

Finance and Society in Brazil

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Abstract

The increasing intersection between finance and sustainability has, as a corollary, the reconfiguration of the power relation between social actors and institutions. This reconfiguration is revealed when disputes take place, such as the one resulted by the exclusion of the Brazilian oil Company, Petrobrás, from the Sao Paulo's Corporate Sustainability Index (ISE) in 2008. This contentiousness serves as an interesting case study for it reveals the dispute over the legitimacy to define what Social Corporate Sustainability means. The social actors who participate in the Corporate Sustainability Index's Board (CISE) play a central role in this dispute, which presents new social actors as well as new forms of democratic representation. By exploring this contentiousness as it was covered by the media, this paper concludes that the Brazilian financial market has become a central social sphere in which non mainstream issues are at stake, such as Corporate Social Responsibility.

Topic Area: Stakeholder power and influence: local actor constellations and power dynamics; the role of unions in implementing CSR initiatives; forms of influence by NGOs, media, or other civil society actors

Keywords: Civil Society, Corporate Social Responsibility, Financial Markets, Social Movement, Latin America, Social Conflict.

JEL Classification: D71 - Social Choice; Committees; Associations, G11 - Portfolio Choice; Investment Decisions, Q56 - Environment and Trade; Sustainability; Environmental Accounts and Accounting.

1. Introduction

The contentiousness regarding the exclusion of Brazilian oil Company, Petrobrás, from the Corporate Sustainability Indexⁱ (ISE) in 2008 is an interesting sociological issue, since it exposes the limits of the social action of Brazilian financial market's actors as well as it points out to the creation of qualitative opposite distinctions which produce a "social field" (Bourdieu, 1994) where the definition of the concept of Social Corporate Responsibility (CSR) is at stake.

Petrobrás is a "public limited company which has the Brazilian Government as the major shareholder" (Petrobrás, 2010). The Petrobrás' history coincides with the Brazil industrialization's history: the oil Company's ownership structure is the result of a social debate involving the Nationalists, who advocated for the State's monopoly on all stages of oil's production, except for its distribution, against the Liberals, who advocated for a public-private ownership structure (Cohn, 1968; Penna, 2005). The Nationalists triumphed and as the corollary of this dispute, especially from the sixties on, Petrobrás became the proud symbol of the nation (Saes, 2008).

The emergence of the Brazilian Corporate Social Responsibility's practices, especially since the nineties, has been risen a new controversial debate about the Petrobrás' social role in the Brazilian society: on the one hand, it has been considered the symbol of national pride, on the other, the oil it extracts is not quite seen as a social and environmental responsible commodity. As explained by the Petrobrás' Investor Relations Executive Manager, Raul Campos: "Our product is complicated by nature. By definition, we take the carbon from the underground and release it in the atmosphere. We don't use it, but we produce it"(Campos *apud* Santosⁱⁱ, 2006).

This paradox becomes more evident along with the development of the Brazilian Socially Responsible Investment (SRI) market which has grown especially since the Corporate Sustainability Index's launch (ISE) in the Sao Paulo's Stock Exchange Market (BOVESPA) in 2005.

When it comes to Socially Responsible Investing (SRI), there are mainly two opposite approaches: the negative screening and the positive screening. The former has a criterion to create an investment portfolio based on the prior exclusion of companies that produce products which are considered harmful to society: this is the case of the *Fundo Ethical*ⁱⁱⁱ launched by the ABN AMRO Real Bank in 2001. As it is a negative screening fund, its Board does not authorize the inclusion of Petrobrás in its investment portfolio. This position is confirmed by the statement of Eugenia Buosi (2008), the Fundo Ethical main analyst:

Petrobrás has not been in our fund since we launched it. We have analyzed the oil Company again this year [2008] and it is still vetoed! It develops great policies? “Absolutely”! But, when it comes to its business strategy, it has a significant hole^{iv}.

If, on the one hand, the Ethical Fund adopts the negative screening, on the other, the Corporate Sustainability Index (ISE) adopts the positive screening, which means that all companies are eligible to compose the index, for they are evaluated by their positive contribution to the Brazilian social corporate responsibility's development.

As the Petrobrás' CEO announced to *Valor Econômico* (a Brazilian business newspaper), at first, Petrobrás hesitated applying to be part of the ISE due to

a technical advice which was against Petrobrás' attempt to participate, arguing that the ISE does not consider the specificities of the sector that the companies operate - an industry is compared to a retailer, even though the risks of environmental damages, for example, are very different for each one (Gabrielli *apud* Cotias and Camba, 2005).

Even though Petrobrás had decided to apply, it was excluded from the ISE's first portfolio launched in December 2005. However, internationally, Petrobrás' position was quite different: in 2005, it joined the Energy Sector's Sustainability Index created by the Goldman Sachs (Luquet, 2005) and, after that, in September 2006, Petrobrás was listed on the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (Ribeiro, 2006). As a matter of fact, its international acknowledgement as a sustainable company may have

contributed to its acceptance to be listed on the ISE in 2007 (Pavini and Camba and Fariello, 2006).

Moreover, according to Petrobrás' Investor Relations Executive Manager, the reason behind its inclusion into the ISE was the Company's announcement about its intent to invest in the development of alternative energy such as biodiesel, ethanol fuel and natural gas from 2007 through 2010. This announcement listed Petrobrás on the ISE, at the same time guarantying to the Company, 25% of the portfolio total weight in 2007.

This article is organized as follows. The next section describes the contentiousness which emerged due to the Petrobrás' exclusion from the ISE in 2008 and its consequences. The following section invites the reader to the contentiousness' sociological analysis. The last section presents my final remarks.

2 The Contentiousness

As soon as Petrobrás was listed on the ISE in 2007, some social institutions made a coalition claiming for its exclusion. This coalition has institutions which pretentiously represent the environment's and the civil society's interests. These institutions have brought a lawsuit against Petrobrás alleging that the oil Company causes damage to general public health. In addition, they have contacted the Conselho Nacional de Auto-Regulamentação Publicitária [National Council for Self-Regulation Advertisement] requesting the suspension of all the oil Company's marketing campaigns focusing on its Corporate Social Responsibility (Alves, 2007).

The main reason behind these institutions' protests regards the Petrobrás' non-compliance with the Conselho Nacional do Meio Ambiente's^v resolution (315/2002) which restricts the sulfur emission to 50 parts-per-million^{vi} (PPM) per vehicles, starting from January 2009 (Conama, 2002). Regardless of the fact that this resolution is addressed to motor vehicles' manufacturers which products actually release greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, these institutions argue that "considering the automotive technology, such limits are direct related with the fuel's quality. Poor fuel quality dampens the reduction of sulfur emission determined by law" (Carta ao presidente..., 2007).

At first, the Corporate Sustainability Index' Board (CISE^{vii}) declined the social coalition's claim to exclude the state oil Company from the Index. As the CISE's president announced,

The board decided that Petrobrás, which promised to produce a low sulfur diesel, was eligible to the portfolio. We can't deny the fact that Petrobrás accounts for 25% of the ISE portfolio weigh and its eventual exclusion would certainly cause important changes in the portfolio. (Nogueira *apud* Jardim, 2007).

The first effort to exclude Petrobrás from the ISE was in vain. However, this history changed in 2008.

The social protests against Petrobrás being into the ISE regained strength after a letter delivered to the ISE Board reiterating "the terms of our (the signatory institutions) complaint last year (2007) requesting the Petrobrás' exclusion from the ISE for the 2008-2009 period" (Carta enviada a..., 2008). Over again, their justification regards the state oil Company's non-compliance with the production of the S50^{viii} diesel, turning it impossible to comply with the CONAMA 315/2002 resolution. Being the fact that Petrobrás is a state company, it has to obey and respect the law as argued by the social coalition in their letter.

as it is a major state company, it must ensure strict compliance with the law (its directors don't have such an option: obeying or disobeying the law), take into account the public interest (such as general public health and the environment) rather than privates interests and behave in an absolutely ethical manner. (Carta enviada a..., 2008).

These institutions who signed the letter endeavor to speak on the behalf of the civil society and the environment. They are the Secretarias do Meio-Ambiente do Estado e do Município de São Paulo (*the State of and the City of São Paulo's Environment Secretaries*), the Secretaria do Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento

Sustentável de Minas Gerais (*the Minas Gerais Environment and Sustainable Development Secretary*), the NGO “Movimento Nossa São Paulo” (*Our São Paulo Movement*), the Instituto Brasileiro de Defesa do Consumidor (*the Brazilian Institute of Consumer Defense*), the Fundação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável (*the Brazilian Foundation for Sustainable Development*), the SOS Mata Atlântica (*the SOS Atlantic Forest Foundation*), the Brazilian Greenpeace, the Amigos da Terra - Amazônia Brasileira (*Friends of the Earth - Brazilian Amazon*), the Instituto Akatu (*the Akatu Institute for conscious consumption*) and the Instituto Brasileiro de Advocacia Pública (*Brazilian Institute of Public Advocacy*).

To be clear, what I describe is the contentiousness’ social arrangements involving the oil state Company, the civil society and the CISE which, in turn, hold different positions in a particular social space where different interests converge to the Corporate Social Responsibility issue. Therefore, my concern follows the King and Pearce’s (2010) theoretical argument that social movements act as a dynamic element which explains the formation and functioning of markets. What I propose here, in other words, is that to understand markets, one must not only look at their social actors and institutions but also the conflicts emerging from social movements providing a more dynamic analysis of markets.

In the contentiousness involving Civil Society-CISE-Petrobrás explored in this article, we can notice what the well-known Brazilian anthropologist, Lopes (2006) calls the *greening of social processes*, which means the emergence of new social conflicts’ forms oriented by environmental issues. These new forms of social conflicts, according to the author, are the result of the migration from the workplace social conflicts to those concerning rural and urban life leading to the emergence of new forms of associations including actors from civil society.

To sum up, this contentiousness is a social dilemma about urban pollution presenting actors from civil society which brings the environmental issue to the financial field, as I describe in the next section.

2.1 The contentiousness first chapter

This contentiousness has two chapters: the first regards Petrobrás' exclusion from the ISE and the second, the state oil Company's decision to dissociate from the Brazilian Ethos Institute for Corporate Social Responsibility (ETHOS).

In the first chapter we have Petrobrás (legitimated as the nation proud symbol) in one side and those institutions ("legitimated" as the civil society) on the other. In this dispute, the ISE Board (acting as the financial market representative) occupies the central place for it is the Board that receives Petrobrás application to be listed on the ISE as well as the institutions' letter claiming that the oil Company should be unlisted from the ISE. In the meanwhile, the CISE was the jury, since the final decision on whether or not to keep the oil company listed on the ISE was theirs. Indeed, what was at stake was the construction of CISE's legitimacy in defining the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility to the financial market. As stated by Lopes (2006), the emergence of committees (or boards) leads to a representation dispute which gains more prestige than the specific issue in question.

The CISE announced the Petrobrás' exclusion from the ISE in November 2008. The reason was the same: its failure to comply with the resolution of the National Environment Council (Alves and Murakawa, 2008; Vialli, 2008). According to Vialli (2008), only the Ministry of the Environment (MMA), which belongs to the CISE voted against the state oil Company exclusion "since the government is the major shareholder of Petrobrás and the MMA is a government agency".

The Petrobrás' exclusion from the ISE was announced by the most important Brazilian business media (Exame, 2008; Filgueiras, 2008; O globo, 2008). As the Brazilian Greenpeace's executive director who advocated for Petrobrás' exclusion argued "if the state oil company remained listed on the ISE, it would affect the index's credibility and would be a punishment to those companies that really meet the requirements" (Furtado *apud* Filgueiras, 2008).

Among those who advocated for the Petrobrás' exclusion was Oded Grajew, the businessman who had an important role in the foundation of Ethos Institute for Corporate Social Responsibility^{ix} as well as in becoming the spokesperson of the "Our São Paulo Movement". It is important to notice that Oded belongs to both sides in this contentiousness as for the Ethos Institute belongs to the CISE Board and the "Our Sao

Paulo movement” is among those institutions claiming for Petrobrás’ exclusion from the ISE.

Grajew announced that Petrobrás non-compliance with the CONAMA resolution is responsible for serious respiratory diseases in the general population (especially the children and the elderly) as well as for an average of 10 000 premature deaths per year "(Grajew *apud* Alves and Mukawa, 2008).

Grajew’s revelation of the cause of Petrobrás’ exclusion to the general public triggered the contentiousness. As it is shown in the Mercado Ético [Ethical Markets] website:

According to Oded Grajew, Petrobras’ exclusion is due to "the non-compliance by the oil Company with the CONAMA Resolution number 315/2002, which determines the sulfur’s reduction in the diesel fuel to be produced in Brazil starting in January 2009" [And he continues]

This incident doesn’t make us happy, it is quite the opposite - we regret that the arrogant and boastful actions of the Petrobrás’ current directors, disregarding the dialogue with civil society and also being insensitive to such a serious problem as the public health [the premature death of 10.000 people per year due to respiratory diseases caused by high sulfur in diesel fuel sold by Petrobrás], degrade the history of the Brazilian company that has been doing us all proud due to its technological excellence (although currently, it distributes fuels which are, qualitatively speaking, among the worst in the world) and its commitment to the country’s economic and social development (Grajew *apud* Mercado Ético, 2008).

With so many attacks, Petrobrás responded by stating that it has been the “target of a coordinated campaign with the goal of destroying the company's reputation as well as questioning its board of directors’ responsibility and efficiency " (Petrobrás, 2008). The company also accuses "the institutions [and here the oil Company refers mainly to the Sao Paulo Environment’s and the Green Party’s Secretaries] to be acting in a deliberately and defamatory manner (...) pretentiously calling themselves the representatives of Sao Paulo’s civil society". And continues stating that "their actions misinform the general public, inducing serious entities [here, probably referring to the

CISE] to evaluate and take decision in the wrong way, potentially affecting Petrobrás, its shareholders and the other stakeholders".

These statements showed in this section demonstrate that the CISE Board's legitimacy was at stake, which means that, what was in question was the ability of the financial market institutions to converge the corporate claim with that of the civil society. This CISE situation leads us to this contentiousness second chapter.

2.2 The contentiousness second chapter

The Ethos Institute for Corporate Social Responsibility is a non-profit organization which was founded in 1998. It has become the Brazilian CSR benchmark which is the reason for its participation in the CISE.

The Ethos Institute has 1.400^x member companies which account for 35% of the Brazilian GDP employing at about 2 million people. These member companies participate in a series of activities that help them to understand and incorporate CSR in their daily actions.

As Ethos Institute belongs to the CISE which excluded Petrobrás from the ISE, in December 2008, Petrobrás announced that it was disassociating from the Ethos Institute (Ordoñez, 2008), arguing that Ethos supports " the institutions responsible for this low-sulfur campaign against the company" (Schuffner, 2008). One may remember that Grajew who was the leader of "Petrobrás' exclusion movement" speaking on the behalf of "Our Sao Paulo Movement" was also the former CEO of Ethos Institute.

Ethos Institute replies with the words of the current CEO of the Ethos Institute, Ricardo Young. He stated that by dissociating from the Ethos, Petrobrás "breaks the commitment to be a Socially Responsible Company" (...) [and he continues] "It seems it is trying to confound the market by deviating it from the main issue and by transforming itself into the victim. But the victim of what? It is a state company which must account to the civil society"(Young *apud* Vialli, 2008b, Exame, 2008b).

Amidst the conflict between Petrobrás and the Ethos Institute, the CISE decided for the one-year suspension of Ethos Institute from the ISE Board (Niero and Fregoni 2008, VIALLI, 2008c). Therefore, the Ethos Institute announced its support to

the CISE's decision recognizing the break of confidentiality committed by Oded Grajew when he openly mentioned the reasons why Petrobrás was removed from the ISE.

The Ethos' suspension from the CISE was exclusively due to the announcement of the former Ethos CEO, speaking on behalf of the "Our São Paulo Movement", about the decision's details which ruled out Petrobrás from the ISE, albeit he believed that this information was public, instead of knowing that this was a private matter (Ethos *apud* Mercado Ético, 2008b).

By supporting the CISE's decision, Ethos Institute sought to reestablish its role as a jury able to take legitimate decisions about Corporate Social Responsibility. This pursuit of legitimacy and neutrality is explicit in the clarification note issued by the Ethos Institute stating that

By considering, in the first place, the public interest in maintaining the proper functioning of the ISE, the Ethos Institute believes that this episode reinforces the index as seriousness' benchmark which increasingly employs stringent criteria that should guide the Corporate Social Responsibility practices (Ethos, 2008).

Reinforcing the Ethos' opinion, Ricardo Young stated that Ethos "welcomes the decision of the CISE. We are sure that there was no pressure from Petrobrás and the CISE acted in the most impartial and accurate manner as possible" (Vialli, 2008c).

3. The Sociology of the Contentiousness

3.1 The first Sociological Remark: the centrality of the financial field

The contentiousness concerning Civil Society-CISE-Petrobrás is a social conflict over who has the right to define the Corporate Social Responsibility's concept. This dispute highlights the existence of the "environmental associative nebula" (Micoud, 2001) which suggests that there is a multiform, disseminated and unclear set of

institutions acting on behalf of the environment leading to the development of environmental disputes in several social fields (Acselrad, 2010).

The Brazilian social field of finance is one of them. Being the fact that we are in the context of the global financialization, the financial field emerges as an important player in the environmental dispute. Especially in Brazil, “the financial field acquired centrality, then its internal dynamics is crucial for the conformity of the other sectors of the economy” (Grün, 2009, p.159). The conflict over the CSR of Petrobrás had the CISE as its jury reaffirming the thesis about the financial field’s centrality in the Brazilian society.

Furthermore, this contentiousness reveals the effort of some social actors acting in the financial field to legitimate new professional skills related to the Sustainable Finance Movement^{xi} over those social actors who adopt mainstream financial tools excluding CSR practices.

3.2 The second Sociological Remark: Agency theory’s facet

The incorporation of CSR practices by the financial field is translated in terms of Sustainable Finance creating, as Sartore (2010) states, a polarization between, on the one hand, the businessmen developing the Corporate Social Responsibility’s practices in their companies, and on the other, the investors developing the Sustainable Finance’s practices to financially evaluate companies. The former focus their practices on daily CEO management activities while the latter focus their practices on generating value for shareholders. This opposition is also revealed when one compares the terms used to designate sustainable practices: for those working with Corporate Social Responsibility the acronym used is “PPP” which means “People, Planet and Profit”. Instead, those working with Sustainable Finance use the acronym “ESG” meaning “Environment, Society and Governance”. One may notice that in essence they represent the same trio but the use of different words is relevant when considering the creation of oppositions in a social field.

This duality might lead to a new facet of the “agency problem” (Jensen and Meckling, 1976) which is also explored in the movie “Other People’s Money”

(1991): while the CEO seeks to implement Corporate Socially Responsible practices into his day-to-day business, he also must meet the different sustainability requirements determined by financial analysts representing potential investors. And they don't always coincide. This conflict has become more evident since the avalanche of CSR questionnaires reached Brazilian companies in the last five years.

According to Buosi (2008), the number of questionnaires aiming to evaluate the Corporate Social Responsibility has increased in recent years. These questionnaires define what are the major guidelines related to Corporate Social Responsibility.

The ISE's questionnaire is one of the most extensive, exceeding 100 pages and represents the stock market evaluation about CSR. If CEOs want their company to get a good evaluation score which generates value to their companies, they must adapt their practices to those required in the questionnaire.

The contentiousness explored in this article evidences one of the agency problem's facet which puts into question who has the legitimacy to determine what creates value for a company in terms of CSR: are the social actors that brought the Corporate Social Responsibility's movement to Brazil in the nineties or are the institutions that brought the Sustainable Finance movement to Brazil especially from the 2005 on?

3.3 The third Sociological Remark: CSR and the Democracy

The Petrobrás' exclusion was shown in the media as an environmental conflict. However, it may have an implicit political party dispute between those who has been always advocating for the nationalization of the company and those who were always supporting a more private oil exploration model in Brazil. This opposition is represented, respectively, by the Workers Party (PT) and the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB).

the exclusion of Petrobrás could have had a political party approach, since the state of São Paulo's and the City of São Paulo's secretaries are controlled by the PSDB and the Democrats respectively. They are the opposite political

parties to the current government political party which is the major shareholder of Petrobrás (Alves, 2007).

Interviewed by the “Jornal do Correio” [a Brazilian electronic newspaper] in 2009, the current CEO of Petrobrás Engineers Association, Fernando Siqueira, reiterates this implicit political dispute:

[Question] The dissociation from the Ethos Institute requested by Petrobrás at the end of last year [2008] generated much criticism. The oil Company came out criticizing the São Paulo and Minas Gerais governments, accusing them of conspiring against the image of the public company. Have the company's non compliance with the S50 diesel production degraded the company's reputation?

[Answer] I remember when the PSDB government was ruling the country [until 2002]. It was responsible for the ending of the oil's monopoly trading 36% of the oil Company's shares in New York Stock Exchange for less than 10% of its real value. They drafted a bill and made Congress approve the infamous Oil Law (9478/97) contradicting the constitution for it concedes the oil ownership to its producer. Moreover, it set up the Government's participation in the oil production between 10% and 40% while the government from other exporting countries receives an average of 84% and those from OPEC, 90%. The PSDB sold Vale do Rio Doce for less than one thousandth of its assets' value as well as its mineral rights. To sum up, the PSDB doesn't like Petrobrás, neither Brazil (Brito and Nader, 2009)

Despite the fact that there was a political party dispute, it was not the way the media pictured it. While still presenting a political aspect, the contentiousness was emptied from its political party content. Instead, it has a more political “civil society” approach. This can be illustrated with the Oded Grajew statement at the occasion of resigning from the President Lula's Assistant position, “I'll be more helpful to the Brazilian Government by acting through the civil society” (Folha, 2003)

It is important to mention that Oded Grajew also founded the Pensamento Nacional das Bases Empresariais [PNBE - National Thought of Business Leaders Association], when Brazil was becoming a democratic country in the eighties. The PNBE

claimed for greater businessmen's participation in politics and the establishment of democracy guided by liberal policies. Yet, Diniz and Boschi (1993) argue that the social institutions that emerged in the eighties shared the belief for the implementation of policy-oriented actions of liberal nature.

As for the growth of neoliberal policies, Rosanvallon (2008), studying the French society, argues that the development of the neoliberal ideology, due to the loss of the state ideology, leads to the reconstruction of the democratic legitimacy. This new democratic legitimacy does not consider the society as a whole in which the majority decides, but as a society of particularity.

The development of the “society of particularity” highlights the crucial role of a third part, of evaluators who play a more direct role in the lives of individuals into a social field. This “society of particularity” requires, at the same time, a strong demand for neutrality as well as deeply redefines the social and political demands (Rosanvallon, 2008, p. 110-111).

Following this, the contentiousness involving the Civil Society-CISE-Petrobrás is not only about the legitimacy to determine the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility but also provides an example, *par excellence*, of how the Brazilian society, as well as the French society described by Rosanvallon (2008) is redefining its democratic legitimacy through the impartiality, the reflexivity and the proximity. Generally speaking, the impartiality's legitimacy sets political party interests and private interests apart. The reflexivity's legitimacy is the ability to take into account the different opinions about the public good. Finally, the proximity's legitimacy is the ability to recognize all the singularities in the society.

The contentiousness Civil Society-CISE- Petrobrás illustrates these three processes: the legitimacy of impartiality occurs when the political party conflict is replaced by an environmental conflict. The legitimacy of reflexivity takes place when the contentiousness highlights various groups and their positions about the Petrobrás CSR, as in an associative nebula. At last but not least, the legitimacy of proximity is illustrated with the recognition that there are different approaches concerning the CSR.

To sum up, Rosanvallon (2008) argues that the democratic legitimacy can emerge from a consensus of different groups which recognize the same validating and controlling institutions instead of emerging from the electoral arena.

So far, the controversies inherent to the contentiousness were silenced through an agreement between different institutions as the Government of São Paulo, the IBAMA [the state agency responsible for the environment], the CETESB [another state agency responsible for the environment, acting more locally], the National Agency of Petroleum, the Petrobrás, the National Association of Automotive Vehicles Manufacturers National Association and other 17 Automotive Manufacturers. They established a new four years' term, starting in January 2009 to comply with the diesel S50 production (Eco-finance, 2008), leading the contentiousness to lay dormant.

4. Final Remarks

The contentiousness involving Civil Society-CISE-Petrobrás highlights the existence of a social field which is constituted by a consensus followed by a disagreement. Even though there was an agreement which has silenced the contentiousness, it does not mean that it is over.

No one can profit with the social game [even those who master it], without getting involved in the game, without getting carried away by it: this means that there would be no game without the belief in the game, without the wishes, intentions, aspirations that give life to agents and which, being produced by the game, depends on their position in the game and, more precisely, on its power over the objective title related to a specific capital (Bourdieu, 1994, p85).

The contentiousness evidences the game and more precisely the capitals needed to play in it. Each group has a set of capitals which enables them to justify their opinions and actions. In this contentiousness, one can find the justifications given by the Civil Society, the CISE and the oil Company. According to Boltanski and Thevenot (1991) it is the confrontation among these justifications that creates a harmonious “cité”

[city]. In other words, it is the confrontation between these justifications that shape the final version of the new reality based on a financial and also a sustainable world.

The contentiousness evidences that the financial field is not only the place where offers of supply and demand take place, but also, as this article demonstrates, it has acquired a centrality where professional representation, political party and democratic legitimacy disputes, concerning sustainability (and who knows other issues too), occurs.

Regarding the contentiousness consequences, Petrobrás remains out of the ISE. As stated by the director of Greenpeace in an interview, “Petrobrás’ exclusion from the ISE will raise questions, since the company is not qualified for the national index” (Gazeta Mercantil, 2008).

However, internationally, the consequences were quite opposite overshadowing the contentiousness in the media business: Petrobrás continues to be listed on the Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes for 2010 (Vialli, 2010), it was recognized by the Management & Excellence as the more sustainable oil Company in the world and, at last but not least, it was rated with good grades by the Sustainable Investment Research International Group (IRIS).

These international consequences raise the question whether the international standards can overlap the national ones taking our level of analysis to the international field of finance and sustainability. Unfortunately it escapes the scope of this article. So far, we have to expect further disputes to happen and then maybe strengthen the hypothesis about the financial market becoming a central social sphere through which non mainstream issues are at stake, such as Corporate Social Responsibility.

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ⁱ The Corporate Sustainability Index (ISE) was launched in December 2005 and was inspired by the launching of the Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes in the USA and the FTSE4Good Index in England.

ⁱⁱ The citations that don't have a page number were taken from electronic newspaper articles.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ethical Fund

^{iv} The separated citations along this article consist of public statements which were all translated from the Portuguese into the English language by the author.

^v National Environment Council

^{vi} The sulfur's emission in the Brazilian major cities is 500 ppm and, in the others cities, is 2000 ppm.

^{vii} The ISE Board (CISE) is presided by the Sao Paulo Stock Market (BOVESPA) and has as its member the Brazilian Association of Pension Funds (ABRAPP), the National Association of Investment Banks (ANBID), the Association of Capital Markets Analysts and Investment Professionals (APIMEC), the Brazilian Institute of Corporate Governance (IBGC), the Brazilian Corporate Social Responsibility Institute (ETHOS), The Brazilian Ministry of the Environment, the International Finance Corporation and the Brazilian branch of the Finance Initiative from the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP-FI)

^{viii} The S50 is the diesel containing up to 50 PPM of sulfur.

^{ix} Oded Grajew founded the Ethos Institute with some colleagues including Ricardo Young who, in fact, was chosen to represent the Ethos in the CISE Board.

^x Information accessed at Ethos' website

http://www.ethos.org.br/sistemas/empresas_entidades/empresas_associadas/lista_geral/index.asp on February 7, 2011.

^{xi} The Sustainable Finance Mouvement advocates for the growing adoption of sustainability criteria, not only in a certain Financial Index but for all the financial tools.