'Civil society elite mobility'
Towards an Analytical Framework of Civil Society Elite Formation and Reproduction

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Introduction

This paper presents how we will examine the vertical mobility of actors in the field of civil society, focusing on why some acquire elite positions and elite status while others do not. Our overall aim is to investigate the rules, practices, and the capital composition that allows for or restrict mobility into positions that holds significant resources and influence.

We will focus on three routes of upward mobility: (1) the 'organizational route' of recruitment and appointment into executive positions in peak organizations; (2) the educational route as actors are trained to become future leaders and (3) the route of consecration, when actors are rewarded prizes for particular achievement and activities. These are seen as sites that allow us to derive the conditions of mobility – both including organizational settings and the informal norms and ideals of the field. We argue that this offers a process-oriented view on elite reproduction that we find particularly suitable for the study of civil society elites, since we have limited knowledge of the historical composition of this elite group. Our analytical framework builds upon field theory and theoretical discussions on social closure, symbolic boundaries, and representation games. By comparing upward mobility across contexts (Italy, Sweden, Poland, England, and the EU), furthermore, we hope to identify factors that shape upward mobility, allowing us to address whether elite formation and reproduction in the civil society field follow a similar logic as other societal spheres.

Studying 'Civil Society Elites'

Throughout the history of the concept, 'civil society' has denoted a vital arena of political participation and public opinion. Theories of liberal democracy almost universally include a free civil society as a key component, understood as a check of government power and a channel of the voice of the citizenry. At the same time, there is a tendency to idealize civil

society as inherently egalitarian and democratic. Indeed, theories of liberal democracy have almost universally failed to address hierarchies and concentration of resources within civil society. However, as soon as we take off the rose tinted glasses handed to us by normative democracy theory, we realise that civil society is made up of organizations and institutions, inhabited by people, networks, and entangled with messy human relations. Which also means that we most likely will find disproportional distribution of resources and influence, status, and power – just as we would expect in any other social context. Hence, to study civil society from an elite perspective serves the purpose of addressing concentration of power in an arena where inequalities previously has been ignored. To be able to explain how we will face this challenge, we will here start by making a number of central conceptual clarifications.

Our program departs from the literature on social elites. Arguably, the most important contribution of elite theory has been to highlight how societies and social spheres are formed and operating through concentrated accumulation of resources and influence. In the elite literature, there are a variety of responses to this; concentration of resources can be figured as a democratic problem, unavoidable, oppressive, or as normatively justifiable as long as elites are pluralistic. No matter how one chooses to view the existence of elites, a central question becomes how the concentration of resources and influence is upheld and how new members of elite groups are recruited. In the elite literature, this is predominantly understood as the question of 'elite reproduction'.

Applying the idea of 'elites' to make sense of the hierarchies of civil society, we are not convinced that 'reproduction' is the best term to capture the mechanisms of upward mobility. First, since it can be argued that the emergence of the perception of civil society as a distinct societal sphere is relatively new and in a phase of transformation. Recent societal trends of governance steering and civil society professionalization suggest that this perception has gained strength in recent decades. Hence, it is not certain that there is an already existing elite to be reproduced into. In addition, recent elite literature tends towards emphasising multiple and competing elite groups, complexity, and change – which largely goes amiss if we are focusing too narrowly on the reproduction of already existing hierarchies. This means that there are empirical as well as theoretical reasons to avoid a narrow focus on 'reproduction', but to allow for processes of elite formation and elite reproduction to be parallel and intertwined.

A related conceptual clarification concerns what the term 'civil society elite' refers to. For example, political parties, unions, and associations of employers all deeply affected the political evolvement of the 20th century. Yet, speaking of 'civil society elites' imply

something more than an influential position that happens to be located within a civil society organisation; it also refers to an elevated position *within* civil society allowing individuals to affect its internal workings. In this way, we believe that there is an important distinction to be made between positions of societal influence that happens to be located in civil society (elites in civil society) and positions within civil society that derive their influence from the perception that civil society has certain characteristics (civil society elites). Our focus is on the latter phenomenon. It follows that 'civil society' not only works as an analytical category for us, but also is an empirical phenomenon that persist in the world-making of the people we study. We presume that contemporary tendencies – such as globalization, governance, and professionalization – affect the internal structure of civil society as well as the perception that this is a social sphere alongside 'market' and 'state'.

In other words, we are studying civil society elites with respect to reproduction as well as formation. What processes of formation and reproduction have in common is that they concern situations when individuals 'step up' – in organisational structures, in civil society as a whole, or to a position of greater influence in society at large. This means that our analytical focus is on upward mobility. To what extent such upward mobility should be understood as 'formation' (civil society elites as something new) or 'reproduction' (confirming old patterns) is for our empirical studies to decide. This focus, however, does not imply that we are interested in the career paths of individuals as such. Rather, along the lines of the elite literature more generally, we presume that upward mobility follows patterns, that there are regularities as concerns who will advance, that there are norms that dictates how successful people in civil society should be like, and that these are accompanied by processes of social closure and barriers. Below, we will describe how we aim to tackle such patterns inspired by the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu.

Theoretical perspectives on upward mobility

In the elite literature, we see two kinds general perspectives on upward mobility into elite groups. First, as already mentioned, elite studies tend to discuss elite mobility using terms like 'elite reproduction' and 'circulation', largely focusing on the social reproduction of elites as 'social groups'. The second camp instead addresses upward mobility as trajectories in a social field – from less to more significant social positions. Here, our study follow the latter path, drawing on Bourdieu's field theory, which understands upward mobility as accumulation of capital. However, there are also significant insights for our study to be found in the elite

literature focusing on social groups. Below, we shall start by presenting this literature, before sketching our own framework and its sources of influence.

One or several elite(s)?

Pareto and Mosca devoted much interest into the notions of elite reproduction and circulation, and developed their thinking in a period of rapid transformation in terms of an increasingly industrialised society, growing urbanization, changing social and political orientations and the growth of a working class structure across Europe. Pareto is largely known for his writings into 'elite circulation' and 'elite cycles' as the replacement of one elite by another, whereas Mosca opened up for gradual processes of infiltration to understand elite circulation and reproduction. Nonetheless, they shared an interest in the vertical relation between governing elites, the non-governing elite (intermediate elites), and the masses. Such vertical influx of people into the elite could either manifest itself through meritocracy (e.g. talent and recruitment) in contrast to hereditary principles (aristocracy). In this classic approach, an elite was largely seen as a 'group' sharing 'a common accord', a common background, or even family ties on how to rule society (e.g. Femia 2005 & 2012; Higley and Pakulski 2012).

From this perspective, upward mobility is seen as a form of elite circulation where the composition (their background) as well as the functioning of elites (the role they play) might be subject to change. This attentiveness to change is not reflected in the elite literature that has followed, where much research focus on elites as stable groups and how recruitment of new members reiterate existing social profiles and general power structures. It is a common presumption that elites – and the structures that support their resource accumulation – are stable, hard to change, and rely on practices that limit other groups access to privileges – also in elite studies having a much more critical perspective on elites than Mosca and Pareto. For example, Mills (1956) notion of 'the power elite' implied shared social origins, political values, and social networks, which guarantee stability (Domhoff XXX; Bell 1958).

In the more contemporary elite literature, we find ample studies that continue along these lines, investigating the social, ethnic, educational and cultural background of people in leading positions vis-á-vis the population in general. Extensive gaps between people at top and the population at large indicates limited mobility (no circulation) and a high degree of exclusiveness. For example, a recent study by Jalazai and Rincker (2018) of political chief executives in five regions of the world shows that family ties was one of the key factors to explain how some persons got into executive positions. This suggest almost dynastic patterns that shape upward mobility in politics and business. Other studies argue that mobility takes

shape through recruitment based on a meritocratic logic, whilst some scholars have opted for 'natural experiments' of how reforms in Eastern European led to changes of the composition of people in leading positions (Hanley 1995; Lane 1997).

Now, while it is descriptively valuable to capture the characteristics of members of elite groups, this perspective downplays how mobility actually takes place, whilst presuming already existing elite groups that individuals are circulated into. Although, this seem like a fair assumption in fields like politics and business, the existence of a social elite group in civil society remain an open question. As indicated earlier, to the extent it exists, it is likely a relatively new phenomenon and/or relatively heterogeneous. Furthermore, current theoretical debates on societal elites have both come to question whether routes of access are as stable as mainstream elite theory presume and if current elites are as coherent as suggested. For instance, Savage and Williams (2008) argue that elites in a state of constant flux and that they are not as homogenous as previously assumed. In a similar way, Wedel (2017, p. 153) argues that focus on elites in '…stable positions at the top of enduring institutions…' neglect contextual changes of elites. She argues that elite power is derived from flexibility and multi-positionality in terms of blending roles, assignments, and institutional affiliations in the exercise of influence (Wedel 2009; 2017, Reed 2012). Thus, a recurrent line of argument of the literature is that elites are plural and/or fractionalized (see for instance Buhlmann, David and March 2012; Dogan 2003; Savage 2014). Khan (2015) suggest that this is due to the greater mobility and competition in present societies, as well as linked to more open recruitment to elite universities.

In other words, whilst elite studies historically often have presumed the elite as a relatively stable social group that reproduces and that people are circulated into, recent studies suggest that elites are more complex, diverse, and flexible than previously assumed. Furthermore, as mentioned above, to the extent there is a civil society elite, it is likely changing as a result of recent tendencies of professionalization, governance, and other often described societal tendencies. In order to understand processes of upward mobility, in a civil society field that is changing, we need to abandon a narrow focus on static reproduction into a social group, instead focusing on the rules that dictate the working of the civil society field.

Fields and subfields

We have already labeled civil society a 'field', operating by field specific rules that dictates which forms of capital allow individuals to rise to prominent positions. This reveals that we start from the theoretical vocabulary introduced by Pierre Bourdieu. Below, we will start with

an introduction of how we see civil society as a field, consisting of several subfields, before turning to a number of operative theoretical concepts that will inform our empirical analysis.

As compared to studies of elite composition and the social group, we find that Bourdieu's field theory more apt to capture the dynamism of civil society (Johansson & Kalm 2015). In addition, Bourdieu's theory focuses on the field as such, rather than the social group. Considering our previous discussion, we are not merely talking about 'civil society' as an analytical category, but as a sector recognisable to its members as well as to members of other sectors. Although Bourdieu's terminology allows for considerable heterogeneity, speaking of civil society as a 'social field' appear to come with the minimum requirement that there is a general perception of some commonality within civil society and that there are some common rules for how the field operates.

Now, in order to make sense of the upward mobility of into elite positions of this field, it is necessary to have a basic view of how civil society is structured. This will of course wary across national contexts, indicating that it is important that our analytical framework allow for variation. Our starting point here is that civil society consist of many different subfields, most often divided along the lines of policy areas, e.g. disability organisations, sports organisations, human rights organisations, etc. These may have more or less to do with each other, indicating that there are more or less overlap between subfields. On the other hand, for civil society to qualify as a field, these subfields need to have some things in common, a set of values, norms, or perceptions shared across subfields. One empirical illustration thereof is the tendency within civil society to organise in umbrella organisations, spanning specific subfields or the field of civil society as such. Of course, certain civil society organizations may have very little overlap with the rest of civil society, and also be perceived as different. This illustrates that using 'civil society' as an analytical category, including such organizations, and as a social field, which would exclude them, are different things.

Of course, since we are focusing on elite formation and reproduction, this spatial and horizontal description of civil society as overlapping spheres need to be complemented with a vertical perspective, indicating that interactions across subfields, as well as sense of commonality, differs depending on your position within the hierarchy of the organisation or the subfield you are in. Here, our hypothesis is that interaction between subfields, participation in umbrella organisations, and a general sense of being part of 'civil society' as a societal sector, increases higher up in organisations. The interactions between members of different subfields and between civil society representatives and members of other elite

groups, may also foster such hierarchies. Thus, to the extent we witness a consolidation of 'civil society' as a general identification, it will largely be an elite phenomenon.

As already mentioned, following Bourdieu, social fields are ingrained with rules that dictate their workings and relations to other fields. To the extent civil society is taking shape as a specific field, we should also see the formation of rules that explain what allows an elite to emerge and certain individuals to be part of the elite. Such rules, furthermore, are linked to various forms of capital, which are valued differently within different fields. The rules of a field are rarely formally institutionalised, by upheld by behavior and norms. Yet, they precondition the processes where representatives are chosen, where people are elected, or appointed to top positions. In additions, such processes where specific people are elevated to elite status have a performative side as well, upholding the norms and ideals of the field, reflecting the insight that agency reproduces the structures that agents act within.

To summarize: civil society is a field of common rules, consisting of several more or less overlapping sub-fields. There is a general perception of civil society as a specific sphere of society. The rules of the civil society field dictates how individuals are allowed to rise through the ranks, by merit of the capital that have traction within civil society. These rules are possible to pin-down empirically.

What allows mobility in the civil society field?

The aristocracy inherits their social position, the business elite accumulates capital that allow them to invest, and so on. How about civil society? Intuitively, it appears that money, social background, and the usual suspects of factors of distinction, are not as important for success in civil society. At least not at the face of it. As we will describe later, we consider these factors important to study and map empirically. However, we also do believe that there are things with civil society that distinguish it from other societal fields. In particular, we believe that ideas of formulating the interests of member or constituents, to have a genuine commitment to the cause, and to represent something different from business and politics, is considered to be important. Here, we want to discuss some theoretical starting points for how this can be analyzed.

Of course, speaking of 'power' and 'influence' in the field of civil society certainly draws attention to actors' – individual or collective – access to and control over economic, social and cultural resources. As indicated, we consider symbolic capital – as recognition, prestige, and esteem even more significant for the constitution of civil society elite status. To advance in civil society one need to master the game of accumulating recognition by possessing

substantial amounts of symbolic capital. To uphold a dominant position in civil society thus requires controlling the production of prestige and recognition. Symbolic capital builds upon, but also departs from actors capital composition and finds its sources in the trust, legitimacy and recognition that actors hold in relation to others. The notion of misrecognition is of key importance here, and of particular importance for how we can capture what shapes actors' opportunities. Bourdieu defines misrecognition as actors disclaim of their personal interest. Actors activities and their resources '…gain in symbolic power, or legitimacy, to the extent that they become separated from underlying material interest and hence go misrecognized as representing disinterested forms of activities and resources (Swartz XXX, p. 90). A profitable strategy is thus to convince others that your stake is based on the most 'authentic' sincerity (PB, in DS, p. 70). Here, civil society is a sphere for other (elite) actors' construction of their symbolic capital; 'indeed, the philanthropy and the nonprofit sector functions to legitimate particular economic interest by converting them into forms of symbolic recognition for the collective good' (DS, p. 91).

It follows that actors in possession of extensive symbolic capital can make '… legitimate demands for recognition, deference, obedience or the services of others' (Swartz, XXX, p. 43). They can also exercise symbolic power as '… the power to make things with words' (Bourdieu 1989, p. 23). Actors with substantial symbolic capital can exercise influence over others by their '…power to make groups and to consecrate or institute them (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 14) and by their power to impose a '… vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced (Bourdieu 1989, p. 23). In other words, this is the power of naming and describing what the world is like, thereby prescribing how others ought to act. Actors with high legitimacy, formed through the formal post they hold and recognition they have, can thus set the rules of the game, and shape the avenues of upward mobility in the field of civil society, set rules for what and whom that could access post and positions with extensive access to resources and potentials for influence.

This view resembles a Weberian view on elites and social closure. Elite status is formed relationally, status groups seek to monopolize advantages and resources, curb competition as they discriminate other groups and construct a sense of group superiority. This could include setting up formal or informal rules for participation/membership, recruitment/advancement or. Social closure thus points to how status groups seek to a) cultivate a sense of honor and privilege relationship with 'fellow' group members, b) define specific qualifications for gaining entry to the group and c) legitimate rules or places for interacting with lower status outsiders (e.g. Murphy 1998, XXX). This perspective has proven significant for studies of class and professional groups' strategic control over resources and posts. We are skeptical

about the implicit intentionality of Weber's account and the concept of 'social closure', but to believe that similar mechanisms are worthwhile studying in the context of civil society.

Boundaries of mobility

To further capture rules of upward mobility, we find discussions on symbolic boundaries a significant. In his work on social distinctions, Bourdieu argued that boundaries – between categories, groups or competitors, '… freeze a particular state of the social struggle, i.e. a given state of the distribution of advantages and obligations' (Bourdieu, Distinction, p. 479). Gans made similar arguments suggesting that (1992, p. xiii) '… much can be learned about groups and institutions by looking to see if their boundaries are completely open or guarded and, if the latter how and why'. In Bourdieu's view, boundaries are social – based on peoples attributions – but also symbolic, linked to what is considered legitimate descriptions. Symbolic boundaries are thus 'conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality. . . . (ibid, p. 168). Through the particular use of words, ideas and images symbolic boundaries are constructed so that they '…separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership' (ibid, p. 168). These are closely interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Martin and Szelenyi (1987) discussed related issues as a form of symbolic mastery, labelling the kind of cultural practices that differentiate the 'holders of principles' from the 'mere practitioner', as a form of domination (see Bourdieu 2007; Bourdieu and Passeron 1997; Lamont 1992; 2000).

Now, symbolic boundaries form an essential part of what Lamont refers to as a 'system of classification'. They are not set in stone, but requires what Lamont and colleagues have called 'symbolic labor' (Bourdieu) or 'boundary work' (see also Gerson and Peiss 1985; Gieryn 1983; Lamont 1992), carried out in everyday symbolic struggles between and within status groups. Lamont and Fournier (1992) showed how upper-class men drew symbolic and moral boundaries that reproduced class distinctions and how the working-class (Lamont 2000) resisted societal assaults on their dignity and value by basing worth on intangible resources, such as interpersonal relations and sincerity (see Elias, Skeggs). Classification system start to take shape as social actors engage in the categorization, sorting and evaluation objects and people. Central to Lamont's view is the 'repertoires of evaluation' as a particular form of boundary work that people engage in to demarcate themselves symbolically from others, over their life-styles, tastes, attitudes or manners. These repertoires are rarely neutral but involves a valuation of others in terms of moral judgments. Symbolic boundaries thus establish and

reinforce differences between groups and allows unequal access to resources by designating certain actors as illegitimate, unworthy or inauthentic. This suggest that symbolic boundaries also are 'moral boundaries' as they are based on the moral character and qualities of the objects judged, for instance related to aspects of honesty, work ethic, personal integrity and consideration for others (Vaerness 2018). These judgements lead people to seek or avoid interaction with others.

The symbolic boundaries approach have certainly gained momentum and researchers have been addressing it in a number of fields, e.g. class and stratification, ethnicity and race, gender and sexuality, religion, health, risk and policy making (Pachucki et al., 2007). Studies show how groups define themselves using boundaries based on categories such as religion (Becker 1999), illness (Barker 2002), race (Lamont 1999), and occupation (Wikstrom 2008). It has proven significant also with regard to the construction of collective identity in social movement organizations (e.g. Gamson 1992, Tilly 1998, McAdam 2001). There are for example investigations on how social movement organizations draw external symbolic boundaries between adherents ("us") and outsiders ("them"), or to exclude potential enemies of the movement (e.g. Taylor and Whittier 1992; 1995). We also find studies into symbolic boundaries 'within' movements and organizations, e.g. over forms of representation (e.g. Whittier 1995).

However, we find few attempts to address how either social closure or symbolic boundaries come into play as civil society leaders are appointed and recruited into central and prestigious posts, or when they are trained or even rewarded as being a prominent civil society representative. Discussions on social and symbolic boundaries can thus serve as crosscutting analytical themes across our different sub studies of how leaders are recruited, appointed and trained. Notions like system of classification, repertoires of evaluation and symbolic struggles will be deployed to identify under what circumstances actors are allowed to 'move upwards' in civil society. What kind of background, qualifications, values, status and 'esteem' do civil society leaders have to have as that he or she has to have, as a form of 'the micro-politics' of civil society social and symbolic mobility. Notions of this kind will allow us to capture what, if any, common identity that is formed among leaders of peak civil society organization participate in prestigious, exclusive or consecrating training programs, or even achieve a civil society award or prize. Last but not least, to consider civil society elites as formed through a series of interrelated boundaries – social and symbolic – raises questions on the properties of such boundaries (their permeability, salience, durability, and visibility) and the mechanisms associated with the activation, maintenance, transposition, bridging, crossing and dissolution of these boundaries in terms of vertical mobility within civil society.

Representation games

Bourdieu argues that symbolic systems also engage a level of symbolic struggles, i.e. struggles over 'the monopoly of legitimate naming' (Bourdieu 1989, p. 21). Although those with status can influence the 'weigh of the scales', the categories of perception, the schemata of classification and the names which construct social reality remain contested. Symbolic struggles are thus political as they '…impose the legitimate principle of vision and division' (ibid, p. 22) but rarely comes unquestioned. Similar regards systems of classification, as they include a struggle between groups over what appropriate standards, forms of evaluation and distinctions to be drawn.

We think that civil society elites – present and presumptive – need to be able to play the 'representation game' to be able to advance and take on the central and most prestigious posts. Representation in the widest form of understanding is a kind of resources that leaders have to have at their disposal. Symbolic boundaries and struggles at least to some extent concerns who should be a legitimate representative, i.e. the rules that allows leaders to act and speak for members, followers, or adherents. Classic discussions on representation tend to emphasize its formal aspects, where a geographically defined constituency and a representative selected through electoral mechanisms (often within state-centric democracy) are of central importance (Castiglione and Warren 2008; Mansbridge 2003). Originally, a constituency is thought of as a voting district or a geographical entity (Rehfeld 2005). Pitkin (1967) made a distinction between formalistic (based on authorization and accountability), substantive (as a delegate or trustee); descriptive (mirror the characteristics of its constituents, i.e. look like the represented or shares similar experiences (Mansbridge 2003) and lastly, symbolic representation (based on the meaning and acceptance that a representative has for those being represented). Saward (2006; 2010) and others (see for instance (Severs 2010; Trenz 2009) have argued that these give a too high emphasis on the stable and formal forms of representation. He emphasizes representation as more dynamic, multi-dimensional and context contingent, i.e. a process of claims-making and claims-receiving among diverse actors. This implies that the idea of a constituency loses some of its significance and the notion of an audience is of greater importance (Saward 2006, 2009, 2010). Instead the notion of authenticity can be seen as of equal importance and in contrast to Pitkin's more formalistic account on representation, legitimacy cannot be established by 'how many people vote for a certain party/person', but rather by whether a claim is considered authentic by the audience in

question (Saward 2009, p. 21). This suggests different logic of representation and basis for civil society leaders connection to their constituency.

Now, following Lamont, we argue that each of these logics include an element of symbolic boundary-drawing, either struggles on the correct evaluation criteria or on the qualifications, norms and background that persons need to have (a particular composition of capital) to be able to 'be electable' or 'recruitable' for that particular post.

Research Design

Before commencing with an outline of our studies, we want to start by presenting the overarching structure of the empirical work. First, in order to be able to say something of general relevance about the production and reproduction of civil society elites, it is necessary to examine the working of upward mobility across variation. A basic division of our studies here is that we examine upward mobility within and beyond organisations. The election of presidents and the recruitment of directors of top civil society organisations is arguably the most obvious form of upward mobility, that allow us to pin down the conditions of upward mobility and the blend of social, cultural, and symbolic capital at work. This require that we look at different organizations, structured differently and from different civil society subfields, in order to make sure that we not examine the workings of a specific organization of branch of civil society. Nonetheless, our presumption that civil society can be considered a social field comes with the proposition that there are commonalities shared between subfields and that that rules and norms that condition upward mobility not only are operate within specific organizations. For this reason we have identified two sites of elite production/reproduction not bound to specific organizations, namely training programs targeting future civil society leaders and prestigious prizes awarded to civil society actors. Provided the field breaching ambitions of these cases, it is reasonable that they also will provide insights into the common ethos of civil society as well as what counts as success and what is required to be successful.
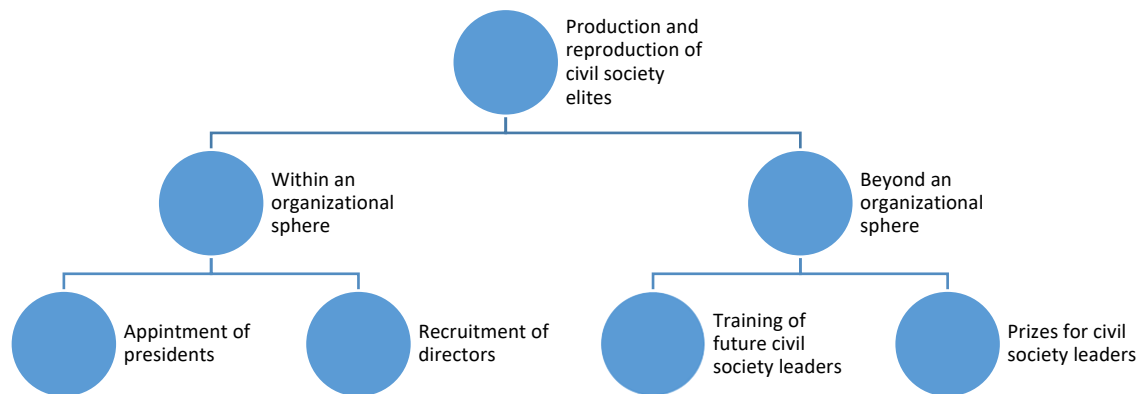
We view the field of civil society as consisting of various sub-fields. This introduces the need to allow for empirical variation in a second sense, as concerns the issue areas that the organizations we look at operate within. Provided our theoretical focus on symbolic capital, symbolic boundaries and representation games, it appears as clear that questions of representation may play out differently, for example, depending on whether we are looking at the disability movement organizations, environmental groups, or large charities. Thus, this need to be taken into account in the design of studies looking at above all appointment and recruitment.

Lastly, following the outlines of the research program in general, our studies need to account for variation between national contexts. It follows from our theoretical assumption that civil society need to be understood as socially contextualized, that differing national contexts may mean that the rules of the field can differ. In this regard, our study of appointment and recruitment aims to study the four countries in the project (Italy, Poland, Sweden, and the UK), plus the EU, as separate cases, where selection criteria and empirical strategy remain constant. In the study on training programs, we focus on the UK, Sweden, and the EU. Here, the purpose is not to map empirically, but to incorporate a variation of cases that allow us to theorize civil society leadership training. Lastly, in our study on prizes, we leave the national context and also focus on prizes also awarded internationally. One important reason for this choice is that we have been hard-pressed to find national prizes of such prestige that they can reasonably be seen as elite phenomena.

Again, the rationale behind the empirical structure presented here follows from our main aim, i.e. to identify and explore the rules, practices and capital composition that explain upward mobility into the elite. Of course, this will require that we look at the characteristics and actions of dominant actors in the field. Hence, agency is understood as situated within structures of field rules that we examine. How civil society leaders understand themselves and rationalize their actions is not of immediate interest to us (although, of course a worthwhile object of study for other civil society scholars). Neither are we interested in intra-organizational career paths, for example, how different organizations breed future leaders. Such questions are important to us only to the extent they can help us understand civil society elites, again, understood as a group operating in a specific social field consisting of various sub-fields.

Having presented the overarching design, we shall now go on to flesh out the methodological strategy of each sub study.

Appointment and recruitment processes

Our first sub study focuses on processes of appointments and recruitments into civil society elite positions. This will allow us to study upward mobility in action, so to speak, and hence derive the rules within the field of civil society that condition processes where individuals are 'stepping up'. The ambition is to study recruitment and appointment in all contexts of the program – the EU, Italy, Poland, Sweden, and the UK – which is likely to yield variation in the empirical results. It will also allow us more thorough analyses into how factors external to the field (e.g. political steering and governance or similar factors) that could inflict on elite status, resource concentration and patterns of upward mobility in the field. Furthermore, we will devote special attention symbolic capital, as specified in the theory section, and to games of representation played and playing out in the accumulation of symbolic capital.

There are obvious caveats here. First, being a president or a director of a CSO does not necessarily mean that one is part of the elite. Secondly, there are most certainly individuals with considerable influence and resources, but that not currently hold a formal positions. Thirdly, it may well be that individuals recruited or appointed to a top position already is part of the elite segment of civil society. In response to such objections, we want to stress that the purpose of studying upward mobility is to understand the rules of the field. Hence, we do not aspire to provide a complete picture of the elite composition and we are well aware that descriptions of elite groups cannot restrict themselves to official titles. Although we will certainly miss elite individuals and include appointments where people of the elite are

circulating between positions, appointment and recruitment processes will definitely give insights about what is required to be part of the elite. The actual people holding positions are not as interesting to us; our focus is the structures and norms that have allowed them to advance. Hence, we examine processes of appointment and recruitment to understand which characteristics and ideals are valued within this societal sphere.

The outline of this sub study can be described in four steps:

First, we need to delimit and operationalize appointments and recruitments into elite positions, explaining how we differentiate appointment and recruitment processes in general from such processes leading to elite positions. In this regard, we will rely on the work of TS1 constructing a operational definition of 'top civil society organizations'. By creating an index of internal and external importance/influence/significance – for example looking at policy influence, number of members, followers, and etcetera – we have constructed a list of top organizations in each national context **(see TSI)**. We aim to select the organizations with elite score of three, four and five, which will derive a sample of approx. 50 organizations in each respective context (see table 1 below). Mapping for Poland and Sweden are still to be completed. Again, although there certainly are individuals with elite position outside of these organizations, it is reasonable to believe that the presidents and directors of such top organizations are significant in civil society as a whole. Hence, all empirical material of appointment and recruitment processes will be gathered with respect to these groups of top organizations.

Table 1. Elite score.

Score	Sweden	Italy	EU
5	1	3	7
4	10	9	6
3	39	29	35
2	72	127	106
1	272	111	154
Total N.	**394**	**279**	**308**

Secondly, as concerns the empirical materials, we first want to collect a broad material that help us see regularities in how recruitment and appointment works. The program survey will

help us with biographical info of civil society leaders (e.g. previous appointments, education patterns and so on). In addition, currently, there is ongoing work in the program in putting together short bios of leaders of top organizations. This can be further complemented with CV:s and other public information (LinkedIn, Wikipedia, CV from websites etcetera). The overarching purpose for us looking into this material is to help us map career trajectories of persons holding positions in top organizations, allowing us to analyse *a collective biography* of the top leaders in CSO's that focuses on patterns and regularities. Following from our theoretical perspective, such patterns are the result of the rules of the civil society field. Highly unlikely but as an illustration, if all top leaders are educated at an elite education institution, this help us derive that there is a rule-like structure in civil society that make 'elite education' a prerequisite of holding a top position. In other words, this way of understanding the 'rules of the field' looks at the outcomes of these rules. The material here consists of data on all presidents *and* directors of the selected top organizations, which will amount to approx. 100 president and director posts per country.

Thirdly, we need a qualitative material that let us watch the 'rules of the civil society field' in action. Here, we will be focusing on two types of text material. The first consist of job adverts for positions as directors in top organizations. The requirements and characteristics emphasized in these texts not only clarifies what the positions in question demand, but can also be seen as a (re-)production of ideals and norms of the civil society field. The second type of text material consists of public interviews and press releases after the appointment of a new president. We have found that it is quite common that CSO's take the opportunity to present newly appointed leaders, often emphasizing the experiences and knowledge of the new leader (which ties back to our theoretical idea of representation games). This is an excellent material to understand what top organizations want to convey that their leaders represent. Our ambition here is to gather as many press releases and job adverts as possible from the EU, Italy, Poland, Sweden, and the UK with focus on our selected top civil society organizations. Since it is possible that the rules of the civil society field are continuously changing, we will only look at material that date at a maximum ten years back.

Fourthly, we will conduct five case studies – one for each context included in the program – considered critical. Whilst the material of the survey, short-biographies and public announcements help us see patterns that witness of rules of the field and the qualitative text material help us see the operations of these rules in processes of recruitment and appointment, we still think that there are important insights of specific cases where these rules have been challenged or changed. In particular considering our theoretical focus on symbolic capital, misrecognition, and representation games. This material complements the above-mentioned

material by (a) being chosen by merit of their theoretical significance and (b) providing a deeper and more detailed knowledge of a small set of recruitment or appointment processes. In order to convey a sense of how these critical case studies may look, we have included the case description of a study of the appointment of the president of the Swedish disabled people's movement umbrella organization:

Case illustration: SWEDISH DISABILITY MOVEMENT:

The last three elections of the presidency of Funktionsrätt Sverige (the umbrella organization of the Swedish disability movement) have been highly contested and debated. The main question has been who legitimately can represent the interests of disabled people. Historically, Swedish disability organization have often been started and lead by parents and relatives, which is still common as concerns severe disabilities. However, in the 1980ies and onwards, a growing movement of self-advocates have challenged such organizations, united under the slogan 'nothing about us without us'. Obviously, the question of representation is central to the ethos of these organizations. The last three leaders of Funktionsrätt have been former politicians, which their supporters have motivated by their contacts in the political sphere and their competences in reaching out through mass media. The challengers advocating for self-advocates have argued that choosing leaders without lived experiences of disability communicates that disabled people are unable to speak for their own causes. This conflict played out again at the end of 2017, when the president of Funktionsrätt was forced to resign in the wake of accusations of sexual harassments. Although the media attention was focusing on the allegations, the internal debate came to revolve around representation. The new president, elected in 2018, was not a former politician, but a grass-roots activist that had started the first organizations of 'rare diagnose disabilities'. She is not herself disabled.

All three elections have been publically debated, where the self-advocates, challenging the tradition of electing former politicians, have been most vocal. There are a number of articles and interviews available online. In these debates, those defending non-disabled candidates are arguing that there are other grounds of representation, for example of commitment to the movement ethos or competence. In addition to this text material, we also have access to all former presidents of Funktionsrätt and several of the disabled candidates that lost the elections. It would also be possible to interview leaders of the organizations that nominated the candidates. Overall, this would make it possible for us to explore how questions of representation have been mobilized in the election of leaders of the most important Swedish disability movement actor.

Now, questions of representation and symbolic capital can of course play out in numerous other ways – representations games are not all the same. It is also clear that the above example is distinctively Swedish, for example with respect to the close ties between movement and political sphere, a high degree of organizational democracy, and the background of a corporatist history. This means that the other cases will need to be picked so that a sufficient degree of variation is provided for. The purpose of our critical cases is not to choose examples that we suggest are general, but that can give theoretical insights that are, precisely since the cases are different, as concerns where they have played out and how they have played out.

In summary, starting by delimiting ourselves to appointments and recruitments in top civil society organizations, we will work with three sets of materials in order to understand recruitment and appointment as examples of civil society upward mobility:

(1) **Short-biographies**, coming from survey and public data, that help us see patterns in career trajectories, which we see the results of the rules of the field

(2) **Text materials**, consisting of job adverts and press releases of recruitment and appointment, that specify the requirements of top civil society leaders and that reproduce norms and ideals of the fields.

(3) **Critical cases** of appointments and recruitments that are contested on the grounds of representation.

Theoretically, these materials are chosen to provide us with a sufficient degree of empirical width, covering all contexts of the program and spanning various sub-fields of civil society, whilst also providing us with qualitative insights that help us theorize the rules of the field – in particular with respect to symbolic capital and questions of representation. We also consider the use of social media, linked to Facebook or twitter as alternative data sources.

Training of Future Civil Society Leaders

Our second way to capture how people become part of civil society elite and what rules that shape patterns of upward mobility in the field of civil society resonates elite is through training. Education is a hallmark in elite studies and above all studies into elite schools and elite universities. Inspired by Bourdieu's field theory and his investigations into the French educational system, scholars have showed that education is a key site for elite reproduction (see Hartmann 2007 & 2010; Khan 2012b; Karabel 2005; van Zanten 2014). Bourdieu's basic argument here is that the elite craft education system to guarantee the persistence of their

dominant status. Education and above all so-called elite education are 'structuring mechanisms through which powerful groups seek to secure and advance their social and economic position (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016). Elite education creates certain tracks – career pathways – into elite positions with substantial effect on future career prospects and opportunities (Wakeling and Savage 2017).

Prestigious schools – such as Oxbridge, Eton, the ENS, and the Ivy League schools – are also places of socialisation, not primarily offering superior knowledge, but capital that allow graduates to enter into elite positions. Elite education form 'discontinuity out of continuity' (Bourdieu 1984, p. 6). van Zanten (xxx) describes elite education as a form of 'preparing for power' as individuals are cultivated into being an elite and a particular segment of society (Khan 2011). It is fair to say that elite education produce symbolic capital that gives students a social advantage. Khan propose the notion of privilege to address such advantage as elite universities provide a consecrating power that grants students status and recognition outside formal diploma (see also Holmqvist XX). Prestige is thus used to detect and analysed as a specific source of power that reproduce elite status (Kenway and Joh; Twine and Gardener 2013). Elite universities thus form part of the institutional setting that shapes societal elites, and forms of upward mobility into elite positions.

The role of elite education for people at top of orders in civil society is a question that requires extensive empirical study (which we partly can capture in the TSI survey). However, preparation for power in the field of civil society also takes shape through the internal training and education programs. Historically, civil society organizations have offered internal education, often focusing on organizational democracy, the issue area in question, and specific competences needed. In recent years we find an upsurge in leadership programs directed towards civil society leaders, either as part of leadership training in general (for public, private and civil society sectors) or only directed at civil society leaders.

Throughout autumn 2018 we made a review of existing leadership programs in three contexts (UK, EU and Sweden) and identified almost 100 leadership programs (see Appendix for selection). British and Swedish programs are often runt by umbrella organizations, foundations attached to different NGOs or organizations tied to government institutions. In the UK, programs are run by private companies or universities. A majority of international programs have connection to EU or the UN, with a clear European focus or with international development as main aims. Training programs tend to range from a few days, to yearlong programs. Many of them focus on individual competence (professional skills), but a substantial part target leadership qualities where being the 'good civil society leader' is the

main aim. Several have a clear focus on young leaders. We have not conducted reviews in Polish or Italian contexts, and it is of course interesting to address whether this is a trend present only in certain national contexts.

We can assume that some of these leadership programs can provide participants with prestige and recognition that forms an advantage and greater opportunities of upward mobility in the field of civil society, but also that these programs form important part in the status and recognition promotion of those offering the programs. Our ambition is not to study the effect of these programs, but the production of civil society leadership. Our investigation is guided by the following questions: What are the preferred leadership styles, norms and values conveyed in programs. What distinctions between public, private and civil society leadership are marked, expressing a particular types and contents of civil society leadership? What similarities and differences can be identified across national contexts and how could they be explained? This sub study thus seeks understand the rules of the civil society field that conditions upward mobility into the civil society elite by focusing on which norms about what a leader needs, which characteristics are seen as necessary, and what ideas of the successful civil society leader are conveyed. We are thus interested in civil society training programs as places where actual upward mobility takes place – although we might certainly be able to make empirical observations of it – but as a site that can help us understand rules of upward mobility.

Our focus is primarily on the training of a) young leaders and future leaders since these primarily aim towards building upward mobility in the field. We furthermore aim to study b) leadership programs that focus on civil society leaders (quality and personality) rather than leaders' competences (skills and expertise), and c) seem to be more prestigious than others (e.g. through arranging actor). At this point, our study of education programs focuses primarily on three contexts – EU, Sweden, and England, yet with the ambition of including cases from Poland and/or Italy.

Examples in a UK context that fall into the framework of our interests are *Charity Leadership in the 2020s* (run by NCVO), the *Emerging Leaders Programme* (ACEVO) and *Emerging Leader Program* (run by the Clore Duffield Foundation). Examples of programs in Sweden are *Ung med Makt* (run by Ideell Arena), Värdebaserat Ledarskap (run by Scouterna) but there is less focus Young leaders in a Swedish context. There exist a range of programs at EU/European level, but few of them have an explicit focus on Future leaders in civil society, and most tend to include a combination of leadership from different sectors. While we have not completely decided on design, plausible training programs are *40 under 40 – European*

Young Leaders (run by two thinks tanks, Europa Nova and Friends of Europe), *Young Leaders Sustainable Development Goals* (run by the UN). Each of these includes young leaders from different sectors, while the latter has a clear focus on social change and often includes activists, founders of civil society organisations and so on. Our data will primarily consist of interviews with representatives of the programs, to be complemented with descriptions and marketing materials of the programs.

Civil society prizes – consecration of elites

We consider prizes as a key element in the production and reproduction of civil society elite status. They consecrate certain actors, creates "discontinuity out of continuity" (Bourdieu 1984:6) and functions as a 'social magic' with the effect of separation between different entities as they establish some as winners and others as losers (Childress et al. 2017:48). Over the second part of the 20th century there has been an enormous increase in the number of prizes (see Gale's standard reference work *Awards, Honors, and Prizes*) and a new prize installed every sixth hour (English 2005:20). Prizes seem to be both more numerous as well as serving central functions in weakly institutionalized spheres, i.e. where authority is less shaped by legal or professional rules and more by recognition, status and prestige (Sapiro 2016). Sports, culture, arts, academia and media have a long tradition of prizes and awards and often the Nobel Prize is seen as the starting point for modern awards, and others gravitating in relation to such an award, building admiring or antagonistic relation (English 2005; Inglis 2018). Since the turn of the Millennium, we find an upsurge in prizes and awards directed towards civil society actors. Either as a form of mutual recognition among civil society actors themselves. Alternatively, as states, companies and international organizations reward certain civil society actors – individual or collective – for their achievements. The status of civil society prizes tend to depend upon the status of the prize (who awards) and previous laureates (who receives). Prizes thus constitute an avenue for actors to accumulate resources, build status and recognition, and a central or even dominant position in relation to others.

We aim to investigate rules of symbolic capital production in civil society prizes and their consecrating effect. Although we find extensive studies into prizes in general (e.g. Frey & Neckermann 2008), limited interest have this far been paid into civil society prizes and their 'elevating effects'. We know little about who receives, on what grounds and with what significance for their status in relation to others. Of interest is to analyse the role of prizes for

civil society elite status, and to what extent prizes fill similar functions as in other societal spheres.

Precious studies show that prizes tend to have a 'Matthew effect' (Merton 1968, 1988; Zuckerman 1977), i.e. those already elevated gain more traction and become even more elevated. (Merton 1968, 1988) and consecration is the final stage in a process of cumulative recognition as one become elevated to 'another level' (Allen and Parsons (2006). Studies tend to address *what* is rewarded, the determinants for certain objects to be rewarded, e.g. the shaping of 'good literature' or 'outstanding academic achievement' (see for instance Childress et al. 2017, Berry 1981, Zuckerman 1977, Volz & Lee 2012). Studies tend to address *who* is rewarded as in terms of (re-)production of existing status groups, and/or the shaping of future career trajectories (see for instance Lincoln 2007; Rossman et al 2014; Inglis 2018:316). Others have addressed the structure of different prizes – status and degree of exclusivity of different prizes (Jiang & Liu 2018).

We also find studies that investigate the 'field effects of prizes' as they 'order the field' through installing status positions. Prizes tend to become legitimizing institutions as they reward not only recipients, but also shape *givers*, *nominees* and *audiences*. Prizes configure create space for increased interaction, organize field participants around common interests, reiterate and confirm hierarchical structures, and allow for capital transformation (Anand & Jones 2008, English 2005). Prizes also mark a field's legitimacy and its boundaries (Anand and Watson 2004; Pallas et al. 2016). Boli (2006) argues that prizes, awards and ceremonies build moral communities with shared beliefs, common identity and shared networks, for instance with regard to "the global moral cultural field" (Inglis 2018:305) made up of individuals and voluntary groups such as Amnesty and the Red Cross.

Throughout 2018, we have reviewed civil society prizes in three respective contexts/countries (England, Sweden and the EU/Global). We have limited knowledge on civil society prizes in Italy and Poland. We have identified 31 prizes in a Swedish context (to individuals or organizations). These are generally oriented towards issues of human rights, youth participation, gender equality and work against racism, with a particular focus on gender equality and diversity issues. Prizes are often motivated as recognizing a particular initiative (e.g. refugees welcome initiative) rather than a person. We have found 24 prizes in a British context, covering a broader range of issues than found in Sweden, ranging from initiatives to homeless, raising awareness on diseases, functional impartment, children's ability to read in additional to gender equality and youth participation. These are also to greater extent connected to charity events and galas. In a EU/international context we have identified 28

prizes directed at more than one country, a small part (7) are especially focusing on 'developing countries' whereas others to large extent cover a broad range of issues such as peace, human rights, democracy, sustainably development and environment. Here we often find combinations of renowned NGOs side by side with key political leaders. See appendix for list of identified prizes.

Our strategic selection of aims for selecting prestigious prizes (with public recognition and lasting existence in the field), with different geographical reach, issue orientation, and to/from civil society and orientation towards awarding activists or philanthropy. We have identified four prizes that are among the 'most' consecrating in terms of exclusivity, prestige and recognition: The *Right Livelihood Award* holds its base in Sweden, presents itself as the 'Alternative Nobel Prize'. Since its start in 1980 it aims to '…honour and support courageous people and organisations that have found practical solutions to the root causes of global problems'. It covers topics like Human Rights, Youth and Education, Environment, Culture and Spirituality, Sustainable Development, Peace, Democracy and Law, Health & Nutrition and Science & Technologies, and often awards activists, movement leaders and NGO leaders working in these domains. The *Civil Society Prize* was founded by the European Economic and Social Committee in 2006 and aims to '… reward and encourage tangible achievements and initiatives by civil society organisations and/or individuals at all levels, European, national, regional and local, that significantly contribute to promoting European identity and integration'. In a UK context, we consider the *Beacon Award* of special interest through its particular focus on rewarding philanthropy. The *Champions of the Earth* Prize founded by UN Environment in 2005, '… awarding award celebrates outstanding figures from the public and private sectors and from civil society whose actions have had a transformative, positive impact on the environment' where key political figures (like E. Macron) *and* activists get awarded. These differ, but are institutionalized, in terms of recognized and with extensive media coverage.

We plan to conduct a small section of interviews with organizers behind these prizes and analyse public documentation in terms of public prize announcements, press interviews with laureates and so on. We plan to make a collective biographical study of prize receivers using public records (Wikipedia, Who is Who, LinkedIn and similar) to identify the (re-)production of status groups. Through public interviews with laureates we aim to capture the 'elevating effects of civil society prizes. Additionally, one could consider online social media sources – e.g. Facebook and Twitter accounts of both prize givers/awardees as additional data for analyses.

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