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Abstract:

This article shows the emergence of the Social Responsible Investment (SRI) market in Brazil by exploring, sociologically, the Brazilian Corporate Sustainability Index launched in Sao Paulo Stock Market in 2005. Where can we find those who work with SRI in Brazil? How are they distributed in the market? By using Bourdieu's concept of field, therefore, understanding the market as a social field, by using the theoretical approach of economic sociology associated with the Multiple Correspondence Analysis, this article draws the SRI social field presenting its dimensions through the analysis of its social actors, their capitals and their institutions. As a result, it gives to the reader an overview of the possible oppositions which has been being created in this market. It concludes that the existence of the SRI market is far less the result of the markets' automatic mechanisms of supply and demand than of an elite convergence led by newcomers in the financial market aiming to create a new social representation in the world of finance based on SRI practices.

KEYWORDS: Socially Responsible Investment, Economic Sociology, Field, Financial Market, Multiple Correspondence Analysis, Elites.

> Conforming to the idea that we have about the ordinary, the sociology main goal is to reveal the most deep structures from the different social worlds which constitute the social universe (*Pierre Bourdieu* 2006 [1989])

The Brazilian Corporate Sustainability Index (ISE), launched at Sao Paulo's Stock Exchange in December 2005, can be the point of departure to a sociological understanding of a new social representation created in the Brazilian financial field: The Social Responsible Investment (SRI), which refers to the investment decision in which investors take in account economic as well as social and environmental criteria (Déjean, 2005; Brito et al, 2005; Giamporcaro, 2006).

According to data presented by the U.S. Social Investment Forum, the amount of SRI traded assets increased from US\$ 639 billion in 1995 to US\$ 2.71 trillion in 2007 (Social Investment Forum, 2007). In Europe, the study released by the European

Sustainable Investment Forum Network (EUROSIF) suggests that the active SRI of thirteen European countries increased from ≤ 1.033 trillion in 2005 to ≤ 2.665 trillion in 2007 (EUROSIF, 2008). These data demonstrate the global growth of the SRI market.

Following the chronological sequence of the international conferences' themes held by the United Nations Environment Program Finance Initiative (UNEP-FI), [which has been trying to connect finance with sustainability since 1991], can be an alternative way to verify the growing attention given to the SRI. The first conference held in 1994 focused on the necessity to green the financial market (*Banking and the Environment: Greening Financial Markets*) From 2003 on, the SRI appears more frequently (*Workshop on* **Investors and Sustainability** [2003], Implementing **Responsible Investment**: A United Nations Investor Roundtable [2004], Roundtable on Private Banking and Sustainable Investment in Emerging Economies [2007], Integrating ESG Issues Into Investment Analysis [2008], Making it happen: Implementing the Principles for **Responsible Investment** [2008], Sustainability and Global Property Portfolios: The Global Business of **Responsible Property Investments** [2009], The **Investors' Perspective** on the Nature and Need for Sustainable Property Metrics [2010].

In Brazil, SRI gained strength particularly after the ISE's launch in 2005, resulting in the growing number of commercial bank's SRI investment funds. By 2010, the Brazilian Social Responsible Investment assets reached to R\$ 1.13 billion (Valenti and Torres, 2010).

The SRI market is expanding and it might [or might not] be a new trend in the financial market. However, one important question remains: who are and where to find those who invented the Brazilian SRI market?

My attempt to answer this question guided me to the need of apprehending markets as social fields (Bourdieu, 2005). To be able to draw this social field where the Brazilian SRI practices have originated, I used the Multiple Correspondance Analysis (MCA). As a result, this article demonstrates that the establishment of the SRI market is not due to an automatic mechanism of supply and demand but, instead, to the resulting convergence among dominant social groups led by newcomer financial actors advocating for SRI.

This article is divided into 4 parts: First, I briefly contextualize the history of the SRI (1). Second, I explain how I found SRI relevant social actors (2). Subsequently, I present the results of the MCA (3) followed by my final remarks (4).

1. What about SRI?

The origins of SRI can be traced back to biblical times, when the Jewish laws recommended ethical money investment (Giamporcaro, 2006). Another origin might be found in the sermon of the Methodist church's founder, John Wesley, entitled "The use of Money", in which he advocated for the ethical use of money. However, the most-cited origin backs to the late eighteenth century, when the Quakers, in view of their religious convictions, refused to invest in weapons and slavery.

In 1928, The Pioneer Fund was launched as the first ethical investment fund. It didn't invest in companies producing beverages, tobacco and pornography, making it possible for North American churches to invest their capital in the financial market without disrespecting their ethical principles (Déjean, 2005).

The SRI movement was marginalized until the 1960s, when it returned in a well known scenario of general popular consciousness filled with social movements in favor of the environment, civil rights, women's rights, all of them questioning corporate social irresponsibility (Giamporcaro, 2006).

In the 1980s, due to an increasing environmental concern, green investment funds were launched (Brito et al, 2005). Unlike those pioneer funds which previously excluded companies, green funds were based on a positive screening, i.e. they included companies with the best practices to preserve the environment.

There is a fundamental distinction between the Ethical Social Responsible Investing (based on previous exclusion of eligible companies) and the Performing Social Responsible Investing (based on the best sustainable practices of eligible companies). The creation of the latter refashions previous religious beliefs into the belief in the numbers' rationality. This change follows the same logic presented by Weber (1985) in the book "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism": at first, it was religious principles that prompted SRI, but later, it was rationalized, which means that it is no longer justified in terms of religion, but in terms of economic performance.

The growth of the Performing SRI was possible due to the growing belief that companies with sustainable practices tend to have better financial performance than companies that do not have those practices. This belief was transformed into the central legitimacy tool used by those who advocate in favor of SRI market development (Gond, 2006).

In 1999, Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes were launched in the New York Stock Exchange market. As a mimetic isomorphism process, England Stock market launched its FTSE4Good index in 2001, followed by Johannesburg Stock Exchanges (JSE) launching its Social Responsible Index in 2004, culminating in the Brazilian Corporate Sustainability Index (ISE), launched at Sao Paulo Stock Exchange in 2005¹.

2. Who did it? The Sociology of ISE's Board

Unlike the Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes, created by social actors linked to the financial market, or even the FTSE4Good, created by the England Stock Exchange allied with the British Journal Financial Times, ISE's creation witnessed a public media debate divided into three main episodes: first, the debate over the previous [or not] exclusion of eligible companies producing alcohol, gambling and tobacco from its portfolio; second, the debate over ISE's methodology for evaluating eligible companies; third, the debate over the final ISE's portfolio's composition. All these episodes had as their protagonists the members of ISE's deliberative board (CISE). It is the CISE who rules the index. Since these public media debates emerged, the CISE's legitimacy to rule, or even to "say" what is a sustainable company is at stake. Moreover, what is at stake was the CISE's ability to become a "*lieu neutre*", which is an important condition to create a Brazilian SRI market recognized by all participants.

According to Bourdieu and Boltanski (1976), the social arrangement called "lieu neutre" is produced by an effect of objectivity resulting

mainly by a group's eclectic's structure: it is a place where people coming from different fractions meet each other. Each individual in the group can be seen as a meeting place, given the multiplicity of positions the individual occupies in the center of the dominant class (p. 59).

Can be the CISE considered a "lieu neutre"? Taking in account that the lieu neutre "is shaped by legal- institutional rules, where different types of capitals,

¹ For more details about these four indexes see: SARTORE, Marina (2009). An essay on Stock Markets Sustainability Index Committees. Paper presented at the Society for the Advancement of Socio Economics- SASE, July 2009, Paris, France.

accumulated by individuals, are at stake" (Lébaron, 2008, p.123), the answer is yes. Thus, my departure point to find the social actors who participate in the development of SRI market in Brazil was the investigation of those who participate in CISE, as well as those connected to them.

After mapping out these individuals, I intend to answer the following questions: a) who are the agents responsible for the improvement of the SRI market in Brazil? When I ask "who", I consider Pierre Bourdieu's idea about the **name**, which is considered as a "set of simultaneously occupied positions in a given time by a biological individuality which is socially established and acts as a support of a set of attributes as well as its own attributes that allows the individual to act as an effective agent in different fields" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 72), b) How are these social individuals distributed in the SRI social field? c) Which are its key social dimensions?

2.1 Mapping the Social Actors

The workplace of professionals who advocate for the development of SRI practices is not a static geographical and physical space such as a building company. In Brazil, the organization of SRI market is quite the same as in France where, as Penalva-Icher (2006) states, it emerges from the financial arena seen as a space of sociability materialized in meetings, dinners, workshops and road shows. In my attempt to map them, I found them out searching into 4 meeting points:

a)Board Members and Institutions

The first step was to look at the CISE's members and the institutions they represent. I analyzed the board members from 2005 to 2010 and their institutions are listed below:

TABLE 1- CISE's Institutions

ABRAPP - Brazilian Pension Funds Association		
ANBID - National Association of Investment Banks		
APIMEC - Association of Capital Markets Analysts and Investment Professionals		
IBGC- Brazilian Institute of Corporate Governance		
ETHOS - Ethos Institute of Corporate Responsibility		
PNUMA - Brazilian branch of the United Nations Environment Program		
MMA -Brazilian Ministry of the Environment.		
IFC - International Finance Corporation		
BOVESPA - São Paulo Stock Market Exchange		

b)ISE Team

The ISE has a questionnaire which is annually released. This publication is an important data source because it lists the names of those who elaborate the questionnaire, which is to say, the experts who have the required knowledge about social, economic, corporate governance and environmental issues. Thus, these experts are connected to the ISE, but do not represent its "public face" as the board members do. I analyzed these questionnaires from 2005 to 2008 and I call these experts the "ISE Team."

c)IFC's "Sustainable Investment in Brazil" Report

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) provided the financial support to the ISE. IFC is the World Bank's private arm, which provides investment and advisory services to developing countries' private sector.

IFC publishes several reports that analyses developing countries' financial situation. Regarding Brazilian SRI, IFC has released two reports: the first, "Towards Sustainable and Responsible Investment in Emerging Markets" which was published in 2003 referring to Brazil as a potential country to develop SRI. The second, "Sustainable Investment in Brazil" was published in 2009. This second report requires special attention as it published a "special thanks list" naming the individuals who contributed to the elaboration of this report. Some of them were included in the sample.

d)Conferences

All the institutions represented in the CISE, with the exception of the Ministry of Environment, promoted conferences discussing SRI. Reading the programs of these conferences, available in their web pages, it was possible to identify those social actors who were invited to speak about SRI. The Triple Bottom Line Investing (TBLI) Conference, an international Road Show discussing SRI issues and the Brazilian Investor Forum, which discuss about sustainable venture capital, were also considered in this research.

There are individuals who circulate in more than one of these "meeting points" [CISE's Board, ISE Team, IFC Report and Conferences]. They were encoded trough its public importance as follows: ISE Board Member; Conference Speaker, IFC Report, ISE Team. Table 2 shows the sample map; table 3 shows the contribution of individuals from each "meeting point" to the sample.

TABLE 2- SAMPLE MAP

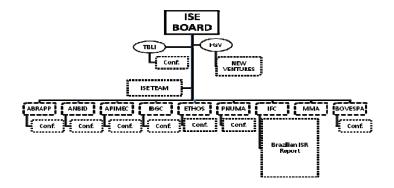


TABLE 3- FINAL SAMPLE

FINAL SAMPLE			
Meeting point	No of individuals		
CISE	20		
ISE Team	62		
Conferences	56		
IFC Report	16		
Total	154		

3. Drawing the SRI field: properties, individuals and institutions

The section 2 showed up the meeting point of those working with SRI: CISE, ISE team, IFC Report and Conferences. Due to the impossibility to interview all these 154 social actors, the main source of information about them consisted of their bionotes published on the internet. Bio-notes accessed via institutional sites and conferences totalized 111 individuals (72.1%). The other two biographical sources came form the Brazilian Academic Professionals Dataset (36 individuals, representing 23.4% of the sample) and from questionnaires answered by e-mail (7 individuals, representing 4.5% of the sample). The use of bio-notes enables to outline the social space due to the fact that

> the biographical events are defined by the positions held as well as changes in social space, which means, more precisely, that they are defined by the structure's different successive states of distribution of different species of capital that are at stake on the field (BOURDIEU, 1986, p. 71)

Bourdieu (1986) states that to understand life's trajectory it is necessary to identify a set of objective relations that unite the individual to all others. These relationships are objectively expressed in "types of capital". The capitals I considered to this analysis are: Education; Profession, Social and Demographic (see table 4).

Aiming to produce the representation of Bourdieu geometrics' social space, I use Multiple Correspondence Analysis $(MCA)^2$, which, according to Rouanet (2005), is a statistical tool which produces the simultaneous representation of the space of categories and the space properties.

According to Cantu (2009, p.8), "The goal of MCA is to provide a tangible view of multidimensional realities by reducing it to a few dimensions". These dimensions are represented by factorial axes which are composed by the variables that most influence the social field's structure.

First, I ran some frequency tables aiming to determine, among all the variables, those which could create distances between individuals³.

By doing so, I figured out that there are some properties that prevail in Brazilian SRI social field: most individuals are male (72%), working in Sao Paulo State (83%), with no association to international organizations (75%) and with no doctorate degree

² The used software for developing this analysis was SPSS, version 15, available in the University of São Carlos.

³That is to say, consider a group of 100 individuals. If 100 say they prefer "yellow" and none of them prefer "blue" there is no social distance between them in terms of color.

(74%). The fact that most of them did not worked in international institutions may point out that the SRI market's constitution is based on a few key big linkers having international trajectories which in turn, enables and legitimates them to import and diffuse SRI practices to Brazil.

However, despite the fact that there are some prevailing properties, the SRI market seems to hold a great degree of heterogeneity as well. After running all variable frequency tables, 13 active variables comprising a total of 42 categories were considered (see table 4). After running the MCA, three dimensions were set, but only dimensions 1 and 2 were analyzed because they represent 77% of the total variance (see table 5)

TABLE 4- ACTIVE VARIABLES

Brazilian ISR Variables and their Categories

Educational Trajectory:

- Academic diploma (3): Humanities/Biology; Engineering; Business.
- Passage in FGV (2): Yes [FGV]; No [N_FGV]
- Masters (4): Business, Others [Mest_other]; Has masters but doesn't mention in which area [NC_Mest]; No masters [N_Mest];
- MBA (4): Business, others [Esp_other]; Has Specialization but doesn't mention which area [NC_Esp]; No specialization [N_Esp].

Social Capital

- Board Member (2): Yes[BM]; No[N_BM]
- Speaker Road Shows (2): Yes [RoadShow]; No [N_RoadShow].

Professional Trajectory

- Company Sector (8): Academic; Consultancy, Financial, Enterprise, International Institution, Institute, Pension Fund, Public
- Acted with Finance? (2): Yes [Fin], No[N_Fin]
- Acted with Public Institutions (2): Yes [Pub]; No [N_Pub].
- Working Issue (4): Environment [Environment]; Corporate Social Responsibility [Corp-Social-Respo]; Sustainable Finance [Susta-Finance], Another [Other].
- Sample Position [supplementary variable*] (4): CISE Board [C_ISE]; ISE Team [E_ISE]; Conference [Conf]; IFC Report [Rel_IFC]

Demographic Properties:

- Based on (3): São Paulo; Rio de Janeiro; Another.
- Sex (2): Female; Male

*The variable "sample position" was considered as a supplementary variable. Following Hjellbrekke et al (2007), a supplementary variable is introduced in MCA without interfering in the results.

TABLE 5- Discrimination Index

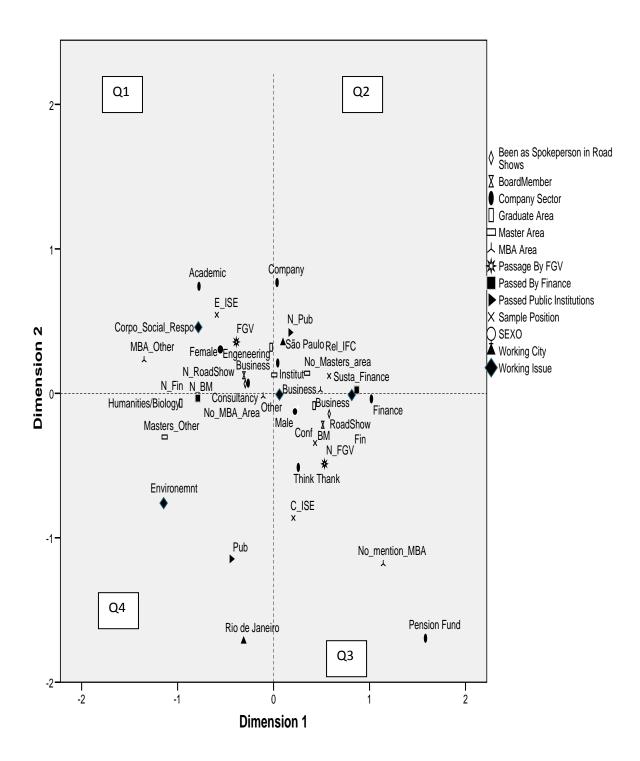
	Dimensions	
Variables	1	2
Sex	0,122	0,037
Based on	0,050	0,662
Graduated área	0,301	0,029
BoardMember	0,159	0,028
Acted with Finance?	0,684	0,001
Acted with Public Institutions?	0,075	0,488
Speaker in Road Shows?	0,173	0,010
Working Issue	0,675	0,145
Company Sector	0,527	0,712
FGV Passage	0,207	0,174
Specialization área	0,360	0,052
Master Area	0,292	0,030
Sample Position	0,249	0,260
Total	3,626	2,368

The bold numbers represent the variables that most contribute to the first dimension, which are: "Acted with Finance (0,684)"; "Working Issue" (0.675) and "Company's sector" (0.527). These are the variables that create greater distances among individuals on the horizontal axis.

The variables that most contribute to the second dimension are: "Company's sector" (0,712), "Based on" (0.662), "Acted with public Institutions" (0.488) and to a lesser degree, "Sample Position" (0.260).

The variables' categories that create greater distances make it possible to identify the SRI social field's polarizations (see figure 6).

FIGURE 6- CLOUD OF PROPERTIES



When analyzing the cloud of properties (figure 6), one can observe that the dimension 1 opposes the categories "male", "acted with finance", "Work in the financial sector" and "Sustainable Finances", which includes ISR practices to those categories concerning a more "female" space with individuals working mainly with consulting and teaching, on issues related to Corporate Social Responsibility.

This might represent a horizontal polarization between mainstream X heterodox finance. In the mainstream's pole there are those individuals whose sample's position is due to their participation in the IFC Report associated with an international trajectory, with an education background focused on business and with acting as speakers in road shows. They use the acronym ESG (Environment, Social and Governance) when it comes to speak about finance and sustainability. In the heterodoxy's pole there are individuals who don't work with finance, don't participate in road shows or in boards, work in academic areas such as a human sciences and biology and belong to the ISE Team. They are used to work with Corporate Social Responsibility and use the acronym PPP (People, Planet and Profit).

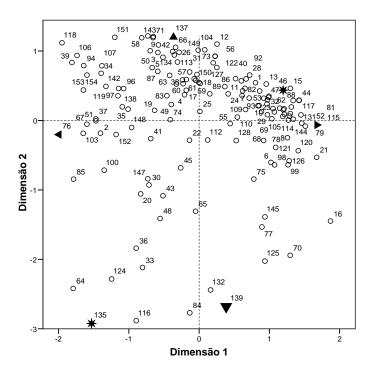
Dimension 2 shows a polarization between those who work in Rio de Janeiro, acting on the behalf of public institutions and environmental issues, versus those operating in Sao Paulo, acting on the behalf of private institutions and financial issues.

It is important to note the low contribution of variables related to educational background for the dimensions' constitution, which strengthens the idea that professional career [where you work, which sector and where you are geographically situated] is more decisive in position-taking than the undergraduate or postgraduate course.

To sum up, the cloud of properties demonstrates that the SRI social field has oppositions which refer to mainstream finance X heterodoxy finance/ Male X Female/ Sao Paulo X Rio de Janeiro/ Private X Public/ Sustainable Finance X Corporate Social Responsibility.

The MCA also permits the visualization of the individual distribution in the social field (figure 7). The numbers 115 and 81 are the farthest on the Q2 on dimension 1, where mainstream individuals are located. To verify this result, one may look for whom these numbers refer: they are two men, working in the <u>banking sector</u> based <u>in</u> <u>Sao Paulo</u> with an academic background <u>in business</u> (both undergraduate and postgraduate), road show participants and not only <u>working but also advocating specifically for Sustainable Finance</u>.

FIGURE 7- CLOUD OF INDIVIDUALS



On the Q1, one finds the farthest number (76) represented by a <u>woman</u> who participated in the <u>ISE Team</u>, a Sao Paulo <u>University Professor</u> with a graduate degree in human science and post-graduate degree in areas <u>not</u> related to business, <u>without</u> <u>passing by the financial sector</u>, <u>without participation in road shows</u> and working mainly with environmental issues.

Individuals representing numbers 71 and 137 are located at the "highest" point of the cloud. They are professors (one at a Public University, the other at a Private University), with business educational background, without working in the financial sector and working with Corporate Social Responsibility.

These biographies might represent "ideal-types" which corroborates with the ideas expressed in the table of properties.

To conclude the sample analysis, the geometric representation of the institutions that these individuals represent was created. This table is important to confirm the hypothesis of a convergent of elites led by a dominant pole of newcomers in finance as an important condition to the creation of the Brazilian SRI market. Let's take a look to each quadrant.

a) The First Quadrant

In the first quadrant there is a concentration of academic institutions in São Paulo [USP, FGV, SENAC] and consultancies [AMCE, ERM consulting and Key Associates Consulting] all important institutions in the academic and consultancy fields. In addition, it's noteworthy the relevance of attending Brazilian important business schools, in particular, the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) [57% lectured, studied or conducted research at FGV]. Concerning the academic field, in 2009, FGV-EAESP was considered the best business school in the country (Medeiros, 2009). This might indicate that people working with SRI in academic field have attended the more prestigious business school in the country which puts them among the academic elite in the area.

Concerning the consultancy field, we observe the presence of consultancies which have grown to a great extent in the 90s, as KPMG and PricewaterhouseCoopers (DONADONE, 2009). Both have an important role in the development of Corporate Social Responsibility consultancy practices in Brazil (Novaes 2011). However, consultancies focused on joining financial services with sustainability as "Tripod" and "Rio Bravo Investments" are located in the second quadrant. This difference in consultancies strategies reflect the distinction in the SRI social field which opposes those working with CSR (therefore related to companies chief executive practices) versus those working with Finance and Sustainability (therefore inherent to the financial world and to shareholder's practices).

b) Second Quadrant

The second quadrant, not surprisingly, shows a concentration of commercial banks [EX-ABN AMRO REAL, Itaú, HSBC]. Commercial banks evolve SRI practices mainly through Sustainable Investment Funds which are headed by investment analysts. Even though, as Sauviat (2003) states, these professionals have gained strength since the 90s, when it comes to SRI in the global financial field, they occupy the dominate role.

The credit crisis in 2008 can be considered as an episode which evidenced the polarity in the financial field between the dominant mainstream economics and the dominated proponents of SRI.

The credit crisis has raised several debates about investment practices. There are those against SRI practices, arguing that broken companies can't develop SRI, considering that their priority should be their financial recovery (Franklin, 2008); others, recovering Friedman (1970), advocate that the role of the chief executive is to make profits and keep the business running (Stern, 2009). Some argue that the cause of the crisis is tied to the inclusion of a social agenda by the government to facilitate low-income class' loans (Entine, 2008).

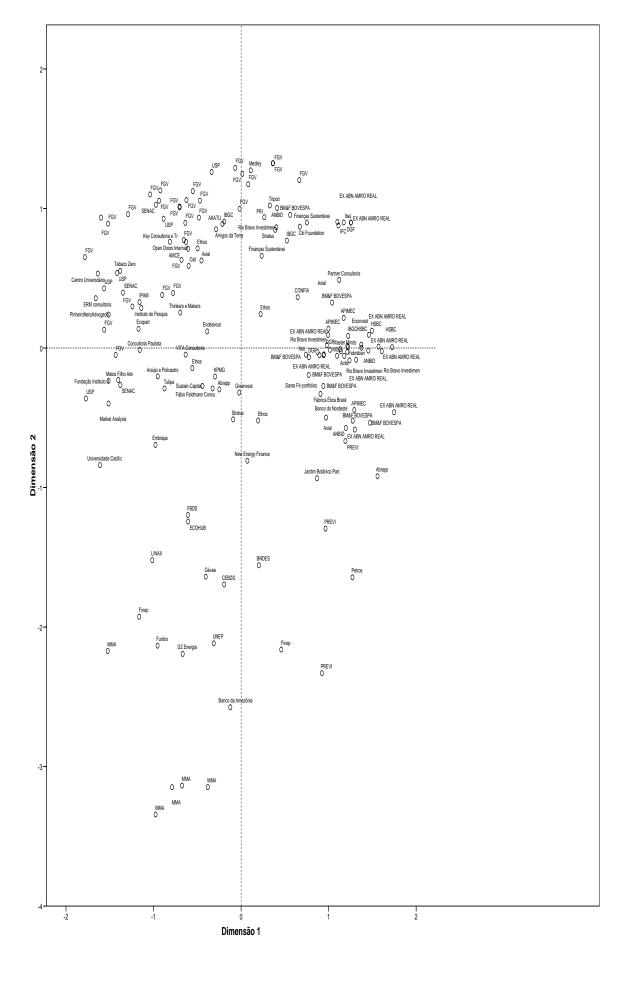
On the other hand, those in favor of SRI blame the lack of SRI practices as the general cause of credit crises, arguing that "sustainability should be a matter of survival" (Osgood, 2009), or that the crisis is the result of an unsustainable model seeking immediate profit (Voltolini, 2008).

All these statements show that, while SRI actors have a dominant role within their own social field, when it comes to the global financial field, they are dominated.

This dominated role in the global financial field is reinforced when we consider the Brazilian financial field's polarity proposed by Grün (2009). According to Grün (2009), there are those who incorporated corporate governance practices, namely, commercial banks and pension funds, versus the *Chicago Boys*, who are constantly incorporating new financial tools as Private Equity and Hedge Funds to the Brazilian financial market.

This polarization is homologous to that of the United States and can be evidenced by three symbolic characters: Warren Buffet and Bill Gates, on the Private Equity side, and Al Gore on the Corporate Governance side. While the formers state that it is very hard to tell apart "good" and "bad" companies, leading to not considering SRI practices at the time of investment (PILLER, 2007), the latter advocates for the development of SRI (MENDONÇA and OPPENHEIM, 2007). While in Brazil, the *Chicago Boy*, Daniel Dantas is associated with the figure of Warren Buffet (CORREA and MANO, 2005) and Bill Gates, Al Gore belongs to the financial sustainability's arena, which was showed, for example, in his speech on sustainability at Itaú Bank in Brazil (MANO, 2007).

While Daniel Dantas, Warren Buffet and Bill Gates represent mainstream finance, with a proper idea about social responsibilities, CISE and Al Gore represent dominated finance with a more institutional or even normative [influenced by IFC and United Nations] idea about finance and sustainability.



c) Third Quadrant

The third quadrant stands for the participation of pension funds. Pension funds as [PREVI, PETROS, ABRAPP] incorporated the SRI ideas. This position-taking can be attributed to its growing financialization under the direction of what Jardim (2009) names "Trade Union Elite". This group, aiming to differentiate themselves from their predecessors, is more willing to adhere to the SRI's philosophy.

Monzoni interviewed by Mattos (2007) states that "with the economic power of these funds, even though getting discreetly into this market, this already makes a great difference." The social actors advocating for the SRI see with good eyes the growing interest from pension funds on the practices of SRI.

To encompass large institutional investors such as pension funds, the Global Compact and the UNEP-FI launched, in 2006, the Principles for Responsible Investment (PRI). The PRI is based on the incorporation of the idea by institutional investors that investing considering social, environmental and governance criteria can positively impact in the portfolios performance. Thus, the proposal is to become the PRI the benchmark for investors, so they will be able to ally these practices to their duty to manage resources. According to Rebouças (2006), only the Pension Fund, PREVI and the Pension Fund of Thailand, representing the "third world" were invited to participate in the elaboration of these principles.

The Q3 demonstrates that, when it comes to the participation of pension funds, the most important ones are involved with SRI practices.

d) The fourth quadrant

In the fourth quadrant, we can observe institutions focused on environmental issues [MMA, Funbio, Brazilian Foundation for Sustainable Development]. These institutions are considered dominant in the environmental field, as some are related to government institutions or to non-governmental organizations supported by the business community.

These institutions are found to be dominant in environmental issues, because some institutions are linked to the government as the Ministry of Environment, FINEP, Embrapa, or consists in institutions that are linked to non-governmental organizations of great importance for the emergence of the ideas linking business with environment such as the Brazilian Foundation for Sustainable Development and the Brazilian Business Council for Sustainable Development. In this same quadrant is located the environmental arm of the United Nations, another important institution for the development of debates in the sphere of environment.

4. Final Remarks

This article didn't have the intention to be exhaustive. However, its intention was to present an overview of the relation among properties and individuals in the SRI social field. It is also important to notice that this social field is quite new and others studies are required to confirm or refuse some hypotheses presented in this article.

According to Durkheim ([1898] 2002, p.17), the "collective social representations are external to individual consciousness, that is, it does not stem from individuals but from the relationships between them." In other words, social representations are a cultural frame of reference through which we understand reality and guide our social action. This elite convergence creates a new social representation, a new cultural frame based on the Social Responsible Investment in the field of finance.

The CISE is considered a social space where this convergence takes place (not only among the Board Members but also all those connected to them). As a lieu neutre, the CISE becomes a place par excellent to develop the strategy to turn the table of the mainstream finance: a strategy filled with an apparent heterogeneity with different elite's value representations in dispute with the classic view of the narcissism financier who only thinks of maximizing its own profit.

Now, let's answer the questions made at the beginning of this article.

Who are the actors who formed the SRI market in Brazil? Answering this question requires much more space than this article is allowed to fulfill. But, through the research from which this article is one of the results, it was possible to start exploring the universe of SRI and verify that mostly, they are male, living in Sao Paulo, working with finance and they are all connected to the ISE or to institutions connected to it. Being connected to the ISE turned out to be the passport to get into the SRI social field.

The second question concerned the distribution of the social actors. It was possible to verify that they are distributed over networks consisting of committees, projects and conferences. Their distribution brings to light an important theoretical debate that deserves a separate study about the relevant of convergences and divergences of social networks to the understanding of a market's constitution.

Moreover, to understand a market, one may look at the properties that define the relationships among social actors in the social space which, in turn, governs their culturally and arbitrarily constituted notion of economic efficiency, as shown in this article with the belief in the superior profitability of sustainable indices.

Regarding the last question about the dimensions that most influence the social actors' position in the social field, the analysis pointed out the preponderance of professional career and social capital over the educational career along with the geographical situation, sector of activity and the working theme.

The social construction of the SRI Market is therefore not the result of an automatic mechanism of the market, but the results of the convergence of social properties of individuals related to the social structures of a given space in a given period of time. This market, sociologically re-established in this article, is the result of convergence of elites representing the environment, pension funds, academic sector allied with a group of newcomers working in the finance sphere who create the social conditions for this convergence, satisfying those willing to become part (the heterodox) or dominant (the newcomers) in the field of finance.

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