

**Addressing sustainability and inequality at a global level:
How other worlds (may) emerge**

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Abstract

Increased global interconnectivity has encouraged a prevalence of forums that seek to organise and facilitate action on sustainability and inequality on a global scale. A body of work has examined such global forums and the theoretical contexts in which they operate but there is little which examines the nature of engagement through these forums to address issues of sustainability and inequality. This thesis explores social actors' participation in two global forums, the World Economic Forum (WEF) and the World Social Forum (WSF), with the aim of creating more sustainable and equal worlds. It has been structured around four overarching research questions as follows.

- RQ1. What are the perceived relationships between dominant and dominated social actors in global sustainability debates?
- RQ2. How do different social actors perceive the global field as embodied by the two world forums?
- RQ3. How do different social actors perceive the struggle in the field, and the strategies adopted?
- RQ4. How do different social actors perceive the lasting impact of their own participation in the field?

Using Bourdieu's social theory, I propose that the research settings of WEF and WSF are enactments and representations of a global field of power (RQ1). In this global field of power, social actors use global capital, a form of symbolic capital, to define the doxa of the field, that is, the taken-for-granted assumptions about issues of sustainability and inequality that require response, how they are defined and how they should be resolved (RQ2). I discuss the tensions and dilemmas of social actors as they enact strategies within the field to promote conservation, succession and/or subversion of the doxa in relation to these issues of sustainability and inequality (RQ3). The nature and extent of shifts in the global field of power as perceived by social actors is shown, with the aim that such shifts will support the creation of other more sustainable and equal worlds (RQ4). The empirical material gives participant impressions of their own involvement, which has implications for the identities, roles and activities of global social actors.

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Chapter 1. Introducing the thesis and its context

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is the summation of a piece of research that developed in response to my observation of the social unrest of 2011 (see, for example, Harris, 2011). At this time there were a number of incidents including riots in England¹, the birth of the Occupy movement², and the Arab spring³, reacting to the unsustainable economic and environmental practices and social inequalities in the world. To me, it seemed that there was a loss of faith in the protection traditionally offered by economic, political and social mechanisms at a national and international level. As a type of crisis, I observed changed and/or changing distributions of economic, political, social and cultural power (Held *et al.*, 2010) that seemed to open up the opportunity for other, more sustainable and equal worlds to emerge. Given that these disruptions were happening in different geographic locations, I became interested in global-level interactions of social actors that make the worlds of themselves and others.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the context of my research, which has explored the relations between social actors within global social space as they try to reduce inequality and increase sustainability of our world in social, environmental and economic terms. My research has done this by using two example global mechanisms (world forums) operating in a collaborative way to address issues of sustainability and inequality in the world. The chapter begins by introducing the thematic and empirical framework of the research – sustainability, global inequalities and global debates (section 1.2) and the theoretical lens (section 1.3). It outlines the aims of the research and its questions (section 1.4) and introduces the methodology (section 1.5). The chapter concludes by outlining the

¹ Riots in England during the summer of 2011 initially began in London, emerging from a peaceful protest in response to the police shooting of Mark Duggan. Unrest broke out in other cities including Nottingham, Birmingham and Manchester in the following days.

² The first occupation took place in Liberty Square, Manhattan, in September 2011. The movement began as Occupy Wall Street but quickly spread to other cities around the world to become the Occupy Movement (Occupy Wall Street, 2011).

³ The first incident recognised as being part of the timeline of protest known as the Arab spring was in December 2010, when a Tunisian trader, Mohamed Bouazizi, immolated himself following an exchange with police. This was followed by acts of protest in multiple countries including Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Bahrain, Iraq, Iran Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Libya (Blight *et al.*, 2012).

theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions made by the thesis (section 1.6) and describing how the thesis is structured overall (section 1.7).

1.2. Thematic framework – sustainability, global inequalities and global debates

1.2.1 *The context of sustainability and global inequality*

The context of my research is sustainability and global inequality, terms that are related and used interchangeably by participants in my research. Sustainability is a term encompassing beliefs and behaviours that aim to meet the social, environmental and economic requirements of present populations without jeopardising the capacity to meet future requirements (Brundtland and World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). These three dimensions (social, economic and environmental) are widely accepted to be interrelated areas of sustainability (e.g. Wittneben *et al.*, 2012; Luke, 2013; Whiteman *et al.*, 2013) and inequality frequently arises from the tension between the three dimensions (e.g. Murray and Haynes, 2013). Inequality is a state resulting from unsustainable beliefs and behaviours, where there is disparity between the social, economic and/or environmental security of people throughout the world (e.g. Bapuji and Riaz, 2012; Kumhof *et al.*, 2012; Kilgour, 2013; Crane *et al.*, 2014). Some people are more secure than others, despite there being sufficient (although limited) resources for all.

The definitions of sustainability and inequality, as well as proposed responses thereto, are contested and debated (e.g. Banerjee, 2003; Banerjee, 2012; Burchell and Cook, 2013a; Kraemer *et al.*, 2013). Table 1.2 overleaf identifies some of the example issues of sustainability and inequality that are discussed by social actors, categorised by the three dimensions introduced above.

Table 1.1: Example issues of inequality and sustainability

Economic	Social	Environmental
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debt • Controls on financial capital • International trade practices • Boundaries on the mobility of transnational corporations • Labour movement • Solidarity economy and neoliberalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratising communications and the media • Commodification of education • Production of cultural homogeneity vs. cultural difference • Culture of violence • Combating discrimination and intolerance • Perspectives on the global civil society movement • Participatory democracy • Principles and values for a civilisation of solidarity • Universal nature of human rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to and conservation of natural resources • Access to water • Knowledge and intellectual property rights • Availability of essential medicine • Food sovereignty • Right to benefits associated with cities • Sovereignty of indigenous peoples over land and resources

Summarised from Fisher and Ponniah (2003a; 2003b; 2003d; 2003e)

Given the multitude of examples in the above table, and myriad others not mentioned, three areas are used as illustrative topics throughout my research and this thesis as they are frequently debated regarding sustainability and inequality. These are: international trade; climate change; and gender. I have selected these as they are evidently debated within both of my research settings, as introduced in section 1.2.4 and with more detail included in Chapter 3. These topics are indicative of each of the three dimensions of sustainability (Brundtland and World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987): international trade (economic); climate change (environment); and gender (social).

Issues of sustainability are rooted in the practices associated with globalisation, including: increasingly borderless markets, corporations and politics; and the spread of access to technologies, knowledge and media (Banerjee *et al.*, 2009). An effect of this is that the definitions and meanings of what is sustainable and what is unequal are subject to difference, as well as what should be prioritised in terms of response. For example, the

international trade choices made by corporations in relation to sustainability are variable, despite findings to suggest there are positive financial impacts and non-financial impacts including better management, quality of process/product, efficient operations and investor attraction, and positive human resource implications including engagement, identification, retention, performance and commitment (Aguinis and Glavas, 2012). The decision to trade more sustainably can be dependent upon the values/culture of the company, the personal values of key decision-makers, for example, if supervisors/managers are ethically committed and issues are important to employees, there is a stronger relationship with sustainable practice and positive outcomes (Aguinis and Glavas, 2012). External influences also play a part, for example, regulation systems, monitoring by the media and other organisations who will report publicly if there is any unethical or unsustainable practice (Campbell, 2007). The topics of climate change, international trade and gender are used as example illustrations throughout my thesis, but my thesis does not aim to offer solutions to these issues of inequality and sustainability. Rather, it explores the relations between global social actors as they try to solve these issues. These global social actors act in multiple social contexts, especially across geographic and field level boundaries (see section 1.4). How they do this is influenced by belief systems and taken for granted assumptions, which are introduced in the next section.

1.2.2 *Belief systems of sustainability: Introducing 'doxa'*

The ways in which sustainability issues are defined and responded to by global social actors are influenced by sets of beliefs, for example, solving climate change through new energy commodities (that can be sold for economic gain, driven by a belief in neoliberal capitalism) (e.g. Banerjee, 2012) or promoting greater economic equality through increased taxation on the highest earners (driven by a belief in social equality) (e.g. Hilary, 2013). Such sets of beliefs can be conceptualised as 'ideology', defined by Van Dijk (1995, p. 243) as "basic systems of fundamental social cognitions and organizing the attitudes and other social representations shared by members of groups." However, instead of ideology, Bourdieu uses the concept of 'doxa' to define the taken for granted belief systems that underpin the field, that "we accept many things without knowing them" (Eagleton and Bourdieu, 1992, p. 113). More detail on doxa can be found in section 2.9, but the following paragraphs introduce the connection between doxa and sustainability.

Existing research frequently reveals the dominance of the economic in directing the systems and conventions that regulate 'how things are' in the world. Beck (2008, p. 798) describes "a time of translegal metapolitics; the neoliberal regime embodies a global reform policy. It envisions a borderless world, not for labour, but for capital." It has been argued that neoliberal capitalism as a belief system (ideology, doxa) dominates global social, economic and environmental issues (e.g. Harvey, 2005). It pervades discussions about improving the world and this acts as a constraint, limiting the choices available regarding the lived definitions of and responses to issues of sustainability and global inequalities. Whilst 'sustainability' corresponds with the economic, social and environmental needs, rights and responsibilities through which the social world is constructed and operates (Costanza and Patten, 1995), a neoliberal capitalist doxa constructs sustainability within the context of individual responsibility, market-led interventions, performance indicators, targets for growth and capital accumulation.

It is problematic that definitions of what is sustainable and unequal are driven from a belief system that is based on an economic system with profound influence on, for example, the levels of personal and national debt, controls on financial capital, the nature of international trade agreements and the position of labour (Fisher and Ponniah, 2003e). Decisions based on this doxa endure, subject to some minor shifts but without radical overhaul, suggesting it is deeply embedded and dominant in social understandings. However, it is not without challenge and there are significant social actors who do not share this belief system (e.g. The Guardian, 1999; Steger and Wilson, 2012). Social actors may be positioned in specific roles within their organisations or other social contexts, for example, as directors of sustainability, as social activists, that may come with an understood expectation of certain practices within a particular doxic position. Businesses may also work in partnership with organisations whose purpose is solely for the common good, for example, in civil society and non-governmental roles, to achieve greater sustainability in their practice. Therefore different global actors may have different drivers for their commitment towards sustainability in the world depending on the social context in which they are operating. The relationship between positions lead to debate and the following section introduces how some of these debates are played out at a global level through global forums.

1.2.3 Debating sustainability and inequality at a global level – global forums

Among the literature on globalisation is a strand that examines the way in which social actors interact across geographic boundaries and with unboundaried effects. For example, as Patomäki and Teivainen (2004, p. 114) describe, “sociologically, globalization means that distant decisions, actions and processes increasingly co-determine the conditions of social beings and actions...[it] implies the spatial expansion of social relations.” One area of literature examines global power enacted through the people who operate at a global level by virtue of the work they do. For example, there are representatives of trade, politics and civil society who are positioned to act and influence across societies and these people have been theorised as collectively symbolising a “global ruling class” (Robinson and Harris, 2000), a “field of transnational relations” (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007), or a “transnational capitalist class” (Sklair, 2012). These are mirrored by “global civil society [that] comprises a ‘movement of movements’” (Fisher and Ponniah, 2003b, p. 194), “transnational civil society” (Burawoy, 2010, p. 64), and/or “transnational movements” (de Bakker et al., 2013, p. 577).

Part of this global interconnection is a responsibility towards the sustainability of the world for all. One of the ways in which these individuals are enabled and empowered to create partnerships, alliances and consensus-driven activity for greater sustainability and equality is through the existence of global meetings and forums: “world-straddling organisations” (Burawoy, 2010, p. 64) that contribute to forms of transnational governance (Hale and Held, 2011). Responsibilities for issues of sustainability and inequality are debated and problematised across boundaries of geography and power through global forums. They offer a social arena through which global social actors can interact, engage in debate and create action.

This thesis in part explores the relationship between the global actors and global forums in which they participate, debating with one another to address issues of sustainability. On the one hand, these forums allow for a multiplicity of positions to be heard and explored but, on the other hand, may be dominated by presumptions of what can and cannot happen in the world. For example, growth in economic terms is often considered a consistent aim and a force to be encouraged above all others (Bourdieu, 1998). Rather than accounting for and

acknowledging the different historic and cultural positions of global forum participants across geographies, these are suppressed in favour of universal, taken-for-granted conceptions of problems and solutions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1999). Two of these global forums are the settings for this research, the World Social Forum and World Economic Forum, as introduced in the following section.

1.2.4 Empirical settings: the World Social Forum and World Economic Forum

Two empirical settings are considered in this research, selected on the basis of their comparable goals towards sustainable, equal worlds, yet differing perspectives on the achievement thereof. The first site is the World Social Forum (WSF), which is purposely noted in Banerjee's (2008) work as a mechanism through which normative practices are challenged and resisted. From its first assembly in 2001, WSF has defined itself as "an open meeting place where social movements, networks, NGOs and other civil society organizations opposed to neo-liberalism and a world dominated by capital or by any form of imperialism come together" (World Social Forum, 2002a), a social space that aims to support the creation of "another world" (World Social Forum, 2002b). Participants are wide in range, including individual activists, academics, representatives of NGOs and the charitable sector. Contrasted with WSF is the second setting, the World Economic Forum (WEF), "an independent international organization committed to improving the state of the world by engaging business, political, academic and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas" (World Economic Forum, 2012a). Participants in WEF activities are individuals considered to be key stakeholders from business, politics, NGOs, the arts and culture (Pigman, 2007).

Global forums such as WEF and WSF offer gathering events for global social actors whose influence extends beyond their immediate role and associated responsibilities (Graz, 2003). There has been a significant amount of research pertaining to WSF (e.g. Fisher and Ponniah, 2003c; Santos, 2008; Conway and Singh, 2009; Conway, 2011; Teivainen, 2012; Conway, 2013). WEF also has a place in the academic literature (e.g. Pigman, 2002; Carroll and Carson, 2003; Graz, 2003; Carroll *et al.*, 2010; Elias, 2013; Garsten and Sörbom, 2014b) and also as a forum it produces a significant amount of material as outputs of the work of participants and those employed, illustrating narratives of its own existence.

As much as these settings have formed the empirical background for my study, I have not studied them as settings in themselves, but rather as ‘vehicles’ through which a range of social actors pursue personal and professional sustainability goals. These social actors believe in better worlds and are in positions to be ‘world makers’. As part of their broader portfolio of individual and organisational action, they participate in these global forums to interact across organisational and geographic boundaries in ways of world making, that is, executing the power to define meaning towards particular material effects (Bourdieu, 1989). Taking sustainability debates as an example, I would argue that the global social actors involved in the production of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), ‘Our Common Future’ (Brundtland and World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2015b), and the (developing) Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2015c) have defined a set of meanings associated with sustainability and human rights, affecting how other social actors view and (should) act in the world. These meanings also influence and are influenced by the doxa of the field (see sections 2.8 and 6.5), which is in turn influenced by the global social actors in an infinite relation. As such, whoever defines the meaning contributes to making the world in a particular way.

This thesis has theorised these forums as representations of positions in a broader social field, a global field of power, to understand the layered social contexts experienced by global social actors. By considering the field as the common social context, this has enabled a more holistic and relational interpretation of the factors influencing and influenced by global social actors, rather than limiting the focus to organisational and/or social movement theories (Clemens, 2005; Edelman, 2005). The notion of a ‘global field of power’ will be introduced in Chapter 2 and explained further in Chapter 5.

1.3. Theoretical lens

In this thesis, I have been inspired by the analysis that Bourdieu offered in his text *The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed* (Bourdieu, 1983). In this, he examined the sociology of art and literature as “tak[ing] into account not only...the social conditions of the production of artists, art critics, dealers, patrons etc...but also the social

conditions of the production of a set of objects socially constituted as works of art, that is, the conditions of production of the field of social agents (e.g. museums, galleries, academies etc.) which help to define and produce the value of works of art” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 319). Applying and adapting this for this thesis, I define and examine the sociology of the global field of power (see section 2.6 and Chapter 5), exploring the presence and actions of global social actors and their responses to sustainability and inequality, including their participation in global forums that serve to define and produce what is valued in terms of ‘sustainability’ and ‘inequality’.

Specifically, by speaking with participants in global forums, I offer insights into how new worlds may be made, emerging from interactions in these forums. This is following Bourdieu’s point (1985, p. 734), where he states that “the social world is, to a large extent, what the agents make of it, at each moment; but they have no chance of un-making and re-making it except on the basis of realistic knowledge of what it is and what they can do with it from the position they occupy within it.” I find Bourdieu’s work particularly useful for understanding that although change is difficult, struggle is inherent and it is this that allows the potential for change (Swartz, 2004). In particular, “struggle, not reproduction, stands at the epicentre of [Bourdieu’s] thought and turns out to be the ubiquitous engine of both social rupture and continuity” (Wacquant, 2013, p. 275). ‘Struggle’ means contention between social actors, in the context of this thesis, “over the power to produce and to impose the legitimate vision of the world” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 20) or ‘world making’.

1.4. Aims of the research and research questions

In this thesis, I aim to understand the ways in which social actors’ responses to economic, social and environmental inequality in pursuit of a sustainable world (Brundtland and World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) are formulated through forums at a global level (e.g. Clemens, 2005). From this, I aim to glimpse the possibility of new, more sustainable worlds emerging through the beliefs, practices and actions of participants in these forums. I use the term ‘global social actor’ or ‘social actor’⁴ to refer to those people

⁴ As will be seen in Chapter 2 and times throughout this thesis, Bourdieu uses the term ‘social agents’. I feel that this risks creating a duality between agency and structure and so I prefer to use ‘social actor’ because of its connotations of action and behaviour in multiple social contexts. Following Latour (1996), a social actor is someone that acts, a source of action.

who, by virtue of their organisational role and/or individual world view, are in a position to conduct themselves in relation to other people such that there may be effects beyond the immediate social situation. These people are attempting to make 'new' worlds or enabling new worlds to emerge. They have dominance because they are world makers; in Bourdieu's words, "to change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23). However, these world makers are not homogenous, there are degrees of dominance according to different types and levels of resources, and positions are not fixed.

The importance of this work is threefold. Firstly, because alternative, more sustainable worlds would include reduced poverty and child mortality, increased access to education, increased gender equality, and improved healthcare for all (United Nations, 2015b). The survival and persistence of life at a balanced level is threatened by unsustainable human activity (Costanza and Patten, 1995) and global social actors are in a position to create policy and legislation that promotes greater equality and sustainability across social, environmental and economic behaviours.

Secondly, despite it being difficult to argue that such new worlds would not be positive, there are differences in the ways in which global social actors define the problems and thus respond to them. Sustainability is a political issue (e.g. Carter *et al.*, 2011) in as much as it is vast in meaning and contentiously debated by the public, state and corporations as to definitions and appropriate responses. In particular, recent decades have been dominated by neoliberal economic and social policies, which privilege growth and development over and above fairness, justice and equality in sustainability debates. Responses have often been formulated within a framework of growth and profit, which is problematic as the continued pursuit of 'development' may be through the exclusion and oppression of people and planet (at best) and their dispensability at worst (see also Mbembe, 2003; Banerjee, 2008). This has been considered 'the only way' and has neglected the strength of possible alternative positions.

Finally, a better understanding of the dynamics through which other worlds may emerge can potentially accelerate the pursuit of more equal and sustainable worlds. Bourdieu's social

theory is used and developed to facilitate this understanding, for example, in terms of delineating the relationships between global social actors in global social space (field, see sections 2.4 and 2.6), their resources (capital, see section 2.5), and their taken for granted assumptions and beliefs (doxa, see section 2.8). Disruptions to these (reflexivity, see section 2.2.3, and hysteresis, see section 2.7) may provoke shifts in the beliefs and behaviours of global social actors, which promote the emergence of new worlds.

Four overarching questions have structured the conduct of my research as follows.

RQ1. What are the perceived relationships between dominant and dominated social actors in global sustainability debates?

This question aims to examine the different positions of social actors as they participate in the debates on sustainability issues held through global forums. These forums are theorised as being example manifestations of a global field of power, the social arena in which global social actors debate and respond to issues of sustainability and inequality. Dominant positions are considered to be held by those global social actors who, in Bourdieu's analysis, would have accumulated the greatest volume of most valued capital (Bourdieu, 1997) to act at a global level. Dominated global social actors are those who challenge the dominant, through marshalling differently valued capital. This question is addressed in Chapter 5.

RQ2. How do different social actors perceive the global field as embodied by the two world forums?

RQ3. How do different social actors perceive the struggle in the field, and the strategies adopted?

These two questions are closely related as social actors participating in my research reveal their perceptions of global inequalities and sustainability, how they seek to respond to them and what value they get towards this end by participating in the debates within global forums. This draws on the notion of capitals (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986), social, cultural and material resources that are accumulated and marshalled by participants in these forums in their attempts to make the world, the dilemmas and challenges they face in doing so. In Chapter 6, I answer RQ2 by exploring how perceptions and subsequent definitions of inequality and sustainability are influenced by capitals and also the doxa (taken for granted

assumptions, Eagleton and Bourdieu, 1992). Chapter 7 answers RQ3 by investigating the different response strategies (Bourdieu, 1994a) produced as a result of the dynamics of the field.

RQ4. How do different social actors perceive the lasting impact of their own participation in the field?

This final question asks social actors to reflect on the effects of their own participation in global forums, and on the cumulative shifts generated by these forums as example enactments of the global field of power. The ways in which other worlds do or can emerge are discussed; that is, to what extent change in the global socio-economic order is possible and evident. Chapter 8 addresses this question.

1.5. Methodology

My research is qualitative, ethnographically informed and reflexively interpretive of empirical material gathered across the timeframe of the study. Reflexivity characterises my work, from the research design, through the methods and to the production of this thesis. I have taken account of my theoretical and substantive interests, as well as the emotional investment and experiences throughout the entire research process (Gobo, 2008) (see section 4.5.3). The empirical material gathered and interpreted includes documentary material produced by each forum and forum contributors, and written material from media sources. However, the main focus of my interpretation has been drawn from my interactions with 42 contacts with participants in WEF and WSF activities.

There is a social and temporal context to this thesis. Temporally, it was inspired by the events of 2011 (as outlined above) and the forum activities subsequent to this time, up until August 2014. As such, the discussions offered by this thesis are bounded by the experiences of this time. The social context is also of relevance in terms of who was participating in the forum activities during this time, the other social positions they occupied and their willingness to participate in my research. My research received full ethical approval according to the guidelines of Newcastle University Faculty of Humanities and Social Science,

and I have followed these as well as the framework of the Economic and Social Research Council in the execution of my work.

I recognise that the moments at which I encountered my research participants are fleeting in themselves, that is, I have asked my research participants to reflect on a particular social world (their interaction with global forums) at a particular moment. However, these conversations offer an important illustration of their perception of how they may un-make and re-make worlds through these forums as well as the broader social fields in which they are (for example, their organisations, their communities, their societies). Chapter 4 explains my methodology in greater detail.

1.6. Contributions

The following sections outline some of the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions made in this thesis:

1.6.1 Theoretical

In this thesis I use and apply theories that bring new insights to Bourdieusian theory itself, as well as to the empirical contexts studied. The first is in relation to Bourdieu's field theory (see sections 2.4, 2.6 and Chapter 5). Each field and society has its own field of power, and I am theorising that there is a 'meta-field', the global field of power, through which particular social actors attempt to 'make the world'. Secondly, what enables them to do so is a form of symbolic capital (see section 2.5 and Chapter 6) that I theorise as global capital. They and their work are of global significance, which confers global capital that enables them to define 'how things are' in the world (doxa and world-making, see section 2.8 and throughout Chapters 5 to 8). Thirdly, I describe that interactions within the global field of power are frequently characterised by differences of opinion, or what is termed struggle (Bourdieu, 1989), about defining and responding to issues of sustainability and inequality, and it is the relations between actors that has been part of my study (see Chapters 6 and 7). Finally, I begin to develop Bourdieu's theories of change, particularly in relation to hysteresis (see section 2.7 and Chapters 7 and 8), by suggesting that it is discomfort and dissonance that allows for shifts to occur.

1.6.2 Methodological

While Bourdieu's own methodology for analysing the field and that of scholars following (e.g. Lebaron, 2008; Denord *et al.*, 2011) is based on correspondence analysis (see sections 2.4 and 4.4 for further details), I have used a reflexive lens (also supported by Bourdieu, see section 2.2.3) to create deeper understanding of the experiences of global social actors within the field and my own research practice in relation to this understanding. This represents a methodological contribution in terms of developing and applying Bourdieusian theory. What is distinctive about my approach is the interaction of the perspective of participants (interview-type interactions, online 'conversations') with a reflexive approach and the application of Bourdieusian theory. This is a more innovative methodological approach. Additionally, there is a comparative element without using a traditional case study design, enabling tensions and doubts to be revealed in the intersection between the individual and the social space of the field.

1.6.3 Empirical

Extant research on WEF has used mostly analysis and interpretation of its documents (e.g. Fougner, 2008), and empirical work (e.g. Sörbom and Garsten, 2013a; Sörbom and Garsten, 2013b; Garsten and Sörbom, 2014a; Garsten and Sörbom, 2014b) to explore its impacts and operations. Extant research on WSF has mostly focused on it as a forum, its relationship to social movement and organisational theories using ethnographic methods (e.g. Funke, 2012; Teivainen, 2012; Caruso, 2013; Conway, 2013). However, very little research on either forum has aimed to understand the point of view of participants in these forums about their participation, why they participate and what they aim to achieve through their participation, as well as their perceptions of global change as a result of forum activities. This is important because it illustrates the potential and actual responses to issues of sustainability and global inequality that can be achieved by engaging with other global social actors in these ways. Speaking to participants about their perceptions has not been done in this way before, offering new insights in combination with documentary material and online 'discussion' – this mix of empirical material offers a rich research repository.

1.6.4 Implications for practice

The research has important implications for practice. If participants in global forums understand the often struggling, dilemmatic relationships between their own interests and motivations, the organisations in which they operate and wider society, they can also understand the positions of others. Recognising the intersections between positions is important for understanding the bounds within which practice occurs through global forums or in globally-focused work more generally. Such understanding may improve the debate facilitated through global forums and in global practice because participants in these forums become better at challenging one another in recognition of the potential discomfort this may cause. More meaningful outcomes of such debate may emerge including possibilities for quicker and deeper action despite tensions between positions. The relationship between competing interests of individuals driven from a personal, organisational and societal perspective, the intersection of these within the global field of power, suggests that particular attention should be given to these boundary areas to address global sustainability issues and allow new worlds to emerge. The empirical material gives participant impressions of their own involvement, which has implications for the identities, roles and activities of global social actors.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured with 9 chapters, followed by appendices. It departs from a traditional structure, which would usually see the introductory chapter followed by a literature review. Whilst I have reviewed the literature on a number of themes, including: global civil society; ideology; power; resistance; social and global justice; social movements; and sustainability, it would have been incoherent to try to synthesise all of these into a single chapter. Elements are instead integrated into each chapter where appropriate. My thesis is based on the theory of Bourdieu and I considered it more important to ground the study in theoretical literature. This is why I have centralised this in Chapter 2 *Theoretical Framework*.

As such, this current first chapter introduces the context of the research, along with the aims, questions and assumptions that have influenced its completion. Chapter 2, *Theoretical*

framework, provides an overview of the work of Pierre Bourdieu, whose theories have provided a lens through which I explored the empirical material. Chapter 3, *The World Social Forum and the World Economic Forum* provides a descriptive overview of the two research settings. Chapter 4 *Methodology*, outlines the ontological and epistemological position of the research, the qualitative, reflexive methodology used, the empirical material collected and interpreted, and reflections on the boundaries of the research.

Chapter 5, *Defining the field – the global field of power* is the first chapter drawing on the empirical material to provide an interpretation of the research settings as manifestations and enactments of a theorised global field of power, developing Bourdieu's theory of social fields (see also sections 2.4 and 2.6). This chapter examines the idea of a field of power at a global level and proposes that the World Social Forum and the World Economic Forum are representations/enactments of it. The chapter explores the relationships between them as forums and also who participates within them. The chapter responds to the research question: *What are the perceived relationships between dominant and dominated social actors in global sustainability debates?*

Chapters 6 and 7, *Enacting the field – defining global inequalities* and *Enacting the field – responses to global inequalities* reveal examples of the participation of individuals and their perceptions of and response to global inequalities. They have different ways of defining and solving problems, marshalling their capital in the negotiation of positions within the field. The chapters offer examples of how and what do they do in these forums, the dilemmas they face and the decisions they make. The chapters respond to the research questions: *How do different social actors perceive the global field as embodied by the two world forums?* and *How do different social actors perceive the struggle in the field, and the strategies adopted?*

Chapter 8, *Shifting the field – making the world*, explores what can be seen to be happening as a result of the participation in these global forums, their perceptions of what their actions are trying to achieve and how they achieve effects. It explores what success looks like to participants and what actually happens. Theoretically, the chapter examines the ability of the global field of power to shift/change, or not. It responds to the research question: *How do different social actors perceive the lasting impact of their own participation in the field?*

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis, identifying the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions made, reflecting on the research boundaries and areas for further research.

1.8. Summary

In summary, this thesis offers an exploration of the intersections between global social actors in the definition and pursuit of sustainability agendas that have the potential to reduce inequality and make new, more sustainable worlds. It does not offer solutions to specific sustainability issues, rather it examines the social arenas through which definitions and responses are debated and the potential for shifts to occur as a result. Through a Bourdieusian framework, it situates the importance of the relationship between individuals and the multiple social contexts in which they act. This is developed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework – the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu

2.1 Introduction

This thesis has been underpinned by the theoretical framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu was a prolific writer during his lifetime and many of his works continue to be published today, translated from his original French. Swartz (2008, p. 46) describes the four general principles of Bourdieu's work as "(1) integrating subjective and objective forms of knowledge, (2) constructing sociological research objects, (3) thinking relationally, and (4) using reflexivity" and these have been built into my work, as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis. The purpose of this chapter is to offer a summary overview of his ontological and epistemological position as a researcher, the reasons why his work is relevant to this thesis, some of his most important concepts, and recognition of some of the critique and boundaries of the framework in relation to my work.

The chapter is structured as follows. It begins with an introductory section that offers a brief overview of the ontological and epistemological position of Bourdieu's writings (section 2.2). It then summarises some of the main concepts that constitute his social theory, specifically: habitus; field; capital; field of power; hysteresis; and doxa (sections 2.3 to 2.8). Finally, the chapter explores some of the critique of his theories (section 2.9), followed by an assessment of the relevance of the framework to this thesis (section 2.10).

2.2 Ontological and epistemological position

2.2.1 *Ontology*

To begin with his ontological position, that is, his theory of social reality, Bourdieu described himself as a 'constructivist structuralist' or 'structuralist constructivist':

"By structuralism or structuralist, I mean that there exist, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I

call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes.”
(Bourdieu, 1989, p. 14)

Interpreting Bourdieu’s description, it is apparent that he seeks to reject the ontological binaries of a social world that can be purely objectively studied and a social world that is purely subjectively experienced (Bourdieu, 1994a). His position suggests, firstly, a belief that there exist social structures that are detached from individual direction, but are legacies of individual and social interactions that influence the ideas and behaviours of social actors. Wacquant (2005b, p. 136) describes social structures as “the ‘congealed’ outcome of the innumerable acts of cognitive assembly guiding [social actors’] past and present actions”, as opposed to being somehow separate from the social actors, who also “select and build meaningful courses of action and thereby actively contribute to determining those very social factors that move them” (2005b, p. 137). In other words, there is a ‘subjective objectivism’ to Bourdieu’s ontology; it is not that social structures are objective in a material sense as may be defined by the natural sciences, but that they are objective to individuals in terms of them being subject to their effects. Yet simultaneously, they are co-constructed by individuals through social interactions and the social effects thereof.

Secondly, that these social structures are socially constructed in three main forms: habitus , “a system of dispositions”(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 2); fields, “a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 117); and social classes, groups of people “constituted by shared conditions of existence and the shared dispositions engendered by shared conditionings” (Brubaker, 2004, p. 47). Habitus and fields are discussed in more detail later in this chapter (sections 2.3 and 2.4); however, Bourdieu’s analysis of social class is not considered further here. This is partly for brevity but also because class is minimal in my own material, owing to the heterogeneity of participation in my research settings and the difficulties of accounting for class in my interactions with my research participants. Class is a unifying term, that is, it implies a degree of homogeneity (e.g. Sklair, 1997) but the participants in my research are from different societies and therefore will have different interpretations and understood meanings of social class. However, the principles on which they engage in the global field of power will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

Bourdieu's ontological position moves away from theories of a dualism of structure and agency (e.g. Archer, 1996), where structures are conceived as entirely separate from social actors (agents) and the relationship between them is one of cause and effect rather than relationally constructing one another (Clegg and Bailey, 2007). In Bourdieu's view, it is important to acknowledge this relationship in any social analysis:

Theory “must take account of the contribution that agents make towards constructing the view of the social world, and through this, towards constructing this world, by means of the work of representation (in all senses of the word) that they constantly perform in order to impose their view of the world or the view of their own position in this world – their social identity.” (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 727)

Hence, Bourdieu considers social actors (agents) to be both in and of the world, acting to promote their identities and social positioning over others in the construction of the world (world making). Understanding how this happens and subsequent effects are integral to knowledge of the social world, which will be explored in the following section.

2.2.2 Epistemology and position of the researcher

Bourdieu's epistemological position, that is, his theory of knowledge, aims to know and understand the relationship between the individual and the social of which they are part (Grenfell, 2004). Crucially, his emphasis is on exploring relations of 'both/and' rather than 'either/or' (Maton, 2008), with the individual and society as “two dimensions of the same social reality” (Swartz, 1997, p. 96). This type of relational thinking in research involves recognising the importance of context connected to people, that is, acknowledging the coherence of the individual, the social, and the contexts of time and place, none of which are mutually exclusive from one another (Grenfell, 2008). Bourdieu's approach therefore embraces complexity and holism, acknowledging that people are inseparable from their social contexts and histories. This complicates social analysis but also encourages an open and flexible approach that can be seen in practice as an exploration of intersections and interconnections between individuals, their personal histories and multiple social 'presents'.

A fundamental part of the relational analysis is that the researcher is as much part of the social context as the social actors subject to the research. Researchers are not outside of, objective to their research. As a researcher, I am just as inseparable from my research and

analysis as my research participants. Bourdieu describes the notion of “participant objectivation” (Bourdieu, 2003) as a way of accounting for our own positionality: “never to forget that they are all people like me, at least inasmuch as they do not stand before their action...in the posture of an observer...What is more, they normally never ask themselves the questions that I would ask myself if I acted towards them as an anthropologist” (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 288). In this quote, he suggests that researchers need to keep in mind that what is asked of research participants, they may not have considered themselves and it may cause them to wonder why they are being asked, for what purpose.

It is important for researchers to think both from the point of view of the research participants and about themselves in relation to their research – a process of reflexivity (see also sections 2.2.3 and 4.3). All people bring the influence of a past to each present (linked to habitus, which will be discussed in section 2.3), which needs to be acknowledged and interpreted, “for what has to be questioned is not only this reactivated past but one’s entire relation to this past which, when it acts outside of the controls of consciousness, may be the source of a systematic distortion of evocation and thus of the memories evoked.” (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 291). This is the case for both researcher and researched and notions of reflexivity are discussed in the following section.

2.2.3 Reflexivity

Bourdieu’s commitment to relational analysis permeates his epistemological position: that researchers ought to acknowledge their own selves in a deep, connected way in relation to inquiry and the effects that they have (Grenfell, 2004). His research has examined the social processes creating the positions of social actors (and the researcher) in various overlapping fields, their struggles therein and the resultant reproduction of ‘social orders’ (Swartz, 1997). There are two definitions of reflexivity from a Bourdieusian perspective: 1) reflexivity as a researcher, which means purposely thinking about one’s position in relation to one’s own research; and 2) as a way for social actors to consider their own social positions, potentially provoking habitus and field change (Bourdieu, 1994a).

As a researcher, reflexivity requires consideration of the circumstances that have enabled my research to take place at all, particularly being aware of my own habitus (upbringing,

education, employment), my location in fields (academia, business school, UK), my assumptions about the generation of knowledge, and social factors including resources (time, funding, supervisory support) (Swartz, 1997). In being reflexive, I acknowledge that, for example, the undertaking of a PhD candidature is in itself subject to struggle as to what a 'good' PhD should be; I am self-critical of my own work and recognise that my work will also be an object of critique by others in my fields. This consideration of reflexivity particularly considers the nature of the creation of knowledge (Deer, 2008b) and will be considered further in Chapter 4, *Methodology*.

Challenging as it can be to go against one's social grain, social actors are able to reflect on their positions and consider options for alternative ways of being, albeit that this may be difficult for the individual and social relationships. Bourdieu's notion of reflexivity here offers the process through which social actors can think 'how do I get out of this', aspiring to move or change in some way (this will be considered in more detail in section 2.3, habitus). Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p. 27) refer to the notion of "possible position-takings" and that "the habitus structures the perception of some of these possible position-takings as more appropriate or desirable than others", that is, change in position may be to different degrees within the boundaries of expectations and rules of the field, or it may be more dramatic (hysteresis, see section 2.7). Bourdieu's work suggests that there is constant transformation, albeit towards either reinforcement and repetition and where any movement is still within the bounds of conformity, or towards deeper change as a result of a higher level of reflexivity. In terms of my research participants and their actions, within the global field of power (discussed further in Chapter 5) there are those whose disposition is towards the consideration of sustainability within profit-driven definitions, with others whose disposition is towards the socially and environmentally driven definition of sustainability. These social actors are struggling to encourage their definition to be privileged over others, which may be achieved by actors through reflexivity, changing their position within the field on what sustainable practice is (see Chapters 7 and 8).

The following sections explore a number of the main concepts that comprise Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

2.3 Habitus

Bourdieu writes of habitus being social actors' "dispositions *acquired through experience*, thus variable from place to place and time to time. This 'feel for the game', as we call it, is what enables an infinite number of 'moves' to be made, adapted to the infinite number of possible situations which no rule, however complex, can foresee" (Bourdieu, 1994a, p. 9 emphasis original). Bourdieu's notion of habitus explains the way in which the experiences of social actors are absorbed and continue to affect the way in which they act and behave throughout their lives. It is a persistent state of becoming, that is, habitus is not static but temporal, connecting the experiences of past, through present and into future. Habitus explains Bourdieu's interpretation of the influence of experience on social actors' temperaments and world view (connected to doxa, see section 2.8), which subsequently influence their actions in social contexts. The feelings and behaviours of individuals in interactions are imprinted on them from their earliest life stage (Swartz, 1997) with a repeated and continual embedding effect in habitual behaviours, conversations, debates and participations, "a compost heap of social practices" (Scollon, 2007, p. 168). Tastes, beliefs and values are formed through the whole environment and each social context therein, which in turn shapes how social actors experience themselves and their social contexts (Eickelman, 2009). One individual's norms, values, beliefs and definitions (habitus and capital) may confer rightfulness on something or someone, but another's norms, values, beliefs and definitions (other habitus and capital) may not.

Habitus is therefore the link between the social and individual because our experiences can be both unique to us and shared with others. It is affected by social interactions as the objective (outside) becomes subjective (internalised) through habitus (Maton, 2008). There is infinite rotation of conditioning, experience and action that renovates the habitus over time. It has been described as embodied ideology (Scollon, 2007), the "worldview" of an individual, so personal in this sense, but "it is affected by one's society, class, and personal history" so inextricably linked to the social (Dobbin, 2008, p. 58). It dialectically connects individuals with social contexts (Swartz, 1997) and indicates logic or code for the social behaviour of the field (see section 2.4), links past fields to present fields (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

It could be misinterpreted that this suggests determinism, that the habitus sets a trajectory towards a particular life path, particularly as it is said to define “specific social groups and classes” (Eickelman, 2009, p. 257). However, whilst it may indicate a propensity towards particular actions, behaviours and social contexts and “predispose actors to select forms of conduct that are most likely to succeed in light of their resources and past experience” (Swartz, 1997, p. 106) it is certainly not predictive. Habitus confers a sense of comfort on social actors, that is, a sense of what is comfortable in their being and action in relation to what would feel separate or uncomfortable in terms of social contexts. Bourdieu (1985, p. 728) describes this as “the sense of one’s place, as a sense of what one can or cannot ‘permit oneself’, implies a tacit acceptance of one’s place, a sense of limits (‘that’s not for the likes of us’ etc.) or, which amounts to the same thing, a sense of distances, to be marked and kept, respected or expected.” The term ‘limit’ implies that this is restrictive; however, it is not insurmountable should the social actor perceive value in shifting positions (reflexivity, see section 2.2.3). An example of this could be a young person who has an aspiration to attend university despite no one in his or her family having done so. The young person would feel that this would not be usual and this may cause a personal dilemma, as well as potential difficulty in social relationships (crisis provoking questioning, see Bourdieu, 1977); however, the value of shifting position may outweigh this. Reflexivity allows social actors to be able to grapple with these dilemmas and the dilemmas are evidence of Bourdieu’s notion of hysteresis (discussed further in section 2.7).

In terms of what can be researched, it is not the habitus that can be directly viewed but rather its influence and consequences in terms of how people think, believe and act (Maton, 2008). It has been challenging to examine habitus in this thesis for this reason; however, there are echoes of the habitus of my research participants in their accounts, on which I have reflected in my interpretation of their experiences (and my own, see section 4.5.3). This is considered more in Chapter 8 but the following section introduces the next of Bourdieu’s key theoretical concepts, that of field.

2.4 Field

In Bourdieu’s conceptualisation, fields are social (not physical) spaces in and through which social actors act and behave. Examples of fields that group together common action include:

education; academia; law; and accounting. Fields are semi-autonomous, that is, they are separate but often nesting (for example, the field of education with nested sub-fields of primary, secondary, further and higher) and with permeable, shifting boundaries so that social actors may move in to, out of and around them. They are frequently homologous in terms of the resonance of similar ideas across different fields, which bind together across society (Swartz, 1997). Using fields, it is possible to designate bounded commonality, for example, in job role, expertise, and/or ideology, without the fixed structure of 'group'. It is then possible to explore the construction of and effect of relationships therein, additionally influenced by the backgrounds of individuals (Swartz, 1997). This is because fields are denoted by particular types, combinations and volumes of capital (discussed in section 2.5) that are of particular value to that field (Swartz, 1997). Social actors within fields compete with one another to define the value of capitals, as well as to accumulate them (Swartz, 1997).

Through fields, analysis can be made of the positions and interactions of social actors, with positions driven by habitus and capital of each (Postone *et al.*, 1993). People take positions in the field between dominant and dominated poles, internalise the field (habitus, section 2.3) and understand the 'game' of the field to shift positions. They know the tacit rules. Bourdieu used correspondence analysis (e.g. 1996, see section 4.9 for further details) to map out the positions in his fields of study, that there are "different or even antagonistic points of view...since the vision that every agent has of the space depends on his or her position in that space" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18). Correspondence analysis is quite a mathematical approach; however, the key points are: 1) that there are multiple options (possible positions) for social actors within the field; and 2) that these emerge, alter and shift through the social actors themselves.

Researchers are able to explore what is at stake in particular fields, understand who, how and why social actors participate and accept the field for what it is (doxa, see section 2.8 of this chapter). The positions of social actors within the field are not fixed or static and they are subject to struggle (Postone *et al.*, 1993). Fields highlight the fluid and dynamic characteristics of struggle and conflict in social interactions, rather than privileging consensus or harmony in a fixed position (Swartz, 1997). In this respect, "the generative,

unifying principle of this 'system' is the struggle, with all the contradictions it engenders" (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 316).

The relationship between field and habitus is particularly close in three main ways. Firstly, because each field has a "history that embodies the habitus of agents who have operated in that field" (Postone *et al.*, 1993, p. 6), that is, history is in part generated by the participation of individual social actors whilst also emerging from the collective. Secondly, because individuals are drawn towards participation in certain social fields and/or are already embedded within them because of their habitus, they seek what feels comfortable and seems to match their worldview (Maton, 2008). Thirdly, in terms of the associated effects on the social actors themselves because of interrelationship between social experience and individual being, habitus is "endlessly transformed" as it is reinforced (comfortable, familiar, expected) or adapted in different ways (potentially a crisis for the individual and/or field) (Bourdieu, 1994a, p. 116).

Fields have specific logics relating to who fits therein, what it is to be successful in these contexts, and rules of the game represented by the field. In Bourdieu's (1990, p. 66) words there are those who have "native membership" in a field, perhaps through longevity of position or chance of birth, for whom "everything that takes place in it seems sensible". These social actors can be perceived as being dominant in the field, with great resources and great control of the nature of the field. There is stratification in fields, but social actors are not blindly subject to this (Thomson, 2008) and because fields are nested, they touch and spark one another with potentially minor but not necessarily insignificant differences as social actors actively participate in different ways. Novelty of points of view (Bourdieu, 1985) may create ambiguity that can open a crack for change to emerge.

Social actors are able to "change the principles that structure a field" (Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007, p. 24), that is, change can be enacted from within because field positions are not static. Fields are configurations of social relations that are not clearly demarcated, but the boundaries do exclude some to include others. New entrants to the field and/or those less dominant within the field by nature of the volume, combination and type of capital they have accumulated may have the means to undermine, subvert and resist those who are in dominant positions. Additionally, the capitals accumulated by social actors stay/transmute

with them as individuals, but the value of the capitals may change between fields. So, for example, publications are a form of cultural capital that are highly valued in the field of higher education, but this form of cultural capital has significantly less value in the field of business. As another example, if you are in a network with someone like Bill Gates⁵ (social capital), this is likely to be valuable across multiple fields. Capital is therefore not transferred between fields, but certain capitals held by social actors may be similarly valued in different fields (capital will be discussed further in section 2.5). This can be as a way to become dominant and/or to change the nature of the field in their interests.

Analysis can therefore reveal the dialectic nature of relations between difference and opposition, entry and exit, dominance and subversion (Swartz, 1997) (see Chapter 7). Swartz (1997, p. 125) summarises a typology of field strategies delineated by Bourdieu in his analysis.

“Conservation strategies tend to be pursued by those who hold dominant positions and enjoy seniority in the field. Strategies of succession are attempts to gain access to dominant positions in a field and are generally pursued by the new entrants. Finally, strategies of subversion are pursued by those who expect to gain little from the dominant groups. These strategies take the form of a more or less radical rupture with the dominant group by challenging its legitimacy to define the standards of the field.”

It is important to understand Bourdieu’s definition of strategy, which in the extant literature can be seen as rational, planned and instrumental (see Clegg *et al.*, 2004), but which Bourdieu sees as more intuitive, responsive and interactional; “strategies are the product...of a feel for the game which leads people to ‘choose’ the best match possible given the game they have at their disposal...and the skill with which they are capable of playing” (Bourdieu, 1994a, p. 64). Bourdieu talks of the “space of possibles” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 344) as a way of allowing for different boundaries and configurations to emerge. Like any typology, these are simplistic categories for what can be revealed in the field, but useful for understanding how shifts might happen through ripples and perturbations in the field as a contested social space. They are explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

⁵ Bill Gates, Co-founder of Microsoft, Co-chair of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation

There are three main implications of field analysis for research. Firstly, a recognition that fields do not exist objectively to the research, they are bounded by the research itself, led by the participants in the research and interpreted by the researcher (Dobbin, 2008). These boundaries are therefore subject to contestation and are in no way fixed in time or space (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008) Secondly, struggle rather than consensus characterises each field (Postone *et al.*, 1993). Finally, the relations between social actors is of most interest, with the nature of individuals influencing these relations (Swartz, 2008). In this thesis, I have defined the field of interest as the global field of power, and participants in the research bring experiences of their social fields (for example, business, civil society, academia) to their interactions in the global forums as enactments within the global field of power. I have found that these interactions are frequently characterised by differences of opinion (struggle) about sustainability issues and it is the relations between these actors that has been part of my study. The field of power is introduced in section 2.6 and my development of this is offered in Chapter 5.

Within fields, social actors strive and compete to accumulate capital. Each field has its own rules that demonstrate the relative value of forms of capital (Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007), for example, in academia, publications are cultural capital for the social actors therein. The notion of capital is discussed further in the following section.

2.5 Capital

Bourdieu defines four forms of capital: economic “which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights”; cultural, “which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications”; social, “made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 242) and symbolic, “distinction” (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 731), which is the capital resulting from being recognised as important by others.

Other named capitals have also been discussed through Bourdieu’s writings and subsequent interpretations. For example, Bourdieu also talks of “technological capital, juridical capital

and organizational capital (including the capital of information about the field), commercial capital” in the economic field (2005, p. 75). Also technical capital, which is described as domestic and vocational, manual skills that can be passed between generations (Bennett *et al.*, 2009) and political capital, which is built through recognition, popularity, reputation and qualifications (Bourdieu, 1991). Bennett *et al.* (2009) talk of emotional capital and subcultural capital, Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) describe religious, intellectual, moral, natural and digital capital. Subject to debate is the extent to which these are specific forms of capital or whether they are subforms of Bourdieu’s four existing forms, that is, are these sub-forms of cultural and/or social and/or symbolic capital? For example, Bourdieu suggests political capital is a type of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) as it is granted through belief and trust in the representation offered by the other (demonstrated through votes). For brevity and focus, these other forms of capital are not explored in any depth in this thesis but the following paragraphs outline Bourdieu’s four main forms.

The first form, economic capital, has been considered the dominant form of capital across multiple social fields because it is particularly transmutable, that is, it can be used to acquire ‘more’, and having command of financial and economic resources is most prized in the social fields Bourdieu has studied. It is tangible, transmittable, calculable and has meaning across multiple social contexts (Swartz, 1997). He goes so far as to suggest that “economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital... produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal (not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root...at the root of their effects.” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 249). I would argue that economic capital is highly important, but there can be greater value (particularly at a global level) in its combination with other forms of capital. This is discussed further in Chapter 6.

In terms of the second form, cultural capital, Bourdieu describes three types. Firstly, embodied capital, emerging from and enacted through the mind and body in (for example) thoughts, behaviours, actions, performances and adornments. Acceptable or privileged embodied capital is instilled by and customary to social contexts but received and projected by individuals; as Bourdieu suggests “like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 243). The acquisition of embodied cultural capital by individuals relies initially on investment from family through childhood

(Swartz, 1997) and throughout life as social actors engage in different social fields and their associated socialisation processes in relation to embodiment, for example, required dress (Haynes, 2012a). The value of embodied cultural capital is not fixed and subject to shifts depending on the social context. For example, an Armani suit has status in the context of a corporate field, but would be incongruous in the field of agriculture. However, there are certain cultural capitals whose value is great across numerous (albeit not universal) contexts, for example, manners, morals and ethics. Habitus is also relevant here as it is incorporated in the whole being, with body as inseparable from mind, individual as inseparable from social (Swartz, 1997). The second type is objectified cultural capital. This includes physical pieces and artefacts that hold value in their production, use and ownership. Examples include books, paintings and machinery (Swartz, 1997). As with embodied cultural capital, the value of these capitals are not static, but with certain pieces having value across a multitude of contexts, for example, a Van Gogh oil painting or a site with World Heritage status can be appreciated for their value across different social contexts. The final form of cultural capital is institutionalised. This is granted through educational systems, for example, as qualifications and publications (Bourdieu, 1997).

The relationship between economic and cultural capital is of particular interest in Bourdieu's work, in terms of the tensions and struggle for positions as the dominant capital in fields. Unlike economic capital, which is relatively established and perpetual as a form of capital, cultural capital is much more variable and inconsistent over time and social contexts (Swartz, 1997). Economic capital is relatively easy and visible to acquire (albeit with differences in the acquisition of volume), whereas cultural capital passes through families, educational and professional fields in a more dispersed, irregular manner (Bourdieu, 1997). There is some greater value in the acquisition and control of cultural capital, because of its inaccessibility to everyone, yet the dominance of economic capital (in Bourdieu's view) regulates cultural capital by those who hold economic capital being "able to set the holders of cultural capital in competition with one another" (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 245). The root of domination of economic capital, therefore, emanates from the ability of those in possession of such capital to invoke greater competition between forms and volume of cultural capital. Bourdieu describes a particular struggle between cultural and economic capital denoting power of different kinds and positions, suggesting that "the greater the difference in asset structure of these two types of capital, the more likely it is that individuals and groups will be opposed in

their power struggle for domination” (Swartz, 1997, p. 137). These struggles will be explored further in Chapter 6 (section 6.3).

The third form of capital in Bourdieu’s analysis is social capital. He defines this as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to...membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 246). In other words, social capital is more than just ‘who you know’. Indeed, one element of social capital is built through networks of relationships, which in certain societies can include family heritage, and relationships have to be reciprocal, that is, each participant in the relationship needs to recognise the value of the other. However, social capital is also built further by the collective relationships developed through networks in terms of group membership. Such group memberships offer endorsement by virtue of membership and ‘backing’ from those therein. Trust is an indicator of social capital, that social actors can be trusted because of their relationships and memberships (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004).

Social actors can accumulate volume of social capital according to the number of connections in their networks, but also important is the quality of these connections in terms of the capitals they bring for mutual benefit, adding to the social actors’ existing economic, cultural or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1997). Through processes of socialisation, families may try and control the development of social capital through their children in terms of exposure to the ‘right’ people and the ‘right’ social situations (‘right’ as defined within the field) that will at least sustain if not build greater prestige. Bourdieu defines two types of social capital ‘profits’ that can be made: material, “the types of services accruing from useful relationships”; and symbolic, “those derived from association with a rare, prestigious group” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 247). Within social actors’ fields of industry or expertise, they may move positions according to gains or losses in the capital that is privileged therein, for example, particular skills or knowledge, and may also move between related fields as part of an extension of their networks for the development of social capital (Maton, 2008).

Bourdieu terms those social actors who achieve dominance in terms of their social capital ‘nobles’, the implications of which include that they can “speak on behalf of the whole

group, represent the whole group, and exercise authority in the name of the whole group. The nobile is the group personified” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 248). These social actors have achieved durability and sufficient authority to be considered ‘right’ in their social representations of others as well as themselves. There is an extent to which social actors can benefit from the glow of symbolic association with others, but there is a risk of this reversing – there can be ‘guilt by association’, for example, the questions raised over the independence of Baroness Butler-Sloss as Chair of the inquiry into historic child abuse connected to prominent institutions in England and Wales⁶.

The final form of capital is symbolic capital. In their field struggles, social actors accrue symbolic capital that can be engaged to struggle further “over the production of common sense...[for the] imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world” (Bourdieu, 1985, pp. 731-732). Symbolic capital may include titles and awards, but even without these artefacts, the more ‘others’ that recognise the actor in a positive and respectful way, the more symbolic capital they accumulate and therefore the more symbolic power they are able to wield (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Those with the greatest volume of symbolic capital are more able to determine this vision or “official point of view” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 22), which has the effect of declaring what things are comprehensively, affirming what people have to do (order, prescriptions, directions), and defining as fact what people have done, for example, authorised history (Bourdieu, 1989). Indeed, authority lies not in "the intrinsic properties of discourse itself, but rather in the social conditions of production and reproduction of the distribution between the classes of the knowledge and recognition of the legitimate language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 113). Perpetuation of authority and dominance requires the maintenance of this vision, which is subject to struggle and therefore opens up small cracks and possibilities for change.

The implications of the notion of capital for my research is in understanding the volume and composition of capital in relation to the position of social actors as dominant or dominated in the field of study (Bourdieu, 1985). As Emirbayer and Johnson describe (2008, p. 3) “the very value of economic or social capital is constituted by its past and present uses, by the

⁶ Members of Parliament and alleged victims expressed their concern that Baroness Butler-Sloss’ brother was Attorney General at the time of the alleged attacks and that this may affect her ability to chair the inquiry without prejudice (BBC News, 2014).

structure of the field(s) in which it is deployed, and by its specific differences vis-à-vis other types of capital.” Symbolic capital is particularly important to this thesis as “Bourdieu sees the expansion of the non-profit sector as stemming from the ‘conversion of economic capital into symbolic capital’ whereby dominant groups secure esteem in public opinion for their activities” (Swartz, 1997, pp. 91-92). I formulate the notion of global capital as a form of symbolic capital, of which the other forms of capital are proportionate. This is discussed further in Chapter 6 (section 6.2) but my argument is that global social actors can be world makers without a dominance of economic capital and that these particular social actors may actually challenge the dominance of economic capital in pursuit of new more sustainable and equal worlds.

In this thesis, social actors are seen, in part, as competing for accumulation to exercise power and to exercise domination around the world – to have more world making capacity than others (Bourdieu, 1989). Although some of Bourdieu’s work examined the state as a potential regulator of economic capital with a particular form of capital, “capital etatique” (Bourdieu, 1994b, p. 4), that elevates the position of the state over other fields and other capital, at a global level, it is perhaps possible to see states less as impartial regulators (as might be implied in, for example, Western democracies) but as just another actor in the struggle for dominance. The example of the The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership is a live example of the ways in which the economic capital of multinational corporations could dominate that of states, as it could give them the power to litigate against state governments (Williams, 2014). As such, I argue through this thesis that global capital is a form of symbolic capital accumulated by global social actors from a range of fields (including non-profit sector – also known as ‘civil society’). The struggle within the global field of power is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6 and Bourdieu’s notion is explained in the following section.

2.6 Field of power

The notion of fields is extended by Bourdieu to demonstrate a cross-cutting field in which the social actors with the greatest volume of the most valued capital of other fields congregate and communicate: the field of power. This “is a field of struggle between agents already holding dominant positions in their respective social field to set the value of their

initial capital and eventually convert part of this capital, thereby diversifying their portfolio of capitals in occupying dominant positions in other social fields” (Cohen, 2011, p. 335). The field of power is a focus of analysis of this thesis; Bourdieu theorised that within this field, individual members enact conflict for more power (Cohen, 2011). It is the social space that binds social actors together at the ‘top’, the sum of all ‘tops’ from across social fields, for example, education, business, government. All social actors in the global field of power are ‘dominant’, but there is still a form of stratification from the most dominant (dominant dominants) to the least dominant (dominated dominants).

Like all fields, the field of power is not a physical space, although there are meeting events, but it is a social space through which goals can be pursued, where the world makers (as defined in section 1.2.4) engage to maintain, challenge and/or subvert dominance (Bourdieu, 1989). Its structure depends on the nature of valued capital at a particular point in time and it is a “space of play within which the holders of capital (of different species) struggle *in particular* for power over the state” (Bourdieu, 1994b, p. 5 emphasis original). Struggle is a core premise of Bourdieu’s analysis of social interactions, and a core focus of such struggles is power (Swartz, 1997). The ultimate power is in the ability to define meaning, consensus and ‘how things are’ in social contexts (Bourdieu, 1985). Those who have credence, symbolic capital (whilst contested) are able to impose this meaning (Dick, 2008). Power can be positive and productive but may also cause certain “strategies of resistance, recalcitrance, or self-preservation” (Wacquant, 2005b, p. 144), which may be mirrored against the field strategies of succession, subversion and conservation (Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu’s analysis does not see power everywhere, but as concentrated in specific fields of power through which actors “simultaneously compete and collude in the operation of ever-longer and more complex circuits of legitimation ultimately vouchsafed by the state as the arbiter of the conflicts between contending capitals”(Wacquant, 2005b, p. 145). Power is therefore not something possessed but is an effect of certain social relations, whereby wielding power does not necessarily mean intent or deliberate decision-making.

The field of power differs from other conceptions of top level stratification, for example, as ruling classes, aristocracy or establishment, as “Bourdieu problematizes the existence, boundaries and degree of cohesion of both superordinate and subordinate classes, and he opens up for empirical inquiry the social modalities of their possible unification and eventual

capacity for joint action” (Wacquant, 2013, p. 278). In other words, the relations between social actors are of focus, the shifting positions, convolutions and incongruities of these relations, rather than assuming immobility and binary opposition. In considering that “what does exist is a space of relationships that is as real as a geographical space” (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 726), these relationships are not fixed and indeed the meanings represented by the social actors are also subject to change. The struggle occurs across a range of fields (see section 2.4) with representatives aiming to promote their capital over all others (Swartz, 2008). There are ‘dominated dominants’, those who are least advantaged in a field within which the most advantaged interact; collaboration between these social actors may initiate change in their fields (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008) “by forming (temporary) issue-based coalitions of interests, turning competition and contestation into collusion” (Maclean *et al.*, 2014, p. 829). Although struggle is a characteristic of all fields, it is most acute in the field of power because all social actors therein are the ‘top’ of their game in some way; they are used to being the ‘best’ and in this social arena they struggle to be the ‘best of the best’ (and define what this looks like).

In this thesis, my interpretation of the field of power is as a social space through which the principal social actors of other social fields are bound together. These particular social actors are imbued with symbols of legitimacy, that is, capitals that designate them as having decisional rights in some way – specifically world making capacity. Whilst I believe that each field has its own field of power (Postone *et al.*, 1993), and each society has its own field of power, I am theorising that there is a field of power that is positioned as a global ‘meta-field’, through which social actors attempt to ‘make the world’. In this global field of power, the principal social actors of all possible fields may be positioned and act. If actors have sufficient capital that is valuable at a global level, their positions may extend into the global field of power, within which there may be crossover between diverse fields of expertise or industry. Global social actors in the global field of power come from the top of a range of fields, including academia, business, religion, culture and civil society. What makes them able to act in the global field of power is that they and their work are of global significance in some way. They compete to keep, advance or replace positions in this field through the accumulation of symbolic global capital (Thomson, 2008). Those who wield symbolic power are in a position to define what is recognised as appropriate and acceptable in social orders and the social groups therein. These deliberate crossovers may be provocative and shift the

field through discordant experiences between social actors who see the world from different perspectives. These can be uncomfortable experiences, with clashes that may encourage a shift in disposition (hysteresis, Hardy, 2008, see also section 2.7) and doxa (see section 2.8).

The global field of power is a field in which the acts and behaviours of global social actors have implications across geographic boundaries but it is much more than just transnational enactment. Global capital underlies a form of power that can make worlds; it is symbolic power that, in Bourdieu's words, "is a power of 'world-making'. World-making consists...in carrying out a decomposition, an analysis, and a composition, a synthesis, often by the use of labels" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 22). The description of 'world making' is particularly pertinent to this thesis. In Bourdieu's context, it is in direct reference to the social world and in the context of this thesis it is expanded in meaning to examine the social world in a global (world) sense. Symbolic power as explored by Bourdieu is closely connected to the use of language, 'labels' and 'classifications' (Bourdieu, 1991), in that symbolic power is exercised in the definition and meaning of social labels and classifications, thereby attributing values and assumptions to the groups of social actors associated with certain labels and classifications (Bourdieu, 1989). The 'use of labels' in this thesis could connect to the ways in which sustainability issues are defined and subsequent responses formulated (see section 6.4), for example, a response to climate change based on a commitment to green growth (Green Growth Action Alliance, 2013) or a response based on a commitment to system change (Climate Space, 2013). Global capital is explored further in Chapter 6.

Symbolic power is a "power of constructing reality" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 166) but in line with the underpinning premise of Bourdieu's position, the power is relational, having no meaning outside of social relations: "what creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170). Those exercising symbolic power are enabled to do so by the credit given to them by others, perhaps through relationships where the dominant are trusted by the dominated. This in conjunction with other social forces generates a tendency toward reproduction, as 'how things are' in terms of the norms of the field is codified by the dominant and accepted by most of the dominated (Swartz, 1997). However, this does not negate the possibility of shifts to occur. For example, if there is sufficient question or insufficient correspondence between what is said, described and with

associated meaning, and social actors' own experiences, words and performances begin to lose their meaning and the symbolic power begins to dwindle (Bourdieu, 1989). There may also be challenge from dominated dominants and consecrated heretics. Bourdieu's (1988) notion of consecrated heretics additionally facilitates an interpretation of those social actors who are in a transitional position between dominated dominants and dominants. Bourdieu introduces these social actors using the example of those who are within the academic field initially as challengers, creating heterodoxy (heresy), but who are 'made holy' (consecrated) as their approaches are accepted and normalised into the field (see also section 2.8). This can be applied across different fields, for example, in the cultural field (Bourdieu, 1983), and consecration occurs in each case through the operation of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989).

There are (at least) two struggles at play with regard to symbolic capital and symbolic power: firstly, the struggle to attain, maintain and expand symbolic capital, to gain acknowledgement, approval and esteem that raises some over others (Moore, 2008); and secondly, the struggle to promote 'your' vision as being the 'normal' and proper one (Bourdieu, 1994a). In this thesis, global forums, as enactments of the global field of power, offer global social actors a meeting space through which to accumulate symbolic capital and promote their world view in relation to issues of sustainability and inequality. Struggle is uncomfortable and the effects of this discomfort are explored further in the next section.

2.7 Hysteresis

The increasing complexity of social life is such that individuals live multiple ways of life in relation to one another, some of which agree and some of which may jar and thus create dilemmas. This is particularly acute for individuals whose social worlds cross local, national and international boundaries; for example, in the case of participants in global forums, the choices they make potentially have far-reaching effects on the way in which more sustainable worlds emerge. Changes to field and habitus can be uncomfortable and prompted through the questioning caused by stressful, crisis-like social events. Such events can be personal or social. An example of a personal 'crisis' could be if one's habitus was imbued with Catholic values but one's son/daughter decided to convert to Islam – there would be discomfort and a need to adapt to a new, familial context in which this would become comfortable again. An example of a 'social' crisis could be if one was a member of

the Church of England who was faced with the ordination of women bishops – one may feel hysteresis if this was felt to be incongruent with their understanding of the field, based on pressures from the past (that is, believing the church was better in its previous structure) and pressures to conform with the present (that is, ‘I have to get used to this as a ‘good’ member of the field, even though it feels uncomfortable’). Although these are two unrelated incidents, both could provoke hysteresis, albeit in different contexts.

These changes to field and habitus are often not simultaneous, creating further temporal disturbance and disparity between the ‘new’ and the required personal and social adaptations that emerge (Hardy, 2008). Bourdieu’s term for this, hysteresis (Bourdieu, 1977), summarises the interruption to field and habitus relations, a “sense of being ‘out of touch’” (Hardy, 2008, p. 132) or “an effect of dissonance, a counter-adaptive ‘lag’ in the habitus that retards adaptation to a changed social context” (Kerr and Robinson, 2009, p. 833). Whilst temporary, in a positive sense these interludes can allow the emergence of strategies of improvisation and innovation (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). The strategies that social actors pursue are not conscious, rational or calculated, as in the classical management definition of strategy (Clegg *et al.*, 2004), but surface through the interplay and interdependence of “practical dispositions that incorporate ambiguities and uncertainties that emerge from acting through time and space” (Swartz, 1997, p. 100).

Part of this thesis explores the extent to which change is possible and occurs within the global field of power (Chapters 7 and 8). Hysteresis is the result of the gap between existing personal dispositions and the social context of the field (Brubaker, 2004). The extent of the lag may be variable, that is, the duration of the hysteresis effect is linked to social actors’ preservation of their habitus despite pressures from transition in their social contexts (Kerr and Robinson, 2009). Hysteresis can be useful to understand the tensions revealed in the global field of power with regard to the emergence of new worlds, that is, global social actors’ propensity to continue with their existing approaches to issues of sustainability and inequality, or pursue alternatives (change to the doxa, see section 2.8). Change, in this thesis, may occur through the interactions and struggle between global social actors with different perceptions of sustainability issues and the most appropriate ways to address inequalities for new, better worlds to emerge. There may be discomfort, tensions in moving from one agenda to another, that is, from seeing one way as being ‘the right way’ to

considering alternatives. This can reveal feelings of incongruity between habitus and field (McDonough and Polzer, 2012), habitus being the existing disposition of global social actors towards a particular sustainability agenda and experiences within the field that provoke alternative ways of thinking about the issues. Whatever degree of change, given the nature of the relationship between habitus and field, individual and social context will effect each other so that a change in habitus will change the field and vice versa (Hardy, 2008).

Pressures towards hysteresis are also exerted both through current social contexts and from “past loyalties” (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 739). There is a pressure to change and a pressure to remain loyal to existing ways of being and familiar rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991), which may result in conflict and dilemma for social actors. Hysteresis is helpful in understanding the effects of the disturbance to the habitus and field, in terms of the adaptation (or not) of the field positions of social actors (Hardy, 2008). It is perhaps possible to connect notions of resistance with hysteresis effects. In a Bourdieusian sense, “[resistance] consists of the claims and the political and material contentions of the dominated as they attempt to barter over, or even transform, the meaning of the dominant species of capital in the field” (Dick, 2008, p. 331) so resistance emerges through the field as actors challenge one another. This research recognises a constructionist understanding of resistance from within the broader literature (e.g. Ford *et al.*, 2002; Thomas *et al.*, 2011) with the ways in which resistance is identified and characterised being subject to its context (Symon, 2005) and meanings therein (Courpasson and Golsorkhi, 2011). Resistance does not reside in individuals but “is a function of the socially constructed reality in which someone lives” (Ford *et al.*, 2002, p. 106). Actors with the goal of achieving transformation in world issues utilise different global forms of organising and associated relationships to resist the current dominant order (Dick, 2008), and these actors assign different meanings to their strategies of resistance that are “characterized by overlapping and mutually embedded practices of consent, compliance and resistance” (Edwards *et al.*, 1995, p. 294).

The analysis presented here in this thesis continues the move away from conceptualising resistance in a deficit model (e.g. Barbalet, 1985), instead agreeing that resistance is both normal (Clegg *et al.*, 2006) and productive (Courpasson *et al.*, 2012). It builds on existing definitions of productive resistance as being “concerned with concrete activities that aim to voice claims and interests that are usually not taken into account by management

decisions...to foster the development of alternative managerial practices that are likely to benefit the organization as a whole” (Carter *et al.*, 2011; Courpasson *et al.*, 2012, p. 801) by replacing ‘the organisation’ with ‘the world’. A grand substitution, one might argue; however, through their resistance, global social actors aim for new worlds to emerge. In this respect, as Courpasson *et al.* (2012, p. 804) continue, “productive resistance requires that resisters create temporary realignments of normal power relations in which the commanded achieve control of an agenda that is presumed to govern them.” This corresponds with Mumby’s (2005) dialectical analysis of resistance, which enables focus on the co-productive nature of actions and consideration of the relationships that maintain one another (Courpasson *et al.*, 2012), marginalising any requirement to conclude consensus. Resistance in practice resembles Bourdieu’s strategies of conservation, succession and subversion (Swartz, 1997) and this will be explored further in Chapter 7. Bourdieu’s concept of hysteresis is examined infrequently in extant literature and this thesis explores it to some degree in its relations with the doxa, which is introduced in the following section.

2.8 Doxa

“Every established order tends to produce (to varying degrees and with very different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness. Of all the mechanisms tending to produce this effect, the most important and the best concealed is undoubtedly the dialectic of the objective chances and the agents’ aspirations, out of which arises the *sense of limits*, commonly called the *sense of reality*...the natural and social world appears as self-evident. This experience we shall call *doxa*, so as to distinguish it from an orthodox or heterodox belief implying awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs.” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164, emphasis original)

In the introductory quote here, Bourdieu delineates the way in which social order comes to be built, accepted and naturalised to social actors. He suggests that there are opportunities within social contexts (‘chances’) that coincide with the internal propensity of social actors towards recognising and/or wanting to pursue opportunities (‘aspirations’ connected to habitus). There is something unquestioned, implicit and assumptive about the order of things – the ‘limits’, ‘sense of reality’ that may affect whether or not opportunities are taken. Doxa is described by Bourdieu as the “presuppositions of the game” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 66), where the game is that of the social field in question. It is the taken-for-granted, ‘how things

are' in particular social contexts, determined by the interaction of the habitus of the players (social actors) and their field (Bourdieu, 1990).

As with hysteresis, doxa is one of Bourdieu's least explored concepts (Sieweke, 2014), despite its importance to understanding the field as a social arena. Doxa is "field-specific sets of beliefs that inform the shared habitus of those operating within the field...fundamental rules and laws (nomos), discursive forms (logos), normative beliefs (illusio), expected actions and behaviours and barriers to entry" (Deer, 2008a, p. 125). It is possible to connect the concept of doxa to that of ideology (Eagleton and Bourdieu, 1992). Billig et al. (1988, p. 27) distinguish between 'lived ideology' as that which delineates the "way of life" and "common sense" of social groups, and 'intellectual ideology' as "a system of political, religious or philosophical thinking" through which individuals can organise their decision making. Ideology is therefore rooted in the relation between the individual and the social (van Dijk, 2006) but with differing, yet related, effects on decision making – perhaps explained in Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field. Bourdieu preferred the concepts of doxa, symbolic power and symbolic violence instead of 'ideology', as it (ideology) is a contested term, frequently used as dismissive and/or pejorative (Eagleton and Bourdieu, 1992).

Doxa has been theorised as "as a symbolic form of power, [which] requires that those subjected to it do not question its legitimacy and the legitimacy of those who exert it" (Deer, 2008a, pp. 121-122). There are echoes of Lukes' third dimension of power here (Lukes, 1974). Symbolic power becomes symbolic violence when power relations are dictated and misconstrued as being usual, taken for granted (Kerr and Robinson, 2012). There is therefore "a form of (extorted) complicity on the part of those who submit to it" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1999, p. 46). There is an extent to which individuals can be deliberately socialised into a particular doxa and/or this socialisation may be less deliberate and more osmotic through the experiences and structures of our environment (e.g. Bourdieu's concept of habitus and field, Swartz, 1997). This illustrates the complicated nature of doxa, in that it is difficult (impossible) to stand outside to analyse it objectively because as social actors we are all within the doxa of social fields. Through this participation, social actors are part of the perpetuation and development of doxa, but crisis can bring doxa into question.

It could be argued that neoliberal capitalism is the dominant doxa of the global economic order, with associated social effects (for example, desire for accumulation and ownership). Of particular relevance to this thesis is despite the tendency towards pervasiveness of the doxa, defined by dominants and cross-cutting social boundaries in promoting unquestioning acceptance of how things are at a global level (Bourdieu, 1994b), it may be challenged and shifted. Whilst doxa is part of the tendency towards perpetuity of social orders, the strength of often inherited conservation and restoration strategies of the dominant social actors (Deer, 2008a), this does not negate the opportunity for change and shifts. It does disclose the challenge and struggle in which this may occur. Bourdieu (1977, p. 169) writes that “crisis is a necessary condition for questioning of doxa but is not in itself a sufficient condition for the production of a critical discourse.” Crises could include shocks affecting the social order, for example, protest, political collapse, natural disaster, acts of terrorism (potentially provoking the emergence of new worlds, see also section 2.6). Such events may promote questioning of given authority and these questions, revealing different opinions and points of view that offer alternatives to how the game could work (Bourdieu, 1985), which enable the dominated to challenge or reject the dominant doxa (Deer, 2008a).

In this thesis, the global field of power is dominated by the doxa of neoliberal capitalism; however, in sustainability debates there is struggle and disruption provoked by the dominated dominants and consecrated heretics (see section 2.6) who promote “a critical consciousness, that might undermine the prevailing doxa and foster the emergence of other ones” (Deer, 2008a, p. 123). Bourdieu explains that social actors have to have the necessary capital (“material and symbolic means” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 169)) to challenge the doxa, revealing it as orthodoxy and creating heterodoxy. The dominant social actors have to ‘say’ what has previously gone ‘unsaid’ in the course of trying to defend and maintain the doxa and this process transforms the discourse into orthodoxy (Bourdieu, 1996): “Orthodoxy... *straightened*...opinion, which aims...at restoring the primal state of innocence of doxa, exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy, that is, by reference to the choice – *hairesis*, heresy – made possible by the existence of *competing possibles* and to the explicit critique of the sum total of the alternatives not chosen that the established order implies” (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 169-170, emphasis original). The doxa is maintained when no alternatives are considered, but once alternatives are recognised, both the orthodox stance recognises authority as accepted, and heterodoxy provokes opposition and challenge

(Calhoun, 1993), but “though it may seek to be critical and even heretic, heterodoxy often remains mediated by the ruling doxa” (Deer, 2008a, p. 124). This goes some way to indicating the deep-rooted characteristic of doxa, and Swartz (1997) interprets Bourdieu’s theory to suggest that all players within the field are committed to playing the game of the field as opposed to upheaving it entirely.

In the above sections, I aim to have demonstrated the value in utilising a Bourdieusian framework for my research, expounding the interconnections and importance of these concepts in social theory. For completeness, the next section recognises some of the critique and boundaries of the framework.

2.9 Critique and boundaries

This section reflects briefly on the main critiques of Bourdieu’s work and my response thereto in my own research. These are: complexity; determinism and rigidity; economism and interests; cultural boundedness; and a lack of explanation of how structures are formed in the first place.

2.9.1 Complexity

Bourdieu’s writing is complex and academic, despite his call for empirical and practical application (Swartz, 1997). I have certainly found some of his texts more accessible than others; however, rather than dwelling on my difficulties I have taken the view that in applying the understood concepts practically I may increase my theoretical understanding of others and their relationships. The social world is complex and so will be his explanations. Rather than fearing this complexity or being halted by it, embracing it and embedding myself in it may still lead only to partial understanding, but that partial is better than none.

I have found it difficult to reconcile the nature of his writing and analysis as it slips into a rather ‘natural sciences’ objectivity with my own commitment to interpretivism; for example, his use of correspondence analysis and the encouragement of control and reduction of the effect of the researcher on the research (Deer, 2008b) . However, my interpretation of his commitment towards reflexivity in particular I believe is an enabling

factor despite his preference towards using this to control influence, as I believe it enables me to take account of my influence rather than trying to reduce it in some way.

2.9.2 Determinism and rigidity

The structures defined within Bourdieu's theories (e.g. habitus, capital and field) have been critiqued for suggesting that individuals are determined by them with limited scope for, or explanation of, change. Habitus in particular has been critiqued for suggesting limits or boundaries to acts and ideas of social actors (Swartz, 1997) and as a way to unify upbringing, socialisation and future (Bennett *et al.*, 2009). This determinism has also been interpreted in his analysis of reproduction, that is, how social realities are perpetuated in a more or less stable fashion (Calhoun, 1993). Bourdieu offers an explanation of how social systems reproduce "by exploring how cultural resources, processes, and institutions hold individuals and groups in competitive and self-perpetuating hierarchies of domination" (Swartz, 1997, p. 6). However, just because his focus is on the nature of reproduction this does not preclude the possibility of challenge and shift. I would argue that there are elements of his analysis that allude to ways in which reproduction can be challenged and shifts can occur, albeit that these are not necessarily as developed in his writing as they might be (Swartz, 1997), and this thesis makes a contribution here. I believe that his concept of hysteresis, for example, in revealing the discomfort and contradiction that social actors may experience, may point to opportunities for shifts to occur. Whilst unlikely to be dramatic and quick, the cumulative effect of multiple discomforts may result in decomposition and recomposition of the doxa of the field. I see this, for example, in Bourdieu's words as follows.

"This element of play, of uncertainty, is what provides a basis for the plurality of world views, itself linked to the plurality of points of view, and to all the symbolic struggles for the power to produce and impose the legitimate world-view and, more precisely, to all the cognitive 'filling-in' strategies that produce the meaning of the objects of the social world by going beyond the directly visible attributes by reference to the future or the past." (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 728)

The notions of 'plurality' and 'play' (or leeway, latitude) and 'struggle' to me point directly to flexibility, laxity and tolerance for shifts in social reality to occur. It may be that social actors are acting within bounded or compromised change; however, these boundaries and compromises may shift as well as the positions therein (as capital is accumulated and/or

redistributed and meanings are constructed accordingly). To some it may look like nothing is changing, but global social actors change roles, governments change, new ideas come and go in the field so any stasis may only be fleeting.

2.9.3 *Economism and interests*

Swartz (1997) describes critique suggesting that Bourdieu's theories are underpinned by an economic analysis and privileging material interests over all others. The critique suggests that Bourdieu neglects to offer an explanation of the instrumental, deliberate and intentional acts towards gain and strategies of social actors in comparison with those instinctive, intuitive and automatic behaviours with other value. It has also been suggested that symbolic capital in particular can be examined as economic capital. Lebaron's (2003) paper offers a detailed counter to this critique by examining in detail the work of Bourdieu in relation to his own concern regarding the use of economics as an explanatory device across social analysis.

The critique is perhaps influenced by the dominant neoliberal capitalist ideology of our time, which would signal a favouring of economic capital above all other and a simplistic analysis of the motivation of social actors towards the accumulation of economic capital above all other. I would certainly venture to argue that this dominance may well be the case; however, I would refute this being a given or somehow inevitable, as in Bourdieu's analysis he reveals the fundamental struggle between economic and cultural capitals in particular.

2.9.4 *Cultural boundedness*

Bourdieu's work emerged from his ethnographic fieldwork in France and Algeria and as such, his theories may be bounded by these cultures, making them difficult to apply in other social contexts (Swartz, 1997). Yet, Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) (for example) have made a case for applying the work in American sociology. I also believe that Bourdieu promoted the application of his frameworks in other empirical contexts, he certainly did not see them as limited by particular cultures, albeit that the empirical results may be very different. I have been unable to apply his theoretical framework in an ethnographic and therefore holistic manner, as he intended.

Language is definitely something that needs to be taken account of in the application of this theoretical framework. In my work, I have had to rely on reading translations of his work as opposed to in his original French. This has limited my analysis to being an interpretation of an interpretation rather than directly understanding the language in which he thought and wrote. In addition, I have not undertaken detailed analysis of discourse as proposed in his text 'Language and Symbolic Power' (Bourdieu, 1991); however, this is something that I may pursue for future papers.

2.9.5 How structures are formed in the first place

A final, detailed critique of Bourdieu's work is offered by Fligstein and McAdam (2011). They suggest that very little of Bourdieu's work is concerned with how habitus, capital and fields come into being in the first instance, with the majority of his work based on an assumption that they exist and then looking at how social actors are. I agree that this seems to be lacking from his published work and Fligstein and McAdam develop it by theorising the instigation of these concepts. In my work I have sought to apply Bourdieu's theories in a new, global context rather than attempting to respond to particular gaps in his framework. In particular, for example, I have taken a reflexive, relational approach (see sections 2.2.3 and Chapter 4), used his field theory to propose and explain a global field of power (sections 2.4, 2.6 and Chapter 5), explored habitus and doxa (sections 2.3, 2.8 and Chapters 6 and 8), defined global capital as a form of symbolic capital (section 2.5 and Chapter 6), and demonstrated hysteresis in practice (section 2.7 and Chapter 7).

2.10 The relevance of Bourdieu to this thesis

2.10.1 Application of Bourdieusian theory in this thesis

Bourdieu's work aimed to create a holistic reconciliation by demonstrating that there could be both structure and movement within structures; that structures influence individual thought and action and that individuals also replicate or create these structures (Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007). He theorised the interrelationships and processes of society, demonstrated as follows:

“We do not have to choose between structure and agents, between the field, which gives sense and value to the properties objectivated in things or embodied in persons, and the agents who play with their properties in the gaming space so defined, or, to come to the present case, between positions within the field of economic power and the dispositions of their occupants or between the characteristics of a corporation (size, age, type of control etc.) and those of its head (titles of nobility, property, school etc.). By bringing people back into the picture, we can attempt to establish what, in the workings of economic institutions, arises only through people” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 314)

In my thesis, the work of Bourdieu offers a singular theoretical lens through which to analyse socio-cultural practices as evident through the empirical settings of my research. He represents the anchor theorist for this thesis; a theorist with gravitas and a strong tradition that enables the research to be identified within a body of literature. Bourdieu’s theoretical framework is intended to be applied holistically to social analysis, which makes it useful for considering large-scale (global) contexts. However, it is a challenge to do justice to this holistic intention (Dobbin, 2008). There are some differences to the way that I have applied the framework, for example, Bourdieu’s main focus was often on the reasons for the endurance of disparities in social situations (Swartz, 1997), whereas this thesis has explored the ways in which challenge and subversion can promote change (e.g. Bourdieu, 1989). I share a focus on one of Bourdieu’s core principles, that is, the actions of individuals shape and are shaped by social contexts, personal experiences and habituations that may fluctuate over time (Swartz, 1997). Individuals are driven by their embodied interests, that is, “whatever motivates or drives action toward consequences that matter” (Swartz, 1997, p. 71). In this respect, my work has aimed to be as holistic as possible in focusing on important global socio-economic issues (e.g. Killian, 2015). As this thesis has revealed, global social actors find this particularly difficult as when it comes to issues of sustainability, the decisions that they make absolutely might matter (Billig *et al.*, 1988) in relation to achieving less economically, ecologically and socially damaging practices worldwide.

Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p. 38) describe three ways in which the use of Bourdieu’s framework in research can be improved: 1) by understanding habitus and field and capital together; 2) by examining the symbolic in organisations; and 3) by analysing power “as the product of field-wide relations whose effects may be felt in the absence of direct social proximity”. A focused analysis of habitus is definitely lacking from this thesis, although there

are echoes of its influence that enable some commentary on the nature of individuals in relation to their various social and organisational contexts (Swartz, 2008). Importantly in the application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, analysis is not just about recognising inequalities in social fields in terms of privilege and capital but also recognising the influence of the way that social actors play the game, how they use what they have to flourish (Maclean *et al.*, 2014).

In practical terms, Swartz (1997) summarises that research through a Bourdieusian lens ought to: 1) refer to the field of analysis in relation to the field of power (Chapters 5 and 8 of this thesis); 2) distinguish the structure of relations between individuals or organisations in the field (Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis); 3) identify the forms of capital that are of value to the field and their distribution, so acknowledging dominance and subordination therein (Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis); and 4) recognise the habitus of social actors in their interrelationships (minimally explored in this thesis, as previously explained). In taking up Bourdieu's analysis, I have recognised the importance of considering the research from the position of the research participants, the nature of the field, concurrently considering my own position and habitus in relation with the research. I have reflected on the nature of the construction of the research in the first place, that is, the assumptions and drivers of it and taken account of temporal influences across all of these (Swartz, 1997). These elements are components of a reflexive approach to research, encouraging researchers to be self-critical of the processes of research as they are undertaken and recognising that research as the construction of knowledge is in itself contested and a site of struggle (Swartz, 2008). It is an attempt to draw out "'unthought' categories, perceptions, theories and structures" (Deer, 2008b, p. 202) that are continually involved in the composition, decomposition and re-composition of social worlds (Wacquant, 2005b).

2.10.2 Why Bourdieu?

"...the social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e. capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder." (Bourdieu, 1985, pp. 723-724)

The introductory quote here summarises why I believe Bourdieu's theoretical framework is of value to my work. I have sought to examine the social world at a global level, using my example settings of WEF and WSF (to be introduced in the next chapter), and the differentiation between social actors and acts therein. The boundaries of my groups are "imaginary" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 316), permeable and variable but with sufficient interconnection and interrelation to enable consideration of what affiliates as well as contrasts them. Bourdieu's work has been developed and expanded upon by many other scholars. He wanted his work to be used and applied in empirical practice, as opposed to being treated as an "end in itself" (Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007, p. 22). I have felt drawn to his analyses since I was first introduced to his work during my first degree in Anthropology. I have been privileged to work with scholars here at Newcastle University Business School who engage with his theories in direct relation to organisational studies and accounting.

In addition to his theoretical analyses, Bourdieu's research topics echo those of my research. As Swartz (2004, p. 338) explains, "for Bourdieu, choice of research topics is guided by moral and political considerations: inequality, suffering, and domination." I consider that my research settings are populated by people for whom these global social, economic and environmental issues are of utmost importance to address. Bourdieu's writing offers a way of analysing social communities, institutions, organisations and interactions to understand and promote betterment in the world order. For example, in one of his pieces, he described the notion of "cultural imperialism" and that its 'success' "rests on the power to universalize particularisms linked to a singular historical tradition by causing them to be misrecognized as such" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1999, p. 41). That is, Bourdieu explores the relationship between interests and the struggle for domination, firmly denying any temporality by showing past and present practices as being inextricably linked that is part of one another.

2.10.3 Alternative theoretical frameworks

In terms of other theoretical frameworks that I could have used, institutional theory (e.g. Hensmans, 2003; Delamont and Atkinson, 2005; Greenwood *et al.*, 2008; Lawrence, 2008) has been raised frequently by colleagues. There are certainly elements of this theory that could be useful for future analysis, for example, the notions of institutional entrepreneurship and field-configuring events. However, this thesis has focused on the forum participants

rather than the forums as institutions in themselves. In addition, I follow Suddaby's (2010, p. 14) point about the core purpose of institutional theory being "to understand how organisational structures and processes acquire meaning and continuity beyond their technical goals". This has not been the core purpose of this thesis. The work of other scholars, for example Foucault on power (Foucault, 1982) and Gramsci on hegemony (Gramsci, 2011), also echo in some of the themes emerging from this thesis, but these did not seem to offer the same opportunity to examine broader social relations and the struggles within.

Social movement theory could also have offered useful insights, particularly in relation to the activity of WSF and a number of participants therein. Social movements have been defined as "collective challenges to existing arrangements of power and distribution by people with common purposes and solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998, p. 4 quoted in Jenkins and Form, 2005, p. 332). Specifically, such movements need to have resonance at a local level, "placing the local in a global field of power" (Halliday and Carruthers, 2007, p. 1140) generating belief that things can be made better, to give them basis and capacity in their challenge (Evans, 2005) "social movements are defined as organised efforts to bring about social changes in the distribution of power" (Jenkins and Form, 2005, p. 331). However, whilst WSF has been described as a movement of movements, I have not studied it as an entity. Additionally, whilst the organisation studies literature has underpinned much of my thinking, organisation theory has not been prominently used as I have not studied the forums as organisations in themselves. I have rather aimed to understand processes, values instead of systems (Sutherland, 2013).

2.11 Summary

In summary, this chapter has offered an overview of the main elements of Bourdieu's theoretical framework. In this thesis, I have aimed to demonstrate the relationships between these elements and show examples in practice as revealed in my interpretation of the empirical material I have collected. The next chapter will introduce the research settings, the World Social Forum (WSF) and the World Economic Forum (WEF) and demonstrate how Bourdieu's theories can be applied in the analysis and interpretation of these settings.

Chapter 3. The World Social Forum and the World Economic Forum

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to offer an introduction to global forums and an overview of each of the research settings: the World Social Forum (WSF) and the World Economic Forum (WEF). Each represents a movement for betterment throughout the world: WSF through enabling the vocalisation of alternative ideas and practices to those promoted through neoliberal capitalism (Bourdieu's dominated dominants); and WEF through enabling the reproduction of (new forms of) neoliberal capitalism (Bourdieu's dominant dominants). These forums can be considered "laborator[ies] of global public debate", the likes of which have potential benefits and drawbacks for impacting global issues (Ylä-Anttila, 2005, p. 424), selected as examples to explore debates and discussions of sustainability as they happen at a global level, and as settings that have a historical oppositional relationship (Gilbert, 2005; Caruso, 2013).

What follows in this chapter is a contextual introduction to some of the issues raised by the extant research on these settings, as well as an interpretation of this in relation to the Bourdieusian framework of this thesis. This chapter delivers a summary, descriptive overview as opposed to a thorough analysis of each forum, as this thesis is not intended to offer a case study of each as an end in itself (e.g. Stake, 2005; Buchanan, 2012; Yin, 2014), rather to use them as a contextual springboard from which to develop insights and theory regarding the nature of world making in a global field of power (see Chapter 5) (Bourdieu, 1989). The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I offer an overview of global forums in general (section 3.2) before introducing WSF (section 3.3) and WEF (section 3.4). The chapter closes with a section considering these settings through the Bourdieusian lens (section 3.5).

3.2 Global forums

There are a number of opportunities for social actors to formally congregate outside of their specific fields but across fields with the common goal of addressing global issues of sustainability and inequality. Some of these are institutions formally constituted in relation

to nation states, for example, United Nations committees⁷ and G7/G8/G20⁸ meetings of world leaders. Others are less structured and informally constituted, with less transparent membership and discussion, for example, Bilderberg conferences⁹, Trilateral Commission¹⁰ Königswinter conferences¹¹, and many others that represent an organisational context through which individuals can participate to address global sustainability issues.

Global forums have varying structures, memberships, participation and purpose (e.g. Maguire and Hardy, 2006; Fotaki *et al.*, 2010). Through these social spaces, multiple participants can discuss and agree shared parameters for appropriate responsibilities, conduct and practice (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007) with world making effects. They are characterised by their meeting-events and between-meeting interactions whereby a common sense connection, for example, improving the state of the world, is established between social actors by virtue of their participation. Meetings are a key part of planned forum infrastructure based on common interest(s) and bound by time and space (Haug, 2013) to allow for debate and discussion to take place.

Seemingly, many global forums seek the presence of multiple ideological positions through inclusion of different stakeholders (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007). However, participation therein is regulated, albeit to different degrees and in different ways, with boundaries creating relations of inclusion and exclusion. Participation may be structured according to, for example, resonant 'day job' roles and responsibilities, invitation, paid membership, and/or registration. Even those global forums that have a relatively open participation policy may still generate exclusions on the grounds of political affiliation (for example, holding political office), choice of political action (for example, violent direct action), resources (for example, inability to pay for travel to a meeting/event, lack of freedom to travel (Amnesty

⁷ See <http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/main-organs/index.html> for a full overview.

⁸ The Group of Eight (G8) began as the Group of Six (G6) industrial countries, joined by Canada to become the G7 and Russia to become the G8. Russia is currently suspended and the eighth member is the European Union. The Group of Twenty (G20) is a forum for banking leaders from 19 countries plus the European Union. See, for example, <https://g20.org>.

⁹ A private annual conference between "120-150 political leaders and experts from industry, finance, academia" from Europe and the USA. See <http://www.bilderbergmeetings.org/index.php>.

¹⁰ A group of private sector representatives who "study and dialogue about the pressing problems facing our planet". See <http://trilateral.org/>.

¹¹ This is an "outstanding forum which provide[s] opportunities for elites of both countries [UK and Germany] to shape and exchange their opinions". See <http://www.debrige.de/history-of-königswinter.html>

International USA, 2013)), and/or organisational focus (for example, religious representation or business focus) (Ylä-Anttila, 2005).

There are restrictions according to participation and emergent decision making but they represent hubs for action, collectivity and collaboration, “participants’ expectations are not static but are continuously negotiated and adjusted to the situation in which they find themselves throughout the meeting” (Haug, 2013, p. 710). However, whilst meetings can be critiqued for being ‘all talk and no action’, this neglects to account for the value of interaction and discussion; “this is why inefficient assemblies are important, because these are the learning curves of new democracy. This is why commissions exist and die depending not on their effectiveness but on the commitment of people contributing their time and ideas” (Castells, 2012, p. 144).

Global forums are an important social context because they: 1) offer an opportunity for the elite of different social fields of the world to congregate; 2) are themed for debate and action in relation to world making issues (including sustainability and inequality); and 3) both reflect and enable challenge of the dominant doxa. Participants in these forums act as change agents through these forums because they hold the necessary capital to be able to participate and they represent a range of interests (for example, business, political, those of civil society, religious) configured alongside one another and in different ways. These forums are a site of struggle because of the different habituses and field-specific capitals brought to the debate, but they offer the opportunity for participants to define meanings that have world making effects.

The two particular forums that are the focus of this research are described in the following sections beginning with the World Social Forum, as most challenging in global sustainability debates, followed by the World Economic Forum. Both settings are considered legitimate and of value by forum participants and observers (for example, media). WSF offers a social space without a formalised structure but with a focus on collective action, advocacy, networks, dispersion and flexibility, and WEF offers more structure and engagement within existing systems.

3.3 World Social Forum

3.3.1 *Origins and definitions*

WSF emerged in 2000 as an idea of Brazilian activist and politician Chico Whitaker and entrepreneur Oded Grajew (Caruso, 2013). This was in a context of a significant swell of discontent and protest against sets of practices exhibited by international corporations and economic bodies. These included, for example, the high-profile protests against the World Trade Organisation¹² (The Guardian, 1999) and the G8 (BBC, 2001). Its identity of the ‘World Social Forum’ was representative of antithesis to the activities of WEF, which had been established for some time, and aimed to shift the world focus from money to people (economic to social) (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004; Böhm, 2005).

One of the first WSF events, coinciding with the annual WEF meeting in Davos in 2000, was the organisation of a seminar in Zurich followed by a march to Davos by groups including the World Women’s March and the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004). However, “the difficult geographical conditions and heavy police presence convinced some of the key organisers that it would be difficult to take this route in subsequent years” (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 116). The first open meeting of WSF was also held at the same time as the annual WEF meeting in Davos (January 2001) but was held in a hot, welcoming city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, in symbolic contrast to the meeting of WEF held in a cold, geographically isolated town of Davos in Switzerland (Hardt and Negri, 2003). There was initial dialogue between participants in Davos and at the first WSF meeting in 2001 there was a satellite link for dialogue between the two meetings and at the third WSF meeting there were “roundtables of controversy and dialogue” with participants who were otherwise discouraged or actively excluded from attending (Ylä-Anttila, 2005, p. 437). Indeed, whilst the WSF embryonic identity was driven largely in direct response to that of WEF, it “has increasingly emancipated itself from defensive positions and become more assertive in imagining and practicing better worlds” (see also Osterweil, 2008; Caruso, 2012, p. 79). Its events are no longer temporally aligned with WEF activities although the

¹² An organisation whose members are nation-states seeking to agree and dispute international trade. See https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/who_we_are_e.htm.

geographic contrast is maintained in the full meetings of WSF (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004).

The location and temporality of WSF events has evolved and expanded over time (Funke, 2012). With the initial annual congregations held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001, 2002 and 2003 (Yanshen, 2012), from 2004 onwards the meetings began to be held elsewhere, for example: Mumbai, India, in 2004; Dakar, Senegal, in 2011; and polycentrically in multiple nations in 2006 and 2010 (Scerri, 2012; Yanshen, 2012; Caruso, 2013). The meetings also began to include regional and thematic manifestations (Vinthagen, 2008), which maintained the annual presence albeit with a narrower geographic and/or content focus, for example, the European Social Forum in London in 2004 (De Angelis, 2005) and the US Social Forum in 2007 and 2010 (US Social Forum, 2014).

WSF has a form of governance in its International Council, comprising approximately 200 members within which has been five commissions – strategy, methodology, resources, communication and expansion – although in 2012 a working group was established to examine its restructuring (Caruso, 2013). WSF activities are organised by local/regional committees, supported by the International Council, who also help decide on venues (Scerri, 2012). The contested nature of the ‘management’ and ‘organisation’ of WSF activities is discussed further in the later section 3.3.2 on *Dilemmas of management and organisation*. The values of WSF are demonstrated in its Charter of Principles (the Charter, Figure 3.1 overleaf), which were adopted by the International Council in 2001. These represent a statement of the values of the forum, to offer openness, address inequality and aim for a better world for the many rather than the few (a statement of heterodoxy).

Figure 3.1: WSF Charter of Principles

- 1) The World Social Forum (WSF) is an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and interlinking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neo-liberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism, and are committed to building a planetary society directed towards fruitful relationships among Mankind and between it and the Earth.
- 2) The WSF at Porto Alegre was an event localised in time and place. From now on, in the certainty proclaimed at Porto Alegre that "Another World Is Possible", it becomes a permanent process of seeking and building alternatives, which cannot be reduced to the events supporting it.
- 3) The WSF is a world process. All the meetings that are held as part of this process have an international dimension.
- 4) The alternatives proposed at the WSF stand in opposition to a process of globalisation commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions at the service of those corporations' interests, with the complicity of national governments. They are designed to ensure that globalisation in solidarity will prevail as a new stage in world history. This will respect universal human rights, and those of all citizens - men and women - of all nations and the environment and will rest on democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of peoples.
- 5) The WSF brings together and interlinks only organisations and movements of civil society from all the countries in the world, but intends neither to be a body representing world civil society.
- 6) The meetings of the WSF do not deliberate on behalf of the WSF as a body. No one, therefore, will be authorized, on behalf of any of the editions of the Forum, to express positions claiming to be those of all its participants. The participants in the Forum shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action that would commit all, or the majority, of them and that propose to be taken as establishing positions of the Forum as a body. It thus does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings, nor does it intend to constitute the only option for interrelation and action by the organisations and movements that participate in it.
- 7) Nonetheless, organisations or groups of organisations that participate in the Forum's meetings must be assured the right, during such meetings, to deliberate on declarations or actions they may decide on, whether singly or in coordination with other participants. The WSF undertakes to circulate such decisions widely by the means at its disposal, without directing, hierarchizing, censoring or restricting them, but as deliberations of the organisations or groups of organisations that made the decisions.
- 8) The WSF is a plural, diversified, non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party context that, in a decentralized fashion, interrelates organisations and movements engaged in concrete action at levels from the local to the international to build another world.
- 9) The WSF will always be a forum open to pluralism and to the diversity of activities and ways of engaging of the organisations and movements that decide to participate in it, as well as the diversity of genders, ethnicities, cultures, generations and physical capacities, providing they abide by this Charter of Principles. Neither party representations nor military organisations shall participate in the Forum. Government leaders and members of legislatures who accept the commitments of this Charter may be invited to participate in a personal capacity.
- 10) The WSF is opposed to all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, development and history and to the use of violence as a means of social control by the State. It upholds respect for Human Rights, the practices of real democracy, participatory democracy, peaceful relations, in equality and solidarity, among people, ethnicities, genders and peoples, and condemns all forms of domination and all subjection of one person by another.
- 11) As a forum for debate the WSF is a movement of ideas that prompts reflection, and the transparent circulation of the results of that reflection, on the mechanisms and instruments of domination by capital, on means and actions to resist and overcome that domination, and on the alternatives proposed to solve the problems of exclusion and social inequality that the process of capitalist globalisation with its racist, sexist and environmentally destructive dimensions is creating internationally and within countries.
- 12) As a framework for the exchange of experiences, the WSF encourages understanding and mutual recognition amongst its participant organisations and movements, and places special value on the exchange among them, particularly on all that society is building to centre economic activity and political action on meeting the needs of people and respecting nature, in the present and for future generations.
- 13) As a context for interrelations, the WSF seeks to strengthen and create new national and international links among organisations and movements of society, that, in both public and private life, will increase the capacity for non-violent social resistance to the process of dehumanisation the world is undergoing and to the violence used by the State, and reinforce the humanising measures being taken by the action of these movements and organisations.
- 14) The WSF is a process that encourage its participant organisations and movements to situate their actions, from the local level to the national level and seeking active participation in international contexts, as issues of planetary citizenship, and to introduce onto the global agenda the change-inducing practices that they are experimenting in building a new world in solidarity.

APPROVED AND ADOPTED IN SÃO PAULO, ON APRIL 9, 2001, BY THE ORGANISATIONS THAT MAKE UP THE WSF ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, APPROVED WITH MODIFICATIONS BY THE WSF INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON JUNE 10, 2001. (World Social Forum, 2002b)

The Charter describes WSF as an “open meeting place” for those “opposed to neo-liberalism” (Principle 1). It is not “a body representing world civil society” or a “locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings” (Principle 5). It is characterised by “pluralism” and “diversity” (Principle 9) and is a “framework for the exchange of experiences” (Principle 12) and a “context for interrelations” (Principle 13). The position and influence of the Charter will be discussed further throughout the following sections.

Three main strands of analysis and interpretation of WSF activities can be identified in the literature as follows: 1) as a social space and/or meeting place; 2) as process (see, for example, Principles 2, 3 and 14 of the Charter); and 3) as an entity leading towards specific goals. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive, rather they demonstrate different but interrelated and interlinking lines of inquiry on the characteristics and potential of this complex forum. The first of these strands of description is that WSF is a social space and/or meeting place of activities through which forum participants can act and choose to act in their own way, that “the WSF does not set priorities between them: it just opens the space for discussions and coalition building among the movements and organisations, the outcomes of which can be the most diverse” (Santos, 2008, p. 256). Caruso (2012, p. 211) calls it a “space of convergence” and Ponniah and Fisher (2003, p. 6) describe it as “a pedagogical and political space that enables learning, networking and political organising.” Chico Whitaker articulates the position that “the Social Forums are...only spaces – open spaces – that facilitate the building of this power... the Forums must function as big nests making possible interrelations and articulations among our many organisations and movements, in mutual respect of their diversity” (Whitaker, 2008, p. 151).

The WSF umbrella is maintained through the International Council, and local organising committees define WSF events under the terms of the WSF Charter, which are then populated by forum participants who register to run and attend workshops, discussions, meetings, debates and other activities within the overarching event. Vintagen (2008) offers four main uses for these activities: 1) learning and information exchange; 2) contacting and networking; 3) acting in alliance; and 4) to plan, decide and organise with others. The fluidity of locations and themes combined with the loose framework of organising has led some scholars to characterise WSF according to the second definition, as “a process rather than an event” (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 126; See also De Angelis, 2005; Nunes, 2005;

Scerri, 2012). As Caruso (2012, p. 212) synthesises, “the WSF aims to be a space for the construction of a cosmopolitan subject ‘while’ in the process of political action rather than prior to that.” (see also Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004). Hardt and Negri (2003, p. xvii) refer to “common process” and “linking together”. Vinthagen (2008, p. 132) uses the term ‘project’, specifically that WSF can be understood as “a *global counter-hegemonic project* in which the contemporary corporate globalization, neoliberal hegemony and US military dominance is contested” and Gilbert (2005, p. 233) continues the project theme, describing that “the emergence of the Social Forum project can be seen as the most substantial attempt yet to create new democratic forms which can rise to the challenge of this complexity without reducing the public to a sphere of atomisation and commodification.”

The final conceptualisation draws together the notion of WSF in terms of specific goals including deliberation, development of “common values and shared identities”, “improving understanding between different positions, stressing similarities, but without rejecting differences” (della Porta, 2005, p. 75) and “capacity to generate new projects and alliances” (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 212), “dialogues, articulations and learning processes” (Teivainen, 2012, p. 194), expansion of membership, exchange of information through email and raising issues on the large-scale agenda of the forum (Bieler, 2012).

Given these different conceptualisations, there are continual debates about what WSF is, is not or should be, some of which is explored in the next section. There is also no consensus on the attributes of WSF despite the framework of the Charter, particularly in relation to with whom dialogue should be undertaken and for what purpose (Ylä-Anttila, 2005). For the purpose of this thesis, I have followed the identification of the boundaries of ‘the WSF’ as described by Santos (2006, p. 35) as follows:

“The WSF is the set of forums – world, thematic, regional, sub-regional, national, municipal and local – that are organised according to the Charter of Principles...It also includes all the other forums that have been meeting alongside the WSF, such as the Forum of Local Authorities...the World Parliamentary Forum...the World Education Forum...the World Forum of Judges...the World Trade Unions Forum...the World Water Forum...the World Youth Forum...and the Forum of Sexual Diversity...it includes all the national, regional and thematic forums that have taken place...”

This definition is valuable because it encompasses the range of activity that occurs under the principles of WSF beyond its beginnings in Porto Alegre (perhaps its best known manifestation), in the same way that WEF encompasses more activity than the annual meeting in Davos (again, perhaps its best known manifestation). Santos' definition also resonates with the descriptions offered by my research participants.

What is clear and relevant for my thesis is that WSF is a space for interaction at a global level, and within the space are multiple social meanings that are debated and struggled over with consequences for the emergence of new, more sustainable and more equal worlds. The next section explores a further element of struggle, that is, dilemmas of management and organisation within the forum.

3.3.2 Dilemmas of management and organisation

From its first global assembly in 2001, the ethos of all WSF activities has been driven by the Charter of Principles. There has been the adoption of an identifying slogan that 'Another World is Possible'¹³. It is promoting transformation through the revelation of options toward balance instead of inequality (Caruso, 2012), "a space of dialogue: a space for the exchange of ideas and the establishment of connections between different groups and networks from around the world" (Böhm, 2005, p. 138). In this respect, WSF can be interpreted as valuing openness, transparency and equality in its organisation.

Teivainen (2012, p. 190) explains, "when analysing the World Social Forum space, one needs to distinguish the WSF events as gathering places from the governance organs that make the decisions about organising the events." The International Council constitutes one such 'governance organ' of WSF activities. The position, role and representation of the International Council is frequently questioned and debated, particularly given the claim of lack of being a group or an organisation, it has structures that reveal organisational forms and cause tension. This includes concern that those who participate in the International Council are "largely white, male and middle class" (Biccum, 2005, p. 126) whilst "deny[ing]

¹³ This slogan is a counter to the 'there is no alternative' mantra (Gilbert, 2005) coined in modern political parlance by Margaret Thatcher and those additionally supporting neoliberal decisions, policies and strategies (Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 1985).

that they are in a position of power” (Böhm, 2005, p. 144), with women lacking from organising structures, despite a high proportion of participation in the event itself (for example, in 2002, women represented 52% of forum participants) (Santos, 2006, p. 53). ‘Porto Alegre Men’ have been characterised as promoting a singular, masculine analysis of dominance, minimising multiplicity in the available challenge (Conway, 2013). Interestingly, and for discussion in section 3.4, the term ‘Davos Man’ was coined in the construction of a stereotype for participants in WEF activities (Huntington, 2004).

There is no doubt that WSF activities are characterised by (self) organisation, multiple representation, mass proliferation, alternatives, open social space, and record of voices (Böhm *et al.*, 2005). Contrasted with the orderliness and predictability of WEF activities, WSF, in contrast, has limited centralisation and an egalitarian approach to participation through its forum activities. It deliberately has no “precise political labels” (Hardt and Negri, 2003, p. xvii) and is characterised by “heterogeneity, fragmentation and transformation” (Ponniah and Fisher, 2003, p. 3). However, there are challenges associated with the commitment towards being “self-organised, non-hierarchical, open meeting spaces” (Funke, 2012, p. 351) including fragmentation and a lack of impetus (Funke, 2012) and detrimental disorganisation of certain meetings (e.g. Dakar (Scerri, 2012) and London (De Angelis, 2005; Dowling, 2005)). At London, for example, there was conflict between two different principles of organising: the vertical (a more managerialist approach to getting things done) and the horizontal (an approach committed to inclusivity and heterarchy (Dowling, 2005)).

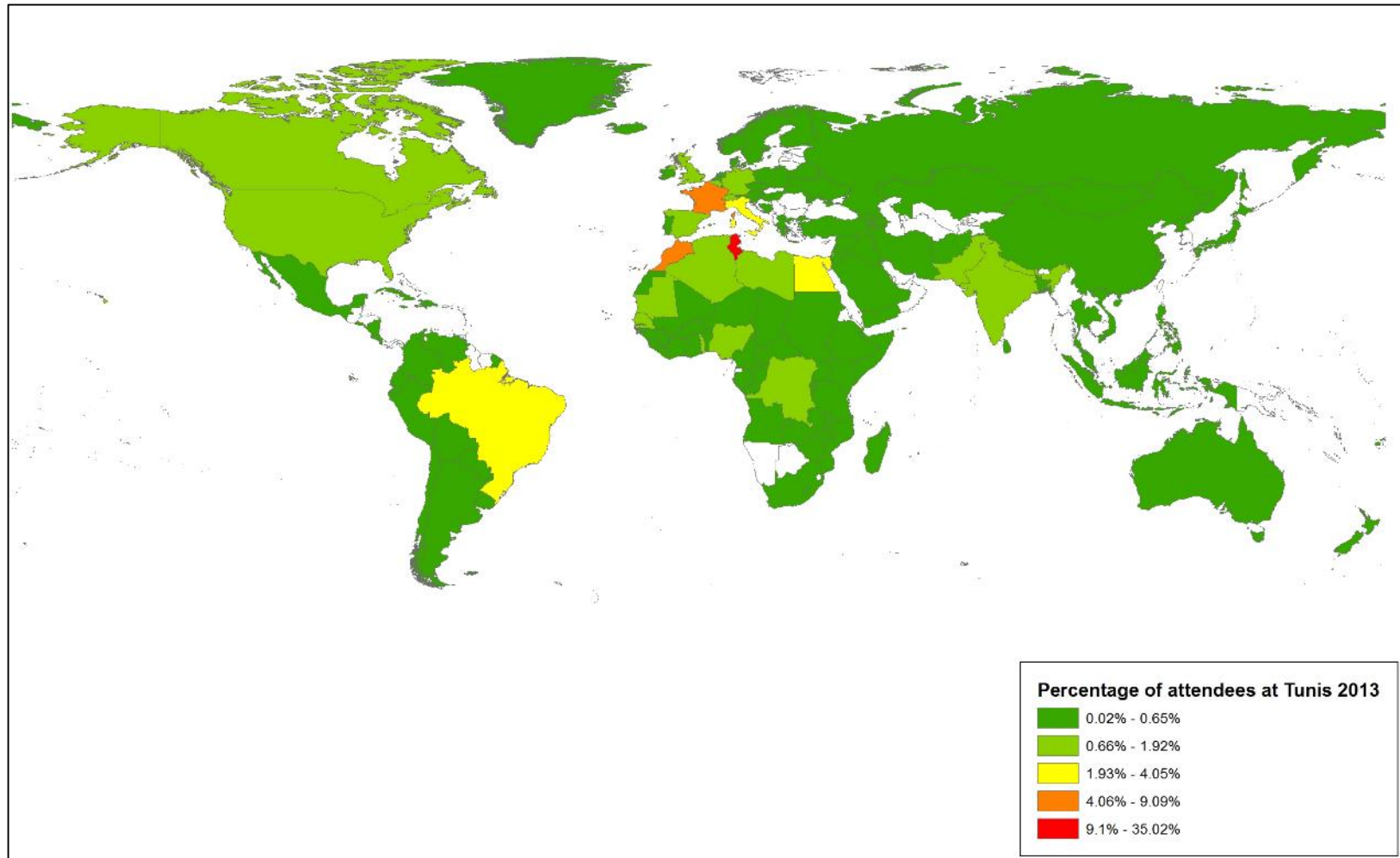
Whilst there is an extent to which ‘organising’ is evident and perceived as necessary, there are ongoing debates about what WSF should be and do as an ‘organisation’. Some unease has often been exhibited between organisation and social movement, given an association of ‘organisation’ with rigidity and control, which “seems incompatible with projects of social change”(Clemens, 2005, p. 352). There are multiple contradictions of expectations and difficulties to reconcile positions related to the degree and form of organisation required to respond to issues as they arise, against the protection of the value of the spontaneity generated and inspired through the forum. Elements of argument include speed of communication, boundaries of geography, fixed terms of reference, change and the extent of central organisation (Ponniah and Fisher, 2003).

These debates are ongoing (e.g. Teivainen, 2015) but whereas historically the debates ran the risk of overwhelming WSF and detracting from its principles, forum activities continue to be arranged and take place regardless. This is the most important point with regard to my thesis – there is struggle, but the social space continues to offer opportunities for global social actors to meet and engage in activity towards the emergence of new worlds. The next section explores who are the global social actors that participate in these activities.

3.3.3 Participants in WSF activities

Picture 3.1 is an illustration of the distribution of the 'home' countries of those attending WSF in Tunis in 2013. I have compiled this from information about registered organisations (World Social Forum, 2013), so it is not comprehensive; however, it gives an indication of the spread of attendees, with the majority coming from countries in North Africa, South America and southern Europe.

Picture 3.1: Indicative map of the 'home' location of participants in WSF, Tunis 2013



Participants in WSF activities are wide in range, including individual activists, academics, representatives of non-governmental organisations and the charitable sector (multiple habituses, multiple fields), comprising an assorted, varied “diversity of alternative worlds” (Funke, 2012, p. 354) and not privileging one alternative over any other (Tormey, 2005; see also Vinthagen, 2008). At WSF activities, there is more open and vocal challenge therein, compared with WEF (as will be explored further in Section 3.4).

In a similar way to the contestation of the management and organisation of WSF activities, there are also debates regarding participation. There is a general commitment to plurality of participation described in the Charter; however, there are two explicit exclusions: “neither party representations nor military organisations shall participate in the Forum” (World Social Forum, 2002b). In addition, “World Bank representatives have been told that they have enough forums in the world where they are listened [to] so in the WSF they are not allowed to speak...the Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, who had expressed his willingness to participate, was not welcomed” (Ylä-Anttila, 2005, p. 437). There are also implicit and unintended exclusions as ‘openness’ requires more than the organisers committing to the principles of inclusion and acceptance (Caruso, 2012) it in fact requires explicit recognition of the actual restrictions of the forum, including spoken language, cultural approaches, gender (Caruso, 2013), religion and politics (Ylä-Anttila, 2005; Caruso, 2012), and technological access and experience (Nunes, 2005). Exclusions from WSF activities include representatives of the World Bank (who can attend but not speak) and the Secretary-General of the United Nations (Ylä-Anttila, 2005). Also from a practical perspective, “to send representatives to faraway WSF events, an organisation needs to have money or friends with money” (Teivainen, 2012, p. 188). As with the management and governance dilemmas, the participation debates are ongoing, but 70,000 people attending the latest annual event in Tunis represents a substantial involvement (El Amraoui, 2015).

All of the participants are ‘resourced’ in some way to be able to participate – they have global capital (see Chapter 6), but that does not negate difference and stratification of positions, which contributes to struggle and challenge. The next section illustrates what is at stake, what is being struggled over, through WSF activities.

3.3.4 *What other world(s) may look like*

This section offers an indication of why global social actors participate in WSF activities. They offer the opportunity to address global issues of significance and make new, more sustainable and more equal worlds. The Charter of Principles (Figure 3.1) demonstrates a commitment to sustainability and equality throughout each of its points. Two specific examples demonstrate commitment “to building a planetary society directed towards fruitful relationships among Mankind and between it and the Earth” (Principle 1) and to “respect universal human rights, and those of all citizens - men and women - of all nations and the environment and will rest on democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of peoples” (Principle 4) (World Social Forum, 2002b). These are situated as being alternative to the current perceived dominance of neoliberal capitalism. Some of the shared alternatives sought by participants in WSF activities include a common focus against corporate capitalism/neoliberal globalisation, economic domination, imperialism, and male (white), cultural imposition (Ponniah and Fisher, 2003). Specifically, there is a commitment towards “new democratic process, a ‘globalization from below’ that will respond to the needs of the world’s people” (Ponniah and Fisher, 2003, p. 11). Three examples of the ways in which participants are using their engagement in the forum to discuss specific sustainability issues are provided here.

Climate change

At the WSF meeting in Tunis, 2013, a venue for the discussion of climate change was established, called Climate Space. Its discussions have continued beyond this event with an active web presence and further meetings, including at WSF Tunis, 2015. The WSF Climate Space proposal (Climate Space, 2013) is presented as a statement of position and belief and it is signed by those responsible for facilitating the Climate Space. The document also claims authority not through a presentation of the credentials of forum participants but by making the case for action through positioning themselves in direct opposition to a perceived cause of the problem, the dominant doxa, specifically “the capitalist system” that has “exploited and abused nature, pushing the planet to its limits, so much so that the system has accelerated dangerous and fundamental changes in the climate” (Climate Space, 2013).

International trade

International trade has been embedded within numerous discussions throughout the history of WSF activities. Unlike Climate Space (and like many other issues of sustainability) it is a topic that underpins many others. At the WSF meeting in Mumbai, 2004, warnings regarding the direction of international trade were offered by Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz, in relation to its effects on poverty (ICTSD, 2004). In 2009 at the meeting in Belem, the International Trade Union Confederation produced a statement on unequal working conditions directly related to the structure of global economy. It called for “fair rules for world trade to support national development plans and prevent inequalities from deepening” (International Trade Union Confederation, 2009). At Tunis this year, the Declaration of the Social Movements Assembly placed opposition to transnational corporations and the financial system first in its list of issues, including support for an international day of action against free trade discussions (Assembly of Social Movements, 2015).

Gender

The Charter of Principles demonstrates a commitment to gender equality (for example, Principles 4 and 10) as part of an overall commitment to human rights and social justice and, for example, the World March of Women has been involved from the earliest days of forum activity (as described above). However, as indicated above, there have been concerns about the disparity between the commitment outlined in the Charter and the organisation of WSF activities in practice (Birchall and Horn, 2013). Despite this, the forum activities have been used by participants to drive forward agendas towards the improvement of rights and empowerment of women, for example, the Declaration of the International Women’s Dynamic, an extract of which is as follows.

“As women, and women’s and feminist organisations, we state:

- our unfailing commitment to the universality of women’s fundamental rights;
- our desire for the ratified CEDAW¹⁴ to become the base for enshrining women’s rights in constitutions, particularly in Arab countries;

¹⁴ The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (United Nations, 2015a)

- our right to benefit from the world's resources (water, possession of land, mining wealth);
- our determination to fight against all forms of violence perpetrated against women (rape, sexual harassment);
- our demand for protection for women refugees in conflict zones, as well as victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation." (Assembly of Social Movements, 2013)

3.3.5 Conclusion

WSF has expressions of debate from a multitude of grounds, both as individuals and organisations. Its activities are in a constant state of review and reflection and there are a number of suggestions as to appropriate evolutions for its social space/meeting place, process and goals, with some even questioning whether its relevance has been replaced by a need for new approaches (Caruso, 2013) given the critique that there are limits to the extent that global/transnational action has been evidently developed through WSF (Bieler, 2012). Santos (2008, p. 262), for example, suggests that "deepening the WSF's goals in a new phase requires higher intensity forms of aggregation and articulation. Such a process includes articulating struggles and resistances, as well as promoting ever more comprehensive and consistent alternatives" (Santos, 2008, p. 262). Despite this, it offers a forum through which global social actors can engage to debate issues of sustainability and inequality with a view to defining new meanings and responses towards the emergence of better, new worlds. The next section considers my comparator global forum, the World Economic Forum.

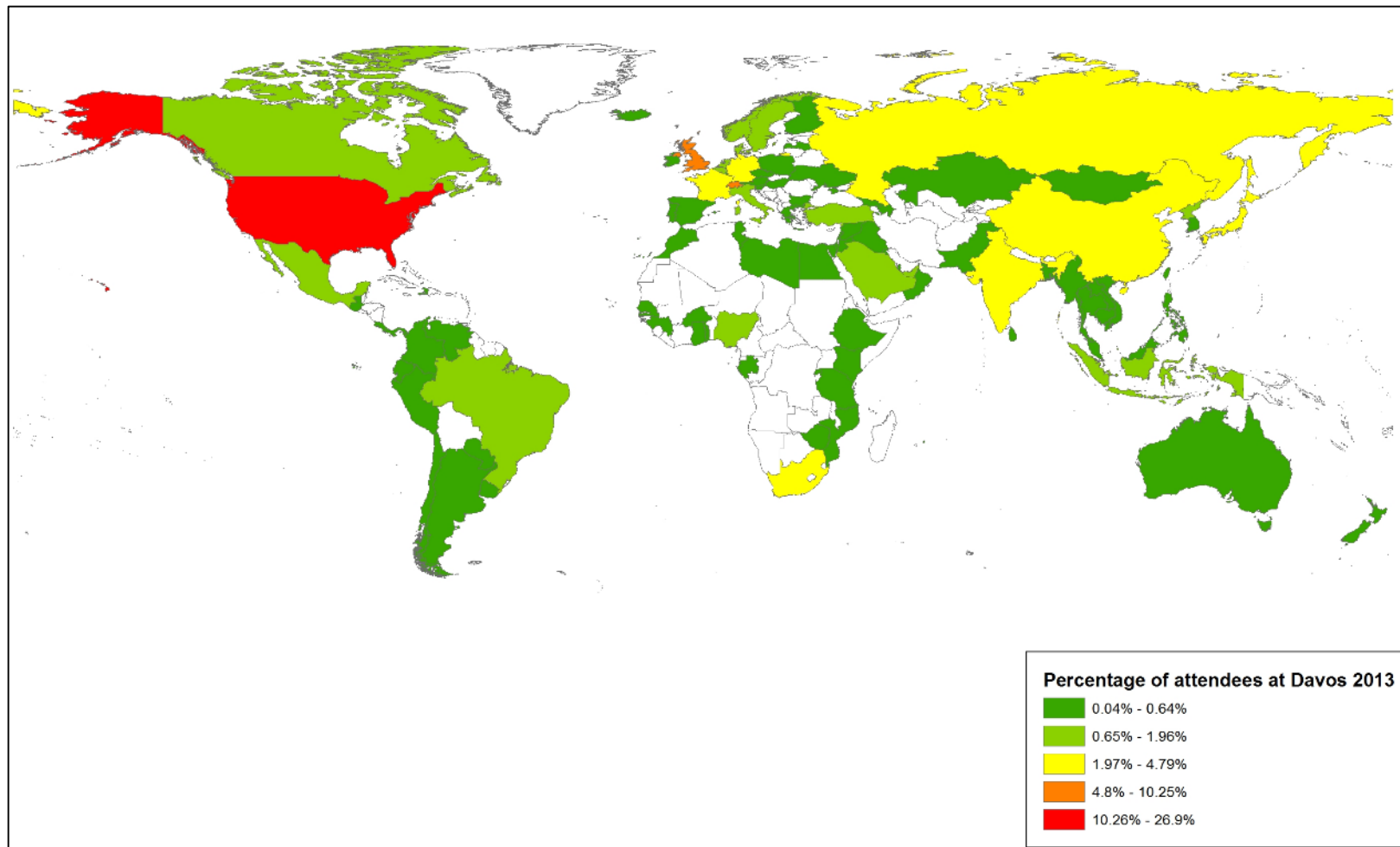
3.4 World Economic Forum

3.4.1 *Origins, organisation and structure*

The World Economic Forum (WEF) has a longer history than WSF, beginning in 1971 as the European Management Forum (Zwick *et al.*, 2009). The Forum's founder and current Executive Chairman, Klaus Schwab, is described as "Professor, Manager, Visionary" (Zwick *et al.*, 2009, p. 10), language that evokes a position of influence, leadership and authority. WEF operates within a globalising economic and political system driven by participants whose approach to ethical business practice, responsibility and sustainability is underpinned by a neoliberal economic model associated with progress, growth and development (e.g. World Economic Forum, 2014b). When my research first began, WEF described itself as "an independent international organisation committed to improving the state of the world by engaging business, political, academic and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas" (World Economic Forum, 2012a). More recently it describes itself as "an international institution committed to improving the state of the world through public-private cooperation" (World Economic Forum, 2014f).

WEF has been described as "the most comprehensive transnational planning body...and a quintessential example of a truly global network" (Robinson and Harris, 2000, p. 30). Picture 3.2 is an illustration of the distribution of the 'home' countries of those attending WEF in Davos in 2013. I have compiled this from information about registered organisations (The Guardian, 2013), so it is not comprehensive; however, it gives an indication of the spread of attendees, with the majority coming from countries in North America, northern Europe and Asia.

Picture 3.2: Indicative map of the 'home' location of participants in WEF, Davos, 2013



WEF has a formally organised structure, including managing directors, senior directors and directors and administrative staff. Like WSF, WEF has an annual meeting as well as other conference-style gatherings convened on a thematic basis. The annual meeting, held in Davos, Switzerland, is the flagship event that attracts significant media attention and is attended by the 'great and the good' as defined by WEF through their selective invitation and membership criteria (for example, "a typical Member company is one of the world's foremost 1,000 enterprises with a leading role in shaping the future of its industry or region" (World Economic Forum, 2015c)). However, the meeting in Davos is only one part of its activities (Fougner, 2008) and it is important not to focus solely on Davos as representative of all of the activities of WEF. For example, the meeting in Davos does set the agenda for each year, but its Global Agenda Councils create one or two year task and finish activities. Table 3.1 overleaf offers a summary overview of participation, activities and outputs in which global social actors may participate towards world improvement.

Table 3.1: Overview of WEF activities

World Economic Forum: Overview of Activities		
Community Hubs		
Community	Name	Characteristics of participation (where stated)
Government	Governments, International Organisations and Political Leaders	Informal Gathering of World Economic Leaders (IGWEL) Global Issues Group
	Foundation Members	1,000 members (Membership fees CHF 50,000)
Business	Regional Partners	94 select Member companies
	Strategic Partners	100 members
	The Community of Global Growth Companies	375 members, more than 65 countries represented
	Industry Partners	400 members, 21 industry groups represented: Agriculture, Food and Beverage; Automotive; Aviation and Travel; Banking and Capital Markets; Chemicals; Energy Utilities; Energy Technologies; Global Health and Healthcare; Information Technology; Infrastructure and Urban Development; Institutional Investors, Sovereign Funds, Family Offices; Insurance and Asset Management; Media, Entertainment and Information; Mining and Metals; Oil and Gas; Private Investors; Professional Services; Renewable Energy Shapers Oil and Gas; Retail and Consumer Goods; Supply Chain and Transportation; Telecommunications.
	Community of Chairmen	
	The International Business Council	120 Chief Executives
Civil Society	The Community of Global Faith Leaders	
	The International Media Council	100 members
	The Community of Labour Leaders	
	The NGO Community	More than 100 members
	The Women Leaders Community and Gender Parity Programme	
	The Forum of Young Global Leaders	

Community Hubs (continued)					
Community	Name		Characteristics of participation (where stated)		
Civil Society (Continued)	Technology Pioneers	30 selected per year in categories – Information Technologies; Telecommunication and New Media; Energy and Environment; Life Sciences and Health.			
	Social Entrepreneurs	More than 300 outstanding social entrepreneurs from 60 countries			
	Global Shapers	Hubs based in more than 325 cities in over 155 countries			
Strategic Insight Communities	The Network of Global Agenda Councils	More than 1,500 participants, 88 councils			
	Strategic Foresight				
	Global Competitiveness and Benchmarking Network				
	Global University Leaders Forum	Presidents of the top 25 universities in the world			
Three Annual Meetings					
Annual Meeting (January, Switzerland)		Annual Meeting of the New Champions (September, China)		Summit on the Global Agenda (November, UAE)	
Six Regional Meetings					
Africa	East Asia	Europe	India	Latin America	Middle East
Three Phases of Interaction					
Stimulating dialogues and generating insights		Shaping agendas and developing influence		Catalysing initiatives and generating impact	
Three Agendas					
Global: Centre for the Global Agenda Centre for Global Strategies		Regional: Centre for Regional Strategies		Industry: Centre for Global Industries	
Insight – over 150 reports produced each year					
<i>Flagship Reports:</i> The Global Competitiveness Report The Financial Development Report		The Global Enabling Trade Report The Gender Gap Report The Global Risks Report		The Global Information Technology Report The Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report	

Sources: (World Economic Forum, 2012b; World Economic Forum, 2014g)

3.4.2 Dilemmas of participation in WEF activities

WEF as a global forum, in contrast to WSF, mobilises resources of the ‘formally’ powerful, that is, those that have roles and responsibilities that are recognisable as having a range of capital, particularly political and economic (Bourdieu, 1997), on a global scale (for example, presidents and prime ministers, chief executives and chairs). As such, it is “a high-security zone” (Böhm, 2005, p. 138). WEF’s identity has been driven by ‘the economic’ and ‘business’, as demonstrated by its name, history and membership structure. However, the turn of the century drew renewed critique of global economic practices (The Guardian, 1999; BBC, 2001) (also generating WSF, as discussed in section 3.3). Indeed, in 2001, anti-capitalist demonstrators came close to disrupting the annual meeting in Davos, encountering members of the security team, and an associated march was held in the financial district in Zurich, repeated in Bern in 2003 (Graz, 2003). As part of the response to this critical appraisal, WEF redefined its mission statement in 2001 and launched a Global Corporate Citizenship Initiative in 2002 (Fougner, 2008). Additionally, “in 2000/1 the World Economic Forum began to include NGOs representing ‘civil society’ in its annual deliberations and designated a Non-Governmental Organisations Council” (Carroll and Carson, 2003, p. 54). Its mission is to be a multi-stakeholder platform, working in partnership and debate is maintained to this day (World Economic Forum, 2014f).

Despite this commitment, the relationship between participants in WEF activities from the different fields of business, civil society and politics is not straightforward. Whilst WEF promotes relationships between organisational actors with different positions participants in forum activities have to agree to buy-in to the stated values of WEF itself (“committed to improving the state of the world through public-private cooperation” (World Economic Forum, 2014f)). There are consequences of contestation and collaboration between social movements, civil society and corporations (de Bakker *et al.*, 2013). Initially, there was significant confrontation, as described by Graz (2003, p. 335).

“In 2001 around 30 [NGO leaders] took part...They included the best known critics of the moment, such as Thilo Bode of Greenpeace, Martin Khor of the Third World Network, Lori Wallach of Public Citizen, and Vandana Shiva of the Research Foundation for Science. They all publicly denounced the repressive policies used against the demonstrators and collectively laid down a number of

conditions for renewing their participation in the Forum. As a result, in 2002, most were either not invited or declined the offer.”

The concern about the participation of civil society organisations has continued over time, as Fougner (2008, pp. 124-125) describes: “there has been much talk about NGOs being excluded for being too critical, and some NGOs have come to see their participation as largely ‘cosmetic’”. Occupy achieved a presence in Davos in 2012 (The Guardian, 2012) to be present as a critical voice (albeit outside of formal proceedings). There is also concern about the imbalance of participation by gender, not just imbalance by field. For example, in 2011, there was a quota set for women attendees at Davos, with the top 100 partner companies expected to bring at least one woman among the five allocated places, or they would lose their fifth place (Elias, 2013). Despite this it was commented by one of my research participants (Dexter, who will be introduced formally in Chapter 4) that at Davos 2013, *“many companies even with the option of bringing a 5th woman chose to just bring 4 men”*. ‘Davos Man’ continues to dominate (Huntington, 2004).

It cannot be denied that WEF has made efforts to broaden participation and voice in the debate, in line with its aim to be a multi-stakeholder platform. However, there is also no doubt that WEF is, at its heart, a paid membership organisation (as illustrated in the above Table 3.1) with additional selected invitees or applicants to be designated as, for example, a Young Global Leader, Global Shaper or Social Entrepreneur. Global social actors can only participate in activities if they pay as members or if they are invited by WEF staff. As such, WEF activities have very clear boundaries between who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’ (Graz, 2003). Activities are characterised by their deliberate and careful composition of participants from business and private sectors, state and public sectors, and civil and non-governmental organisations (Carroll and Carson, 2003). WEF activities rely on a certain degree of consensus, or what Nader (1990) terms ‘harmony’, as a form of socialisation, for conformity and for the resistance of external difference. There is a deliberate ‘letting go’ of conflict for the benefit of the cohesion of the forum but to the potential detriment of forum participants’ opportunity to debate alternatives. Not only this but “the multi-stakeholder model, with its principle of inclusiveness used in much of the global governance efforts, can be seen as a way to increase legitimacy in the absence of a representative democracy” (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007, pp. 153-154). While the introduction of different stakeholders has opened up the debate and discussion within WEF activities, it is not without critique

“with people like Digby Jones¹⁵...arguing that ‘Davos is becoming too politically correct’ and ‘has been hijacked by those who want business to apologise for itself’” (Fougner, 2008, pp. 124-125). On the one hand, multi-stakeholder participation offers a way to promote alternatives but on the other, there can be such a big difference between the degrees of understanding on different sustainability issues. As with WSF, different habituses and field interests create struggle. The following section indicates illustrations of what these global social actors may be struggling for in their improvement of the world.

3.4.3 What other worlds may look like

It is understandable that WEF has been perceived as an example of a well-resourced global institution that seems to support rather than reveal problems with capitalism (Ponniah and Fisher, 2003): “with the so-called private sector constituted as an indispensable partner in global problem solving, the WEF and its members are constituted as part of the solution rather than the problem” (Fougner, 2008, p. 120). It is highly structured, orderly and predictable, working within existing business and political practices (or with small shifts) rather than seeking fundamental change. Despite this critique, WEF has always expressed an expectation that businesses (in particular) will be responsible global citizens, which is partly facilitated by fostering engagement with organisations taking different positions (Burchell and Cook, 2011; Burchell and Cook, 2013a; Burchell and Cook, 2013b).

WEF has aimed to: 1) “responsibilize and activate corporations and other actors in global problem-solving” (Fougner, 2008, p. 123); 2) “guide the conduct of ‘stakeholders’ towards a particular form of global problem-solving” (Fougner, 2008, p. 123); and 3) “guide policy partnering towards a particular solution to global problems” (Fougner, 2008, p. 124). Examples of actions include the production of The Davos Manifesto, written in 1973 and representing a type of ‘code of conduct’ for managers (Zwick *et al.*, 2009) signed by 400 signatories. The Manifesto outlines responsibility to clients, workers, investors and society, but crucially this is predicated on the ongoing existence of the firm (that is, profitability) (Lozano, 2001), so reinforcing its business-first economic grounding. In 1997, comments

¹⁵ A high-profile British businessman and member of the House of Lords, formerly Director General of the Confederation of British Industry and Minister of State for Trade and Investment.

were made by George Soros¹⁶, which lamented the focus on commercial values to the detriment of interest in other values (social, environmental). Following this time, WEF began to instigate additional, more socially-focused projects and initiatives (Carroll and Carson, 2003). In 1999, Kofi Annan¹⁷ used the meeting at Davos as an opportunity to launch the Global Compact between the United Nations and business (Garsten, 2003; Fougner, 2008). This demonstrates the profile of WEF activities in promotion of particular agendas on the relationship between different stakeholders and economic, social and environmental responsibility.

There are also stories in the literature on WEF activities that demonstrate how issues of sustainability and inequalities exist within a highly politicised world with localised tensions based on race, economics and social history. For example, “North and South Korea held their first ministerial-level meetings in Davos, Hans Modrow¹⁸ and Helmut Kohl¹⁹ met in Davos to discuss the reunification of Germany, and the first joint appearance of F.W. de Klerk²⁰ and Nelson Mandela²¹ outside South Africa took place in Davos” (Garsten and Sörbom, 2014b, p. 163). Additionally, it has been suggested that:

“On the same day that Klaus Schwab promoted the summit’s 1999 theme of humanizing globalization through addressing social and environmental issues with large advertisements in Swiss newspapers...Chevron President Richard Matke and Russian Federation Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov met privately in Davos to settle a long-running dispute between Turkey and Russia over the route of certain oil pipelines and simultaneously to plan the arrest of Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) Leader Abdullah Ocalan” (Pigman, 2002, p. 304).

These examples are significant as they illustrate the extent to which WEF activities offer the opportunity for world-making deals to be done. Despite these complexities and contradictions, examples of responses to particular sustainability issues are illustrated as follows.

¹⁶ Billionaire investor and philanthropist.

¹⁷ Secretary-General of the United Nations.

¹⁸ Former Prime Minister of East Germany.

¹⁹ Former Chancellor of West Germany/Germany.

²⁰ Former State President of South Africa.

²¹ First President of South Africa.

International trade

WEF defines a “global challenge” as being “how to create practical ways to unlock the world economy’s full potential for trade and investment” (World Economic Forum, 2015g). There are two projects that support the response to this challenge: 1) the E15 Initiative (World Economic Forum, 2015a), which “aims to develop a set of policy options and promote strategic dialogue regarding the evolution of the international trading system”; and 2) Enabling Trade (World Economic Forum, 2015b), which has objectives relating to “sharing trade facilitation best practices worldwide, supporting private sector to raise key issues and prioritize them, facilitating private sector and government interactions”. The Global Enabling Trade report is also produced every two years and “helps economies integrate global value chains and companies into their investment decisions. It informs policy debate and provides a tool to monitor progress on certain aspects of global trade” (World Economic Forum, 2014c).

Climate change

One response to climate change has been produced through WEF by the Green Growth Action Alliance (World Economic Forum, 2013a). The Green Investment Report (Green Growth Action Alliance, 2013) demonstrates an economically-driven approach to dealing with climate change. It is assumed by WEF participants that green investment equals a good thing, describing the “urgent need to increase private sector investment in green growth” and “the opportunity to use catalytic quantities of public sector finance to leverage private investment”. It is not only that private sector investment is proposed as the singular or utmost solution, but that public sector investment can be used to draw out this private sector investment. Perhaps a message here is, ‘we will invest (more, more quickly) if you commit public funds’ or ‘we will not invest without it’. The meeting at which the proposals were produced is described as “high-level” and “private”. Participants in this meeting are described as “100 global leaders, including CEOs, Heads of State and heads of international and civil society organisations” and as “welcom[ing] remarks from United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, who testified to the value of public-private coalitions to deliver finance”. There is a consolidated Global Project on Delivering Climate Solutions (World Economic Forum, 2015e), which “supports the design and delivery of public-private

partnerships that deliver tangible results, expand business leadership, and contribute to global processes on climate change, from the UN Climate Summit to the negotiations in Paris in December 2015”.

Gender

The Gender Parity Programme (World Economic Forum, 2015d) “is committed to promoting women’s leadership and gender parity across the globe”. There are four strands of activity through which WEF aims to deliver this: 1) tools to measure gender gaps, with a summary produced annually in the Global Gender Gap Report; 2) a framework to support companies to create parity in their organisations, based on practices of companies that have achieved this; 3) Gender Parity Task Forces in Mexico, Turkey, Japan and the Republic of Korea; and 4) communities of leaders and experts. The most recent Global Gender Gap Report (2014) covers 111 countries and shows a 4% closure of the gap from 56% to 60% (World Economic Forum, 2014d). Measures include health and survival, educational attainment, economic participation and opportunity, and political empowerment. But as has been critiqued, “the work of the WEF point[s] to a representation of women’s empowerment and gender equality in terms of the business case” (Elias, 2013, p. 158). An introduction to the latest report illustrates this as follows.

“The index continues to track the strong correlation between a country’s gender gap and its national competitiveness. Because women account for one-half of a country’s potential talent base, a nation’s competitiveness in the long term depends significantly on whether and how it educates and utilizes its women.” (World Economic Forum, 2014d)

The language here is instrumental, that a country must ‘utilize its women’ as part of its pursuit of competitiveness. Women are portrayed as a homogenous commodity (Elias, 2013).

3.4.4 Conclusion

WEF is predominantly driven by business (economic) interests, but the direction of this agenda has developed over time and the social implications of economic activity have begun to be heard in the last decade. There are internal contradictions within WEF, reflective of the

contradictory and challenging positions throughout the world, between the rhetoric of mission statements for the forum itself, the identification of the top global issues to be solved, and the political and business relationships through which things get done. Whilst it may appear to be, and is critiqued as, a forum representing profit before people, this is an over-simplified position that will be discussed throughout this thesis.

The next section aims to situate these research settings within the theoretical framework of this thesis.

3.5 Research settings through a Bourdieusian lens

The remaining chapters of this thesis will use these research settings as examples of ways in which global social actors engage in a global field of power. This section will briefly summarise the main analytical connections between the settings and Bourdieusian theory.

3.5.1 Global field of power and global capital

This will be explored in much more detail in Chapter 5; however, these settings can be considered enactments of the global field of power. It is the case that the relations between the forums as social spaces and meeting places where global social actors can act and interact are not static and are the subject of struggle (as are the definitions of the sustainability issues under discussion, see section 6.5). Each generally represents a position within the field, for example, WEF as “a platform to project...ideas and values to a global audience” and in the dominant position, with WSF as “one of the chief production sites of...ideological and policy alternatives” and in the subversive (dominated dominant) position (Steger and Wilson, 2012, p. 439). Both are social spaces where global social actors can engage in world making activities and they are not static; they change each other through complexity, negotiation and debate even between those perceived to be in a position to drive ‘how things are’. Swartz (1997) explains how Bourdieu’s field concept encompasses an analysis of the way in which social actors hold identities in contrast to others. This echoes the relationships between my research settings of WSF and WEF in that WSF social actors initially defined themselves in opposition to WEF social actors within global contexts of enacted power relations. Global capital is a symbolic capital comprising variable proportions

of economic, cultural and social capital accumulated by global social actors, enabling their participation in these settings as representations of the global field of power (to be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6).

Struggle is also present within each forum (albeit to different degrees and systems of control) as well as in their representation of different positions of the field. This hints towards the potential for change and/or reproduction in the field (see Chapter 8 for further discussion of this). Whilst there is a shared reason for playing the game of the field, the game being to create a better world, it is not necessarily a unifying reason. There is struggle over defining the priorities and practices of each forum, connected to priorities and practices of sustainability in the world. What is apparent is that the global field of power is a nexus through which multiple alternatives, actions, arguments and perspectives are articulated. For some, consensus or agreement is not valued, for others, balance is promoted to be as encompassing and considerate as possible (Ylä-Anttila, 2005).

3.5.2 Ontological and reflexive considerations

There is a debate as to whether these forums should exist at all (as illustrated by discussions with some of my research participants); for example, that WEF is a forum where destructive practices and values are perpetuated, or that WSF is an ineffectual place and does not enable positive change. They have “competing principles of legitimacy” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 331). Engagement in both forums is subject to deep critique from a range of participants on both ‘sides’ of the argument. These are countered by those who do see value in these forums as places where worlds can be made. This debate is live and important because the activities of these forums could be negative and/or positive in terms of addressing sustainability. However, this thesis rests on the assumption that sufficient forum participants believe in what each forum stands for and does enough to participate in them. As such, this thesis follows Bourdieu in terms of not focusing on a value judgment as to whether they are good and/or bad in their own right, which links to the fact that this thesis is not about the forums as such, but as examples of manifestations of practices in the global field of power.

Crucially, WEF and WSF enable participants to ‘act globally’. What becomes particularly interesting in terms of the struggle that characterises any field, and in this conceptualisation

the field of power at a global level (see Chapter 5), is the struggle that is represented through these settings. In Bourdieu's relational analyses, these forums are not simple binaries but rely on one another for their existence as global social actors interact in different positions within the global field of power. WSF is also an openly reflexive social space in which there is much thought and consideration of purpose and process – this is perhaps less obvious with regard to WEF and its activities.

3.5.3 *Habitus and doxa*

These global forums encompass frameworks of beliefs and ideas (doxa) that underpin and shape the activities of their social group. In a sense, individuals join a forum because they believe in what it does. Individuals are likely to seek a forum that draws on similar values to their own and has a similar set of values. In this respect it is possible to consider Bourdieu's notion of habitus in two ways. Firstly, WSF and WEF can be considered representations of social 'communities' with history and heritage affecting their dispositions as social spaces (perhaps a form of habitus). Secondly, that the global social actors who participate in these forums may be attracted to participate by virtue of their own personal habitus. Their disposition may attract them to one or other of these settings in which to engage in world making. Their definition of world making may be in support of or counter to the dominant doxa, which I argue is neoliberal capitalism.

There is variation and tension of ideas and positions, with debate and discussion frequently emanating from differences in approach to issues including strategy, action, alliance and policy (Caruso, 2012). I would hope to highlight that, despite contradictions and dilemmas, those who are engaged in the struggle to subvert existing dominance are slowly and surely having some effect. These deliberate crossovers may provoke, shift the field through subversion through discordant experiences between individuals who see the world from different perspectives. Those who remain focused on that goal can chip away with influence. These can be uncomfortable experiences, with excitement from participation and exchange but losses in terms of revelations, sharing, shifting positions and clashes that may encourage a shift in disposition. This is important in highlighting the continual possibility of other worlds and reflecting that a singular outcome is neither possible nor appropriate.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has introduced the two research settings on which this thesis is based, locating them within a broader context of global forums and connecting them with the theoretical underpinning of the research. It is important to note that this thesis is not a study of these settings, but them as example social spaces through which global social actors may engage in sustainability debates that have implications for the worlds of others. The next chapter, *Methodology*, explains how the research on which this thesis is based was designed and executed. It describes further how Bourdieu's theoretical framework was applied to the interpretation of participation in these research settings.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The methodology for this research offered structure for its delivery and associated contribution to knowledge in recognition of the “indeterminacy of interpretation” (Pina-Cabral, 2014, p. 55). This is important in this thesis in two main ways: 1) research participation represents multiple interests and perspectives, for example, civil servants, civil society, businesses; and 2) there is no singular interpretation of my material. The research questions that guide this thesis are as follows.

- RQ1. What are the perceived relationships between dominant and dominated social actors in global sustainability debates?
- RQ2. How do different social actors perceive the global field as embodied by the two world forums?
- RQ3. How do different social actors perceive the struggle in the field, and the strategies adopted?
- RQ4. How do different social actors perceive the lasting impact of their own participation in the field?

This chapter offers an explanation of the relationship between the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the study, and how these relate to the methodology, methods, data collection and analysis. To do this, it first (section 4.2) introduces the relationships between the design and execution of qualitative research offered by Cunliffe (2011). The sections following are organised in order according to each element of her relationship frame: Relationality and durability (section 4.3); Meanings and historicity (section 4.4); Mediation (section 4.5); Form of knowledge – epistemology (section 4.6); Core ontological assumptions (section 4.7); Assumptions about human nature (section 4.8); and Research approaches and methods (section 4.9). The chapter closes with a description of the ethical processes followed (section 4.10) and a short summary (section 4.11).

4.2 Presenting the relationships between the design and execution of qualitative research

The design and execution of qualitative research is underpinned by the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher. In this section I seek to present an overview of how my ontology and epistemology are related to my methods, data collection and interpretation, using the relationship frame developed in the work of Cunliffe (2011). Later sections (4.3-4.9) will explain in more detail how this relationship frame directly relates to my research.

Cunliffe (2011) demonstrates the development of theorising regarding the necessary connection between: 1) how social scientists undertake research and contribute to knowledge; and 2) their view of reality and how we can come to knowledge about this reality. The paper illustrates the first key work on this, Burrell and Morgan's (1979) typology of four separate paradigms that situated research according to the assumptions underpinning it. Building on their work with regard to the specific nature of qualitative research, Cunliffe (2011) shows how Morgan and Smircich (1980) expanded the typology to a continuum from subjectivist to objectivist world views, subsequently mapping the associated epistemological positions and research methods. Figure 4.1 illustrates this.

2015, p. 2). However, Cunliffe's paper proposes a revision of the continuum in the light of interpretations of knowledge over the 30 years since it was originally published. This is shown in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Revised relationships between ontology, epistemology and research design

	<i>Intersubjectivism</i>		<i>Subjectivism</i>		<i>Objectivism</i>	
Relationality – the nature of relationships	Interrelationships emerging & shifting in a dialectical interplay between ourselves, others & our surroundings. Experienced differently by different people. <i>Intersubjectivity</i>		Relationships contextualized between people & their surroundings. People are reflexively embedded in their social world, influenced by and influencing discursive practices, interpretive procedures etc. <i>Interactions</i>		Relationships between entities in a pre-existing society, between network mechanisms & system/information processes, cognitive & behavioural elements. Or relationships between discourses (when treated as objects). <i>Inter-network/objects/discourses</i>	
Durability – of society, meanings, knowledge etc. across time & space	Social experience and meanings as ephemeral, fleeting moments, although some common ‘sense’ of social & linguistic practices play through our interactions.		Social realities, meanings, discourses, knowledge are contextual: constructed yet experienced as objective and relatively stable. Perceived, interpreted & enacted in similar ways but open to change.		Enduring social structures (e.g. class), institutionalized rules, norms, practices, appropriate behaviours, and traits, etc. Discourses and networks have relative stability but are subject to resistance and change.	
Meanings – what & where meaning is located	Indeterminate. Neither fully in nor fully out of our control. Language is metaphorical & imaginative. Meanings in the moment between people.		Shared meanings immanent to the ‘artful practices of everyday life’, to discourses and texts. Negotiated & specific to time & place.		Common meaning situated in words, structures, roles, words, behaviors. Transcend time & space. Language is literal.	
Historicity – concept of time & progress	We are inherently & embodied in historical, cultural & linguistic communities. Time experienced in the present – in living conversations with others.		Time & place are subjectively experienced. Progress as a situated human accomplishment – potentially iterative, ruptured or hegemonic.		Time experienced sequentially and universally. Progress is linear, recursive or emerging over time.	
Mediation – the place of the researcher in the research	<i>Reflexive hermeneutic.</i> Research as a dialectical interplay between research participants. Focuses on experiences <i>between</i> people. Embodied & embedded researcher.		<i>Double hermeneutic.</i> Researcher embedded in the world, shaped by & shapes experiences & accounts, mediates meanings of actors. Experience <i>in</i> the world. Researcher as outsider or insider.		<i>Single hermeneutic.</i> Knowledge & researcher are separate from the world. Researcher observes, discovers facts & develops predictive theories. Experience of the world. Detached, sometimes critical researcher.	
Form of knowledge - epistemology	<i>Pragmatic knowing:</i> in-situ, knowing-from-within. Transitory understandings and ‘witness’ thinking. Micro level focus. Research as embedded and embodied.		<i>Pragmatic or syntagmatic:</i> common sense knowledge – naturally occurring actions, interactions, conversations. Mundane activities. Non-replicable knowledge, situated validity. Macro and micro level focus.		<i>Syntagmatic:</i> interdependent or dependent relationships between structural or linguistic elements. Sequences. Replicable or sharable knowledge leading to the accumulation of knowledge & social progress or emancipation. Mainly macro focus.	
Core ontological assumptions of research methodologies (<i>The nature of social reality</i>)	Social reality relative to interactions between people in moments of time & space. Relationally embedded. Social community.	Socially constructed realities, emerging, objectified & sometimes contested in the routines & improvisations of people. Context is human action & interpretation.	Reality as symbolic & linguistic meanings & interpretations. Contextualized in a social site.	Discursive realities constructed by discursive & non-discursive practices & systems. Contested & fragmented. Discursively contextual.	Reality as process: interrelated actions, elements, structures, and systems. Generalizable or context-dependent.	Reality as concrete structures & behavioral patterns, subject to rules & laws. Structural integration or disintegration. Naïve realism.
	← <i>Research as craft</i> →					
Assumptions about human nature (<i>How we relate to our world</i>)	Humans as intersubjective, embodied, relational & reflexively embedded.	Humans as intentional & reflexive subjects, constructors & enactors of social realities within linguistic conventions or routines. Storytellers.	Actors, interpreters, sensemakers. Choosing linguistic resources, managing impressions.	Humans as subjectivities, products of discourse, contested & conflicted discursive sites.	Humans as an element in the process, adapting to & sometimes managing elements. Information processors & network coordinators.	Humans determined by their environment, socialized into existing social & institutional practices & requirements. Characterized by traits etc.
Research Approaches (<i>Philosophical / theoretical underpinnings</i>)	Hermeneutic phenomenology, relational constructionism, dialogism.	Ethnographic, existential phenomenology, hermeneutic. Constructionism & constructivism. Dialogic. Inductive.	Ethnomethodology, aesthetics, symbolic interactionism, hermeneutic, syntagmatic or pragmatic. Detached or involved researcher. Inductive. Interpretive procedures.	Poststructuralism, postmodernism, postcolonialism. Syntagmatic. Detached researcher. A critical stance.	Systems & process theories. Critical realism. Critical theory. Institutional theories. Structuration theories, actor network theories.	Positivism, empiricism, functionalism, nomothetic science, statistical or structural connections. A-temporal laws & validity criteria. Rational choice models. Deductive approaches.
	← <i>Interpretivism</i> →		← <i>Postpositivist/Positivist</i> →			
Research Methods (<i>Examples of methods used</i>)	Narrative ethnography, reflexive autoethnography, dialogic action research, social poetics, dialogic analysis, poetry.	Narrative & discourse analysis, story, grounded theory, content analysis, poetry, participative inquiry, autobiography.	Dramaturgy, story analysis, discourse & conversation analysis, symbolic analysis, grounded theory, content analysis, action research. Semiotics.	Semiotics, textual analysis, critical discourse analysis, deconstruction.	Network & systems analysis, historical analysis, material semiotics, boundary object analysis, ideology critique.	Surveys, observation, structured/coded interviews, case studies, focus groups, grounded theory, action research
	<i>Dialogic</i>		<i>Monologic</i>			
Some linguistic features of research (<i>Typical words used in research accounts</i>)	Betweenness, living conversations, possible meanings, la parole (embedded speech & relationships), interpretive insights.	Narratives, talk, text, metaphor, culture, themes, multiple meanings, sense making, la parole/la langue (Saussure, 1959).	Scripts, plots, performances, roles, stage, mask. Symbolic meaning, artefacts. Managing impressions. Actor, actions & talk. La	Discourses, marginalization, resistance, power, domination, colonization, suppression, subjectivity, body.	Materiality, objects, mechanisms, power, control, ‘the system’, ‘the process mechanisms’, emancipation.	Categories, norms, roles, properties, variables, schema, rules, structures, causality, patterns, efficiency, ‘the organization’,

(Cunliffe, 2011, pp. 654-655, shading added)

As Cunliffe (2011, p. 653) describes, there is “shifting and fluid nature” between the problematics of intersubjectivism, subjectivism and objectivism, “a multiplicity of connecting ideas and approaches with permeable and transient boundaries across which lie overlaps, tensions, and incommensurabilities”. In this respect, she expands Morgan and Smircich’s (1980) model to be less rigid as a continuum setting subject and object in separate opposition and to account for the often untidy realities of qualitative research. As such, the shaded column depicts where I find myself positioned for my PhD research and this will be explained in more detail in the following sections (4.3-4.9). It can be seen that, unlike my position on Figure 4.1 that was neat and in a single column, Figure 4.2 shows movement between columns, particularly across intersubjectivism (that is, “we-ness, our completely interwoven, actively responsive relationships which are neither fully within nor outside our control as researchers or organizational members” Cunliffe, 2011, p. 658) and subjectivism (that is, that which “favors pluralism, embeds knowledge and meanings in particular contexts, and because people have a reflexive relationship with the world around them...emphasizes situated forms of knowledge and validity” Cunliffe, 2011, p. 656). Figure 4.3 following extracts my position from Figure 4.2 to illustrate this more clearly.

Figure 4.3: Relationships between ontology, epistemology and research design with specific reference to this PhD research

	<i>Intersubjectivism</i>	<i>Subjectivism</i>
Relationality – the nature of relationships	Experienced differently by different people. Relationships contextualized between people & their surroundings. People are reflexively embedded in their social world, influenced by and influencing discursive practices, interpretive procedures etc.	
Durability – of society, meanings, knowledge etc. across time & space		Social realities, meanings, discourses, knowledge are contextual: constructed yet experienced as objective and relatively stable. Perceived, interpreted & enacted in similar ways but open to change.
Meanings – what & where meaning is located	Meanings in the moment between people. Negotiated & specific to time & place.	

Historicity – concept of time & progress	We are inherently embedded & embodied in historical, cultural & linguistic communities. Time experienced in the present – in living conversations with others.	
Mediation – the place of the researcher in the research	<i>Reflexive hermeneutic.</i> Research as a dialectical interplay between research participants. Focuses on experiences <i>between</i> people. Embodied & embedded researcher.	
Form of knowledge - epistemology		<i>Pragmatic or syntagmatic:</i> common sense knowledge – naturally occurring actions, interactions, conversations. Mundane activities. Non-replicable knowledge, situated validity. Macro and micro level focus.
Core ontological assumptions of research methodologies (<i>The nature of social reality</i>)	Social reality relative to interactions between people in moments of time & space. Socially constructed realities, emerging, objectified. Context is human action & interpretation.	
Assumptions about human nature (<i>How we relate to our world</i>)	Humans as intentional & reflexive subjects, constructors & enactors of social realities within linguistic conventions or routines. Storytellers. Actors, interpreters, sensemakers.	
Research Approaches (<i>Philosophical / theoretical underpinnings</i>)	Hermeneutic. Constructionism & constructivism. Dialogic. Interpretive procedures.	
Research Methods (<i>Examples of methods used</i>)	Narrative analysis, content analysis.	
Some linguistic features of research (<i>Typical words used in research accounts</i>)	Possible meanings, interpretive insights, themes, multiple meanings, actor, actions.	

Adapted from Cunliffe (2011, pp. 654-655)

The last part of this model, linguistic features, are shown throughout this thesis in relation to my research, with typical words including meaning, interpretation, actor and actions. However, the following sections expand on each of the other elements of Figure 4.3 in relation to this thesis to summarise the specific relationship between the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the study, and how these relate to the

methodology, methods, data collection and analysis. There is some overlap between the content and the elements illustrated in the model above; however, for ease, the sections are as follows: Relationality and durability (section 4.3); Meanings and historicity (section 4.4); Mediation (section 4.5); Form of knowledge – epistemology (section 4.6); Core ontological assumptions (section 4.7); Assumptions about human nature (section 4.8); and Research approaches and methods (section 4.9).

4.3 Relationality and durability

The first two elements of the relationship frame shown in Figures 2 and 3 above encourage researchers to consider their understanding of relationality (that is, the nature of relationships) and durability (that is, the nature of stability of social elements across time and space). Figure 3 shows how I consider relationality with elements of intersubjectivism and subjectivism, and durability from a subjectivist position. How this translates into my research is explained in the following paragraphs.

All interactions in this research have been concerned with encouraging research participants to talk about: 1) what they do/have done; and 2) why they act/have acted in particular ways in relation to the two forums, revealing the meaning of these social spaces to them (Hine, 2000). An outline of the material that underpinned these interactions can be found in Appendix A. The relationship between me, my research participants and my research is worthy of consideration here. In reviewing my research journal, in which I noted experiences related to my interactions with research participants, it is interesting to note the extent to which I felt very out of control (Alvesson, 2011) and found the experience of formal interactions very uncomfortable, despite having many years' experience of interviewing in a professional setting. Practical aspects of this lack of control include difficulties with making appointments with some respondents, who preferred to be contacted on an ad hoc basis when both of us were online (this never coincided for two respondents) and with others who made rearrangements (sometimes multiple times). A particular situation that I felt was problematic (Alvesson, 2011) was the following instance, as described in my journal.

One WEF participant has agreed to speak as long as I am also speaking to WEF people²² – not sure how I feel about this – I replied to say I haven't as yet but if

²² Here, I mean people employed by WEF.

there are particular people I should, let me know – no response. I had been considering two contacts anyway...but no guarantees they will speak and I'm more interested in participants than employees anyway. Feeling a bit forced. But is it exclusive if I don't at least try? (entry 6th February 2014, emphasis original)

He [same participant] has made an introduction for me, so that is helpful, means I have to do this – not sure how I feel about being 'forced' to do this?! But ethically I have to go ahead with this. (entry 25th February 2014)

This particular experience highlighted the extent to which research participants have their own agendas, as well as my inability to influence their willingness (or not) to share, articulate or perform the research role as expected (Alvesson, 2011). Another experience made me think about the notion of lying in research.

This participant knew that I had met a colleague – who had recommended him. He asked me if the other had talked about particular aspects of the WEF operation – I said no when in fact he had. Implications of this? Protecting confidentiality of original participant but lying to this one? (entry 29th October 2013)

A summary of other aspects of my discomfort with formal interactions is revealed as follows.

Decision not to chase any more contacts and start analysing. If people come back, will arrange but not going to actively pursue. Quite relieved. Found contacts stressful. Some easier than others but never shook the feeling of tension when an interaction was due. Feeling of excitement when arranged, and accomplishment when done, but didn't enjoy the actual experience that much...Frequently felt that I was being somehow insincere as I was performing in order to get data. Frequently felt unable to say how I really felt or offer my own opinions for fear of alienating the respondent. (entry 26th June 2014)

These are not uncommon experiences during research (e.g. Hubbard *et al.*, 2001) but it has made me think about my future research and what approaches I may take to gathering empirical material, for example, pursuing informal, participative, observational approaches instead of 'interviewing'. Those interactions that have felt more natural, conversations as opposed to formal interviews with more open question and answer, have felt much more comfortable to me. Paradoxically, perhaps, I did also find comfort in setting appointments, a symptom of my need to control part of the interaction.

Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013, p. 372) describe the hyphen-spaces of research, demonstrating further complexity of the related nature of the researcher with the

researched. They characterise four such spaces as “insiderness-outsiderness”, “sameness-difference”, “engagement-distance”, and “political activism-active neutrality”. This research was executed with these in mind, particularly in relation to my positioning with the research settings, their participants and their associated activities. My fit within these hyphen-spaces affected my engagement with research participants and with the empirical material as it was collected and interpreted. For example, my own habitus influenced feelings towards insiderness, sameness and engagement with research participants from the academic field and outsidership, difference and distance with research participants from civil society. With all research participants I felt positioned between political activism and active neutrality, as I believe in the need for change and support those who work towards it, but I am unwilling and unable to construct my life towards active protest. This will have influenced what has been included and excluded from my thesis.

The research is not ethnography, particularly as I have not undertaken any participant observation, which is ordinarily a core part of the ethnographic approach (e.g. Van Maanen, 2011). In addition, my work does not aim to offer explanations, interpretations or theories about the forums as settings in themselves, but instead an understanding of the participants therein. Despite this, it is ethnographically informed, by which I mean I have immersed myself (Watson, 2011) in partial manifestations (conversations, texts, events) of each forum to observe the social actors and what role they play as well as developing an understanding of how ideas are formed and action proposed. This is insufficient to draw coherent conclusions about what these forums are ‘like’ but again this was not the purpose of my research, rather to understand what the experiences of these forums are ‘like’ for my research participants.

In summary, this research is contextualised in an acknowledgement that WSF and WEF, as manifestations of the global field of power, offer activities through which social actors struggle to propose action, debate, policy and strategy in relation to sustainability themes. Relationships are “experienced differently by different people” and the social contexts are “perceived, interpreted and enacted in similar ways but open to change” (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654).

4.4 Meanings and historicity

The second two elements of the relationship frame shown in Figures 2 and 3 above encourage researchers to consider their understanding of meanings (what meaning is and where it is located) and historicity (how time and space is conceptualised). Figure 3 shows how I consider meanings with elements of intersubjectivism and subjectivism, and historicity from an intersubjectivist position. The following paragraphs demonstrate how this has been executed in my research.

I, as a researcher, “[co-construct and co-interpret]...the meaning(s) of organisational events along with situational members” (Yanow *et al.*, 2012, pp. 332-333) and I must consider my position and place in both the determination of meaning and its enactment. Whilst “social constructionists argue that we construct and make sense of social realities in various forms of discourse; conversation, writing and reading” (Cunliffe, 2003, p. 988), reflexivity ensures that the researcher accounts for their own interference in the context, that “we are inventors not representers of realities” (Cunliffe, 2003, p. 988, see also section 2.2.3 from a Bourdieusian perspective). The ‘researched’, ‘researcher access’ and ‘agendas’ are interrelated and there is no singular point of control; methods and accounts are multiple and many (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013; Hibbert *et al.*, 2014).

I believe that reflexivity is a key part of the researcher’s “willingness to challenge and revise one’s initial position” (Alvesson, 2011, p. 5). Reflexivity involves an active consideration of the contexts in which knowledge is produced (Jorgensen, 2007) so as to understand what is happening within the research (Alvesson *et al.*, 2008) and the knowledge it produces. This is in relation to my own behaviours and actions within the layered contexts of my research and my broader life. Acknowledgement of this implies that there should be less expectation of finding some sort of singular truth or unifying theory in the empirical material, but rather a consideration of the relationship between researcher, researched and context (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000) in the pursuit of new knowledge and understanding during the time and place of the research experience.

Following Alvesson (2011), I have felt more comfortable using the term ‘empirical material’ instead of ‘data’ “as [data] implies a view of interview statements, questionnaire responses,

etc. as highly robust and reliable” (Alvesson, 2011, p. 71). My anthropological training leads me to consider myself a fieldworker rather than a data gatherer/collector as a metaphor for myself as a researcher (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). My ethnographically informed approach included practical elements (for example: the use of combined fieldwork methods from interactions with participating social actors, their artefacts, documents, videos and forum material) and interpretive elements (for example: sensitivity to the context(s) of the research; being actor-centred and making sense of research participants’ own sensemaking; inclusion of multiple voices; and a commitment to reflexivity) (Ybema *et al.*, 2009). In Van Maanen’s words (2011, p. 218), I have undertaken “fieldwork, headwork, and textwork”, with fieldwork comprising the contacts I have had with forum participants, headwork being a constant state of thinking, reflecting and interpreting, and textwork being intermittent reading and writing. The temporal boundary of the fieldwork is between 1st August 2013 and 31st August 2014 to correspond with the second year of my research, during which data collection traditionally takes place. I have used multiple types of empirical materials, including natural documents and contacts as discussed and reflexively interpreted, these will be discussed in section 4.9.

Constraints have been experienced on two main types of resources (Gobo, 2008). Firstly, in terms of time, this research has had to be delivered within the three year funded period, imposing a temporal restriction on the selection of empirical material for consideration (Hine, 2000). Secondly, access to financial resources has partly influenced the methods chosen for my research, particularly in terms of undertaking minimal face to face interaction and no participant observation. This restriction is not the only influence on methods, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs; however, it has influenced the extent to which I could travel to meet with research participants and engage in observations of the activities of the forums.

Among the boundaries of the interpretation of meaning presented here are two main issues as follows. Firstly, there are challenges in using field theory (Thomson, 2008). My definition of the ‘borders’ or ‘boundaries’ of fields can be contested, including where each field begins and ends. For example, relationships between: the field of power; broad fields (for example, state politics, business); specific fields (for example, nations, organisations); inter-field relationships with associated dominances; and the social actors as being a field in

themselves, ought to be accounted for in the interpretation. However, the interpretation and the interpretive method outlined later in this chapter in Table 4.3 (and illustrated in pictures 4.1 to 4.4) inevitably has only focused on a snapshot of the full social picture.

Secondly, as introduced in section 2.4, habitus is only briefly considered in this thesis as a whole. Bourdieu intended his theoretical concepts to be applied as a holistic framework; however, this is perhaps easier to pursue through ethnographic methods in more contained and cohesive social contexts, for example, single representations of fields such as 'law' or 'education'. In these instances, it is possible to examine the detail of their membership and associated understanding of the doxa, acceptance of how things are, the right language for the setting, belief in the rules of the particular game and play it accordingly (Bourdieu, 1990). In my research, it has only been possible to engage in short interactions with a relatively small number of participants in these forum activities. However, it is possible to see glimpses of the "resonant habitus" (Grenfell, 2004, p. 172) of these forum participants.

In summary, this research studies "meanings in the moment between people...negotiated & specific to time and place" with me as a researcher and my research participants "embedded and embodied in historical, cultural and linguistic communities" (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654). It is situated with "time experienced in the present – in living conversations with others" (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654) and as such is subject to the boundaries of these interpretations.

4.5 Mediation

Mediation is the next element of the relationship frame considered here. This relates to an understanding of the place of the researcher in the research, some of which has been introduced in the sections above (4.3 and 4.4). The following paragraphs offer more detail.

Mediation connects to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, "a system of dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 2) that I reflexively acknowledge of myself. I have certain ways of being and feeling, some of which are stronger than others and I find it difficult to act against them, or feel uncomfortable when confronted by particular situations. An example is the paradox that I share a similar ideological position to the research participants who engage as challengers within the field, but I am a product of the environment that has emerged from the direction

and behaviours of those who are dominant within the field. I therefore feel more comfortable with the structure and formal organisation that characterises the fields of academia and business than I do with the un-structure and informal organisation of some of the field of civil society. My life is structured by timetables, appointments, deadlines. I value agendas and itineraries. Spontaneity is difficult for me, which is something I have learned through this research process.

Using personal journals, I have kept notes of: the decisions I have made regarding the selection of empirical material and research participants; my experiences; and thoughts as the research has progressed (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Cunliffe, 2004). I have also kept methodological notes as to why and how actions, events or things said/unsaid were of interest and problems encountered (Haynes, 2012b). Note-taking has been regularly undertaken throughout this research, not only as a recording function but it has had transformative and interpretive functions for me as I have produced and analysed the empirical material (Cunliffe, 2004; Ten Have, 2004). Notes were written down physically, categorised as individual prompt words, full reports, quotes and paraphrases, and records of observations, theories and methodological points (Ten Have, 2004). All the notes taken have enabled me to see my own development during the research and also to reflect on myself as part of the setting of that moment (reflexivity, being in the research), affecting it and being affected by it (Hine, 2000), as well as when interpreting the material at different stages of the research. This has been important for my personal and professional development as an academic researcher, as a form of catharsis. My journal notes informed the interpretation of my data and the written artefact presented here, because they added experiential context to the 'clinical' text of transcripts and documents.

Reflexivity is also structured throughout my thesis by acknowledging my: theoretical interests, in terms of what I intended to investigate and the questions that have guided the research; substantive interests, in terms of why I selected the topic and the research settings and what influenced my selection; and emotions in the field and in the process of producing this document (Gobo, 2008). These are explored in more detail as follows.

4.5.1 Theoretical interests

In terms of my motivations for doing this work and in recognition of my place in the construction of the research context and beyond (Gobo, 2008; Haynes, 2012b), my first degree in anthropology was influential in terms of both the content of the research and the process through which I have executed it. My interest in social meanings, rituals, rites and interactions is embedded in my practice and this research enabled me to study these in relation to their implications for global issues of sustainability. Like Bourdieu, my choices have been influenced by “moral and political considerations: inequality, suffering, and domination” (Swartz, 2004, p. 338), because these issues cross societal and cultural boundaries, yet (as represented in the popular media) there is frequently an individualistic, narrow response.

This thesis makes a contribution to theory through induction and using the empirical material to “inspire, develop and reshape theoretical ideas” (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000, p. 249). In particular, I expand Bourdieu’s theoretical notions in new empirical settings. Bourdieu’s analysis included a focus on fields and the field of power within bounded societies, for example, France and Algeria (the Kabyle people in particular). The struggles within the field of power of these societies related to the significance of particular forms of capital, frequently between economic and cultural, and the holders of that capital (Swartz, 2008). In my analysis, I am extending this to suggest that global capital as a form of symbolic capital is privileged in a global field of power and global social actors with this capital struggle in the field to ‘make the world’.

4.5.2 Substantive interests

The topic of my research was initially inspired by my observation of events in England in the summer of 2011. The roar of public discontent in response to inequalities in the economic system and its development was heard through multiple movements. A localised ripple of reaction and indignation was expressed through collectives of social actors on certain streets in certain cities, characterised by crescendo, destruction, and deviance. Borrowing from expressions of global disgust (e.g. "transnational contention" Verhulst and Walgrave, 2007, p. 125), camps were set up on certain streets in certain cities (for example, the Occupy movement). Inconvenience was created through organised, lengthy, inappropriate presence

in physical places. Transmitted through a range of media, as well as first-hand witnessing, courses of events were seen and heard throughout the country in the field of civil society (Desai, 2011), with support, criticism, empathy and enjoyment offered and experienced by social actors in equal measure.

From these observations I was interested to understand more about the relationships between actors from different fields in the context of weakening political, social and economic conventions. Discussions with colleagues revealed the activities of the World Social Forum (WSF) as the initial site of interest for the research, broadening my interest in themes to an international level in accounting for similar disruptions elsewhere in the world (for example, the Arab Spring). As my exploration developed I realised there was a potential point of contrast with the World Economic Forum (WEF) and, whilst initially this was a contextual part of my research, a colleague suggested that it could become a comparator site to WSF (see Chapter 3 for details of these settings). They have been selected on the basis of their comparable goals yet (apparently) competing ideologies, and the different organised activities they offer through which social actors participate. They have been selected purposively based on their political importance (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and relationship to one another on this basis. One of these shares the characteristics of a social movement or “movement of movements” (Santos, 2008, p. 249) and one has a more traditionally structured organisational form.

4.5.3 Emotions

Three main unanticipated psychological risks emerged as my research developed, provoking emotional reactions. Firstly, at times, the process of undertaking my research felt very isolated. It was important to minimise this isolation through regular contact with my supervisors and my colleagues at Newcastle University Business School, and for their support I am extremely grateful. Secondly, I was exploring issues of global significance tackled by research participants both through my research settings and in their everyday professional and/or personal lives. This material was frequently accessed through review of web-based material in addition to direct personal interactions with research participants. At times, I found this extremely difficult, in terms of being saddened by the detrimental and destructive actions of some global social actors, and frustrated at feeling that addressing sustainability

and inequality seems insurmountable. I am not sure I have fully addressed this, beyond learning to cope with or avoid these feelings. Finally, the production of the thesis has, at times, felt like a process of excluding significant amounts of material, themes and expressions. I have found this brutal, (described as 'hatcheting' in my journal), driven by word limit and other conventions of the candidature. I have reminded myself that future papers may emerge so that the value of the material is not lost, but some of the interrelationship between different themes in the material has been reduced. This matters to me because I wish that my interpretive capacity were greater to be able to account for the complexity within the conventions of a PhD thesis.

Whilst there have been financial constraints that have affected my ability to physically meet with research participants, my own emotional attitudes have affected this as well, as noted in my journals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Cunliffe, 2004).

fear of travelling/exposure to new places/ethnocentrism – strangeness/otherness (entry 11th September 2013)

I could have attended the WSF meeting in Tunis that took place early in my research (6 months in); however, my fear was the main factor that prevented me attending. I feared travelling to a place that is so different to anywhere I have ever been before. I feared travelling alone and I feared the political situation in the city, where a prominent politician had been shot shortly before the meeting was due to take place.

In all my contacts I was very conscious of my perception of myself in relation to my research participants and mostly felt that I was taking a submissive position, frequently feeling that I was intruding on their time and social space, despite the fact that they had all volunteered to participate (Gobo, 2008). This intrusion was more obvious in some interactions than others, with comments in my journal (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Cunliffe, 2004) including "*brusque manner*" (entry 13th November 2013), "*I felt I was an inconvenience in his day*" (entry 25th February 2014), "*not very engaging*" (entry 8th April 2014) and "*typing during conversation at times – distracted? Not fully paying attention?!*" (entry 9th April 2014). As mentioned above (section 4.4), I was not in control of the exchange process, reinforcing my being reflexively in the research (Hibbert *et al.*, 2014).

In summary, my research is a “dialectical interplay between research participants” and myself as an “embodied and embedded researcher” and it “focuses on experiences between people” as addressing the intersubjective (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654).

4.6 Form of knowledge - epistemology

Knowledge, in this research, has had a “macro and micro level focus” (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654), that is, I have been engaging with research participants to understand their micro experiences of forums that have a macro global purpose. My intention throughout has been to acknowledge and accept complexity of my research as opposed to trying to be selective and reductive in the collection and analysis of singular components for ease (Delamont and Atkinson, 2005). My research has broadly followed Bourdieu’s outline for the investigation and interpretation of interactions and conversations within a field, thus:

“The boundary of the field is a stake of struggles, and the social scientist’s task is not to draw a dividing-line between the agents involved in it, by imposing a so-called operational definition...but to describe a state (long-lasting or temporary) of these struggles and therefore of the frontier delimiting the territory held by the competing agents. One could thus examine the characteristics of this boundary, which may or may not be institutionalized i.e. protected by certain conditions of entry that are tacitly and practically required (such as a certain cultural capital) or explicitly codified and legally guaranteed” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 324)

Interpreting Bourdieu’s approach as described in the above quote, through this thesis I have outlined the boundary of the field of analysis as being a global meta-field (Maclean *et al.*, 2014) within which social actors (agents, in Bourdieu’s words) operate and influence across geography and areas of expertise. Using the concept of field has enabled me to explore conflict and challenge between social actors but also commonalities that may be uncomfortable and rarely admitted (Swartz, 1997). Whilst I have considered these settings over a short period of time (2012 to 2015), participants in my research and the documents I have reviewed have given an overview indication of the state of the field during this time with regard to those dominating and challenging (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Following this, perhaps there ought to be “less concentration on the collection and processing of data and more on interpretation and reflection” (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 241). Additionally, whilst I offer an interpretation of the positions of social actors within the global

field of power as will be defined in Chapter 5 (using WEF and WSF as examples), and can infer certain characteristics of the path along which they have travelled to be able to participate, I have been unable to undertake a detailed analysis of their habitus (Thomson, 2008) (see Chapter 2 for further detail regarding the relationship between Bourdieu's theories and this thesis).

I have been concerned with understanding what my research participants do in these forums and their other social contexts, and why (in their terms) they do it. I have noted who is present but silent (by chance, by choice, silenced) and who is not present (by chance, by choice, silenced) (Hine, 2000), which is both bounded by my research but also by the forums themselves (see Chapters 5 to 8). . Where traditional anthropology would engage the researcher immersed within a single and delimited field, for example, an organisation or a community, I have been interacting with representatives who are in multiple fields (e.g. Hibbert *et al.*, 2014), for example, academia, civil society, business, politics, united by their participation in the forums I have chosen as my contexts for my research (as enactments of a global field of power). These are not constant or static, with a high degree of coalescence of social actors in the boundaries of particular times and social spaces (for example, annual meetings). New knowledge has also emerged about myself and my identity as a researcher (Cunliffe, 2004; Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013). This has been particularly noted in my journals (see section 4.5 for some examples).

4.7 Core ontological assumptions of research methodologies

My ontological position is constructionist as I believe that reality is never singular or static and that it is in a state of perpetual manufacture by all participating social actors. The researcher is a key part of this, as Cunliffe (2003, p. 993) writes: "researchers actively constitute reality as they study it... If we accept this idea that reality and knowledge are always emerging social constructions grounded in our discursive practices, then everything is relative to the moment of speaking/writing/reading – the moment of the Glance." As such, I do not believe that there is any objective social reality completely external to me that I can study. Rather, I believe that there are social situations and interactions in which I am not present but with which I am familiar in my own world (Pina-Cabral, 2014) and that these can

be explored by talking to those who are or have been present. The degrees of separation between social contexts vary, but connections can always be demonstrated.

As with any research, I accept that this work is subject to boundaries, including “time, space and patience” (Alvesson, 2011, p. 107). I present this thesis not as a conclusive or complete explanation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), nor as a type of objective knowledge, but rather as an interpretation of a set of moments as experienced and constructed by me, my research participants and the artefacts reviewed. I cannot claim that the interactions with my research participants offer anything other than a snapshot insight into the areas discussed. The commonality of the research participants has been their participation in one or both of the forums but this by no means offers a cohesive ‘data set’. The numbers are tiny in relation to the overall volume of participation in the forums and the research participants are from a range of different backgrounds and perspectives. All of the interactions with contacts have taken place in this context, as individual accounts in a moment in time, co-constructed with me as a researcher. I believe this to be the case with any conversation, howsoever produced; the answers I give one day may be very different another day, depending on myriad experiences and influences at each moment (specific to time and place, see section 4.4). This follows Alvesson (2011, p. 5), who wrote that “we should avoid giving interview material an a priori status (as indicative of reality or meanings) and instead think through a set of interpretive possibilities for assessing what the material is about and for what purposes it can be used”.

In summary, I believe that social reality is “relative to interactions between people in moments of time & space” with “human action & interpretation” as the context (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654). Figure 3 shows how I am positioned with elements of intersubjectivism and subjectivism in my ontological assumptions.

4.8 Assumptions about human nature

Our assumptions about human nature affect “how we relate to our world” and I see “humans as intentional & reflexive subjects...storytellers...actors, interpreters, sensemakers” (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654). The following paragraphs illustrate how this has played out in the execution of my research.

From my perspective, whilst I have tried to have contact with a range of individuals and have discussions with them in some depth, presence and absence in my work is subject to the restrictions of chance and choice, as well as the silencing of some because of the inability to speak the respective others' language (Hine, 2000). I also chose to invite research participants via email so as to be able to offer the documentation about my research (an ethical requirement), and those without publicly available email addresses have therefore been excluded. Also from my perspective, I have had a preference towards making 'appointments' for my direct contacts, as I am used to managing my time in a regimented way; however, at least two potential contacts were reluctant to engage in this way, preferring instead to engage in coincidental contact at a time when we were both online on Skype at the same time. Intermittent access to broadband and my need to be prepared prevented these interactions from taking place.

From the perspective of some potential research participants, it is possible that my position within a Business School affected their decision to participate or not in my research. This is something that I had (naively) never considered prior to beginning my research. This is not something I can track, I have had no direct response giving this as a reason for non-participation, but for future research I will think more carefully about my university position and the effect that this might have on research participants' willingness to participate, dependent on their understanding and associations with this position. For example, those from civil society may see a business school as representing something that they would challenge, whilst those who are from business may see it as representing something which they would support. This may have affected my research in terms of fewer participants. It is something that will have been on my mind during my interpretations as well (albeit not consciously).

The research participants offered their preferred method of contact, whether that be face to face (although this was mostly limited by geography), Skype with audio, Skype with video or telephone, which gave them control and limited my control of the interaction (see also section 4.4). They also offered the length of time available for contact and the appointment availability, with some being rearranged on a number of occasions. To maximise participation, I followed their willingness and availability, sidelining my own convenience.

The structure of activities of WEF limited any choice to participate and observe activities directly as well, which would have added further richness and depth to the experience of the forum. My own experience and embodiment limited by ability to attend activities of WSF (see section 4.5).

The exchanges that I have had with the participants in my research form a further social situation and interaction in which I am present and that co-generate the empirical material that I can interpret to facilitate new understanding and/or knowledge (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). The interactions with research participants were co-constructed events, we were all intentional and enacted our contact within the convention of dialogue and conversation. This thesis as an epistemological contribution has been completely constructed by me for the conventions of a PhD examination. This is something that I feel uncomfortable with as it feels partial and incomplete (see 'hatcheting'), but I hope to address this through further papers produced from the empirical material.

The different forms of interaction in my research has had implications in terms of the social scene, identity and impression, and language (Alvesson, 2003). Where video was unavailable or unselected by research participants, or where research participants could only engage via telephone, I found the process much more difficult. Specifically, I found the face to face interactions a much richer experience, being able to better react and interact with the research participant through expressions and non-verbal cues. This was also the case with Skype where video could also be used.

4.9 Research approaches and methods

Closely following the explanations offered in section 4.8 above, this final section summarises the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of my research approaches, as well as examples of the research methods used, as illustrated in the relationship frame shown in Figures 2 and 3 above.

The research on which this thesis is based has been guided by Bourdieusian theory (see Chapter 2). His work explores social actors and their acts within particular fields, how they draw on symbols and capital to pursue particular interests (Swartz, 1997). Therefore I have

not approached my research and its interpretation from a 'blank' or 'objective' position, but I have "mobilize[d] my experience" (Bourdieu, 2003) and have used these theories to help me make sense of the material co-produced, as well as using the co-produced material to add value to these theories. I have loosely followed Bourdieu's steps for the investigation of fields, without his use of correspondence analysis (see following paragraph) but including the review of the positions of social actors of the field, understanding their relationships as they struggle for authority, and interpreting their habitus through empirical material (Thomson, 2008).

In 'The State Nobility', Bourdieu proposes a model of the structure of the field of power in France in relation to the elite of the education system (Bourdieu, 1996). He builds on his previous studies, particularly 'Distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984) to help construct this model using correspondence analysis. Correspondence analysis is a statistical technique used to describe the relationship between sets of data, for example, scale of knowledge of culture with volume of capital, which can be plotted visually (Phillips, 1995). Bourdieu's correspondence analysis tends to focus on the characteristics of the dominant within a singular field of power associated with a singular field (for example, elite schools). This approach provided interesting findings with regard to the nature of specific fields. However, for the purpose of this thesis, correspondence analysis was judged to be difficult to apply for three main reasons. Firstly, because of the definition of the 'field' as constructed by me within the research process taking a broad geographic and multi-disciplinary focus (Dobbin, 2008). Secondly, because an aim in my research was to explore the relationships between both the dominated and the dominant in global sustainability debates (RQ1), which I have theorised as being struggles within the global field of power (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Finally, because I lack the necessary skills in statistical analysis. The following sections (4.9.1-4.9.3) offer more detail with regard to my research approaches, empirical material, and interpretation.

4.9.1 *Natural documents*

Natural documents are described as "texts, photographs, drawings, graffiti, whatever – that are produced as part of current societal processes ...natural documents are not 'researcher-produced'" (Ten Have, 2004, p. 88). Documents are often underused in qualitative

organisational research, for a number of reasons including their free availability and often large volume (Lee, 2012). However, in my research, natural documents were contextual because of the prevalence of production and use by participants in both forums (Ten Have, 2004).

Three main types of documents have been collated during my research (Gobo, 2008), explained in more detail as follows.

1. Written material produced and distributed through websites of each forum.

The material has been collated into separate, comparable themes representing each forum's production on the selected sustainability themes previously identified, that is: gender; climate; and international trade (see Chapter 1). In collating the material, I have considered the purpose of each document as defined by the authors (for example, for research, solidarity and commitment, promotion of practice), consistency (or otherwise) within the treatment of issues, exploring evidence for the content structuring organisational relationships, and looking at how the documents are used to project a view of themselves as a form of organising (Lee, 2012). I have done this first for each individual set of material (WSF and WEF), then made comparisons between them.

2. Written material expressed by contributors to an electronic mailing list application (WSF-Discuss).

From 19th August 2013, I subscribed to an electronic mailing list software application called 'WSF-Discuss'. This application allows individual senders to send emails to a list of subscribers to the list, who have a common interest and/or involvement in WSF and related processes. Each subscriber automatically receives via a single email a daily 'digest' of posts to the list. Although I am still a subscriber, I collected the emails for the purpose of my research until 19th August 2014, representing a 12 month period as discussed above. Each time an email was received, I reviewed the content and filed the email according to its dominant theme. These themes were linked to the sustainability themes of my research, 'gender', 'climate' and 'international trade', with an additional 'organisation' theme and a 'miscellaneous' file for content that did not seem to fit with the themes of my research.

Although any type of qualitative research has to be aware of “the interpretation of the words of others, including the appropriation of someone else’s personal narratives and quoting out of context,” (Sharf, 1999, p. 248), this is particularly acute when using material from such email lists. This is because the material is ambiguous, with both a public and private identity (Mann and Stewart, 2000). It is public because subscribers know that anything they post to the list will be seen by others, but it is private because the material is only accessible by those who subscribe as opposed to being entirely open to all. The full ethical implications of this are explored in section 4.10; however, I joined the list by posting about my research and inviting contributors to get in touch with me if they were willing to participate, to which I had some response. In addition, I would be able to use the posts as material to inform my research, which is sometimes critiqued as “harvesting” or “collecting the words of others” (Sharf, 1999, p. 251), particularly if seen as being done for profit or without appropriate permissions. As such, for any material that I wish to quote directly, I will contact individuals separately and directly to seek permission, as well as offering the opportunity to read any published articles that make use of their material (Sharf, 1999)²³.

3. Written material produced through media sources, including newspapers and social media, for each forum.

From 1st August 2013, I subscribed to an electronic current awareness service through Lexis Nexis library. This is an online alert resource, which searches media material for terms defined by the user. I set up an alert service for the words “World Social Forum” and “World Economic Forum” to be found in UK newspapers. The system runs a query on these terms and sends me an email that lists any articles where these terms have appeared. This will enable me to see the type and volume of newspaper media coverage of the forums in the UK press; an analysis that I may do beyond the scope of this thesis.

All of this documentary material has been lightly reviewed in the course of the PhD research, that is, it has been read and reviewed as context. It has not yet been subject to detailed

²³ This has not been necessary for this thesis, as no material has been quoted directly from these sources, but for papers in future I will seek these permissions as appropriate.

analysis, as the purpose of the thesis is not to answer questions about sustainability issues, rather to understand the engagement of global social actors in seeking more sustainable, equal worlds. As such, the material gathered through my contacts with these actors has been the main focus of my interpretation, as explored in the following section 4.9.2.

4.9.2 Contacts

I use the term 'contacts' (Gobo, 2008) as the empirical material has been collected through different types of engagement with these individuals, rather than interviews in a formal sense. During August and September 2013, a master spreadsheet was compiled from which to begin making approaches to individuals who have participated in WEF and/or WSF activities. The spreadsheet was compiled from four main sources:

1. Websites that compiled the lists of attendees at each of the most recent annual meeting of each forum (The Guardian, 2013; World Social Forum, 2013);
2. Websites that detailed additional activities and commentary on each forum (see list in Appendix B);
3. In the course of reading journal articles, newspaper articles, web pages and watching news and other television material, other research participants were identified and approached; and
4. Research participants were also identified through snowballing, that is, contacts and colleagues made suggestions and introductions to additional research participants not previously identified through the methods described above.

Drawing on these sources offered a pool of potentially 10,000 contacts to approach, therefore I had to be selective about whom to approach, given the various boundaries of my research (see section 4.7 for more details). The individuals I chose to approach were sampled purposively to reflect variation in participation and also for convenience (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). They include those who have participated in the congregations of WEF and WSF and/or in their organising structures. The sample was not intended to be in any way representative or generalisable (e.g. Bryman, 2001); however, an analysis was undertaken of the profile of participants in the annual congregations in 2013 of each forum to take this into account when potential research participants were being approached (see Appendix C for more details). Across two sets of contacts, one for WSF and one for WEF, I aimed to speak with a range of individual and organisational representatives from the private sector, public

sector and civil society organisations to gather a range of perspectives (Rapley, 2007). Where known, I also prioritised contacting those with job titles or organisational responsibility related to ‘sustainability’, ‘environment’ or ‘social’ issues²⁴.

The majority of WEF delegates at Davos were based in the US and UK. I therefore undertook a first filter of the spreadsheet to identify all participants from these countries, given that these represented the majority of forum participants. A second filter was then applied according to the most prevalent types of activity represented (‘other business’, ‘CEO’ and ‘public official/non-profit’). I then tried to source email addresses for these delegates and sent out messages inviting them to participate in the research. 131 were invited to participate in total.

The majority of WSF participating organisations were not located in countries whose first language is English. Only 77 organisations from the US were represented, 62 from Canada and 48 from the UK (World Social Forum, 2013). My research is limited by the fact that I only speak English; therefore despite their low representation I undertook a first filter to list participating organisations from English-speaking countries. I then began to look at their individual websites to identify named individuals with whom I could make contact. This involved using the search terms “World Social Forum” and “Tunis” and in many cases this revealed specific individuals to whom I could address an email. In other cases, web contact forms were used to send a generic message to invite participation in the research. 127 were invited to participate in total.

In terms of conversion to actual contacts and participation, I have undertaken 38 formal interactions. These can be categorised as such because they involved making a formal appointment via email, arranging to speak at a particular time/day using a particular method of face to face meeting, telephone or Skype interaction, for a specified length of time (driven by the research participant). My fieldwork has been undertaken with face to face encounters as far as possible for maximum authenticity (Gobo, 2008). 12 were undertaken face to face, 8 through Skype audio only, 4 through Skype with video, and 14 over the telephone. These interactions ranged in time from 30 to 90 minutes, driven largely by the availability of each

²⁴ Many global social actors (and social actors in general) interact across multiple fields. I had to make a choice about categorising them according to their ‘main’ or ‘primary’ field for the purposes of organising my material.

research participant. These people were all provided with an information sheet and consent form (see Appendix D) in advance. The interactions were very loosely structured but generally more formal in nature, that is, they generally followed the conventions of question-answer. 28 were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim (1,806 minutes of material), and 10 were not because of participant preference and/or available technology for recording. These participants were not recorded and transcribed verbatim, but points were noted contemporaneously by me during the interaction. These notes were shared with and agreed by the participants and permission was given to use them in the research. These transcriptions and/or notes were emailed to the research participants for checking and amending as they saw fit, along with a debriefing note about the research (see material in Appendix D).

Four research participants engaged with the research through email. These constitute interactions whereby research participants found it difficult to arrange a formal appointment to interact either because of their travel schedules, time differences or simply a preference to interact in this manner (see section 4.8). These research participants were sent the list of discussion topics and they provided their responses to these via email. They follow a number of the conventions of a more 'traditional' interview, with question-answer (e.g. Rapley, 2007). However, the interaction was not 'live' or 'real-time', rather with delays and missing the interpersonal reactions that come with embodied interaction. Despite this, the material is congruent with that of the more standard interactions described above.

Six research participants offered comments, invited in the same way as other research participants but instead of agreeing to a formal interaction of the formats described above, they simply provided some thoughts in response to my invitation email by reply. This empirical material still offers a contribution and has influenced the resulting interpretation, albeit in more of contextual and/or piecemeal manner and this material, combined with the other empirical material, has been used "to generate ideas, provide illustrations or to give correctives for theoretical ideas that do not seem to be useful to our understanding." (Alvesson, 2011, p. 137).

Table 4.1 summarises the relationship between invitations to participate and completed participation in my research.

Table 4.1: Summary

Research participation	Number
Invited	258
Completed Face to face, Skype or Telephone Interactions	38
Completed Email Interactions	4
Completed Email comments	6
Work Area	
Civil Society / Not for Profit	24
Academic	12
Private Sector	9
Public Sector	3
Country	
UK	18
USA	11
Switzerland	3
Sweden	2
Germany	2
France	2
Canada	2
Tunisia	1
Sri Lanka	1
South Africa	1
Indonesia	1
Finland	1
Denmark	1
China	1
Armenia	1
Total completed	48

Table 4.2 overleaf describes the participants in my research by their primary social role or organisational position, and the main forum in which they participate. Their anglicised pseudonyms as listed here are used throughout this thesis.

Table 4.2: Research Participants

Pseudonym	Generic title for primary social role/organisational position	Main forum of participation
Adam	Senior Vice President	WEF
Ben	Senior academic	WSF
Chloe	CEO	WEF
Chris	Senior academic	WEF
Claire	International Officer	WSF
Declan	Senior Director	WEF
Derek	Academic	WSF
Dexter	Secretary General/CEO	WEF/WSF
Dylan	Civil Servant	WEF
Frances	Managing Director	WEF
George	Senior academic	WEF
Helen	Academic	WSF
Jacob	Senior academic	WEF
James	Specialist Advisor	WSF
Jason	Senior Advisor	WEF
Jessica	Academic	WEF
Joshua	Executive Director	WSF
Jude	Director	WSF
Juliet	Managing Director	WEF
Katherine	Associate vice president	WEF
Kyle	Director	WEF
Lucy	Grassroots activist	WSF
Mason	Union Representative	WSF
Matthew	International Coordinator	WSF
Nathan	Executive Director	WSF
Olivia	Grassroots activist	WSF
Paul	Senior academic	WEF
Phillip	Director	Context
Preston	Managing Director	WEF
Reuben	Grassroots activist	WSF
Riley	Director	WEF
Sam	Executive Director	WEF
Simon	Managing Director	WEF
Susanna	Vice chair	WSF
Taylor	Chief Executive Officer	WEF
Theo	Senior academic	WSF
Tom	Analyst	WEF
Tristan	Religious leader	WEF
Tyler	Chair of Foundation	WEF
Victoria	Chief Executive Officer	WEF
Vincent	Grassroots activist	WSF
Wendy	Director	WEF

4.9.3 Interpretation

Empirical material and ideas inform and interact in a dialectic relationship with one another throughout any research that is ethnographically informed (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). I am within these meanings rather than objective to them, which has been taken account of during the process of interpretation, informed by my journal material (Haynes, 2012b). Interpretation of empirical material can distinguish between the direct reporting of the situation, the theories used to explain the situation, the reporting of the occurrences experienced, and the expression of appearances and identities behind certain behaviours (Van Maanen, 1979). My work is situated in relation to the established approach of Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2000), summarised as follows:

“‘Interpretation’ implies that there are no self-evident, simple or unambiguous rules or procedures, and that crucial ingredients are the researcher’s judgment, intuition, ability to ‘see and point something out’, as well as the consideration of a more or less explicit dialogue – with the research subject, with aspects of the researcher herself that are not entrenched behind a research position, and with the reader. In practice research glides, more or less consciously, between two or more of these levels: the handling of the empirical material, interpretation, critical interpretation and reflections upon language and authority.” (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 248)

My theorising accounts for “the contribution that agents make towards constructing the view of the social world, and through this, towards constructing this world” (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 727). In particular, I examine world-making in the context of the social meaning of and response to issues of sustainability and inequality, explored particularly in Chapters 6 and 7.

Despite recording through my journals the processes through which elements in the material became recognised as ‘interesting’ or ‘important’, as well as explanations about why I believe my interpretations to be reasonable in context (Gobo, 2008), my approach has not been as neat and tidy as some research accounts – and perhaps this thesis – would portray (Donnelly *et al.*, 2013; Lambotte and Meunier, 2013). In Alvesson’s (2011, p. 60) terms, “the principle direction becomes quite different from the sorting, codification and categorization paradigm dominating the mainstream in interview based research (and qualitative research in general...)”. Here, I describe a set of actions undertaken with the empirical material. These

were not necessarily undertaken in a linear manner, often they were happening concurrently and/or iteratively.

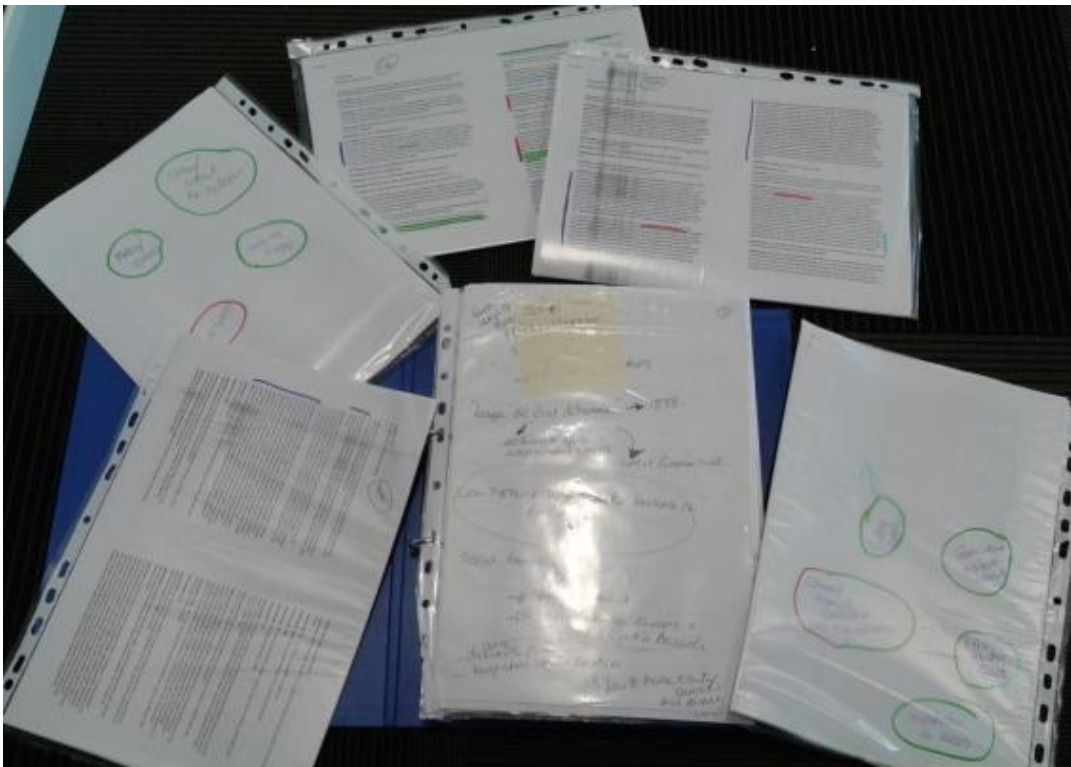
I can identify the first step in my interpretive process, which was the reading of my journals, from which I created a set of posters that outlined key points emerging therefrom. Picture 4.1 shows the posters.

Picture 4.1: Interpretation in progress: Posters



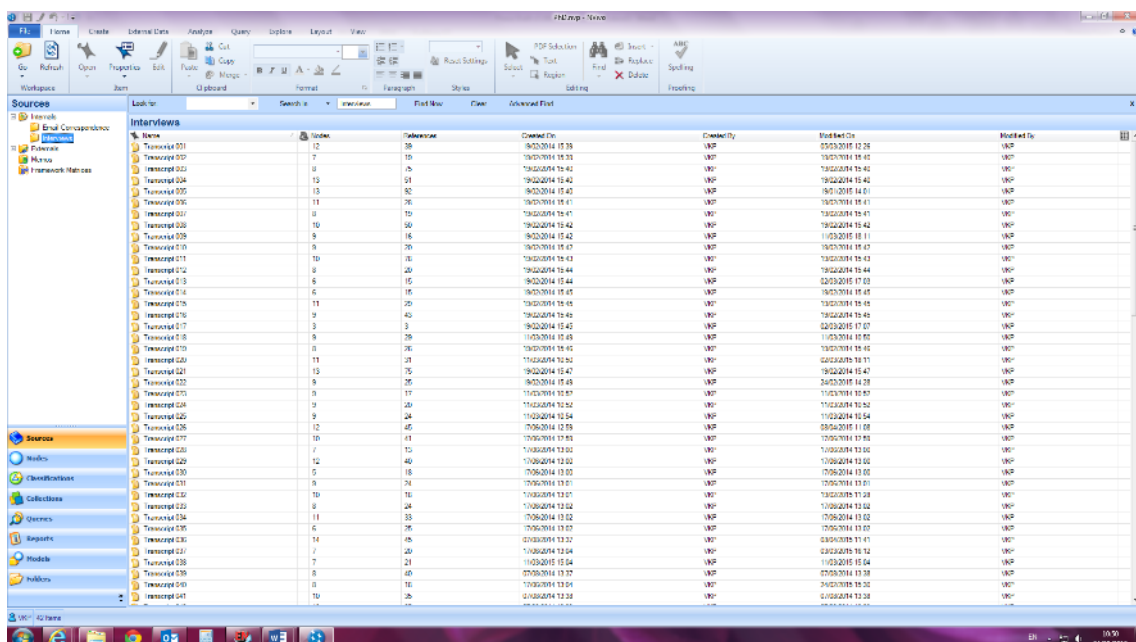
Following the initial production of the posters, I read and re-read the transcript material with my research questions in mind. I highlighted parts of the texts in different colours according to the research question. Picture 4.2 shows examples of the coloured transcripts.

Picture 4.2: Interpretation in progress: Transcripts

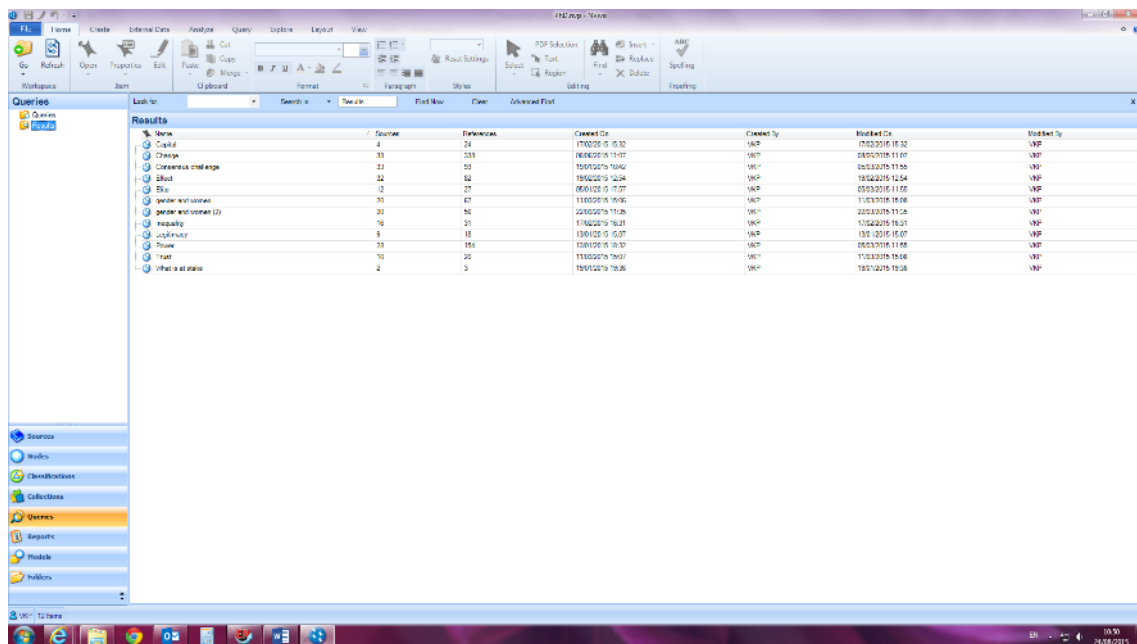


I also created an Nvivo project as a material management tool. Material from formal interactions and email correspondence were stored here (for example, shown in Picture 4.3) and this enabled me to identify examples from the material using queries and reports (for example, shown in Picture 4.4).

Picture 4.3: Nvivo material management



Picture 4.4: Nvivo queries and reports



My research questions offered an overarching structure for my interpretation and the structuring of how I began to write up my thesis, having to be necessarily selective about the examples used from the empirical material (but finding this uncomfortable, as previously explored). Alvesson and Sköldbberg’s (2000) model as outlined in Table 4.3 overleaf illustrates the different overlapping and repeated aspects of engagement with the material throughout the interpretation process, along with examples of what I did with my empirical material at each stage.

Table 4.3: Reflexive interpretation

“Aspect/level”	“Focus”	My interpretive activity
“Interaction with empirical material”	“Accounts in formal interactions, observations of situations and other empirical materials”	Following Eschle and Maiguascha (2005) the empirical material co-constructed with research participants through this research is not considered an external object for study; rather my interactions with the material (transcripts, documents, my own notes) and the research participants (email, telephone, Skype, face to face exchanges) serve to produce knowledge about their experiences and the relationships with these forums.
“Interpretation”	“Underlying meanings”	Internal inscription before I wrote anything down, trying to break away from my own instinctive ‘noticing’, that is, what I have consciously/unconsciously learned to notice and trying to notice that which was important to research participants; Description of what I was observing, hearing and/or experiencing; Transcription of what was said in formal interactions and/or what was being said as observed in a particular event; and my translation in my own words of what was observed/experienced (leCompte and Schensul, 1999).
“Critical interpretation”	“Ideology, power, social reproduction”	Because of the nature of my research context, the notion of struggle (Bourdieu, 1983) and the often conflicting opinions and ideologies revealed both between and within each, I have spent time considering the contradictions, conflicts, complexity and paradoxes within the empirical material, and tried to include and account for them in my interpretation, through notes and as presented in this thesis document.
“Reflection on text production and language use”	“Own text, claims to authority, selectivity of the voices represented in the text”	The notion of possibilities is important here, recognising that there are multiple ways to view the material, resulting in a range of potentially complimentary and conflicting interpretations (Alvesson, 2003; Alvesson, 2011; Hibbert <i>et al.</i> , 2014). A singular story is (uncomfortably) provided in this thesis, but with many others to be told beyond the scope of this artefact.

(Drawing on Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000, p. 250)

Interpretation has given meaning to the empirical material that was in part co-constructed with research participants during the course of my research (leCompte and Schensul, 1999). As a process, my interpretation has been informed by discussions with colleagues, a review of the research questions in relation to the empirical material gathered and the literature initially reviewed. I have looked for relevance of findings to research participants and the theoretical lens with exploration of any differences between expectations and findings and any associated implications (leCompte and Schensul, 1999). In particular, whilst I was looking for themes in the material, I was conscious that all of the accounts, whether spoken or documented, are partial and privileged in some way (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000), reinforcing the need to take care in drawing precise meanings from the material (Alvesson, 2011). As such, I do not claim any objective truth or singular position in my thesis or in how I present the words of others in support of my arguments.

There is no intention of generalisation through my research. Generalisation is problematic for me and this thesis because it assumes that given certain conditions being replicated, the same effects can be achieved from situation to situation (determinism, Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Generalisation is reductive rather than recognising complexity and suggests that that time and context also have no influence (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). There is also a risk of assuming cause and effect rather than understanding that:

“the peculiar web or pattern of circumstances that characterizes a given situation may never occur in just that way again, so that explanations and management actions are in a real sense unique and cannot be understood as implying either predictability or control in any given way. Explanations are at best ‘here and now’ accounts that represent a ‘photographic slice of life’ of a dynamic process that, in the next instant, might present a very different aspect.” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 155).

I have aimed to be accountable in my research through record keeping, so that processes can be audited and the context of any description is detailed. I have also situated my findings within existing literature, whilst trying to contribute to this literature with new insights (Gobo, 2008). What I present here in this thesis can only ever be considered a small interpretive window, I do not and cannot claim any privilege of this over and above any other interpretation. Rather, it is a partial artefact constructed for a particular purpose (my PhD candidature) that may fit within a broader portfolio of publishing, drawing on alternative interpretations of the empirical material. I recognise that there is more to

interpret in the empirical material, but my research questions and the Bourdieusian theoretical lens offered boundaries to the themes and topics explored and focused on for the production of this thesis.

In summary, the research has been “hermeneutic...constructionist...dialogic” and following “interpretive procedures” of analysis, using the content of documents and narratives offered by research participants (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 655).

4.10 Research ethics

Research ethics is implicit within Cunliffe’s (2011) relationship frame, for example, in terms of relationality, assumptions, and research approaches. To be explicit, this section 4.10 outlines the ethical approval received and the processes undertaken to ensure I have been ethical in my research. This research received full ethical approval through the procedures required by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS) at Newcastle University. The material relating to ethical approval can be found in Appendix C and the commentary here offers a summary of the key considerations and responses thereto.

4.6.1 Research participants, informed consent and empirical material

Approaches to potential research participants were made via email and all of those who responded were provided with an information sheet about my research and consent form (see Appendix C) attached to email correspondence in arranging contact. All email correspondence has been retained and saved on the University’s secure system (Newcastle University Information Systems and Services, 2012). Research participants were given time to consider the information before giving their consent to participate, with time elapsing between email contact and arranged ‘appointments’. At the beginning of each interaction, research participants were also asked if they had any questions about the research and the material received, and I also gave a further verbal overview of the research as part of our exchanges.

The majority of interactions were recorded using a digital voice recorder, except those 10 where research participants asked not to be recorded and/or where the telephone

connection made it impossible to record (see section 4.9). I undertook transcription of the interactions myself to protect the integrity of the material, as well as to ensure I had thorough knowledge of it. Each recording has been anonymised (e.g. Interview 1). Only I have a copy of the participant profile (name, role, organisation) to monitor an appropriate spread of contacts and to manage my diary. Research participants were provided with a debriefing sheet (see Appendix C) along with a copy of their transcript for any amendments, additions or deletions as appropriate. A research website has been maintained, <http://howotherworldsemerge.wordpress.com/>, where all documentation related to the research has been posted (including the information sheet and consent form). Material generated through the research has also been included here, for example, conference papers, abstracts and progress reports. This web-based research repository also opened an opportunity for dialogue about the research, with a 'comment' function available on posts made. My business cards also include a link to the research website.

I used secondary audio-visual and written material as collated and made publicly available by the event organisers or contributors in the form of blogs, newspaper/television media interviews and email distribution lists. This led me to consider the concept of 'lurking', that is, the observation of material without necessarily actively participating according to the aim of the online interaction and/or not actively revealing identity as researcher, which some may consider an invasion of privacy whilst others may take no issue (Mann and Stewart, 2000). In line with suggested guidelines for research online (Sharf, 1999) I always introduced myself and the purpose of my research, inviting engagement from other research participants (Mann and Stewart, 2000).

4.6.2 Security of empirical material

The audio and transcription material has been stored and archived on my university computer, which is part of a secure system (Newcastle University Information Systems and Services, 2012). All computer devices on which empirical material has been stored are password protected. Portable devices (for example, lap top, data sticks) have also been encrypted appropriately (Newcastle University Information Systems and Services, 2012). Hard copies of consent forms have been stored on University premises in a locked cupboard.

Electronic consent forms are stored securely on the University secure system (Newcastle University Information Systems and Services, 2012).

Handwritten fieldnotes were taken during interactions and these are also stored in a locked cabinet. Where these have been typed up, the electronic notes are stored securely on the University's secure system (Newcastle University Information Systems and Services, 2012). My personal journals are kept with me at all times. The original notes will be confidentially destroyed at an appropriate time as all empirical material, electronic and hard copy, is being retained, archived and destroyed in line with the Newcastle University Records Retention Schedule, currently under consultation (Newcastle University, 2014).

4.6.3 Risk assessments

My research did not include any activity that was considered to involve more than minimal risk to research participants or me as the researcher (Sharf, 1999; Mann and Stewart, 2000; Economic and Social Research Council, 2012). This was based on an assessment of the following.

1. Physical risk – my research did not involve any activity that posed physical risks to research participants or me as the researcher, beyond those experienced in everyday activity. Interactions took place via Skype, telephone and in public places (for example, cafés).
2. Environment/economic risk – there was no risk of specific environmental or economic damage as a result of my research. No sensitive economic, social or personal empirical material was collected. Travel was made by public transport where possible.
3. Social risk – I was at no risk of social harm as a result of undertaking my research. My research did not reveal any information that required moral or legal response on my part. With regard to research participants' social standing, privacy, personal values and beliefs, and their position within occupational settings, any information provided to me was anonymised, with empirical material stored and archived securely using the University systems, so as to minimise any potential harm from unauthorised access.

Each research participant had the opportunity to review and amend transcripts and to withdraw their participation at any time. Individual research participants have not been named and neither have their organisations. Research participants have been, and will continue to be, informed regarding dissemination of the findings in academic journals, books and other relevant outlets.

4. Psychological risk – my research did not involve any activity that posed psychological risks to my research participants. The topic of the research is such that research participants did not reveal experiences that caused emotional or psychological harm, beyond that of their everyday activity. However, although not identified at the outset of the research, I was aware of the psychological risks to me as a researcher that became apparent as the research progressed. While these were not substantial I did encounter emotional tensions as explored in section 4.5.3 above.

4.11 Summary

Using Cunliffe's (2011) relationship frame as a core structure, this chapter has outlined my ontological and epistemological position, my relationship with the research, its participants and the methods employed in the generation of knowledge presented in this thesis. It demonstrates the boundaries of the research, within the context of which this thesis should be considered, and the ethical considerations of my work.

Through this frame, I understand that relationships are "experienced differently by different people" and the social contexts are "perceived, interpreted and enacted in similar ways but open to change" with "meanings in the moment between people...negotiated & specific to time and place" and with me as a researcher and my research participants "embedded and embodied in historical, cultural and linguistic communities" (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654). My research is a "dialectical interplay between research participants" and myself as an "embodied and embedded researcher" and it "focuses on experiences between people" as "intentional & reflexive subjects...storytellers...actors, interpreters, sensemakers" (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654).

Knowledge, in this research, has had a “macro and micro level focus” given my interest in individual participation in large-scale global contexts, and this social reality is “relative to interactions between people in moments of time & space” with “human action & interpretation” as the context (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 654) and following “interpretive procedures” of analysis (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 655). The following chapters, 5 to 8, represent the core analysis of my empirical material in response to my four research questions.

Chapter 5. Relationships between social actors - the global field of power

5.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on empirical material to elaborate Bourdieu's concept of the field of power (Bourdieu, 1996). Bourdieu (1985, pp. 723-724) conceived of the social world as multi-dimensional, "constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, that is capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder." In the global field of power there is the possibility of different points of view (Bourdieu, 1985) presented by those "whose experience of life is neither that of the lower order of society, nor of any dominant part of the higher order, who are often well endowed in cultural capital but are poor in economic capital" (Deer, 2008a, p. 124).

Extant research has examined the relationship between global and transnational social actors, delineating the relationships between social movement and/or global civil society and global capitalism in particular (e.g. Sklair, 1995; Sklair, 1997). However, this has tended to be solely oppositional and/or in consideration of these groupings individually. Instead, this chapter follows Bourdieu's outline for the analysis of fields (see section 2.4) by: outlining extant theories of the global field of power (section 5.2); defining and describing the presence of a field of power at a global level (sections 5.3 and 5.4); examining who are the global social actors within this field and what are the types of capitals at play (section 5.5); proposing their positions according to dominant, consecrated heretics and dominated dominants (section 5.6); and outlining what is at stake in the struggle within the global field of power (section 5.7). In doing so, the chapter explores the relationship between social actors from different fields operating at a global level to make the world. The examples of the research settings of WSF and WEF are used as example enactments and representations of this complex global field of power. The chapter addresses the research question *What are the perceived relationships between dominant and dominated social actors in global sustainability debates?*

5.2 Theories of the global field of power

The notions of a 'global field of power', 'international field of power' or 'transnational field of power' have reference particularly in the international relations literature (e.g. Guzzini, 2013; Pouliot and Mérand, 2013). In many instances, these are little more than passing uses of the term with brief explanation, for example: in relation to the state of the world at the turn of the century (Navari, 2000); the problematisation of unified global fields (Baker, 2002) and transnational politics (Routledge, 2007); and, most connected to this thesis, the exclusive nature of relationships and decision making across national and cultural boundaries (Cook, 2011; Kauppi and Madsen, 2013). However, these pieces do not expand on what exactly is meant by a 'global field of power' in their work.

Two other lines of enquiry do offer more of an exploration of the global field of power and it is to these that this thesis offers a further contribution. Firstly, the work of Lebaron (2008) has demonstrated a form of analysis in which he has shown the position of banking institutions and central bankers as inserted within the global field of power. He defines the global field of power as a social space "where agents from national spaces relate to each other across borders" (Lebaron, 2008, p. 123) and demonstrates "the space of central bankers as a sub-space of the global field of power" (Lebaron, 2008, p. 124). My work develops his definition to expand the types of 'agents' (global social actors) that I believe participate in the global field of power. My thesis does not negate the importance of central banking (particularly in terms of economic inequality, sustainability and international trade), but rather looks at the global field of power from a different perspective, that of the intersection of global social actors from multiple fields. My 'sub-spaces' are the two global forums, WSF and WEF.

Secondly, the work of Bigo (2011) requires a response. His work explores the debate as to the presence of a global field of power in comparison with "a system of different national fields of power" (Bigo, 2011, p. 225). Bigo questions whether a meta-field such as the global field of power exists as something in and of itself and proposes that there are three ways of considering a field of power that crosses international boundaries: 1) with an international trade purpose, as "a series of national fields of power entering into diplomatic struggles for import-export competences" (Bigo, 2011, p. 248); 2) as a global field of power that is a global

meta-field comprising new global social actors; and 3) that there are different fields of power represented by professional commonality rather than being configured by states and/or markets. His argument pursues the third of these definitions, that there is a field of power in which social actors of different nationalities participate according to their common profession. Despite this, based on my research I favour the second of his proposals because, whilst I agree that there is evidence of professional commonality amongst global social actors (for example, politicians, civil society, businesses), there is intersection between these rather than the 'clustering' implied by the third definition. It is precisely because there are collectives (global forums) within the global field of power that are voluntary and multi-stakeholder that they do represent a meta-field, because they are not tied to a single state or professional field. I believe that my theorisation allows for an account to be made of decisions, alliances and 'deals to be done' that may be outside of and across formal field boundaries (state, profession), demonstrating the power of world making that is possible. I will elaborate my argument in the following sections.

5.3 An approach to describing the global field of power

In this thesis, in addition to fields of power at professional and societal level, I propose that there is a global field of power. This global field of power is an arena for those social actors who have accumulated a significant amount of capital to be principal in their social and/or professional fields but who also have accumulated capital that is valued across fields in terms of an ability to address issues of global significance (see also Lebaron, 2008). The term 'global field of power' implies such a field exists at a meta-level across spatial, national, social, economic and cultural boundaries. Acts and behaviours within the global field of power have implications and effects beyond the particular fields occupied by the social actors; they ripple throughout the world (Coates, 2009). The global field of power can be analysed as part of the social world that is composed of social actors whose acts and behaviours have implications beyond the industry or professional fields they occupy, but who are differentiated by the different levels of capital they have accumulated. Table 5.1 summarises a comparison between Bourdieu's characteristics of the field of power and my proposed characteristics of the global field of power.

Table 5.1: Describing the global field of power

	Field of power	Global field of power
Boundaries	Professional/occupational, societal/national	Meta-professional, meta-occupational, meta-societal, meta-national
Participants	Leading members of profession/occupation/society/nation	Leading members of profession/occupation/society/nation who also have meta-influence
Positions	Dominant to dominated dominants	Dominant to dominated dominants
Capitals	Economic, social, cultural, symbolic capital as privileged by the field	Field-valued capitals plus global capital (symbolic capital)
What is at stake (struggle)	Making the field (rules, social meanings, how things are, who/what is valued)	Making the world (rules, social meanings, how things are, who/what is valued)

I suggest that it is possible to ‘see’ the global field of power enacted through my two research settings: the World Social Forum and the World Economic Forum. These forums can both be seen as nexuses (Wacquant, 2005b) that facilitate reproduction and subversion of a social trajectory for the world, that is, where global social actors can act and interact to protect their interests and dominance or to promote shifts in the field. The research settings of WEF and WSF are example (instead of comprehensive) enactments and representations of a global field of power. As Helen describes:

“I think a lot of these types of groups don’t necessarily see [WSF] as their most important event or, it is one of many other places that they, or many occasions that they have to meet, so they’ll go to the [WSF] say they want to work on something...they’ll also go to the UN something or other...and so yeah, it’s sort of one among many spaces on that global arena.”

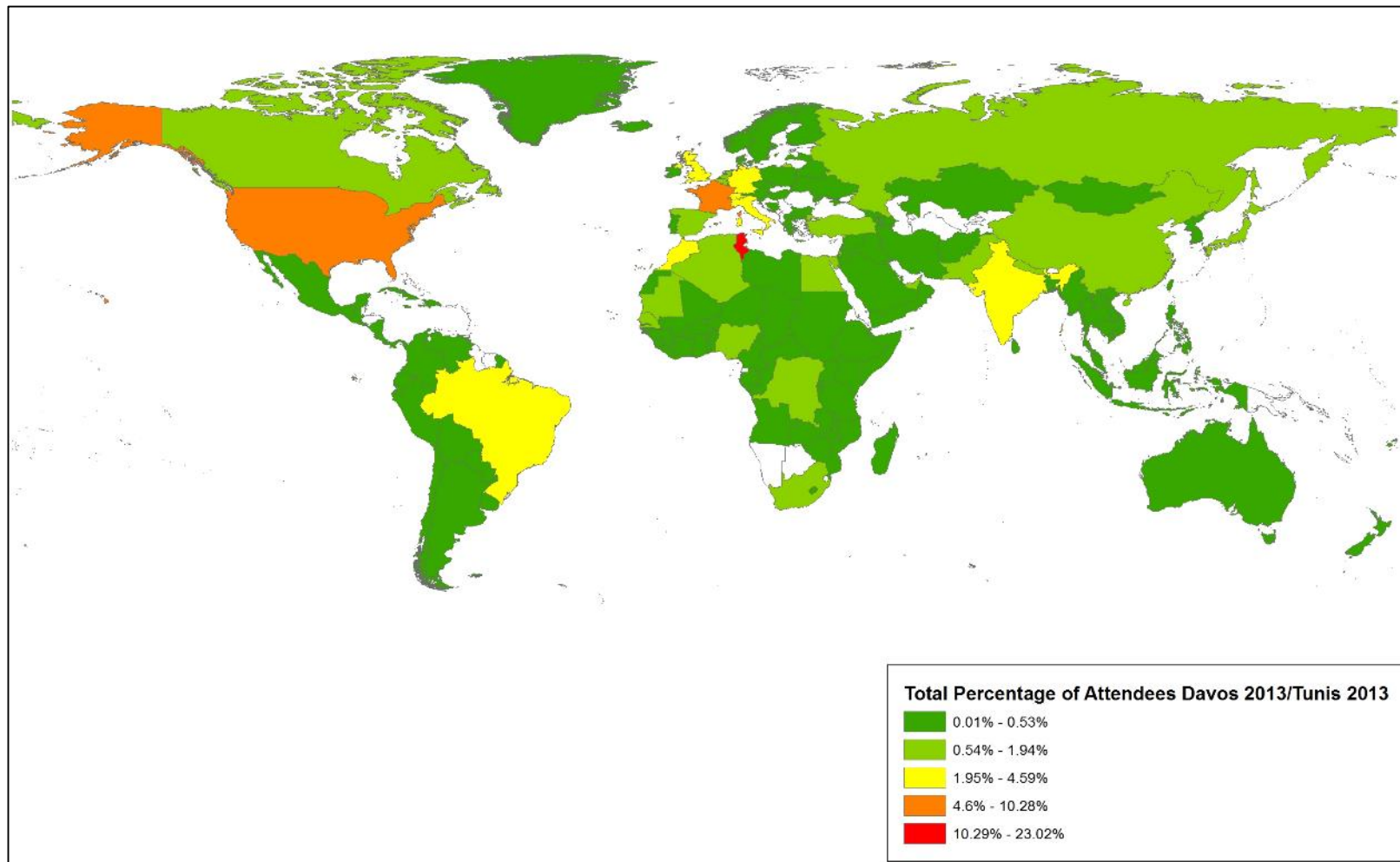
In this respect, it is important to recognise the forums as examples of the way in which the global field of power is enacted, rather than being total representations of the field. What differentiates these forums from other global meetings such as the United Nations or G8 is that participants are not elected or expected to attend by virtue of their role, rather they attend voluntarily or through paid membership. As such, the participants represent a range of stakes (for example, business, political, those of civil society, religious) configured alongside one another and each has the opportunity to set agendas towards their own

interest or position (e.g. Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008) outside of formal or institutionalised contexts.

Picture 5.1 overleaf is an illustration of the distribution of the 'home' countries of those attending WSF in Tunis and WEF in Davos, both in 2013. This has been compiled from information about registered organisations (The Guardian, 2013; World Social Forum, 2013), so it is not comprehensive; however, it gives an indication of the spread of attendees across the globe in two particular events of these forums²⁵.

²⁵ See also Section 3.3.1, Figure 3.1 and Table 3.1, in which the additional events and activities of these forums are described, illustrating the opportunities for greater geographic spread of participation (provided the appropriate capitals are accumulated, see section 5.5 of this chapter).

Picture 5.1: Map displaying the 'home' countries of participants in both WSF, Tunis and WEF, Davos 2013



The forums have exclusions and inequality, for example, some countries are absent/weakly represented, forum participants are generally educated, there is structural exclusion through lack of financial capital, cultural exclusion including dominance of white males and the educated from Europe and North America (Ylä-Anttila, 2005), there is a requirement for literacy in networking, technology and common language and funding for both forums includes reliance, to a greater or lesser extent, on corporate sources (Nunes, 2005). These mirror the exclusions and inequalities of power in the world (e.g. Acker, 2006). Despite these shortcomings, I believe they are worth studying as partial enactments of the global field of power because of: 1) the organisation of global-focused activities, events, meetings and outputs they offer; 2) the potential world making effects of participation therein (Bourdieu, 1989); 3) the economic, social and cultural capitals held by participants, culminating in symbolic global capital; 4) the variation in position, for example, economic dominance and cultural dominated dominance; and 5) the stake of the struggle being issues of significant global meaning. These will be explained further in the following sections.

5.4 Boundaries

As explored in Chapter 2 (section 2.6), Bourdieu's analysis proposes power as corralled within specific fields of power, for example, the higher education field has its own field of power (populated by social actors including professors, vice chancellors), the English social field has its own field of power (populated by social actors including aristocrats, senior politicians and business people). Any field of power is understood according to the relations between forms of power and forms of capital, and the struggle between them. It is "a gaming space in which those agents and institutions possessing enough specific capital (economic or cultural capital in particular) to be able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power" (Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 264-265). The field is never fixed, with social actors struggling to accumulate more capital and achieve dominance, albeit that there is a general tendency towards the perpetuation of dominance of those with greater economic capital over cultural capital (see sections 2.5 and 5.5).

Bourdieu's analysis of the field of power initially focused on an analysis of the context of French society (e.g. Bourdieu, 1996), exploring the relationship between those social actors

at the pinnacle of their fields according to the capitals they accumulated. With regard to my research settings, it could certainly be considered that WEF as a site alone operates as a single manifestation of the field of power. Dexter alludes to this in his description: *“In terms of the public profile of the [WEF] has, it’s huge, in terms of the credibility and profile it seems to have within decision makers and power holders, it’s phenomenal...it’s an institution that has come...to exude power and influence.”* As Hardt and Negri (2006, p. 167) also write:

“[at Davos] we can see clearly the need for leaders of major corporations to negotiate and cooperate with the political leaders of the dominant nation-states and the bureaucrats of the supranational economic institutions...At Davos, in short, we can see the institutional relationships that support and regulate the global political and economic system. This is a nerve center of the global body politic.”

WEF facilitates the meeting of those global social actors who are highly recognisable (global capital and dominance) and renowned in their fields, for example, Bono²⁶ (cultural capital - musical field), Bill Gates (economic capital - business/philanthropic fields), Shinzo Abe²⁷ (political capital – political field), Kumi Naidoo²⁸ (cultural capital - civil society field). As notes from the conversation²⁹ with George reflect: *Davos is a pretty big show. There are large corporations and world leaders, it is a great place to meet and greet.* Taylor offers a light-hearted observation of this in action at the WEF annual meeting in Davos:

“There’s a hilarious thing whereby people have an ability in Davos to look at your badge and process it as they walk towards someone, in a nano-second what your badge says about you and whether it’s even worth looking up, so it is a bit of a power-fest, which I think it was very useful, I enjoyed it a great deal, I’ve made some good contacts and it’s the first step I think, so it was great.”

Taylor’s observation suggests that by the name badge alone, it is possible to make a judgment on ‘whether it’s even worth looking up’. The names of participants have significance, recognition, equating to Bourdieu’s symbolic capital (see section 2.5).

²⁶ Singer with rock band U2, co-founder of several philanthropic and campaigning organisations (DATA, ONE Campaign).

²⁷ Prime Minister of Japan.

²⁸ International Executive Director of Greenpeace.

²⁹ Where ‘notes from the conversation’ is used in the text throughout this thesis, this indicates that these are not verbatim quotations, therefore no quotation marks used. See section 4.9.2 for more details regarding the recording of my research interactions.

It is certainly possible to study this forum alone as a representation of the global field of power with neat boundaries and focusing on the participation of the most dominant dominants (see section 2.6) over time. Other scholars have indeed studied WEF in this way (for example, Pigman, 2002; Graz, 2003; Fougner, 2008; Garsten and Sörbom, 2014b). However, I argue that this view is narrowed to the global social actors of only certain fields and privileges the USA/Europe (from where most participants in WEF activities come). It also neglects to account for the relationship with dominated dominants (see section 2.6) who offer different perspectives within the field (resistance, subversion and dissent) (Nash, 2005). Indeed, as Paul (rather tongue in cheek) observes: *“I was very lucky to go to Davos...But my immediate impression was...my immediate reaction was ‘my God, if this is supposed to be the elite of the world, God help us!’ [laughter]”* The quote from Hardt and Negri (2006, see p. 126 above) seems to also support this, as they describe WEF at Davos as ‘a’ nerve centre, not ‘the’ nerve centre.

I argue, therefore, that WSF represents a second snapshot of the same global field of power but from another angle – same field of power, but different ‘part’ of the field, with different (although sometimes overlapping) social actors and different points of view (Bourdieu, 1989). It is still possible to study its events over time and participation therein, albeit with messier boundaries. It also facilitates the meeting of principal social actors in a range of fields, albeit the most prominent of the grassroots civil society organisations (for example, Occupy, ATTAC) (e.g. Vinthagen, 2008). Global social actors in the global field of power interact in their different positions, exchanging and accumulating different knowledge capital and explanatory mechanisms for the world. It is possible to characterise certain anti-capitalist/pro-social/civil society organisations and their social actors as also being leaders within their field, part of the global field of power as dominated dominants. As Lucy explains:

“how extreme powers have become, I know 99% and 1% slogans but it is about that, about being the great majority of the population of the planet that is suffering and the very small part of the population that is just using it and getting all the benefit, so we need to organise to protect the planet and so on”.

Lucy’s point illustrates the ‘need to organise’, that is, for those who are able to by virtue of their capital and status as the ‘top’ of civil society to come together and challenge. The global field of power offers the opportunity for these global social actors ‘to organise to protect the planet’, WSF activities offer the space to do this despite representing a more

dominated area of the field. All global social actors in the field of power draw on significant amounts of capital (of different forms) in their struggle for dominance. They all have appropriate capitals to enable them to participate in the global field of power (see section 5.5) and the field is a space for world making, as indicated by Riley: *“I think what a CEO does or a Director does or somebody with a degree of power does, what they think is hugely important and Davos is one of those moments in time that is almost a unique place for CEOs to develop their thinking.”* In this respect, the global field of power (as represented by these forums) is a world making space because those that act within it ‘develop their thinking’ and ‘what they think is hugely important’.

The settings of WSF and WEF represent Bourdieu’s (1989, p. 18) analysis of different “points of view” within the global field of power, specifically “different or even antagonistic points of view, since points of view depend on the point from which they are taken, since the vision that every agent has of the space depends on his or her position in that space.” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18). They are partial and Preston expresses the limits of each forum on an individual basis:

“I think it’s not all the [WEF’s] job to some extent to, or it’s not its obligation to become the global platform for dialogue on all issues relating to sustainable development and society and so on so inevitably it picks a certain set of those topics and focuses on those over some...I think there is still a gap in global debate and in global platforms for a more critical, realistic debate that needs to take place in front of the actual decision makers. I know obviously in Porto Alegre and the Social Forum those sort of debates take place, but they normally take place too far at the other end of the spectrum, and there are no serious decision makers involved, I mean I know they are at times but not in the same sense as there is at Davos, there is a bit of a disconnect there. One is probably too optimistic and one is too pessimistic”

Preston’s point supports the incomplete and relational nature of each forum, that there is still a ‘gap’ and there is evidence of different points of view within each of them as well. But it does not matter that they are partial as they are simply illustrative of positions within the global field of power. The forums do demonstrate the world-forming nature of human interaction, indicating the dialectical inseparability of the individual and the collective in their relational experiences (Pina-Cabral, 2014). In addition, these forums are not singular meeting spaces, but offer multiple activities and opportunities for engagement. Just as WEF

does not just equal the meeting in Davos (also comprising multiple points of view), WSF is not one thing. Susanna describes this as follows:

“there are multiple overlapping forums, and your experience might be very different depending on which spaces you’re interacting with. You might get the sense of the forum as being all about ‘respectable’ NGOs giving talks on their work, or about a mass of confusion, or about an ongoing attempt at challenging the respectability of the forum itself and attempting to build something more radical.”

Susanna’s description is useful as it indicates the importance of multiple social contexts within the global field of power, and within these forums as representations thereof. As she says, ‘depending on which spaces you’re interacting with’, global social actors will have different experiences. As part of this, the individual global social actors also represent different points of view within the global field of power (Bourdieu, 1985). I would also suggest that defining the settings as having particular positions within the global field of power risks ‘fixing’ them and betrays an over-simplified and generalised description of participation in their activities. Whilst I can talk of general propensities towards points of view that attract participation in each (for example, WEF as attracting social actors focused on business and economics, WSF as attracting social actors focused on society and the environment), by considering them as part of a larger global field of power allows me to explore the relation between the position of individual social actors in recognition of these settings as context for part of their work towards more sustainable worlds.

Retaining a binary view of these settings also neglects the significant contestation and struggle with regard to sustainability debates within each forum, albeit more openly expressed and debated in WSF than WEF. For example, for participants in WSF activities, there are different perceptions of the importance of political and religious relationships, and sources of financial support to the WSF meetings in 2001-2005 including Ford Foundation, Petrobras, Christian Aid, World Council of Churches and CAFOD (Böhm, 2005; Santos, 2006) are subject to critique for privileging certain positions (religious) over others and/or for being financed drawn from neoliberal capitalist activities. For participants in WEF activities, whether or not in agreement with the definition of what an NGO is, WEF has NGO consultative status with the UN³⁰ and operates communities of practice for non-members,

³⁰ This status enables NGOs to engage in consultative and collaborative discussions with the UN and

including civil society actors, academics and cultural representatives (Pigman, 2007), alongside profit-driven debates about international trade, growth and competitiveness (World Economic Forum, 2014a).

Additionally, the distance between these forums is not as great as some forum participants would believe and/or like (Hardt and Negri, 2003) and both represent contestation and struggle for interests and dominance in world making (Bourdieu, 1989). Jacob describes: *“I think the distance between [WEF] and [WSF] must have diminished, so I don’t think it can be antitheses now, but rather perhaps synergies and greater emphasis.”* This illustrates the relationships between a multitude of global social actors and, despite partiality and whether in agreement with the system or not, understanding it is perhaps a first step in being able to instigate the alternatives developed and discussed in the global field of power (illustrated by both WEF and WSF) with associated implications for world making on global issues. Through the struggle, global social actors reproduce the overall structure of the global field of power, albeit that positions within it can shift (Swartz, 1997). Simplistic binary oppositions mask the paradoxes and dilemmas faced by forum participants (Billig *et al.*, 1988; Biccum, 2005), and also that each forum is necessary to the other. Shifts in position occur as global social actors interact within a number of social contexts, which include the forums but also other social contexts that may be both within the global field of power and also in other social fields (for example, professional or political). In this respect, the boundaries of the global field of power are permeable, with global social actors moving in, out, and across different social contexts. The next section illustrates who it is that participates in the global field of power, as exemplified by the forums of WSF and WEF.

5.5 Participants and their capitals

Social actors may enter and leave the field according to the capitals that have been accumulated or diminished, but there is still an exclusivity to entrance because the global field of power is a privileged field according to capitals. Only those with the ‘right’ capitals in the ‘right’ combination can enter the field. They are in a position to be able to represent marginalised and underrepresented voices (to address a form of inequality), but only if they

organisations have to apply for this status (United Nations, 2011).

see value in doing so. In addition, the field can be subverted by both new entrants and existing entrants as part of the struggle over what is at stake (see section 5.7).

Much research has grouped global social actors together for analysis to examine their force on a world level, for example, as a meta-class (Sklair, 1997) or meta-elite (Bourdieu, 1996; Robinson and Harris, 2000), or as a collective counter-power (Evans, 2005). This analysis has largely focused on the relationships within strata, that is, between those individuals with high economic and/or political status and influence (e.g. Lebaron, 2008) and between those who represent high social status and influence (e.g. de Bakker *et al.*, 2013). Table 5.2 lists some examples of the organisations represented in the global field of power, as exemplified by WEF and WSF.

Table 5.2: Example Participants

Example Participants	
ActionAid	Centrica Plc
Baloch Unity Conference	HelpAge International
Christian Aid	KPMG
Community Media Solutions	Petrofac Services Ltd
Ethical Corporation Magazine	HSBC Bank Plc
Jubilee Debt Campaign	Nomura International Plc
Justice For Iran	Marks & Spencer Plc
MENA Solidarity	Google
No Borders UK	Tesco Plc
Sheffield University	ManpowerGroup
The Eleos Foundation	Chevron Corporation
The Guardian	The Humanitarian Forum
Trades Union Congress	McKinsey & Company
Zaman Media Group	The Global Business Coalition for Education

(The Guardian, 2013; World Social Forum, 2013)

In my thesis I acknowledge this analysis but suggest that these pieces are largely focused on revealing the dominance or elite of the economic in global processes, identifying that economics has come to dominate the political in directing the rules and regulations that govern global practices (Beck, 2008) and focusing on counter positions (Evans, 2005). My thesis does not disagree with this approach, but I seek to expand the investigation to demonstrate the importance of the relationship between global social actors, incorporating

those social actors who marshal other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1997) in a relation of struggle with those in dominant positions at a global level (Nash, 2005). Chris, for example, describes two main groups of participants that he believes have most capital for effects as follows:

“I think the two bodies, the two groups that probably influence the senior people in the WEF, this is only, this is my perception of it, are the private sector and government, and the academics don’t really influence it that much, even though they’re the bedrock of a lot of ideas, I think it’s mainly the things they’re concerned about I think the WEF are, because remember they get sponsorship from the private sector and from government, they’re the paymasters. So it’s not surprising and I guess NGOs, less academics, less, and less significant bodies you know like maybe think tanks, they don’t get at the kind of probably the prominence in [WEF] that the private sector does.”

In Chris’ experience, the most valued capitals (and in line with Bourdieu’s analysis of dominance) are economic (private sector) and political, with cultural capitals (held by academics, NGOs) less significant. However, all of these global social actors are also able to act across organisational and national boundaries to make the world, particularly through forums such as WSF and WEF. This gives them leverage, status that is derived from their ability to draw capital from several fields and act with authority across several fields. Indeed, the global social actors within the global field of power have influential positions and valuable resources within their ‘home’ organisations and/or fields (Maclean *et al.*, 2014). Wendy illustrates some types of participation as follows:

“The way I look at it, I think [WEF activities are] really the gathering of the best minds in the world. There may be issues not mentioned there, but they pretty much cover most of them. The [WEF] is a very organised, well established, very mature platform that operates all year round...the [WEF] Outlook is based on surveys not only of [Global Agenda Council] members but also relying on external expertise and knowledge as well, so they’ve been doing this on an annual basis in a timely manner identifying the major issues in the upcoming time.”

Wendy describes ‘the gathering of the best minds in the world’. Global social actors are identified as those whose capitals confer on them the ability to define, form and make the world(s) of themselves and others throughout the world, across multiple geographic and social boundaries. They are part of defining, forming and making the world(s) of both themselves and others within and across certain social boundaries.

Participants in the global field of power, as illustrated through my research participants, hold various influential positions (for example, chief executive, president, archbishop) and as such, they have potential to form the worlds of other people (Pina-Cabral, 2014) in multiple contexts. They share a drive towards the development of a fairer and more sustainable relationship with the world, albeit from different points of view. As Claire comments:

“I think this is a unique opportunity, the [WSF], I think that, to bring so many people together and so many experiences together and so many realisation and different views and, I think there is not such a thing like this on the social level, thinking about you know social movements, or civil society organisations, something so global, there’s not much”.

Claire’s comments echo the notion of points of view (‘so many people’, ‘so many experiences’, ‘different views’) and being ‘global’ in nature (Bourdieu, 1985). These forums, the activities they organise and those who participate therein are important; they matter (Billig *et al.*, 1988). All global social actors are dominant to greater or lesser degrees. An account can be taken of those global social actors with status participating from fields other than the corporate (economic) or the political to include, for example, civil society and religious fields. It is more important to acknowledge the interaction of capitals that gives the status to act and interact within the global field of power. This allows for a recognition of those global social actors who have different volumes and combinations of different forms of capital (especially cultural, for example, knowledge) who are able to challenge those positioned as dominant with the global field of power. Theo supports this position, that: *“Political and economic policy is overly determined by the top 1% [there is a need] to guarantee that the public has input on decisions made by political leaders.”*

In terms of world making (Bourdieu, 1989), the global field of power enables the mobilisation of resources, with participants holding economic, social and cultural capital on a global scale (Graz, 2003; Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007). Social actors within the global field of power hold capitals that are valued beyond national, social, economic and cultural boundaries; they have global value. Global value does not necessarily mean universal or essential, but that the value stretches beyond singular field boundaries and again, these capitals have implications and effects beyond the particular fields occupied by the social actors, specifically in relation to the perpetuation or solution of global inequality. The capital

of particular value in the global field of power is global capital, as a form of symbolic capital. This is explained in more detail in Chapter 6.

Despite all of those who participate in the global field of power having to have a degree of global capital as a prerequisite for entry, there are struggles to control who is able to participate and who is not. Indeed, as Theo comments:

“the missing participants [in global forums] reflect the hierarchies of power in the global system, for example, indigenous people, Africans, people of colour from Western countries, and poor people are not proportionately represented at the WSF simply because they do not have the same resources and time as more privileged groups do to attend the WSF.”

Theo highlights that exclusions from the global field of power mirror global hierarchies of power according to forms of capital, specifically embodied cultural (white privileged over all others) and economic (money and time privileged in terms of access to participate). For example, the diversity and variety of participation in WEF activities is bounded by paid membership and by invited involvement (Ylä-Anttila, 2005). Research participants described that forum participants from sectors outside of business (for example, politics, religion, civil society, academia) (e.g. Hutter and O'Mahony, 2004) are invited or nominated to participate in a range of WEF activities (World Economic Forum, 2014a) by virtue of their expertise, knowledge or other capital. Those who pay to join as members are the foundation of WEF, representing 1,000 companies whose size, turnover and global presence indicates their significance (World Economic Forum, 2014h). These representatives of business and industry pay hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling to be part of it. Jason describes gaps in participation in WEF activities from his perspective:

“I think there are groups that are not present definitely, even though there are some NGOs there, there are many, many NGOs that are not there because they can simply not afford it and they don't get invited, I mean you get NGOs that come because they are invited, because they have expertise that they can provide you with, they have something called the Young Global Leaders activities and they invite young people there but they are not as young as I should like them to be”

A dilemma for those who participate is the extent to which: *“he who pays the piper calls the tune”* (Simon); that is, there is potential for differential value of input and interests to be served on the basis of the nature of membership. This is explored further in Section 6.3.1.

As Susanna also explains, there are also privileges in terms of embodied capital, specifically language and physical ability:

“those who can’t afford to attend (locally or internationally), those who don’t speak one of the dominant languages, those who don’t have the organisational power to run a talk or workshop (or who do, but not to get it placed in one of the main areas). At Tunis, the site was really not accessible for anyone with walking difficulties, and ironically the tent addressing disability issues had been placed at a site that was only accessible by stairs.”

Mason adds travel and political freedom as potential barriers to participation:

“Tens of thousands of activists from all over the world [participate] from a variety of social movements, NGOs and unions. Depending on where the forum is, there always sections of the world that are under-represented. This is a result of a variety of factors including everything from cost of travel, to political repression. The WSF actively tries to overcome these barriers.”

Taylor also comments: *“I think it has been well documented that the gender balance is not representative of the world and that I think Africa is quite underrepresented. There are some countries that are well represented like India, who took it very seriously, so it could make it more globally diverse.”* Olivia adds: *“I can see from my experiences – majority of participants are white man, age of 25-45, English speakers. Women have to take leading role – they have not been doing it so far in strategic decision making.”*

Participation in the global field of power, like any field of power, is therefore defined according to certain characteristics and resources of global social actors – in Bourdieu’s terms, capitals (discussed further in Chapter 6). In this respect, the global social actors participating in the global field of power are relatively few, yet have the symbolic power to make the worlds of many. There is a complex interplay of capitals that global social actors negotiate to: enter the global field of power; strengthen their position through accumulation in the global field of power; struggle with one another to define the value and composition of global capital; and utilise their position to define the ‘rules of the game’ in the global field of power. In the next section, I consider the positions that may be taken within the global field of power.

5.6 Positions

Bourdieu describes the field of power firstly, in terms of the “relations of power among forms of power”, and secondly, in terms of the struggle of social actors to occupy dominant positions within the field (1996, pp. 264-265). In all fields, “all members of the group do not possess all the properties that define the group” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 316), which also confers the possibility for change to occur. Bourdieu uses illustrative binaries of types of social actors to make this point, for example “warriors and priests, bellatores and oratores, businessmen...and intellectuals” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 266). The position of social actors in the field is dependent upon the distribution of capitals of value within that field (Swartz, 1997). Those social actors in dominant positions hold the most capital of value to the field but it is important not to create a simplistic binary opposition of ‘dominant’ and ‘dominated’, rather to explore the shifting and sometimes simultaneous positions that social actors hold (Wacquant, 2013). As Bourdieu (1983, p. 313, emphasis original) explains:

“Every position-taking is defined in relation to the *space of possibles* which is objectively realised as a *problematic* in the form of the actual or potential position-taking corresponding to the different positions; and it receives its distinctive *value* from its negative relationship with the coexistent position-takings to which it is objectively related and which determine it by delimiting it.”

All global social actors can be considered ‘dominant’ to a certain extent by nature of their capitals and participation in the global field of power. However, there are different positions in terms of dominance within the global field of power according to difference in capital resources. Jacob describes an example of his participation at the WEF annual meeting in Davos:

“it’s unique you know, particularly I think for sort of common mortals, you rise above the clouds for a brief period, I remember one occasion I was calling my wife during a break and I said to her ‘there goes Sarkozy³¹’, and then I turned around and there was Bill Clinton³² and behind him was Gates³³ and so on.”

³¹ Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France, 2007-2012.

³² President of the United States of America, 1993-2001.

³³ Bill Gates, Co-founder of Microsoft, Co-chair of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

Jacob's comments suggest that he feels like a 'common mortal' compared with others in attendance at WEF, despite the fact that he also has the appropriate capital to participate as a global social actor, there are still others who have more overall and/or more of greater value. Certain global social actors, for example, also have resonance at a local level, generating belief that things can be made better, and this resonance gives them capital and capacity to subvert and disrupt the dominance of others to make the world (Evans, 2005). In this way, the positions can be characterised as being dominant through to dominated dominants. That is, some 'dominants' are more dominant than others in relative dominance (dominant dominants to dominated dominants), albeit not fixed. For example, the corporate (economic capital, dominants) perceived to be dominating civil society (socio-cultural capital, dominated dominants). In Bourdieu's terms, these global social actors can be interpreted as being "economically dominated and symbolically dominant" (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 325).

In the global field of power, a simplistic analysis could be to consider participants in WEF activities as representing dominant positions. These social actors have great resources (capitals, see section 5.5 and Chapter 6) and frequently represent normative and monopolistic command that they seek to protect. The activity of the forum is highly selective (despite the multi-stakeholder discourse), highly visible (maximising social media, world media, internet and publication communications), highly talked about and listened to (as evidenced by the media response to the annual Davos event). Vincent describes this dominance as follows:

"I think that the WEF is just a meeting to perpetuate their actual structure, you're not going there to say 'oh now we're gonna share our power and give up our profits, promote self-determination, promote autonomy to the communities'. No, of course they are there to learn how to concentrate more power and more financial assets...there's nothing new there. Perhaps the strategies but the structure will not change, the system, you'll not change that with meetings."

Jacob also identifies the influence as being to bring together those key people to make the world (using a particularly difficult socio-political example) 'with a flick of a finger':

"I think it was a combination I think the, again it's the individuals who, the two leaders, the Palestinian and the Israeli³⁴ know each other, have been talking, both have been trying to break down the impasse, but I think also you know if you're going to do something like that and you want to have it under the aegis of an organisation that has the kind of drawing power, there're not many other alternatives than [WEF], but they have such a huge network throughout the world, you know, so they were able with a flick of a finger to mobilise, I can't remember how many we were, but at least I would guess a couple of hundred."

In comparison, it is possible to consider some participants in WSF activities as "dominated dominants" (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008, p. 21), that is, they are dominants by virtue of their position in the global field of power; however they are dominated by others in the field because they hold less capital of value therein. This is accepted as part of acting differently, generating challenge by playing a different game that is a strategy "in which some voices may not be attended to for some time, but which can, if insistent and well organised, make it on to the agenda" (Carter *et al.*, 2008, p. 94). Claire describes voices from different countries and values the identification of commonality rather than difference or conflict between participants. In this instance, participants bring their global capital and drive the agenda according to their interests in a democratic manner:

"there were voices from all over though, this is I guess the important thing of it, they were really coming from all over, so from each country and it's really also very beautiful to see that there's a lot of commonalities between all these countries as well, so, yeah, to see that we can have all similar views or same views even if you're coming from very different places I think this is more the objective rather than looking for confrontation and difference."

So whilst there are some oppositional positions (domination/dominated dominants), global social actors do interact closely in a dialectic, one without the other cannot exist and they are both part of the same global field of power. As Riley implies, everyone within the global field of power is interrelated, including the 'clusters' offered by the forums: *"none of them work in isolation and are all co-dependent, inter-dependent on one another, either for scientific input, either for commercial support, either for companionship on the journey"*. The

³⁴ Violent tensions between Palestine and Israel have a long history, but at present relate to the recognition of each other as states and the occupation of land in Gaza and the West Bank.

expression of challenge is more nuanced than polar opposites. Tristan expresses his view as follows: “I think what I’m calling for is some degree of sophistication also from some of us and not saying that we won’t challenge and wait for those in power to do things for us.” He seems to seek direct engagement regarding change in the world, rather than ‘waiting’ for others to act on his behalf. For example, participants in WSF activities have dominance in their representation of voices at a marginalised level as well as having capital to act at a global level, generating belief that things can be made better, to give them basis and capacity in their challenge (Evans, 2005).

The complexity of the notion of positions is further evident by global social actors who could be considered, in Bourdieu’s terms, ‘consecrated heretics’ (Bourdieu, 1988) (see section 2.8). Bourdieu used the term to describe academics who challenge the orthodoxy of their field (heterodoxy to the point of heresy), but gain followers to become accepted (albeit reluctantly) (Scheper-Hughes, 2009) (see also section 2.8). In terms of my research settings, consecrated heretics could be interpreted as those global social actors who cross over areas of the field, from interacting in a more dominated position to interacting in a more dominant position. Notes from the conversation with James illustrate examples of this:

In more recent years, however, some civil society organisations have been represented at Davos, for example, Kumi Naidoo...[and] the head of Oxfam UK or International Attends, the International Youth Foundation has [also] had representation³⁵. There are dozens of CSO leaders who go to Davos on their own volition, not representing the Social Forum in any way.

Table 5.3 overleaf lists some examples of how I have categorised different organisations represented by participating global social actors according to where they could be considered positioned within the global field of power (at the time of my research interaction). For example, the dominant dominants (column one, including Accenture, McKinsey and Company, Thomson Reuters) hold the greatest volume of global capital comprising the greatest volume of valued capitals; economic capital is most dominant in the dominant doxa of neoliberal capitalism, and these organisations have the greatest volume as well as great global presence and/or broad reach of influence/impact. Consecrated heretics

³⁵ The Guardian generally publishes a list of attendees at Davos, for example, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2013/jan/22/davos-wef-full-list-of-attendees#data> and <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2014/jan/21/whos-doing-davos-2014-world-economic-forum>.

(column two, including American Jewish Committee, Islamic Relief Worldwide and World Vision International) also have significant global capital, but have valuable proportions of social and cultural capital, with economic capital (albeit that this is not their focus). The dominated dominants (column three, including Alternatives International, Global Forest Coalition and Transnational Institute) have global capital, but in less volume than the other organisations and with less proportion of the dominant capital (economic) as they focus on the social and cultural.

Table 5.3: Position examples

Example dominant dominants: Green Growth Action Alliance Members (Green Growth Action Alliance, 2013)	Example consecrated heretics: participants in The Future Role of Civil Society Project Steering Group (World Economic Forum, 2013b)	Example dominated dominants: facilitators of the Climate Space (Climate Space, 2013)
<p>Accenture Bank of America Merrill Lynch Climate Development Knowledge Network Environmental Defense Fund European Investment Bank GE Energy GrupoFinancieroBanorte Iberdrola International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development McKinsey & Company Novozymes Private Sector Center for Sustainable Development Studies Siemens Suntech Power Thomson Reuters United Nations Foundation Welspun Energy</p>	<p>American Jewish Committee Berlin Civil Society Center Catholic Health Association CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation Global Witness HelpAge International Interfaith Power and Light Campaign International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies International Transport Workers’ Federation Islamic Relief Worldwide National Council for Voluntary Organisations Oxfam India/Oxfam GB Save the Children India Sojourners The Diocese of London The Humanitarian Forum World Vision International</p>	<p>Alliance of Progressive Labor, Philippines Alternatives International ATTAC France Ecologistas en Accion Environmental Rights Action, Nigeria ETC Group Fairwatch Italy Focus on the Global South Global Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power and end TNCs’ impunity Global Forest Coalition Grupo de Reflexao e ApoioaoProcesso do Forum Social Mundial Indigenous Environmental Network La Via Campesina No-REDD Africa Network OilWatch International Polaris Institute Transnational Institute</p>
<p>Dominant position owing to greatest volume of global capital/economic dominance</p>	<p>Consecrated heretics because significant global capital and valuable proportions of both economic and socio-cultural capital</p>	<p>Dominated dominants because still holding global capital, but in relatively less volume/socio-cultural dominance</p>

These consecrated heretics are social actors who have sufficient acceptance in both areas of the field to be respected and accredited. They are still acting within one global field of power, thus revealing the complexity and dynamism of positions, but it is an uncomfortable respect and acceptance because they in some way do not 'fit' the dominant doxa. Notes from the conversation with James offer a useful description of the relationships between different global social actors, using the positions of each of the forums as shorthand for two ends of a continuum:

There is more dialogue among the more moderate sides of both Forums, some of the more moderate corporate bodies like [example global house of brands] and others, there is more common ground. More moderate civil society organisations see more commonality with Davos on certain themes, for example, girls' education, climate change, labour and jobs. But the more hardline are not there, they are not set up for it.

In the above extract, James talks of 'dialogue among the more moderate sides' but in addition to the consecrated heretics described in the above table from the dominated dominant perspective (that is consecrated by WEF) he also describes 'more moderate corporate bodies' who could (potentially) be consecrated by WSF. James suggests that dialogue takes place between those whose points of view are not extremely different and acknowledge 'common ground'. Those who have more polarised perspectives are not part of this debate, in his view. It is important to remember, therefore, that positions are always relational and are not fixed, that is, the 'heresy' of these global social actors can be seen from both orthodox and heterodox perspectives and they may not always be consecrated heretics as their position in the field changes (for example, towards dominant dominants and/or dominated dominants). From the heterodox perspective, for example, certain consecrated heretics can be considered heretical in terms of their civil society position because they are engaging with the dominant (representing orthodoxy). As notes from the conversation with Ben describe: *the best way to manage resistance is to allow it to happen – i.e. look how inclusive we are*. Ben suggests that those who engage are being 'managed' by those in dominant positions, rather than pursuing an alternative doxa. Joshua also describes this as follows:

"Are charities doing what they're supposed to be doing, are they holding state and capital to account? Or are they just making common cause with them, cosying up to power, and seeing whether that could be their way of changing things, to go back to the whole point of why we're here, WSF is crucial for saying

‘that is unacceptable’. That’s the sort of structural importance of the WSF, as I said before, it’s the, you cannot allow the capital to be the lead agency in the process of historical development which WEF, you have to counter that, and you have to counter that by challenging power not by tinkering round the edges and cosyng up to power.”

This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, in terms of the strategies of global social actors (see also section 2.4); ‘challenging power’ can be interpreted as a subversive strategy and ‘cosying up’ can be interpreted as a succession strategy.

From the orthodox perspective, these global social actors can be considered heretical in terms of the dominant because they are from civil society and are defying market dominance, thus “civil society is thus drawn onto the agenda of corporations, as a stakeholder to be reckoned with, a ‘partner’” (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007, p. 147). Juliet describes an example of the actions taken within WEF activities to negotiate the intersection between the social and the economic:

“You have for any given hour so many different choices, so we used to talk about it as executive positioning and it was sort of a question of how to leverage that executive’s relationships, where he needed to be at any one time, the talking points he needed to be repeatedly saying right about his work or his company...because the thing about WEF is that everyone is trying to be a do-gooder in many ways and so you have to come with the story that says that you are wanting to improve the world’s economy but also wanting to improve the world, right? It’s, even though it’s called the Economic Forum, I mean part of the way of becoming a well-respected executive and company is to have a corporate responsibility too.”

Juliet’s term, ‘executive positioning’, illustrates an example of the way in which certain global social actors may act to position themselves in such a way to try to privilege their interests, their agenda of sustainability through a believable story of both improving the world’s economy and improving the world.

In summary, the global field of power is a social space characterised by different degrees of dominance of the global social actors who take positions therein. The relative dominance of these global social actors is demonstrated by the positions taken according to the capitals accumulated, which are not fixed and are subject to struggle. Struggle occurs according to whom else is participating and the capital resources they have, the differing definitions of

what success looks like and how to deliver it, and the interests therein represented. Swartz (2008, p. 48) explains that the positions within the field “seldom reduce to self-expressions of individuals or narrow calculations of self or organizational interest: rather they emerge as compromised outcomes of the whole complex of struggles and negotiations of multiple interests in inter- and intra-organizational fields that unfold over time.” In relation to the global field of power, this means that what is at stake (struggled over) are the rules and social meanings of the field, how things are and what is valued at a global level as considered further in section 5.7 following.

5.7 What is at stake

Those individuals that are able to and do participate in these global forums can use their participation to shape agendas of global significance (Garsten, 2003), “from seeking change through confrontation and to include collaboration with variable partnerships, reformist efforts within institutions, and the development of alternative economic orders” (de Bakker *et al.*, 2013, p. 577). The ultimate power is in the ability to define meaning, consensus and ‘how things are’ in social contexts (Bourdieu, 1985). Lebaron’s (2008, p. 126) research, for example, showed that “forces compete inside the field defined by the institution of the central bank to impose a certain direction to the monetary (and macroeconomic) control of the economy”. In the case of this thesis, global social actors are struggling to define the meaning of ‘sustainability’ and ‘inequality’ at a global level and what acts should be undertaken to promote more sustainable, equal worlds (world making). These topics permeate the activity of the global field of power, for example, Paul explains:

“you can look on the [WEF] website for a list of all the topics that the [Global Agenda] Councils look at, there’s specific Councils on India, there’s specific Councils on Africa, and across the whole range – climate, sustainability, water issues, new technologies, small businesses, anything really that you can think about, you know, war, all sorts of issues.”

Nathan adds: *“indigenous peoples and their struggles...the peasant struggle for land reform and land rights... global campaign to end violence against women...not just interpersonal domestic violence, which certainly it is, or psychological violence and, and not just physical violence”*. This can be connected with Bourdieu’s theory of doxa (see section 2.8), that is, the values and beliefs that underpin the field. It can be argued that belief in neoliberal capitalism

underpins 'how things are' at a global level and I would therefore propose that the dominant doxa of the global field of power is neoliberal capitalism (Chopra, 2003).

There is struggle over the definition of issues as 'global problems' and subsequent struggle over their solutions at a global level (Fougner, 2008). People with competing interests and different rationalities are present and struggle to promote their worlds (Scerri, 2012). The global field of power is problematic, populated by dominated dominant global social actors either "of the counter hegemonic globalization" (Vinthagen, 2008, p. 142) and of the dominant political, cultural and economic positions (Graz, 2003; Böhm *et al.*, 2005). Whilst it has been argued that "the process of legitimation prevents opposition from arising" (Hardy and Clegg, 1996, p. 630), in the global field of power there are multiple legitimations and therefore struggle and challenge is endemic therein. For example, whilst participants within WEF activities consider their forum and those within it to be approved of in world making capacity (Bourdieu, 1989), there is still struggle as to whose position is dominant in the definition and enactment of sustainable global practices. Mason's point of view is, for example, that: *"most of the world's problems could probably be solved quite easily if every [WEF] delegate in Davos was put in prison."*

The meaning of 'sustainability' may therefore be predicated upon definitions driven by a neoliberal capitalist view, with "discourses of sustainability concern[ing] themselves with Western notions of environmentalism and conservation, seeking to repair the ecological ravages of two centuries of global capitalist production, extraction, and agriculture but are less concerned with issues of sustainability in impoverished and rural communities" (Banerjee *et al.*, 2009, p. 188). Indeed, Brundtland (1987) includes two concepts – 'sustainable development' and 'sustainability', where 'sustainable development' implies a progress and change that is often equated with a (neoliberal) economic model (e.g. Banerjee, 2003), and 'sustainability' corresponds with the economic, social and environmental needs, rights and responsibilities through which our world is constructed and operates. Nathan develops this example further:

"I would say that predominantly the people at the WEF don't think that there's anything wrong with the system at all, and then increasingly I think people are realising that there is something wrong with the system and that it needs to be fixed, that we cannot for instance continue as before on climate, to keep polluting and releasing more greenhouse gasses and therefore we have to cut

back on emissions...but even there a lot of folks might be saying that well, there is something called clean coal...agro-fuels, ethanol are clean and green, therefore we should switch from petroleum and oil to ethanol...[but these] have their own problem...if you're talking about hydro-electric power, yeah, sure it's not about releasing carbon but it's certainly about releasing methane which is also a greenhouse gas. And so therefore what needs to happen is a fundamental reorientation in the way we view ourselves as people and as economic beings, where we have to recognise that growth is not infinite, that the system is not infinite, that the planet is not infinite and that there are limits to that and we have to therefore work within those constraints...it's not just about refurbishing the economic system to be "more green" but really to ask some really fundamental questions about a different kind of economic system."

In relation to my research settings, these forums enable participation in the global field of power as social spaces and meeting places where global social actors can go and use their interactions to try to define what is most important in the world. There is no one 'world' but multiple worlds – but these forums perhaps try to encourage consistency across the globe for issues that affect the many (the most) rather than the few. WEF and WSF are two forums that operate without geographic boundaries within the global field of power and their differing perceptions of economic, natural and social resource constraints (Dyllick and Hockerts, 2002) are bridged by an, at first glance, common goal: improvement in the world and sustainability for all. Yet these forums enable participants to interact in the debate and propose action for change in terms of the dominant doxa that is represented by WEF participants (neoliberal capitalism). Joshua explains the differences from his perspective as follows:

"The WEF [offers] very strong articulations of that core, the power of capital to determine the future development of humanity. And if that is the founding principle of WEF and all of the other bits and bobs around it, the WSF is an explicit challenge trying to say no, it is not [economic] capital that should have that lead role, it's not [economic] capital that is seen as the lead agency in the process of historical development, it should be social forces."

Global social actors struggle to impose meaning and the 'labels' that equate to the authorised vision of 'sustainability' and 'equality' (Bourdieu, 1994a) in the global field of power. The global field of power, like any field, can be positively considered as a "space of possibles" (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 344) and within this, challenge to the dominant can be mounted. At stake in the global field of power is the definition of, and appropriate response to, issues of social, economic and environmental sustainability. Underpinning this struggle, is

a challenge to the dominant doxa, remembering that “doxa is a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, when it presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view” (Bourdieu, 1994b, p. 15). In the global field of power, the dominated dominants challenge the dominant doxa (neoliberal capitalism) and the meaning of sustainability this creates. Through this challenge, its orthodoxy is revealed and heterodoxy is created (Bourdieu, 1996) and I argue that such heterodoxy is perpetual in the global field of power because of the multiple positions and beliefs brought by global social actors. For example, the extent to which minimum principles including education, healthcare, employment, civil, political and human rights are applicable for all humanity regardless of geographic or cultural location, may not be guaranteed or safeguarded by individual states, so responsibility may be taken by supra-national actors (Miller, 2009). A particular example is gender inequality and specifically the position of women in terms of some of these principles (Evans, 2005; Cramme and Diamond, 2009; Murray and Haynes, 2013).

Overall, perhaps Mason’s comment sums up what is at stake: “*the challenge is who rules the world.*” These forums are snapshots of the global field of power ‘in action’, that is, indicative of broader struggles over the definition and emergence of new, more sustainable and equal worlds.

5.8 Conclusion and boundaries of the interpretation

The global field of power is visible through the activities of WEF and WSF as examples of activities in which global social actors with global capital meet to ‘make the world’ (Bourdieu, 1989). WEF and WSF both share the characteristic of illustrating a microcosm of global complexity within their activities, but the “focus [is] not on organisations, which tends to privilege their claims and obscure less formal processes of political and cultural change, but on the broader ‘social fields’ in which organisations operate” (see also Bourdieu, 1996; and Clemens, 2005; Edelman, 2005, p. 41), that is, my thesis is not examining these as forms of organising, but as representations of a wider field. Decisions, acts and behaviours within the global field of power ripple throughout the world (Coates, 2009), in different, partial but significant ways that have cumulative impacts. By applying Bourdieu’s theory of the field of power to a global level, it is possible to reveal and explore the relationship between these forums and the participants therein in more depth. These settings, as example congregations

on a global level, offer insight into whose world is being represented, discussed, from whose perspective (Pina-Cabral, 2014) in a global field of power.

These forums are important settings for the expression of ideas, values and solutions, as well as for their construction (Steger and Wilson, 2012). Both maximise the notion of embodied engagement, drawing on the experiences of individuals at a very personal level but with collective commitment to change (Böhm, 2005) and both are legitimate opportunities through which other worlds can emerge (Tormey, 2005). A benefit of theorising the relationship between individuals as being within the global field of power is that their positions do not have to be directly interlocking, it denies the unity that is implied by 'class' or a similar term. The idea of the global field of power also allows us to get away from unhelpful binaries of 'us' against 'them', particularly as we are all subsumed with the systems of our world. The implications of this is that there are still a relatively small number of global social actors participating in the global field of power (and smaller still when considering two 'snapshot' settings). This offers limited voices and decision making, control of the sustainability agenda and what is important (see Chapters 6 and 7). There are fundamental tensions in terms of who is involved in these forums as representative of the global field of power, and why and how they are involved, as the nature of participation has implications for how the agenda for discussion can be set. However, there is still challenge within, opposition can be acknowledged between the two forums as whole settings and the decisions of participants to attend each forum are contested (see Chapter 7). The next chapter explores how the global field of power is enacted, particularly in terms of the capitals of global social actors.

Chapter 6. Perceptions of the global field in defining global inequalities

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5 (section 5.5), the notion of global capital was briefly introduced as being a necessary form of symbolic capital for actors to accumulate to be able to participate in the global field of power. The global field of power is conceptualised as being a field in which actors wield world making power and capital and world making power is enacted through the accumulation of global capital. This chapter and Chapter 7 explore the nature of participation in the global field of power, illustrated by WSF and WEF as example enactments of the field. In particular, it looks at the nature of global capital and its components as marshalled by global social actors in their struggles to define the global agenda to address sustainability and inequality.

This chapter firstly defines global capital as a form of symbolic capital (section 6.2) and the struggles between the component parts of global capital (section 6.3). It then explores the ways in which capitals are exchanged and converted in the field (section 6.4) before outlining how forum participants marshal their capital in a global sense to: 1) define the doxa of the global field of power in relation to issues of sustainability and inequality; and 2) define how these issues should be responded to (section 6.5) as defining the struggle over what is at stake in the field (see also section 5.7). This chapter responds to the research question *How do different social actors perceive the global field as embodied by the two world forums?*

6.2 Defining global capital

Bourdieu (1989, p. 17) describes four essential forms of capital as “economic capital (in its different forms), cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital, which is the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (see section 2.5). The interaction of these capitals in global sustainability debates forms global capital as a symbolic capital.

The term 'global capital' is frequently used in relation to economics and finance (e.g. Immergluck, 2011; Kumar, 2014; Tandon and Mohd, 2014) and 'inequality' is often defined according to economics (Bapuji and Riaz, 2012; Kumhof *et al.*, 2012; Crane *et al.*, 2014). In the literature, the notion of 'international capital' can also be found linked to the perpetuation of dominance of principal social actors at a national level (Wacquant, 2013) and implying solely nation-state relations as opposed to the intersection between multiple global social actors from multiple fields (Robinson and Harris, 2000). I believe that these terms neglect the value of other forms of capital as demonstrated by Bourdieu (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986).

My definition of global capital builds on these existing meanings. It is a complex interaction of various capitals that individuals can marshal, a form of symbolic capital that takes its value from the interaction of a range of accumulated capitals of different forms that have value beyond national, social, economic and cultural boundaries. The execution of global capital confers upon the individual a status that gives the perception that their actions are directed towards the global good rather than their own gain. Within individuals' fields of industry or expertise, they may move positions according to gains or losses in the capital that is privileged therein, for example, particular skills or knowledge, and may also move between related fields as part of an extension of their networks for the development of social capital.

Table 6.1 introduces my interpretation of global capital as held by a selection of my research participants.

Table 6.1: Examples of global capital held by research participants

Participant	Example composition of global capital
Adam	Economic – Senior Vice President of an international company Cultural – Master’s degree and MBA, published author Social – Fellow of the Royal Society for the Arts, Fellow of the Forum for the Future
Frances	Economic – Managing Director Cultural – Doctor of Philosophy Social – Chair of an international investment organisation
James	Cultural – Master’s degree, published author Social – connections to the World Bank
Joshua	Economic – Executive Director Cultural – published author Social – connections to large INGOs (ActionAid, Save the Children) and media (BBC)
Mason	Social – national trade union representation, part of the International Trade Union Federation
Paul	Cultural – Professor Social – connections to World Health Organisation, Fellowship of Royal College of Physicians

Whilst, for example, there are many millions of people with an MA, MBA, PhD that are also published authors and hold Chair positions of some sort, their capital does not necessarily reach global dimensions because they are not acting in a position to affect the worlds of others. These global social actors are. It is also worth remembering at this point that my research settings are only partial representations of the global field of power – my research participants and those participating in each site are not the only people in the global field of power. The following sections explore how economic, cultural and social forms of capital are components of global capital as symbolic capital. It also illustrates how there is difference in the volume of each component in the overall composition of global capital depending on the accumulation of the global social actor. This creates struggle (explored in section 6.3).

6.2.1 Economic capital

Economic capital comprises the accumulation of financial and economic resources, and/or access thereto. There are significant arguments to suggest that economic capital dominates any social, cultural or environmental priorities at a global level, for example, Banerjee (2012, p. 1763) argues that interactions between different global social actors (for example,

politicians, businesses, civil society) regarding sustainability and inequality are driven by “protecting and promoting economic interests, which are generally consistent with corporate interests”. Therefore, despite their different priorities, it is suggested that all global social actors are led by economic capital first and foremost. Wittneben et al. (2012, p. 1437) support this by explaining “the expansion of neoliberal capitalism over the last 30 years has transformed the role of the state such that its key role is to maintain the conditions for [economic] capital accumulation, which is vital for its political legitimacy and survival.” This reinforces Bourdieu’s analysis of the dominance of the economic, evident also in his analysis of neoliberalism as doxa (Chopra, 2003) (see section 2.8 and Chapters 7 and 8).

It may certainly be argued that economic capital is a dominant component of global capital in the global field of power. This can be seen in four main ways, using examples from my research settings. Firstly, at a basic level, without monetary resources, individuals are unable to travel and stay in multiple destinations for their engagements in the global field of power, through global forums. For new entrants to the field (especially the dominated dominants), Nathan comments that: *“for a lot of folks the first time they participate in these kind of processes is the first time perhaps that they’ve gotten out of their country, or their region.”* Jason adds that: *“in general I think [Davos is] a good, well organised, well worthwhile going to meeting. But it’s damned expensive.”* For global social actors, participating in the global field of power can be financially expensive (Dexter described this as *“pay to play”*).

Secondly, some global social actors are subject to economic drivers by virtue of their role (for example, economic policy, profit motivation). Tristan, for example, described WEF as: *“a forum of human beings wearing hats of economic masters and in trying to deal with each other they use tools imposed by economic systems”*. In other words, certain global social actors are responsible to other organisational ‘economic masters’ (as managers and shareholders), all of whom are operating within the environment, expectations and values of global economic systems. The implications of this is that global social actors may be subject to the forces of different social contexts. Paul raises an issue with this, as follows:

“The problem as I see it with the Forum is because, the idea and the concept is brilliant, but the difficulty they have is sort of structural in the sense that they are paid by the industry. I mean, so money comes from, from membership, it’s a

membership fee basically, and basically the more, there's different tiered level of membership and the more a company is willing to pay the more rights they get. They see it, this is less, this is more I think at Davos than at the [Global Agenda] Councils but the industry will see it as theirs, it's a ticket for influence for them basically. I think it is inevitably biased to their interests."

Paul suggests that those who pay feel that this ought to give them an advantage in terms of their interests and agendas being represented.

Thirdly, money can be used to pay for access to other forms of capital (especially social, see section 6.2.3). In WEF activities particularly, global social actors can pay the required membership to participate and interact with one another to build greater social capital. Meeting others during participation in the global field of power enables exchange and accumulation of social capital. Reuben explains:

"I think it's very important that there is connection... we can be stronger, we can swap each other different ways, we can find solutions that we make everything better for everyone...the other way is together to make collective intelligence and to have the capacity to step by step make another world and it is possible actually, they [alone] don't have the solutions."

Finally, that the very definition and value of economic capital is subject to discussion and definition in the global field of power as part of what is at stake (sustainability and inequality). For Vincent economic capital means: *"fair economy, solidarity economy, organic stuff, non-GM crops...alternative currency...community radios... landless movement, homeless movement, jobless movement"*. Notes from the conversation with Declan, in contrast, describe economic capital as including: *local Brazilian businesses are working with constituencies to decrease inequalities...the economic driver is the most impactful as most people want a job, a sense of security, and be able to look after their families, this is the context*. As can be seen from these two perspectives there are different values, including large-scale structural change (Vincent's macro-economics of 'fair economy, solidarity economy') and drivers based on individual needs (Declan's 'sense of security' and 'looking after families') based on different types of economic capital – economic capital is not just one single thing and part of the struggle in the global field of power is over the privileging of a particular type of economic capital over other forms of capital. This in turn serves to influence the definition of the doxa of the field (see section 6.5 later in this chapter).

In summary, whilst economic capital is defined in financial and economic terms, its constitution has different meanings to different global social actors. The accumulation thereof may also exacerbate unequal and unsustainable worlds, depending on these different meanings and levels of accumulation in the global field of power. The next section introduces examples of cultural capital as valued as a proportion of global capital in the global field of power.

6.2.2 Cultural capital

Cultural capital can be embodied in language, behaviours and manners, objectified in things and artefacts, and institutionalised in qualifications and awards. In the global field of power, embodied and institutionalised cultural capital are important component capitals of global capital. Embodied capital is manifest in the presence of global social actors, and this presence takes two forms: 1) 'being there', that is, having the appropriate cultural capital to be present; and 2) engaging in an appropriate way of being and acting (behaviours and manners). Presence is partly facilitated by economic capital (as described above, through travel/accommodation/membership costs), but it can also be facilitated by having other cultural capital – institutionalised in the form of qualifications and/or expertise and/or 'permissions' (Amnesty International USA, 2013) – and social capital (discussed in the following section 6.2.3). Examples of these in relation to my research settings are shown as follows.

Embodied capital is particularly important in the constitution of global capital because being present facilitates deeper interaction between global social actors in the global field of power towards world making. Although there are significant opportunities for global social actors to communicate through technologies beyond the restrictions of time and place, being able to meet face to face is a high value capital (Purdue, 2007; Haug, 2013). For example, Tristan describes: *"when you have an eyeball to eyeball challenge, it's another human facing another human in the face and then you can actually talk about these things"*. Tristan's 'eyeball to eyeball challenge' reinforces the humanity-based focus that often disappears in rational, economic sustainability and inequality arguments. Helen also describes this as follows:

“The extent to which that massive deliberation actually happens, on a practical level, I mean I think it’s more indirect in a way, more indirect thing of exposure to new ideas and new people and it’s a lot about affect and embodiment and being in the same sort of space as other people from all over the world, and really just seeing and hearing and listening, probably maybe the most powerful thing about it.”

Helen’s comment particularly references the value of ‘exposure to new ideas and new people’ and ‘embodiment, being in the same space’. In this respect, the physical presence is very important, but there are exclusions on this basis, for example, through invitation to participate and/or restrictions being imposed upon global social actors (Killian, 2015). A characteristic of every field of power is that not ‘everyone’ can be there; fields of power are exclusive. However, exclusions are sometimes caused by the struggle of global social actors to control the field – who is able to attend and who is not. For example, Algerian trade union and civil society participants were prevented from traveling by authorities of their country (Amnesty International USA, 2013); their embodied capital was being controlled by others. Voice is also a form of embodied cultural capital (separate from the physical ability to speak). There are differential values according to whose voice has greatest value but within the global field of power there is an opportunity for some dominated dominants to *“gain [their] own voice and say this system is not working”* (Tristan).

Those who participate in the global field of power have knowledge and expertise as a form of cultural capital that is valuable across fields and geographies. This may include health, communications and political understanding from a variety of perspectives and there is value in having the social space available to draw all of these together. Helen reveals the presence of: *“multiple epistemologies, multiple forms of knowledge, multiple forms of political practice and at least in principle them all being equally valid”*. Through the global field of power, and the forum activities therein, participants are encouraged to see situations from the point of view of others, whether or not they agree, as well as acknowledging their greater knowledge (Bourdieu, 1985). This is illustrated in part by Dexter: *“you’re not being part of the [WEF] just because you’re a member of the global elite, you’re there ostensibly because you’re learning something new or better still you’re contributing to new insights into the way the world works.”* Dexter’s point illustrates the conversion and exchange of capital (see also section 6.4) in the relationship between the global social actor and, in this instance, WEF activities. Global social actors take capital (‘learning something

new') and bring capital ('contributing to new insights'). Notes from the conversation with Dylan also illustrate this:

At the GACs, participants work through the issues...[they] are comprised of experts on topics, there is great value in talking to people who are experts in their field and one level removed i.e. people who have expertise in social media, they can be helpful because the climate change communication can take place via social media, or public health, maybe the way to address climate change is through public health agendas.

In summary, there is a complex interrelationship between forms of cultural capital in the global field of power. As with economic capital, there are different meanings and values of cultural capitals accumulated by global social actors. For the global field of power, the main forms that are valued are embodied ('being there') and institutionalised. Embodiment is facilitated by economic (payment for transport) and institutionalised (appropriate expertise and knowledge, with even more value conferred through qualifications and/or experience). The following section considers the nature of social capital in the global field of power.

6.2.3 Social capital

Social capital is the connections of social actors, and their memberships and/or affiliations. It is a highly prized component of global capital. Indeed, as Denord et al. (2011, p. 105) found in their research, "if the global field of power is first defined by the relative accumulation of economic and educational resources by its members...institutionalised and intersectorial social capital appears here as another highly valued asset." Institutionalised social capital is that gained from participation in the formalised networks and groups (such as WSF and WEF) and intersectorial social capital is gained from interacting with global social actors from different fields (for example, business, politics, civil society). In the words of Theo: "*the WSF helps us build a common, global language of resistance and alternatives to the current world order*". Olivia develops this with regard to her experience: "*For me this is an excellent source of networking, getting to know like-minded people and organisations. Thanks to it I was able to establish a very big circle globally. For me this is also an excellent venue for experience sharing.*" For Olivia, the effect is more than the networking in its own right, but additionally that this networking: firstly, opened up global connections; and secondly, enabled the

sharing of experiences. Notes from the conversation with Dylan illustrate the types of intersectorial social capital brought to the global field of power as follows:

The WEF is a useful venue for dialogue around sustainability broadly and climate change specifically. It brings together several sets of people. It particularly enables policy makers to understand what business leaders do, the function of business choices especially in the climate change arena. There is a tendency to overstate the role of government – it does play a role in terms of a policy framework trying to frame the structures for addressing climate change through regulation but still, the choices played out by business people are hundredfold in terms of impact.

Dylan suggests that WEF enables social actors from different perspectives and identities within the field to come together and hear one another. He suggests that the dialogue facilitates: 1) understanding of one another's actions; and 2) recognition of which social actors' behaviour may have most impact. Both of these, in terms of global capital and the global field of power, offer the potential for world making. Global social actors both bring social capital as part of their global capital to the global field of power and they gain social capital from their participation in the global field of power. This means that there is a circulation (conversion and exchange) of social capital through the global field of power (see section 6.4). It is also the differential value of the type of social capital that enables global social actors to 'act globally' (that is, there are different values of 'who you know').

With regard to what global social actors give and take in terms of social capital, Riley describes the 'peer pressure' at WEF activities, which could be interpreted as a form of social capital exchange, for example, that the capital of different participants may encourage comparison of positions and capitals, provoking shifts accordingly:

“So for me, the [WEF] is an amazing platform for where the current consensus is circulated and embraced and understood, so laggards can go ‘oh, there is a thing that is increasingly more prevalent on climate change, I’m not sure my organisation/my thinking/my political party is where it needs to be’. Or leaders can go ‘here is an opportunity where we can share with lots of others and try and drive the agenda forward to where we see it needing to be’... You have to deal with this issue by issue, item by item and the forum is a useful vehicle to drive those agendas and share those examples which means CEOs either go back feeling ‘bugger, I better get on with some stuff’, or empowered and pleased with their own performance that spurs them on to do more.”

Riley describes exchanging social capital in terms of sharing 'with lots of others' and either feeling good about what they are doing in terms of sustainability and greater equality, or feeling 'pressured' to do better. Juliet describes her experiences as follows:

"The melting pot of those stakeholders, government, non-profit, corporate and development, because World Bank, UN, they all have people there as well, means that it is the most perfect forum for thinking about some of these big questions, and rarely do you have a salon, or a round table, or a conference that's going to bring together not just the level of leader, which of course is what WEF is all about, but that diversity of sectors."

Juliet raises three points in relation to the value of exchange in terms of social capital. Firstly, the metaphor of a 'melting pot' generates images of alchemy, combination, integration and fusion of each of the elements introduced to the 'pot' (a bounded container), the creation of something new (in this case, ideas and solutions to 'big questions') through the process of 'melting'. Secondly, the 'level of leader' implies that those present have significant capital in their fields (economic, social, cultural, academic) conferring on them the ability to act (should they choose). Finally, the 'diversity of sectors' identifies a variety of ideologies that can blend or stand in tension. This suggests that the types of social capital exchanged through the global field of power contribute towards an accumulation of global capital that can be used to make worlds through new ideas and solutions to global issues.

6.2.4 Summary

Global capital is a form of symbolic capital because global social actors who accumulate it are recognised as important by other social actors (Bourdieu, 1985). As Bourdieu (1989, p. 17) states, "agents are distributed in the overall social space... according to the overall volume of capital they possess and...according to the structure of their capital, that is, the relative weight of the different species of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their assets." They are, therefore, recognised for different reasons connected to the proportions of economic, social and cultural capital they hold. As such, there is a struggle within the global field of power to dominate according to the relative values of component capitals, for example, those global social actors with their majority of economic capital struggling to promote the value of the economic over and above those with their majority of social and/or cultural capital. The research settings of WEF and WSF offer an illustration of

these struggles in practice, within and between them. These struggles are explored further in the following section.

6.3 Capital struggles in the global field of power

I propose 'global capital' as a form of symbolic capital and one struggle in the global field of power is over the prioritisation of different combinations of essential forms of capital that comprise global capital. Bourdieu describes that, over time, the field of power has been characterised consistently by the dominance of resource-based capital over the subversive cultural-based capital; according to Swartz (2008), the struggle between those holding considerable economic and cultural capital characterises the field of power. There is therefore unevenness in terms of dominance within the field, but this does not preclude the opportunity for shifts to occur, for example, through challenge and/or new entrants (Thomson, 2008).

In my analysis, participating social actors in the global field of power all have global capital that gives them status to be able to participate in the field. There is competition for social actors to keep or improve their position through gains in capital and which capitals are privileged depends on the field. In Bourdieu's analysis, social actors struggle to control the prioritisation of the forms of capital that have most value in social fields (Swartz, 1997). Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p. 8) talk of capital as "weapons" in field struggles. The struggle is frequently over the prioritisation of economic capitals against socio-cultural capitals in the optimum accumulation of global capital but they are complex rather than binary economic/cultural/social relationships. As Bourdieu (1996, p. 315) writes, "wealth, when it is not accompanied by the appropriate 'manners' is even less sufficient." The following sections offer some examples of these struggles in practice.

6.3.1 Economic and cultural capital struggles

Bourdieu considered economic capital "at the root of all the other types of capital" (1997, p. 249) (see section 2.5) and there is a particular tension between the value of economic capital and the value of social/cultural capital held by global social actors who participate in

the global field of power. Two main struggles are explained here: 1) over access to the global field of power; and 2) once there, over the nature and content of the debate.

Firstly, access to the global field of power. This is a particular issue for the dominant area of the field. The investment of economic capital by global social actors, for example, participating in WEF activities, enables them to attend, as Dexter describes: *“who pays to be at the table”*. This investment also allows others to be invited who do not have the same level of economic capital and who would perhaps not be able to attend otherwise. Jason illustrates this: *“politicians are invited and don’t pay anything but companies pay, and people from the academic community that are invited to give input I think they also benefit a lot.”* Jason suggests that politicians and academics are able to attend as a result of the (significant) corporate investment and recognised the indirect value (for them) generated therefrom. Notes from the conversation with George support this: *the genius of the whole thing is to get big corporations to pay to network with each other, this supports the enterprise. Think tanks are also invited to participate in Davos without paying and academics invited are also not asked to contribute.* George’s description indicates how the economic capital of one set of participants (corporations) supports the participation of other sets of select participants (particular think tanks and academics).

This may appear ‘fair’, that those who can pay subsidise the participation of those who cannot. It is this source of finance that underpins the activities offered, enabling a number of invited or applied-for communities to operate, including the Global Agenda Councils and Young Global Leaders (World Economic Forum, 2014a). It particularly allows the invitation of civil society social actors who do not pay to participate in the same way and whose inclusion or exclusion rests with those perceived to be dominant dominants (e.g. Hensmans, 2003; Ylä-Anttila, 2005; Courpasson, 2011). However, whilst this broadens access to the global field of power to those whose global capital has greater proportions of social/cultural than economic, it is problematic as the world makers are being selected and invited by those with the economic means to do so. Dexter describes a particular dilemma in knowing that there is an extent to which his invitation is predicated upon the payment of others, that:

“I feel deeply uncomfortable...obviously I’m very happy that I’ve been invited...but I feel really uncomfortable about being invited or elected to join a club where the majority of people are there because their companies have paid for them to be

there... it's not an entirely...merit-based honour. And that just offends my own sort of ethics".

The notion of dilemmas and discomfort, hysteresis (see section 2.7) will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Secondly, the nature of the debate. This will be explored in more detail in section 6.5; however, within the global field of power there are positions that seek to minimise the dominance of economic capital. Joshua's view expresses this as 'picking sides': *"who, whose side are you on, are you on the side of [economic] capital directing the world economy or are you on the side of reclaiming it for people, for social forces, and, and bringing capital back down, you know, to earth, putting it back in its box."* Notes from the interview with Chloe highlight gaps and the limits this creates: *There is perhaps not enough talk about children. It is not possible to get them to WEF, UNICEF only funds through governments, so it could be possible to get more people to WEF who represent children directly, who work with them directly at a grassroots level.* Global social actors struggle within the global field of power to determine the value of the capitals that define new more sustainable, more equal worlds. Struggle between cultural capitals as well, as discussed in the following section.

6.3.2 Struggle between cultural capitals

Embodied cultural capital is an important part of global capital (as explored in section 6.2) as participation in the global field of power (using these forums) is predicated upon being enabled to be there either through invitation, available time, payment, or travel resources (freedom and finance). Without being there, it is not possible to influence the shifting of worlds and so there is struggle to get there and for global social actors to get their knowledge and expertise into the debate. Katherine suggests that by being there and being able to speak, her colleague (the 'you' in her quote) has been able to influence another participant – part of a pathway towards shifting the field (see Chapter 8). This is shown as follows:

"[At the first meeting] an industry person was really sort of hammering... 'no, you're wrong, you don't need this' to the point where last year that person seemed like they were coming around...to this year the person saying 'it's really,

it's been really good to have you involved over these few years because you've really helped us understand something that we wouldn't have understood”.

Time is part of this capital and it has common value to all social actors (especially global social actors). Linked to embodied presence, Vincent expresses the direct relationship between time spent and the influence on discussions as follows:

“[Forum participants] have time to go in every single meeting and write their documents, write their reports with a more strong presence...[for example] if you go to the Occupy movement, if you have time to camp in front of St Paul's every single day, in the debate you're going to promote your ideas, your beliefs, but if you go there once a week you've lost...[for example] this morning the conformation in our meeting was completely different, our public was completely different, we had to discuss everything again, so OK, they have some important contributions but if you always come back because you didn't include everybody from scratch how are we going to go forward. So of course this power, uneven power relations will happen...if you have time, if you have someone supporting you, if you have financial means to keep going, you accumulate and that's the power.”

In Vincent's account, global social actors have to be there to have their voice and promote their side of the debate in setting the agenda for sustainability and greater equality. Effort and time is expended in the accretion of capital, which needs to be taken account of in any analysis, as this can in part promote understanding of how things tend towards persistence than change (Bourdieu, 1997; Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004). Social actors in the global field of power have to have time as a form of embodied capital to be able to act in this field in addition to their 'day job' responsibilities. Regularity of activity has particular value, notably those for whom time capital is short. In addition, the embodied cultural capital is gendered. Tom describes this as follows:

“Every single person wants to shape the agenda, of course, that's why, that's why the WEF is often perceived, wrong in my opinion, but as a vehicle for neoliberal ideas, it's because we have such a critical mass of money and CEOs and the IMF and the World Bank and this and that and of course everybody wants a piece of the cake, everybody wants to convey his, it's normally his as there are very few women at Davos as you may know, views, so putting the agenda together is really to find some middle ground digesting many, many, many different ideas.”

Therefore it can be argued that participation in the global field of power (using these settings as examples) is particularly facilitated by being male and having the time to be present. Such global gender disparity is borne out in a number of quantitative and

qualitative studies, including those prepared by WEF itself (Kilgour, 2013; World Economic Forum, 2014d; World Economic Forum, 2015d). Indeed, Frances commented that when she first began participating: *“I thought I was the usual quota person, tick the box woman, OK, and non-profit tick the box”*. One area of struggle, therefore, is for gender inequality to not only be raised as an issue (part of the agenda to be debated), but to be responded to in global social actors’ own practices, not just the practices of others whose worlds they affect. The presence of different global social actors and the cultural capital they bring also links to the available networks and prestige that can be exchanged as forms of social capital. These capital struggles are explored in the next section.

6.3.3 Struggle between social capitals

In their analysis of the field of power, Maclean et al. (2014, pp. 829-830) illustrate the actions of social actors as using “alliances and networks” to “influence societal decision-making processes, resource flows, opinion formation”, but also “to determine the nature of the field of power itself”. In my analysis, social capital is both brought to the global field of power by global social actors in the form of their existing alliances and networks, and conferred on participants in my research settings by the settings themselves (that is, by being in these forum activities, global social capital is gained). Participants in these forums consider each other to be acceptable because of their participation (that is, they are legitimate because they have the correct capitals to enable them to be there), each participant has decisional rights (to a greater or lesser extent) as a result of the organisations or social contexts they represent that may affect greater socio-economic change. However, for the field, there are different values and legitimacies that are the subject of struggle.

Struggle between social capitals takes two main forms: 1) differences in the value of social capitals brought to the global field of power, for example, a personal relationship with the US president is valued more than a personal relationship with the CEO of Greenpeace; and 2) differential value of positions in the global field of power, for example, participants in WEF activities (dominant dominants) generally value these more than WSF activities (dominated dominants), and vice versa. These two struggles are summarised by Joshua:

“A very respected, hugely respected...big third world intellectual...he did it with a few mates, who sort of turned up in a hotel and said ‘here is our declaration

which we present to the [WSF], he didn't say 'this is the answer' he presented to the forum, but it's just you and some intellectuals who are your friends, it has absolutely no legitimacy at all and immediately it falls down, whereas because there's actually some huge cache around marketing and participation and stuff like that, which of course if you're in the WEF, if Peter Mandelson³⁶ turns up and says 'I've got this really powerful...', he's a powerful guy"

Joshua's example highlights that the 'big third world intellectual' has appropriate social capital ('hugely respected') and cultural capital ('intellectual' knowledge) to participate in the global field of power. However, presenting his arguments in WSF activities carries less weight than if they are presented in WEF activities, because in this dominated area of the field, the global social actors he interacts with have less overall global capital than in the dominant area in the field. He would find it difficult to participate in WEF activities (taking place in the dominant area of the field) as he has the 'wrong' type and proportion of social capital to enable him to participate there, as defined by global social actors who are dominant in the field. There is a comparison here between the knowledge capital of the 'big third world intellectual and his mates' and the knowledge and political capital exemplified by Peter Mandelson, with Joshua indicating that someone like him holds more significant social capitals according to dominant global social actors than the intellectual. In summary, there is struggle to define the 'best' types of social capital that are components of global capital. Global social actors perceive the value of social capital differently – more social capital is always best; however, more of the most valued is important, and the definition of the most valued varies across the global field of power and across time.

Theo describes social capital gained through participating in the global field of power (through WSF activities): *"social movements around the planet have a clearly defined opponent: neoliberal globalisation; a language by which to interpret their adversaries' actions and their allies' strategies; and access to global networks of social movements"*. In Theo's example, the social component of global capital to subvert the dominant doxa ('neoliberal globalisation') is extremely valuable. Linked to this is the 'control' of participation in each forum, which has variable diversity. What is on the agenda and defined as a topic for discussion and response depends on who is there and their interests. Relating this to the global field of power, it can be said that the position of global social actors in the

³⁶ Former Secretary of State (UK), former European Commissioner for Trade, Member of the House of Lords (UK).

field both affects the regard in which different social capitals are held, but also that the position itself confers social capital because of the interaction with other global social actors.

There is an extent to which each forum (representing clustered positions in the global field of power) seeks to attract the global social actors with the most social capital of value according to the cluster, in addition to valuing clusters over one another. Lucy, for example, illustrates this in relation to her experience: *"[there was a WSF]...attitude of like, 'oh, we just want the new sort of stars [like Occupy] to participate because then it sort of gives a legitimacy to the event itself'".* Lucy's experience is such that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship of legitimacy through capital between (in her example) the WSF and its participants; WSF confers social capital so people attend, WSF is made legitimate by the capital of those who attend. Katherine agrees in relation to WEF activities: *"I would say that to some people, and not everybody, but to some people it does provide a credential. You know, for [President of organisation] to be invited to speak in a key role, they don't just give those spots out willy nilly".* There is approval gained through participation in these global forums, being seen to be legitimate in the global field and participants trust one another. Notes from the conversation with Chloe describe her experience of the Young Global Leaders (YGL) community of WEF as: *the YGLs is it is like a fraternity/sorority, if you are in the club people meet with you, it is like you have been vetted and it opens doors.* She suggests that 'being in the club' means that people will meet with you (or not).

In summary, whilst the global field of power is a site of struggle and a site of capital accumulation, it is also a site of capital exchange and conversion, as discussed in the following section.

6.4 Capital exchange and conversion

The notion of capital conversion is part of Bourdieu's analysis. This again helps to address critique of Bourdieu's framework being static, as conversion enables social actors to respond to the necessary shifts in social contexts and associated privileged capital. However, conversion is considered in terms of the effort taken to convert, compared with acquisition (Bourdieu, 1997).

Global capital is not something static – the value and proportion of component capitals within it are changing. This is both through participation in the global field of power and also as a result of it. Without interaction between individuals with different positions within the global field of power and their capitals, the world will stay the same. As Frances describes, there is a need for an intersection of capitals to make change: *“there’s no way you can solve the problems of the world with just non-profits... you need to mobilise business to move in a different direction... the legal system...can help us but I think it’s the intersection of non-profit and for-profit that’s important.”* Frances describes social actors representing different example fields (non-profits, business – for-profit, law) bringing multiple, differently privileged capitals to the forums as enactments of the global field of power. So there has to be struggle for shift to happen.

Economic capital is most transmutable; for example, it can be used to ‘buy’ objectified cultural capital in the form of artefacts or institutionalised cultural capital in the form of an education. However, I would argue that in the global field of power the exchange and conversion of social and cultural capitals are equally (if not more) transmutable towards the accumulation of greater global capital. The economic component acts as a baseline requirement for entry, but once in the global field of power the social and cultural components are of great significance. For example, Jason summarises the value of investing time as embodied cultural capital in exchange for the social capital generated:

“If you take a CEO of a big multi-national company that spends 4 days in Davos, it’s not very often you find the CEO of a big company spending 4 days in one place except if you are within your company of course. But for an external activity that is basically not directly coupled to the business, you can make contacts there with customers but it’s not the place where you go to sell your products, it’s a place where you go to build relations and then of course in the end of the day that can mean that you also sell your products or your services. Most of the consultancy firms...are present in Davos and obviously they have a very large business interest to sell their services to either the [WEF] or to the participants that are there, but for other types of company like [ours], we don’t go there to do business, we go there to learn, to build relationships with politicians, with NGOs, to learn and get influenced by what is being discussed.”

Jason privileges ‘building relations’, ‘learning’ and ‘getting influenced’ as social and cultural capitals gained from participation in WEF activities, which then may transmute into future economic capital (‘sell your products or your services’). Dexter also reinforces the gains from

a professional perspective: “it’s great for my CV and some of the experiences that they have on offer are great”. Taylor, a participant in WEF activities, describes an example of the interaction of various capitals as follows:

“The opportunity of Davos, the fact that it brings together everybody around the piece, what I find is for civil society organisations, however well-intentioned we are, we so often struggle to see the full dimension of the context of global problems, so civil society might say ‘this is the problem, this is what the solution needs to be and companies need to do this and governments need to do that’, and often, I’m not diminishing the quality of awesome work, but often... we just simply suffer from a slight lack of full perspective and what was really nice about this meeting was that you really do feel that you are around the table with everybody. So, take the meeting on Alzheimer’s, that was chaired by Gus O’Donnell³⁷, UK Cabinet supremo... there was literally everybody there from top researchers from the top medical universities, practitioners, someone from the National Institute of Health in the States, which is the main government health place, there were pharmaceutical companies, there were people who invest capital or lend capital to pharmaceutical companies, so, for example, civil society people were saying ‘people who invest in funding treatment for this’, it was very important to hear what worked and what doesn’t. So it was very valuable.”

In Taylor’s view, the meeting in Davos is perceived as an ‘opportunity’ that ‘brings everybody together’ to gain a ‘full perspective’. At Davos, he describes a specific meeting regarding Alzheimer’s disease and describes meeting participants by a range of capitals including political (‘UK Cabinet supremo’, knowledge (researchers, practitioners), business (pharmaceutical companies), economic (investors, lenders), and civil society (his own charitable organisation). Bringing together all of these forms of capital to a meeting resulted in ‘hearing what worked and what doesn’t’ – new knowledge capital, institutionalised by WEF (as a forum through which certain global social actors legitimate the expertise of others, albeit without the conferring of qualifications) that he considers valuable. Crucially, these capitals have global significance, that is, participating social actors are in a position to use their capitals across geographic and cultural boundaries, but also by participating they are able to see the ‘full dimension’, gaining knowledge capital in doing so.

The capitals held by social actors in the field give legitimacy within the global field of power – the social actors are there because they have and bring the right capitals – but they also gain and exchange capitals through their participation. Social actors in the global field of power

³⁷ Former Cabinet Secretary (British Civil Service), member of the House of Lords.

bring their networks of relationships to their participation, but they also gain capital through their participation in the field, as represented through their participation in WSF and WEF – participation in itself confers capital. The value of the different proportions of each component capital confers difference on the global social actors and is a source of struggle. Participation in WEF and WSF also confer social capital to participants (through membership/participation); however, there are differences of opinion as to whether each forum is legitimate, or has different levels/types of legitimacy to the other. The different amounts and values of component capitals of global capital held by global social actors drives their response to/definition of the doxa of the field, which is explored further in the next section.

6.5 Doxic struggles in the global field of power

Those who are present in the global field of power are those most able to define what is at stake in the global field of power – in this research, what is at stake are the issues of global sustainability and inequality that require response, how are they defined and how they should be resolved. I argue that neoliberal capitalism is the dominant doxa (taken for granted belief system) of the global economic order (see sections 1.2.2 and 2.8), which privileges the economic over and above the social and/or the environmental. This doxa also underpins the global field of power, but is subject to struggle given the heterodoxy revealed by other global social actors, whose positions privilege the social and/or environmental over the economic.

I am arguing that a characteristic of the global field of power is its heterodoxy, because there can only ever be multiple positions and beliefs brought by the many global social actors who operate therein, unlike the fields of power in other fields that are subject to narrower boundaries and therefore doxa. It is the case that the dominant global doxa is neoliberal capitalism; however, in the global field of power this is being revealed as orthodoxy because of the challenge posed by dominated dominant global actors who create heterodoxy in the field, allowing questioning and challenge. The dominant intellectual systems are reflected in the principles, priorities and agendas of forum participants that promote a sustainable future. As notes from the conversation with Ben show: *both WEF and WSF have goals e.g. eradicate poverty but their ideologies are different. WEF – consolidation, conservative in its*

*original sense i.e. to conserve the status quo*³⁸. He demonstrates that there are different positions on what sustainability means and the reconciliation of priorities within it (the social, the economic, the environmental).

Doxic struggle in the global field of power is partly illustrated through struggles over the determination of what constitutes global inequality/sustainability. As Victoria succinctly describes: *“everybody has a different agenda and expectations, I think you learn to manage them [laughter], you learn to manage them from time to time”*. The proportions of different capitals as components of their global capital will influence problematisation of certain sustainability issues over others. This will be determined through economic or socially/environmentally privileged lenses, according to the capital that is most privileged, that is, if global capital has an economic dominance or if global capital has a social/cultural dominance, this will affect the definition of what constitutes inequality and sustainability.

Once determined, the capital that is most privileged will influence how global social actors formulate their responses to global inequality/sustainability issues. Therefore, the long term strategic aim of challenging global social actors may be to shift the entire doxa of the global field of power (away from the dominant neoliberal doxa). The following sections illustrate steps towards this by identifying examples of agenda-setting and responses (world making) to global issues of inequality and sustainability. They explore further the effects in terms of the definition of global inequalities in and through these forums (what is on the agenda). They explore the struggle within the global field of power over defining how things are in the world with regard to sustainable practice and responses to global inequalities and sustainability issues (how the agenda should be met).

6.5.1 Defining the agenda

Participation in the global field of power offers the opportunity to debate global issues with world making implications, from a multitude of positions. Both WEF and WSF, as example enactments of the global field of power, offer opportunities for global social actors to define and then respond to a global agenda. In the global field of power individuals struggle to

³⁸ The current, existing state of things, how things are at the present time.

define sustainability and inequality in the world across a range of interconnected practices. Research participants recognise the value of global forums as offering activities through which existing negative practice can be resisted and reshaped towards a more sustainable goal. Frances offers an example of this:

“The leaders of the big NGOs have been interacting with Davos to such an extent that their agendas are more represented, it’s still not the [WSF], and it will never be...there’re a lot of people inside the WEF, from what I know, who are a lot more inclined to embrace the social and environmental agenda.”

The global forums produce artefacts (for example, reports, statements) that propose policy and strategy in relation to sustainability themes (Brundtland and World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), and the individual global social actors and the organisations of which they are part also have positions on priorities for sustainability and how to create improvement. WEF activities also explicitly refer to defining the global agenda, for example, through its Global Agenda Councils (GACs). Riley describes this further:

“To a degree defining it, yes... there isn’t a definition of what the global agenda is anywhere, you can’t go on the web and find the global agenda is..., but if you’ve got enough companies talking about it and looking about it and creating a common language for lots of activities, it allows things to come together and become an agenda item... so you find out it’s all the same stuff but we’ve not got a label for it therefore it doesn’t appear on the global agenda. So I may in my head be looking at eco-efficiencies, somebody else may be looking at Lean, oh hang on a minute, it has a Lean outcome but it also has a green outcome because it reduces its environmental impact through resource reduction blah, blah, blah. So there’s a sort of language thing that helps people understand what’s going on by sharing.”

Notes from my conversation with Dylan reveal the discussions at the GACs are a ‘high level within and across fields’:

The GACs are mechanisms through which experts can communicate. At Davos, however, the conversations are at an extraordinarily high level between business and government ministers. It is a unique place where different sectors are speaking to each other at high levels – adjacent areas of policy, so both high level within and across fields. Call this cross-fertilisation, conversations do not usually happen at this level and intensity, cross-cutting themes and areas.

Dylan’s summary illustrates the importance of who is in the room in GAC meetings, as what emerges from these permeates and influences business, policy and civil society discussions

through the annual meeting at Davos. It is important to remember, therefore (as discussed earlier in this chapter), that who is able to participate in the global field of power has an effect on how the agenda is defined. This is illustrated again here by Frances, that: “[WEF’s] a membership organisation”, that is, representatives of business and industry pay significant sums of money to be part of it. Therefore, this has implications for how the agenda for discussion can be set. Participants in these forums as global social actors have an opportunity to express their points of view (Bourdieu, 1985), promote personal agendas and (potentially) achieve personal gain through the interactions facilitated by them, as well world making. These may be competing and conflicting, and certainly demonstrating different priorities, as also shown in practice by Paul in relation to health inequalities:

“The gain for, the field is really very difficult because in the health field, you know, the main stakeholder groups in industry is the food industry... it’s the [popular global brands of soft drink companies³⁹] and all that lot, and they, they really only have one interest which is to sell more of their products and they either do not wish to hear the messages or do not understand the messages but they don’t accept the message that they have, that they, they are part of a problem in relation to health. They’re not there yet by any stretch of the imagination, they will manipulate the evidence, they will parry the evidence, they will not say ‘yes, we do accept there is a problem here and here’s what we as a company can do about it’, they won’t do that”

Paul’s experience is that the food industry (dominance of economic capital, belief in the dominant doxa) does not ‘wish to hear’ or ‘understand’ or ‘accept’ that there are problems with global health that they either can or should respond directly to. Their definition of the global agenda with regard to health inequalities is outside of anything that would negatively impact on the sales of their products. Simon alludes to the broader implications of this as follows:

“If you were a cynic, you would say well [WEF] talks about being multi-stakeholder platform and challenging to, addressing I should say sorry, the global existential threats that the world is facing...the mission statement of the Forum is ‘committed to improving the state of the world’, now if you were a cynic you might say well you can’t start to improve the state of the world unless you can have a debate about some of the, well, anything should be on the table to debate, and if it’s not on the table then you’re not going to improve the state of the world if you can’t even talk about it.”

³⁹ At times, my research participants named companies as examples to make their point. It was felt that these should be anonymised throughout my thesis, unless related to a point that could be shown to be in the public domain.

As previously introduced, it would be very easy to create a simplistic binary of WEF representing the dominant neoliberal doxa, with global social actors therein defining the agenda according to economic privilege, and WSF opposing this. For example, the dominant neoliberal doxa represented by certain social actors within WEF (for example, global corporations) would not question that improvement ought to be achieved through partnership and collaboration between multiple stakeholders (especially corporate and political representatives). Tom, for example, describes the agenda in the WEF annual meetings at Davos:

“when you look at the agenda... you do a lot of heavy stuff on economics etcetera, but also a great deal of sessions on other global issues... [There was a group called] Global Risk Network looking at global issues and how they affect society and the economy, so climate change, poverty, terrorism.

At a general level, this interpretation stands, although I would argue that a more nuanced analysis can be offered by taking into account the composition of global capital held by global social actors and the effect of this on how they seek to define the agenda (through challenge to or defence of the dominant neoliberal doxa). It is not possible to define either forum entirely by these binary positions, or the whole global field of power by binary positions, there is struggle within and between each as to defining causes, effects and priorities for action in response to global inequalities. Therefore, within the global field of power, global social actors play the game (Bourdieu, 1991) towards improvement in the state of the world, and they struggle to define what improvement should look like and how it should be achieved. The tensions of response are considered in the next section.

6.5.2 Responding to the agenda

In the global field of power, individuals exercise influence and control over policies and procedures that impact across geographic boundaries and may not be immediately visible or democratic. Forums such as WEF and WSF offer social spaces and meeting places through which a global game of world making (Bourdieu, 1989) can be played with multiple positions for individuals to challenge one another based on their positions. Both forums promote belief in their actions and outputs by virtue of those who are participating and the associated ‘rightness’ of the thoughts and actions they express and propose.

Theo describes responses to the agenda as follows: *“the WSF is transforming global culture by introducing, via consultation, a common global set of concerns, a global interpretation of the problems, and many local and global solutions. The WSF creates greater mutual understanding around the world.”* Theo’s description indicates that global social actors participating in WSF activities aim to ‘transform global culture’ and ‘introduce a common global set of concerns’ to which ‘global and local solutions’ can be formulated. Victoria describes her experience as follows: *“I think the energy, the room fills up with energy, of power and the capacity that these people can actually, if they want to, could really change the world”*. This recognition enables the exercise of symbolic power:

“as a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself, an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170).

The challenge posed by certain global social actors would promote improvement through significant change in political and corporate behaviours. Joshua, for example, explains that *“[WSF] does work... it works at that higher level of being able to reinforce the broader analysis, broader statement that there needs to be a challenge rather than an aberration of the existing system.”* However, global social actors are acutely aware of the tensions in responding to complex sustainability agendas. They are subject to different dominances and definitions within multiple social contexts. Examples include profit-driven versus socially responsible capitalism, economically sustainable environmentalism versus environmental protection, and moral / social imperatives versus economic imperatives. Riley offers an example of the tensions between environmental protection and neoliberalism (profit and employment) and the practical responses towards ethical business practice, CSR and sustainability that businesses are willing to make:

“There is the thing that says I run an airline and flying is bad. OK if I take that argument as CEO to its ultimate what I do is shut down tomorrow...but then everybody who works for [it] and its associated businesses would be out of a job...Actually we have a social responsibility to provide employment and returns on people’s pensions investments which is as important.”

These tensions are difficult to reconcile. He uses this illustration to show that CEOs may believe that the product/service of their organisation (here: air travel) is detrimental to the environment. However, if they stopped operating, it would be socially and economically detrimental to those employed, thereby conflicting with a value base that seeks to protect their employees. His example illustrates a multiplicity of dilemma – between the organisation to be an ethical and responsible business, the responsibility of global environmental responsibility and socio-economic responsibility. These positions are not mutually exclusive; they exist in relation to one another and stand in tension with one another depending on the social context in which the individual is acting.

Frances offers a further example of the difficulty in picking a single position or response given the interconnected nature of sustainability issues. She uses the case of sustainable employment, commenting that: *“the big problem in the transition towards a new economy is labour, if people lose their jobs that’s the only thing they see. They couldn’t care less about whether this is good for the environment or bad for the environment”*. This example highlights that individuals participating in the global field of power may indeed strive for environmental protection and sustainability; however, this conflicts with the overarching socio-economic paradigm that requires employment. It particularly illustrates privileging the value of employment on a social level and one that privileges the value of the environment. These are both valuable ideas but the dominant belief may influence decision and action towards the emergence of new worlds – that for some, labour and employment is the priority for social stability, regardless of whether the jobs are ecologically damaging. Matthew also describes political tensions as follows:

“I would say probably each hour there are 200 to 300 different parallel sessions, with totally different themes, very often conflicting, the ones are fighting for the cause of the Jewish community the others against it, fighting, especially in Africa of course because it’s closer to, all these conflicts in Palestine”.

Matthew’s example reveals a tension driven by political positioning, with global social actors believing in different socio-political ‘causes’. So whilst there is a significant proportion of global social actors in the global field of power who represent the dominant doxa, whose global capital is dominated by the economic – corporate organisations operating within global neoliberal capitalism trying to interplay with sustainable business and this permeates

their definitions of global inequalities – this is only one focus for the stake of the field. Notes from the conversation with Declan describe this in practice:

The demand is for large scale (long term, big) and plural-lateral responses (alliances, clubs of commonly interested countries, other actors including NGOs). WEF was approached by the Government of Brazil along this agenda. They recognised that a global deal cannot be achieved because there are too many different interests and they asked what could be done to achieve progress. A new model of partnerships has been operating, “vehicles of implementation”, smaller numbers but collaboration of participants who are organised with clear goals with stakeholder buy-in – partnerships that less developed countries can find a place within, empowerment. Brazil is interesting because it sits between the G20 and the G77⁴⁰. Friends of Rio⁴¹ was an outcome of this approach, involving meetings between Patriota⁴² and Teixeira⁴³ of Brazil with the CEOs of companies including Unilever, Coca Cola, Nestle, Braskem, China Vanke, WWF, International Red Cross and Maurice Strong⁴⁴. An example of an outcome of these discussions is that the Brazilian government explained about the problems of deforestation, Vanke China recognised that they and similar Chinese companies use the majority of exported Brazilian wood in their construction businesses, so began talking to each other specifically about how to operate sustainably.

Declan’s example shows the interplay between corporate, government and civil society interests over a specific issue of environmental sustainability – that of deforestation in Brazil. Each global social actor will have a particular composition of global capital to bring to this table and use this to promote their definition of the problem and appropriate solution. There are relational, competing and conflicting political, economic and social positions operating at a broader social context (global field) that both drive and are driven by global forums like WEF and WSF. There is struggle over priorities for success. Joshua summarises this as follows:

“It depends on how you measure success, because...you can see why the more pragmatic, technical, depoliticised NGOs are powerful is because they will say, ‘right, we want to change this, we want to change this, we want’, and for them particularly about aid, ‘we want to ensure aid levels remain high and we want to try and get it so that all political parties sign up to 0.7% of GNI [Gross National Income] which is the UN target’ and they manage so they can say ‘this is how to

⁴⁰ The Group of 77 (G77) is a collective of developing countries in the United Nations, see <http://www.g77.org/doc/>.

⁴¹ A group convened by WEF (World Economic Forum, 2012c).

⁴² Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations.

⁴³ Federal Deputy and Leader of the Brazilian Workers’ Party.

⁴⁴ Former Commissioner of the World Commission on Environment and Development, amongst other UN roles.

change the world'. [High profile IGNO] want to get nutrition up the political agenda, they do this deal with the government whereby the government says 'we'll have a nutrition summit as part of the G8 if you will come by and say look how great the government's doing', [high profile INGO] thinks it, 'look how influential we are, our agenda is now at an international summit held by the government', that is powerful, you can't say it's not. We [as an organisation] might believe in this wonderful new world, the new Jerusalem, everything absolutely hunky dory, we can't say that we've got many of those victories, but if you choose your measurements of success with such limited ambition, people don't see the limits of the ambition they just perceive that you've got it. ... they can say to their supporters, they can say to government, they can say to the influencers 'when we set our mind to things, it happens'. And what's really most corrosive about this is you now get many of the big agencies explicitly saying 'we won't take that on because there's no chance of us winning it. We will only take things where we have a good chance of winning because that feeds back to us being successful'."

Joshua's point illustrates some of the uncomfortable compromises that may need to be negotiated (or not) as part of world making. That is, global social actors may build capital through coverage and visibility (getting on to the agenda of an international summit) or they may act at a smaller scale to make greater impacts towards greater equality. As Wacquant (2005a, p. 3) writes, "the power to (re)make reality by preserving or altering the categories through which agents comprehend and construct the world", that is, the world is made on the basis of decisions made by these global social actors.

The focus of discussion and prioritisation of certain inequalities over another emerge through these forums. George also described how within the meetings in which he has participated, there is a belief that it is very hard to deal with inequality issues by shaping trade and investment policies rather than through other public policies and instruments directed towards that goal. In this respect, there is perhaps an extent to which business representatives do not see their place in addressing sustainability issues and, in these contexts, have limited interest in those who would offer an alternative point of view towards more equity (Bourdieu, 1985). The doxa is questioned by those with different perceptions, revealing it as orthodoxy in the presence of heterodoxy (Bourdieu, 1996). Through these interactions, there are opportunities to raise, challenge and debate positions between those who manifest accepted and legitimised power in the dominant world order (especially the US, UK and western Europe). Heterodoxy emerges through an interaction of positions that overlap and are set within each other, with associated tensions. Through interactions, other

worlds can emerge through a shift in the doxa, a transformation. This is explored further in Chapter 8.

6.6 Conclusion and implications

As initially indicated in Chapter 5 and above, the global field of power is by its nature exclusive to those who have the necessary global capital to participate. What constitutes the necessary global capital is also subject to contestation, particularly in relation to participation in the two research settings. Global capital is privileged and this is accumulated through a combination of economic, social, cultural and embodied capitals, the value of which stretches beyond geographic and field boundaries. The struggle in the global field of power is to: 1) define and accumulate global capital; and 2) use this capital to define and respond to the global agenda.

This thesis seeks to contribute by incorporating those individuals who marshal these forms of capital in a relation of struggle with others in dominant positions at a global level. It seems apparent that economic capital, as Bourdieu found, still dominates at this level given its convertibility (Maclean *et al.*, 2014); however, other forms of capital challenge and subvert in different ways. It is perhaps not that economic capital is more important than other forms of capital in my empirical findings; rather it is in a dominant position. Embodied cultural capital (presence) is facilitated by economic and social capital, through which further capital is accumulated and effects are enabled. There is competition for individuals to keep or improve their position through gains in capital. Participation is still limited to those with the 'right' capitals, conferring the ability to challenge and question. Social actors use these forums to marshal their capital in multiple and contested ways to preserve or transform the doxa that influences how the global agenda is defined and responded to through the global field of power. Individuals negotiate their position in the global field of power through WSF and WEF, characterised by different and often contradictory interpretations of how things should be. The next chapter examines the ways in which global social actors respond to the agenda, their struggles and strategies.

Chapter 7. Struggles and strategies in the field

7.1 Introduction

Using Bourdieu's field theory enables recognition of the different strategies enacted by global social actors within the global field of power in their struggles to maintain or challenge the dominant doxa of neoliberal capitalism and its influence on definitions of and responses to the global agenda. In the global field of power, it can be argued that the dominant doxa is neoliberal capitalism, the taken for granted 'how things are' that influences perceptions of global inequalities. The dominance of neoliberal capitalism in global socio-economics has been continually questioned and undermined since the turn of the century, affecting the relationship between rules of the game in the global field of power and the habitus of those global social actors therein. It is revealed as orthodoxy and there is heterodoxic struggle within the global field of power driven by different doxic perceptions, with potential implications for new worlds to emerge change. These strategies are *How different social actors perceive the struggle in the field* (RQ3).

Using examples from my research participants in WEF and WSF activities, as enactments of the global field of power, this chapter is structured as follows. Section 7.2 offers examples of Bourdieu's strategies in practice in the global field of power. Section 7.3 explores the interruptions to field and habitus relations (hysteresis, see section 2.7) that occur through the enactment of these strategies as global social actors interact in the global field of power. Global social actors both provoke and are subject to interruptions to field and habitus relations and section 7.4 argues that these interruptions are needed for effective responses to global inequalities to be generated, through disruption of the status quo.

7.2 Strategies within the global field of power

The global field of power exists as a social arena in which global social actors can make the world (in this thesis, make new, more equal and sustainable worlds). The strategies within the field emerge as global social actors interact to make the world in a sustainable and equal way according to 'their' definition of the global agenda (see Chapter 6); they will act in such a way to try and achieve this in the most effective way possible. The strategies of

conservation, succession and subversion are motivated, in Bourdieu's analysis, by the movement and/or acclamation of capital and there are subsequent inequalities produced. These strategies were introduced in section 2.4; in Bourdieu's analysis they comprise: 1) conservation, where those who are dominant may act to stay dominant (conserve their dominance to define meanings and the value of capital); 2) succession, where those who are submissive in the field seek to become dominant (succeeding existing dominant social actors within present rules); and 3) subversion, where those who are submissive undertake direct challenge of those who are dominant by changing the definition of the rules of the game (overthrowing and replacing dominant social actors with new doxic rules and capital values) (Swartz, 1997).

The typology may appear fixed; however, these strategies are neither mutually exclusive nor static. Global social actors act in response to the social context in which they are present (Bourdieu, 1994a), which may involve multiple strategies and/or different strategies according to different times/positions. This can be problematic and create dilemmas for global social actors in deciding the best course of action. In addition, all global social actors in the global field of power are dominant in some way (dominant/dominated dominants/consecrated heretics – see section 5.6), affecting the complexity of the enactment of these strategies. As Bourdieu (1996, pp. 264-265) describes:

“The forces that can be enlisted in these struggles, and the orientation given to them, be it conservative or subversive, depend on what might be called the ‘exchange rate’ (or ‘conversion rate’) that obtains among the different forms of capital, in other words, on the very thing that these strategies aim to preserve or transform (principally through the defense or criticism of representation of the different forms of capital and their legitimacy).”

All global social actors are able to pursue responses to global inequalities by virtue of the capital they hold in the global field of power (see Chapter 6), but the strategies pursued are varied and characterise the struggle to make the world in a particular way (for example, preserving, adapting, or creating new worlds). This can be seen in practice in the following sections through the examples of global social actors who participate in WSF and WEF activities as enactments of the global field of power.

7.2.1 Strategies of conservation

This section of the chapter explores the experiences of global social actors in the global field of power as they pursue strategies of conservation. Swartz (1997) interprets Bourdieu's notion of conservation as relating to the maintenance, preservation and/or extension of the field in the interests of the dominant. In the global field of power, conservation strategies of this kind may be enacted by those global social actors who have been able to hold the most dominant positions by virtue of the extreme volume and appropriate combination of capitals of value to confer global capital. I would argue that this is one form of conservation strategy that may be evident within the field, but not the only one. It is insufficient to claim that only the dominant will pursue conservation strategies and two versions of conservation are explored here.

With regard to issues of sustainability that are at stake in the field (see sections 5.7 and 6.5), there are, firstly, particular global social actors who would seek to define and respond in ways that either further drive economic growth or certainly do not suggest any fundamental shift of existing global economic patterns of behaviour (neo-liberal capitalism). In doing so, this conserves the dominant doxa and its associated privileged capitals. It is likely that these global social actors are the most dominant dominants, that is, 'hardcore' neoliberals who privilege the economic over and above other forms of capital. Secondly, I argue that there is a form of conservation strategy that is evident through those global social actors who are the most dominated dominants, that is, 'hardcore' challengers who privilege the social/environmental above other forms of capital. They are conserving their position as having a moral high ground. In this respect, the oppositional positions of these global social actors at such extreme poles of the global field of power may actually conserve the status quo as they need one another to challenge and maintain their positions. There is a question as to whether these global social actors truly seek new worlds and improvement in the state of the world, or if they do it is within certain parameters. These two positions exist in relation to one another to simultaneously conserve the field.

Notes from the conversation with George express an illustration of the first type of conservation strategy in relation to WEF Global Agenda Council (GAC) activities:

In this GAC, there is a belief that it is very hard to deal with inequality issues by shaping trade and investment policies. Other public policies and instruments are much more pointed towards the goal, so there is not such an echo with this GAC. Members do want poor countries to be involved in trade and investment but in terms of poor people addressing their needs, there are more direct ways of doing it rather than through trade and investment.

In George's view, and his experience of interactions with other global social actors in his GAC, trade and investment (economic capital) has a limited role in addressing issues of inequality, which is best served by 'more direct ways' (of which he is not explicit). If it is accepted that neoliberal capitalism (economic capital) is most dominant in global capital and the dominant doxa, global social actors for whom economic capital is the greatest proportion of their global capital will seek to make the world in such a way that privileges this. My discussion with Paul supports this, as he describes the relationship between health-related industries and responses to the causes of ill-health:

"Certainly what I picked up in the health field is that there's a lot of pressure from the industries to influence what [WEF] does and says in the health field, recently all the alcohol industries have joined and you can quite pick up just from corridor conversations is that you know they're really trying to influence the debate. I mean on one hand what they want is sort of honest answers from the forum, but they want to use the forum to their own benefit, so they see the forum as being you know maybe a way of getting a better relationship between the alcohol industry and the World Health Organisation, which the industry desperately wants, that's where you start seeing the influence."

Paul describes a situation where global social actors who represent economic interests (the 'industries') are trying to influence the global agenda in their favour by engaging with the World Health Organisation through WEF activities. There is, therefore, an extent to which improvement in the state of the world is only sought within existing, conserved ways of being.

Interviewees have described lively discussions in this particular manifestation of the global field of power as being with nuances of opinion towards the same end rather than sharp differences between views. Jacob emphasises the limited extent of challenge evident and that those who are within the debate are considered moderate, perhaps even 'safe', in their differences of position. He suggests: *"for the most part, most [WEF] meetings consist of the chorus singing to the chorus and the choir singing to the choir, with some dissonant voices,*

there are debates, there are disagreements, but they are within parameters, it's not an anything goes kind of situation". These global social actors, therefore, are conserving the status quo towards the privilege of neoliberal economics as the dominant doxa.

In some analyses it would be sufficient to consider the above as the dominant conservation strategy of the field. However, in the global field of power, all actors are dominant in relation to the global capital they have accumulated. By considering different positions within the global field of power, it helps to facilitate an understanding of the complexity of relations as opposed to simplistic binaries. The nature of the field is maintained by complex relations. As such, the second, more relational form of conservation strategy extends the analysis to demonstrate that part of what holds the previously described dominance in place is the simultaneous conservation of the subversive position (dominated dominants). So all those who act to conserve (from whichever position) are simultaneously resisting (subverting) the alternatives (Bourdieu, 1998). This relational strategy of conservation serves to maintain the status quo as each requires the other to exist – there cannot be dominance without subversion and there cannot be subversion without dominance, as Bourdieu states, “the different powers are both competitive and complementary, that is, in some respects at least, accomplices: they share in each other and owe a part of their symbolic efficiency to the fact that they are never completely exclusive” (Bourdieu, 1988, pp. 113-114). The status quo may also be maintained by those global social actors for whom the social and environmental is privileged over and above economic capital in their global capital, and they seek to conserve their position as a static, superior antithesis to those who privilege the economic. For example, the second type of conservation strategy is evident through those global social actors who participate to seek to conserve their position as a static, superior antithesis to that represented by WEF. Mason comments: “*one represents the ruling class, the other represents the oppressed layers of society. They are diametrically opposed*” and this oppositional strategy actually prevents the emergence of new worlds as it holds the other in infinite relation.

Within the global field of power, there are dominated dominant positions that take a counter to the dominant doxa of neoliberal capitalism and examples of absolute critique of global social actors who seek to conserve economic dominance are evident (largely within the example activities of WSF). I argue that these global social actors aim to conserve their

absolute critique as being righteous. This can be seen, for example, as Matthew describes: “[WEF] for me is totally embedded in the system, so it’s the leaders of global corporations with some global politicians, they’re all fundamentally constrained by the need for economic growth, the need for profits and most of the sustainability agenda is the window dressing”. Olivia also comments: “WEF is taking forward an agenda of capitalist[s]. That’s a capitalist structure and I don’t trust it”, and Susanna comments that WEF is: “a space for centralising and furthering privilege and inequality”. In this respect, it could be argued that these global social actors conserve their dominance in terms of being ‘right’, knowing that there are alternative, better, more equal and more sustainable ways of being in the world and so they completely disregard those who believe otherwise as erroneous and insignificant. Their dominance is claimed because they consider economically-dominated global social actors “so illegitimate that they are not even worth talking to, and should rather be abolished than recognized as legitimate partners of dialogue” (Ylä-Anttila, 2005, p. 437). Matthew describes his position as follows:

“It all depends on the agenda you have and on the vision you have, my vision is that the current economic system with the current type of global corporations is just totally unsustainable and needs to completely transform. So I would question the need for global corporations, the current power of corporations but also especially driven by global investors and global financial markets.”

The result is potentially the conservation of the status quo, with each position struggling to conserve their perceived dominance. This is indicative of the interconnected nature of the strategic positions, that they are not mutually exclusive but there is a reliance on one another that maintains the social order. The global field of power, like any social order, has evident rules, experiences and structures that are unquestioned by social actors therein and strategies of conservation seek to maintain these. Despite different positions, these example global social actors see their way as being ‘right’ and ‘dominant’ and therefore as they struggle to protect them through the global field of power, nothing (or very little) changes – the chance of new worlds emerging is slight. The next section develops the second of Bourdieu’s field strategies: those of succession.

7.2.2 *Strategies of succession*

Global social actors who enact these strategies of succession are those who seek to engage with dominant dominants (those for whom economic capital is predominant in their global capital and so maintaining the dominant doxa) to directly influence them. As Frances describes of her experiences: *“it’s just a bloody long battle and the question is how much is industry influencing politics, how much is politics influencing industry”*. Frances’ comment can be interpreted as successive as she describes a relationship of struggle between global social actors from two different fields: industry (dominated by economic capital); and politics (dominated by socio-cultural capital). Succession strategies may create new worlds by global social actors playing the same game as those representing perceived dominance in the global field of power. This may be in two ways: 1) by taking over the positions of dominant dominants, that is, for social/cultural capital to become predominant in global capital and so shifting the dominant doxa; and/or 2) by changing the values and beliefs of existing dominant dominants to become driven by the social and environmental over and above the economic (again shifting the dominant doxa). Therefore, the main aim of strategies of succession is to work from within existing rules of the field to shift positions and redefine the rules. It could be that civil society actors who participate in WEF activities are ‘succeeding’ because they are using their capital to their best advantage to challenge.

Nathan introduces examples of this in practice as follows:

“...a few of the NGOs that participate in the [WSF] process might also be part of the NGOs forum, or the NGO whatever space that is in Davos and in the [WEF] setting. Sometimes I think there is an overlap between those NGOs in terms of other spaces, so for example, in the World Trade Organisation, or ... the Conference of Parties, the UNF triple C conferences, there’s ministerials that they have, there is often what is called the inside strategy and the outside strategy and there are social movements who are largely in the outside strategy space in terms of mobilisations, in terms of protests, in terms of alternatives that are often preferred and projected but not within the inside, that is the where the negotiations are taking place at the ministerial level and then there are NGOs that are very much in the inside strategy that work with governments often...And then there are some that sort of do both, that have an interaction with the outside as well as the inside.”

Nathan describes strategies of participation in different global forums, including WSF and WEF. He characterises them as ‘inside’ (interpreted as Bourdieu’s ‘succession’) and ‘outside’ (interpreted as Bourdieu’s ‘subversion’, see section 7.2.3) and offers a description of both.

The 'outside', subversive strategies will be discussed in the next section. I have interpreted 'inside' as 'succession' because it can be interpreted as involving collaboration, negotiation and/or alliance with dominant dominants. As notes from the conversation with Phillip show:

With something like WEF – there are certain immovable things which seem to be capitalism, oil and growth, these things are unacceptable to change. Do you get inside and try to make more change, but small change? Or do you shout from the outside? This provides agitation and has a role but it is not where the decisions are made.

Phillip's point identifies the inside/outside approaches but, in his view, the outside approach offers mere 'agitation', where as he favours the inside, successive approach albeit that he recognises the 'small' nature of change that may be achieved. Because succession strategies require an element of cooperation, collaboration and/or alliance, global social actors holding different positions have to mutually engage. It may be that each has a different strategy behind their engagement, for example, succession to achieve greater dominance or succession to change the dominance. In my research, examples of succession strategies are mostly demonstrated by those global social actors who do seek to challenge the dominant neoliberal economic doxa through negotiation and engagement; however, this does not preclude the possibility of dominant dominants pursuing succession to subsume any challenge, that is, to increase their domination (which could be interpreted as a form of succession).

The global social actors who pursue succession strategies in their challenge of the dominant doxa may be considered consecrated heretics (see section 5.6). In my examples, they are often those who attend WEF activities and aim to succeed the existing dominant (and perceived inadequate) responses to global inequalities by changing hearts and minds through negotiation, collaboration and alliance. As Katherine describes: *"power is really leveraging the people in industry...to do things, to move things, and if they feel like they're being beaten up on, it's going to make it worse"* and in Maclean et al.'s (2014, p. 829 abbreviation original) analysis "the FoP [field of power] also creates the structural conditions for agents to make common cause". These points demonstrate the balance of the struggle of the field; that too much opposition (being 'beaten up on') may 'make it worse' and that the global field of power actually offers the opportunity to 'make common cause' instead. Theo

describes such affiliations as ‘alignments’ between global social actors occupying different positions within the global field of power as follows:

“In any discussion between different stakeholders the one with the most political and economic power will ultimately be the one that determines the outcomes. Social movements will only have substantial power if they are aligned with progressive political parties or if they have the grassroots capacity to guarantee a political party’s victory or loss in upcoming elections. Both Presidents Lula and Chavez enacted anti-poverty measures because they were backed up by powerful social movements who could encourage large constituencies to vote for these leaders. Meetings between stakeholders that do not ensure roughly equal decision-making power will never be successful.”

Theo’s comment suggests that alignment with political and economic power will effect change, provided the subversive position has sufficient weight in terms of decision-making capability and other forms of capital (social/cultural). These strategies are also enacted by global social actors who are in similar, more closely related positions within the global field of power, for example, those who may be considered dominant dominants (serving economic capital) but whose desire is to balance this with greater emphasis on the social and environmental. Katherine, for example, recognises that working collaboratively can achieve positive outcomes:

“There is a little bit of a hype and kool-aid drinking⁴⁵ on the [WEF] side, and you have to be a little bit careful of that but at the same time...they’re always going to be most helpful when you are working with them in a way that, that not only furthers your own agenda but also furthers their agenda and when you’re able to find that synergy then it’s pretty incredible what can be accomplished on the meeting people, connections, networking side and on the programme side, so if you’re working on a particular issue, climate, whatever that may be, if those things can line up in a way then that’s when I think the partnership that can be created is just out of this world because they really can pull things together like no other.”

Global forums such as WEF and WSF within the global field of power offer opportunities for the realignment of existing power relations (Courpasson *et al.*, 2012) and succession strategies are an example of how this can be achieved. As Tristan explains: “[WEF] has really looked at topics like faith in economics, they’ve looked at making democracy work, they’ve

⁴⁵ A term that has come into colloquial use, meaning a state of following in an unquestioning manner. It derives from the events in Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978, where followers of Jim Jones, a form of cult leader, killed themselves at his behest by drinking a drink (known as Kool-Aid) that was poisoned.

looked at values in particular, so you could actually see that the aim is how do we take out of these economics and speak the core of what it is to be human.” He illustrates that, in his experience, there can be an interaction between positions on spiritual faith, political democracy, economics and ‘what it is to be human’. These interactions may reveal tensions but by understanding these tensions and alternative positions, there may be reconciliation and the emergence of new worlds. Taylor offers an example with regard to what he sees as a global health agenda issue, specifically the production of curative treatments for certain diseases, for example, dementia:

“What they were saying, which I hadn’t really clocked, was that there would be so much pressure to make this treatment free that they need to think about starting to pursue this research into disease that we barely understand what causes them, if as soon as we find a treatment people are going to say that it should be made available to all, there are dilemmas that people are wrestling with.”

In this quote, Taylor describes how he had not appreciated the different pressures of stakeholders in other industries (‘pressure to make this treatment free’). His organisation works from a patient-focused perspective, aiming for the free availability of treatment for patients in need; however, he has learned that those producing the treatments are also subject to their organisational rules (often growth and profit focused). This in turn influences whether the companies even start to pursue the development of treatments, regardless of patient need. This is an example of the ways in which global social actors learn about the pressures faced by one another. This understanding may create greater appreciation of the challenges faced in pursuing sustainability issues in their work. Through this understanding, it may be possible to create action for change whilst recognising the boundaries that global social actors are subject to (see Table 8.4).

Unlike conservation strategies, I argue that succession strategies offer some potential for new worlds to emerge, but they are problematic. Bourdieu himself, for example, was critical about field position alliances, that they are:

“always based on a more or less conscious misunderstanding...in which the...dominated agents among the dominant, divert their accumulated cultural capital so as to offer to the dominated the means of objectively constituting their view of the world and the representation of their interest in an explicit theory and in institutionalized instruments of representation – trade union

organizations, parties, social technologies for mobilization and demonstration, etc.” (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 737)

In Bourdieu’s view, there is more scope for the dominant to benefit than other social actors, echoing theories of co-optation (Burchell and Cook, 2013a). Joshua follows Bourdieu’s critique regarding those global social actors who practice succession strategies. He explains:

“The idea of collaboration by the NGOs in [WEF] is politically extremely tense as an issue and is why we as an organisation identify absolutely with the [WSF] and would never go near the WEF (unless we’re going to throw things at it or have big demos outside), participation with it is absolutely out of the question, whereas for the bigger NGOs, for them, the idea of being within the tent trying to influence these things is very important for them. And particularly for us, this is very, very problematic... I use it in the same sense as it is used in France in the Nazi era, when I say collaboration I mean as in ‘collaboration’, I don’t mean it in a nice way⁴⁶.”

In Joshua’s view, such a strategy perpetuates and justifies the behaviours and beliefs of dominant dominants, rather than changing anything. He believes that this strategy has the effect of maintaining the status quo at best, increasing inequality at worst, rather than promoting a transformational goal. Despite this view, Dexter comments as follows:

“Davos...is the sort of epitome of the elitist way of doing things and you’re there and I can see that if you run, if you’re the head of [high profile INGO] and you’re invited to Davos but some of your colleagues aren’t, it sort of legitimises your own role in the world, that [high profile INGO] is therefore a bit more important than, or if you’re one of the 40 NGO leaders there then you’re one of the top 40 NGO leaders perhaps, it’s very convenient especially if you’re not a sort of radical space to then be able to go back and meet your funders or your board or whatever and say, ‘it’s a way that we can influence the agenda because we were invited to this or that’.”

Dexter’s point is that global social actors gain different, significant capital from being able to participate in particular areas of the global field of power, because of the opportunity to interact with others who have economic and political dominance. WEF, representing the most dominant area of the global field of power, has the capital of organisation, order, longevity and great renown, and engaging in a strategy of succession may enable certain global social actors to create greater influence and therefore provoke change more quickly

⁴⁶ ‘Collaboration’, in the sense that Joshua means, relates to World War Two in which Jewish people were identified to the Nazis by a number of European governments. His meaning, therefore, is that collaboration in WEF is becoming like them.

and/or more effectively. Actors evaluate the beneficial effects to them and their agendas of participating in these forums and the exchanges therein against the problems and drawbacks. This is not always satisfactory and it is certainly not static; forum participants are constantly reviewing and considering their position. They reconcile conflicts in ideas and values by being open to the potential and actual dilemmas of others as expressed directly or indirectly, but this is uncomfortable and a process of hysteresis (see section 7.4), that is, a disjuncture between habitus and field. It is this opens up room for shifts to occur (see Chapter 8). The tensions of this will be further discussed in section 7.3 and section 7.4 and the following section explores Bourdieu's final type of field strategy: subversion.

7.2.3 Strategies of subversion

This section explores the experiences of global social actors in the global field of power as they pursue strategies of subversion. Subversion is about fundamentally creating "another world" (World Social Forum, 2002b) through alternative ways of being by actors against and separate from the perceived causes of global issues, and by a focus on the worlds of those most affected by global issues of inequality and unsustainable practice. It could be argued that the initial founding of WSF was an act of subversion as its presence enabled new entrants to the global field of power, allowing those actors who share a common commitment to transform the current global system to act in solidarity with one another. However, this section explores the strategies of global social actors who are enacting subversion to create new worlds through the global field of power. This is the 'outside' strategy that Nathan introduced above and these global social actors are committed to achieving shifts in a very different way to those currently perceived to be perpetuating the current world order (e.g. Courpasson *et al.*, 2012).

There is potential for conceptual similarity between subversive strategies and the conservation strategies of global social actors who seek to maintain their dominance on the 'right' of society and the environment. However, the difference is that subversion strategies are aiming for complete transformation in the field, whereas conservation strategies may serve to perpetuate the existing tension and status quo in the field. Subversive strategies are about 'acting' for change rather than 'reacting', as just 'reacting' may conserve the status

quo, as Olivia describes: *“opinions all the time are attacking global capitalist regime rather offering something new. I believe we need to stop reacting, and start acting.”*

In most instances, strategies of subversion are enacted by global social actors who seek a transformation towards social, environmental and economic balance and the offer alternative action. Joshua describes an example of shifts in the dominance of capital from the economic to the social as a result of subversive participation in the global field of power:

“[Our organisation] lobbied for the introduction of supermarket ombudsmans, groceries code adjudicator which has now come in, again, even under a Tory⁴⁷ government we managed to get that, and you could say, again, this isn’t the life changing thing whereby the whole of the world is going to start spinning in a different way, but for the first time you have an external, independent adjudicator with the power to fine these companies... So things like that which I suppose we would see as our victories, because they are on the way to rebalancing power relations between [economic] capital and society.”

These global social actors, as illustrated by Joshua’s example, are acting differently, generating transformation by playing a different game to that played by politicians and corporations perceived to perpetuate the dominant discursive regime in their own interests (e.g. Haunss and Leach, 2007). They are engaging in debate and developing new ways of being and doing that challenge existing and dominant global practices (e.g. Dick, 2008). Subversion may be achieved by broadening the agenda, encouraging greater privileging of social/cultural capitals within global capital. Helen describes one example of this:

“What [WSF has] at least started to do is to give some sort of platform to movements of people who have in some way been marginalised by Western modernity and globalisation, people of the global south...for example, in the 2004 Forum in Mumbai... I think the thing about that was that the Dalits, the untouchables, came in huge numbers, forest people came in huge numbers.”

Helen describes that strategies of subversion have enable voices to be heard who do not usually have a platform to express their experiences, yet are affected by the world making of global social actors. Vincent describes his experience of subversion through WSF:

⁴⁷ ‘Tory’ is a colloquial term for the UK-based political party, the Conservative Party, linked to its historical foundations. Its policies are characterised by traditional family values, cautious spending and the responsibilities of the individual to work for their own advancement.

“During [WSF] we had many different initiatives, alternatives, new ideas to look globally and think locally, it was a two ways movement because the people from around the world come together they share their experiences and they went back to their places and there they make the changes...the [WSF] was doing something like from the micro to the macro and back again, it was like a feeding the ideas and spreading is more like capillary structures into the society.”

Vincent reveals his approach to voice and enact alternatives, which slowly change how the world is through a steady permeation. Subversion is achieved through ‘feeding the ideas’ and ‘capillary’ action spreading them. The global social actors who pursue these subversive strategies are those who consider the pursuit of new worlds to be best achieved by actively challenging activities represented by dominant actors. Mason’s point of view illustrates this: *“the future of humanity will not be found in a market, but precisely by overthrowing such chaos and developing a democratically planned economy.”* They aim to subvert the existing dominant (and inadequate) responses to global inequalities by offering complete alternatives.

7.2.4 Summary

Bourdieu’s three types of strategy as evident in the global field of power are connected to capital and are described as follows: 1) conservation strategies, as enacted by the most dominant dominants and the most dominated dominants who challenge one another but whose challenge needs one another and, as such, potentially conserve the field as opposed to making new worlds; 2) succession strategies, involving direct interaction and struggle between different global social actors to try to ‘succeed’ one another’s beliefs and so make new worlds; and 3) subversion strategies, which seek to radically transform the field to make new worlds. None of these strategies are static or mutually exclusive, different global social actors will be enacting the field in different ways at different times according to the social contexts they are in. What is of particular interest is the ways in which these strategies provoke interruptions in the relations of the field as it is this that may create new worlds. These interruptions are discussed in the following section.

7.3 Interruptions to field and habitus relations

Section 7.2 above offers an illustration of the dynamics of the global field of power such that there are evident factors maintaining the status quo, 'the way the world is' (conservation strategies), as well as factors that may enable new worlds to emerge (succession and subversion). These strategies represent ways in which global social actors act with one another in their responses to issues of sustainability and inequality at a global level. However, these strategies are not planned or designed in any particularly instrumental way, rather they are revealed according to the interrelationship between the embodiment of the global social actor, their experiences/dispositions (habitus), and the social contexts in which they are positioned (field). These global social actors are trying to make better, more sustainable worlds emerge as a result of their engagement within the global field of power.

The interactions of social actors within all field structures are subject to a relative stability, wherein positions are held according to habitus, rules are tacitly understood and followed, and expectations are met. However, shifts and instability occur through new entrants to the field and/or new information/experiences being brought by existing social actors as a result of their constant engagement in a variety of social contexts. Here we can see tension within the multiple lived experiences of professional and personal ways of life. Such interruptions to field and habitus relations, or hysteresis, may require social actors and the field to adjust. In the global field of power, these adjustments may make new worlds because it may be that global social actors find new ways to respond to issues of sustainability and inequality. There has been relatively static dominance of the neoliberal economic doxa (field rules) but in the last two decades this has become particularly interrupted, because of the increased participation of global social actors with different habituses and capitals.

In the global field of power, experiencing these new ways may be uncomfortable, as they may jar with the comfort of how things have been and how they are. Global social actors provoke and become subject to hysteresis as a result of the strategies enacted in the field. They bring multiple ways of life together in the global field of power, some of which may jar and create dilemmas. Each strategy has in-built tension and confrontation of ideas and/or global social actors (hostile or otherwise) may create discomfort as 'how things are' is called into question. So if the field 'rules' are that sustainability should be economically driven, that

will be comfortable to some and clash with other habituses and privileged capitals. Strategies to change the 'rules' will also be comfortable to some and clash with other habituses and privileged capitals.

Hysteresis is a feeling of being out of place or touch with the current situation. There is incongruity between how the social actor is/feels and the 'rules' of the world around them. Tristan describes this as: *"a cognitive dissonance within the individuals that are there because they know what is the right thing to do but the economic policies dictate otherwise"*. He frames the experience in psychological terms as 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger, 1962), that is, the anxiety caused when a person has two or more beliefs or values that oppose one another. In his example, the individual global social actor may know the 'right thing' in response to issues of sustainability and inequality, but feels pressure to act according to familiar rules of the game ('economic policies') and privileged capitals.

Habitus influences the strategies used, for example, global social actors' propensity to continue with their existing approaches to issues of sustainability and inequality (conservation), or pursue alternatives (succession/subversion) from seeing one way as being 'the right way' to considering alternatives. As Maton (2008, pp. 52-53) explains "which choices we choose to make, therefore, depends on the range of options available at that moment...the range of options visible to us, and on our dispositions (habitus), the embodied experiences of our journey." Preston describes this using the term 'ideological starting points', as follows:

"There is some sense in which if your ideological starting point is that global liberal democracy and capitalism with the emphasis on capitalism over the liberal democracy... if your starting point is that is not the ideal or the desirable model of organizing society, then there is definitely a sense in which the [WEF] operates within that construct and allows challenge around the edges but it's not particularly open to competing ideologies and governance systems and different ways of organizing society, so it's not an open debate between communism and capitalism and so on, so it definitely operates within the constraints of a set of values and views, so I don't think you're going to see transformational change to the system coming through that in the sense of entirely reinventing systems despite the fact that some of the rhetoric and the language...So I think it depends whether or not, whether you're looking to create an alternative system or whether or not you are looking to create change within the system."

Preston's view illustrates the different belief systems that influence the dispositions of global social actors and so their responses to issues of sustainability and inequality. Social actors are exposed to sets of, in Bourdieu's words, doxic positions within the contexts in which they operate that are then in some sense internalised and lived in everyday action. There are those that are carried through socialisation and life experiences over a significant length of time. There are others that are experienced in the different social groups and contexts that are contacted at different times in their lives, for example, workplaces, personal relationships and friendship groups, or leisure activities. However, individuals are not necessarily fixed in one position; rather they consider and negotiate their actions in the contexts of their personal beliefs and values as well as the social contexts in which they act (Billig *et al.*, 1988). So although Preston presents two alternative positions, it may be that global social actors have to act in such a way that jars in order to pursue the emergence of new, more sustainable worlds.

Examples of the field-habitus relation and field strategies are shown as follows, indicating how issues of inequality and sustainability are responded to by global social actors and how hysteresis (or not) occurs. Firstly, conservation strategies may result from global social actors who believe they are right, that 'this is how things are, should be, and always have been', they are comfortable and the field reflects this. Their positions and the field rules are conserved through their past loyalties plus 'status quo' field pressures to prevent any change. By perceiving positions as purely oppositional, this perhaps drives global social actors to the defence of their respective corners, creating a stalemate and no adequate response to issues of global inequality and sustainability. This is illustrated in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Relationship between field, habitus and conservation strategies

Strategy/habitus	Examples	Field/world making effect
<p>Conservation strategy 1: (dominant dominants, economically-driven responses to sustainability)</p>	<p>Jason: <i>“we have utilised this for discussing and learning about issues that are particularly related to, from our perspective, related to sustainability issues. So we have participated in specific sessions on Africa and we have participated in specific sessions on mitigating CO2 from road transport and electromobility, we have participated in issues related to traffic safety and the fact that you have a fair amount of people being killed on the roads and we have of course listened to and learned from the more political discussions on what is happening in the world.”</i></p>	<p>Limited, because these global social actors are conserving their positions and in doing so aiming to protect the rules of the field (world status quo).</p> <p>No interruptions to field/habitus relations (hysteresis) because these global social actors are continuing ‘business as usual’.</p>
<p>Conservation strategy 2: (dominated dominants, socially/environmentally-driven responses to sustainability)</p>	<p>Olivia: <i>“In the current setting of global capitalist world, countries are [bound] to global capitalist standards and they are not looking for alternative that can offer equality and social justice. Equality and Social justice should ideally destroy capitalism.”</i></p>	

Secondly, succession strategies may transpire from global social actors who believe that there needs to be change (challenging the dominant doxa), but that: 1) they are considered ‘wrong’ by other global social actors (perhaps those who seek conservation/subversion); 2) they are considered ‘right’ but in an uneasy manner; and 3) they are ‘right’ and there is no problem with them. Their positions and the field rules are potentially succeeded in different ways, depending on their past loyalties plus pressures from the field towards the ‘right’ way to make change. This is illustrated in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Relationship between field, habitus and succession strategies

Strategy/habitus	Examples	Field/world making effect
<p>Succession strategies exist but they are 'wrong' (dominated dominant, socially/environmentally-driven responses to sustainability)</p>	<p>Theo: <i>"the economic, political and cultural assumptions of the WEF and the WSF are for the most part completely opposed. There may be a few overlaps but it is very clear that the emphasis of the former is on economic productivity and trade that will never go against the interests of the global top economic 1%. To substantially help them one would need, at the very least, to redistribute some of the wealth of the rich to the rest of the world population. The WSF wants to reduce or end inequality while the policies of the WEF do not have this aim in mind."</i></p>	<p>Theo expresses an irreconcilable division between opposing ways of achieving greater equality and sustainability. The concern relates to the potential maintenance of something that he perceives as unacceptable through participation. He considers WEF and what it represents to be perpetuating global inequalities, therefore those who engage (even if they intend to challenge) serve to support it by their presence. Rather than subverting, they help to reproduce an unequal and unsustainable way of being in the world.</p> <p>Interruption to field/habitus relations occurs as Theo feels uncomfortable with this approach. He adjusts through pursuit of subversive strategies, which he believes will have greater effect.</p>
<p>Succession strategies are 'right' (dominated dominant/consecrated heretic, socially/environmentally-driven responses to sustainability)</p>	<p>Riley: <i>"[WEF's] a vehicle by which we are able to take a topic on sustainability that we believe will be incredibly important and get it to a broad group of people at the highest level and get them to begin to engage in it and understand it. And it doesn't solve the problem, the problem is solved or the issues are addressed after that either collectively or independently...it just starts moving the thinking on in organisations."</i></p>	<p>For some, like Riley, change in the global field of power can and should (also) be enacted in and through the engagement opportunities offered by global forums such as WEF with those global social actors who are perceived to generate, perpetuate and protect the current order, because by influencing them, there will be a shift in the 'rules'.</p> <p>Interruptions to field/habitus relations (hysteresis) may occur through Riley's engagement with those who currently think differently. He is confident in his own position but seeks to change the position of others.</p>

Strategy/habitus (Cont.)	Examples (Cont.)	Field/world making effect (Cont.)
<p>Succession strategies are 'right' but uneasy (dominated dominant/consecrated heretic, socially/environmentally-driven responses to sustainability)</p>	<p>Paul: <i>"technically [person who works for the alcohol industry] is there as an expert and it doesn't matter who he works for...But I feel, I don't know, I still haven't decided whether I'm going to carry on or not carry on, because, this is obvious conflict of interest...The hesitancy for me, if [WEF] said to me 'we're setting up a special group where we want to bring together the alcohol industry and experts to really...' I would say 'fantastic', I'd be very happy to do that, but I think this is, because I perceive this as conceptually different, this was not set up to do that, this is set up experts on mental health and well-being and I'm, personally, I mean it's more my own reputation that I'm worried about being tainted now directly working with someone from the industry, I have to consider that, but that's a personal thing."</i></p> <p>Tristan: <i>"if you go there, you look at just the carbon footprint of those that come from around the world, getting to Davos and not perhaps having a conscience to contributing to NGOs that are trying to highlight global warming, they just go and not pay back, one could agree with them. And then...the world's most powerful go there and one wonders if they really care about the poor or they want to understand the system in order to further oppress the poor and make money, so that's a legitimate thing, and then...why don't Davos support a similar movement of [WSF] from the taxes levied against the [WEF]...I understand going may legitimise, but if we don't go and speak this language that critiques neoliberal approaches, a language that critiques the less caring attitude towards the majority by the minority, challenge them and change their heart."</i></p>	<p>Paul engages with dominant dominants (industry) in his pursuit of improved global health, but this is not an easy relationship.</p> <p>Tristan participates in WEF for his ideas to become embedded in solutions to global sustainability issues, to realise his interest over others by 'speaking this language that critiques neoliberal approaches'.</p> <p>Interruption to field/habitus relations occurs as Paul experiences a 'conflict of interest' between the health agenda and the agenda of the industry. He is considering whether or not to continue this relationship (succession strategy) or whether to adjust his approach.</p> <p>Tristan similarly makes uncomfortable compromises (Burchell and Cook, 2013b) in his engagement. Like Paul, he actually seeks to interrupt the field/habitus relations of others through his participation.</p>

Finally, subversion strategies may result from global social actors who believe they are right, that there needs to be change in the world, they are comfortable and complete transformation of the field is necessary. Their positions and the field rules are potentially completely subverted through their commitment to transformation. This is illustrated in Table 7.3 overleaf.

Table 7.3: Relationship between field, habitus and subversion strategies

Strategy/habitus	Examples	Field/world making effect
<p>Subversion strategies (dominated dominant, socially/environmentally -driven responses to sustainability)</p>	<p>Matthew: <i>“so the relationships I see that wherever there are opportunities to work with social entrepreneurs, with businesses that try to work outside of this system, so for example more cooperative based organisations, so there are even very big ones in the UK, there are a few in other countries, there are a few employee-owned, so all these that are not necessarily so constrained by global financial markets, there is a more transformative agenda possible if the typical way of campaigning against corporates doesn’t drive fundamental change it might be, it might have some effect in terms of public awareness but in reality it only reinforces the current paradigm.”</i></p> <p>Nathan: <i>“and there’s a lot of learning that happens, a lot of strategising that happens, certainly within a sector as well as beyond...the relationship building...that happens, I think that in itself is in some ways moving forward that process of change...no one is under any illusion that these changes that people are talking about or wanting to see are not going to be happening in the short term and that it’s a process, it’s not something like ‘oh, good, this happened today and therefore we have change’, it’s not so much that, but it’s a long term process of movement building and alliance building and change happening over significant periods of time”</i></p>	<p>Matthew and Nathan describe ways in which they have been interacting with other global social actors who also seek to subvert the field.</p> <p>By gaining a critical mass of alternative action, interruption to field/habitus relations may occur as these global social actors create new rules for the field.</p>

These examples illustrate the struggle within the field between global social actors, through which new worlds may emerge. By building uncomfortable compromises (Burchell and Cook, 2013b) and uneven engagement with others in the social context (Burchell and Cook, 2013a), changes in the rules and expectations of the field may occur. Without these, I argue, the status quo may prevail. This is explored further in the following section.

7.4 Hysteresis and the emergence of new worlds

Global social actors grapple with issues regarding global inequalities and sustainability in relation to: whose problem they are to solve, what 'we' as a collective should do about it and what should 'I' do about it. Their habitus, field positions and capital of privilege all influence their actions in trying to change the current world order through a problematic collaborative or cooperative approach (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2007) or subversive approach. Interaction in the global field of power between social actors who represent different interests can create jarring, with those aiming to subvert the current world order being seen as collaborators or colluders instead (Bourdieu, 1988; Burchell and Cook, 2013a). Indeed, it is perhaps necessary that there are costs of change to be borne (Contu, 2008).

As such, global social actors are struggling to reconcile their own actions in the context of their interrelationships with others, whilst pursuing agendas in their own interest and also for the greater good. Some interviewees related very specific instances that were difficult for them in their pursuit of sustainable practice, for example⁴⁸: participants whose professional roles changed to be more industry-focused than sustainability-focused, with different interests beginning to be represented; concern that civil society participants become seen as the 'mouthpiece' of industry; meetings being held in parts of the world with questionable human rights records; and recognition that neutral/topic-driven debate is difficult when industries pay to participate (at times) and therefore their influence is questionable. There are other present contradictions in terms of socio-political difference (pro-Israel/pro-Palestine), different views on border controls, degrees of radical response, and the perpetuation of different types of inequality and privilege. There are variations in the interpretation of the most appropriate strategy and competition therein, resulting in

⁴⁸ There were instances where my research participants asked me to not include detail of specific examples, hence including general descriptions here.

inconsistent actions towards a transformative goal, but it is exactly this inconsistency and difference that may lead to the emergence of new worlds.

Global social actors acknowledge the extent to which challenge is really present and accepted within the global field of power, or whether there is too much agreement resulting in little change and/or a slow pace of change. There are those who believe that greater contestation over appropriate responses and actions in relation to the emergence of a 'better' world (Luke, 2013) could be more valuable in hearing and acting upon alternative ways of being and doing. As Matthew suggests, multiple and layered actions and interactions enable the promotion of new systems in the global field of power to move the debate from contestation to transformation:

"...there is something deeper, there are systemic issues, there are root causes and if you don't tackle the root causes then you will never fix these problems, that then means that it's not about just typical business as usual of protest and cooperation, so neither the protest of [high profile INGO] nor the cooperation of [two other high profile INGOs] with corporates is really transformative, but it requires movement building, it requires a bigger agenda of resistance but also of emergence of the new systems."

Matthew's point echoes the occurrence of conservation strategies – that the 'business as usual of protest and cooperation' represents the desire for dominant dominants to conserve their economic superiority ('cooperation') and the desire for certain dominated dominants to conserve their socio-cultural superiority ('protest'), resulting in no shifts whatsoever because there are no 'new systems' proposed. He calls for 'movement building' and 'a bigger agenda of resistance', which echoes the strategies of subversion that could truly transform responses to issues of sustainability and inequality for new, better worlds to emerge.

Of the strategies outlined in section 7.2, and as indicated in section 7.3, succession strategies are those that are most dilemmatic for global social actors. In particular, the strategy to engage with the dominant dominants, those for whom economic capital prevails, with a belief in the dominant neoliberal doxa. The hysteresis effects on these global social actors who pursue succession strategies are produced by two forms of pressure: 1) from within the field, where other global social actors who are in similar positions privilege subversion for new worlds to emerge; and 2) from within themselves, as they are reflexive about the meaning of the choices they make. These global social actors have to choose to accept the

invitation to participate in activities from those perceived to be in opposition and in power (e.g. Bachrach and Baratz, 1962) and may appear to be collaborating and/or colluding (Sewell, 2008) and thus perpetuating the status quo. Collusion is defined as “a point somewhere between coercion and consent that simultaneously involves a recognition of the ideological status of these positions along with a temporary suspension of the consequences that ought to follow from their opposition” (Sewell, 2008, p. 348). Susanna illustrates this point: *“I’m not sure which participants attend both [WEF and WSF], but I’d guess that many of these would be ‘respectable’ NGOs, which just highlights the problems with the NGO system and the ways in which NGOs often end up being agents of neoliberalism.”* Susanna’s point suggests that rather than succession, this strategy results in conservation as these actors become ‘agents of neoliberalism’. For some, therefore, NGOs and civil society (as privileging socio-cultural capital over economic capital) should not pursue succession (for example, by participating in WEF activities) but should only subvert through enactment and provision of alternatives to the current order.

This critique, whilst valid, negates the reflexivity of global social actors and betrays a lack of confidence in their ability to participate actively in these engagements such that they will not be somehow ‘brainwashed’ by the dominant dominants (see the literature on co-optation, e.g. as discussed by Burchell and Cook, 2013a). The agenda of each forum is also contested and diverse, allowing for debate and challenge within an overarching global field of power and for potential shifts to occur. Sam, for example, explains his position as follows:

“[WEF participants’] interests are to be seen...it’s being seen as a global citizen...but there are these contradictions which we all have to struggle with and it’s always a balancing act, do you think first are you crossing any moral red line for oneself, struggle with that, I don’t think so, and secondly it’s taking part and going to create something worthwhile potentially...I wouldn’t say our involvement... is a principal part of our strategy, it’s just a useful thing...I’ll be able to do some good, it’s not nearly enough and I made some useful contacts and built up our profile in ways that help us in other things we’re doing.”

In this quote, Sam highlights: 1) global social actors’ responsibilities as global citizens; 2) personal moral responsibilities; 3) organisational strategic responsibilities; and 4) personal career responsibilities. All global social actors seek some reconciliation of these four elements in their actions within their systems of belief and values. They are, by virtue of their job roles and the capital associated with them, committed towards the emergence of

new and better, more sustainable activities in the world (Pina-Cabral, 2014). However, they are also operating in relation to others who may fundamentally disagree with sustainability as a priority, and/or those who see little problem with existing practice, and/or those who do not particularly care. Dexter illustrates this further:

“I left Davos this year thinking that I don’t think I would go back, certainly not on the current terms...there are some great people inside the [WEF]...so these are not bad people in any sort of sense, or they’re not all bad people trying to conquer the world or drive a neoliberal agenda necessarily. But the institution itself is, I don’t know...it’s not an unfamiliar question to many of us in civil society, we have to choose when and where to engage.”

He is grappling with his decision whether or not to participate in WEF based on conflict between his belief in the ‘good’ of other WEF participants and the agendas of the ‘institution itself’.

Global social actors face disparity in the pursuit of such collaborative or cooperative succession strategies instead of subversive challenge and the promotion of alternative, more sustainable worlds. The dilemmas that individuals face in their engagement with different global social actors are uncomfortable. Some research participants felt that it was more important to judge shifts in the field on the basis of the outcomes of their actions rather than being too fixated on the means to these ends. Theo explains his view of this as follows:

“My evaluation of participants depends on the concrete, effective measures that they take to reduce poverty and inequality. President Lula of Brazil attended both [forums] and in eight years he brought 20 million Brazilians out of poverty. Venezuela’s former President Chavez often attended international conferences and he reduced Venezuela’s poverty rate by half. These leaders are admirable because of their commitment to social justice.”

It is apparent that, in Theo’s view, it matters less what strategy social actors pursue as long as they are acting in good faith toward achieving a greater good. Notes from this interview with James offer a further example of this as follows:

There is more individualised dialogue than there used to be, if you look at the Davos attendance list, James would bet that there are more civil society organisations going now, probably with much more discussion about social projects. More attention is being paid, for example, Oxfam UK published a piece

of research⁴⁹ which demonstrated that a relatively small number of individuals own as much wealth as certain whole countries, this caught the attention of the media.

An outcome of the debate that does take place is the attention paid to alternative, less mainstream perspectives, for example, the report of Oxfam UK James uses as illustration (see also Byanyima, 2015). Both forums have facilitated the planning of specific projects and/or initiatives in response to issues of sustainability. These are tangible outcomes that have implications beyond the immediate field of participating global social actors. The possible shifts in the field are explored in more detail in Chapter 8.

7.5 Conclusions and implications

This thesis seeks not to privilege a particular strategy within the field (Dick, 2008), nor does it seek to define a singular alternative world (Tormey, 2005); rather it aims to explore the relationship between different strategies and those who enact them through different forums, to examine the implications for the achievement of co-produced, shared ends (challenging the way things are) (Spicer and Böhm, 2007; Courpasson *et al.*, 2012). It is argued that within the global field of power, there are variable interpretations of appropriate strategies and social actors manifest their responses in different forms and contexts that exist alongside one another as part of a complex picture of struggle. Those strategies that appear collaborative with the status quo are perceived to compete with those that appear directly confrontational in the context of global power relations (Dick, 2008). Multiple strategies can seem to produce inconsistent and contested actions towards a transformative goal against perceived dominance, with certain strategies privileged over others.

The empirical material presented here represents a partial and indicative expression of social actors' strategies and that the contexts described are temporary and dynamic. The implications of contested responses to global inequalities for transformation in global contexts are manifest in the relationship between the different strategies enacted and the motivations of those who enact them. There is no doubt that social actors share resonance

⁴⁹ See <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/wealth-having-it-all-and-wanting-more-338125>.

in their aim to achieve co-produced, sustainable, more equal outcomes (Spicer and Böhm, 2007; Courpasson *et al.*, 2012), albeit that the mode of enactment differs according to context and opportunity (Mumby, 2005). There is a lack of resolution between those who perceive conservation and/or succession and those who perceive subversion. However, what is clear is that there is conscious reflection by those who pursue strategies to participate within existing systems and recognition of the limitations of consenting to the invitation to participate. Despite this, these actors consider these strategies beneficial and as such, continue to see the value in their actions. Following Mumby (2005), recognising the participants in the field are in a mutually constitutive relationship is important to understand how participation can reshape the doxa of global significance through these forums, rather than becoming introspective about the right way to go about enacting the field. The next chapter discusses the potential and actual world making that is perceived through the global field of power as shifts may and do occur.

Chapter 8. Perceptions of impact

8.1 Introduction

Through this thesis I have sought to understand what participants themselves feel they achieve through participation in the forums as representations of the global field of power – what shifts can be felt and seen? I argue that disruption to the current socio-economic order, world making (Bourdieu, 1989), can be provoked through these forums as manifestations of the global field of power, specifically through the struggle between positions. This chapter responds to the research question *How do different social actors perceive the lasting impact of their own participation in the field?* It seeks to draw together the experiences of participants in the global field of power as demonstrated by the World Social Forum (WSF) and the World Economic Forum (WEF) with regard to changes and shifts.

Specifically, this chapter demonstrates participants' perspectives on what effects they and the wider global sustainability debates have on issues of sustainability and inequality. I also seek to connect shifts in the global field of power to the notion of world making (Bourdieu, 1989). The chapter begins by discussing the nature of shifts in the global field of power, the ability for shift to occur and associated restraints on shift (section 8.2). In section 8.3 there is recognition of the factors at play that generate the propensity for the status quo to persist, but sections 8.4, 8.5 and 8.6 aim to demonstrate that despite these factors, shift can occur and new worlds may emerge.

8.2 Bourdieu, field shifts and world-making

Bourdieu's theories have been critiqued for being static and deterministic (for example, as described by Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007); however, whilst his work offers explanation as to why social contexts are perpetuated (as also found in this thesis, see section 8.3 of this chapter), he also reveals the ways in which shifts in the field can occur. The foundations of social change include discrepancies between habitus and field (see sections 2.7 and 7.4 regarding hysteresis), and strategies to alter the field (see section 7.2) (Schatzki, 2002).

Nentwich et al. (2015) also offer an analysis of Bourdieu’s approach in relation to change, summarised as ‘change agency’ in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Bourdieu's conception of change agency

Bourdieu’s conception of change agency	
“Persistence of status quo”	“Embeddedness in and embodiment of social structures through habitus”
“Location of change”	“Field”
“Possibilities for change”	“Collective agency to challenge the doxa and to gain access to different forms of capital”
“Source of change agency”	“Collective – political action/resistance”

Adapted⁵⁰ from Nentwich et al. (2015, p. 246)

This framework is useful as it emerged from their examination of a research setting through which the combination of collective and individual encounters in facilitating change was evident (echoing my own research settings). It highlights the importance of the field as the social arena of action, through which the possibilities for change are revealed, and that the collectiveness enabled creates opportunities for challenge. The framework also accounts for forces that act against shift towards “persistence of the status quo”, which include habitus. I have therefore expanded the model in my analysis as shown in Table 8.2 overleaf.

⁵⁰ The original paper includes a comparison between the work of Bourdieu and the work of Judith Butler. In this table, I have extracted the elements relating to Bourdieu that were originally presented in a table directly comparing his work with that of Butler.

Table 8.2: Model of shift and world making applied to this thesis

Model applied to this thesis	
“Persistence of status quo”	“Embeddedness in and embodiment of social structures through habitus” – symbolised through propensity to act/think differently in ‘home’ fields
Location of shift and world making	Global field of power
Possibilities for shift and world making	Individual agency to challenge the doxa through two different collectives (forums) “Collective agency to challenge the doxa” (particularly WSF) Access gained to different forms of capital - individual gains and conferred by each collective (forum)
Source of shift and world making	Participation of individuals in two collectives (forums) leading to action

Building on Nentwich et al. (2015, p. 246)

Instead of ‘change agency’ I use the terms ‘shift’ and ‘world making’ to expand the potential realm of effect throughout the field (shifts in the global field of power) and beyond (world making). The following sections use the model of Table 8.2 to unpack some of the effects of participation in the global field of power (through WEF and WSF activities) as revealed by my research participants as global social actors. I aim to illustrate the interrelationship of Bourdieu’s theories of field, habitus, doxa, and capital in demonstrating the extent to which my research participants explain their perceptions of shifts and world making, as well as the potential for the persistence of the status quo.

8.3 Persistence of status quo

Much of Bourdieu’s work offers explanations of the tendency towards persistence of the status quo in social contexts, that is, the forces that act against shift and world making. Certainly, despite some of the optimism and examples shown above, this thesis has offered insights into such forces within a global field of power, evidenced through the responses of my research participants as they describe their positions in and experiences of activity in WEF and WSF. As Preston comments:

“I think there is a danger of optimism becoming the default position. Although maybe I, I’m trying to think of what the right word is, but it, I think [WEF] sometimes over-celebrates small successes and incremental progress, so in that sense I think yeah a healthy exposure to more robust challenge could be helpful.”

The following sections build on Chapter 7 (particularly section 7.2.1) offering illustrations of the forces towards conservation of the status quo.

8.3.1 Embeddedness in and embodiment of social structures through habitus

In my attempt to synthesise Bourdieu’s theories as holistically as possible, it is important to recall that the habitus of global social actors (see section 2.3) and the extent to which they are reflexive (see section 2.2.3) are also factors in shifting the field and world making. The way in which global social actors view the world is affected by their habitus, perhaps (I argue) to an even greater extent than field effects. This makes shifts and world making more difficult because shifts in individual habitus are required (through reflexivity) as well as in the field. It is this difficulty that creates a tendency towards the persistence the status quo as opposed to fundamental shifts. Simon’s view perhaps supports this:

“At the end of the day you, if you say my mission statement is ‘committed to improving the state of the world’, someone puts a microphone under Klaus Schwab’s nose and says ‘Well, OK, 40 years of this, 43 years now, how do you think you’re doing? You know, war all over the planet, climate change, financial and economic crisis, growing inequality, how do you think you’re doing?’”

Simon’s comments suggest that little has changed over the 43 years of WEF activity, that the status quo prevails. Social actors ‘are who we are’ and this is hard to change. Experience creates ways of being and doing that feel comfortable and ‘right’ to social actors and there is a requirement to be reflexive open to different perspectives/ways of being for shifts in the social order to occur. In line with Bourdieu’s relational analysis (see section 2.2), changes to social actors and social contexts are interrelated and co-dependent. For social actors, habitus is not static but is the past, present and becoming future dispositions of social actors. It affects ‘who we are’, which affects ‘how we are’, with experiences and social contexts shaping social actors but also social actors shape experiences and social context. Habitus affects what social actors find comfortable and it is possible to see its influence in the beliefs and acts of social actors. Although habitus has not been a core part of this thesis,

it is possible to see its echoes as my research participants describe themselves. Table 8.3 is an illustration of this.

Table 8.3: Echoes of habitus

Research participant	Forum	Echoes of habitus
Declan	WEF	Worked for an NGO, then public sector research, then private sector
Dylan	WEF	Had a government role, then academic role, considered a 'thought leader'
Jude	WSF	<i>"My organisation defends all rights, civil and political, social and economic, cultural and environmental"</i>
Nathan	WSF	<i>"I will be speaking from a particular vantage point...of being someone who is based in the United States, who is part of an NGO"</i>
Olivia	WSF	Established an NGO, founder and member of grassroots movements
Sam	WEF	<i>"We see ourselves as the sort of principal think tank on economic, social and environmental justice, so particularly economic justice"</i>
Tristan	WEF	<i>"At the core of my messaging and papers and speeches and talks... are three themes of new values that I try to highlight. One is the respect for the dignity of each person as created by God, regardless of neoliberal economic systems...the second value is really respecting the dignity of difference... and the third value was the whole aspect of respecting creation"</i>

Habitus, in Bourdieu's theory, is a strong force and is difficult to shift. These examples in Table 8.3 offer indications of the positions that these global social actors may take in the global field of power, for example, dominant (Dylan), dominated dominant (Jude), consecrated heretic (Tristan) and the challenge or defence of the dominant doxa. Claire particularly identifies the difficult relationship between local, national and global effects but also her view that the relationship between different capitals influences the extent to which shift may occur:

"more globally, I think it's much more difficult...I would think of cooperation between government and business and civil society as something that happens at the national level much more than globally...I totally advocate cooperation between the private sector and civil society...I think it's even more important than cooperation between the government and civil society."

The global field of power is not an 'everyday' social arena and my research participants repeatedly commented that shift in the field and in the world relies on global actors continuing to work towards shift across all of their social contexts. As Victoria indicates: *"at the end of the day, no matter how inspired you are coming out from a conversation with or just listening like a panellist, at the end of the day you just have to translate it into your own action, at your own locale place."* Paul agrees that: *"it all depends on the people there how much gets done and you know if there's people there who are motivated and willing to put in a bit of work quite a lot gets done, if people are sort of too busy then a little gets done."* Kyle also expresses frustration at the lack of action beyond debate: *"the thing I found most difficult was just the absence of any follow through on the sort of stuff that we were working on and the recommendations that we were making"*. In this respect, world making effects are not about the global field of power alone, but the planning and actions of the global social actors across multiple social contexts. Momentum needs to be built, as although challenge may be experienced in the global field of power, these global social actors can go back to their 'business as usual' so that new worlds may never emerge.

8.3.2 Privileged social space of the global field of power

Shift in the global field of power, with consequent shifts towards the emergence of new worlds, is dependent upon participants in the field. As outlined in Chapter 5 and explained further in Chapter 6, participants need to have global capital (albeit that the proportions of components are variable) to be positioned in the global field of power. A problem with the notion of the accumulation of global capital is the potential for a great deal of power to be concentrated with a relatively small number of individuals. Therefore, in addition to being a location of shift and world making, the global field of power is a contested location of shift and world making.

This thesis has indicated that there are still those who may be excluded from the global field of power despite having the appropriate capital to participate; there is a prioritisation of the value of different components of global capital that serves to dictate 'who is in' and 'who is out'. Notes from the conversation with Ben regarding WSF activities, for example, show that: *language was a challenge for participants, French and English were the main languages in*

use but some sessions were not bilingual, there was limited translation and French actually dominated the sessions – this is an issue for a global event. Notes from the conversation with Declan regarding WEF activities also demonstrate that: *Those sometimes missing are the important bureaucrats who have to absorb ideas and make them a reality, also the important think tank-type representatives to help mainstream these ideas and initiatives.* The implications of this are that world making relies on a multitude of global social actors interacting and transmitting behaviours across social fields, but that this multitude is still selective.

As I have stated in Chapter 5, my research settings offer a partial revelation of the global field of power by nature of my selection of these for this thesis. However, as settings they offer examples of processes of inclusion and exclusion that could be considered indicative of broader inclusion and exclusion across the global field of power. With WEF activities, for example, the key word is ‘invitation’, which automatically creates a socially-constructed boundary for participation. Tristan explains his invitation: *“maybe, I don’t know, I may have been called because I was making noises outside the crowd they said, ‘well, come inside the crowd and convert us or be converted!’ [laughter]”*. Voice is therefore (selectively) given to and/or taken by certain global social actors and as such, the content of the debate is subject to boundaries and evolution. It is also subject to multiple, disagreeing perspectives. Paul’s account suggests a dominance of US presence in Davos particularly, rather than representing a more global community: *“this is not the ‘World Economic Forum’, this is the ‘United States Economic Forum’, in Davos...your impression is it’s all US there, you hardly saw a Chinese person or an African person or an Indian person, they were there but very much in the minority, and mostly men.*

The global field of power is never complete and never static, it is a constantly moving social arena with global social actors leaving and entering. There will always be exclusions, there will always be missing voices; however, the global field of power continues to be and global social actors continue to interact therein, struggling to make new worlds. But if it continues to be dominated by certain voices, new worlds are unlikely to emerge. This is discussed further in the following section.

8.3.3 Pervasiveness of the doxa

In the global field of power, the relative composition as well as volume of global capital is subject to struggle as more of the 'right' type increases global social actors' ability to define and respond to the global agenda (see Chapter 6). Definitions and responses of global social actors are also influenced by the dominant doxa (neoliberal capitalism) and heterodoxy (challenge to the dominant doxa). Whilst crises open up the possibility for greater challenge, thereby legitimising other forms of capital in contrast to the dominant (economic), this in turn makes it more important for the dominant (economic) to conserve itself and its own importance, provoking struggle. This is despite a perception of economic dominance in the field (dominant neoliberal capitalist doxa), for example, as Derek commented: *"it is clear that the big money is winning on the sustainability stake"*, illustrating his belief that those with economic capital are dominant in driving forward sustainability agendas through the global field of power in their own interests. It is difficult to truly challenge the doxa when its influence permeates the day to day experiences of global social actors. As Olivia illustrates:

"The [WSF] forums are not setting up the alternative reality. In best cases forum is trying to react some anti-capitalist activities but in most cases not very effective. How can a participant drink [popular global brand of soft drink] and talk about destroying global capitalist regime?... All alternatives again appear within 'capitalist narrative'.

In Bourdieu's words, "the forces of the field orient the dominant toward strategies whose end is the perpetuation or reinforcement of their domination" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 80) and this may be implicit (as in Olivia's account) or more explicit. Paul illustrates this:

"This was just after the whole collapse of the banks and everything and he [senior bank rep] got up and he just said 'look guys it's not our fault, it wasn't our problem, wasn't our fault, you know, we're good people, we've been doing all these good things for the world, this wasn't our fault, just let's get on and carry on business as usual'. And you think 'come on'."

Indeed, two main criticisms are prevalent in the empirical material that serve to illustrate the perpetuation of the dominant doxa. Firstly, that the business agenda dominates the interactions in the global field of power (economic capital dominating socio-cultural capital). In the following quote, Kyle intimates corporations as part of the problem rather than the solution to global sustainability debates:

“Look at some of the chief executives...I think the issue for them is that you’ve got all these corporate executives many of whom have made statements about development issues like youth unemployment or inequality and that sort of stuff, but they are also part of the system they are criticising and the question it always begs is what are you going to do to change it, that’s not something that’s ever on their agenda.”

Secondly, that there are also agendas that restrict alternative perspectives being proposed in the solution to global sustainability debates. Lucy gives an account of corruption influencing participation:

“Unfortunately, at least from what we were told from the Tunisian activists there, there was a lot of corruption in the [WSF] and the Tunisian groups participating in it, a lot of more grassroots groups that initially were helping to organise stepped out because they didn’t like the hierarchical structures that were there and there was very little transparency regarding the money, the fact that to get in you had to have a ticket, and so obviously not all of the Tunisians could afford it, it was all in a closed campus on the edge of the city so it wasn’t really giving something back let’s say to the to the city itself.”

The dominance of the acceptance of ‘how things are’ is therefore incredibly strong, with many global social actors actually benefiting from how things are perhaps to the detriment of greater sustainability and equality. The consideration of any shift is only to the extent that they will limit negative effect on their own day to day lives. These global social actors may think ‘why question?’ as their belief system is so strong and there is insufficient crisis (affecting them directly) to make them think that there is a need for more sustainable practice to be developed (Bourdieu, 1977). Nathan’s view indicates this:

“The change is happening because it’s obvious that people and the movements that they’re organised in are unhappy with what’s been going on or with the policies that are being put in place, but I think there’s a lot to be done yet still in terms of actually being able to build a movement or movements and convert that into political power, where then you actually get a government that is going to fundamentally depart from the ‘elite consensus’.”

Nathan’s comments describe some change, but that the necessary ‘political power’ to challenge the doxa (‘elite consensus’) has not yet been built. Susanna also describes the relationship of struggle:

“Both [WSF and WEF] are about different models of globalisation. The WSF is obviously meant to be a challenge to the WEF, a radical alternative to it. I’m not sure it succeeds at effectively challenging the WEF or building an effective alternative model of globalisation to that pushed by the WEF, and in some ways it just embodies other networks of power and privilege.”

In her quote, Susanna illustrates the similarities and differences that both draw the activities of global social actors together in a relationship of struggle over the dominance of their ‘model of globalisation’. In her view, there are differently constituted models of globalisation, both manifestations of the global field of power symbolise ‘power and privilege’ albeit of different types. She expresses some scepticism about the efficacy of the challenge offered between the positions of global social actors within the field, describing the extent to which this is problematic. Her experience echoes Maclean et al.’s (2014, p. 829 abbreviation original) analysis that “trials of strength in the FoP [field of power] are not a smooth process, as agents occupying different positions and possessing different types and volumes of capital jostle for dominance.” This highlights that the field is in part defined by struggle rather than accord and Lucy, rather exasperated, describes a particular example that: *“there were two conflicting groups...and so one went on the stage and said something, then the other one went on afterwards, and I was just thinking ‘yeah, we’re going to change the world like this!’”*

In Bourdieu’s (1983, p. 316) words, the field is “not the product of a coherence-seeking intention or an objective consensus (even if it presupposes unconscious agreement on common principles) but the product and prize of a permanent conflict; or, to put it another way, that the generative, unifying principle of this ‘system’ is the struggle”. The implications of this are that dominance is difficult to challenge, but that challenge will always be present and it is this struggle that may cause new worlds to emerge albeit slowly and in a punctuated rather than transformational way. The next section will explore this ability to shift in more detail.

8.4 Location of shift and world making

The global field of power is a meta-national, meta-social arena in which leading members of professions, occupations, societies and nations, who also have meta-national and meta-social influence, interact to make the world in terms of rules, social meanings and values.

The relations in the global field of power both shift the field and promote shifts across other fields (world making). The global field of power is an arena in which ‘public deliberation’ can take place between global social actors with sufficient global capital to bring different points of view (Bourdieu, 1985). As Theo comments: *“public deliberation helps contain the narrowly defined interests of the majority of the top 1% by pointing out the needs and aspirations of the other 99%”*. Notes from the conversation with Declan illustrate examples of making the world through the global field of power:

The role of international organisations (for example, OECD [Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development], World Bank, African Development Bank) is important – the leaders of these are generally in post for 4-8 years (longer than politicians) and if it is possible to get these leaders working in concert, leveraging their balance sheets, this would enable new ways of working. These spaces are underestimated, these are our spaces because all taxpayers pay in. Recognise that these international organisations are subject to criticism for being dominated by the West, however this is where the “vehicles of implementation” model can be effective because the Board of these can be set up new, can select who ought to be represented. It is about leveraging all of the best possible assets at your disposal to achieve change.

Declan’s commentary indicates four main ways in which the global field of power can be a location of shift and world making: 1) the longevity of tenure of the leading global social actors of these international organisations who are part of the field offers time for shifts to occur; 2) the global field of power offers the opportunity for interchange (‘working in concert’); 3) there is the potential for shared commitment to shifts because of multiple interests in the field (‘these are our spaces’, ‘all taxpayers pay in’), albeit that there will be different positions as to what shift should occur; and 4) there is an opportunity for ‘new’ entrants to the field with appropriate capital to ‘leverage the best assets to achieve change’. In particular, participation in the global field of power offers “interest intermediation” (Scott, 1995, p. 152), that is, it destabilises automatic acceptance of how things are as represented by the interests of the dominant.

The “space of possibles” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 313) that constitutes the global field of power is where challenge and struggle can occur between different global social actors in different positions. Katherine introduces her view that people have to engage with others for change to happen as follows:

“I guess I’m a collaborator by nature so I believe that there’s a lot that any person can learn from other people and sometimes I find in civil society...there can be a really closed mentality around the anointed and so I think that at least for me, I just think that people are going to do better when they don’t take that attitude.”

Theo also describes how this challenge and struggle can provoke shifts in policies: *“Social movements...can only change the economics, politics and social policies of a local, national, or even global society if they are aligned with more powerful actors such as states, international institutions or corporations.”* Katherine and Theo’s comments perhaps echo a succession strategy (see Chapter 7) as they see shift and world making occurring through the greater acceptance of challenging ideas (from dominated dominants – ‘social movements’) by dominant global social actors (‘states, international institutions or corporations’) through a process of ‘collaboration’. Tristan suggests the importance of being able to be part of the discussion: *“maybe we need to loathe, we need to be critical but somehow we need to be in there to impact.”* Whilst there are limits to the voices present, Tristan’s view implies that if the voice can be there, it should be there to provide a critical perspective.

The global field of power offers an opportunity for these ideas to be voiced and heard from different points of view (Bourdieu, 1989). Participants have agency to express their beliefs and influence others across multiple social contexts, which subsequently may influence others. Notes from the conversation with Phillip echo this as follows:

With climate change, people tend to be polarised by the debate, into believers and disbelievers. Media also puts people into camps – sceptics, environmentalists – vested interests again. Can’t argue with belief but can talk about it in terms of risk, which can help reduce the stalemate. Also talk about using resources in different ways.

Phillip suggests that talking about issues and resources in a particular way can ‘reduce the stalemate’ where there are different beliefs about how to respond (language and symbolic power, Bourdieu, 1991). In particular, the importance of creating new understandings through debate and voice in these forums should not be underestimated, as “the construction of meaning in people’s minds is a more decisive and more stable source of power. The way people think determines the fate of the institutions, norms, and values on which societies are organised” (Castells, 2012, p. 5). Whilst the global field of power offers a location, the possibilities for shift and world making are discussed in the following section.

8.5 Possibilities for shift and world making

As with any field, the global field of power is not a fixed social arena and so those in a dominant position, holding the majority of symbolic power, are not guaranteed to retain their position indefinitely. For example, new entrants to the global field of power, and those who may exit it, alter the field in terms of the representation of capital and positions therein (Bourdieu, 2005) so that there is “modifi[cation] and displace[ment] [of] the universe of possible options; the previously dominant productions may, for example, be pushed into the status of outmoded (*déclassé*) or classic works” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 314). With regard to shifting positions, the field is characterised by struggle (Bourdieu, 1985), which in itself implies movement.

The global field of power as enacted by these forums offers a social arena to: 1) convene global social actors; 2) convene people from different backgrounds; 3) facilitate opinion sharing; and 4) build informal connections, dialogue and debate. Because of this, two main possibilities for shift and world making are opened up through: 1) shifts in individual and/or collective positions; and 2) exchange, accumulation and re-valuing of forms of capital. The capital and symbolic power of global social actors can make new worlds and facilitate their engagement in the global field of power, which in turn generates more capital and more likelihood of new worlds emerging. These are explored further as follows.

Global social actors participate in the global field of power, as exemplified by WEF and WSF, because they think there is the possibility for shift and world making to occur through their individual participation and the associated effects of the forum collective. Theo comments that: “*the WSF helps us build a common, global language of resistance and alternatives to the current world order*”, perhaps offering the possibility of shift and world making. The global field of power provides an arena through which alternatives in thinking, being and doing in relation to sustainability and inequality can be addressed. As Lucy describes, in her experience:

“I really think that is a crucial thing that we need to move away from, saying this is more important than that and so on, but that OK, I understand how, why your struggle is important in the bigger picture, and that’s why when you go protest I’ll show solidarity in some form, and the more we build these networks of solidarity and people see that they’re not by themselves in their own struggle that they do

have support of a network of different groups, that's progress I think. Then what it would take, if it's incremental steps or if it's shocks, for sure, every small incremental step is fundamental, so, they should be supported as much as possible."

Lucy's comments illustrate the visible possibilities for shift and world making in the global field of power because global social actors can: 1) work together (a form of social capital) to challenge or maintain the doxa; and 2) act individually in their own contexts. Both of these are interrelated and interdependent. Mason supports this view: "*a [WSF] on one side of the world might lead to a victory in a specific struggle on the other side of the world, based purely on the information and connections made at the forum*", that is, these global social actors may provoke consequences ('a victory in a specific struggle') beyond their immediate action ('information and connections made at the forum'). Chris also describes this in practice by: "*osmosis*", that "*we meet each other, we influence each other...you start to talk about your experiences, they share, people take them back*". The collective agency emerges through the global field of power as global social actors take positions that may be in common with others, as well as challenging to others (collectively and/or individually).

Picking up on the effects of the strategies outlined in section 7.2, Sam reflects on the extent to which change has and can be achieved:

"[WEF] changed from being a forum where business and political leaders met and had a few radical people like me on the fringes, to now somewhere where there's actually thought going in to what sort of world do we want...Now how much change it has actually brought around is another big question...we get value from the contacts, we get value from our voice being heard, we get value from being seen as a player by other organisations that are there...I think we might have influenced some people."

Through this particular succession strategy of collaboration, cooperation and/or coalition (Valley and Thompson, 1998; Haunss and Leach, 2007) Sam identifies the value gained from his perspective is through contact, presence and voice in this forum, resulting in some influence (Courpasson et al., 2012). Jacob reflects further:

"Now I think that...there's a very strong influence of the social, the sustainable, so for example in the recent global risk analysis I think inequality comes out as number one risk as perceived by the [WEF], and you have people like Joe Stiglitz⁵¹

⁵¹ Former Chief Economist, World Bank, Nobel Laureate in Economics.

and others who are there, who are reminding the big shots that capitalism will fail if it's seen to be unjust"

In the experience of Jacob, there appears to be evidence of some influence of those promoting alternatives having an effect over time, pointing to the place of inequality as being recognised and published as a global risk by WEF participants, who perhaps would not have seen a problem with this in the past (see, for example, World Economic Forum, 2014e).

In terms of capital, global social actors seek to accumulate global capital (symbolic capital) so as to be able to enter the global field of power, then keep and develop their global capital, and use this to advocate their view of the world as being correct (Bourdieu, 1994a). Shifts can be generated through communication resulting particularly in knowledge exchange (cultural capital) and cooperation (social capital) (Hardt and Negri, 2000). Theo, for example, describes the value of finding out what others ('progressive movements') are doing (knowledge, as a form of cultural capital): *"the WSF allows me and the organization of which I am a member...to find out what progressive movements are doing in different parts of the world.* Notes from the conversation with George describe impacts as including: *a feeling of being better informed about broader foreign direct investment/trade issues.* It could be argued that these 'new ideas' or 'better information' may open up the possibility for shifts to occur, because existing meanings are questioned and points of view on the sustainability and inequality agenda may be changed. Jason shares this view and also expresses the value of meeting people 'you normally don't talk to' (social capital):

"you see and you get to learn what others are doing and you get inspired of either people of the academic world or people from other parts of the business world in sectors that you normally don't talk to...the most useful thing from the [WEF] is really to take home new ideas, is to learn."

As previously explored (Chapter 6), social capital is a key component of global capital and participation in the forums enable social actors to connect with their position as global actors, offering openness outside of their own cultural boundaries and promoting an outward rather than inward perspective. There is something in the exchange that encourages social actors to see things from the perspective of others, which may provoke shifts in action. Riley also describes the peer pressure that is created through WEF activities and that it is this that creates impacts back in 'home' organisations (particularly businesses):

“[WEF] in my view is a great way to apply that sense of peer pressure, that sense of, I suppose it’s, if I get a B in economics in school, that’s great, if everybody else has got an A it’s not so good and if everybody else has got a C I’m brilliant. The relative performance of businesses and the relative thinking of businesses and them being able to share it is almost unique, particularly because it is only, it’s not even C-Suite, apart from if you are a member you get two tickets for the most senior members and that’s for the CEO and one other, often it’s been the Sustainability Director because of the nature of the long term focus on sustainability... therefore you are forcing CEOs to recognise in themselves or in their colleagues where they are relatively and providing a safe space for them to explore the issues of the day... if [popular global brand of soft drink company] are doing it and [global house of brands] are doing it and [multinational food and beverage company] are doing it and [popular global retailer] are doing it and [popular global retailer] are doing it and [home improvement corporation] are doing it, then my investors are not going to be saying to me, ‘you’re mad, what are you doing that greenwash stuff for, hugging trees when what you should be doing is flogging more [products]’. Because collectively the corporate world is broadly managing the global agenda in a certain direction.”

Riley’s last comment here is particularly telling as a clear indication of the global capital of certain global social actors (‘corporates’) and that (in Riley’s view) they are shifting/world making in their determination of the global agenda (‘broadly managing...in a certain direction’ see section 6.4). In the global field of power, global social actors can gain access to different forms of capital (accumulation) to better challenge (or indeed protect) the doxa. They participate in these forums, struggle with one another in terms of position, they exchange and accumulate capital that is then applied in their other social contexts within the global field of power. What all research participants want to see is a shift towards a ‘better world’, that issues of sustainability and global inequality are being prioritised, they are seen as having value and therefore global actors should be doing something about it. However, also, they want to influence the meanings of sustainability and global inequality to set priorities and drive action in a particular way. Notwithstanding the difference in what a ‘better world’ looks like and how it should be achieved, research participants do describe such shifts. The next section of this chapter offers examples of where shifts and world making have actually happened through the global field of power, in the view of research participants.

8.6 Source of shift and world making

Bourdieu uses symbolic power as an explanatory means for world making, that is, social actors with symbolic power may shift elements of the field to such an extent that they classify or designate the meanings affecting how other social actors view the world: “symbolic power is the only power to make things with words...[it] is a power of consecration or revelation, the power to consecrate or to reveal things that are already there” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23). In the global field of power, global social actors have accumulated global capital (a form of symbolic capital, see section 2.5 and Chapter 6) and those with the greatest amount and most effective combination dominate through their symbolic power: “it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23).

The activities of WEF and WSF are a source of shift and world making within the global field of power because they demonstrate concentrations of global social actors with global capital (symbolic) and resultant symbolic power. WSF activities, for example, are described as a “place for encounter” (Conway, 2012, p. 389) to build alliances for collaboration and action, and that “each social forum also functions as a celebration of the commonality that extends throughout the various movements and revolts across the globe” (Hardt and Negri, 2006, p. 215). Helen describes that: “*there’s always the opening march on the first day of the forum, you just kind of think, ‘wow, I’m part of this amazing, this is what the world looks like’*”.

The struggle, capital exchange and accumulation are the main sources of shift achieved through these forums as representations of the global field of power. Possibilities are created through opportunities facilitated through these forums. For example, notes from the conversation with Dylan additionally suggest his belief that: *WEF offers an opportunity for policy-makers and business people to understand each other, in order for policy to have an effect there is a need to understand the business world* and notes from the conversation with Adam describe: *different people meeting [through WEF activities] with different organisational and personal views, not to argue but to set a challenge for change*. Adam and Dylan point to difference in views, to help ‘understand each other’ and ‘set a challenge for change’ through the discussions. It is perhaps possible to see in these views that the debates promote exchange of views, generating new understandings, which may shift both positions

and meaning in the global field of power. In the experience of some interviewees, those promoting alternative positions can promote shifts over time; for instance, global inequality has been recognised and published as a global risk by WEF participants (World Economic Forum, 2014e). Therefore, there is some evidence that over time alternative views can be assimilated. The global field of power, as manifest in WEF and WSF activities, is distinctive in the opportunities for such discussions involving different perspectives, Bourdieu's 'points of view' (Bourdieu, 1989).

Tyler and Jacob describe two examples regarding the participation of global social actors with a high degree of political power enabling shift and world making to occur:

It is also very important for politicians that there is a space that is more informal for meeting and greeting without traditional tensions. It is important for the world for them to be able to go without all of their security people. Opposing views can definitely be aired. (Tyler)

"What I found particularly interesting in the China GAC was that because it included senior officials, I mean it's not just independent, it includes senior officials and senior members of the communist party, was that they opened up quite a lot, I mean I can't use publicly what they said, or I can't attribute, but it does give me I think an insight on China which I wouldn't otherwise have and which I think I tried to use to public policy debate because I'm rather more understanding of China's challenges, and the ambitions of its reformers and people who wouldn't be participating in this kind of thing." (Jacob)

Here, we can see that meetings in the global field of power as illustrated by WEF offer a social space where people can speak more openly than they would at high-level political meetings, as "the articulation of a transnational capitalist interest requires sites beyond the boardrooms – places where business leaders can come together to discuss issues of shared concern, to find common ground and to devise strategies for action" (Carroll and Carson, 2003, p. 31). Issues of sustainability and inequality exist within a highly politicised world with localised tensions based on race, economics and history. This has both benefits and drawbacks. For example, the benefit of being seen as equals in important discussions, safety and solidarity is offered through participation in these forums so that any shift is both possible and not as uncomfortable as it might be; however, there is the drawback of individuals acting in a world making capacity in ways that are not accountable to the public (Graz, 2003).

8.6.1 What world making looks like

Although my thesis does not aim to offer answers or solutions to issues of sustainability and inequality in our world, it would be remiss not to demonstrate some examples of new worlds may look like, as defined by my research participants. By defining what needs priority attention in a world where there are multiple issues (defining the agenda through their symbolic power), it is possible to see what happens as a result in terms of individual shift, doxic shift and tangible 'projects' to address issues of sustainability.

Riley explains that in his experience, participating in WEF activities affects his 'thinking' and how this affects his behaviours in other fields (organisation, profession):

"I arrive [at WEF activities] thinking one thing and I leave thinking something different. If I'm a CEO and I'm running a multi-billion pound international corporation, what I think is hugely impactful...[for example] I used to buy the electricity at my last company and one day I threw my Actimel bottle in the [recycling] bin as I was leaving for work, it was pouring with rain and I got in the car, and I'd missed the bin, so I got out back out the pouring rain and put it in the bin and thought that was stupid, I'm soaking, drove to work, first thing that happened was the electricity bill was pushed in front of me by my secretary and I signed it and I pushed it back at her. And I took it back off her and said, 'hang on a minute, this morning I put more effort into recycling 30cl of polyethylene than I did procuring £25million of electricity'. And when I really think about it I only have two performance criteria on electricity, that in all stores the lights stay on and that I hit my operating budget. How I do this is up to me, I can have it wind powered, solar powered, twice your mother's birthday double back flip, produced on farms, produced from my own food waste, I can have it water powered, everything else is up to me, my only criteria is consistency, stability and keeping within budget. And it's that kind of thinking that enables that company to be sitting with green energy, getting 25% of its energy from these sources."

This personal account connects the experiences of the social field (global field of power) with his own world view (habitus), which have world making effects in practice (sustainable energy).

The doxa is the experience of what is natural and accepted in a social order (Bourdieu, 1977). As described in section 5.7, what is at stake in the global field of power is the meaning of, and response to, social, environment and economic sustainability. Where the dominant doxa is neoliberal capitalism, dominant global social actors are largely centred on the

adaptation of current commercial practice to blend with social and ethical responsibilities within this belief system (Burchell and Cook, 2013a), which is challenged by the dominated dominant global social actors who seek radical changes or the acceptance of a different meaning of sustainability. Notes from the conversation with George illustrate this:

At the latest GAC meeting in November 2013, there was an opening plenary of welcome but the closing plenary this time was really trying to ask what could be done to bridge inequality, this is a very different tone to previous meetings, WEF has tried to shift with the times, an interesting effort to not seem economic for economics' sake. Given the type of membership, though, this is challenging. But the messaging has changed from WEF.

Riley also explains the shift as follows: *"it's gone from 'we're not sure what sustainability means' to 'it's an important part of the consumer goods industry' to 'we can do some trials and identify work on sustainability' to recognising that to get it to scale we have to tackle consumption not just production."* In his experience, there is evident change in the debate about appropriate responses to sustainability. Taylor also describes shift as a 'new narrative' that could be interpreted as shifts in the dominant doxa:

"I think there's a whole new narrative that's emerged in terms of social impact no longer being the projects that corporates did but they're absolutely the core, integral part of the corporates...Davos has been enormously significant in influencing business I think in a positive way around that."

Table 8.4 overleaf shows examples of the occurrence of specific and tangible actions as a result of participation in these forums as manifestations of the global field of power, and that these actions have social, environmental and economic consequences for other people beyond the field.

Table 8.4 Examples of world making in response to sustainability and inequality

Social		
Forum	Examples	World making implications
WSF	<p><i>“Tunisia recently passed a constitution which contains major advance in gender equity and democracy. This is at least partially a result of the WSF in Tunis last year, which facilitated discussions on the nature of the constitution, the role of the labour movement in shaping it, gender equity issues, economic justice issues and many, many other topics. The process as a whole helps to facilitate these types of progressive changes.” (Mason)</i></p> <p><i>“At all the forums I’ve been to, there’s been significant local participation from people who are in many senses ‘outside’ the ongoing [WSF] process, and ‘outside’ the global justice movement (or at least not deeply embedded within its cultures). This might include Business students working as volunteers at the Karachi forum; ordinary Kenyans and slum-dwellers let into the Nairobi forum as a result of activism by people like Trevor Ngwane⁵² who didn’t want the gates closed to those not paying; teenage Tunisians who came to the forum excited at the prospect of music, a gathering, and meeting people from around the world.” (Susanna)</i></p>	<p>Mason’s example relates to the activity facilitated through the WSF annual meeting in Tunis in 2013 having a role in the definition of a fairer, more democratic life for the people of Tunisia.</p> <p>Susanna’s points connect with previous comments about the boundaries of forum activities and the additional participation of voices at the margins. Such participation is enabled by having degrees of elite status through capitals held (for example, business students have education and time as cultural capital, activists have social capital to be able to provoke open gates).</p>
WEF	<p><i>“Meeting women leaders, that also, sometimes you feel quite lonely because it’s hard finding a peer that you can actually talk to heart to heart to... you do meet with a lot of women leaders and you could be so vulnerable with each other because you know the best part is there are strangers all over the world so you feel safe, you feel secure to share our leadership stories, our leadership struggles because basically we don’t come from the same country or state. So the safe space is important.” (Victoria)</i></p>	<p>Two perspectives on gender are offered here. Victoria’s account offers insight into women as dominated dominants, that is, those who are ‘leaders’ having a ‘safe space’ to engage and support one another. Nathan’s account explains a direct outcome to improve the experiences of women who live and work in agricultural contexts.</p>
WSF	<p><i>“The close relationship that has developed over the last...10 years at least between the Via Campesina⁵³...and the World March of Women ...has been strengthened as a result of the WSF process...to the extent that in 2008 the Via Campesina at its 5th international conference launched a global campaign to end violence against women and in their view, violence against women...from a particularly peasant context...I think certainly these spaces like the [WSF] allowed for these conversations, these relationships to happen and be built on.” (Nathan)</i></p>	<p>These accounts offer examples of the different ways in which global social actors affect different social worlds, addressing sustainability from different perspectives depending on the meanings assigned thereto.</p>

⁵² High-profile civil society actor, campaigner against apartheid in South Africa, former African National Congress Ward Councillor.

⁵³ An international umbrella organisation of farmers, those without land and rural workers that seeks to protect and promote sustainable agriculture practices. See

<http://viacampesina.org/en/>.

Environmental		
Forum	Examples	World making implications
WEF	<i>“Last summer Professor Schwab for the first time decided to take a more proactive position and has formed a partnership with Ban Ki Moon on climate change issues and creating a process to bring the business community in particular within the network of WEF into the UN process and so that happened last August. So I was a part of the expert team actually contributing to that process.” (Wendy)</i>	Participants in WEF are positioned to influence international definitions and behaviours towards addressing climate change at a global level.
WEF	<i>WEF had heard from the food/beverage industry that they needed to collectively engage with NGOs, development agencies and governments, this engagement cannot be done alone because it looks like lobbying and the transaction costs are too high, so WEF looks at the growth aspirations of a particular country, how they plan to do it, then plot the figures of what is available and what water they want to use – these figures make people take notice and enables a realistic plan to be formulated as to balancing growth with water consumption/management. This initiative now sits within the World Bank, \$14million was raised, 8 countries are participating. It was/is very disruptive, relationships between public and private have been forced to work together and government has been forced to look at the issues through an economic lens....Agriculture - the Grow Africa platform will be handed over to the African Union and NEPAD (Notes from the conversation with Declan)</i>	Declan’s account relates to the WEF Water Initiative (World Economic Forum, 2008). It is interesting that Declan talks of ‘government forced to look at issues through an economic lens’, as if this is privileged above all other interests. Additionally, there is an unquestioning acceptance of ‘balancing growth with water consumption/management’. Grow Africa is a project “to enable countries to realize the potential of agriculture for economic growth and job creation, particularly among farmers, women and young people” (World Economic Forum, 2015f). Declan talks of the ‘hand over’ to particular global social actors.
WSF	<i>“Fracking is a big issue here in the United States...now it also happen to be a big issue in Tunisia...because the Tunisian government and various North African governments and various governments around the Mediterranean rim have now been discussing fracking and there’s some push by corporations etc. to engage in that and to get governmental support...and the fact that there were people from the United States and Canada that participated and could inform the discussions and share the strategies and the information and the challenges that people here were facing certainly helped in the process... I think that is a very, very valuable piece and facet of the Social Forum process, is that learning across geographies, across continents. And across sectors.” (Nathan)</i>	As with Declan’s water example, fracking is an example where there are different points of view (Bourdieu, 1985) on the meaning of sustainability in this practice, with conflict between the environmental and economic interests in particular.

Economic		
Forum	Examples	World making implications
WEF	<i>"In September 2011 there was this big United Nations high level meeting on non-communicable diseases, so leading up to that...we were tasked to help, drive and input into that and we as a group made a number of tasks which was to do some scientific publications, to support and comment on some analysis that the [WEF] and the WHO were looking at the costs that NCDs cause the world, and looking at the benefits, the financial benefits primarily that could be gained by putting in certain interventions. So...another task was to give advice on this costing, and another task was to think what is the role of the business sector and the private sector"</i> (Paul)	Paul's example demonstrates the connection between issues of sustainability, in this case health and economics. It seems that the 'financial benefits' are the driver of interventions as opposed to the health benefits.
WEF	<i>Tyler met two CEOs of ... one of the largest IT companies in the world. The organisation had been working with them to employ people with autism in their operations in India and Ireland, but Davos offered the opportunity for Tyler to meet with the CEOs to discuss taking employment to a higher level. As a result of the conversations, [the large IT company] have committed to a target of 1% of their 65,000 workforce by 2020 to be people with autism. Equating to 650 jobs, [Large IT company] are a big player in the IT industry working in this way and the model is creating a lot of interest – this target commitment would not have happened without the meeting in Davos (notes from the conversation with Tyler)</i>	Arguably there are business and social implications evident in Tyler's account, with employment opportunities for people with autism an important outcome; however, the large IT company as a business could claim capital from an ethical/CSR perspective. Such business outcomes are notably more evident in the accounts of participants in WEF activities than in WSF activities.
WEF	<i>Other key impacts of the GAC are an advance idea of World Trade Organisation pluri-lateral approaches – these have got more traction, the argument was written 5-6 years ago and ideas have been discussed on various agendas. Additionally, the services subject matter has been picked up, the trade and international services agreement was subject of the most lively Geneva discussions, the GAC gave good push to this subject. Global value chains are gaining more awareness in OECD and WTO discussions. So the GAC has some influence on large scale discussions. (Notes from the conversation with George)</i>	It is perhaps not unexpected that the examples used here are all from WEF activities (economic) as opposed to WSF activities (social). George's example indicates an influential relationship between WEF activities and those of the WTO, which has implications for the voices who are represented.

8.7 Conclusion and implications

This chapter has elaborated Bourdieu's theory of world making in the context of the global field of power. It has illustrated that shift and world making is possible through the global field of power, and the two research settings as example enactments thereof. The forums, as manifestations of the global field of power, offer activities through which global social actors can interact and make things happen (high global capital and symbolic power). However, shifts and world making are affected by the state of the field, the meanings generated therein and the habitus of individual global social actors. There are frustrations as global social actors move slowly towards challenging the doxa, restricted by the forces of conservation and persistence of 'how things are'. These forces include an over-optimism regarding the possibilities for shift and world making, the selective nature of participation, the selective nature of the agenda, and the challenge of polarised points of view. Some global social actors wish to limit shift to small amendments whereas others seek more fundamental transformation, and these positions are difficult to reconcile. Despite this, it is possible to at least promote opportunities for change and conditions of possibility through debate and interaction in the global field of power. There are examples of the ways in which shift can and has happened. The final chapter, following, concludes my thesis as a whole.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

My research has offered an examination of social interactions at a global level and the ways in which these influence the definitions of and responses to issues of sustainability and inequality in the world – making the world. I have examined how and why global social actors participate in two forums, the World Social Forum and the World Economic Forum, as representations of a global field of power. The thesis has explored the outcomes of this participation, resultant strategies for engagement and struggle, and the implications of this for the emergence of new, more equal and more sustainable worlds.

In Chapter 1, I introduced my research and this thesis, supported by a Bourdieusian theoretical framework as described in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 introduced the empirical settings that underpinned the findings of this thesis and Chapter 4 offered a detailed account of the methodology and methods employed in the generation and interpretation of material. Chapter 5 defined a theoretical field, the global field of power, offering a description of its boundaries, participants, capitals, positions and stakes. Chapter 6 offered a deeper exploration of global capital and its necessary accumulation by global social actors to enable them to define the agenda of sustainability and inequality issues. Chapter 7 expanded on this to demonstrate how global social actors interact to respond to the agenda, with associated dilemmas. Chapter 8 offered examples of the ways in which shift towards the emergence of new worlds can and has happened.

9.2 Conclusions in answer to the research questions

In concluding my thesis, I offer the following summaries in answer to my research questions.

9.2.1 The relationships between dominant and dominated social actors in global sustainability debates – RQ1

My thesis has explored the relationships between dominant and dominated social actors as enacted within the global field of power. In my research, the global field of power is

manifested through actions and activities within two global forums, the World Social Forum and the World Economic Forum. These forums have symbolic importance, they are not 'everyday', that is, their activities are periodic and participation is privileged in various ways (for example: membership; invitation; and/or resource-based). Therefore, within the global field of power, all global social actors are relatively dominant, that is, each has global capital and world-making capacity. They struggle over their positions within the global field of power to define sustainability, inequality and appropriate responses thereto.

I have argued that the presence of the global field of power acts as a social arena through which worlds can be made. The global social actors therein have the potential to define 'how things are' in the world and therefore the global field of power is where 'how things are' can be struggled over and shifted. Global social actors are trying to make the world in ways that are comfortable to them according to their habitus, but this is not without challenge, they are reflexive and conflicted. This matters because these people are in positions that affect how the world is. Individual actions have ripple effects that affect the lives of many other people. What they say and do can change the world for better or worse in sustainability and equality terms. In this respect, these individuals construct the field and the field constructs them in a relational dynamic.

9.2.2 Perceptions of the global field as embodied by the two world forums – RQ2

Perceptions of global inequalities are influenced by the capitals most valued by global social actors. For example, there are those who privilege the economic over the social, cultural and/or environmental, defining inequality as being a differential according to economic capital, where growth and the accumulation of economic capital is a mechanism through which inequality can be mitigated and sustainability achieved. Economic value is created out of the social, cultural and environmental rather than valuing these in their own right. There are others who privilege the social, cultural and/or environmental over the economic, perceiving dominant global economic practices as exacerbating inequality and preventing sustainability.

Global social actors in the global field of power are in a position to define the agenda, which affects what issues are perceived as a priority for response throughout the world. Setting the

agenda can make the worlds of others, therefore it is important to understand how and why global social actors understand sustainability and inequality at a particular time. Through the global field of power and the interactions between global social actors that are facilitated therein, there is the possibility of recognition of the positions of others as well as a recognition of what is said and not said, whose worlds are represented and are not represented according to positions of power and privilege.

9.2.3 Perceptions of the struggle in the field and the strategies adopted – RQ3

Global social actors may take action to respond to global inequalities, with different intuitive, responsive and interactive strategies evident through global sustainability debates. There is therefore a degree to which social worlds emerge in conjunction with some deliberate design – people do act, but alongside this is an immersive, resultant effervescence of social reality from simply ‘being’ (Wacquant, 2005b). These include actions that may: conserve the status quo; promote slight, incremental shifts; and/or transform completely. The global field of power is a social space through which global social actors can interact with one another to promote their responses. Participation in global sustainability debates gives global social actors a way to be seen to be acting to improve the world and/or they might genuinely think they are acting to improve the world, but actually it could be a way to retain their privileged positions (for example, conservation – privilege in terms of dominance, privilege in terms of moral high ground). Whilst the pursuit of different strategies risks fragmentation of approach and potentially dilutes the impact towards change, I theorise that multiple responses are needed for transformation, therefore contestation and struggle must be accepted. There is always a cost in terms of participation (Contu, 2008) – discomfort, dilemma, hysteresis – that is necessary for responses to be enacted and new worlds to emerge.

9.2.4 Perceptions of the lasting impact of their own participation in the field – RQ4

Despite a strong current of frustration throughout my empirical material, my research participants generally demonstrated more optimism than pessimism regarding the possibility and extent of shift towards the emergence of new worlds. Small victories were described rather than transformation but, optimistically, these small changes may create

ripples to achieve greater shift over time. The field is never static, with global social actors coming and going over time. Consensus and doxa can shift, new worlds can emerge (see Chapter 8), but it is a slow, incremental, non-linear process rather than fundamental change with its associated risks.

9.3 Participation and participants

The thesis has additionally offered some interesting insights into how the process of participating in the forums, as representations of the global field of power, has impacted upon the participants. This includes personal impacts (habitus), for example, as illustrated by Riley in Chapter 8 in terms of his attitude towards electricity purchasing, and impacts on the doxa of organisations, for example, as illustrated by Joshua in Chapter 6 in terms of NGO choice of cause in relation to their presence on the global stage.

It has been interesting to understand participants' own accounts of change in themselves from their participation. Some initially accounted for their participation in terms of changing the world, but (in order to achieve this) they evidently understand how they themselves have been changed by their participation. Indeed, the change in individuals can be isolated according to their experiences and their sense of who they are. Their participation has incremental impact on their habitus and any shifts in the field depend on the global social actors being reflexive in the way that is demonstrated here. Participants question the 'taken for granted', the doxa, what is said and not said in these forums and this changes how they think of themselves and understand themselves (reflexivity). So not only is there an extent to which these forums are trying to make the world, my thesis has demonstrated what it is to be and become a world maker in the view of my participants.

9.4 Theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions

My thesis has brought new insights to Bourdieusian theory by defining and describing a meta-field – the global field of power – as a social space through which global social actors are bound across multiple social fields (for example, nations, corporations, civil society) to make new, more sustainable and more equal worlds. Global forums have been researched as enactments of the global field of power. My thesis has defined and described global

capital as a form of symbolic capital that is necessary for global social actors to be able to interact in this field. It has demonstrated that there is a strong pull towards the status quo (conservation, reproduction), but that world making through shifts in the doxa is possible resulting from struggle over the definitions of and responses to the issues of sustainability and inequality in our world.

The methodological distinctiveness of the research on which this thesis is based has offered a reflexive approach and used interviews with individual global social actors instead of Bourdieusian correspondence analysis to understand why they participate and what actions they take, contextualised with documentary material. Global issues are individual and individual issues are global in an infinite relation. In particular, the relationships between individual position, organisational position and societal position with the effect in the global field of power reveal tensions for global social actors. This has offered empirical insights as I have spoken to participants about their perceptions, combined with a review of documented material, which creates a unique dataset.

9.5 Limitations, reflections and implications for future research

Through undertaking this PhD research and producing this thesis, I have developed a greater understanding of my own limitations as well as the limits of this individual project. The boundaries of this research have been previously identified (section 4.7) and these will likely affect any research that I undertake to a greater or lesser degree. One limit that I hope will be less influential in future research is the balance of doing what has to be done as required by the PhD as an institutionalised process and finding my own way as a researcher. I have felt uncomfortable at times in my communication with my research participants, in terms of not always being able to see the saturation of emotion and affect, and I am conscious of the imposition of my interpretation. Whilst I am responsible for the assembly of this thesis, the process of research has been one of co-construction through a range of discursive experiences with colleagues and conversations outside of academia, for which I am grateful.

As a researcher I have become less afraid of being wrong and better at standing by my own arguments. Whilst I have felt that at times, freedom and creativity has been drained out of the thesis, writing to an artefact with regulations and expectations, I have developed some

resilience. Writing in the first person has helped me maintain my embeddedness in the research, rather than positioned as an observer, sitting on the sidelines and not part of the action. It has felt like an ethnographically informed experience as I have been learning, myself, how things happen for my research participants. I have chosen illustrations to show what I have learned, to develop my argument, but it is entirely partial and there is much more to say. Through the illustrations selected, I aim to reveal the characteristics and specificities of participation in the global field of power, that we may come to understand it and its implications for the world.

This research has the potential to be continued and expanded over time. My thesis as it is submitted is part of a story, there is more to be developed throughout the next stages of my research career. For example, there is more that could be developed about the global field of power by examining different manifestations, perhaps including the less transparent global groupings (Bilderberg, for example). More can be made of the notion of the global field of power and its relationship with states. There are a number of themes not covered in the thesis but within the material that could be explored in papers, for example, how definitions of sustainability have changed over time by mapping themes in documentation, and changes in social trajectory by mapping changes in participation over time. I am also interested in the notion of ritual space and I wonder if these forums are offering something additional in the global field of power that has symbolic power not currently explained in this thesis. More could also be explored in relation to the privileging of consensus over understandings that may arise from debate, difference, challenge and conflict and the role of language and discourse therein. Actors have to play by the rules of these forums, engaging in appropriate dialogue (Burchell and Cook, 2013b) that, in the case of WEF particularly, privileges collaboration over critique (Nader, 1990; Nader, 1997; Garsten and Sörbom, 2014b), thereby risking the perpetuation of existing positions. The process of collaboration is 'good' and harmony (consensus) is privileged over the outcomes and actions for sustainability (Nader, 1990; Nader, 1997). Social actors therefore have to reconcile working within the boundaries of social contexts (with associated rules of the game), with their belief in creating new worlds.

My own lived experience is scaffolded with the lived experiences of others, and this can be multiplied. For every one research conversation that has made me angry and frustrated,

there have been two that have restored my faith and optimism in the actual and potential shifts towards the emergence of new worlds. Maybe faith and optimism (with a touch of realism) are forms of capital that are also necessary for participation in the global field of power? Self-interest is a powerful motivating force, social actors are all capable of being selfish, but are also of being generous, affected greatly by other people. Humans are cooperative and being so can be more useful in the long term. The long term is crucial here, slow is good for social transformation and value (Castells, 2012); however, this needs to be balanced with a consideration of whether the depletion of the natural, environmental resources offered by the planet will last long enough.

9.6 Overall conclusion - Addressing sustainability and inequality at a global level: How other worlds (may) emerge

The main implication of my thesis is that new more sustainable and more equal worlds may emerge through the struggle of global social actors in the global field of power. Such emergence is predicated on there being challenge within the field, enabling exchange and accumulation of capitals as well as shifts in position, which may result in a shift in the doxa and its associated taken-for-granted acceptance.

It is absolutely possible and appropriate to level criticism at some of the participants in the global field of power for being defenders and perpetuators of the dominant socio-economic systems and structures in our world. However, it is too simplistic to make assumptions about groups of social actors based on their apparent dominance. Global social actors stand in tension with one another within the global field of power, the fields in which they operate stand in tension with one another (for example, civil society/business), their capitals stand in tension with one another (definitions of sustainability); however, rather than finding such tension and conflict troubling, the pursuit of different strategies within the global field of power is potentially what may result in the emergence of new worlds, as capitals and habituses jostle and strategic contestation provokes shift and change. Being over-optimistic, as opposed to recognition of the full scale of the sustainability issues facing the world, coupled with significant opposition can result in stagnation and maintenance of the status quo. Similarly, homogeneity limits the possibilities of actually improving the state of the world.

It is possible to see the marshalling of global capital in the practice of negotiation between corporations, states and civil society over the control/use of environmental/social resources and knowledge capital in international contexts. The mechanisms by which global capital is acquired, used, manipulated and maintained within the global field is shifting and providing openings for dominated dominants in particular to gain ground. This hysteresis, I argue, may actually create the emergence of new worlds. Struggle is an important part of addressing global sustainability issues. We (as humankind) cannot resolve today's problems with yesterday's answers, and the search for new answers involves struggle because there is no clear answer to problems of sustainability and global inequality, which are also not static. Doxa is not static; it can shift slowly, gradually in the presence of heterodoxy. It is precisely the dilemmas and debates that enable deliberation and discussion rather than fixed, privileged approaches (Billig *et al.*, 1988; Nader, 1990). Rather than judging whose strategy is 'right' or 'better' than others, I suggest that through a combination of different definitions and achievements, provided they are towards a goal of improvement, it is possible that the cumulative effect of incremental or rippling changes will result in a form of transformation – certainly not as radical as some would want, or as slight as others may want, but with an overall positive effect. Promoting the emergence of new worlds is difficult and complex, but it is not about replacing one 'dominance' over another. Rather, struggle is the outcome and shifts may be minor not major revolutions towards better, but still imperfect, imprecise new worlds.

Appendices

A. Consultation outline

Summary

Aim – to examine organizational responses in the field of power to global inequalities

Tell me the story of your experiences with WEF/WSF...

How did you first become involved with the World Social Forum/World Economic Forum?

- Are you part of an organisation or do you consider yourself an individual participant?
 - How does the Forum make sense of itself?
 - How would outsiders make sense of the Forum?
 - Who participates in the Forum, in your experience? Is there any alienation of some voices? Is there any exclusion of topics?
 - Are there 'missing' participants, from your point of view?
 - Why do you participate? What do you take from your experience of participation?
 - What, if anything, is constraining the Forum?
 - How are ideas diffused?
 - How much difference of opinion have you experienced within the Forum? Is this positive/negative?
 - How are decisions made?
 - Who sets the agenda?
 - Are there common values/arguments?
- Have you had any involvement with the [other] Forum?
 - Do you have any views on it as a global space?
 - What do you understand to be the relationship, if any, between the two Forums?
 - Have there been any key strategic interactions between the two?
 - Is there challenge between the two?
 - What do you think about participants who attend both?
 - Can social movements, states and markets work effectively to bring about a more sustainable global position in terms of equality and social justice?
 - What are the consequences of organizing in the way that WSF/WEF does?
 - What is the purpose of public deliberation?
 - What does it achieve?

Broader structure in relation to research questions

How does WSF/WEF through its presence and action reconfigure how things are?

- 1) What are the relationships between incumbent and challenging (dominant/dominated) forms of organizing/actors in sustainability debates? Defining the field, field of power
 - a. Partly answering this forms a chapter on the relationship between WSF/WEF over time
 - What is the role of collapse and crisis
 - How do they make sense of themselves? How would outsiders make sense of them?
 - What does organizing/organization/social movement mean to you?
 - Participation in other fora/movements?
 - What are the key strategic interactions within WSF/WEF and between WSF/WEF and between WSF/WEF and other fora/organizations?
 - What are the relationships of power in WEF/WSF? Role of political representatives/larger organisations/individual activists?

- 2) How do different forms of organizing perceive and respond to global inequalities? how do they enact it through capital, how do people wield power relations in a global sense, how do individuals marshal forms of capital to expose/perpetuate global inequalities, how capital is used in power/counterpower, economic capital vs. other forms of capital, cultural defined in any particular way, social movement as social capital, different forms of capital inherent in each form of organising – how do they do it
 - a. Ideology/Doxa comes in here
 - b. Different ways of defining problems
 - c. Different ways of solving problems
 - What are they doing – do they see what they are doing as strategy?
 - What are they trying to achieve? Is it more than changing the nature of discussion?
 - What is constraining WSF/WEF?
 - To what extent and from whose perspective is legitimacy established?
 - How are decisions (and, equally important, non-decisions) made? Is there decision making, does it happen? If not, why not? If so, examples? Results?
 - Not just taking experiences into account, but critiquing how the experience came about
 - How are ideas diffused? How much difference of opinion have you experienced? Is this positive/negative? How important is the difference – debate? Is coalescence achieved when there are differences of opinion (e.g. radical/reformer)? Does this matter? Alienation of some voices? Exclusion of topics?
 - What do they do when they meet? Why? How? Who?
 - What happens beyond the Fora?
 - What are the priorities discussed? Different people having different priorities? All at the table/different tables? Selective? Who sets the

agenda? Common values/arguments? How are debates put together and what is gained by this construction?

- 3) What effects do these forms of organizing have on the current socio-economic order? the effect of the enactment on socio-economic order/power relations
- a. From interviews with participants, what they see are the effects of their participation, how their practice changes, influence on policy, media coverage etc.
- What does WSF/WEF mean to you?
 - Purpose of public deliberation – what does it achieve? Importance of meetings?
 - How do experiences of WSF/WEF relate to you and your role ‘at home’?
 - What are the impacts of the activity of WSF/WEF – what difference do they/does it make?
 - How do you pick your battles?
 - Can social movements, states and markets work effectively to bring about a more sustainable global position in terms of equality and social justice?
 - What defines the symbolic failures and successes of present strategies?
 - What are the consequences of organizing in particular ways? How does WEF/WSF through their actions reconfigure how things are? Intended consequences? Unintended consequences? Consequences for whom?
 - Mobilisation strategy?
 - Communication strategy? Function/importance of face to face interaction? Social media?
 - Effect of the network structures?

B. Main Website Sources

Amnesty International (USA and UK websites) <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/>

<http://www.amnestyusa.org/>

BOND <http://www.bond.org/>

DEMOS <http://www.demos.co.uk/>

Global Square <http://global-square.net/>

Grassroots Global Justice Alliance <http://ggialliance.net/>

Inter Press Service <http://www.ipsnews.net/>

IPPR <http://www.ippr.org/>

Land Workers Alliance <http://landworkersalliance.org.uk/>

Mondoweiss <http://mondoweiss.net/>

More and Better <http://www.moreandbetter.org/en>

NCVO <https://www.ncvo.org.uk/>

Occupy (London and Wall Street websites) <http://occupylondon.org.uk/>

<http://occupywallstreet.net/>

Pravda <http://english.pravda.ru/>

Red Pepper <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/>

Social Network Unionism <https://snuproject.wordpress.com/>

Transnational Institute <https://www.tni.org>

The Economist <http://www.economist.com>

Waging Non Violence <http://wagingnonviolence.org/>

Wikipedia pages https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Social_Forum

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Economic_Forum

Workers Power <http://www.workerspower.co.uk/>

World Economic Forum <http://www.weforum.org/>

World Social Forum <http://memoriafsm.org/?locale-attribute=en>

C. Summary of Participants

Breakdown of participants at WEF in Davos, 2013 (The Guardian, 2013)

WEF Annual Meeting in Davos, 2013		
Total delegates	2,654	
Percentage of women	17% ⁵⁴	
Activity represented ⁵⁵		
Other business	1,071	40%
CEO	655	25%
Public official/non-profit	491	19%
Media	232	9%
Academic	183	7%
Arts	21	1%
Other	1	0%
Country of origin ⁵⁶		
USA	714	27%
Other	668	25%
United Kingdom	272	10%
Switzerland	234	9%
Germany	127	5%
India	113	4%
Russian Federation	80	3%
France	79	3%
South Africa	65	2%
Japan	64	2%
People's Republic of China	62	2%
United Arab Emirates	52	2%
Canada	41	2%
Netherlands	41	2%
Belgium	40	2%

⁵⁴ This is a figure that stands alone as presented in The Guardian's blog (Martinson, 2013).

⁵⁵ These categories are those assigned in the table as presented. It has not been possible to provide a similar breakdown for WSF participants, as no data was recorded in this way. However, based on a cursory review of organisation names, it would appear that the vast majority would represent activity comparable with the non-profit, media and academic category labels used by WEF.

⁵⁶ I summarised all those representing 1% or less of the total into an 'other' category for presentation purposes in this text.

Breakdown of participants at WSF in Tunis, 2013 (World Social Forum, 2013)

WSF Annual Meeting in Tunis, 2013		
Total number of registered organisations		5,162
Country of origin ⁵⁷		
Tunisia	1,765	34%
Other	1,539	30%
France	458	9%
Morocco	350	7%
Brazil	204	4%
No country stated	167	3%
Italy	142	3%
Egypt	139	3%
Belgium	97	2%
Algeria	89	2%
Spain	89	2%
Occupied Territory of Palestine	86	2%
India	82	2%

⁵⁷ I summarised all those representing 1% or less of the total into an 'other' category for presentation purposes in this text.

D. Ethical approval material

Email confirming Faculty ethics approval

From: [Wendy Davison](#)
To: [Victoria Pagan](#)
Cc: [Amanda Lane](#)
Subject: RE: Application for Full Ethical Review
Date: 29 January 2013 09:58:13

Dear Victoria

Thank you for your application for ethical approval of your project *Sustainability in an era of crisis: how other worlds emerge*. Your project has been reviewed by Rosaleen Howard and Gerry Docherty and they are happy to approve it subject to you confirming that you will include full contact details (email, phone, postal) for her supervisors on the participant information sheet and consent form.

Kind regards,

Wendy

Wendy Davison

PA to Gerry Docherty, Lorna Taylor and Sue Mitchell

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Daysh Building

Newcastle University

Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU

Telephone: 0191 222 6349

Fax: 0191 222 7001

From: Victoria Pagan
Sent: 12 December 2012 13:23
To: Wendy Davison
Cc: Kathryn Haynes; Stefanie Reissner
Subject: Application for Full Ethical Review

Dear Wendy

I am a PhD candidate studying at the Business School. I have submitted my Project Approval Form and through consideration of the ethics checklist it is apparent that my project needs to be considered by a full ethical review panel. Please find attached:

<< File: UniversityFullEthicalReviewForm FINAL.docx >> << File: Consent form.doc >> << File: Debriefing FINAL.doc >> << File: Information Sheet FINAL.doc >> << File: NUBS Risk Assessment Template 1.doc >> << File:

NUBS Risk Assessment Template 2.doc >> << File: Final PAF 281112.doc >>

- My application form
- Supporting documents comprising consent form, debriefing sheet, information sheet, 2 risk assessment templates and my Project Approval Form (currently awaiting panel consideration).

If there is any more information you require, please do let me know.

With many thanks and kind regards

Victoria Pagan

PhD Student and Teaching Assistant

Newcastle University Business School

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[<< OLE Object: Picture \(Device Independent Bitmap\) >>](#)

SUSTAINABILITY IN AN ERA OF CRISIS: HOW OTHER WORLDS EMERGE

Information Sheet

You are being invited to participate in research into the processes of organization and organizing in relation to social movements. Before you decide to participate, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what your role will be in it. Please take time to read this information sheet and ask for clarification if necessary.

Aims and procedure of the research

This research aims to examine how groups such as the World Social Forum and World Economic Forum are involved in making global change. I am interested in who is involved and why, what new ideas are generated through the Forum and how these ideas gain momentum. I am also interested in new forms of organizing in relation to social movements and how the strategies of such movements come about and take hold to mobilise change in our world. Further information about the research can be found at <http://howotherworldsemerge.wordpress.com/>

This research will involve documentary research, informal observations and semi-structured interviews. You are invited to participate in these interviews. They will last up to 90 minutes and will be conducted in a room allowing for privacy and/or via Skype. The focus of the interview is on your experiences with the processes of participation in national and international networks of movement. The interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. You will receive a copy of the transcript which you are invited to amend as you feel necessary. If appropriate, electronic feedback about the results of this study can be provided in the form of articles and the final thesis.

How the research will be used

The project's findings will be published in several ways, possibly including reports, articles and presentations. No individual participants, or any associated organisations/affiliations, will be identified in publication or other dissemination of this work, unless permission is expressly given. Your words may be visible in published work but they will not be attributed to you. The findings will be read by academics and other people who are interested in this topic.

Ethical Principles

This research is for PhD candidature and it adheres to strict ethical guidelines. It has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Newcastle University. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the research at any time. All data and results of this research will be treated confidentially and anonymously. If you would like to discuss any of these issues, or if you have any queries about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors Professor Kathryn Haynes and Dr Stefanie Reissner at Newcastle University Business School.

Contact Details

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SUSTAINABILITY IN AN ERA OF CRISIS: HOW OTHER WORLDS EMERGE
Consent Form

	Y	N
I give consent for myself to participate in this research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have received an information sheet about this research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have had all my questions answered prior to the interview.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that the interview will be audio recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that everything I say will be handled anonymously and confidentially.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I have the right to amend to interview transcript.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time without giving reason and without penalty by contacting the Principal Investigator, Victoria Pagan at	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Debriefing

Thank you for participating in this research, which aims to examine how groups such as the World Social Forum are involved in making global change. I am interested in who is involved and why, what new ideas are generated through the Forum and how these ideas gain momentum. I am also interested in new forms of organizing in relation to social movements and how the strategies of such movements come about and take hold to mobilise change in our world, in the context of power and political relations.

Further information about the research can be found at

<http://howotherworldsemerge.wordpress.com/>

This research is for PhD candidature and it adheres to strict ethical guidelines. It has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Newcastle University. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the research at any time. All data and results of this research will be treated confidentially and anonymously, and neither your organisation nor any participants will be identified in publication or other dissemination of this work, unless permission is expressly given. Your words may be visible in published work but they will not be attributed to you.

If you would like to discuss any of these issues, or if you have any queries about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors Professor Kathryn Haynes and Dr Stefanie Reissner at Newcastle University Business School.

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