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Paula Piassa, Jacques Haruo Fukushigue Jan-Chiba, Rafael Borim-de-Souza

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Paula Piassa and
Jacques Haruo Fukushigue Jan-Chiba

State University of Londrina,
Londrina, Paraná, Brazil
Email: paula-piassa@hotmail.com
Email: jacques_haruo@hotmail.com

Rafael Borim-de-Souza*

University of Campinas,
Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil
Email: r.borim.de.souza@gmail.com
*Corresponding author

Abstract: In this research, we have aimed to interpret, through Bourdieusian sociology, narratives of and referring to Samarco Minerações S.A. on sustainability before and after the ecocide in the city of Mariana, state of Minas Gerais, Southeast of Brazil. We have chosen this mining company because of the Fundão tailings dam on November 5th, 2015. We have done documental research with Samarco's sustainability reports, social media pages and videos from its YouTube official channel, and articles from two Brazilian media communication vehicles – Carta Capital and Estadão. Through narrative analysis, we have found that Samarco's narrative represented a different construction, intended only to hide the harmful effects of destructive development. Carta Capital has implemented a critical narrative regarding the sustainability of Samarco. Estadão has sought to narrate through a bias delimited by the set of sectors of society and by the government and a large part of the Samarco's representative agents.

Keywords: Bourdieusian sociology; sustainability; ecocide; narrative analysis; organisations.

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Biographical notes: Paula Piassa received her Master's in Business Administration at the State University of Londrina, UEL, and is a member of the Research Group named EOSI – Organisation Studies about Sustainability and Internationalisation, registered in the CNPq, Brazilian Council Scientific and Technological Development.

Jacques Haruo Fukushigue Jan-Chiba received his Master's in Business Administration at the State University of Londrina, UEL, and is a member of the Research Group named EOSI – Organisation Studies about Sustainability and Internationalisation, registered in the CNPq, Brazilian Council Scientific and Technological Development.

Rafael Borim-de-Souza is a Full Professor at the University of Campinas and holds a PhD in Business Administration from the Federal University of Paraná.

1 Introduction

In this research, we have aimed to interpret, through Bourdieusian sociology, narratives of and referring to Samarco on sustainability before and after the ecocide in Mariana, a city located in Minas Gerais, southeast of Brazil. The choice of this organisation was intentional, given the ecocide episode. 'Ecocide' is understood as crimes linked to sustainability and sustainable development caused by actions which harm the natural environment (Gordilho and Ravazzano, 2017) through a global, unilateral, traditional and dominant perspective.

In different manners, the 'ecocide' term emerged from discussions about how similar environmental issues caused by humanity are to genocide. Gray (1996) justified such similarity due to the harm caused to the natural environment on a massive scale, causing a breach of duty of care owed to humanity. Crook et al. (2018, p.302) have explored this discussion and affirmed that "[t]he aims to protect the ecology of the Earth is timely given the threats of climate change, pollution and pressures on food production, and has been receiving recognition in various ways".

The ecocide that occurred on November 05th, 2015, resulting from the collapse of the Fundão tailings dam, located at the Germano unit in Mariana city, generated severe consequences of extreme magnitude in environmental, social and economic dimensions. About 45,000,000 m³ of iron ore tailings spread over 600 km between Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo and buried the sub-district Bento Rodrigues (35 km from Mariana). According to IBAMA (2020), 1,469 acres were destroyed, including preservation areas. The tragedy resulted in 19 people's death, and several families were affected by losing their homes and belongings.

In summary, ecocide is a human phenomenon that harms the natural environment and the social and human dimensions. Samarco Mineração S.A. caused the known consequences of Mariana's ecocide.

In this research, we have defined the organisation as a narrative production and a temporal discursive construction, an approach which contests organisations' technical rationality. The sense of temporality is distinguished from a simple sequence of events: the past is introduced into the present, and what happened, what is happening and what may happen are discussed (Brown, 1990; Gabriel, 2004; Vaara et al., 2016).

When interpreted in the light of the Bourdieusian sociology, the dominant narrative arises from the relationship between the reified history (institutionalised) by a particular structure and the history incorporated by the dominant agents that compose it (Bourdieu, 2002a, 2006). Thus, the narratives represent forms of power disputes, reproduction and contestations of dominating relations.

In this research, we have approached sustainability as a narrative and defended it as a non-homogeneous concept. We have understood that narratives are not the same (Czarnawska, 2004), but they are actions that involve the expression of interests. The narrative theory allows the research of complex, subjective and objective concepts in different contexts. When constructed by the studied organisation, the sustainability narrative involved the specific interests of dominant agents.

We have analysed Samarco's narratives of sustainability present in its sustainability reports, before and after the ecocide. We justify this decision in the fact that Samarco Mineração S.A. is responsible for one of the most significant environmental crimes in Brazil, given the company's desire for greater productivity, economic growth, the concentration of wealth and, consequently, social domination and exploitation (Leff, 2008; Pierri, 2001; Redclift, 2014). We have also analysed external narratives from two different press sources.

Based on this temporal division, the historical construction of Samarco Mineração S.A. has sought a process of influence and, consequently, has chosen relevant symbolic elements to the context to disseminate the company's version of the narrative.

This research contributes to organisation studies since the analysed organisation is not only understood by its activity but also as a historical narrative construction. We justify this investigation by its theoretical content supported by Bourdieusian sociology. This sociological perspective has allowed the comprehension of the historical mechanisms that support the 'de-historicisation' of social structures that reproduce formal and symbolic domination practices in specific contexts, and historical outlines structured and structuring constructed mental schemes of perception and thought. This investigation recognises sustainability as a concept appropriated by organisations as a market narrative, which is a reason for contestation in critical moments, such as an ecocide episode.

National and international research has highlighted how critical the ecocide was.

da Silva et al. (2017) have investigated Fundão's dam collapse from the perspective of those who lived through the disaster. Using phenomenological research, the authors interviewed eight people (four men and four women) right after the incident. The authors have explained how critical this ecocide was regarding consequences to the city and the people.

Vilela (2020) has analysed the discourse of Samarco in a campaign called "It is always good to look at all sides". The author has considered testimonies and videos of people affected and not affected by the incident. Also, the author has considered testimonies in which the company tries to improve its image by exposing actions concerning the region's maintenance.

Furthermore, Carmo et al. (2020) have advanced in developing measures to contain threats to biodiversity and mitigate negative impacts. They have presented an overview of total volumes of mining waste disposal in tailings dams and dump piles, discriminating them by ore type and biome.

The studies about Brazilian environmental disasters are not new. Other authors have studied and discussed the spread of Caesium-137 caused by the incorrect disposal of a radiological device in Goiânia (a city located in Goiás, Brazil) in 1987. The inappropriate waste disposed of in rivers at Cataguases city (located in the same state of Mariana) was caused by a paper company in 2003. Other tragedies are internationally known, such as the Deepwater Horizons oil spill in 2010 (Beyer et al., 2016; McNutt et al., 2012). It is noticeable that these cases are related to companies' activity, which reinforces the need

for the scientific community to study, denounce, criticise, and recommend practices that publicly avoid other ecocidal episodes.

To better understand the theoretical and empirical discussions, we have structured the paper with the following sections: the main theoretical foundations of Bourdieu's sociological theory; sustainability based on contesting approaches to the concept; the methodological procedures; the developed documental research and narrative analysis; theoretical relations with the analysed narratives; and, the final considerations.

2 The Bourdieusian sociology

Humanity has a history of social relations marked by different forms of domination, exploitation, power exercise and violence. It is a social distinction in a relational existence that happens along with the social construction. The domination structure is neither invariable nor eternal (Bourdieu, 2002a). Since social division has appeared, there has been an imposed and reproduced order. It is an order of things objectified in the entire social world and incorporated into the social dimension and socialised bodies by internalising the agent's habitus (mechanisms of a symbolic order).

Habitus is the element that Bourdieu (1983) has implemented in his mediating sociological approach between the individual (which Bourdieu calls the agent) and the structure's action. Bourdieu (2002a) has used the concept of habitus to oppose the idea of an agent separated from society. Through this notion of habitus, Bourdieu (2002a) has explained schemes and acts of social construction, which form a system of perception, thought, and action incorporated into the agents' social world. Habitus refers to many dispositions that are inseparable from the structures that produce and reproduce these same dispositions. It is a structured and structuring structure able to produce changeable actions, also interpreted as practices produced and appreciated by a specific social system. It is structured because there is a social genesis that justifies the existence of mental structures. It is structuring because the perceptions of the social world are historically changeable. The concept of habitus has allowed Bourdieu to establish the persistence of power and domination relations. These characteristics reveal the relationships as micro-sociological and denounce the agents' action submission to a force of shaping and guiding that emerges from a microcosmic social cut known as field (Bourdieu, 2002a).

According to Bourdieu (2004, 2006), the field is a microcosmic structure that houses relationships, forces, struggles and power. The objectified state of the field is subjective to the representations of the agents' habitus, whose actions divide themselves between dominant and dominated. Above this microcosmic cut, there is a macrocosm from which the field does not scape but also maintain relative autonomy through its peculiar rules, hierarchies and principles. The objective relations of the field state that the field is a specific point in the space of relations (Bourdieu, 1983). The objective aspect of social relations shows how the 'reified' history has naturalised the social order over agents. The 'embodied' history, by its turn, tells about an incorporated state of the habitus, once made dominant and structuring. Based on Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), we have understood history as a repertoire of social experiences that contribute to the comprehension and reproduction of certain behaviours or perceptions (habitus) and social structures (field). The field establishes a social order that works like a symbolic machine. The social facts

are socially and historically constructed, and their naturalisation depends on the register of differences of natural origin, labelled as schemes (Bourdieu, 2004).

A dominated agent may become a dominant one only if he/she increases or conserves his/her capitals. It will allow the agent to acquire enough power for his/her promotion within the field. Bourdieu (2004) has defined capitals as social, economic and cultural forms of power in the field. Financial properties exemplify the economic form of power. Relationships and contacts exemplify the social form of power. Diplomas, scientific papers and art pieces exemplify the cultural form of power. There are other forms of power within the field, so there are other types of capital, but, according to Bourdieu (2004), the social, economic, and cultural are the main ones. The dominant theme in the field specifies the capitals of this field. From these capitals, the symbolic capital rises as a strategy to classify the ones who own it as dominants. The right combination of the capitals exchanged and accumulated in the field determines the agent's position who owns these capitals. If the agent has a strategic mix of capital coherent with the field power relations, then this agent has an amount of symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The symbolic capital guarantees its holder the participation in the dominance of the field.

In every field, there is a specific game to play. The habitus implies the knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of this game (Bourdieu, 1983). This game happens because there are people who know how to play and are ready to play. The agents suffer an illusion about their false belonging to the game camouflaged by the social games that sustain the social organisation of the field (Bourdieu, 2006). An enchanted relationship, labelled as *illusio*, prevents the discovery of the social games as illusory games. The *illusio* is a product of an ontological complicity relationship between mental structures and objective structures of the social space (Bourdieu, 1996). Bourdieu (1996) has made an effort to show that there is history in and about social reality. When both reified and embodied histories perfectly agree with each other, it is possible to observe the rules and meaning of the game.

Bourdieu (2006) has explained symbolic power as quasi-magical. According to him, there is no need to use physical force to acquire everything with symbolic power. It is also a hypnotic power that, through its enchanted nature, exercises and characterises symbolic violence. There is the submission of the victim, who suffers from an invisible degenerative action, deprived of any physical activity. Symbolic violence is a mild, insensitive and invisible form of violence exercised through symbolic communication and knowledge (Bourdieu, 2002a). Symbolic violence makes it possible to analyse different social phenomena (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), such as class domination exercised in advanced societies, domination relations and organisational domination.

The effect of symbolic domination occurs through the perception schemes that are constitutive of the habitus and distant from consciousness. When the agents' thoughts and perceptions are under the structures of the domination relationship, there is the submission of acts to a certain *doxa*, a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant ones, which presents itself and imposes itself as the universal point of view (Bourdieu 1996). The *doxa* is a social law shared in the field to the point where it naturalises itself, becoming an incorporated law connected to the habitus of the field (Bourdieu, 1983).

This practical construction is not a conscious or free act. However, it results from an inscribed process, lasting in the body of the dominated agents in the form of perception and dispositions, acts of recognition of the *doxa*, thus becoming a 'doxic' adhesion. Due

to the immediate agreement between objective and cognitive structures, this adhesion grounds the belief, the foundation of a domination theory. The perception thought, and action schemes agree with the objective structures, the cognitive structures, the installed social order, the dominant power, and the symbolic violence present in the field (Bourdieu, 1983, 2002a).

With the elucidation of Bourdieu's theoretical richness, we have decided to link his theory to the core of this research proposal. For this, we have presented theoretical discussions about sustainability in the following section.

3 Sustainability: a questionable theory

The emergence of global discussions on the environmental crisis has opened doors for the first conversations about sustainable development and sustainability. These debates have acknowledged and questioned certain social foundations that have historically contributed to disseminating sustainable thinking linked to capitalist dynamics. In this sense, we have dedicated this section to elucidating the concepts of sustainable development and sustainability and proposing reflections on the historical background inherent to the subject.

The Brundtland Report, presented at the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987, has defined sustainable development as the “[...] development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. Environmental concerns have introduced the concept as a response to their demands. The Brundtland definition of sustainable development is far from an unanimously accepted concept once it represents and consolidates the dominant tradition of economic analysis in topics related to environmental and sustainable causes (Castro, 2004). Although globally widespread, the Brundtland definition of sustainable development has faced criticisms and alternative attempts to define the expression (Pierri, 2001).

Borim-de-Souza et al. (2015) have mapped events and facts involving different approaches to sustainable development and sustainability. The authors have discovered heterogeneous notions of sustainability and have noticed that the narratives employed to activate sustainable development were not always homogeneous. Borim-de-Souza et al. (2015), due to the absence of consensus, have recognised that both sustainable development and sustainability are terms that participate in a continuous process of construction.

Borim-de-Souza et al. (2020) have made some distinctions regarding the relationship between sustainability and sustainable development. Sustainability is the capacity to maintain and comprises the objective actions that enable sustainable development achievement. Sustainable development refers to the long-term perpetuation of a complex system through an optimised relationship between the concept's economic, social and environmental dimensions (the triple bottom line model). Among the criticisms about sustainability are those that question its long-term conditions and transformations, doubting if these commitments are even plausible (Dovers, 1996). The triple bottom line model, credited to Elkington, has guided global discussions and faced several disagreements about sustainability. The approach that observes sustainability through the critical lens interprets the triple bottom line model as a reproduction of the traditional

development model highly recommended by the elites of the developed countries (Borim-de-Souza et al., 2020).

Sena et al. (2017) have proposed an approach of resistance and emancipation to the concept of sustainability through the use of alternative elements arising from the grassroots approach. This approach opposes the imposing specificities of the capitalist production model and the mainstream on sustainable development, seen as the ideal sustainability model by the developed countries. For each of their triple bottom line pillars, the authors have proposed a more flexible model. Sena et al. (2017) have replaced the economic pillar for the solidarity economy, the social pillar for the social movements, the environmental pillar for the political ecology and the cultural pillar for the cultural roots. The authors have admitted that these 'new pillars' are resistance elements once they go beyond the traditional characteristics and do not submit to the capitalist structure.

We have observed that the discussions about sustainable development and sustainability require efforts that surpass the economic aspects and face cultural, social, political and environmental demands. Environment degradation is an issue that lasts for a considerable amount of time, just like the environmental crimes cases. These issues are related to the environmental crisis and should be thoughtfully and thoroughly problematised, but that is not the case. According to Leff (2008), the environmental crisis underlies criticisms of economic rationality since nature has an attributed market value, in the form of 'carbon credits', or fines that price the damage caused to the environment. This is why the notion of environmental crime reifies the capitalist economic view of sustainability. Since the '50s and '60s, environmental crimes have been at the base of many protest movements related to the environmental issue. The term *ecocide*, according to Gordilho and Ravazzano (2017), expresses negative transformations, consequences of the destruction or extensive loss of the ecosystem of a given territory due to human conduct or other causes that severely compromise the territory, in addition to violating the values of life, emotional integrity and public health.

As seen, sustainability has different meanings to different people and in different contexts. Sustainable development is necessary, but it can be defined differently in each culture (Redclift, 2014). Balbinot and Borim-de-Souza (2012) have presented sustainability and sustainable development as phenomena understood and discussed by different social groups. Therefore, they are subject to different forms of interpretation, as it is not appropriate to consider their concepts from a single, absolute and unquestionable truth (Balbinot and Borim-de-Souza, 2012).

Regardless of the definition given to sustainability, organisations' vision to address the sustainability discussions defines their ways of relating to environmental issues. Sustainability has permanently negotiated and institutionalised from social interactions aims to conserve resources and then extend the possibility of exploitation and consequently achieve profit for as long as possible (Castro, 2004).

After presenting the theoretical discussions, given the theoretical foundations adopted as a framework for analysis, we have explained the methodological procedures to carry out this research in the following section.

4 Methodological procedures

Following Bourdieusian sociology properties, we have developed a structuralist and constructivist research supported by a historicist ontology and a historical epistemology.

We have developed a qualitative, descriptive and documentary research in terms of classification. To analyse the collected data, we have chosen narrative analysis.

We have collected data from the following sources: Samarco Minerações S.A. Sustainability Reports; Samarco Minerações S.A. institutional videos available on the company's official Youtube channel; Samarco Minerações S.A.'s Facebook and Instagram publications; and news from the Brazilian journalistic sources, Carta Capital and Estadão. We have selected documents published in these sources between 2010 and June 2020. We have aimed to cover junctures before and after the November 2015 ecocide within this time cut.

We have chosen Carta Capital and Estadão as journalistic sources because they have represented Brazilian press narratives close to Mariana's environmental crime, besides being familiar with the company responsible for this ecocide (Samarco Minerações S.A.). We also have decided on these sources because they participate in different focuses and priorities in their publications. By its mission, Estadão has expressed concerns about profitability, democracy and communication freedom (Estadão, 2020, 2022). Carta Capital (2020, 2022) has declared commitments to critical thinking, honest journalism, diversity of ideas, fairness, democracy, independence, and freedom by its mission. So, both media vehicles have committed to impartiality. However, Estadão has opted for publications with a more business-oriented approach, and Carta Capital has established a more critical perspective on its reports.

We have searched for reports that cited Samarco Minerações S.A. and sustainability in the time cut previously informed. We have selected and analysed narratives from: 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015–2016, and 2017–2018 Samarco Minerações S.A. Sustainability reports; 96 videos available on Samarco Minerações S.A. official Youtube channel; 60 news from Estadão; and 56 news from Carta Capital. The summary of the material we have collected is in Table 1.

Table 1 Collected material according to the respective sources

<i>Material</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Total of collected material</i>	<i>Period</i>
Sustainability reports	Samarco's website	7 reports	2010–2018
Institutional videos	Samarco's Youtube channel	96 videos	2010–2020
Articles	Estadão's website	60 articles	2010–2020
Articles	Carta Capital's website	56 articles	2010–2020

We have considered the Bourdieusian sociology and the narrative analysis backgrounds to connect data with theory. Following Czarnawska (2004), we have comprehended narratives as theoretical strategies and methodological tools supporting data collection and increasing interpretive and reflective research skills. We have agreed with Bruner (2002) and Fisher (1987) about narratives being an activity, an art, a genre or mode of expression, a mode of communication, and a process of human interaction.

In this research, we have associated narratives with the communicative processes that organisations have used to position, meet and disseminate their interests. We advocate that the organisations have built narratives about themselves related to the contexts where the emission of these same narratives occurs. This research is a story in which we have told how Samarco Mineração S.A. has used the opportunities to give itself more visibility and credibility through topics concerning sustainability. To tell this story, we have opted

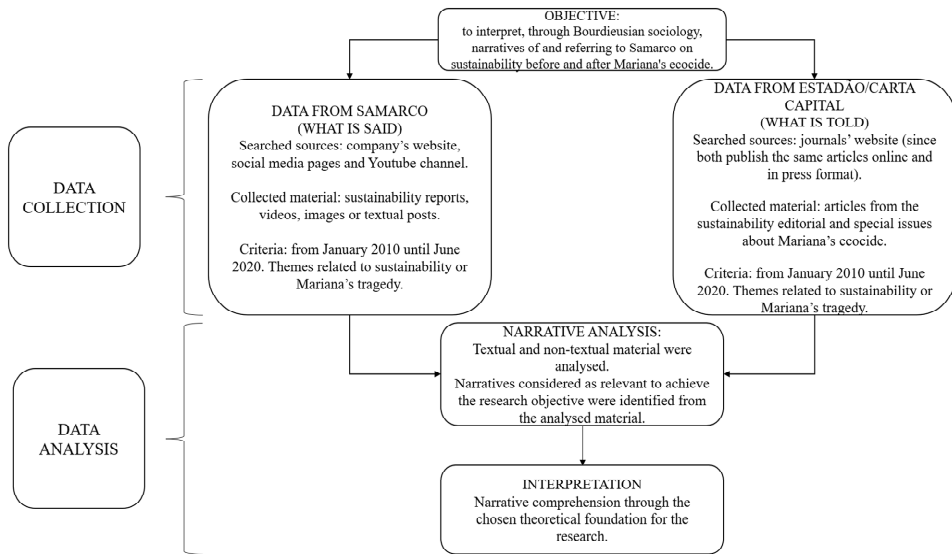
for selecting and analysing narratives emitted by the own Samarco Minerações S.A. and narratives emitted by journalistic sources that have made some reference to the company in discussions about sustainability.

We have analysed the narratives in the following steps:

- We have selected narratives about sustainability from the Samarco Mineração S.A. Sustainability Reports and the news published by Estadão and Carta Capital.
- We have analysed the narratives according to the context in which their emission occurred.
- Through reflections and elucidations, we have articulated theoretical contributions to the narratives.

For a better understanding of the methodological design of this research, we have elaborated the Figure 1.

Figure 1 Methodological design



5 The narrative analysis

We have organised the narrative analysis in the following topics: “Samarco’s voice: what the company has said about sustainability”; “beyond Samarco’s voice: what the magazines have told about sustainability in the company”; and “giving life to theory: the Bourdieusian sociology meets the narratives”.

5.1 Samarco’s voice: what the company has said about sustainability

Samarco Minerações S.A. is a 40 years old company in the Brazilian mining sector that has as its primary product the iron ore pellets. The company pioneered in the global

market in the 1980s and 1998 with exportations to the Chinese market (Samarco, 2020). Unfortunately, on November 05th, 2015, one of Samarco's tailings dams, named Fundão, broke down. Located at the Germano Unit of the company, which is in the city of Mariana in the Minas Gerais state, Fundão, through its rupture, has spread iron ore tailings for over 600 km between the Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo states. This tragic event happened almost seven years ago and still prevails the feeling that the responsible for this fatality has not measured and answered for the total damages. When we have closed the selection of the narratives, there were an amount of nineteen deaths confirmed (Samarco, 2020), among which were community members, employees of Samarco Mineração S.A., contractors of Samarco Mineração S.A., and, above all, lives, histories, families, cultures, and communities devastated.

In this narrative analysis, we have emphasised, from a holistic perspective, the content of the story told by Samarco Mineração S.A. This is why we have decided to focus on the document's contextual aspects (Lieblich e al., 1998). As a consequence, we have identified four narrative moments in the story that Samarco have told us about sustainability:

- First moment: 2010 – development with involvement.
- Second moment: 2011 – sustainability model as a management requirement.
- Third moment: 2011–2014 – sustainability integrated management policy.
- Fourth moment: 2015–2020 – the return (operation and environmental licenses).

These moments obey the temporal plot of the narratives that Samarco Mineração S.A. produced before (2010–2014) and after (2015–2020) the ecocide.

After the ecocide, Samarco Minerações S.A. opted to publish biennial reports and express itself more through press conferences and social media. We have considered this fact to contextualise the company's narratives and understand its role in stability and change (Vaara et al., 2016) before and after the ecocide. So, we have recognised the importance of the social and historical contexts to highlight the not always homogeneous company's sustainability narrative.

We have intentionally privileged the term 'story' over the term 'history' in this analysis. We have assumed that the expression 'story' is a research resource representing a series of events and relates to the theoretical background to identify the construction of the sustainability of Samarco Mineração S.A. and describe sustainability narratives emitted by the company.

Samarco Mineração S.A. has focused on 'development with involvement' in the first narrative moment of its story with sustainability. In 2010, five years before the ecocide, the company emitted the following narrative: "only by combining development with Involvement, it is possible to succeed. Blooming. Sharing more knowledge. Making a difference" [Samarco, (2010a), p.3]. We have observed that only in 2010 there is an interview contemplated in six videos with employees discussing sustainability. This video is available on the company's Youtube official channel.

In 2011, there is a new CEO in Samarco Mineração S.A. A new narrative moment has begun with this fact, called 'sustainability model as a management requirement', a space of time in which the company focused on defining guidelines and properties of its relationship with sustainability. The narratives mentioned the following topics: value generation for the company and socio-economic development for the communities.

Between some initiatives, we have perceived more linkage with sustainability in the ones entitled ‘leadership by example’, ‘innovation and technology’, ‘collaborative networks’, and ‘responsible entrepreneurship’. In this year’s Sustainability Report, Samarco Mineração S.A. has published actions and initiatives concerning this topic and assumed a learning perspective with the theme: “it tells what has changed, what remains good, and what needs to be improved. It is, mainly, analysing what happened, thinking and planning what is coming” [Samarco, (2011), p.4].

In 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015, the company has built a narrative moment based on the ‘sustainability integrated management policy’. Samarco Mineração S.A., paying attention to competitiveness and excellence, has seriously considered “the balance of economic, environmental and social dimensions with the current needs of society and future generations” [Samarco, (2011), p.25]. During these years, Ricardo Vescovi, the then-president and former director of the sustainability department was a fundamental agent for this narrative migration from ‘sustainability model as a management requirement’ to ‘sustainability integrated management policy’ (Samarco, 2011, 2012, 2014).

After the ecocide, Samarco Mineração S.A. emitted narratives about the return of operations and the conquering of environmental licenses. Since the day of the dam’s failure, the company have urged to tell the story with some peculiarities: Samarco Mineração S.A. has treated the ecocide as an ‘accident’ or a ‘tragedy’ and has opted to constantly update the audience with publications in social media, its website and Youtube channel. We have interpreted this strategy as an urgent need for justification and recovering its reputation along with society.

Samarco Mineração S.A. has reinforced the interest in recovering a good reputation in the 2015–2016 Sustainability Report. The company has also manifested this narrative orientation in some videos on its Youtube channel with the following topics: humanitarian actions, environmental actions, assistance to residents, assistance to animals, financial aid and dam safety tools. Also, in the 2015–2016 Sustainability Report, Samarco Mineração S.A. has presented its performance in social, environmental and economic indicators to detail the actions and responses to the Fundão dam Failure. Among the information, the company has mentioned environmental and humanitarian emergency measures, the Transaction and Conduct Adjustment Agreement, and the Renova Foundation’s constitution.

In the document published in 2016, Samarco Mineração S.A. affirmed that the Renova Foundation “will be dedicated to repairing, restoring and rebuilding the impacted regions” [Samarco, (2016), p.3]. The mining company has aimed to inform that “the subsequent actions will be disclosed in the Renova Foundation’s activities report” [Samarco, (2016), p.3]. We have realised that creating a foundation could be a way for the company to unlink itself from the actions to repair the impacts caused by the dam failure.

In the space-time we have considered for this research, it is possible to affirm that Samarco Mineração S.A. has built sustainability narratives according to the changes in the contexts where the company is physically and not physically. We have noted that the last corporative communications on sustainability contemplate the following topics: economic gains, society’s trust, reputation recovery and operation return. The mining company has reduced its commitment to sustainability to the mitigation of economic loss.

5.2 *What Brazilian media sources have told about sustainability in Samarco Minerações S.A.?*

We have perceived that the narratives published in the media sources considered for this research had specific targets. Carta Capital and Estadão, concerning the relationship between Samarco Minerações S.A. and sustainability, have presented contrasting ideological and political positions.

Carta Capital has published narratives more open to interpretive reflections, which, consequently, elaborated a subjective version of the connections between Samarco Minerações S.A. and sustainability. We have noted that Carta Capital has used a particular irony strategy to highlight the consequences of the dam collapse. Estadão has reported informative narratives more committed with full descriptions and little space for opinions that could directly link the media source with peculiar ideological positions. It is important to emphasise that Carta Capital is a weekly magazine and that Estadão is a daily newspaper. We have identified that neither Carta Capital nor Estadão ever approached a topic related to sustainability in Samarco Minerações until Mariana's environmental crime.

The first report from Carta Capital about the subject of interest to this research has presented narratives with a more critical tone. Published on November 12th, 2015, and entitled "Mariana: disasters saw a chance to earn money from suffering", this news contains narratives with affirmations that denounced the naturalisation of the blame and the transfer of responsibility to nature. Some narratives have also criticised the dilution of the company and government responsibilities amidst chaos and despair (Carta Capital, 2015a). Carta Capital has openly accused the environmental crime media coverage of partiality in this publication. According to the magazine, the media vehicles have preferred to speak for Samarco Minerações S.A. instead of speaking about the company and its involvement and responsibilities with the ecocide (Carta Capital, 2015b). In 2015, Carta Capital reported Mariana's environmental crime through narratives with the following emphasis: actions to minimise the damage caused by Samarco Mineração S.A. and judicial decisions.

In 2016, Carta Capital published news with narratives dedicated to emphasising the impacts, the causes and the responsibilities concerning the ecocide in perspective. The narratives of these news have reported some specific emphasis: the ecocide as the most significant environmental crime in Brazilian history; the social, environmental and economic dimensions of the ecocide; the amplitude of the social and environmental impacts of the ecocide; and the investigation of Samarco Minerações S.A. and its shareholders by the Minas Gerais Public Ministry.

Carta Capital's narratives published in 2017 critically reacted to the responses offered by the Brazilian political to the ecocide consequences. The magazine has accused Samarco Minerações S.A. of proffering false narratives about sustainability and has denounced the weak State position on company involvement in Mariana's environment crime. Carta Capital had also stated that only two years after the ecocide, Samarco Minerações S.A. and the State joined forces so that the mining company could resume its operation as fast as possible. In parallel with this economic strategy, Carta Capital had highlighted the advances and the delays of the responses both promised by Samarco Minerações S.A. and the State: palliative aid, indemnities, suspension of processes, lawsuits, redrafted agreements, employees on leave and unpredictability of the operations return.

2018 has marked a silencing time of narratives referring to linkages between sustainability and Samarco Minerações S.A. We have identified a fall in the news about the subject of interest, which has mentioned little about sustainability in Samarco Minerações S.A. Carta Capital has highlighted this silence by entitling one of its publications as “Three years later, Mariana’s struggle against oblivion” (Carta Capital, 2018). The magazine discussed only a few themes in 2018, like Renova Foundation, agreements and indemnities.

On January 25th, 2019, another tailings dam collapsed. This time, in Brumadinho, a city in the state of Minas Gerais. Vale S.A., one of the organisations’ joint venture members that control Samarco Minerações S.A., is responsible for the Brumadinho’s tailings dam. Even though the spotlights have turned to Vale S.A., Carta Capital has mentioned Samarco Minerações S.A. in their reports for 2019 and 2020, primarily to call attention to the lobbying of mining companies concerning their respective bills and influence. In one particular news entitled ‘Profit above all, mud above all’, the magazine denounced the mining company’s responsibility and the government’s complicity in topics related to Mariana’s environmental crime. Carta Capital has described Samarco Minerações S.A. and its shareholders as the perfect examples of global and neoliberal capitalism (Carta Capital, 2019a, 2019b).

Estadão initially approached the environmental crime as an ‘accident’, a ‘fatality’, or a ‘disaster’. In the first publication about the subject of interest to this research, on the same day as the dam burst, Estadão has deeply described the ecocide. Entitled ‘Tailing dam breaks and sea of mud buries district in MG’, the news has brought information that contextualised the event without compromising itself with narratives of culpability (Estadão, 2015). This report represents the pattern of the narratives that Estadão published in 2015 about the ecocide. The narratives have considered the following emphasis: description of actions, Samarco Mineração S.A. sayings about the ecocide, and public agents/political authorities’ declarations about this exact topic.

In 2016, Estadão overshadowed the causes of the ecocide and the mining company’s responsibilities for this event. However, in this same year, Estadão has chosen to gather new evidence on the ecocide’s social, environmental, and economic impacts. The newspaper emphasised a judicial authorisation that has allowed access to a report developed by the Brazilian Police. According to Estadão, this document stated that Samarco Minerações S.A. was aware of the Fundão dam collapse risks. In 2017, Estadão’s narratives linking sustainability and Samarco Minerações S.A. prioritised the following emphasis: resumption plan, new agreements, new chances of the mining company resumption its activities, lawsuits, and investigations and fines (Estadão, 2017). In 2018, Estadão, again, has privileged sources connected to Samarco Minerações S.A.. However, this same year, the newspaper published narratives discussing the impunity of the mining company. In 2019 and 2020, Estadão published narratives on the connection between sustainability and Samarco Minerações S.A., emphasising the achievement of environmental issues, resumption of operations, and, Brumadinho tailings dam collapse.

5.3 Giving life to theory: the Bourdieusian sociology meets the narratives

This analysis has dealt mainly with the paradox between narratives that emitted financial balance issues and narratives that uttered environmental balance and social achievements.

Initially, Samarco Minerações S.A. has recognised itself as a competitive company that acts with business excellence by considering the combination of concerns and

demands from the economic, environmental and social pillars. Aligned with the mainstream definition of sustainable development, the mining company has brought “the current needs of society and future generations” to its discussions on sustainability (Samarco, 2010a). This affiliation to Brundtland’s (WCED, 1987) definition may indicate that Samarco Mineração S.A. only commits to environmental and social practices if these practices reflect some economic development aspect.

There is no doubt that a company like Samarco Mineração S.A. must accumulate economic capital. Although, the narratives have indicated another two important capitals to the mining company, which are the social and the cultural capital. These capitals speak about Samarco Mineração S.A.’s reputation, an issue highly challenged after the ecocide. The primacy on economic interests and the reputation questioning are two characteristics that complement each other. One of the narratives published by Carta Capital (2019b) has argued that “little is said about the intersection between socio-environmental justice and women’s movements, especially in Latin America, and it has a lot to do with it”.

This consideration brings to light an engagement with an order notion that fulfils symbolic violence strategies that must be radically faced and questioned, according to Bourdieu (2002a). Given the effects caused by mechanisms belonging to the symbolic order, essential in the process of domination, Bourdieu (2002a) has stated that the sovereign structure remains, in general, unchanged. It is necessary to find ways to subvert this relationship by identifying where it reproduces, that is, the ‘places’ (objective and subjective) – also known as fields – of struggle (Bourdieu, 2002a).

The narratives are not the same, and they manifest interests and, therefore, can be understood as forms of power disputes, reproduction, and questioning of domination relations (Czarnawska, 2004; Bourdieu, 2009). To speak about domination or symbolic violence is to say that, except for a subversive revolution that leads to the inversion of positions, the dominated agents tend to assume the dominant point of view about themselves. As seen in the organisation’s narrative, Samarco Mineração S.A. has occupied a dominant symbolic position that advances as the logic of development expand, exerted by the strength of the mechanisms of symbolic domination expressed by the sustainability narratives.

The narrative from Carta Capital has brought a clear discussion of economics as sovereign to social and environmental issues, which point of view is also reinforced by the government. The appropriation of the environment comes increasingly against the rights conquered by social struggles. According to the narrative of Carta Capital, the sustainability narratives from Samarco Mineração S.A. and the media, in general, do not represent minorities. The interconnection between this unconcern for social issues and the domination of the environment has made the movements of minorities subject to oppressive structures and, worse, invisible groups.

The silenced voices from the field in which the organisation is are the dominated narratives, the silenced minorities in the face of the effects caused by mechanisms classified as belonging to the symbolic order (Bourdieu, 2006). It is the action of symbolic violence when there is no recognition and also when there is the devaluation of these narratives. This symbolic violence ‘covers with a veil’ unfair and discriminatory acts and contributes to the perpetuation of the force of the dominant order. Thus, although Samarco Mineração S.A.’s sustainability narratives have sought to cover social and environmental aspects, the search was for results that could somehow economically benefit its mining activities.

In 2012, when Samarco Minerações S.A. was migrating from the narrative moment of ‘sustainability model as a management requirement’ to the narrative moment of ‘sustainability integrated management policy’, the mining company has acknowledged some weaknesses in its inclusion policies. The following narrative expresses this concern: “We do not have women or black people in management positions” [Samarco, (2012), p.68]. To compensate for this statement, Samarco Minerações S.A. has highlighted that it meets the minimum quota of 5% of professionals with special needs in its internal staff. However, the mining company was transparent in informing us that this percentage is a law requirement.

The formal and symbolic domination process deals with the ‘doxic adhesion’. Furthermore, the result of incorporating such a power relationship predominates in the sustainability narrative. These acts of symbolic violence occur through the dominant view principle, “a system of structures lastingly inscribed in things and bodies” [Bourdieu, (2002a), p.58].

By the side of Samarco Minerações S.A.’s workers, concerning the first months after the environmental crime, the organisation has defended the motto: ‘Doing what must be done. This is our commitment’. Employees have spoken on behalf of Samarco Minerações S.A. in several videos. According to Bourdieu (2006) and Rhodes and Brown (2005), these narratives have revealed the personal interactions incorporated into the subjectivity of social agents. These agents have given voice to the mining company’s narratives, which have sought to symbolically lead them to believe in a message of inclusion and hope. However, as we have identified, that was a case of a dominant narrative reproduction, labelled as the doxa in the Bourdieusian sociology.

Samarco Minerações S.A.’s sustainability narratives have highlighted the proposal to generate jobs. This narrative pattern has contributed to constructing the illusion and proliferating Samarco Minerações S.A.’s sustainability dominant view, the doxa. Bourdieu (1996) explained it as an objectively structured subjectivity of agents. The ones who have reproduced the mining company’s dominant narratives suffer from an illusion that: causes belief in the game, generates the belief of playing this game, and develops the desire to play this game until the end. There is a social construction of a belief in the agents about their participation in the game Samarco Minerações S.A. has played. Bourdieu (1996, 2004) explains that the illusion allows the dominant to elaborate and articulate its game in the field. This research has admitted that Samarco Minerações S.A. has established and disseminated its game through sustainability narratives converted into sustainability truths by their dominant pattern.

The mining company has symbolically manipulated sustainability narratives as the true and the unquestionable. Besides the media’s questioning the dominant narrative about sustainability, this has not weakened Samarco Minerações S.A.’s ability to reproduce dominant truths about this theme. Once the affected communities have not perceived an attack, deprived of the possibility of protection, we have interpreted that, through its dominant narratives about sustainability, Samarco Minerações S.A. has committed symbolic violence against those submitted to this dominant message. The mining company’s dominant sustainability narratives have violated mental structures (Bourdieu, 2002a) and hide the symbolic domination of the community, which has not perceived itself as a target of exploitation.

Samarco Minerações S.A. dominant narratives has spread the doxa about sustainability. Recognised by Bourdieu (2002a) as the very foundation of a domination theory, the doxa does not dispute legitimacy. Once the mining company has owned the

doxa about its relationship with sustainability, it has used the dominant narratives to characterise different actions as environmentally friendly. Samarco Minerações S.A. has employed the doxa about sustainability as a symbolic tool of domination to tell the ecocide story hiding its aspects of exploitation, degradation, oppression and separation.

We have identified evidence of symbolic domination on Samarco Minerações S.A.'s narratives. Through these narratives, the mining company has consolidated the exercise of symbolic violence against other agents. Samarco Minerações S.A.'s economic capital has exerted power over the municipality and has proved the community's dependence on mining activities. The narratives that have confirmed the economic capital as the most relevant capital for the relationship established between Samarco Minerações S.A. and sustainability have also revealed the city of Mariana as dominated by the mining company in this same subject. About this submission, one of the narratives published by Carta Capital illustrates: "It is a system that is in crises, but that dominates global communication and thus makes everyone believe that another world is neither possible nor necessary, that there is nothing to be done" (Carta Capital, 2016). This is the Samarco Mineração S.A.'s doxa naturalising things as they are. As Bourdieu (2002a) highly recognised about the doxa: It is said, it is this way, it has always been this way. It is a symbolically violent process in which Samarco Minerações S.A.'s narrative has dictated its own rules, the same game and the very truth about sustainability. Samarco is an agent that has held economic capital regardless of how it operates. The forms of accumulation of this capital have fed on inequalities at the expense of unsustainable mining activities.

Samarco Minerações S.A.'s story has silenced society. The population has felt a large part of the environmental damage in a situation of poverty and vulnerability. Furthermore, minorities cannot counteract the unsustainability of the mining company's activities. Samarco Minerações S.A. has linked its social and environmental responsibility programs to the very instrumental logic that has assumed the environment must be controlled and managed for the 'efficient use' of natural resources. Because of the ecocide, the mining company has intensified these programs and felt the need to increase its social and cultural capital. Samarco Minerações S.A., according to the narratives, has controlled instruments of symbolic production. The complexity of the symbolic construction of domination does not happen abruptly. It is a 'deep' and lasting construction, which remains even after the disappearance of the specific act that generated it (Bourdieu, 2006). The appropriation of social spaces for capital accumulation is not a new fact. Estadão (2015) has remembered that Mariana's region was a target of exploitation since the Brazilian colonial period. The following narrative illustrates his information: "The beginning of a change in the landscape dates back to the 18th century, with intense deforestation practised by mining companies in the search, mainly, for iron". We have understood that environmental exploitation for capital accumulation is not a recent fact, but it is even more intense in each context, causing more significant environmental and social problems.

Estadão is a media communication vehicle known as one of the most significant newspapers declared pro-market. Sustainable development in the name of economic growth was a process implemented from elitist conceptions, defined by white and Western societies, which deepens historical inequalities. Bourdieu (2002a), in his ethnography of the Kabyl people, has shown that in societies with androcentric principles, cultural diversity and ways of life are devalued in favour of the dominant ones. Samarco Minerações S.A.'s narratives have represented this principle.

The dominant narrative is at the service of the economic market; that is, it dictates the current economic system. Therefore, it seeks to show how these notions have been reinforced, as in the video of the then commercial and corporate services director of the mining company, Roberto Carvalho. In his narrative, Roberto has related sustainability to economic issues and used this affirmative to explain how the market behaviour has sustained the mining company (Samarco, 2010b). It is a narrative that has valued environmental and social aspects before and after the ecocide despite its economic and market orientations. As explained by Bourdieu (2002a), the domination structures are not unhistorical; they are the product of a historical work of reproduction.

We have also observed that the narratives about sustainability have disputed spaces in the story told by Samarco Minerações S.A. There is an inequality in the company's economic, environmental, and social interests. Samarco Minerações S.A. has offered five training programs: "leadership, Samarco identity, excellence, technology and sustainability" (Samarco, 2012). The sustainability-related program has received the lowest investment, approximately 0.24% of the invested amount (R\$6.3 million). After the ecocide, the mining company has continually reproduced this imbalance in the social and environmental spheres.

By holding the economic capital, the organisation tends to dominate and, consequently, silences the voices of the dominant agents. On the other hand, the capital and legislation compliance has shown the domination leveraged by the government's action. For the narrative of Carta Capital, this power has also proved to be an ally, especially from the neoliberal domination over the free market: "[...] environmental tragedies are part of the logic of capitalism, especially after the neoliberal reforms that have changed the world since the 1980s" (Carta Capital, 2019a). For the magazine's narrative, the flexibility of environmental legislation, the criminalisation of social struggles, and the changes to guarantee the release of this activity have been relevant advances to intensify and accelerate the mining company's activities.

The State, represented in the objective form of the social structure, also acts as a structuring structure of structures. However, state had this performance weakened by a legislative structure regarding environmental regulation, which has made the regulations for the approval of economic activities of companies such as Samarco Minerações S.A. more flexible. In line with this story, Bourdieu has stated that this particular form of domination, manifested by symbolic violence, is between the left and right hands of the state (Bourdieu, 2002b). In other words, everything that is related to the right hand of the state, linked to finances and budgets, is sovereign to what is in the left hand, which comprises dominated subjects. A capitalist ideology and institutionalised domination also guide other issues that concern the state.

Through the Bourdieusian lenses, we have observed that the economy stands out from social and environmental impacts. Samarco Minerações S.A.'s relationship with the state has been beneficiated as independent of environmental crimes and social impacts, and the resulting risks to populations have been underestimated or neglected. The possession of economic capital allied to other capitals, such as social and cultural ones, has given Samarco Minerações S.A. the authority to silence not only the community but the legal apparatus of the state: "The legislation for mining companies seems designed not to be complied with. The State is permissive in regulation and inspection is poor or non-existent" (Carta Capital, 2015a). The state is the regulatory institution and is responsible for inspection and punishment. However, reducing inspections related to

regulations has favoured the perpetuation of attitudes of excessive exploitation (Shwom, 2009).

As we have seen in the narrative of Estadão (2017): “Samarco obtained all the necessary environmental licenses to restart its operations. The company received the Corrective Operating License (LOC) for the Germano Complex in Minas Gerais, which was approved by the Mining Activities Chamber (CMI) of the State Council for Environmental Policy (Copam)”. Because of the State’s weak performance, the result has further emphasised the argument that Samarco’s sustainability narrative has acted as a symbolic instrument of domination. The mining company has shown a false narrative of ‘producing by mitigating damage’ and of ‘sustainability as learning’, as it has stated in search of resuming its activities.

The government’s disregard for the ecocide has shown that environmental legislation is passive and incomprehensible with many of the sustainability-related attitudes taken by the organisation. The mining company has partially fulfilled the requirements. The environmental crisis is not merely an ecological issue but also integrates the values and potential of nature and social externalities (Leff, 2008).

In periods of crisis, Samarco Minerações S.A. has changed its grand narrative over the years to the detriment of economic and reputational aspects, as the definition of business-oriented sustainability, in the logic of development, is aimed at meeting and satisfying financial needs (Borim-de-Souza et al., 2020). The mining company has constructed narratives relatively in their different contexts through the actions and positions contained in the documents. Different and contradictory concepts addressed in the reports were perceived and reaffirmed in videos of Samarco Minerações S.A. regarding sustainability. After the ecocide, textual and non-textual documents have shown narrative constructions in new ways. The narrated story refers to creating the context for the actions in search of repairing environmental damage and making it possible to resume the company’s operations.

The story based on the technological possibilities of modifying the environment, sponsored by large corporations such as Samarco Minerações S.A., which could not deal with the complexity and socio-environmental degradation, has begun to disguise private interests. Narrated evidence has reinforced that the solid incentive for capitalism focused on technology does not represent the interest in sustainable development but rather an interest focused on profit (Castro, 2004). Before the ecocide, Samarco Minerações S.A. reproduced a mainstream narrative of sustainable development studies. After, the narrative has represented a different construction, intended only to hide the harmful effects of destructive development.

As for the narrative coming from views outside Samarco, the story has found two different narratives. Carta Capital and Estadão have shown narratives produced in two different ideological affinities. First, the narrative of Carta Capital has committed to a unique and critical version of the story. Second, Estadão has presented a new comprehension of the situation that, even so, sought to narrate bias delimited set of sectors of society and by the government.

Domination is in all social relations, and “if there were so many battles, it is because it is important [...]. Every time one says it is natural, there is manipulation, domination” [Bourdieu, (2002b), p.50]. The analysed narratives have brought the strength of the domination of nature and the social subordination power and economic interest in the game. As an agent of great power in the field, the mining company is interested in maintaining a dominant position through the possession and movement of economic

capital. Estadão's narrative has approached Samarco Minerações S.A.'s dominant sustainability narrative in a discreet and conventional journalist way. Estadão has not questioned the fundamentals of conventional economics and the influence of economic capital as the most relevant capital for Samarco Minerações S.A.'s relationship with sustainability. Carta Capital has represented the yearnings of the dominated agents affected by ecocide. Carta Capital has explored a contestatory narrative for questioning the mainstream economic logic, which represents thoughts contrary to the sustainability so defended by the mining company.

6 Final considerations

Through this investigation and the sustainability narratives constructed by and referring to Samarco, we have appropriated the Bourdieusian and sustainability theory to analyse the data collected in textual and visual documents. We have considered that the mining company's sustainability narratives needed reconstruction because of a crisis context.

We have pointed to the story's (re)construction from contrasting ideological and political positions through the analysed narratives. This strategy has complemented the comprehension of the ecocide that occurred in Mariana. Also, through the two main thematic orientations of the research and the narrative analysis, we have understood that the influence of domination occurred in the symbolic relationship established among narratives about sustainability and the capitalist system.

The analysis has provided reflections on sustainability, in a specific temporal context, in the face of the ecocide in Mariana, to unveil domination in the narratives. The provided elucidations have focused on the subjective details and meanings constructed and presented in the narratives delivered in the collected data. We have found the domination manifested in narratives about sustainability, primarily oriented by the market logic, oriented to capitalist interests, and aimed at the mainstream conception of sustainability.

The questioning of social structures threatens relations of domination and power. In this sense, the ecocide has challenged the foundations of economic rationality. The search for different responses to the principles that sustain the dominant economic order was, ironically, unsustainable. The discussion about sustainability is under constant construction. New issues arise, and organisations need to adapt to debates that recognise the subjectivity and complexity of events that emphatically involve the organisation itself, society and the environment in critical contexts, needing to 're-institutionalise' already standardised concepts and values.

This research has sought to contribute to the scientific field of organisation studies from the point of view of Bourdieusian sociology, especially concerning its relationship with sustainability, through analyses related to narratives. The Bourdieusian construct became a means for understanding the different relations of domination found. It has been unveiled in the light of the social construction historically narrated in specific temporal and communicative contexts.

The limitations of this research are inherent to the subjectivity of the researchers. Relations, thoughts, or questions are mentally consolidated and directly influence the elucidations without becoming a defining discourse. Otherwise, the research would be an opinion letter. Furthermore, plenty of documentary sources are to be investigated, and more regarding the discussed ecocide tragedy are still being published. This research has

focused on two different ethe of journalistic sources to become possible to understand contrasting forms of narratives and manifestations.

This investigation invites other researchers to deepen reflections on the occurred ecocide, to theoretically and methodologically enrich the scientific field, making this disaster not only a tragedy in itself but also a social responsibility of science in deepening debates on environmental sacrifice and human beings to the detriment of the sovereign economic interests of organisations. Bourdieu's theory has allowed for in-depth comprehensions to deconstruct better this form of symbolic and institutionalised domination, seen in the relationship between the objective and subjective aspects that involved the sustainability narratives of and referring to the researched organisation. Other theoretical foundations from different authors and approaches, sociological or not, linked to other forms of study such as ethnography, action research, or techniques of analysis such as content and discourse ones, can also contribute to the enrichment of this field to be explored.

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