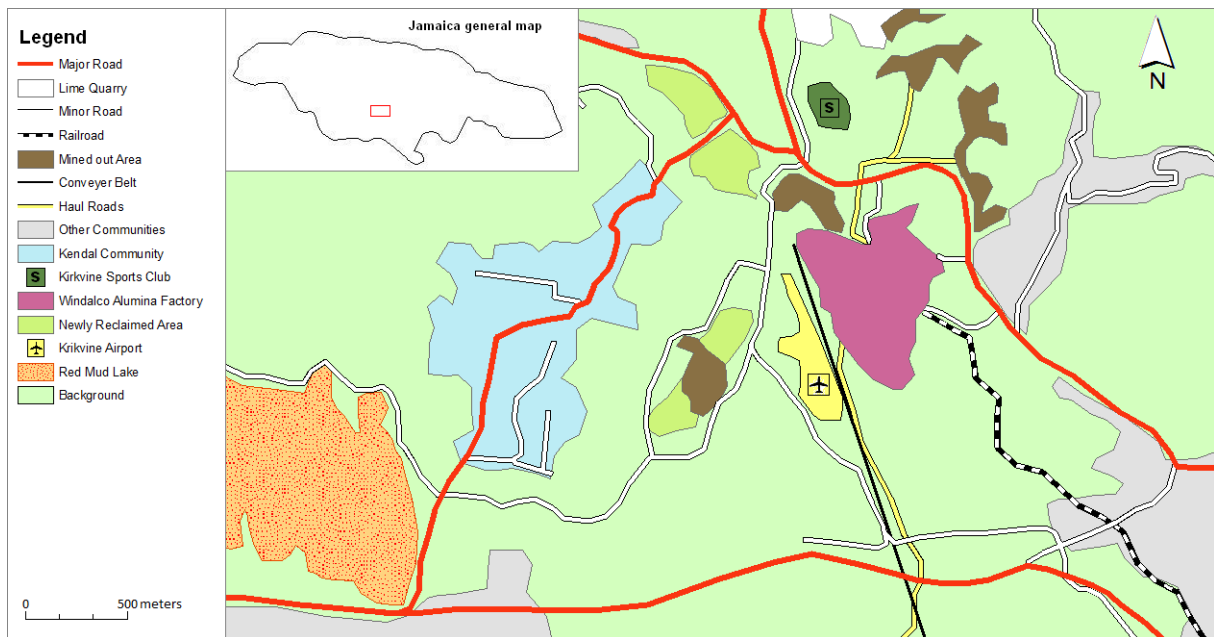
Map 4.2: Area around the Windalco factory.

Other facilities that are close to the plant include the Kirkvine Sports club, which is a recreation facility that gets used regularly by both employees and local clubs. The conveyer belt transports the bauxite from distant ore bodies to the plant. After processing the alumina is taken by railroad to port Esquivel for shipping.

5. Local Perception

5.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter tries to establish the local perception of the study area, along with background information on the interviews and the differences or lack thereof among the interviews.

5.2 Interviews Background

The interviews were conducted in the period between the 17th of February and the 18th of March. The length of the interviews ranged in between 3 minutes to 30 minutes. This was highly depended on how much information the individual wanted to bring across and was aware of.

The questions asked to each individual were the same; I only exemplified or explained something if the individual did not understand the question. Most individuals understood the questions and tried to answer them to the best of their abilities.

Each and every interview was conducted in a friendly tone. I did not once perceive any form of reluctance from any individual to speak to me after they properly knew who I was and what my intentions were. I perceived that all individuals tried to their best of abilities to answer my questions and that they did not try to hide or misinform me about any given information.

In conclusion I think the issues addressed in the interviews display the perception of the local population very well. Because they fitted to the perceptions I got from all the informal discussions with other people not interviewed but who also lived in the area.

5.3 Occupations of the Interviewed People

For reasons of confidentiality as explained above people get referred to by their occupations. It also shows in my opinion that I have interviewed a very good cross section of society. Below is a complete list of the people I have interviewed and what their occupations were.

5.3.1 Directly involved People

-	Environmental Engineer	female
-	Factory Worker	male
-	Economic Accountant	female
-	Safety Engineer	male
-	Member of the Agricultural Unit	male
-	Member of the Public Relations Unit	male
-	Company Doctor	male

I felt this was a good representation of the people who were directly involved in the industry. Because it went all the way from the worker in the industry to some executives and all aspects that were involved in the industry, I spoke to a person representative for these aspects. I could have interviewed more people, but due to time constrain this selection seemed satisfactory; furthermore the general perception of the individuals did not differ widely.

5.3.2 Indirectly involved People

-	Former Member of Parliament representing Manchester Parish	male
-	Opposition Member of Parliament for the Manchester Parish	male
-	Official in the Agricultural Department of Manchester	male
-	General Practitioner in Mandeville	male
-	General Practitioner in Mandeville	male
-	Small business owner close to the factory	female

People that are residents close to the factory

-	Taxi Driver	male
-	Former Employee at the plant	male
-	Former Employee at the plant	male
-	Kindergarten teacher	female
-	Supermarket grocer	female
-	Audio Technician	male
-	Police officer	female
-	Cook	female
-	Welder	male
-	Farmer	male
-	Mechanic	male

Again I believe that these people represented a good cross section of the society to exemplify the perception of the local population.

5.3.3 No Connection

- Tourist company operator   male
- Public transportation official   female
- Member of the sports association for the Manchester Parish male
- Freelance accountant   male

This selection of people is the smallest of all the three groups, because it was very hard to find individuals who had no connections at all to the industry, because it is such an integral part of the economy and social life of the study area. These individuals are some of the few I found, but their opinions do not differ very much from the other groups, so this small selection still felt satisfactory.

5.3.4 Female Male Relations

There was no noticeable difference in the perceptions of the interviewed males compared to the interviewed females. Obviously gender relations do play a major part in Jamaican society, because positions of power and higher offices are usually held by men, in the focus of this study this was negligible because there was no difference in the perceptions of the interviewed subjects or what I could perceive from informal discussion outside the recorded interviews.

5.3.5 Notable Distinctions

The only notable distinction I came across was that people whom were connected directly to the industry put less emphasizes on the environmental impact. They did not deny it, but they said it was exaggerated. The same was true with the health issue compared with the people whom are indirectly connected or have no connection at all. Why this was the case I do not know, I could not conclusively answer this question based on the material I collected.

5.4 Perception of the Bauxite Alumina Industry

As noted above in 5.3.5 there were no noticeable distinction in what type of subjects were talked about. The only differences were how much emphasize was giving different subjects. The overall perception of all people interviewed did not differ much. This is why I choose to represent below only an account of the overall perception of the interviewed people. So below will follow a presentation of people's perceptions of the situation that they are in, discontinuities or falsities are not addressed in this presentation.

5.4.1 General Perception

The general perception of the bauxite industry was nuanced in addressing all positive and negative aspects. The biggest contribution people acknowledged were the economic contributions that were made by the bauxite industry in forms of employment and revenue creation for the government.

Other positive contributions that were widely acknowledged were the sports programs of the industry.

On the negative side peoples main concern was the dust nuisance created by the industry. There were some other environmental concern about roof corrosion and improper reclamation of mined out areas but the dust nuisance by far outweighed any other concerns. Connected to this was the health issue of asthmatic problems and Sinusitis that was perceived to be fairly common in the area.

In general the people acknowledged that the positive contribution outweighed the negative ones. But the concern about the negative parts was substantial and in their view justified.

5.4.2 Community Benefit

The presence of the bauxite companies has led to an influx of people into the region looking for work. These people who were employed by the bauxite companies earned comparably good wages. Together with an active building policy of the companies which erected houses, built roads, recreation facilities and much more, the general quality of life is much higher in the area compared to the rest of Jamaica. As a result the crime rate is lower in these areas, however now with the closure of the industry it is on the rise again. Major slum areas did not exist in the area, there are poor areas but no slums compared to other major cities in Jamaica.

The company would provide services to the community, these included basic necessities like drinking water. If communities did not have access to water the mining companies would either provided it by building pipelines or trucking water to them. This however has ceased now with the bauxite companies shutting down or is much lower in frequency.

Schools were given treats and books sponsored by the bauxite companies. Students could acquire scholarships and go to schools or universities either in Jamaica or abroad that they otherwise could not afford. This part of the operation has ceased as well with the closure of the Bauxite operations.

Many sports programs were largely organized and sponsored by the bauxite companies, which resulted that many of Jamaica's top athletes are from the regions were bauxite companies operate, as the community officer of Windalco explained to me. With the bauxite companies closing down this part of the operation ceased as well.

These were the major community benefits the majority of the interviewed people were aware of and acknowledged. But for people in the area there was one thing that kept coming up again and again. It was the compensation that the industry paid for the dust nuisance. This was seen as a positive effect and people made it part of their income and depended on it. This was exemplified very clearly in one interview when I asked a local resident about her thoughts about the future.

I hope it will come back soon, because you can get your little check from them, checks like you get from your light bill and buy food. I don't remember what they call it... dust money

Local resident that lives very close to the Alumina Plant

5.4.3 Working Conditions

All of the people I spoke to were very satisfied with their working conditions. They acknowledged that the pay is good compared to similar jobs in Jamaica requiring the same amount of qualification because the bauxite companies are competing for the best people.

Everyone asked was aware that the job was potentially dangerous because it is an industry operation which involved operating of heavy equipment, high temperatures, chemicals and other hazards. All of these having a very high potential for causing harm, but all workers felt with the safety rules and standards in place that it is a very safe environment to work in. One employee referred to that when the safety awards are awarded for work place safety in Jamaica, it is usually the bauxite companies who get the awards.

Obviously there were things that the individuals didn't like about their work place, but they acknowledged that this is probably the case with all kinds of work and in a general sense everyone was very happy with the work they were doing.

5.4.4 Environmental Impact

The worry about the environment was mainly related to health issues. Some purely environmental issues were possible contamination of the aquifer, by seepage of chemicals from the red mud lake or from the plant. This could possibly contaminate the aquifer. Luckily the permeability of bauxite soil is very poor as an engineer at the plant explained to me. They did not have this problem in the study area as of yet, but the concern was real because it has happened on other locations in the island.

One of the other concerns was the improper reclamation of the mined out areas. Improper reclaimed areas are more prone to flooding and because of the thin topsoil layer cannot support cash crops. This is why they are mainly used for grazing. This perception was fairly common among a number of people. A team leader of the agriculture unit for the plant assured me that these concerns are unfounded, at least in the study area. After some period of time the ground has reestablished its drainage capacity, this may take a number of years. Also to combat the perception that reclaimed areas did not support cash crop, instead of the standard of using grass to revitalize the soil they used cash crops. According to him this worked just as fine, if not better, but because of economic reasons they have returned to the use of grass.

Roof corrosion was another concern of the community and a legitimate one. The people in the plant said that the fuel they use does release significant amounts of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere, which combines with water in the atmosphere and forms sulfuric acid, which in turn corrodes metal structures.

There were systems in place to compensate people for accelerated corrosion when involvement of the plant was proofed. Furthermore the people at the plant tried to prevent this by installing better filters and buying fuel with lower sulfur dioxide content.

However this lead to a significant concern for the environment in the eyes of the people that lived around the plant, because they could see the corrugated sheets of zinc rotting away before their eyes, as they put it.

But by far the biggest environmental concern was the dust nuisance, either from the mining operations, the red mud lake or the plant directly. One resident described the situation as almost unbearable.

… when it starts blowing it is almost like going into a fog …

Resident close to the red mud lake

The dust is everywhere, lots of people complained that cleaning the house doesn't do any good. The next morning the dust would be there again and they had to clean again. It stains the curtains, the walls, the furniture everything. Every morning there would be a fine layer of dust that had collected on the cars overnight. One Farmer even complained that the dust was sucking the moisture out of the plants and this was in his opinion the reason why his plants dried up. People that were not connected to local water supply or got water trucked to their communities. Still depended on rain water collection, they clearly could see the residue settle at the bottom of the tank.

5.4.5 Health Concern

To go back to the working conditions, the company had a very high conscious on safety, but accidents did occur, as the plant doctor said. Even if the accidents do not have a high frequency they can be very serious in nature. Amputation, fractures, traumas, electrocutions, chemical burns and even in some cases fatalities. The main reason why these things occur is lack of compliance with the safety procedures. The only chronically damage that one could suffer from the plant was hearing loss. Because it is a very loud environment and your hearing can be damaged if you do not wear proper protection. The medical doctor at the plant explained that individuals who are placed in an environment with a lot of dust can develop sinusitis or asthmatic conditions. But he assured me that it was very hard to pin down the certain cause for these diseases because the dust level in Jamaica is in general very high. In contrast a person in the community told me that he had lived in several locations in Jamaica and this is the area with the most cases of asthma and sinusitis he has experienced.

I asked several persons that they should estimate how much of the population was affected. For the people suffering from sinusitis, several people estimated it to be every second person. One of the general practitioners I talked with confirmed this figure and said that cases of asthma are also frequent but a bit less than the sinusitis.

There was a general concern for health in the communities, people complained that children having breathing difficulties. Many of the people I talked to complained about sinusitis or even asthma. This seemed to be a very common problem and if a causal relation to the plant could be proven the company had measures in place to compensate.

5.4.6 Future of the Industry

The situation of the bauxite industry was very bleak at the time when this study was made. All but one of the Jamaican bauxite companies had stopped operating and had installed caretaker crews to maintain the plants. But the rest of the workforce had been made redundant.

Despite that the industry probably causes many problems people were almost uniformly for the resurrection of the industry. They acknowledged the negatives effects of the industry, but the whole area depended on employment from the bauxite companies. Other more indirect reasons where made clear to me when I interviewed a very skeptical person towards the industry. Even she wished the industry back.

The negative part is the dust mostly but the positive part is employment and when persons are not employed they are open to do odd things, some of them Open to do odd things.

(me asking:) *Like?*

Like even rob the persons and steal you know

Kindergarten teacher in a community close to the plant

Criminal activity was on the rise in the area since the fallout of the bauxite industry; many people I talked to informally confirmed this notion.

Also people started worrying about what will happen to the community after bauxite runs out? The issue of "life after bauxite" was a recurring theme. Accordingly to some there were about 15 – 25 years left of bauxite mining in Jamaica and no real plan was being devised in the eyes of the people to take care of fallout that will happen then. This current recession was seen by many as a foretaste of what will come when bauxite really does run out. Most people were positive that the industry would reopen eventually, it might take a few years but they will be back and running that was the consensus. Many people hoped that this episode could be helpful now in fueling the discussion on how to create a sustainable industry that will take over ones bauxite really runs out. The whole situation was aptly summed up when I asked a woman in the community what are her thoughts on the future about the bauxite industry. She said:

Well I don't know if they open or not, we have to live with whatever situation we are in

Cook at a Kindergarten close to the red mud lake

6. Analysis

6.1 Chapter Introduction

Comments to the results of the interviews are given. Comparing my own perception of the area to that of the local population an evaluating their perceptions out of a wider scale. Finally the method used is discussed.

6.2 Comments to the Interviews

The only distinguishable difference between the different groups was that the directly involved people seemed put less emphasize on the environmental and health aspect. If compared with the indirectly involved and not involved people.

There are some possible reasons for this, the most obvious is the amount of information that the directly involved people have at their display. If we regard a safety engineer who is in charge of measuring the water and air quality or a doctor who knows what kind of complaints come in by the workers then these people can defiantly make their statements with the backing of good knowledge. As possible reasons why the public perception about these issues is worse can because they do not have access to the same amount of information.

On the other hand, I had an employee at the plant that simply outright denied that there is an issue with breathing or any health issues. In straight contradiction to almost everyone else's statements. It seemed employment to the company could also impart loyalty and be a possible the reason behind this difference.

It is probably a combination of the two that results in this difference. Things that are hard to understand and cause environmental and health risk have a tendency to get overestimated by people with limited information (Arrow 1981). On the other hand people at the company wanted to represent their company in a good light, because in their opinion they were doing a good job. To conclusively answer this, more detailed studies with this as their focus points are needed.

6.3 Environmental and Health Impact

These two points where without a doubt the most controversial. The environmental impact had a little bit more consensus than the health impact. Presumably because it is harder to deny a hole in the ground than it is with a health problem that can have several sources.

Regarding the environmental issue with the productivity of the fields, as I drove through the area with the agricultural specialist of the company to some of the reclaimed areas, he also showed me lands that are yet to be mined. One thing is certain; the lands that were not yet reclaimed were a moonscape and certainly had to be dealt with. But from a shear visual point of view, I was not able to tell which lands have been reclaimed and which one had not yet been minded. The vegetation looked about the same on both types of lands. So there might be a problem in productivity that I do not know, but visual it was impossible to tell the two apart. This was in correspondence with the statements of the agricultural specialist, but certainly the mismanagement of other parts of the country played into the perceived fear.

The health aspect seemed to be of lesser concern by people inside the industry compared to the rest. The views about this issue varied the most, from people saying it has no effect at all to saying that the industry should be abolished, so more care should be taken to examine this aspect. An environmental engineer at the plant assured me that they have no medical redundancies because of chronic illnesses due to exposure. Reasons that could lead to make an employee's redundant are primarily of the nature of accidents. Rather oddly I interviewed a now mechanic, but former employee in a nearby community who simply stated that he was made medically redundant because of sinusitis. He claimed that his sinuses would only act up once he was in the plant and therefore he could not continue working there. The doctor at the plant confirmed such cases, but said that they were the exception. Also the mechanic agreed that the safety standards since he worked there approximately 20 years ago have increased a great deal.

This estimation of the health situation seemed at odds as with the perceptions of that of one doctor practicing in the area. He assured me that Sinusitis among the local population had a frequency of about fifty percent. He was sure of the correlation between the dust and the illnesses. My personal contacts seemed to confirm this, that a lot of people had problems with sinusitis. Now I cannot tell from my material what version might be right or wrong. The only notation I can make is that a frequency of fifty percent does sound very high to me and should be investigated for possible sources. In contrast there were people working inside the industry that either claimed not to be aware of any respiratory illnesses or said it was only a minor issue.

Now even if the dust is chemically inert, the inhalation of large quantities over time can be hazardous (Beach et al. 2001). In aspect of that one of the medical doctors summed this situation up by saying that the reparations paid for the dust nuisance are inadequate in his opinion.

How much is your health worth?

General practitioner in Mandeville

Since the background level of dust is very high in Jamaica this makes it very hard for the victims to proof their case and leaves open space for possible deniability for the mining industry.

6.4 Future Aspect

The future of the industry was uncertain and people heavily depended on the industry for their daily bread. This was made clear that the dust money, which should be regarded as a compensation for something negative, was regarded as something positive. This was very common among the people I interviewed surrounding the mining operations and the alumina plant. One of doctor I interviewed aptly described the situation when he said:

But one of the unfortunate things when you are in a third world country, people are impoverished. Very often and they are inclined to accept whatever you will give them and they will be very happy for it

General practitioner in the Mandeville area

The same doctor also acknowledged that the overall experience with the bauxite companies had been more positive than negative. The negatives are substantial and unfortunately do not always are handled correctly, in his opinion. There is no denying that the community had benefited from the presence of the mining companies. For example I also traveled in other parts of Jamaica and I have to say that this area of the island was by far was the cleanest, civilized part of Jamaica. Certainly you had tourist destinations that were cleaned up for tourists but the general impression still was true. Even when compared to Kingston, the capital.

The future of the area was unsure. As clearly shown all the services the mining company provided, may it be scholarships or sports activities did cease with the closure of the company. This is completely logical, but in the peoples dependence on these services it is bluntly obvious that the standard which the community has gotten used to is not sustainable on its own. So yes the standard of living will improve once the companies are up and running again, but what when bauxite runs out for good? The companies are surely not interested in long term perspective, and why should they? They want to make sure that the situation is bearable while they are operating, but after that it is none of their concern. So this long term sustainability has to come from the government, to make sure that the companies invest in sustainable industries and if they do not do it directly the government has to at least make sure that the revenue created from the industry is used for that purpose. But with the current government of Jamaica and its historical background, this part of their responsibility has often been neglected.

6.5 Method Evaluation

The anthropological approach led to a deliberate choice to stay with the people of the region, to live in their community and to get to know them. Long talks with my new found friends about the local situation have yielded insights into the background of my study area that I would have not found out otherwise. This was merely a benefit of choosing this way of doing research that allowed me to get close to the people in a way that I might not have been able to otherwise. I learned proper customs in how to introduce myself, how to ask for things you would like to know. How to behave at social events and or simply how the local population buys food. Which maybe not sound very spectacular, but when put in perspective, it is a daily necessity that will influence the way you can live your life and therefore has a great influence on you.

All these different aspects have deepened my understanding of the region that I conducted my study in and they have provided a valuable basis for the analysis for the context of what people have said, how they said things and maybe most importantly why they said the things they said.

All the things I gained form indirect observation are very hard to relay in a proper formal way. It is my personal belief that from doing the research this way, a better result was achieved. This hopefully transpired all the work I did in this study. Not only helping me to achieve a better result but also enabling me to make a more detailed analysis. The analyze method used focused on creating categories. Therefore it was of high importance to be able to understand what has been said out of cultural context. The use of the anthropological approach helped immensely in the analysis of the material.

6.5.1 Possible Source of Error

Human interaction is probably the most difficult subject to study of all the sciences, because it is to put it mildly, very complex. This complexity results in that a huge number of factors come into play that shape human nature. Many biases might be easy to spot but most of them we are oblivious to. With the choices that have been made there was a conscious effort to minimize these factors. Unfortunately there are some inherent biases that could not been avoided, below will follow a short list of possible biases that could have influenced the result. It is not a complete list of all the biases that are inherent but it's an account of the major biases to show that there was an awareness of these when the study had been formulated.

Since part of anthropological approach is to live among the people and learn their ways, there is an inherent possibility that there will be an initializing of their point of view. There is nothing wrong with this at its core, because it is a viable view how to perceive the situation. But it can lead to a loss of objectivity that might not be desired in particular situation, especially if the holistic representation is to be at the core of this study (Bernard 2002).

To get access to informants and people to interview, there is a strong reliance on a few persons. These so called gatekeepers into the community that facilitated and helped a lot during the study, which made the study a whole lot easier to conduct than it would have been without their help. However because of the use of gatekeepers an inherent bias could not be avoided. The gatekeeper

chooses people that he or she thought would be best suited to help with the study. This can lead to a certain version is being put forth, rather than the real representation of the situation. This may or may not be a conscious process, but it certainly is an inherent risk of using gatekeepers to facilitate informants.(Potter and Desai 2006). This certainly was a strong possibility but in informal conversation with people outside the study area and outside the influence of the gatekeepers, the same imagine of the situation was being manifested.

In addition to the bias that comes from the new cultural setting, the cultural setting or background of the researcher can have a similar effect on how a certain situation is perceived or interpreted. Human beings are products of their cultural surrounding to a various degrees and this can have an influence on how things are being viewed (Bernard 2002).

7. Discussion

7.1 The origin of the Question

The genesis for the idea to study local people perception came from one simple question. In my studies about international relations and development in developing countries, we read tons of books about the situation in the developing world. These books are often written by scholars form developed countries particular the western world. They all illustrate different aspects of globalization but one common theme keeps popping up. That people in developing countries get exploited, the environment gets destroyed, health and working conditions are appalling and lots more negative news one can think off. And as the major perpetrator for these conditions was always the name of some big MNC. All these aspects certainly were true and I am not disputing the truth in those.

But like stated above these were all written by scholars from the west, presumably coming to these regions doing fieldwork and going home to write a book about. This is the best case scenario; in some case the effort of going to these places simply gets ignored. So this simple little question mark kept popping up in my head (Chambers 1997).

What do they think?

Because I knew what we thought, I had read it in the books. I admit this thesis is no better than the books I described as I am a westerner myself. But my intention to make up my own judgment and tried to be free from prejudice when I entered the field. This is for several reasons explained in the study a rather naïve approach, because we cannot be free from our prejudices. But I can say that what I found truly amazed me.

7.2 Answering that Question

Geography and other social sciences is a lot like other sciences in that it tries to specialize into smaller and smaller subcategorizes. So a paradox is building up, the longer someone is studying the more he or she is learning about less and less (Chambers 1997). So answering simple questions like "what do they think" actually paradoxically become the hardest one to answer. Because the scientific system is built up to answer small specific questions, not board reaching ones.

So to put it mildly what I discovered changed my own perception. I was aware that the perceptions of the local population would be more nuanced, because they are directly economically depending on these MNCs for survival. But what I discovered was that yes they depended on it, but they did not ignore the negative effects of the industry either. People within the industry were local people and

lived in the area. They told me they have no interest in destroying their own environment, so they tried their hardest to protect it, the same goes for health and other aspects.

The social projects that the mining company was doing in accordance with its CSR policies were truly amazing. They helped the community so much by helping it in all aspects: all from schools to social planning and even the roads were former haul roads built by the company and after use handed over to the government for public use. In many of these aspects the government simply didn't have the funds to do these things, and the company stepped in and helped. So it is not surprising that the part of Jamaica where these companies operate is the part with the highest quality of life, as many local people always assured me.

Surly the reason these companies are spending so much money on the community are not always purely motivated by benevolence. It is more that the local population will accept the nuisance these companies create. Because it is also undeniable that the environment suffers from these mining operations and people did have real problems with Sinusitis. One can also argue like Heledd Jenkins (2004) that the implementation of CSR only introduces a different level of dependency. In whereby the local population is now not only depending on the company for economic contributions in form of wages. But also on a social contribution that will keep the society function and thereby introduces a new power relation. That will result in an increased leverage for the company when it does have to face difficult decisions about the environment and the health of the people (a.a.). This is certainly true but at the same time the services the company provides do help. So it is with all decisions a tradeoff where one tries to balance the negative with the positive.

The main problem the region currently faced was that of unemployment due to the current recession in the international market, which lowered the price of alumina on the world market. Many people saw this current phase not as a final stage, because there is a strong certainty that the price of bauxite will recover and the plants will open up again. But it is a foretaste of what things will be like when bauxite does run out and nothing is there to replace it. Many people started to talk about what they called "life after bauxite" and how this is going to be formed. They tried to use the current excess funds that a bauxite industry will create and invest them into future industries or other facilities that will ensure employment after bauxite runs out. Only the future can tell how this will work out and my hopes are that it will.

7.3 Future Research

The nature of the study was that one of a case study with the in depth exploitation of one particular area. It would be very interesting to do the same kind of study at a different location. This would allow a comparison of the result reached in this study and hopefully produce wider understanding. Here a study in a different location in the developing world would give insight into how representative the studied case was for the developing world. A similar study in the developed world would give insight into if this kind of problem is of development character or simply one faced by all communities close to mining or heavy industry in general.

7.3 Conclusion

I set out to see a real live case of what the situation is like with the interaction between a big MNC and the local population in a developing country. What I found was a positive case where the company did care about the people and tried to protect the environment, people's health and good working conditions. Sure there were complains about health and concerns about the environment. But growing up in a heavy industrialized part of East Germany I was familiar to these claims. So I would say the nature of the claims were not primarily because of an exploitative relation from the MNC but rather that of a general concern to heavy industry and this is nothing unfamiliar, even to people living in developing countries. I am aware that not all situations in the developing world are like this where companies interacting with the local population and there are certainly some black sheep. But neither is it all dark and gloomy, there are positive examples as well. So I would like to finish with a comment that a person I interviewed made to me while I explained the nature of my study to her.

It is a good thing that they send you out so early, so that you can make up your own mind before it gets filled up with presupposed ideas

Environmental Engineer at Windalco

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