HEC MONTRÉAL
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Repoliticizing Political CSR: Business–government–civil society relations in times of division

par
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Résumé

En cohérence avec ce qui constitue le cœur de la recherche en responsabilité sociale des entreprises (RSE), cette thèse porte sur l'intersection entre l'entreprise et le reste de la société. Plus précisément, elle explore les rapports dynamiques de pouvoir entre entreprises, gouvernement et société civile afin d'expliquer la construction de la RSE dans le temps. Pour cela, elle s'appuie sur la littérature en RSE politique dont la contribution centrale est de mettre au jour le brouillage des frontières entre sphères publique (politique) et privée (économique) et ses conséquences sur la redéfinition du rôle des entreprises dans la société. Si le brouillage des frontières entre les sphères publique et privée est un apport important à la littérature en RSE, il est insuffisant pour rendre compte des divisions qui traversent la plupart des sociétés contemporaines et qui s'accompagnent d'une marginalisation de groupes qui n'ont accès à aucune des deux sphères. Dans ces circonstances, la RSE mise en œuvre par les entreprises se retrouve à exclure *de facto* certaines parties prenantes qui, bien qu'invisibles et silencieuses l'essentiel du temps, peuvent exprimer bruyamment leurs griefs à l'occasion de crises très difficilement prévisibles. Au-delà de ce constat, la présente recherche s'attache à théoriser la façon dont des groupes marginalisés de la société résistent aux initiatives de RSE sous des formes inusitées et jusqu'ici négligées par la littérature.

Cette thèse est composée d'un chapitre méthodologique et de trois articles. Les deux premiers articles sont de nature empirique et s'appuient sur le cas du Centre Spatial Guyanais pour montrer l'évolution dans le temps des relations entre entreprises, gouvernement et société civile à l'échelle locale. Alors que le premier article met au jour le rôle d'empêchement que peut jouer le gouvernement dans l'émergence de la RSE, le second article se concentre sur les formes de résistance d'une société civile marginalisée qui puise dans la créolisation – sa façon d'être et de penser le monde – les ressorts de son agence. Finalement, le dernier article est de nature conceptuelle; à la faveur d'une démarche inductive, il repose cependant sur les enseignements tirés du travail empirique réalisé. Il propose une reconceptualisation de la RSE politique sur la base d'une

perspective créolisée qui théorise une sphère subalterne au sein de laquelle est possible l'émancipation de la société civile marginalisée.

Mots clés : activité spatiale; communautés locales; créolisation; inclusion; intersectionnalité; relations entreprises–gouvernement–société civile; résistance; RSE politique; subalternité.

Méthodes de recherche : approche abductive; étude de cas; recherche qualitative longitudinale; recherche qualitative.

Abstract

Consistent with what constitutes the heart of the field of corporate social responsibility (CSR), this dissertation focuses on the intersection between business and society. More specifically, it delves into the dynamics of power relations between business, government and civil society to illuminate the construction of CSR over time. To achieve this, it draws from the literature on political CSR whose central contribution is to expose the blurring of boundaries between public (political) and private (economic) spheres and its consequences for the redefinition of the role of business in society. If the blurring of boundaries between the public and private spheres is an important contribution to the CSR literature, it is insufficient to account for the divisions that permeate most contemporary societies and that come with the marginalization of groups that do not have access to neither sphere. In these circumstances, CSR excludes *de facto* some stakeholders who, although invisible and silent most of the time, can loudly express their grievances during crises that are hardly predictable. Beyond this observation, this research seeks to theorize how marginalized groups of society resist CSR initiatives in unusual ways that have so far been overlooked in the literature.

This dissertation is composed of a methodological chapter and three academic articles. The first two articles are empirical and rely on the case study of the Guiana Space Center to show the evolution of relations between business, government and civil society over time, at the local level. While the first article unveils the role of government in impeding the emergence of CSR, the second article focuses on the forms of resistance of a marginalized civil society that draws from creolization—its way of being and knowing—to express its agency. Finally, the last article is a conceptual piece; nonetheless it builds inductively on the lessons learned from the empirical work undertaken. It proposes a reconceptualization of political CSR based on a creolized perspective that theorizes a subaltern sphere within which the emancipation of a marginalized civil society takes place.

Keywords : business–government–civil society relations; creolization; inclusion; intersectionality; local communities; political CSR; resistance; space industry; subalterness.

Research methods: abductive approach; case study; longitudinal research; qualitative methods

Note à la lectrice / Note to the reader

FRANÇAIS

Cette thèse est principalement composée d'un chapitre méthodologique et de trois articles académiques, tous rédigés en anglais. Cependant, en conformité avec les directives du programme de doctorat de HEC Montréal, une institution francophone, toutes les autres sections de la thèse – l'introduction et la conclusion générales, ainsi que les remerciements et l'avant-propos – sont écrites en français.

ENGLISH

The core of this dissertation is composed of a methodological chapter and three academic articles which are all written in English. However, in conformity with the guidelines of the PhD program at HEC Montréal, a francophone institution, all the other sections of the thesis — the general introduction and general conclusion, as well as the acknowledgements and the foreword — are written in French.

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Liste des abréviations / List of acronyms

Français

CNES	Centre National d'Études Spatiales
CSG	Centre Spatial Guyanais
INSEE	Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques
RSE	Responsabilité Sociale des Entreprises
PHEDRE	Partenariat HErmès de Développement Régional

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English

CNES	French national center for space studies
CSG	Guiana Space Center
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
INSEE	French national institute for statistics and economic studies
PCSR	Political Corporate Social Responsibility
PHEDRE	Hermès partnership for regional development

Liste des articles de la thèse

1. ARTICLE EMPIRIQUE

Enacting Political CSR Locally: Business–Government–Local Community Relations in the European Space Industry

Delannon, Nolywé & Raufflet, Emmanuel

2. ARTICLE EMPIRIQUE

Creolization as invisible resistance to corporate social responsibility: The contested field of the past at the Guiana Space Center*

Delannon, Nolywé & Raufflet, Emmanuel

*Best Paper Award. Academy of Management 2017 conference (SIM division)

3. ARTICLE CONCEPTUEL

Business, society and subalterness: Revisiting political CSR from a Creolized perspective

Delannon, Nolywé

Contribution de l'auteure de la thèse

Idée de recherche, collecte et analyse des données, revue de la littérature et rédaction.

A mes parents, pour l'inspiration que leurs engagements m'ont insufflée et pour la confiance inébranlable qu'ils ont placée en moi.

***

The whole world is becoming an archipelago and becoming creolized

Édouard Glissant (2002: 290)

The backlash against globalisation points to a glaring underlying weakness of management theory: its naivety about politics

The Economist, 2016

Remerciements

Alors que s'achève cette aventure doctorale, je ne peux m'empêcher de me remémorer l'adage certainement le plus connu du monde académique selon lequel « une bonne thèse est une thèse terminée ». Je reconnais n'avoir pleinement saisi la sagesse et la justesse de cet aphorisme qu'en fin de processus, en consentant enfin à assumer les imperfections de ma thèse et, surtout, en admettant avec sérénité que cette étape marquerait le vrai début de ma vie de chercheure. La route aura été longue et le chemin parfois cahoteux, mais je n'ai pas l'ombre d'un regret d'avoir emprunté des sentiers parfois incertains, car je sais être enfin parvenue à trouver ma voix, à l'exprimer de manière affirmée et à en défendre la singularité. Il est vrai qu'en m'engageant dans cette aventure doctorale, j'étais loin de m'imaginer combien je grandirais intellectuellement et humainement. J'étais surtout loin de me douter qu'il s'agirait d'un cheminement aussi solitaire que collaboratif au cours duquel tant de personnes feraient une différence par leurs conseils, leur soutien ou leur force d'inspiration. Aussi, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un exercice convenu, j'ai pris un très grand plaisir à rédiger mes remerciements, qui font office de restitution tardive du sentiment de profonde gratitude que je nourris en moi depuis plusieurs années maintenant.

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en m'enseignant un séminaire où j'ai découvert des auteurs dont la pensée lumineuse me sert encore de guide. Sa rigueur, son souci de pousser ses étudiants au dépassement de soi et sa faculté de bousculer avec bienveillance et générosité l'ont rendu précieux à mes yeux. Jean-Pascal Gond a pour sa part été un modèle dont l'impact sur ma formation n'aura cessé de grandir. Admirative devant son érudition et l'agilité intellectuelle avec laquelle il contribue aux débats théoriques en responsabilité sociale des entreprises, cela a été un plaisir chaque année renouvelé de le retrouver en conférence académique. Je lui suis particulièrement reconnaissante pour sa très grande disponibilité à mon égard et pour le soutien remarquable qu'il m'a apporté dans mon insertion dans le monde académique.

Outre les membres de mon comité, plusieurs professeurs de HEC Montréal ont eu une place particulière dans ma trajectoire en me prodiguant des conseils qui continuent à m'éclairer. Luciano Barin Cruz m'a très tôt marquée par sa philosophie d'enseignement, son dynamisme et son souci de donner une visibilité plus grande aux pays en développement dans le champ du management. C'est lui qui m'a offert ma première occasion d'enseigner et en fin de parcours j'ai bénéficié de ses généreux conseils dans ma recherche de poste de professeure. Linda Rouleau et Taïeb Hafsi m'ont quant à eux initiée aux fondements des théories des organisations à travers un enseignement stimulant et une invitation constante au dialogue. En s'enquérant régulièrement de l'avancée de mes travaux, ils ont, chacun à leur façon, contribué à la maturation de ma recherche. Isabelle Lebreton-Miller m'a pour sa part offert de belles occasions d'affiner mes travaux. Enfin, je remercie Judy Muthuri d'avoir accepté d'être mon examinatrice externe. En toute fin de parcours, elle m'aura permis d'entrevoir de nouvelles pistes de recherche.

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Thomas Beschorner et Matthias Schmidt, a quant à elle été un espace stimulant pour faire progresser ma recherche entourée de collègues internationaux que je suis toujours ravie de retrouver en conférence académique. Par leur généreux financement, le FRQSC m'a permis de réaliser ma thèse dans des conditions matérielles confortables tandis que le CRISES a rendu possible ma première collecte de données en Guyane. Enfin, parce qu'ils ont cru en moi, mes collègues de la Faculté des sciences de l'administration de l'Université Laval m'ont permis de terminer ma thèse avec la sérénité que procure le fait de savoir que l'on est arrivé.e à bon port. Je salue particulièrement Josée Audet, Margaret Schomaker, Luc Brès, Luc Audebrand, Paule Duscheneau et Pierre-Sébastien Fournier.

Cette recherche n'aurait jamais été possible sans le concours des nombreuses personnes qui ont accepté de m'accorder leur confiance et leur temps, aussi je veux prendre le temps de les remercier. Au Centre Spatial Guyanais (CSG), organisation sur laquelle ma recherche s'est concentrée, j'ai bénéficié de l'ouverture complète du directeur de l'époque à mes travaux, ce qui m'a non seulement permis de réaliser une diversité d'entrevues d'une grande richesse mais également d'accéder aux archives denses qui y sont conservées. L'archiviste du CSG, passionnée et généreuse, aura d'ailleurs été d'une aide précieuse pour mes recherches. En dehors du CSG, j'ai pu compter sur l'inestimable contribution de nombreuses personnes qui ont consenti à m'accorder une entrevue et à me confier des bribes de leur expérience, de leur parcours et de leurs réflexions. Leurs témoignages m'ont ouvert les yeux sur des pans de l'histoire de l'activité spatiale en Guyane que j'ignorais. Ces personnes ont rendu cette thèse possible et palpitante.

Finalement, j'ai une forte pensée pour ma famille et mes ami.e.s proches qui, tout au long des années que cette thèse a durées, ont gardé confiance en moi. Pour mes parents en particulier, qui ont toujours été ma plus grande source d'inspiration en raison des sacrifices qu'ils ont faits parce qu'ils n'ont cessé de croire en la Guyane et en l'émancipation de son peuple constamment réinventé. Pour mes frères et ma sœur qui, par l'affection et les encouragements dont ils m'ont gratifiée, m'ont aidée à maintenir le cap. Pour mon fiancé Haroun enfin, lui qui a su trouver les mots justes pour me rassurer et me redonner la force de poursuivre quand je traversais des moments difficiles. Ce que je lis dans son regard est ma plus belle source de motivation.

Avant-propos

Le point de départ de cette thèse est un puzzle empirique, celui de la trajectoire de l'activité spatiale européenne implantée en Guyane, ancienne colonie française située en Amérique du Sud devenue département français en 1946. Alors que le regard extérieur est fasciné par cette activité économique de pointe, à l'intérieur de la Guyane il en tout autrement. Il faut dire que l'activité spatiale s'est implantée en 1964 en laissant de profonds stigmates dans la mémoire collective guyanaise (Granger, 2010; Lexio's, 2003; Taubira-Delannon, 1989) et que, en dépit de ses nombreuses initiatives de responsabilité sociale, elle est depuis largement rejetée. Mais ce rejet s'exerce dans ce qui, du point de vue extérieur, s'apparente à un silence collectif. Après tout, comme le clame le poète guyanais Elie Stéphenson (1975, p. 34),

« le silence est notre carbet

le refus notre hamac

notre refuge »

Ainsi, à l'image des contextes créoles qui évoluent dans une grande opacité au regard extérieur, la société guyanaise se distingue par une forte « résistance à l'investigation » (Glissant, 1997, p. 227) et par le silence qui y prévaut. En réalité, l'activité spatiale symbolise à elle seule le paradoxe guyanais (Chevrier, 2000) : terre aux considérables ressources forestière, minière, halieutique et de biodiversité et d'immense pauvreté tout à la fois; terrain d'expérimentation de la mise au ban de populations entières sous l'ère coloniale (Spieler, 2012) et de la conquête de l'espace en contexte postcolonial (Redfield, 2000); territoire au potentiel infini mais au destin jamais accompli (Damas, 1938). François Mitterrand, emblématique président de la V^{ème} République française, n'avait-il pas, en foulant le sol guyanais en 1985, demandé avec gravité « Comment pouvons-nous continuer à lancer des fusées sur fond de bidonvilles? » (Roger, 2017). Nombre d'observateurs de passage ont souligné dans leurs écrits l'intensité de ce paradoxe guyanais (voir Lowenthal, 1952, 1960; Redfield, 2000, 2002; Schwarzbeck, 1983). Mais qu'importe, l'heure est à la restitution – réhabilitation ? – des voix de

l'intérieur, de la parole de celles et ceux qui vivent pleinement dans l'oralité, sans laisser leur empreinte dans les archives et les artefacts accessibles aux historiens. En s'intéressant aux figures de « héros anonymes, qui ont mené une résistance toute en détours et en patiences, [il s'agit] bien de *montrer ce qui, au travers d'elles, témoigne à la fois de la Créolité et de l'humaine condition* » (Bernabé et al., 1993[1989], p. 40). Plus précisément, l'intention derrière cette recherche est de mettre en relation deux types de parole, l'une caractérisée par l'oralité et la mémoire vive, l'autre par le scriptural et l'histoire qui se veut factuelle. Ce qui est en jeu, c'est la mise au jour des difficultés persistantes de dialogue entre une organisation et la communauté locale dans laquelle elle est durablement implantée. Pour parvenir à agir comme révélateur de ces difficultés, la recherche menée assume l'ambivalence que procure le double statut d'enfant de l'intérieur/chercheure de l'extérieur, qui se traduit par une double posture emic/etic (Morey & Luthans, 1984). Une telle ambivalence a été essentielle pour obtenir un accès au terrain dans ses différentes composantes et pour déchiffrer ce qui serait certainement demeuré hermétique au regard du profane.

A propos de cette ambivalence assumée, quelques considérations supplémentaires doivent être explicitées. Car le fait d'avoir un certain rapport de familiarité avec l'activité spatiale, en raison de la place importante qu'elle occupe dans la mémoire collective guyanaise, a constitué à la fois un obstacle à surmonter et une opportunité d'appréhender avec davantage d'acuité la richesse de ce contexte. Le principal obstacle à surmonter résultait d'une perception initiale très critique de cette activité et des inévitables *a priori* qui en découlaient et qu'il convenait de déconstruire pour rendre justice à la complexité du phénomène étudié. Afin de vaincre cette difficulté, la stratégie adoptée a été de cultiver délibérément une ouverture à la surprise et au doute, en quête d'anomalies (Locke, Golden-Biddle & Feldman, 2008), bref de « rendre le familier étrange » (Spindler & Spindler, 1982 cité dans Suddaby, 2006). La découverte de nombreuses initiatives de responsabilité sociale et de tentatives de réconciliation aura permis de faire apparaître les nuances de l'insertion de l'activité spatiale dans le contexte guyanais. Mais si la familiarité avec le contexte a été génératrice de difficultés, elle a aussi permis d'accéder à une compréhension plus fine de la richesse du phénomène exploré. Car avec la pleine conscience des attentes et croyances nourries sur ce phénomène, je disposais d'un point

de départ crucial pour effectuer une comparaison entre mon expérience de terrain et ma compréhension antérieure des choses. En référence à Weick (2007, p. 17), mes attentes et croyances antérieures ont fait office de carte postale permettant de révéler des choses qui auraient pu, sans cela, passer inaperçues.

Aussi, cette recherche a été réalisée en s'extirpant de ce que Miller (2007) qualifie de prisons paradigmatiques, en référence aux contraintes que constitue l'injonction à inscrire *a priori* toute recherche dans un paradigme clair en vue d'y apporter une contribution théorique. La première phase de travail de terrain s'est donc faite sans idée précise de ce qui méritait d'être compris puis théorisé, avec pour seule boussole la conviction intime que le contexte choisi était à la fois singulier, riche et porteur d'enseignements pour le monde contemporain des organisations. Après tout, il est tout à fait légitime d'initier une recherche parce qu'un phénomène empirique apparaît intéressant, intrigant ou interpelle celle ou celui qui l'initie (Barley, 1990; Kilduff, 2006).

La recherche menée s'inscrit dans une ontologie interprétativiste selon laquelle il n'existe pas de réalité sociale en dehors du vécu qu'en ont les individus et groupes sociaux (Burrell et Morgan, 1979; Giddens, 1984). Plus précisément, cette recherche adopte une épistémologie socioconstructiviste qui repose sur l'idée que « la « réalité est socialement construite » (Berger et Luckmann, 1967, p. 13) et que pour comprendre les phénomènes sociaux il convient de mettre au jour les processus par lesquels une telle réalité se construit dans le temps. Ainsi, en raison de la posture épistémologique adoptée, une attention constante a été accordée à la lecture du monde social qu'en avaient les personnes et groupes étudiés, qui ont été systématiquement considérés comme des sujets connaissants (Gioia, Corley et Hamilton, 2013). En effet, contrairement aux sciences naturelles, les sciences sociales ont cette particularité qu'elles ont pour objet d'étude des phénomènes qui d'une part influencent et d'autre part sont influencés par les théories produites; en d'autres termes, les sciences sociales portent sur des individus réflexifs et agissants, répondant ainsi aux principes d'une « double herméneutique » (Giddens, 1984). Cette double herméneutique, qui implique que les théories issues des sciences sociales ont le potentiel de transformer la réalité sur laquelle elles portent (Marti et Gond, 2017), s'accompagne d'une responsabilité éthique accrue pour la recherche menée en sciences

sociales (Ferraro, Pfeffer et Sutton, 2005; Marti et Scherer, 2016). Une telle responsabilité est d'autant plus prégnante dans le cas des chercheur.e.s en management. En effet, les théories du management portent sur et influencent la pratique de gestionnaires (Ghoshal, 2005) qui sont omniprésent.e.s dans quasiment toutes les sphères des sociétés contemporaines du fait de la prééminence de l'entreprise comme institution sociale et de l'impact majeur du monde des affaires sur les politiques publiques (Chomsky et Reynolds, 2016, p. 108; Lindblom, 1977; Schlusberg, 1969). On peut penser, à titre d'illustration, à la récente fronde des dirigeants de grandes entreprises qui siégeaient sur les conseils d'affaires de la présidence des États-Unis et qui ont démissionné en réaction aux propos du président Trump suite à l'attaque de Charlottesville ayant causé la mort d'une militante antiraciste (Bykowicz et Lemire, 2017; Gelles, Thomas et al. 2017; Mukherjee, 2017). Bien que tardive (Gelles, 2017; Rushe et Gabbatt, 2017), cette fronde permet de mettre en évidence la responsabilité sociale sous pression des dirigeants d'entreprises et la difficulté pour le monde des affaires de détourner le regard des soubresauts du monde politique.

En somme, cette thèse est le fruit d'une quête de réponses à des questionnements persistants sur un contexte à la fois familier et mystérieux. Parmi eux, celui de savoir comment une société au sein de laquelle s'exprime une profonde insatisfaction quant à la conduite de l'activité économique phare de son territoire peut néanmoins la laisser prospérer sans fracas. La quête de réponses s'est faite avec le souhait d'apporter un éclairage nouveau sur la situation et sur son évolution dans le temps, de sorte qu'une amélioration substantielle des pratiques devienne possible. Cette recherche a ainsi été une aventure intellectuelle, à l'instar de toute thèse, mais également Politique dans la mesure où elle est issue d'une aspiration à faire œuvre utile pour informer l'action et rendre possible le changement. Plus largement, la démarche de recherche adoptée a été fortement inspirée par l'appel à la responsabilité des intellectuel.le.s formulé par Noam Chomsky. Dans un discours prononcé à l'université de Harvard en pleine guerre froide, l'éminent linguiste exhortait les intellectuel.le.s à faire usage de leur espace de liberté et de leurs privilèges pour prendre la parole et participer au débat public :

> « *Les intellectuels sont en mesure de mettre en lumière les errements des gouvernements, d'analyser les actions en fonction de leurs causes, des*

motivations et des intentions souvent cachées qui les sous-tendent. Dans le monde occidental, tout au moins, ils jouissent du pouvoir qui découle de la liberté politique, de l'accès à l'information et de la liberté d'expression. »
(Chomsky, 1967, p. 1 [trad. libre])

Si les périls qui guettent le monde contemporain peuvent paraître de petite envergure en comparaison avec ceux de la guerre froide, il demeure que des soubresauts font régulièrement vaciller le sentiment de stabilité qui prévaut dans les sociétés occidentales. Or, les intellectuels occupant encore une position privilégiée dans ces sociétés, cela s'accompagne de la responsabilité de faire une différence à travers leurs travaux et prises de parole (Chomsky et Reynolds, 2016). Si l'on pense à la croissance des inégalités de revenus (Piketty, 2014, 2015), aux changements climatiques (The Economist, 2017) ou encore au sentiment d'exclusion qui nourrit les figures et mouvements populistes (Heinrich, 2017, Zingales et Stephenson, 2017), ce sont autant de défis sociétaux pressants dont la résolution passe notamment par une implication du monde des affaires; cela induit que les chercheur.e.s en management ont un rôle particulier à jouer pour comprendre, critiquer et surtout transformer le monde qu'ils se donnent pour mandat d'investiguer (Marti et Scherer, 2016; Spicer, Alvesson et Kärreman, 2009).

Pour terminer, il convient de souligner que la réflexion initiée par cette thèse aura été une étape décisive dans la prise de conscience et l'affirmation de ma posture de chercheure engagée. Dans mes moments de doute sur la légitimité de chercher à allier passion pour la recherche et désir d'engagement politique, mes sources d'inspiration auront notamment été Angela Davis, Anthony Giddens et Pierre Bourdieu. Surtout, en cheminant, les conseils avisés que j'ai reçus de mon directeur de thèse et des membres de mon comité m'auront permis de développer des mécanismes précieux pour préserver mon devoir de neutralité axiologique (Weber, 1963[1919]). A l'issue de cette aventure doctorale durant laquelle j'ai été animée par la passion et le désir de comprendre, je ne peux que faire l'aveu de ma maîtrise encore partielle d'une histoire d'une grande complexité. Ma modeste contribution à rendre cette histoire intelligible m'aura apporté un enseignement qui me restera pour toujours, à savoir le devoir d'humilité de la chercheure face à son sujet.

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Le paradoxe guyanais en citations

Afin d'illustrer certaines des affirmations contenues dans l'avant-propos, cette courte section présente une sélection de citations tirées d'une diversité de publications, en français et en anglais.

« *Mais maintenant que le bagne n'est plus qu'un lointain souvenir, c'est autour de la base spatiale que se construit le nouvel imaginaire de la Guyane. Et pourtant, Kourou, symbole flamboyant d'une technologie de pointe, ne fait que rendre encore plus visible et flagrante la situation chaotique de ce territoire* ». **Chevrier, 2000.**

« *Pour [les universitaires], la Guyane est une impasse littérale [...] ou métaphorique symbolique : à l'image de son maquis tropical, elle est impénétrable, inaccessible au chercheur* ». **Martin et Favre, 2002, p. 10.**

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"*The northeast corner of South America, where a vast array of trees meets a slow and placid quadrant of the Atlantic provides a field of high contrast for envisioning future and past while building the present*". **Redfield, 2000, p. xiv.**

"*In opposition to the space centre's rhetorical focus on adventure and its practice of state ambition coupled with international commerce, political focus within French Guiana returns repeatedly to a master theme of development, and a re-localized frame of colonial obligation and dependence*". **Redfield, 2002, p. 792.**

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Introduction générale

Cette thèse porte sur la façon dont les relations entreprises–gouvernement–société civile se construisent autour d'enjeux de responsabilité sociale des entreprises (RSE) et se transforment au fil du temps à mesure que les rapports de force évoluent. Alors que l'étude de l'interface entre l'entreprise et le reste de la société est au cœur des travaux en RSE depuis leurs débuts, un tournant politique a permis d'initier une réflexion sur certains postulats du champ tels que la division du travail entre entreprises et gouvernement, entre sphère économique (privée) et sphère politique (publique). Cette thèse s'inscrit dans cette littérature sur la RSE politique et a pour contribution générale d'y apporter une perspective créolisée permettant de théoriser l'asymétrie des rapports entreprises–gouvernement–société civile et de mettre au jour les formes de résistance difficilement lisibles qu'adoptent les acteurs de la société civile marginalisée.

Un processus de recherche abductif

Le point de départ de cette recherche est un phénomène intrigant, une sorte de mystère à élucider par un processus de recherche engagée (Van de Ven, 2007). En se fondant sur la façon dont Weber a décrit la démarche du savant, le choix a été fait de se laisser porter par la passion et l'inspiration, en « compt[ant] avec le hasard sous-jacent à tout travail scientifique » (Weber, 1919, p. 11). C'est dans cet esprit qu'une démarche abductive tirée des travaux de Pierce (1995/1903) a été adoptée. Conçue comme une « méthode de découverte de nouvelles idées plutôt que comme un mode d'argumentation » (Burks, 1946, p. 302), l'approche abductive s'est avérée la plus propice au cheminement de recherche souhaité, en permettant de théoriser progressivement à travers un processus de va-et-vient entre les découvertes du terrain et la littérature existante. En effet, "l'abduction accorde la primauté au monde empirique, mais au service de la théorisation" (Van Maanen, Sørensen et Mitchell, 2007, p. 1149). Ainsi, la recherche menée s'est construite autour des interrogations, des surprises, du doute et de la recherche de réponses théoriques par la formulation de suppositions génératrices de nouvelles pistes d'investigation (Locke,

Golden-Biddle et Feldman, 2008). Pour opérationnaliser cela, il a fallu se reposer sur deux logiques centrales que sont d'une part la comparaison régulière durant le processus de collecte de données, et d'autre part l'évolution de l'échantillonnage à mesure que les données précédentes apportaient de nouveaux éclairages (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Suddaby, 2006).

Présenté succinctement, le mystère à élucider avait trait aux relations entre le Centre Spatial Guyanais (CSG), une organisation emblématique de son territoire d'implantation, et les communautés locales qui s'y trouvent. Le CSG est qualifié d'emblématique des points de vue politique, économique et symbolique. Ostensiblement rejeté par les acteurs locaux lors de sa création en 1964 (voir Héder, 1964a, 1964b; Kramer, 2003), il est toutefois parvenu à maintenir ses activités au fil des décennies sans faire l'objet de crise majeure, alors que l'insatisfaction de nombre d'acteurs locaux est demeurée une constante. L'interrogation qui en a découlé a été de se demander pourquoi cette insatisfaction généralisée ne donnait pas lieu à des mobilisations de grande ampleur ou à des formes de résistance ouverte. Ainsi, le travail de terrain mené entre 2012 et 2014 a consisté à recueillir des données permettant de comprendre comment se construisaient les relations entre le CSG et les communautés locales dans un contexte de rejet silencieux. Il convient cependant de souligner qu'en mars 2017, après la fin de la collecte et de l'analyse des données, un mouvement social d'une ampleur sans précédent a paralysé la Guyane des semaines durant (AFP, 2017; Breeden, 2017; Dreyfuss, 2017). Avec une référence explicite au dicton selon lequel « la fusée décolle, mais la Guyane reste au sol », ce mouvement social a été porté par un collectif *ad hoc* dénommé « Kolektif pou Lagwiyan dékolé », nom en créole guyanais qui se traduit par « Collectif pour que la Guyane décolle ». À travers ce choix de dénomination, ce qui se dégage c'est « la place exceptionnelle de la littérature orale en Guyane, [qui] s'explique en partie par la fonction qu'elle a longtemps occupée et qu'elle occupe toujours, celle d'une forme de résistance. » (Le Pelletier, 2014, p. 300).

La crise de mars 2017 illustre bien l'importance du phénomène étudié dans le cadre de cette thèse, même si pendant longtemps le silence, qui n'était en fait qu'une accalmie, a prévalu. Si les revendications initiales à l'origine du mouvement ne portaient

pas sur le CSG[1], les conséquences de cette paralysie générale ont été substantielles pour lui, dont les pertes ont été estimées à plus d'une dizaine de millions d'euros (Europe1, 2017; Israël, 2017; Le Figaro, 2017). De fait, alors que c'est l'État français qui était interpellé par les grévistes, le CSG est apparu comme un symbole des intérêts stratégiques de l'État en Guyane et du traitement différencié dont cette organisation bénéficiait en comparaison avec le reste du territoire. Ainsi, le CSG a notamment fait l'objet d'une occupation physique par les grévistes avec pour mot d'ordre que la fusée ne décollerait plus tant que la Guyane n'obtiendrait pas satisfaction. A la lumière de ces événements récents, il est évident pour le CSG que l'amélioration de ses relations avec les communautés locales est un véritable défi de gestion, dont la résolution requerrait notamment un renouvellement de sa culture organisationnelle construite autour des métiers de l'ingénieur. En effet, s'il fonde ses décisions en matière de relations avec les communautés locales en se fiant aux seuls éléments que valorise une approche *evidence-based* (Rousseau, 2006) – des données présentées comme objectives –, le CSG ne peut espérer établir le dialogue. Car la communauté locale dans laquelle il est implanté d'une part s'inscrit dans une oralité qui échappe aux mesures objectives et d'autre part conserve une mémoire vive d'un passé colonial perçu comme constamment réactivé au présent, sorte de passé/présent auquel le CSG est spontanément associé. Aussi, il importe au contraire pour le CSG de développer sa sensibilité à l'approche narrative de ses interlocuteurs afin de construire ses relations en reconnaissant et en s'appuyant sur la diversité des perspectives en jeu (voir Morrell et Learmonth, 2015).

De la pertinence de la RSE politique pour le phénomène observé

La RSE politique se distingue des autres approches par le fait qu'elle prenne pour point de départ le brouillage des frontières entre les sphères privée (économique) et publique (politique) pour théoriser l'intervention des entreprises – appréhendées comme des acteurs politiques devant se soucier du bien commun (Scherer, Palazzo et Matten, 2016)

[1] Ces revendications portaient d'abord sur l'insécurité généralisée et se sont progressivement étendues aux conditions économiques, sociales et sanitaires préoccupantes du territoire.

– dans la sphère publique. Ainsi, cette littérature permet de dépasser la lecture instrumentale que propose la littérature sur l'activité politique des entreprises (voir Lawton, McGuire et Rajwani, 2013) pour s'intéresser à la façon dont les entreprises se retrouvent interpellées pour participer au bien commun. Or le cas du Centre spatial guyanais met précisément en évidence l'impossibilité pour une entreprise de se détacher d'un rôle politique en raison des attentes auxquelles elle fait face de la part d'une société civile pourtant très en retrait. Afin de faire apparaître l'utilité et la pertinence de la RSE politique pour cette recherche, la section qui suit présente une revue de la littérature succincte.

L'émergence d'une approche politique de la RSE

L'émergence de la RSE moderne dans les années 1950 (Carroll, 1999 et 2008) s'est accompagnée de vifs débats entre ses partisans et détracteurs, notamment autour de la légitimité d'une intervention des entreprises dans ce qui était considéré comme relevant du politique. Parmi les réquisitoires les plus notoires contre la RSE, on retrouve ceux de Levitt (1958) et Friedman (1970) s'insurgeant contre un empiètement du monde des affaires sur une sphère qui selon eux devait relever de la compétence exclusive du gouvernement, à savoir la fourniture de services sociaux. Selon ces auteurs, tous deux économistes, promouvoir la RSE reviendrait à éloigner l'entreprise de son rôle qui consiste strictement à produire des richesses. Il convient de souligner que l'agenda de recherche en RSE a été fortement influencé par ces critiques virulentes et que, en acceptant plus ou moins explicitement les postulats de la théorie économique de la firme, un nombre imposant d'articles a été expressément dirigé vers l'établissement de liens entre la performance sociétale et la performance financière des entreprises (Margolis et Walsh, 2003 ; Waddock et Graves, 1997). Derrière ces efforts consentis des décennies durant, l'on perçoit bien une tentative de réhabiliter la RSE au regard des postulats de la théorie économique, par l'adoption d'une approche instrumentale selon la classification de Donaldson et Preston (1995), où l'objectif de maximisation des profits se retrouve incontesté. Ce faisant, c'est le principe de division du travail entre les entreprises d'une

part (économique) et les gouvernements d'autre part (politique) qui est consacré, principe justement ardemment défendu par les détracteurs de la RSE.

Alors que l'approche instrumentale occupe encore aujourd'hui une position dominante dans le champ de la RSE, certains auteurs en ont souligné les écueils de façon convaincante. Ainsi, Margolis et Walsh (2003) ont fait apparaître l'égarement de la théorie des parties prenantes (TPP), dont l'ambition initiale était de proposer une théorie de la firme alternative à la théorie économique instrumentale ; dans un autre registre, Gond, Palazzo et Basu (2009) ont proposé une analyse des dérives de l'approche instrumentale de la RSE en recourant à une métaphore de la mafia, à laquelle certaines organisations légales finiraient par ressembler. Ainsi, c'est à rebours de cette approche instrumentale qu'émerge une approche politique de la RSE. Les tenants de cette approche contestent la validité de la division du travail entre les entreprises privées et les gouvernements et appellent à une reconnaissance explicite du rôle politique croissant des entreprises. Prenant appui sur des contributions théoriques issues de la science politique, des relations internationales et du droit, ces auteurs qualifient l'approche strictement économique de la RSE d'obsolète au vu des transformations du système international et préconisent un renouvellement des cadres conceptuels.

L'une des contributions fondatrices d'une telle perspective est celle de Matten et Crane (2005) proposant une conceptualisation étendue de la « citoyenneté corporative ». Ces auteurs prennent pour point de départ ce qui semblait s'apparenter à une simple évolution sémantique, à savoir l'adoption grandissante du concept de citoyenneté corporative notamment par les entreprises elles-mêmes (Néron et Norman, 2008), et s'attachent à montrer qu'en réalité l'utilisation de ce terme est légitime en raison d'une évolution de fond dans la nature des interventions sociales des entreprises multinationales. Ainsi, selon Matten et Crane (2005) le recours au concept de citoyenneté corporative se justifie par le glissement croissant du rôle des entreprises vers la sphère politique, dans un contexte de plus en plus globalisé. Ce contexte se caractérise notamment par une perte de pouvoir et de capacité d'action des acteurs qui se trouvaient jadis au cœur du système westphalien aujourd'hui en recomposition, à savoir les États. Ceux-ci ne sont donc plus les seuls garants de la citoyenneté et partagent désormais certaines responsabilités avec

les entreprises multinationales, ces dernières étant de plus en plus interpellées par la société civile, même si la littérature en gestion ignore généralement cette évolution. Afin de rendre compte de cette transformation du rôle des entreprises multinationales, Matten et Crane (2005) proposent donc un modèle de citoyenneté corporative se matérialisant dans des formes d'engagement différentes en fonction de chacun des trois types de droits de la citoyenneté libérale tels que déclinés par Marshall (1965 cité par Matten et Crane, 2005) : civils, sociaux et politiques. Ainsi, les multinationales seraient des fournisseurs de droits sociaux, des facilitateurs de droits civils et des canaux de droits politiques.

Dans le prolongement des travaux de Matten et Crane (2005), Scherer et Palazzo (2011) se sont penchés sur les conséquences du nouveau rôle politique des entreprises multinationales. Arguant à leur tour que de nombreux enjeux relevant traditionnellement des compétences exclusives des États font progressivement partie des domaines d'intervention discrétionnaire des entreprises, ces auteurs insistent sur l'importance d'étudier les contributions croissantes des multinationales à la gouvernance globale, nationale ou locale (Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo & Spicer, 2016), et donc au jeu politique. A l'échelle nationale, cette participation des entreprises au jeu politique a été conceptualisée par Moon, Kang et Gond (2010), qui se sont intéressés aux conditions dans lesquelles gouvernements et entreprises interagissent dans le domaine de la RSE, en comparant quatre systèmes politiques. Ils ont élaboré une typologie autour de six variantes dans la répartition des responsabilités des gouvernements et entreprises : la RSE comme auto-gouvernement, la RSE approuvée par le gouvernement, la RSE facilitée par le gouvernement, la RSE comme un partenariat avec le gouvernement, la RSE imposée par le gouvernement et finalement, la RSE comme une forme de gouvernement.

Outre ces travaux de Matten et Crane (2005), Scherer et Palazzo (2011) et Moon, Kang et Gond (2010), un nombre grandissant d'articles traitant du rôle politique des entreprises ont été publiés dans des revues académiques au cours de la décennie écoulée. En 2008, le journal *Business Ethics Quarterly* a notamment publié un numéro spécial dédié aux apports et limites du concept de citoyenneté corporative pour la recherche sur les relations entre entreprises et société. Cependant, les perspectives adoptées ne sont pas homogènes et il convient donc de préciser que nous avons délibérément choisi de

circonscrire notre analyse à l'approche politique centrée sur la reconnaissance du rôle croissant joué par les entreprises en matière de gouvernance dans l'arène politique. Ainsi, l'approche critique telle qu'adoptée par un auteur comme Banerjee (2000, 2008, 2011) visant à déconstruire le discours de la RSE et à mettre au jour les rapports de domination qu'il légitime, ou encore l'approche instrumentale concevant le rôle politique des entreprises comme étant simplement un moyen alternatif auquel ont recours les entreprises pour atteindre leur objectif ultime de maximisation des profits (Hillman, Keim et Schuler) seront volontairement mises de côté dans le cadre de la présente analyse. Le Tableau 2 présente un récapitulatif des éléments-clés de l'approche politique retenue en comparaison avec l'approche plus économique de la RSE.

Tableau 1 : Comparaison des approches économique et politique de la RSE

	Approche économique	Approche politique
Justification (cf. classification de Donaldson et Preston, 1995)	Instrumentale	Descriptive et normative
Disciplines fondatrices	Economie	Science politique, relations internationales, droit.
Concepts centraux	Performance sociale	Citoyenneté corporative et démocratie délibérative
Rôle de l'entreprise	Strictement économique. La RSE est un instrument au service de la réalisation de l'objectif de maximisation du profit	Economique et politique. Le rôle des entreprises est en mutation en raison de la globalisation et de la perte de pouvoir des Etats
Liens Etats/entreprises	Evolution en silo. Les responsabilités de chacun peuvent donc être étudiées et comprises séparément	Confusion croissante des rôles. Il devient alors difficile d'étudier les responsabilités de l'un indépendamment de celles de l'autre

Repenser la RSE politique dans un monde en proie aux divisions

La littérature en RSE politique a très longtemps accordé une importance centrale au processus de mondialisation, dépeint comme la principale cause du brouillage des frontières dans la division du travail entre entreprises et gouvernement, entre sphère

économique et sphère politique. Plus précisément, ce sont les vides de gouvernance à l'échelle mondiale et leurs impacts sur la politisation de la RSE qui ont été théorisés (Gond, Barin Cruz, Raufflet et Charron, 2016; Scherer et Palazzo, 2011). Cependant, outre le fait que ces transformations attribuées à la mondialisation soient surévaluées (Mäkinen et Kourula, 2012; Whelan, 2012), certains phénomènes sociaux qui se sont intensifiés avec la mondialisation ont été écartés de la réflexion. En particulier, le sentiment d'exclusion que des groupes entiers ressentent alors que la mondialisation est perçue comme ne bénéficiant qu'à une minorité de citoyens et aux entreprises multinationales (Fleming, 2016). Il s'agit pourtant d'un phénomène politique d'importance croissante à l'échelle internationale, comme en atteste la diffusion du mouvement *Occupy* ces dernières années. La montée des mouvements populistes s'appuyant sur des discours nationalistes (cf. diplomatie *America first* du 45ème président des États-Unis ou le Brexit[2]) est une autre illustration éloquente de la forte résonnance dont bénéficient les positions et politiques anti-mondialisation.

Aussi, alors que le besoin de légitimation des entreprises multinationales a été largement discuté en RSE politique (voir Scherer et Palazzo, 2007, 2011), les conditions de construction du dialogue entre entreprises–gouvernement–société civile ont été peu traitées. De fait, les travaux en RSE politique sont demeurés essentiellement conceptuels et prescriptifs (Frynas et Stephens, 2015), délaissant le travail empirique pourtant indispensable à la consolidation d'un corpus théorique (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser et Strauss, 1967; Van Maanen, Sørensen & Mitchell, 2007, p. 1145). Parmi les exceptions, on retrouve notamment l'étude de Gond, Barin Cruz, Raufflet et Charron (2016) autour de la controverse sur les gaz de schiste au Québec, qui met en évidence les rapports de pouvoir et les logiques de justification à l'œuvre entre entreprises, gouvernement et société civile. Cependant, cette étude n'a pas explicitement abordé la question de la marginalisation de certains groupes et de son impact sur leur mode de (non) participation au débat public. C'est précisément l'angle retenu dans le cadre de cette thèse, en

[2] Les études sociodémographiques menées sur la répartition du vote pour et contre le Brexit montrent les profondes divisions de la société anglaise, notamment sur les plans générationnel, socioéconomique, territorial. Elles montrent également de façon éloquente que les milieux financiers de Londres étaient très hostiles au Brexit, ce qui s'est entre autres traduit par d'inquiétantes fluctuations de la bourse de la City avant le vote.

particulier dans le deuxième article qui creuse cette question de manière empirique et dans le troisième article qui propose de l'intégrer à une nouvelle conceptualisation de la RSE politique.

Structure de la thèse

Cette thèse est composée de trois articles formant chacun un chapitre distinct. Ces articles apparaissent dans l'ordre dans lequel ils ont été conçus; les deux premiers sont de type empirique et le dernier est conceptuel. En les présentant délibérément dans cet ordre, l'intention est de permettre au lecteur de mieux évaluer le cheminement qu'a constitué cette recherche abductive, qui a débuté par un phénomène empirique à investiguer et a abouti à une proposition de perspective créolisée de la RSE politique. Ainsi, la collecte de données s'est faite en trois phases distinctes étalées sur un peu plus de deux années. Un tel découpage de la recherche a permis de s'assurer de la 'saturation catégorielle' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), soit la répétition des mêmes catégories conceptuelles sans nouvelles découvertes. Chacune des trois phases de collecte de données était ainsi délimitée dans le temps :

> Phase I : août 2012-janvier 2013, en Guyane (villes de Cayenne, Kourou et Sinnamary[3])
>
> Phase II : août-septembre 2013, à Paris
>
> Phase III : août-octobre 2014, en Guyane (villes de Cayenne et Kourou)

Intégration des articles

S'il est vrai que cette thèse est partie d'un phénomène empirique et s'est construite au fil des résultats qui ont émergé du terrain, la question de recherche qui a guidé les contributions théoriques est de savoir comment les relations entreprise–gouvernement–

[3] Cayenne est le chef-lieu de la Guyane et accueille l'essentiel des administrations françaises décentralisées ainsi que le siège de nombreuses organisations ciblées pour la collecte de données. Kourou est quant à elle dite *ville spatiale*, puisqu'elle accueille depuis 1964 les installations du CSG. Enfin, Sinnamary, ville limitrophe à Kourou, est devenue la deuxième ville spatiale en 2011 en accueillant le pas de tir des fusées russes Soyouz.

société civile se construisent dans le temps autour d'enjeux de RSE, en situation de forte asymétrie de pouvoir. La RSE politique s'est avérée être la littérature la plus pertinente sur laquelle bâtir les réponses à cette question, dans la mesure où elle s'intéresse aux dynamiques changeantes dans les relations qu'entretiennent les entreprises avec le reste de la société, dans l'espace public et non pas privé comme c'est le cas pour l'essentiel des travaux en RSE.

Les trois articles portent sur les dynamiques entreprise–gouvernement–société civile, en adoptant un angle différent à chaque fois. L'ensemble de ces articles constitue ainsi un triptyque. Ils ont notamment en commun de reposer sur une approche sociétale de la RSE plutôt qu'orgo-centrée (voir Pasquero, 2005). Le premier article se penche sur le rôle particulier joué par le gouvernement, dans ses rapports avec l'entreprise, pour rendre possible ou non l'émergence de pratiques de RSE. Il met au jour de façon empirique le rôle préjudiciable que peut jouer le gouvernement en matière de RSE, notamment dans des contextes marqués par des rapports postcoloniaux et/ou des enjeux stratégiques de premier plan (dans le cas étudié, il s'agit de la conquête spatiale puis de l'accès à l'espace). Ce rôle préjudiciable constitue une configuration négligée par les travaux en RSE qui s'attachent généralement à traiter des différents rôles que peut jouer le gouvernement pour favoriser la RSE (voir Gond, Kang et Moon, 2011; Moon et Vogel, 2008). Et s'il est vrai que certains travaux critiques ont abordé cette question des pratiques irresponsables que peut avoir un gouvernement à l'égard de communautés locales marginalisées (voir Banerjee, 2000; Whiteman, 2004), l'évolution du rôle du gouvernement dans le temps n'a pas vraiment été théorisée, ce que les données longitudinales analysées dans cet article permettent de faire.

Contrairement au premier article qui se concentre sur la façon dont le rôle changeant du gouvernement structure la relation entreprise–gouvernement–société civile, le second article jette un éclairage particulier sur la manière dont une société civile marginalisée peut, par des formes de résistance invisible, rendre difficile voire impossible tout dialogue avec l'entreprise et le gouvernement. Plus précisément, cet article s'attache à montrer de façon empirique comment la créolisation, une forme de résistance difficile à percevoir par l'observateur externe, permet à une population pourtant changeante et de

plus en plus hétérogène d'entretenir la mémoire collective des pratiques passées d'une entreprise. Ainsi, la créolisation agit comme un obstacle invisible mais persistant à l'oubli et, par voie de conséquence, au dépassement du rejet de l'entreprise par la société civile locale. Tandis que la créolisation est initialement le produit de la mise en contact de populations culturellement hétérogènes par le fait de l'esclavage transatlantique (Bernabé, Chamoiseau, & Confiant, 1993 [1989]), elle est en fait préscience des défis qui attendent le monde contemporain, compte tenu de la rencontre accelérée et imprévue de populations hétérogènes (Glissant, 2002). Le contexte étudié permet alors d'observer la façon dont une société civile silencieuse dans l'espace public, mais qui s'exprime dans l'espace subalterne (Hesse, 2011) inaccessible à l'entreprise, peut résister aux tentatives de mise en dialogue. Cette observation conduit à un enrichissement des travaux en RSE politique par l'introduction d'une distinction additionnelle à celle, binaire et réductrice, des espaces privé/public comme seuls lieux d'expression et de construction de la RSE. La prise en compte de l'espace subalterne permet d'une part de mieux saisir des dynamiques non observables directement dans l'espace public mais qui s'y répercutent néanmoins, et d'autre part de répondre à la critique fondée de Banerjee et Sabadoz (2014) et de Frynas et Stephens (2015) sur le silence des travaux de RSE politique sur les dynamiques de pouvoir qui tiennent à l'écart de l'espace public la société civile marginalisée.

Finalement, le troisième article s'attache à faire sens des enseignements tirés du cas et abordés dans les deux premiers articles, cette fois sur le plan conceptuel. Cet article propose ainsi une conceptualisation renouvelée de la RSE politique (Scherer, 2017; Scherer et Palazzo, 2011; Scherer, Palazzo et Matten, 2014, 2016; Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo et Spicer, 2016), en puisant dans les travaux sur la créolisation (voir Glissant, 1997, 2002; Hesse, 2011; Lionnet et Shih, 2011) développés en études littéraires, en études culturelles et en science politique. Ces travaux permettent de proposer une lecture originale de la société civile qui reste en marge de l'espace public et qui, ayant pris l'habitude de s'exprimer dans l'espace subalterne, peut néanmoins faire irruption dans l'espace public et contrarier les pratiques des entreprises. Certains événements récents – mobilisation retentissante de populations autochtones contre le projet Dakota Access Pipeline ou encore mouvements *Black Lives Matter* et *Occupy* – l'ont d'ailleurs montré avec force. Ainsi, revisiter la RSE politique à travers une perspective créolisée permet de

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Research methodology

In this methodological chapter, I present my research design and provide an account of my data collection and analysis. As explained in the foreword of this dissertation, my ontological position is interpretive and I adopt a socio-constructivist epistemology which claims that society and social reality are constructed and cannot be known the same way as phenomena studied in natural sciences (Berger & Luckman, 1967). Consequently, my whole research methodology was guided by these ontological and epistemological assumptions (Morgan & Smircich, 1980), as it will appear clearly throughout this chapter.

Research design

As Barley insightfully argues, "the story of any research program rightfully begins with the decision to investigate a specific topic" (1990, p. 220). Barley's own ethnographic research on technological change in the field of radiology was initially motivated by an "attempt to fill an interesting empirical void" (1990, p. 220). The use of the adjective *interesting* deserves particular attention, as it highlights the fact that prosaically demonstrating the mere existence of a gap is not a sufficient rationale to draw the attention of one's audience. The void, whether empirical or theoretical, has to be perceived as interesting by contributing to changing the way an audience thinks about a phenomenon (Bansal & Corley, 2011; Corley & Gioia, 2011), something that is achieved through textual construction (Locke & Golden-Biddle, 1997).

Going back to the choice of an interesting empirical void, it seems important to stress that, as extensively described in my foreword and general introduction, the research undertaken in this dissertation was phenomenon-driven. It was motivated primarily by my intimate conviction that something interesting was happening at the Guiana Space Center (CSG henceforth) and deserved to be told (Kilduff, 2006). More precisely, I had the intuition that the specificities of the chosen setting had the potential to challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions of my audience (Garfinkel, 1967; Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011). If such an intuition was confirmed by the findings, there lied the potential to make an

interesting and engaging contribution to the literature based on the demonstration of a significant contrast "between seeming and being, between the subject of phenomenology and the subject of ontology" (Davis, 1971, p. 313).

In line with the chosen phenomenon-driven approach, the research design followed an abductive strategy aimed at starting with empirical exploration to generate new ideas and then build theory (Van Maanen, Sørensen & Mitchell, 2007, p. 1149). The order of appearance of the three academic articles of this dissertation are a close reflection of such an abductive strategy. Indeed, the progression of theorization along the research process is manifest from the first article which is empirical and exploratory and the third one which is a conceptual piece that builds on the insights generated by the previous articles. The interpretive assumptions of my research led to the collection of qualitative data, powerful for their revelatory potential (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Following a contextualist mode of inquiry, the research delved into the phenomenon of interest by looking into the intertwinement between vertical and horizontal units of analysis (Pettigrew, 1990). By doing this, the objective was to unveil the impact of context change on the relation between CSG and its local stakeholders, as well as the "sequential interconnectedness [between past], present and future" (Pettigrew, 1990, p. 270) around CSG's activities. As for the decision to conduct a single case study, it was based on the necessity to gain and convey in-depth insights about an understudied context. Thick description (Geertz, 1973) of a social context so unfamiliar to my audience — management scholars more generally and CSR scholars in particular — could only be achieved through a complete immersion in that single case. Moreover, while Eisenhardt (1989, 1991) is renowned for her compelling advocacy for comparative case analysis, she nonetheless recognizes that a good reason for studying a single case can be, among other things, "opportunities for unusual research access" (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 27). My ability to undertake fieldwork in French Guiana, a context so impenetrable to researchers (Martin & Favre, 2002), and to secure access to one of the few organizations in the space industry such as CSG, was an opportunity not to be missed.

The remainder of this chapter is organized around the detailed presentation of the milestones of the methodology that was followed to collect and analyze the data, and

finishes with a discussion of linguistic challenges and ethical considerations. The milestones of the methodology are labeled *steps* to break down the overarching logic that guided my empirical endeavor. However, it is important to stress that the abductive approach that was followed cannot be faithfully captured through a chronological sequence; some of the steps were actually carried out simultaneously while others required refinement over subsequent phases. More importantly, the whole process was untidy and emergent and left much room to imagination, speculation and doubt (Locke, Feldman & Golden-Biddle, 2015).

Step 1 – Opting for a qualitative single case study

As just argued, because of the many peculiarities of French Guiana and CSG, a single case study appeared as the most suitable strategy to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of interest and to present the lessons learned persuasively (Siggelkow, 2007). Focusing on a single case study allows to tell strong stories and "leads researchers to see new theoretical relationships and question old ones" (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991, p. 614). Indeed, inspired by the spirit of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 2008) and its emphasis on human action to understand the social world (Haig, 1995), this research focused on a rich case that would allow for the identification of patterns that could lead to transferability of the proposed theory.

The research conducted for this dissertation required thick description because it was atypical on three grounds. First, CSG is a complex organization that is composed of public and private entities that are closely tied. This type of organization is atypical for the field of CSR which is strongly driven by research agendas targeting private organizations primarily. Moon and Vogel even show that the field is pervaded by the misleading assumption that CSR and government are mutually exclusive and ought to be studied separately, something they label the dichotomous view (2008, p. 304). While the political CSR literature has managed to draw the field's attention to the blurred frontiers between business and government's sphere of intervention, it is only starting to acknowledge the validity of considering non-private organizations (see Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo & Spicer, 2016). Our research on CSG preceded such an evolution of the field

and promised to make a useful contribution as regards the need to study a greater diversity of organizations.

The second reason why this research is atypical is that CSG operates in the space industry which involves, among other things, strong state intervention, high technology and long-term implementation on a territory. This industry is less typical and less studied than more traditionally examined industries such as the extractive or mass product ones. Finally, CSG is located in Guiana, a French overseas territory that is South American and European at the same time, with the consequence of having intertwined features of a developed and a developing society. Such a setting fundamentally challenges the classical divide between research undertaken in so-called developed vs. developing countries.

The immediate consequence of these atypical features is that the following question needed to be addressed: *What is my research a case of?* Indeed, doing research on single cases has been widely discussed in previous literature and its benefits have been synthesized by Langley (1999). Highly influential qualitative studies have been undertaken in single settings (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991) and familiar examples to management scholars include Selznik's (1949) in-depth account of the process of democratic planning within an organization, or Whyte's (1943) immersion into a marginalized Italian neighborhood. These seminal contributions have unveiled dynamics that would not have been so apparent with the use of other research methods. Yet, when studying single cases, researchers often face criticism about the validity and reliability of their results, although the underlying logic for such research is rather to seek richness and trustworthiness (Langley & Abdallah, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Establishing trustworthiness requires developing a set of tactics such as member-checks where the researcher discusses its preliminary results with key informants in order to refine them, or data triangulation through the collection of multiple sources of data (Bowen, 2008; Langley & Abdallah, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1986).

Some examples of rich in-depth case studies conducted to illuminate a phenomenon were used as sources of inspiration. In their account of the controversy that followed a nuclear accident in a European energy company, Patriotta, Gond & Schultz (2011) rely on a single case but build on archival data that allow them to trace the positions

of a wide array of stakeholders that hold different views on the controversy. In addition, one of the authors was working in the energy company at the time of the accident and was able to provide additional insights into the case. In a quite different fashion, Labelle & Pasquero (2006) analyze the single case of a metal transformation company whose relations with local stakeholders evolved significantly over the course of a century. In both these studies, the choice of a single case was counterbalanced by the collection of data in relation to a wide range of stakeholder groups, and by the adoption of a historical perspective leading to the construction of different units of analysis across time (Langley, 1999). The same strategy was followed with this dissertation, leading to the collection of a longitudinal and diversified dataset covering a period of 50 years, namely from 1964 to 2014. This allowed for an authentic consideration of time as shaping social processes (Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas & Van de Ven, 2013; Pettigrew, 1990).

Step 2 – Formulating a broad research question

The aim of this step was to come up with a research question that would be broad enough to make it possible to enter the field with an open mind and with as little a priori as possible (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I started by identifying a set of sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1954) to circumscribe the phenomenon I would be researching and to avoid getting lost in the field. The following three sensitizing concepts would later prove instrumental in my effort to discriminate between relevant data and noise: CSR; politics; local development. Relying on a preliminary literature review made on these concepts, the broad research question that I formulated was: *How are business–government–local community constructed over time around CSR, in situations of strong power asymmetry?*

Step 3 – Entering the field

This section is meant to clarify my position as the storyteller of a field that I am far from being disengaged and dispassionate about (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007). In fact, entering the field was a source of both excitement and anxiety. Excitement resulted from

finally getting to research a context that I was personally attached to, and from an intimate belief in the revelatory potential of the case. Yet a high level of anxiety was fueled by my fear of not finding anything meaningful and by my willingness to avoid being blinded by preconceived ideas about the field. As regards the first concern, nothing seemed to happen around CSG, despite the fact that I knew it was perceived very negatively by many stakeholder groups locally. The trust and optimism of my thesis committee was very helpful to pursue my idea of getting on the field without the assurance of making compelling discoveries. As for the second concern, it was quite a challenge, because not only was it necessary for me to tackle it for the sake of doing good research, but I also expected having to convince my future informants of my open-mindedness — something I address in detail in the next paragraph. To create the conditions for conducting research of good quality, I took the time to examine my preconceptions about the setting and to record them in order to make sure to include questions about them for my interviewees, and to search for related information in archival data (Charmaz, 2014, p. 59). That way, I was able to unveil my assumptions and to be challenged by the stories of my informants or by the archives I would purposefully collect.

As just briefly mentioned, entering the field presented an additional hurdle linked to the way I could expect being perceived by my informants. Born and raised in Guiana, I had maintained strong ties with my home country despite settling in Québec at the age of 15, and I had been publicly engaged in a political party while living abroad. Moreover, anyone slightly familiar with the local context could tell, simply by my name, that I was the daughter of two prominent political figures. Because of my loaded background, I knew that most of my potential informants would have preconceived ideas about my scientific endeavor and would probably suspect me to pursue a political agenda. Among the anticipated consequences of such a situation were the risks of not managing to secure interviews with key informants, and of receiving censored or complacent information and testimonies. Ultimately, I would end up with a truncated story. Rather than being discouraged by the situation, I decided to take specific measures to reduce the risks identified. First, I refrained from relying on my existing networks to solicit interviews and chose to route my demands very formally, knowing

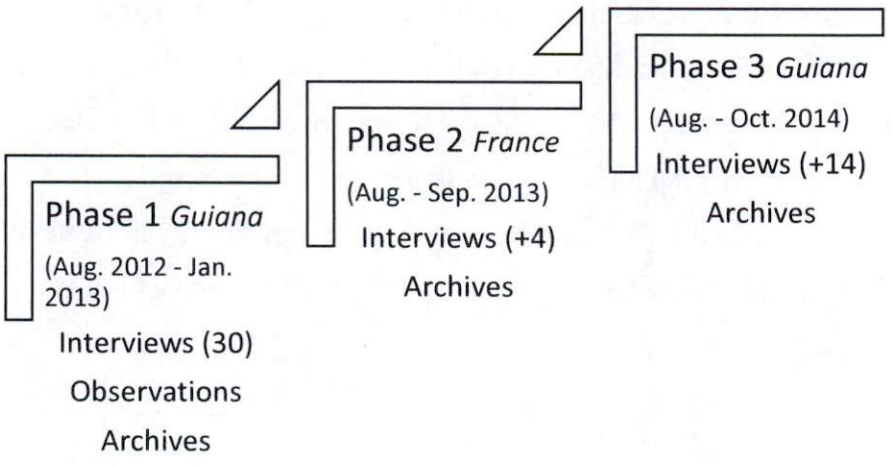
that it would often lengthen the process and sometimes end in a deadlock. Starting by contacting receptionists and secretary offices, I let my formal letters go through the normal and uncertain process of assessment and selection, patiently sending reminders when not receiving responses within reasonable time. By proceeding this way, I was hoping that even suspicious informants would interpret my approach as a sign of professionalism and of willingness to present myself as an *etic* researcher, despite being an *emic* individual. Second, I collected as much archival data as possible to gain an understanding of the context prior to starting interviewing. This allowed me to share some of my initial findings while discussing with the interviewees and to increase the likelihood of convincing them that my interest was centered on learning about past events. Reflecting back, I believe these measures allowed me to significantly mitigate the risks aforementioned in order to collect rich data, i.e. "detailed, focused and full data" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 23).

Step 4 – Collecting data reflexively

The data collection was undertaken during three distinct phases that occurred between 2012 and 2014. Such a strategy of sequencing was determined by the abductive approach I had chosen. Indeed, while the first phase of data collection gave primacy to empirical exploration, the subsequent phases were increasingly informed by the literature (Van Maanen et al., 2007). In addition, as I started to make sense of the data, the interview guide kept evolving and the focus of archival search kept being refined (Locke, Feldman & Golden-Biddle, 2015). In all, the three phases allowed for the conduct of semi-structured interviews with 48 informants, the collection of a diverse set of archival data from which 700 pages were selected as well as four observations (see figure 1). Richness of the dataset was thus ensured by the varied sources of data (Charmaz, 1996). As the primary source of data for this research, interviews were audio recorded — except for one, to conform to an informant's request — and they were later transcribed verbatim. I took full advantage of my primary reliance on interviews to hear from a diversity of stakeholders and to gather multiple perspectives, with the aim of fulfilling a criteria of fairness rather than one of objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 84). This was done in

line with the tradition of research on business and society (Carroll, 1994, p. 19). Moreover, taking its distance from qualitative positivism, this research fully assumes the interactions between the researcher and its object (Prasad & Prasad, 2002), something reflected in the categories that later emerged during data analysis (Charmaz, 1996).

Figure 1 - Phases of data collection



Over the successive phases of data collection, new interviewees were identified through snowball sampling, by asking knowledgeable informants if they believed specific individuals or groups were important to interview (Patton, 2005). Data saturation was reached during the third phase of data collection, as new interviews stopped yielding additional insights or new themes and rather confirmed what was already understood (Charmaz, 1996; Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006). Hence, instead of searching for new informants, the end of the third phase was dedicated to member checking (Bowen, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through these activities, I was able to confirm and refine my understanding of key events and of the different stories that had been shared with me. For the sake of concision, additional details about data collection will not be repeated here as they can be found in the methods section of the two empirical articles of this dissertation.

Broadly speaking, this research is positioned on the terrain of self-reflexivity, in the sense that the very act of collecting and analyzing qualitative data from an interpretive

perspective is assumed to involve the researcher's construction (Locke & Golden-Biddle, 1997; Prasad & Prasad, 2002). More precisely, I relied on my double *emic/etic* stand (Morey & Luthans, 1984) to enter the phenomenon under investigation in order to intimately grasp it. In a nutshell, "entering the phenomenon means being fully present during the interview and deep inside the content afterward" (Charmaz, 2004, p. 981). Being originally from Guiana and having a genuine commitment to making untold stories visible, I was well positioned to "come to sense, feel, and fathom what having [my informants'] experience [was] like" (Charmaz, 2004, p. 981), despite the fact that I was not undertaking an ethnography. Concerning ethnographic work, it is useful to mention that there is a strong legacy of *etic* studies carried out in Caribbean contexts that were received as manifestations of colonialism and that have turned ethnography into an unwelcome method of investigation from the insider's perspective (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant, 1993[1989]). Adhering to such criticism, it was crucial for me to explicitly recognize and appreciate the knowledgeability of my informants by giving them the opportunity to make their voice heard and to guide me through their stories (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013).

Step 5 – Analyzing data abductively

Choosing to undertake an abductive research was intended to ensure methodological fit among the different elements of the project (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). More specifically, it was meant to ensure alignment between my methodological approach and my context of research. The investigation was built around questions, surprises, doubt and the search for theoretical answers by formulating conjectures aiming at generating new avenues for investigation (Locke, Golden-Biddle & Feldman, 2008). Concerning data analysis, a narrative strategy was followed for two main purposes, namely as a preliminary step and as an outcome of the research itself (Langley, 1999). As for the preliminary step, the narrative strategy was used to get an initial understanding on and immersion into the stories of the main informants. Among the interviews conducted during the first phase, 13 were identified as extremely rich and were used to write the narrative. In parallel, a timeline of salient events that occurred between 1964 and 2014 was built based on

archival data. The timeline proved helpful to start ordering the data and seeing the main periods behind the history of CSG and its local stakeholders. The appendices found at the end of this chapter provide snapshots of the timeline (figures 3 to 6) and a complete overview of its content.

Coding was carried out as an activity of meaning-making grounded in raw data. Such an activity has to do with "symbolically assign[ing a diversity of] summative, salient, essence-capturing and/ or evocative attributes" to data (Saldaña, 2009, p.3). It is intended at interpreting the dataset under the light of themes that are identified, characterized and refined as the analysis progresses (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). I coded my interviews' verbatim using the NVivo® software, in search of patterns that could help me see the forest for the trees (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014). To do so, I adopted a "live coding" approach that acknowledges that the coding process, the codes generated, and the collected data mutually shape each other, something that requires a researcher's openness to significant evolution of her or his codes (Locke, Feldman & Golden-Biddle, 2015). The "live coding" approach is in sharp contrast with what Locke and colleagues refer to as "inert coding" (2015), the latter stemming from the assumption that once codes have been generated, they rigidly structure the analysis of data. My "live coding" approach led to a drastic change in the focus of my research as I went on with the data analysis. Borrowing the insightful formula of Emerson and colleagues (1995), "I lost my papers" — the two empirical ones — in the process of data analysis as the initial focus I thought I had found progressively appeared to miss the point.

In more concrete terms, my coding process went through the following steps. First, I analyzed my data through open coding, by relying on the words used by my informants in order to remain tightly attached to their views and voice (Charmaz, 2014; Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013; Strauss & Corbin, 2008). Depending on what seemed suitable to capture the essence of the excerpt, I used both descriptive and in vivo codes. Descriptive codes summarize key views expressed and topics addressed by the informants while in vivo codes are directly extracted from the words used by informants (Saldaña, 2009). Obviously, my sensitizing concepts served as a compass for the coding process. The unit of my coding was groups of sentences because in most cases, my interviewees had

responded to my questions at length, giving context and sometimes anecdotes to guide me through their reflections. Hence, while going through my verbatim I realized that I could hardly separate one sentence from another without losing the core of the meaning. However, to increase the likelihood that the coding outcome would reflect the aggregate richness of the units, I assigned multiple codes to a single unit anytime it seemed timely. For the second step, I engaged in focused coding in order to identify the most salient initial codes, i.e. those that were well represented in my richest interviews or present in a good diversity of interviews (Charmaz, 2014; Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014; Saldaña, 2009). To do so, I thoroughly went through my initial codes and clustered them into higher-order categories, using gerunds as labels to capture the processual nature of the data (Langley, 1999). Because of the abductive approach on which my research was based as well as the sequencing of data collection, the whole coding process occurred while some data was being collected and it prompted the collection of new data to refine initial results.

Step 6 – Engaging in academic conversations

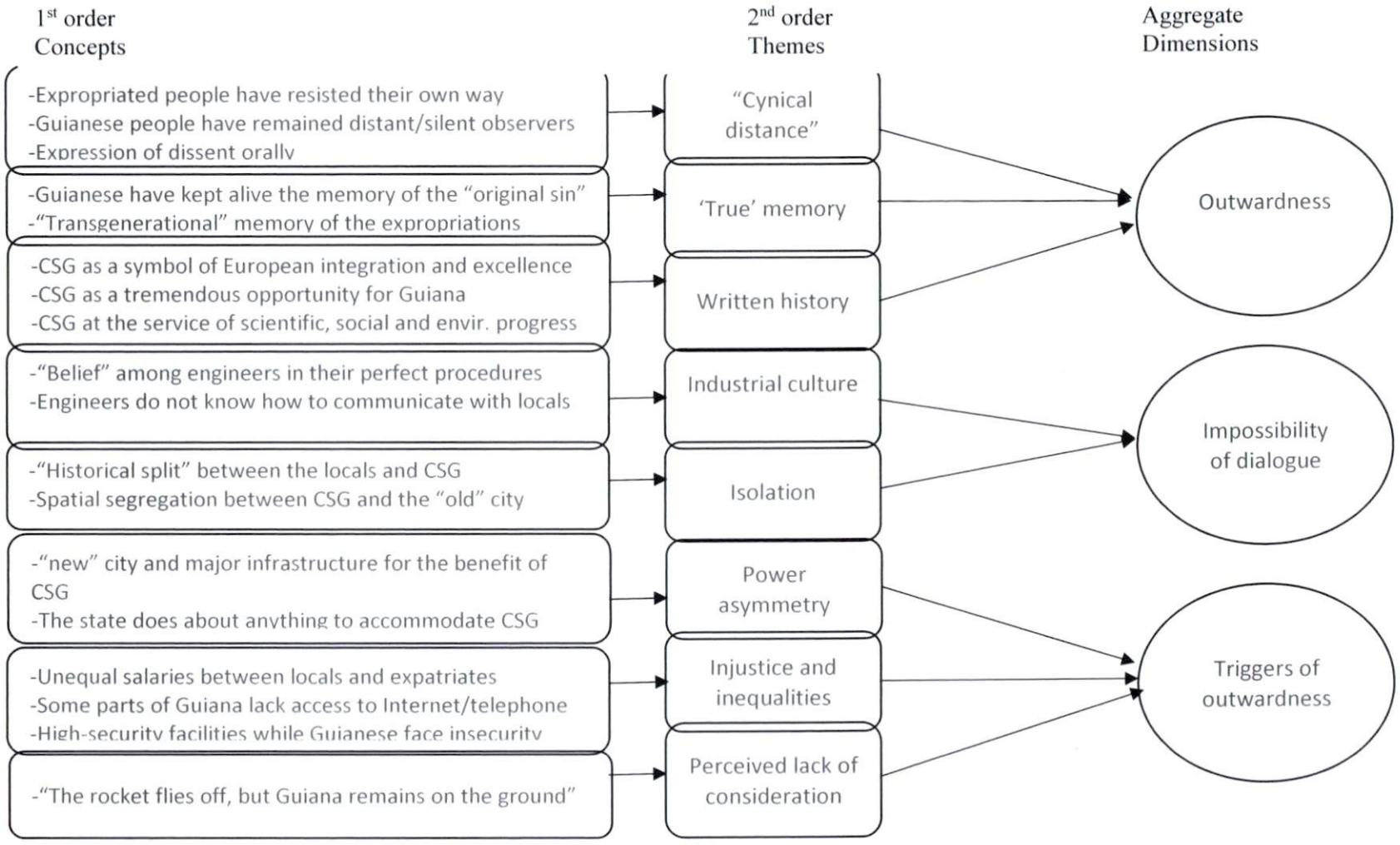
A widely held belief in the academic world is the importance of (good) peer-reviewing for the improvement of research (Horn, 2016; Miller, Taylor & Bedeian, 2011). Less explicitly recognized are the benefits of more or less formal feedback received in the context of academic conferences, seminars and paper development workshops. Yet such feedback can be instrumental for the training of junior scholars, especially doctoral candidates. In my case, intensive participation in academic conferences and paper development workshops played a major role in the continuous refinement and even reframing of my research, as well as in my understanding of what academic work is. As an illustration, it is after presenting my second article to a brown bag seminar — where I received constructive feedback and was able to clarify some of my findings — that I realized two important things. First, a participant suggested that there was a persistence of memory that went back further 1964, before the CSG was created. The story I was telling in my working paper naïvely started in 1964 and it had not occurred to me to start it earlier, even if I spontaneously mentioned the legacy issues between France and its

former colony during the Q&A session. Second, one of the participants challenged me about the fact that she felt I was not letting my data truly tell its story. At the time, I thought I was seeing a "cynical distance" (Fleming & Spicer, 2003) between CSG and local stakeholders. There was indeed an intractable distance between CSG and local stakeholders, but that was not all of it. Re-delving into my data, I realized that there was silence too. Looking for the deeper story behind my data, I asked it new questions (Charmaz, 1996; 2014) and, at some point, I had an inspirational moment that convinced me that I had finally made my creative leap. Creoleness was a unique feature of my setting and it was omnipresent in my dataset. In all, the comments I received in this seminar were a turning point for my second article, as I became obsessed with them. More specifically, reflecting on these comments — and discussing them intensively with my supervisor, who is my coauthor for the paper — led me to see my data in a new light and it soon became clear that my data structure needed to be revised as it was missing important chunks of the story (see figure 2). Beyond this example, what I wanted to stress is how important engaging in academic conversations was central to my progression in theorizing.

Linguistic challenges

Challenges associated with conducting research in non-Anglophone settings and writing about it in English are seldom addressed in qualitative research manuals. Yet, since the overwhelming majority of research is communicated and published in English (Ammon, 2001; Horn, 2017), this is a serious challenge for many researchers willing to investigate a diversity of contexts (Meriläinen, Tienari, Thomas & Davies, 2008). All my interviews were conducted in French as it was the primary or native language of all my informants. More generally, the data on which this dissertation relies was collected in French and the whole coding process was carried out in French. This implies that the move from French to English only occurred at the stage of writing. Despite my careful and reflexive handling of this step, linguistic challenges cannot be ignored. One of the manifestations of such challenges was linked to the difficulty to translate in English sentences or expressions that were enunciated in French but were rooted in Creoleness, a culture based on orality

Figure 2 - Intermediary Data Structure (Prior to Academic Conversations)



(Bernabé et al. 1993[1989]; Glissant, 1997) and creative storytelling (Walcott, 1974). Another manifestation of linguistic challenges was the fact that I started my research hoping to engage in conversations with an academic community that not only uses English as its *lingua franca*, but is also pervaded by concepts and theories mostly developed in the United States. Hence I initially felt the need to position myself referring to such concepts which, reflecting back, were sometimes ill-suited to capture the essence of my context of investigation. The first article of this dissertation was a first attempt to situate my work in ongoing conversations in the field of CSR and I learned a lot in the process of refining it thanks to formal and informal feedback received from my peers. In contrast, in the last two articles I truly expressed my voice as a researcher by mobilizing concepts absent from the CSR literature, letting the richness of my fieldwork appear more vividly. Learning to fully assume the singularity of my voice as a researcher and to textually construct it as a feature of originality (Locke & Golden-Biddle, 1997) was a journey in itself — an ongoing one actually.

Ethical considerations

Unethical behavior on the part of researchers has a high cost for both the academic community and the society, such as "exhausting the pool of naïve subjects [...], undermining the commitment to truth of the researchers themselves, [... and decreasing] trust in expert authorities" (Baumrind, 1985, p. 169). Because of the constructivist ontology and interpretive epistemology on which it relies, this research is somewhat preserved from the risk of using a higher-order objective truth as a legitimate excuse for questionable practices, or of "deceiving and objectifying [respondents]" due to a distance between the researcher and its "objects" (Lincoln & Guba, 1989, p. 226). Nonetheless, this research was carried out by scrupulously following the ethical guidelines of my institution, which are themselves informed by the policy of the Canadian Tri-Agency framework for the responsible conduct of research (Government of Canada, 2016).

More precisely, this research complies with the ethical requirements of the *Comité d'Éthique de la Recherche (CER)* of HEC Montréal — as evidenced by my certificate number 1351. All the participants to the study were given precise information prior to be

asked for their consent. Not a single interview was conducted until the respondent had signed a confidentiality form, which offered three levels of confidentiality (see appendix). The name of the focus company is revealed in the research, whereas the identity of the informants quoted in the articles is kept confidential. As regards the position or activity of the informants, they are presented to give an overview of the different views expressed. However, anytime a statement was considered as having the potential to harm an informant, I chose not to use it at all and to simply paraphrase it in my presentation of the context without referring to any particular individual, group or organization.

As a final remark, I would like to stress that my decision to study CSG was solely based on my interest for the context and on my intuition that the story behind deserved to be told and to inform general management theory. I received no funding from CSG or any related organization, something that kept me away from a too frequent tendency of management research to investigate topics and settings of interest to generous donors (Pfeffer, 2007; Walsh, Weber & Margolis, 2003).

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Appendices

Figure 3 - Snapshot of the timeline (period 1964-1985)

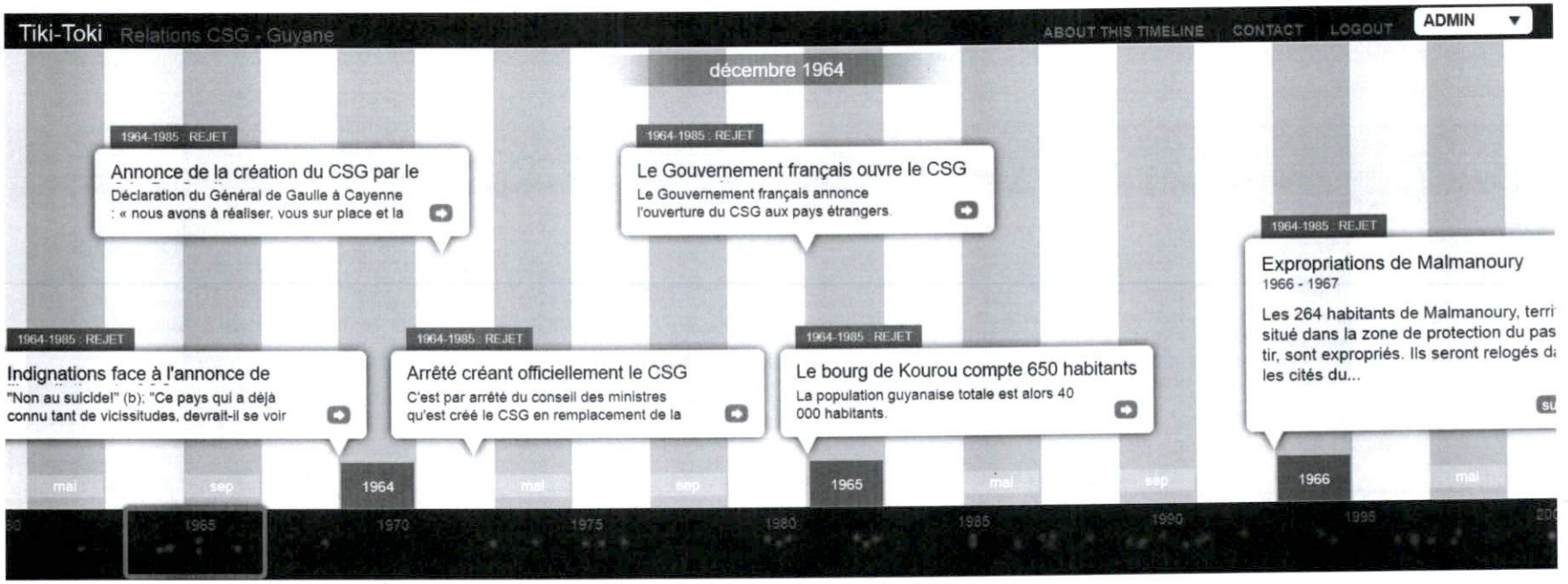


Figure 4 - Snapshot of the timeline (period 1986-1995)

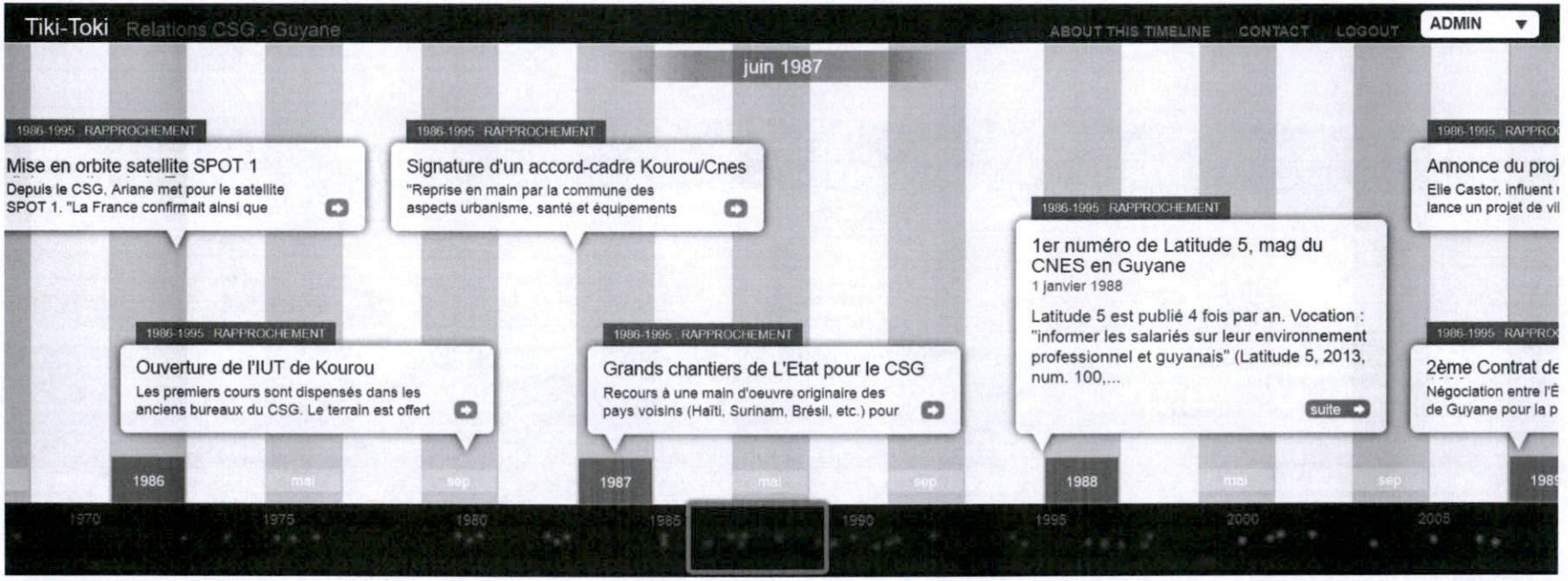


Figure 5 - Snapshot of the timeline (period 1996-2000)

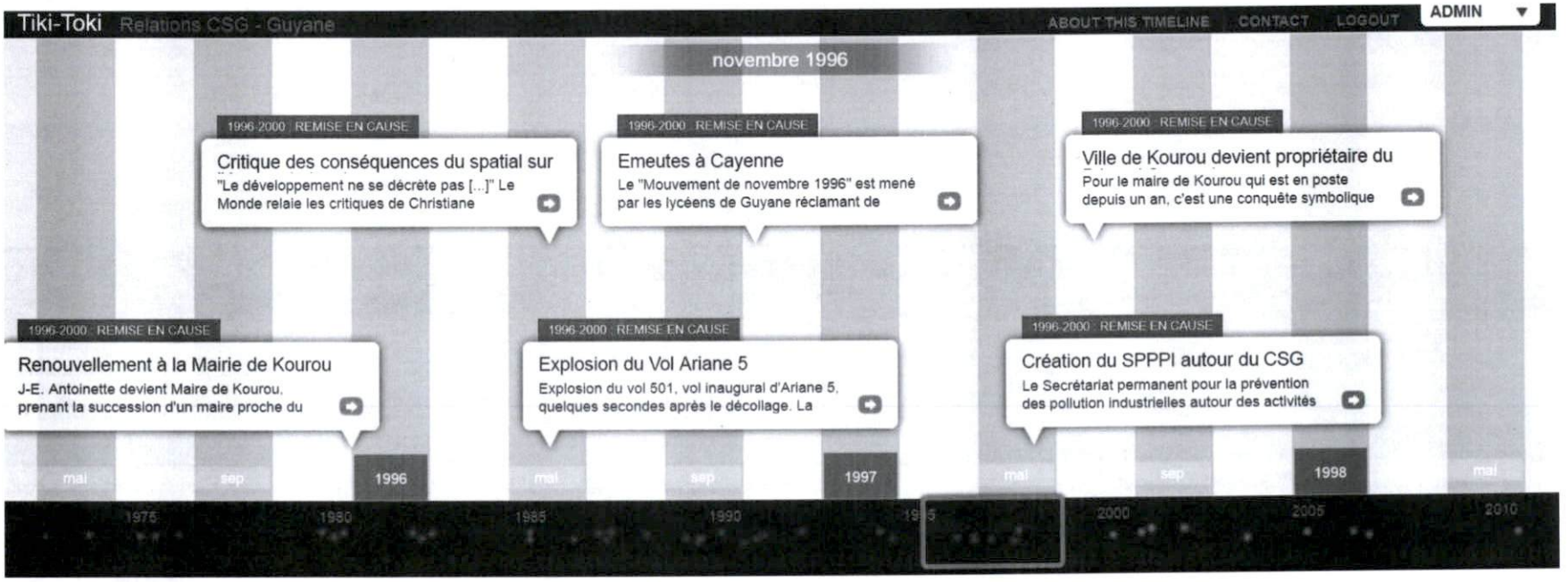
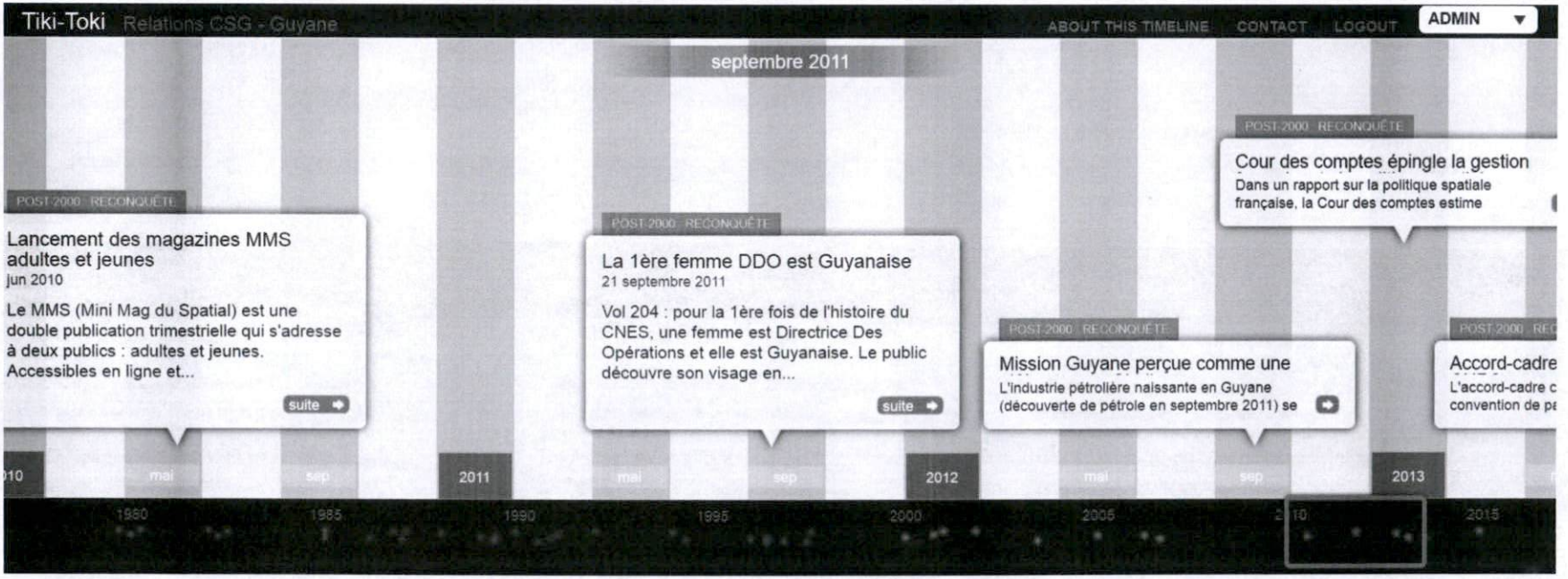


Figure 6 - Snapshot of the timeline (period post-2000)



Complete timeline of CSG–local community relations

Note: As discussed in the linguistic challenges section of this chapter, the whole research process (data collection and analysis) was conducted in French and the translation was only undertaken at the writing stage. Hence the following timeline was built in French.

CONTEXTE NATIONAL

Création du Centre National D'Études Spatiales

19 déc 1961

"La volonté du Général De Gaulle, alors chef de l'Etat, était d'assurer l'indépendance nationale dans la maîtrise des techniques de lancement spatial, condition indispensable à l'établissement d'une force de dissuasion nucléaire crédible" www.cnes.fr

La loi n° 61-1382 du 19 décembre 1961 instituant un centre national d'études spatiales, établissement public scientifique et technique, de caractère industriel et commercial, doté de l'autonomie financière et placé sous l'autorité du Premier ministre. http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=CA3F95A6A00137FDA02C410E1EDAE268.tpdjo11v_2?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000512451&dateTexte=19611220

« C'est là la véritable valeur ajoutée du CNES » insiste le Général Lorenzi : « permettre aux services de Défense du pays de bénéficier de tout ce que les activités spatiales peuvent apporter au succès de leurs missions, en ayant toujours à l'esprit ce que l'on appelle la dualité [civile/militaire]. » cnes.fr (cf. lien dans basic info)

1964-1985 REJET

Indignations face à l'annonce de l'Installation du CSG

1964

"Non au suicide!" (b); "Ce pays qui a déjà connu tant de vicissitudes, devrait-il se voir attribuer une nouvelle plaie par une nouvelle expédition de Kourou?" (a). On redoute l'installation "d'engins spatiaux dont on ne sait s'ils seront à caractère pacifiste ou belliciste" (a)

Source : Journal Debout Guyane du Parti socialiste guyanais. Editions du 23 mai 1964 (a) et du 6 juin 1964 (b)

1964-1985 REJET

Annonce de la création du CSG par le Général De Gaulle

22 mar 1964

Déclaration du Général de Gaulle à Cayenne : « nous avons à réaliser, vous sur place et la France avec vous, une grande œuvre française en Guyane, telle que l'on s'aperçoive dans toutes les régions du monde où se trouve ce département. Il faut qu'on le voie et qu'on le sache partout. Nous avons commencé, nous continuerons »

Sources : Guillebaud, 1976 : 214; Guillebaud, 1998 : 58; Vivier, Vissac, Matheron, 1995 : 16

1964-1985 : REJET

Arrêté créant officiellement le CSG

14 avr 1964

C'est par arrêté du conseil des ministres qu'est créé le CSG en remplacement de la base de lancement du Sahara, dont les accords d'Évian (France-Algérie) prévoient la fermeture

Les études pour le choix du site de lancement ont été effectuées par la division Équipement Sol de la Direction scientifique et technique du CNES étudie différentes possibilités.

Source : http://www.cnes-csg.fr/web/CNES-CSG-fr/9777-implantation.php

1964-1985 : REJET

Le Gouvernement français ouvre le CSG aux pays étrangers

jan 1965

Le Gouvernement français annonce l'ouverture du CSG aux pays étrangers. Réponse favorable du Centre européen pour la mise au point et la construction d'engins spéciaux, qui commence à y lancer les fusées Europa II dès juillet 1966

Source : Impact des activités du Centre spatial guyanais sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 : REJET

Le bourg de Kourou compte 650 habitants

1965

La population guyanaise totale est alors 40 000 habitants

1964-1985 : REJET

Expropriations de Malmanoury

1966 - 1967

Les 264 habitants de Malmanoury, territoire situé dans la zone de protection du pas de tir, sont expropriés. Ils seront relogés dans les cités du stade de Sinnamary et Kourou, avec une compensation dérisoire. Fait à noter : Le CSG parle de "déplacements de populations" plutôt que d'expropriations (Entrevue ancien directeur CSG, 13-12-2012)

"Les expropriations ont mis fin à des modes de vie. [...] Les relogements ont lieu dans des logements sociaux exigus. Cela donne lieu à une détresse humaine. [...] Des familles modestes se retrouvent démunies face à l'État" (Entrevue ancienne élue, 2012);

« Les déplacements de populations se sont "faits selon des démarches des années 1960. [...] Sur le plan qualitatif le fait de déplacer des populations a marqué les populations [...] et c'est ce marquage trans-générationnel qui se voit" (Entrevue ancien haut responsable du CSG, 2012);

Décret d'expropriation date de 1965 (source : Redon, 2003 - itw Kramer)

1964-1985 REJET

Lancement de la 1ère fusée depuis le CSG

9 avr 1968

Le CSG voit décoller la fusée Véronique. EN 1970, suivra la mise en orbite du satellite allemand Dial

1964-1985 REJET

Arrêt du programme Europa II

1972

Suite à l'échec du lancement de la fusée Europa en 1971, c'est tout le programme qui est mis à l'arrêt. S'ensuivra une désactivation partielle du CSG : entre 1972 et 1975, les dépenses d'investissement se retrouvent au plus bas niveau de toute l'histoire du CSG. Les effectifs de personnels aussi sont à la baisse et franchissent le seuil de 500 personnes en 1974, pour atteindre 420 personnes en 1975 (c,est la "configuration B", qui correspond à la désactivation partielle).
Source : impact de l'activité du CSG sur l'esemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 REJET

Arrivée controversée de la Légion étrangère en Guyane

sep 1973

Le 3ème Régiment étranger d'Infanterie quitte Madagascar à destination de la Guyane. La protection du CSG entre tout de suite dans ses missions principales
Aujourd'hui la principale mission du 3ème REI est la protection des installations du CSG, notamment dans le cadre des opérations Titan qui se déroulent en amont et durant les lancements de fusées.

1964-1985 REJET

La population guyanaise s'élève à 59 100 habitants

1975

La valeur ajoutée marchande globale est évaluée à 13 875 francs per capita (francs de 1985). Au moment de l'installation du CSG en 1965, elle était de 12 500 francs per capita (francs de 1985). Les emplois induits par le spatial en Guyane s'élèvent à 1100 pour la décennie 1965-1975
Source : impact de l'activité du CSG sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 : REJET

Création de l'Agence Spatiale Européenne

30 mai 1975

L'ASE/ESA regroupe alors 11 États et signe, en mai 1976, des accords avec le Gouvernement français et le C.N.E.S pour utiliser le CSG afin de mettre en oeuvre le programme Ariane. C'est donc la réactivation du CSG (participation financière de l'ESA). Attn : entrée en vigueur en 1980.

Sources : Source Rapport Sénat CSG 2013; Impact des activités du Centre spatial guyanais sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 : REJET

Reprise de la croissance des activités du CSG

1976 - 2001

Les effectifs du CSG recommencent à croître : 470 en 1976; 550 en 1977; 600 en 1978; 700 en 1983; 780 en 1984 et 800 employés en 1985.

Source : Impact des activités du Centre spatial guyanais sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 : REJET

Affrontements réguliers légionnaires vs. jeunes

1979 - 1980

Fin des années 1970-début 1980, les affrontements sont récurrents. On peut lire devant certains bars de Kourou "entrée interdite aux Noirs et aux chiens"

Source : entrevue Syndicaliste, 17-12-2012)

1964-1985 : REJET

Succès du 1er tir opérationnel d'Ariane 1

24 déc 1979

C'est grâce à ce vol que le CSG devient "une entreprise industriellement et économiquement réussie" Source : Itw J. Barre

Source : impact de l'activité du CSG sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 REJET

La société Arianespace est créée

mar 1980

Arianespace est fondée par 36 industriels européens (secteurs aérospatiale et électronique), en vue de la production, la commercialisation et du lancement des fusées Ariane.
Source : impact de l'activité du CSG sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane (p. 8)

1964-1985 REJET

Politique industrielle et de recrutement locaux

1982

"Mise en place d'une politique industrielle locale pour la réalisation de certains achats du Cnes/CSG en Guyane et mise en place d'une politique sociale et d'emploi par recrutement au niveau local"
Source : "Le Cnes partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 14)

1964-1985 REJET

Les salariés sédentaires passent la barre des 50%

1982

Pour la première fois, les effectifs du CSG deviennent majoritairement sédentaires (339 sur 623). Néanmoins, les postes qualifiés demeurent occupés presque exclusivement par les personnels détachés.
Source : impact de l'activité du CSG sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 REJET

Grève des travailleurs de la Base spatiale

1982

Source : entrevue syndicaliste au CSG

1964-1985 REJET

La population guyanaise atteint 81 200 habitants

1985

La valeur ajoutée marchande globale, après 20 ans d'existence du CSG, est estimée à 20 900 francs per capita. Les emplois induits par l'activité spatiale s'élèvent à 1400 durant la décennie 1975-1985.
Source : impact de l'activité du CSG sur l'ensemble de la situation économique de la Guyane

1964-1985 : REJET

"Expédition punitive" de légionnaires à Kourou

1985

Suite aux agressions commises, les militaires se verront interdire l'accès au centre-ville de Kourou durant 10 ans
Source : La Dépêche, 11-08-2006)

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Mise en orbite satellite SPOT 1 d'observation de la Terre

22 fév 1986

Depuis le CSG, Ariane met pour le satellite SPOT 1. "La France confirmait ainsi que l'observation de la Terre était une des priorités de son programme spatial. Le CNES démontrait sa capacité à définir, développer et exploiter un système spatial ambitieux en s'appuyant sur les compétences des acteurs scientifiques, économiques et industriels français."
Source : CNES https://cnes.fr/fr/exposition-1986-2016-lobservation-de-la-terre-30-ans-dinnovations

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Ouverture de l'IUT (Institut Universitaire Technologique) de Kourou

8 oct 1986

Les premiers cours sont dispensés dans les anciens bureaux du CSG. Le terrain est offert par la Ville de Kourou et les fonds proviennent de l'État.
Source : dépêche AFP du 5 octobre 1988. cf. archives CSG

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Signature d'un accord-cadre Kourou/Cnes

jan 1987

"Reprise en main par la commune des aspects urbanisme, santé et équipements socio-culturels, cession par le Cnes à la commune de 600 hectares de terrain". La même année, signature Convention Cnes/Région
Source : "Le CNES partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 14)

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Grands chantiers de L'État pour le CSG

1987

Recours à une main d'œuvre originaire des pays voisins (Haïti, Surinam, Brésil, etc.) pour la réalisation des grands chantiers au profit du CSG.

1986-1995 RAPPROCHEMENT

1er numéro de Latitude 5, mag du CNES en Guyane

1988

Latitude 5 est publié 4 fois par an. Vocation : "informer les salariés sur leur environnement professionnel et guyanais" (Latitude 5, 2013, num. 100, p. 3) Numéro 100 (rétrospective) : http://fr.calameo.com/read/001500395e86348ea1d5c
1er numéro de 1988 est publié l'année du premier lancement d'Ariane 4

1986-1995 RAPPROCHEMENT

2ème Contrat de Plan État-Région 1989-1993

1989

Négociation entre l'État et le Conseil régional de Guyane pour la programmation et le financement pluriannuels de projets structurants

1986-1995 RAPPROCHEMENT

Annonce du projet Sinnamary 2000

1989

Elie Castor, influent maire de Sinnamary, lance un projet de ville nouvelle. "Castor veut imposer de nouvelles règles du jeu [par un rééquilibrage territorial entre Kourou et Sinnamary]" (Entrevue ancien élu du Conseil régional, 2012)

1986-1995 RAPPROCHEMENT

Grève des travailleurs de la Base spatiale

1989

Revendications : abolition des différences de traitement entre personnels détachés et locaux; accès à la formation.
C'est la 1ère fois qu'un tir est reporté. Source : Entrevue représentant syndical.

1986-1995 RAPPROCHEMENT

Lancement du Plan P.H.E.D.R.E.

2 déc 1989

Par la voix du Préfet de Guyane, l'État annonce le lancement du plan P.H.È.D.R.E (Partenariat Hermès Développement Régional) en vue de faire contribuer le spatial au développement régional de la Guyane
Il s'agit de jeter les bases "d'une alliance, d'un soutien et d'un entrainement dans déséquilibres entre la Guyane et le spatial". in Présentation à la CCIG 1989 du Plan Phedre, allocution du Préfet de Guyane. Cf. documents sélectionnés par archiviste du CSG; Le CNES participe à hauteur de 35% du montant du plan.

Source : "Le Cnes partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 14)

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Signature de la convention de site du CSG

1990

Objectif annoncé : harmoniser le traitement des salariés du CSG, quel que soit leur employeur

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Grève UTG et CFDT soutenue par EDF

nov 1990 - jan 1991

Le mouvement de grève menace d'échouer mais aboutit grâce au soutien décisif du syndicat UTG d'EDF du Barrage de Petit-Saut (coupure d'électricité en solidarité avec les grévistes du CSG, ce qui contraint ce dernier à céder).
Source : Entrevue représentant syndical, 2012.

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Création usine propergol Guyane

12 jan 1991

Voir numéro 100 de Latitude 5 (2013) pour la justification de la création. Usine exploitée par Regulus. 46 bâtiments sur 300 ha
Source Latitude 5 num 93 en 2011)

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

Ralentissement des grands chantiers se fait sentir

1992

Les grands chantiers nécessaires à la consolidation de l'activité spatiale tirent à leur fin. C'est toute l'activité économique locale qui en pâtit. Le taux de chômage progresse de 2% par à partir de 1993 et atteint 24% en 1997.

Source : article Le Point du 20/09/1997. Mis en ligne en 2007 : http://www.lepoint.fr/actualites-politique/2007-01-25/guyane-les-faiblesses-de-la-poule-aux-oeufs-d-or/917/0/85669

1986-1995 : RAPPROCHEMENT

L'INSEE publie une étude sur l'impact du spatial en Guyane

1994

En 1990-1991, le spatial représente en Guyane : 49,8% de la production totale guyanaise; 28,3% du PIB régional; 26,7% des actifs (emplois directs et indirects); 20,3% des droits de douane; 41% de la fiscalisation d'entreprise locale
Source : "Le CNES partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 15)

1986-1995 RAPPROCHEMENT

3ème Contrat de Plan État-Région

1994

"Je demande que le spatial s'implique davantage" Antoine Karam, ancien président de Région (entrevue 27-12-2012). Ce CPER comprend une annexe Cnes de 18,3 M. d'euros sur 5 ans

Source chiffres : "Le Cnes partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 15)

1996-2000 REMISE EN CAUSE

Renouvellement à la Mairie de Kourou

1 jan 1996

J-E. Antoinette devient Maire de Kourou, prenant la succession d'un maire perçu comme très proche du CSG et ayant siégé 47 ans. A cette époque, persiste encore "Une scission historique entre le spatial et une génération de Kourouciens"

Source : Entrevue ancien élu municipal)

1996-2000 REMISE EN CAUSE

Critique des conséquences du spatial sur l'économie locale

4 jun 1996

"Le développement ne se décrète pas [...]" Le Monde relaie les critiques de Christiane Taubira-Delannon, Députée de Guyane, sur les conséquences du spatial sur l'économie locale

L'élue déclare « le développement ne se décrète pas. Chaque lancement représente 100 millions de francs injectés dans l'économie guyanaise mais notre taux de dépendance est tel que cet apport d'argent ne représente rien d'autre qu'une subvention à l'importation ». Source : Lassalle, 1996 – cf. archives numérisées)

1996-2000 REMISE EN CAUSE

Explosion du Vol Ariane 5

4 jun 1996

Explosion du vol 501, vol inaugural d'Ariane 5, quelques secondes après le décollage. La gestion de cet accident par le CSG est jugée défaillante

Les secondes qui suivirent l'explosion, aucune consigne ne sera donnée par le CNES/CSG. Puis on tentera de rassurer la population, mais tandis qu'elle ne dispose d'aucune protection, elle voit les gendarmes équipés de masques à gaz. Inquiétude générale. (Entrevue journaliste)

1996-2000 : REMISE EN CAUSE

Émeutes à Cayenne

11 nov 1996 - 26 nov 1996

Le "Mouvement de novembre 1996" est mené par les lycéens de Guyane réclamant de meilleures conditions pour leur scolarité

Source : article Le Point du 20/09/1997. Mis en ligne en 2007 : http://www.lepoint.fr/actualites-politique/2007-01-25/guyane-les-faiblesses-de-la-poule-aux-oeufs-d-or/917/0/85669

1996-2000 : REMISE EN CAUSE

Création du SPPPI autour du CSG

14 jun 1997

Le Secrétariat permanent pour la prévention des pollutions industrielles autour des activités du CSG est créé par arrêté préfectoral

La création du SPPPI est décidée dans la foulée de l'explosion d'Ariane. Cette instance est créée suite aux demandes d'une parlementaire guyanaise qui interpelle le gouvernement à plusieurs reprises

1996-2000 : REMISE EN CAUSE

Ville de Kourou devient propriétaire du Dégrad Saramaka

1997

Du point de vue des autorités municipales, c'est une conquête symbolique forte : la municipalité reprend la main sur l'aménagement du territoire.

Source : Entrevue ancien élu municipal

POST-2000 : RECONQUÊTE

Création de la Mission Guyane du CSG (Annexe CPER)

3 jan 2000

Le CNES/CSG crée la Mission Guyane, pour contribuer à créer de l'activité économique et des emplois pérennes par l'accompagnement de porteurs de projets

2 volets dans les activités de la Mission Guyane : Annexe Cnes au Contrat de Plan État-Région; Conventions de partenariat CNES et communes de Guyane (aide au développement économique, culturel et social)

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Création de Guyane Technopole

28 sep 2000

"Favoriser l'installation et le développement d'entreprises dans les secteurs de hautes technologies" (in Investir et Gagner en Guyane, juil. 2002, p. 34) Le CNES/CSG est l'un des partenaires du projet

Partenaires du projet : Conseil régional, Chambre de commerce et d'industrie, Chambre d'agricultur, EDF, CNES, MEDEF, Rectorat de Guyane, CIRAD, IRD, Institut Pasteur de Guyane

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Convention avec l'Hôpital de Cayenne -Télémedecine

2001

Le CNES (Centre national d'Études Spatiales, France) signe une convention avec le Centre hospitalier Andrée Rosemon afin de coopérer à la mise en œuvre d'un réseau de téléconsultations médicales en Guyane

Source : "Le Cnes partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 9)

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Inauguration 1er site équipé d'une valise de télémedecine

1 nov 2001

CSG et le CHAR (Centre hospitalier Andrée-Rosemon) inaugurent premier site équipé d'une valise de télémédecine. Dans un souci d'accès aux soins pour tous, ces valises sont désormais implantées sur douze sites isolés de Guyane et permettent de diagnostiquer à distance dix pathologies. Cette application laisse envisager une future coopération avec la Caraïbe et les pays voisins.

Source : latitude 5 avril 2008

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Création de l'association Espace Guyane Entreprises

jun 2003

Cette association représente le volet industriel, pour la Guyane, des projets de la Communauté des Villes Ariane

Source : "Le Cnes partenaire du développement économique de la Guyane", Conférence de presse du 23 juin 2004 (p. 10)

POST-2000 : RECONQUÊTE

Création de la station SEAS

2005

SEAS Guyane (Surveillance de l'Environnement Assistée par Satellite) permet de faire de la télédétection en Amazonie
Source : Latitude 5 #99 de janvier 2013

POST-2000 : RECONQUÊTE

Signature 1ère convention CNES/Rectorat

10 mar 2006

Renouvellement en 2008
Source : Latitude 5 avril 2008

POST-2000 : RECONQUÊTE

"Expédition punitive" de légionnaires à Kourou

7 aoû 2006

Une trentaine de légionnaire "armés de bâtons et cagoulés, [...] ont déferlé sur Kourou" (La Dépêche). Bilan : 7 blessés. Fort émoi. Christiane Taubira fustige "les atermoiements de l'enquête" (La Dépêche)
http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2007/01/26/expedition-punitive-a-kourou-6-a-18-mois-avec-sursis-pour-17-legionnaires_860447_3224.html

POST-2000 : RECONQUÊTE

Lancement des magazines MMS adultes et jeunes

jun 2010

Le MMS (Mini Mag du Spatial) est une double publication trimestrielle qui s'adresse à deux publics : adultes et jeunes. Accessibles en ligne et distribuées dans les boîtes aux lettres

POST-2000 : RECONQUÊTE

La 1ère femme DDO est Guyanaise

21 sep 2011

Vol 204 : pour la 1ère fois de l'histoire du CNES, une femme est Directrice Des Opérations et elle est Guyanaise. Le public découvre son visage en direct du lancement
Cet évènement sera fortement médiatisé par le CSG et relayé par les médias locaux : http://www.guadeloupe.franceantilles.fr/regions/dans-la-caraibe/aimee-cippe-j-ai-toujours-besoin-de-nouveaux-challenges-19-02-2012-158828.php ;

Un documentaire intitulé "Aimée, fille d'Ariane" est réalisé dans la foulée : http://www.cnes.fr/web/CNES-fr/9736-gp-documentaire-aimee-fille-d-ariane.php

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Mission Guyane perçue comme une référence par Shell

2012

L'industrie pétrolière naissante en Guyane (découverte de pétrole en septembre 2011) se rapproche du CNES/CSG pour mieux comprendre sa Mission Guyane et s'en inspirer.
Source : Entrevue représentant Mission Guyane

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Cour des comptes épingle la gestion française de la politique spatiale

28 jan 2013

Dans un rapport sur la politique spatiale française, la Cour des comptes estime notamment que l'engagement financier français est démesuré par rapport à ses partenaires européens

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Accord-cadre signé entre le CSG et le CNRS

16 jul 2013

L'accord-cadre consiste à prolonger la convention de partenariat qui avait été signée en 1976 entre ces deux acteurs
Source : site du CSG (brèves) : http://www.cnes-csg.fr/web/CNES-CSG-fr/9840-toutes-les-breves.php

POST-2000 RECONQUÊTE

Approbation Projet Ariane 6

1 déc 2014

Conférence ministérielle des membres de l'ESA à Luxembourg : accord pour lancement d'Ariane 6 en 2020. Un nouveau pas de tir sera construit au CSG pour 600 millions d'euros. Pays membres (20 européens) + Canada (membre associé - global dimension?)
S'inspirant du modèle américain de SpaceX, les politiques européens ont accepté de transférer la responsabilité du développement d'Ariane 6 à Airbus Defence & Space (DS), maître d'œuvre d'Ariane, et à son motoriste Safran

Sources : http://www.lefigaro.fr/societes/2014/12/03/20005-20141203ARTFIG00041-une-nouvelle-organisation-industrielle-pour-ariane-6.php

http://www.sudouest.fr/2014/12/06/lancement-d-ariane-6-nous-continuerons-la-course-en-tete-1759959-706.php;xNLx;;xNLx;http://www.sudouest.fr/2014/12/02/agence-spatiale-europeenne-quel-avenir-pour-le-lanceur-ariane-1755479-705.php

Consent form distributed to informants prior the interviewing

Formulaire B
FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT À UNE ENTREVUE HORS ORGANISATION

1. Renseignements sur le projet de recherche

Vous avez été approché pour participer au projet de recherche suivant :

« Les relations entreprises-communautés dans le cadre de projets structurants pour un territoire : le cas des activités spatiale et pétrolière en Guyane »

Ce projet est réalisé par :
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Résumé : L'objet de cette recherche est d'explorer la façon dont entreprises et communautés interagissent en Guyane autour de l'activité spatiale implantée depuis près de 50 ans et de l'activité pétrolière en émergence. Il s'agit de comprendre quels acteurs sont impliqués, comment ils s'organisent et interagissent entre eux. Pour chacune des 2 activités étudiées, une diversité d'acteurs sera interrogée afin de comprendre le positionnement des différentes parties prenantes.

2. Aspect d'éthique de la recherche

Votre participation à ce projet de recherche doit être totalement volontaire. Vous pouvez refuser de répondre à l'une ou l'autre des questions. Il est aussi entendu que vous pouvez demander de mettre un terme à la rencontre, ce qui interdira au chercheur d'utiliser l'information recueillie. Pour toute question en matière d'éthique, vous pouvez communiquer avec le secrétariat de ce comité au (514) 340-7182 ou par courriel à cer@hec.ca. N'hésitez pas à poser au chercheur toutes les questions que vous jugerez pertinentes.

3. Confidentialité des renseignements personnels obtenus

Vous devez vous sentir libre de répondre franchement aux questions qui vous seront posées. Le chercheur, de même que tous les autres membres de l'équipe de recherche, le cas échéant, s'engagent à protéger les renseignements personnels obtenus en assurant la protection et la sécurité des données recueilles, en conservant tout enregistrement dans un lieu sécuritaire, en ne discutant des renseignements confidentiels qu'avec les membres de l'équipe de recherche et en n'utilisant pas les données qu'un participant aura explicitement demandé d'exclure de la recherche.

De plus les chercheurs s'engagent à ne pas utiliser les données recueillies dans le cadre de ce projet à d'autres fins que celles prévues, à moins qu'elles ne soient approuvées par le Comité d'éthique de recherche de HEC Montréal. **Notez que votre approbation à participer à ce projet de recherche équivaut à votre approbation pour l'utilisation de ces données pour des projets futurs qui pourraient être approuvés par le Comité d'éthique de recherche de HEC Montréal**;

Toutes les personnes pouvant avoir accès au contenu de votre entrevue de même que la personne responsable d'effectuer la transcription de l'entrevue, ont signé un engagement de confidentialité.

4. Protection des renseignements personnels lors de la publication des résultats

Les renseignements que vous avez confiés seront utilisés pour la préparation d'un document qui sera rendu public. Les informations brutes resteront confidentielles, mais le chercheur utilisera ces informations pour son projet de publication. Il vous appartient de nous indiquer le niveau de protection que vous souhaitez conserver lors de la publication des résultats de recherche.

- **Consentement à l'enregistrement audio de l'entrevue :**

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☐ **J'accepte que mon nom apparaisse lors de la diffusion des résultats de la recherche.**

Si vous cochez cette case, les chercheurs pourront reprendre certains de vos propos en citant votre nom pour l'ensemble des documents ou articles de recherche produits à la suite de cette étude. Vous ne vous attendez à aucune protection de votre anonymat.

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☐ **Je ne veux pas que mon nom apparaisse lors de la diffusion des résultats de la recherche.**

Si vous cochez cette case, aucune information relative à votre nom ne sera divulguée lors de la diffusion des résultats de la recherche. Vous pourrez compter sur la protection de votre anonymat.

Le comité d'éthique de la recherche de HEC Montréal a statué que la collecte de données liée à la présente étude satisfait aux normes éthiques en recherche auprès des êtres humains.

SIGNATURE DU PARTICIPANT À L'ENTREVUE :

Prénom et nom :

_____

Signature : _____ Date (jj/mm/aaaa) : _____

SIGNATURE DU CHERCHEUR :

Prénom et nom : Nolywé Delannon

Signature : _____ Date (jj/mm/aaaa) : _____

Chapter 1
Enacting Political CSR Locally: Business–Government–Local Community Relations in the European Space Industry

Abstract

Based on the longitudinal case study of an organization in the European space industry, this paper shows how political corporate social responsibility (CSR) is enacted through the interactions between business, government and local community. Contending that the role played by business in the political arena can be best captured at the local level, it provides in-depth evidence of the blurred frontiers between the private and public spheres of society. This paper illuminates how such a blurring results from the constant reformulation of the role played not only by business, as outlined in the existing literature, but also by government and local community. It complements political CSR—which predominantly focuses on globalization and the erosion of nation states as the main drivers of the political nature of CSR—with two main contributions. First, while previous research has conceptualized the role of government in promoting CSR, this paper identifies situations in which government impedes the emergence of CSR. Second, it highlights the role of local elected representatives in renegotiating business–government–community relations, through the mobilization of specific resources at their disposal in public spaces such as forums, arenas and courts.

Keywords:

Business–government–local community relations; longitudinal case study; political CSR; public–private spheres; space industry.

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Rise and limitations of Political CSR as a field of research

Interactions between business and the rest of society in the political arena have been discussed increasingly during the past decade, and such interactions can be encompassed under the broad label of political corporate social responsibility (CSR) (Frynas & Stephens, 2014). However, political CSR as a field of research has been criticized on several fronts. First, it has been described as being highly speculative and lacking empirical foundations (van Oosterhout, 2005). A recent literature review that mapped 146 peer-reviewed articles on political CSR, published in 19 journals between 2000 and 2013 (see Frynas & Stephens, 2014), shows that only a handful of these articles were based on empirical research. A similar conclusion was drawn by Kourula & Delalieux (2015) who bemoan the lack of empirical work on political CSR. Second, one of the central claims of political CSR research—governments' loss of power and the emergence and shaping of political CSR are to be largely attributed to the dominant forces of globalization—has been questioned (Djelic & Etchanchu, 2015; Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012; Whelan, 2012). In all, the emphasis on globalization as the key explaining factor for the emergence of political CSR has contributed toward maintaining the debate on an overall conceptual basis. Empirical evidence to refine this field of research according to the precepts of Eisenhardt (1989) and Glaser & Strauss (1967) is still missing.

In this paper, we seek to critically advance the research agenda of political CSR with two contributions. First, our contribution is to provide fine-grained empirical evidence about the specific role played by government in the enactment of CSR at the local level. In particular, we show that government can impede the emergence of CSR, a negative role that has not been theorized in a systematic way. Far from simply retreating and leaving corporations operate in a vacuum, as consistently argued by political CSR theorists, government actually plays an active role in CSR. Such a role can be *positive* or *neutral*, as Gond, Kang & Moon's (2011) typology of CSR–government configurations shows. What our data show is that this role can also be *negative*, by creating a context propitious to the absence of responsibility or to irresponsibility. Second, this paper contributes to the existing literature through a detailed analysis that allows to pinpoint the

role of local community representatives in bringing about change in the configurations of business–government–local community relations. More specifically, this study evidences the central role of local community representatives in gradually contributing to power redistribution by seizing opportunities to advocate for the creation of new public spaces where they can demand more business involvement in the community. Both these contributions, on the changing roles of governments and on the role of local community representatives contribute to the political CSR literature which has so far provided either deterministic (Banerjee, 2003) or globalization-driven (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011; Scherer, Palazzo & Matten, 2014) explanations for the political nature of CSR.

This article is guided by the following research question: *How do configurations of business–government–local communities shift over time in the enactment of political CSR?* Our paper is based on the longitudinal and inductive case study of the Guiana Space Center—commonly referred to as the CSG, the French acronym for *Centre Spatial Guyanais*—an organization that has been in operation since 1964 and has been shaped by interactions between business, government, and the local community. The CSG was initially established as a public organization, and over time, it has become a hybrid organization through increasing participation of business interests motivated by technological developments and profit.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: we start by reviewing the political CSR literature and identifying the scope for contribution by focusing on gaining improved understanding of the role of government in relation to local enactment of political CSR. We then present our case study of a unique setting in which blurred frontiers of the political and economic spheres are exacerbated, thus allowing us to study in-depth the interactions between business, government, and the local community. We show how these interactions have gone through significant change over the 50-year study period considered herein. We then present our findings and discuss, from a theoretical standpoint, through which mechanisms configurations of relations can evolve over time.

1.2 Enacting Political CSR Locally

1.2.1. Defining the Field of Political CSR

Political CSR is a growing field of research that stresses the role played by companies in the political arena and calls for greater attention toward this phenomenon (Frynas & Stephens, 2014; Moon, Kang & Gond, 2010). While previous important works have discussed the political dimensions of CSR, often from a critical perspective (see Banerjee, 2008; Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Newell & Frynas, 2007), but also from a descriptive standpoint (see Matten & Crane, 2005), the term political CSR was coined by Scherer & Palazzo (2007). Following this publication and a few others (see Matten & Crane, 2005; Scherer, Palazzo & Baumann, 2006), a "political turn" was witnessed in the broader field of CSR (Djelic & Etchanchu, 2014; Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012). According to a recent literature review, 146 articles related to this turn in the field of CSR were published between 2000 and 2013 (Frynas & Stephens, 2014). Frynas & Stephens (2014: 3) defined political CSR as "activities where CSR has an intended or unintended political impact or where intended or unintended political impacts of CSR exist," and we use this definition in our study. Such a comprehensive definition allows for the inclusion of a wide range of contributions that address issues related to the role played by business in the political arena.

1.2.2. Role of Government in the Enactment of Political CSR

The centrality of voluntarism as a mechanism for CSR (see, Carroll, 1979; Davis, 1973; Friedman, 1970) has long prevented study of the roles of government in relation to CSR issues. Indeed, CSR has traditionally been conceptualized as practices that "start where the law ends" (Davis, 1973: 313), highlighting the voluntarism principle underpinning it. This dominant focus on corporate voluntarism has led to neglect of the role of government in its interactions with companies and society in general, especially with regard to CSR. Four decades after the formulation of the voluntarism postulate, Lawton, McGuire & Rajwani acknowledged that "the study of corporations and their interaction with government has yet to realize its potential" (2013: 87). In their recent

literature review, Dentchev, Haezendonck & van Balen (2015: 1) conclude that "the role of governments in business and society research remains underexplored" and insist that such a state of affairs is contradicted by strong empirical evidence of the different roles of government around CSR issues.

The emergence of political CSR has brought to the forefront the discussion around the role played by private companies in the political arena (Garriga & Melé, 2004). Acknowledging the political role played by private companies alongside or in substitution of government, this literature has created a breach in what Moon & Vogel call "the dichotomous view that posits that CSR and government are, by definition, mutually exclusive" (2008: 304). Departing from the dichotomous view allows for exploration of the interface between business and government in the enactment of CSR. Yet, just like the rest of the CSR literature, political CSR has tended to rely exclusively on the perspective of the private firm, thereby overlooking the role of government. To synthesize, while mainstream CSR has ignored the role of government owing to reliance on the principle of voluntarism and managerial discretion (Dentchev et al., 2015), political CSR has done so for two main reasons: first, the adoption of a "strong globalization thesis" that posits complete retreat of the state (Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012: 650) and second, subscription to an instrumental view that limits involvement of business in the political arena to a question of corporate strategy and financial performance (see Lawton et al. (2013) for a comprehensive literature review of corporate political activity).

A few proponents of political CSR have explored business–government interaction in the enactment of CSR from two main angles. First, critical theorists such as Banerjee (2000) have studied such interaction to highlight the perpetuation of colonial discourse in order to justify the conduct of irresponsible practices. This research avenue has tended to view local actors and stakeholders as victims of the convergence of interests between governments and business organizations, particularly in so-called development projects. This often deterministic line of research has promoted the view that local stakeholders, particularly, local community, tend to be structurally deprived of any agency against these joint development schemes (Banerjee 2003).

Second, Gond, Kang & Moon (2011) explored various CSR–government configurations, that is, the role played by business–government interactions in shaping CSR approaches and practices. They identified five CSR–government configurations in which CSR can be (1) self-government, (2) facilitated by government, (3) through partnership with government, (4) mandated by government, or (5) a form of government. While Gond et al. (2011) admitted that their five configurations are ideal-types in the Weberian tradition and do not account for the variety of manifestations of the phenomenon of interest, they analyzed archival data to study the historical trajectories of such configurations in Western Europe and East Asia. Consequently, they paved the way for in-depth exploration of how business–government interaction contributes to shaping CSR. The central ambition of the present paper is to further this research agenda by presenting in-depth evidence of the changing roles of government, business organizations and local community in the enactment of political CSR at the local level. Furthermore, unlike Gond et al. (2011) who considered only the national level of analysis, we focus on the local level and integrate the local community into their initial ideal-types.

1.2.3. Enacting Political CSR Locally: Business–Government–Local Community Relations

It is our contention that the enactment of political CSR at the local level requires taking the local community seriously. While the local community has traditionally been considered as one of the primary stakeholders of the firm (Freeman, 1984; Freeman, Harrison & Wicks, 2007) and is mentioned frequently in works on stakeholder theory and CSR, its treatment in the literature has generally remained superficial (Bowen, Newenham-Kahindi & Herremans, 2010; Dunham, Freeman & Lietdka, 2006). This neglect of the local community was particularly criticized by Freeman, Harrison & Wicks (2007) for preventing scholars from bringing useful insights on the importance of the local community in managing stakeholder relations.

Political CSR makes no exception and treats the local community with less importance compared with other stakeholders. A good illustration of this tendency is found in Crane, Matten & Moon (2004), who theorize very convincingly the benefits of

conceptualizing stakeholders as citizens while omitting the local community from their discussion.

An examination of the local community can possibly enrich our practical and theoretical understanding of the role of government in enacting political CSR. On practical grounds, we argue that because the provision of social or community services is one of the most tangible manifestations of political CSR (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Matten, Crane & Chapple, 2003), attention should be focused on investigation of the relations between business and the local community. On more theoretical grounds, while the local community was included in early conceptualizations of political CSR, it seems to have been neglected later on. Logsdon & Wood (2002), admittedly one of Matten & Crane's (2005) theoretical inspirations, formulated a normative conceptualization of business citizenship in which they linked domestic and global levels of analysis. By doing so, Logsdon & Wood (2002) acknowledged the very local roots of business citizenship because it originates in the relations between the firm and the community in which the firm operates. Surprisingly, the political CSR literature that developed in the pathway of Logsdon & Wood (2002) has not given any particular importance to the local community.

Defining local community from a political CSR perspective. In line with Muthuri, Chapple & Moon (2009), we understand the local community as being composed of individuals and groups based on the dimensions of locality—sharing a territory, geography, or proximity—, shared interests and collective action, that is, action that requires institution-level coordination for collective policy- and decision-making.. This understanding of community centered on localness, shared interest, and capacity for collective action allows us to go beyond the restrictive definition of the community often found in business and society literature, which is typically instrumental (McVea & Freeman, 2005) and limited to salience assessment of a business' neighboring population from the perspective of the business organization on the basis of Mitchell, Agle & Wood's (1997) model. We propose our own definition of the local community based on a political CSR conceptualization of stakeholders, which is rooted in the notion of citizenship

outlined by Crane, Matten & Moon (2004). These authors (2004: 108) showed that with such a conceptualization, "rather than being simply stakeholders, we could see these groups as citizens [...] or as other constituencies participating in the administration of citizenship for others." We then define the local community as constituted of individuals and groups—as well as their spokespersons—sharing dimensions of locality, interests, collective action, and collective decision-making arrangements that are embedded in broader, regional, or national institutions. The inclusion of spokespersons is central in our citizenship perspective of the local community because it leads us to consider such actors as elected officials who speak on behalf of the local community but have generally been excluded from previous globalization–centered(see Scherer & Palazzo, 2011) conceptualizations. Owing to the adoption of a broader view of the community, the proposed citizenship conceptualization allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions between business, government, and the local community.

This article aims to complement the existing literature by delving into the configurations of relations that allow for the enactment of political CSR at the local level. In doing so, we present evidence from a longitudinal study of the Guiana Space Center. Detailed examination of the Guiana Space Center, a consortium of public and private entities, aims to highlight the processes that shape CSR over time via interactions among business, government and local community. More specifically, we aim to shed light on the changing configurations of relations between government, business organization, and local community over time. Furthermore, this in-depth examination contributes to the generation of a relevant research agenda that aims to open up political CSR to new empirically grounded and local research avenues.

1.3 Methods

The empirical work performed herein is based on longitudinal data, as would any process research shedding light on the way phenomena evolve over time (Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas & Van de Ven, 2013). To answer the *how* question of this research and because the investigation of business–government–local community interactions is ongoing, case study seemed to be the most suitable strategy (Yin, 1994) for our research. An additional rationale for adopting this strategy is that "thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the

interactions between business, government, and the local community can be made using a case study compiling rich archival data and interviews in order to "deliberately [...] cover contextual conditions" (Yin, 1994: 13). In the case study approach, the specificities of the setting become critical in understanding what is happening (Eisenhardt, 1989).

1.3.1. Guiana Space Center (CSG)

The Guiana Space Center (commonly called Centre Spatial Guyanais or CSG) is a rocket launch site located in French Guiana, a French overseas Département[i] in South America. The CSG is a property of the French national center for space studies (CNES), a public enterprise responsible for conceiving the French space policy under the authority of the Prime minister (Legifrance, 1961). While originally the result of a strategic political ambition, namely, guaranteeing France's independent access to space, the specifics of the CSG's host site made it a significant economic force in French Guiana. These include a small population of 33 000 inhabitants; no preexisting industries (Granger, 2010); and meager infrastructure in terms of transportation (Colmenero-Cruz, 1987), housing, health, education, etc. (Joseph-Affandi, 1999). From the outset, the CSG has been a major economic actor at the local level and has been described a posteriori as "the driving force of the Guianese economy" by the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE, 1999). Today, it employs about 1500 persons (INSEE, 2010), generates 9000 direct and indirect jobs, and is responsible for about 15% of both the GDP and the fiscal contribution of French Guiana (CNES, 2012).). For all the aforementioned reasons, the analytical boundaries of the community are French Guiana per se.

The CSG is an extreme case, and it is particularly relevant for the study of business–government–local community interaction. First, it is an organization whose engagement with the local community has evolved quite significantly throughout its 50 years of existence, punctuated by moments of tension, contradiction, and crises. The evolution of its practices allowed the CSG to significantly increase its legitimacy over time, moving from being ostensibly rejected by its host community to being considered an indispensable partner. Moreover, the post-colonial context in which the CSG was implemented adds both complexity and value to the case because the observed evolution

challenges critical CSR theorists' view that CSR contributes toward keeping power relations unchanged (see Banerjee, 2000; Shamir, 2008). The historical perspective adopted in the study of the CSG aims to examine how power structures can be modified and how both governments and companies can significantly change their practices toward local community owing to external pressure. Second, as this study shows, engagement with local community for the CSG is not merely a discretionary prerogative as Carroll's (1991) classical pyramid of corporate social responsibility implies. On the contrary, it is an activity that corresponds to high expectations on the part of its stakeholders, as in the case of many companies with long-term operations in developing countries (Eweje, 2006; Muthuri, Chapple & Moon, 2009; Muthuri, Moon & Idemudia, 2012). In fact, given that CSG is located on a piece of French territory, it is confronted with the paradox of a locality belonging to both the industrialized world (in terms of political and institutional organization) and the developing world (in terms of socio-economic issues and geography). The CSG then faces continuous pressure to engage with the local community in such ways that match its economic power. Thirdly, because the CSG is a hybrid organization composed of both public and private enterprises and, therefore, simultaneously pursues objectives of both general interest and profitability, it is particularly exposed to conflicting political and economic pressures. The advantage of an extreme case is that it provides a context exhibiting a particularly strong manifestation of a phenomenon (Patton, 2002), and the CSG offers a revelatory setting for understanding how business–government–local community interactions are shaped by strong tensions between political and economic missions and the resulting contradictory expectations of local stakeholders. Such tensions are present in most hybrid organizations, though more moderately.

1.3.2. Data Collection

We adopted an inductive approach to study how the CSG engaged with the local community from 1964 to 2014. In line with Yin (1994)'s precepts about data triangulation when building case studies, we collected data from three sources, namely, interviews, archival data, and observations, as summarized in Table I. The strategy adopted consisted

of three dimensions, each covered by one type of data. First, archival data were used extensively to gain in-depth understanding of the history of the CSG and map its engagement with the local community since its inception. Second, observations were used to provide insights about ongoing partnerships between the CSG and organizations from the local community. More specifically, these observations helped target the most relevant local stakeholders to interview and tailor the interview guides. Finally, interviews were essentially centered on the most recent history of the CSG, namely the last 20 years, and predominantly on its current relations with the local community. Interviews were, therefore, used as both retrospective and contemporaneous accounts of the phenomenon. Since one of the authors is originally from French Guiana, she was adequately familiar with the local context to gain privileged access to the setting and understand some of the implicit references of the interviewees. Another example is the presence, in local newspapers, of references to unsuccessful previous attempts to colonize the city of Kourou where the CSG is located. In this context, the second author's contribution of bringing an outsider's perspective was crucial (Corley, Gioia & Hamilton, 2013). He continuously questioned the findings and theoretical choices suggested by the first author and when insufficiently convinced, he encouraged her to conduct additional interviews to achieve a shared understanding of the issues at stake.

In-depth interviews. A total of 30 persons were interviewed in a semi-structured manner in two phases. The first phase started in November 2012 and ended in January 2013 in French Guiana, while the second phase started and ended in July 2013 in Paris. To mitigate bias from the retrospective interview data, we followed Eisenhardt & Graebner's (2007) solution of targeting high-level respondents who we expected to be knowledgeable informants; in addition, we attempted to maintain diversity by interviewing respondents with varying group memberships and stances toward the CSG. This strategy was particularly useful for gaining fine-grained understanding of how the community relations of the CSG have evolved over time.

Table I – Data Sources

Source	Number	Information sought
Interviews	30	*Accounts of the CSG's contemporary CSR initiatives*
see details in table 1		
Archival records		*Accounts of the CSG's past CSR initiatives since 1964*
Newspaper articles	45	
Legislative documents	4	
Strategy presentations	3	
Brochures	18	
Annual reports	2	
Socioeconomic studies	15	
Interview transcripts	6	
Videos	2	
Observations	3	*Clues on how to identify key stakeholders of the CSG*

First, we interviewed high-level managers of the CSG (7), including its director as well as the director of an arm's-length organization created by the CSG to contribute to French Guiana's economic development. Second, we interviewed high-level managers of CNES and Arianespace (3) who are respectively responsible for the political and the economic (commercialization) missions of the CSG. Third, we interviewed external stakeholders such as political actors who hold or have held elected positions that led them to interact with the organization (5); members of trade unions (2); partner organizations for specific projects (2); members of the local community (6); researchers who work extensively on the CSG (2); one local mainstream media journalist specialized in the space sector; and one top-level local representative of the French Ministry of Ecology. The detailed list of the profile of our interviewees is presented in Table II. All the interviews were audiotaped and each interview lasted between 40 minutes and two hours. Once

transcribed verbatim, these interviews resulted in about 400 pages of single-spaced text. Since the interviews were conducted in French, the quotes presented in our findings are translations of the verbatim text.

Table II – Interview subjects by stakeholder groups

Stakeholder category	*Number of interviewees*	*Profile of interviewees*
French National Center for Space Studies (CNES)	2	Chief Operating Officer (Former director of the CSG) Head of Mission at the Launcher Directorate
Arianespace	1	CEO
CSG	4	Director Assistant director - Protection and Environment Expert – Ground Protection Expert - Environment
CSG's arm's-length organization for local development	3	Director Project managers (2)
Municipalities (2) where the CSG is implemented	3	Mayors of Kourou and Sinnamary Deputy mayor of Sinnamary
Members of the parliament representing French Guiana at the French parliament	2	Former member of the Parliament Senator
Local executive branch	2	Current president Former president
Trade union	2	Chief representative Secretary of a Health and Safety committee
Media	2	Specialized journalist at the main local network Editor of a scientific magazine
Local population	6	Employee of CSG (secreteriat) Former employee of CSG Inhabitants of Kourou (1) and Sinnamary (3)
Researchers	3	Social scientist Biochemist Expert in geomatics
Total	**30**	

Archival data. In January 2013, we were given access to the archival center of the CSG, and we gathered more than 700 pages of a wide variety of documents including corporate publications, socio-economic studies conducted by third parties such as INSEE and other government agencies, various reports prepared by administrative and political institutions, academic publications, and interview transcripts of prominent actors in the history of the CSG. As a complement to these rich documents, with the help of an informant, we collected archives from general and political newspapers dating as far back as 1964.

Observations. Finally, we were able to conduct two non-participant observations of the scientific events sponsored by the CSG, and two participant observations during (1) a workshop on partnering for social and economic development of French Guiana and (2) a seminar on the social responsibility of the main economic actors in French Guiana. These observations were conducted prior to the interviews and were used to gather information about how senior representatives of the CSG interact publicly and the manner in which they are treated by some of their partners. This exercise helped refine our interview guide and allowed us to base some of our questions on the activities and interactions we had witnessed. Extensive notes were taken during the non-participant observations; for participant observations, notes were taken within the same day as the observation.

1.3.3. Data Analysis

From the outset, we adopted a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) for both data collection and data analysis by going back and forth between the categories emerging from the field and the analysis. After every interview, we linked the new findings with what we had already identified in previous interviews. The interview protocol evolved incrementally, as concepts and categories emerged and gained in salience. During the interviews, we focused on events that appeared critical in the trajectory of the CSG on the basis of a timeline we had built using archival data and refined progressively with interviews. The objective, as recommended by Langley (1999),

was to gain an understanding of the different perceptions and interpretations of actors who had experienced the same events.

During one of the first interviews conducted, our attention was drawn to an initiative that was later confirmed as an important strategic decision of the CSG in terms of its relations with the community: in 2000, the then director of the CSG decided to create "Mission Guyane," an arm's-length organization that would centralize most of the CSG's engagement with the local community. Presented by the CSG as a natural step in its continuous efforts to improve and give better visibility to its activities directed at the local community, as we questioned other interviewees, it appeared that this view of the Mission Guyane was highly contested externally. For some, it had a salutary economic and development purpose and was sometimes perceived as a reaction to the pressing demands of local stakeholders to increase the quality and quantity of the CSG's contribution to local development. Yet for others, Mission Guyane was a highly politicized actor with political power exerted on behalf of the CSG, and needed to be placed under close scrutiny. We then decided to investigate further the political role of the CSG in our subsequent interviews. Some key interviewees from the CSG seemed aware of the conflicting political and economic expectations of their stakeholders and were frequently moving from political to economic justifications of their community relations. The government's role was also frequently mentioned by various interviewees to explain the CSG's evolving forms of engagement towards the local community.

These initial findings revealed the blurring of political and economic frontiers, and inspired us to search for insights from political CSR literature. Because one of the central claims of this political approach is that the traditional division of labor between public (political) and private (corporations) actors no longer holds (Matten & Crane, 2005; Matten, Crane & Chapple, 2003; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011), this literature resonated with the phenomenon we observed in the field. When studying the CSG, it was difficult to delineate the political from the economic, particularly during the recent years of its existence. However, the blurring that was taking place was converse to the one revealed by political CSR: instead of "a movement of the corporation into the political sphere" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011: 910), we were witnessing the movement of a political actor

into the economic realm. In fact, it appeared that the contribution of political CSR could be extended to a different set of actors, namely, hybrid organizations, and shed a different light on the way these actors engage in CSR activities at the local level.

1.4 Findings

1.4.1. Enacting Political CSR: Business–Government–Local Community at CSG

The erection of the CSG in French Guiana was plagued with strong tensions from the outset. On an official trip to French Guiana in April 1964, General de Gaulle, then President of the French Republic, announced the creation of the CSG in the following terms: "We are called upon to achieve, you onsite and France with you, a great French work" (Guillebaud, 1976: 214, 1998: 58; Jolivet, 1982; Vivier, Vissac & Matheron, 1995: 16). This announcement was soon followed by outraged reactions from local political actors, who denounced the absence of consultation and worried about the lack of benefits to the local community. The then Member of Parliament (MP) representing French Guiana made the following declarations on behalf of the local community:

> "All the Guianese have been convinced for good that the French government has no intention to take into account our legitimate aspirations and, even worse, behaves like a master" [Heder, 1964b].
>
> "What will be left to Guianese in this business except from the crumbs and the heavy work?" [Heder, 1964a].

In fact, the decision to create the rocket launch site in French Guiana was based on the results of two years of research for identifying the best location among 14 preselected sites across the globe. The assessment relied on 15 criteria, including geographic location (latitude), available surface, population density, and political stability; French Guiana was ranked first and way ahead of the other alternatives (Debomy, 1964). During the entire process that led to the creation of the CSG, the local community was never consulted (Colmenero-Cruz, 1987). Several informants presented these initial conditions of the

installation of CSG as having led to enduring rejection. According to a former mayor of Kourou, the city that hosts the CSG, "*there has been a historical split between CSG and a whole generation of Kouroucians*"[ii]. Echoing this perception, a former high representative of the CSG recognized that the difficult conditions of implementation created a "*trans-generational scar*" that reached even the youngest members of the community who were born long after the settling of the CSG.

If it can be argued that the absence of consultation with the local community was a common trait of political decisions at that time, the particular context of French Guiana exacerbated the resulting tension. In 1964, this territory had been part of France as a *Département* in its own right rather than as a colony for less than 20 years. The promises of economic development that came with this institutional evolution had not been met, and this new space installation was not seen as an alternative to past colonial failures. The absence of prior local consent led to a long period of distrust and absence of dialogue. An interviewee from the industry acknowledges the negative conditions prevailing at the time of installation of the CSG:

> "With the arrival of the CSG, in the mid 1960's, there have been mistakes … the original sin. In fact, when we, when I say we I mean the space industry, arrived in French Guiana, there were expropriations. And the expropriations were probably carried out under the rules which were those of the 60s… well we would not do it again today…in a rather brutal fashion, without much consideration for the affected local populations." (Former high representative of the CSG)

Evolution of Relations between the CSG and Local Community

We identified four phases between 1964 and the present. For each phase, we first present the general context and then turn to the specific role played by government in shaping the relations between the CSG and the local community. We borrowed from Gond, Kang & Moon (2011) to categorize each of these phases. According to their model for synthesizing the role of government in promoting CSR, governments may play 6

different roles: leading to CSR being (1) self-government; (2) endorsed by government; (3) facilitated by government; (4) a partnership; (5) mandated by government; and (6) a form of government. Table III summarizes these findings.

Phase 1: Repudiating (1964–1985). During its first 20 years, the CSG showed no visible sign of community engagement and was perceived by most local actors as an enclave, a transplant with a very limited integration into the local economy and community. This lack of interest on behalf of the national government toward the local community had four main manifestations.

First, the government initiated projects that were designed only to allow for advancement of the space industry. The activities in which the CSG was involved were related to its own infrastructure needs such as the construction of a bridge, elongation of the main road, extension and modernization of the airport, and the urbanization of Kourou to accommodate its own, mainly non-local, employees. Since the beginning of the space activity, the population of Kourou increased dramatically from 659 in 1961 to 26,000 some 50 years later (INSEE, 2010b), an increase of 3835%. If looked into in detail, such an evolution is highly linked to the CSG because Kourou went through a demographic trajectory distinct from the rest of the *Département*, but also because the most important increase occurred since the start of the the CSG project.

One of the first directors of the CSG recalled being told by a general what he qualified as a contradictory request:

> "They put a military brand on us. It is true that most of our executives and employees come from the Army. They always talk of a [military] 'base', as if we were militaries. Yet I am a civilian, although I am a general from the Air Force. I want [the CSG] to be civil and I do not want any hold of the military on it" [European Space Agency, 2003a: 5]

Table III – Configurations of relations in the enactment of Political CSR at the CSG

	Phase I **1964-1985** **Impeding***	**Phase II** **1986-1995** **Partnering**	**Phase III** **1996-2000** **Mandating**	**Phase IV** **Post-2000** **Partnering**
Stakeholders involved locally	Government	Business, local community and government	Business, local community and government	Business, local community and government
Exemplar quotes	"The person who acted as director of the CSG [before a director was formally appointed] was from the Army and the whole thing worked as a military base, everybody was working in a closed circuit. We build the base... and for the rest, we'll figure out." *First director of the CSG (*European Space Agency, *2003a)*	"[The PHEDRE Plan was meant to initiate] an alliance, a support and a ripple effect without imbalance between French Guiana and the space industry" *Representative of the French state in French Guiana, 1989*	"The agenda of the meetings is determined by the [state agency responsible for environmental and industrial issues] but they do consult us" *Engineer of the CSG, 2012*	"The Mission Guyane is responsible for the political relations with the rest of French Guiana" *Mayor of Kourou (1996-2014), 2012*
Materiality of the configuration	Expropriation decree (1965)	PHEDRE Plan (1989) Partnership for regional development–launched by the government and the CSG in partnership with Kourou and Sinnamary	Permanent Secretariat for the Prevention of Industrial Pollution (1997)	Mission Guyane (2000)

Conceptual categories based on Gond, Kang & Moon (2011)
*Category added by the authors

Second, the lack of interest toward local realities translated into urban planning and what various observers described as military-type spatial segregation: the urbanization of Kourou was planned according to military principles (Joseph-Affandi, 1999), and each neighborhood was dedicated to a specific occupational group (e.g., engineers, technicians, unskilled workers, etc.). The construction of the CSG required the construction of a completely new city next to the existing small town.

> "The construction of the base was made in a *Département* whose infrastructure was quite limited. Such a construction, which required an urban growth, was an external input, an activity extraneous to French Guiana. The urban growth led to the arrival of a population whose lifestyle and activities were different from those of the dwellers of the [old] town. This is how the urban growth was translated into, in fact, the creation of a new city." [Decoudras, 1971: 19]

Furthermore, the urban planning of Kourou was based on unilateral decisions of the government without consultation with the local community. A senior official from the real estate company in charge of urban planning of Kourou since 1967 summarized this oversight eloquently: "Tell me where you live and I'll know where you stand in the CSG's [hierarchy]".

The third manifestation concerns the roles of the *détachés*, namely, non-local employees, in senior technical or management positions active in Guiana for a few years and endowed with very favorable economic conditions. The *détachés* and the locals did not mix. In addition to the presence of the Army, the fact that the appointed senior managers did not know anything about French Guiana prior to their arrival hindered their ability to conduct any form of dialog with the local community. Moreover, even the middle managers, engineers, and technicians were non-local employees with the status "détachés," that is, they were contracted to remain in French Guiana for only a few years and they had almost no interaction with the locals. Consequently, CSG operated in a closed circuit, without much interaction with the local society or the local economy. The MP of the time reportedly criticized this situation by declaring, in 1966:

> "The space base is an ectoplasm. You are in French Guiana, but you do not bring us anything. You bring your food by boat, you arrive in the port in Kourou, you do not buy anything from our local merchants and you do nothing to contribute to [the local economy]" [European Space Agency, 2003a: 5]

Fourth, the CSG was perceived by the local community as a fortified and militarized enclave. According to one of our interviewees:

> "For a long time, the Foreign Legion remained at the entrance of Kourou. It sent the wrong signal of a fortified city, excluding the local [community]."(Former MP)

In fact, in 1973, the government chose to place the security of the CSG's activities under the responsibility of the Foreign Legion, a military unit with a long history of strong interventions in French colonial wars. This decision fueled intense controversy and outrage locally. Manifestations of racial tensions were also common, as related by one interviewee who was hired by the CSG in the early 1980s:

> "During the mid-1980s, there were recurring confrontations between young members of the local community and the legionaries. Some local bars were prohibited to Black people and dogs. It was displayed on signs." (Representative of a labor union)

In this context, a climax was reached in 1985 when a group of legionaries, responsible for the protection of the CSG, attacked civilians of Kourou randomly. After this serious incident that stirred indignation, the military group was denied access to Downtown Kourou for 10 years (Choteau, 2006).

Role of government: impeding the emergence of CSR

In the context described above, officially motivated by national and strategic interests, the role played by the government impeded the emergence of any CSR activity either in the form of dialogue or related to the development of local community capacities. The absence of interest in CSR from the government was manifested, among other things, through the decision to install the CSG without consulting the local community; conduct of the expropriations and conditions of relocation; offer of senior management positions in the CSG to the army; and the presence of the Foreign Legion. The CSG, then an overall state organization, as an organization was overall the implementing arm of policies decided based on military and geostrategic motives. The local community was confined to a passive role of a receptacle for decisions made in Paris.

Phase 2: Reconciling (1986–1995). The mounting tensions that characterized the previous period were followed by sustained efforts on part of the government, the CSG and the local community to engage in dialog and build a relationship. The government played a significant role in these efforts of reconciliation in the general context of devolution of power from the national government to the local government, a phenomenon called decentralization. Various long-term projects were undertaken jointly by the CSG, local community authorities – such as the Guianese Executive Chamber, municipalities of Kourou and its neighbor city Sinnamary–, and the local representative of the French government. The flagship project during this period was the Plan P.H.E.D.R.E., short for Hermès Partnership for Regional Development. It was designed in 1989 as a response to strong criticism about the unsatisfactory contribution of the CSG to the local economy.

> "The then-mayor of Sinnamary [the city near Kourou] was a visionary. He told us: the space industry is here and there is nothing we can do to make it

leave. Let us then use it to change the rules of the game." (Former representative of the local government)

P.H.E.D.R.E. was co-financed by the government and the CSG to allow for construction of new infrastructure needed by the CSG (Mathis, 2011). This plan was meant to initiate "an alliance, a support and a ripple effect without imbalance between French Guiana and the space industry" (Prefecture of French Guiana, 1989). Other minor projects were launched through partnerships between the government, the CSG, and the local community. For example, the opening of the University Institute of Technology of Kourou in 1986 was made possible through a partnership between the three members of the triptych, the government being the one offering financial support. This University Institute of Technology exemplified joint efforts related to local capacity-building needed to diversify the local economy. Other projects outside falling outside the scope of P.H.E.D.R.E. were related to education, research, urban planning, and health infrastructure among others.

Despite these efforts, the relationship between the management of the CSG and its local employees, as well as the local community in general, was marred with accusations of discrimination. The labor unions representing the locals were contesting the legitimacy of the existence of two classes of employees, namely the sedentary (locals) and the *détachés* (from France and, later on in the 1970s with the creation of the European Space Agency, from other European countries). Disparities in wages and privileges generated growing discontent and triggered recurrent strikes.

"The strike of 1989 was motivated by the local employees' demand to get access to training and to executive positions. […] This strike had a huge impact. The year after the CSG signed a 'site convention' [to guarantee that all workers onsite, regardless of their employer, get access to the same conditions]. But even today, some disparities persist. The detached still get free housing and various bonuses." (Representative of a labor union)

Role of government: Partnering for CSR. The role of government evolved toward the promotion of partnership for CSR. The government became very active during this period with regard to the promotion of CSR activities. More specifically, the government helped create the conditions for initiating a dialogue between the CSG and the local community. While in the first period, the government acted in a way that made the interests of the CSG and the local community appear irreconcilable, here, it insisted on highlighting commonalities and shared interests. Moreover, the government mobilized resources to promote CSR activities that addressed the salient issues identified in the dialogue process, such as training and education, access to employment, and maximization of local economic activities resulting from the presence of the CSG. In this second stage, the CSG became a promoter of economic development opportunities for local community organizations based on its weight on the local economy. The local community was provided more favorable conditions to build its capacities.

Phase 3: Renegotiating (1996–2000). The third period was short but particularly agitated. The first element concerns generational change in local political leadership. A new young mayor was elected in Kourou after 47 years of rule by the previous mayor, and the newly elected official announced his intention to restore balance between CSG and the municipality through the use of his prerogatives such as urban planning and leadership in the design of economic and social projects. Moreover, a new and young MP representing Guiana in the French National Assembly was also elected, and she publicly criticized the CSG for its unsatisfactory economic contribution to the community. These two local political leaders exerted constant pressure for claiming more benefits and defining new processes to assess the past role, the present situation and the potential future roles of the CSG in French Guiana.

The second element was a spectacular rocket explosion in June 1996. The management of the aftermath of this accident was, admittedly, a complete failure. First, according to various witnesses interviewed, it took the CSG tens of minutes before informing the population about the proper behavior to adopt in this crisis. Second, the firemen of the

CSG, which were deployed to reassure the local community about containment of the risks, were wearing protective masks while telling the population that there was no risk whatsoever and that the only security measure to be taken was going back to their home, just in case.

> "We made the mistake of not distributing informative leaflets to the population of Sinnamary [a city near Kourou]. With the explosion, the launcher fell in that area. And the people, who had not received the leaflets, did not know what to do [...]. The crisis management was a bit difficult [...]. Thereafter the member of the parliament took things seriously and relayed the concerns of the local population to the government." (Senior manager of the CSG)

According to members and representatives of the local community who remember the crisis, the management of the situation was chaotic:

> "I still remember how they told us to close all the openings of our houses. It was unbelievable. Here in French Guiana, you cannot find a house that can be hermetically closed per se, except if you lock oneself in a room." (Specialized journalist)

> "I was there as I attended the launch onsite. [Following the explosion] there was a wavering of about 30 minutes where no instructions were given, the guests who were onsite did not know what to do, if they had to evacuate the building or remain inside. [...] And neighboring schools did not receive instructions either, the teachers had no idea if they needed to send pupils back home or keep them inside. There were vague instructions to block every opened areas at homes, but when one looks at the local architecture, it is absurd as houses cannot be closed." (Former MP)

This mismanagement of the accident's aftermath revealed weaknesses in the security schemes within the CSG. In the context of a crisis that, according to akey interviewee, "generated a trauma" (2012), the government was publicly asked by a representative of the local community to create a Permanent Secretariat for the Prevention of Industrial Pollution, an institutional arrangement that had already been implemented elsewhere in France near places of high-risk industrial activity.

The members of this committee, which was implemented in 1997 and steered by the state representative in French Guiana, included the mayor of Kourou and the new MP, as well as representatives of various government agencies with competencies related to the CSG activities (environment and industrial risks, prominently) and representatives from a local environmental organization. The government was responsible for organizing and facilitating the meetings of the committee, as well as for the reporting.

> "The agenda is determined by the [government agency responsible overseeing industrial risks at the local level]. But they do consult us" (Environmental engineer of the CSG)

At the time we conducted our fieldwork in 2012, the committee had not met for about a year and a half. The outcomes of this committee have been judged to be quite unsatisfactory by some of our interviewees:

> "If the question is whether the committee works properly, I would tend to respond that it is perfectible. That is how I would put it. I would say that because we were in a period of high unavailability of the different partners, who have been kept busy by their daily activities [...], I would say that the mission of information sharing and scientific vulgarization is still to be developed strongly." (Senior representative of the government agency overseeing industrial risks in French Guiana)

> "The [committee] met and I was invited to its sessions because the government required so. I attended a few meetings but in fact, the committee

would mostly work as a smokescreen for years. [...] Not only the committee was not a creation of the CSG, but it never gave itself great ambitions. [...] And on the first occasion, it scuttled." (Former MP)

Role of government: Mandating. In this phase, the government acted directly and created a committee in the CSG to address serious security issues. The decision of the government to put the committee into place despite initial resistance from the CSG was a strong signal to show that it was willing to constrain the space industry and to take seriously the security preoccupations of the local community.

Phase 4: (Re)conquering (Years 2000). The difficulties faced by the CSG in the renegotiation period led it to reconsider its mode of engagement with local community and reframe it in a more proactive manner. (Re)conquering the tenuous trust of its local partners became an ambition that influenced various strategic decisions. The best illustration of this new direction is the creation in 2000 of *Mission Guyane*, an arm's-length organization that would coordinate the projects put in place by the CSG to contribute toward long-term local economic development. Today *Mission Guyane* is recognized by various local community groups as an important and structuring mechanism for French Guiana's economic development, a view shared by the majority of our interviewees. The average budget of this organization is 27 million euros per period of 6 years.

"Prior to the creation of Mission Guyane, an internal study was conducted. Its conclusions were clear: if no serious action was taken, we were heading toward a social explosion. This generated awareness. Mission Guyane allows the CSG to feel the pulse [of the community]. We play the role of a buffer, we alert and defuse. [...] Our role is not neutral, it is sometimes decisive." (Middle manager at Mission Guyane)

While the CSG increased its involvement with the local community (e.g. philanthropic activities, intensification of local recruitment), various representatives of the local community and business bemoaned what they portrayed as lack of leadership from the government:

> "It is not the role of the CSG to engage in partnerships [on these issues]. It should rather focus on its core business. It is the role of government to compensate for the shortfall." (Former elected official of Kourou)

> "I repeat: the CSG is not the government. That said, we try to make our fair contribution. […] What needs to be done now? The government has to take things in hand, the local elected officials have to take things in hand, or to continue to do so" (Former director of the CSG)

Apart from Mission Guyane, other projects launched during this era include various partnerships with research institutes, health institutions, industrial groups, and the civil society. In terms of communication directed toward the local community, the CSG has innovated by sealing partnerships with local media, scientific community, civil society, and local representative of the education ministry. Yet, some people continue to express dissatisfaction with the CSG's level of implication:

> "The CSG hears and reacts [to local demands] but it is neither spontaneous, nor sufficient. There is not enough effort. The CSG does not give the impetus, which is rather problematic for an activity of this magnitude." (Former elected official)

Role of government: Accompanying partnership. After the period of crisis that led the government to mandate the implementation of CSR, a new period of partnership between business, government, and local community followed. While this fourth phase may seem to resemble the second phase, which was also characterized by a spirit of partnership, it is in fact distinct in terms of leadership. In fact, here, the leadership was assumed by the CSG rather than government, which engaged in reconquering the local community,

whereas in the second phase the government initiated the movement in an attempt to reconcile the local community with the CSG.

1.4.2. Changing Configurations of Relations: the Role of Local Community Representatives

The detailed study of 50 years of business–government–local community relations sheds light on the significant change that occurred in configurations over time. As suggested by the data provided on the 4 phases of relations, representatives of the local community have played an active role in steering change in the wake of triggering events. They did so by seizing the opportunity offered by triggering events in order to mobilize specific resources aiming at bringing their claims into the political sphere: their access to forums, arenas and courts, which are distinct public spaces where public leaders can speak out and exercise their power (Bryson & Crosby, 1992). Table IV shows how such forums, arenas and courts were either created or newly invested by local community representatives. In particular, we see that a very different set of public spaces is used during each configuration.

From phase I to II, in a context marred with violent incidents with legionaries, the then mayor of Sinnamary, the closest city near Kourou —that would later become the second 'space city' where Russian famous Soyuz rockets are launched— demanded that the financial benefits of the space industry be significantly improved and extended beyond the boundaries of Kourou. Two projects were identified by various respondents as clearly associated with his demands: Sinnamary 2000 and the PHEDRE plan, which were both initiated in 1989. These plans were designed with the intention to create the conditions for the space industry to have tangible and significant contributions for the local economy. New forums were created to allow representatives from the CSG, government and local community to negotiate and implement the two plans. Although they were both later abandoned, the plans laid the groundwork for the initiation of future partnerships.

After a decade characterized by the multiplication of partnership initiatives, the explosion of a rocket in 1996 acted as the triggering event that led to phase III. During

this phase, which highlighted the security breaches of the CSG, a member of the parliament publicly demanded, on a few repeated occasions, that government intervene to ensure the safety of the local community. The national parliament in Paris became the arena where representatives of the local community would express criticism towards the CSG. Hence, a few days before the failed launch of the rocket, the MP made the following statement during the questions session at the parliament:

> "The anxiety is high in French Guiana before the impending launch of the first rocket shot from the Ariane V. [...] We already observed an alteration of plants, lung lesions in rats and marsupials as well as assignment degradation of the ozone layer above the city of Kourou." (National Assembly, 1996a).

And then a few days after the accident, the same MP sent various written questions to the government urging it to take measures, by stating that "it is essential that the population is informed of the risks that these activities represent for public health and is preventively imbued with emergency measures to take in case of a major accident" (National Assembly, 1996b). Reflecting on these interventions of the MP, a senior manager at CSG assessed that the resulting creation of a forum to address the population's concerns was imposed on them but then proved helpful:

> "And then there was the accident in 1996... The MP expressed her concerns in a rather active manner. She demanded that an independent and permanent structure be created in order to allow for the disclosure of information on our activities. It is a good thing that the structure was created. [...] And then all this led us to elaborate new information leaflets, to organize new public presentations with the population. [...] We had to do things better." (Senior manager of the CSG)

Table IV – Public spaces invested by local community representatives

	Phase I 1964-1985 Impeding*	Phase II 1986-1995 Partnering	Phase III 1996-2000 Mandating	Phase IV Post-2000 Partnering
Triggering event	Creation	Incident with legionaries	Explosion	Vision/ Awareness
Forums where dialogue takes place	None	Partnership projects: Sinnamary 2000 Plan in 1989; PHEDRE Plan in 1989	None. Trust is considerably undermined	Partnership projects: Mission Guyane since 2000; various smaller projects (incubator, telemedicine, remote sensing station using space technology, etc.) Informational magazines
Arenas where opposed views are expressed	Local newspapers Workspace: strike in 1982	Workspace: strikes in 1989 and 1990-1991	Parliament	Parliament
Courts where conflicts are resolved by a legitimate entity	None – Government is judge and jury	None	Government: creation in 1997 of a permanent consultation structure through regulatory decision	None

Categories inspired by Bryson & Crosby (1992)

1.4.3. Government's Changing Role (1964–2014)

The case of the CSG presents compelling evidence of the shifting role of government in the enactment of CSR at the local level. We show that in these changing configurations, government went from (1) impeding the emergence of CSR in the repudiation phase (1964-1985), to (2) leading CSR partnerships in the reconciliation phase following social tensions (1985-1996), then to (3) mandating CSR in the renegotiation phase following a major security breach (1996-2000), and finally to (4) accompanying partnerships for CSR in the (re)conquering phase (since 2000). It is clear from our data that the transition from one phase to another was triggered by crises in the relations between business, government, and the local community. In 1985 (move from repudiation to reconciliation), the tensions between the CSG and the local community reached a climax with the aggression of random civilians in Kourou by the legionaries in charge of the CSG's security. This aggression epitomized the limitations of reconciling the post-military mindset of the CSG with a disenchanted local community. In 1996 (move from reconciliation to renegotiation), the explosion of the launcher, followed by failure of crisis management coupled with the emergence of newly elected representatives from the community led the government to mandate the implementation of CSR measures as answers to local concerns, aspirations, and needs. Finally, in the year 2000 (move from renegotiation to (re)conquering), the trigger is less visible but appears to be the conjunction of a few factors including the effects of the institutionalization of the dialogue between business, government, and the local community within the permanent committee; CSG's acknowledgment of the need to engage more systematically with the local community to prevent major social crises; and the CSG's favorable financial situation. According to the current director of the CSG, there was a momentum in the year 2000 and the outgoing director of the time was personally engaged in the creation of Mission Guyane, thus starting an era where the government is involving itself in CSR partnerships.

1.5 Discussion

Previous works have discussed the political dimensions of CSR to undermine the very legitimacy of the idea behind it, either due to its alleged leftwing and collectivist underpinnings (see Friedman, 1970; Orlitzky, 2015) or, conversely, because of its claimed use at the service of business-as-usual and its structurally detrimental effects on marginalized stakeholders (see Banerjee, 2008; Frynas, 2005). The recent stream of political CSR, which has been salutary for bringing to the forefront such a discussion on business and politics, has only surfaced the question. Our empirical findings demonstrate that CSR is enacted not only by business firms through their interactions with civil society, but also through the engagement of government. More specifically, since our research is inscribed at the local level, we found that CSR is being enacted through the long-term interactions of a fundamental tryptic, namely business, government and local community.

In fact, if one accepts that CSR is inherently political, it immediately follows that government must be included in the equation as it remains the instrument *par excellence* for political action. So far, not only research on the role of government in CSR has remained scarce (Dentchev et al., 2015; Moon & Vogel, 2008) but it has concentrated on what can be described as a positive or neutral role of government in promoting CSR (see Gond et al. 2011; Moon, 2002; Moon & Vogel, 2008). In their model of configurations of business–government relations around CSR, Gond et al. (2011) provide a typology for such positive and neutral roles of government in stimulating CSR. Positive roles include facilitating CSR, mandating CSR or partnering for CSR. Neutral roles involve leaving CSR flourish either as a form of government because of state incapacity, or as self-government in cases of philanthropic contributions that do not interfere with the public sphere. What our findings show is that in addition to the positive and neutral roles already theorized, government can actually play a negative role by impeding the emergence of CSR. Such a finding allows us to complement Gond et al.'s (2011) typology (see Table V). We not only add a negative role – i.e. CSR as impeded by government – but we also describe the role played by local community in the various configurations of relations. The former contribution displays horizontally while the latter is shown vertically with the

addition of a column presenting the influence of local community. Our contributions to the original model are clearly identified with an asterisk.

We argue that the negative role played by government is particularly salient in the context of strategic activities, as in the case of the space industry, which is a rather extreme example of a strategic activity. Better understanding the role of government in impeding the emergence of CSR is critical, as there is a wide array of strategic industries in which both business and government are involved. Other strategic activities can be found in a variety of industries such as, among others, major hydroelectric or mining projects. In their recent contribution, Wood & Wright (2015) convincingly argue that despite claims that government is retreating, there is in fact a resurgence of state intervention in the realm of markets, a phenomenon that they label "new statism".

The second contribution of the paper stems from our empirical observation that the configurations of relations between business, government and local community tell a story of change that sheds light on the mechanisms at work in the enactment of political CSR. The case of the CSG provides compelling evidence that the sole phenomenon of globalization cannot account for the shifts observed. Such a finding is consistent with Djelic & Etchanchu (2014) who challenge the "strong globalization thesis" (Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012) that undergirds political CSR by arguing that business involvement in the political sphere is an old and enduring phenomenon. Our findings complement Djelic & Etchanchu (2014) as it underscores the role played by local dynamics. In the case of the CSG, local dynamics are at play as it is at the local level that triggering events took place to provide the impetus for change. From phase I to II, such a triggering event was the severe aggression of civilians by a group of legionaries whose mission was already to ensure the security of the CSG. From phase II to III, the triggering event was the explosion of a launcher which revealed the security breaches of the CSG. Finally, the triggering event that led to phase IV was "a boiling social situation that, if nothing had been done, could have exploded in unprecedented ways" (Interview with project manager from Mission Guyane, 2012).

Table V – The Role of government in political CSR

Relationship type	Description	Mechanism of coordination	Influence of corporations	Influence of the legal framework	*Influence of local community	Illustrations
CSR as facilitated by government	Governments provide incentives for CSR or encourage CSR through rhetoric	*Ex ante* governmental influence through the design of incentive systems and *ex post* encouragement through rhetoric	*Strong–medium* Governments contribute to CSR but it is mainly driven by corporations	*Medium* CSR indirectly shaped by legal intervention Indirect form of 'CSR through law'	**Weak* Emphasis is on CSR as good governance and initiatives come from corporations	Governmental subsidies, tax expenditures, imprimatur; socially responsible public procurement
CSR as a partnership with government	Governments and business organizations (and often civil society) combine their resources and Objectives	Various modes of coordination and interaction of government and business resources and strategies	*Strong–medium* State likely to influence weakly the content and strongly the process of CSR initiatives	*Medium* Indirect mobilization of the legal framework for shaping CSR	**Medium-strong* Local community likely to take part in and influence the process of CSR	Multi-actor institutions to deliver social goods or norms/ codes using some governmental resources (as above)
CSR as mandated by government	Governments regulate for CSR	*Ex ante* governmental framing of CSR initiatives through the control of outcomes or disclosure	*Medium–weak* State likely to influence strongly the content of corporate CSR initiatives	*Strong* CSR shaped by the legal framework; direct form of 'CSR through law'	**Weak-medium* Local community mobilization may provide the impetus for government regulation	French law on social reporting (NRE); UK Companies Act amendment
CSR as self-government	Corporate discretion	Absence of coordination, disconnection or	*Strong* Little state interference	*Weak* Typical case of 'CSR	**Weak* Corporate discretion leaves	Philanthropic contributions to

*Positive roles of government

*Neutral roles of government

	independent of but alongside government	coincidence of private and public initiatives	in CSR initiatives	beyond law'	local community with little leverage	society, strategic CSR
CSR as a form of government	Firms act as if they were governments where there are government deficits	Firm level or through stakeholder processes/ institutions	*Strong* State power vacuum, delegation or substitution by CSR	*Weak* Corporations act as government 'CSR for law'	**Weak-medium* Power asymmetry but local community can easily target corporations to fill governance voids	CSR in pre-welfare state; post-privatization; global governance; new/ 'wicked' issues
*CSR as impeded by government	*Governments impose the presence of firms and create asymmetry with other stakeholders which impedes the emergence of CSR	*Absence of discussion	**Strong* Firms can operate without any need to engage in CSR but tensions undermine their legitimacy over time	**Strong* Legal framework is used to allow for the maintenance of firms' activities without requiring any engagement in CSR	**Weak* Legitimacy of legal framework deprives local community from its capacity to dispute firms' activities	*Strategic projects, projects in post-colonial contexts or projects impacting marginalized stakeholders

Adapted from Gond, Kang & Moon (2011)
*Contributions of the authors

*Negative role of government

What we argue is that while these triggering events opened up new opportunities to renegotiate the local involvement of the CSG, what allowed for change to take place are activities through which elected representatives of the local community invested and redefined new forums, arenas and courts. In order to analyze how local community representatives mobilized different "spaces for conversations and decision-making", we build on Bryson & Crosby's (1992) definitions of three archetypical places where power is exercised by public leaders, namely forums, as spaces where dialogue and sense-making occurs; arenas, as spaces where opposed views are expressed; and courts, where conflicts are resolved by an entity whose legitimacy is recognized by all the parties in litigation. The role of representatives of the local community has been that of transforming triggering events into windows of opportunity to renegotiate the political CSR of the CSG. They did so by mobilizing the resources they had access to because of their elective office (e.g. use of question time during parliamentary sessions; imposing of municipal precedence over certain matters to control the CSG's activities).

1.5.1. Limitations and Future Research Directions

Limitations. This article presents the results of an exploratory study undertaken in a unique setting. Three particularities are especially important to address when considering the transferability of our results. First, French Guiana is a very peculiar setting. While it is a part of France and, therefore, of the European Union, it is also a territory that has strong attributes of developing countries such as very limited industry, undiversified economy, and high unemployment rates. One of the consequences of such a contrasted situation is that business organizations face demands about basic needs, while simultaneously having to engage with a government that can impose regulation and intervene in CSR. Another feature of this unique setting is the lack of organized groups from civil society. In such a context, theorizing business–local community relations is challenging. Second, the space industry is not an ordinary one. It is highly regulated; requires governments and governmental agencies' implications; involves intergovernmental cooperation, which adds layers of complexity; and it is confronted by security issues that may hinder the possibilities of business–local community

collaboration. Third, because our study is based on a single case, it is exploratory and requires further research to confirm the insights yielded.

Future research avenues. We identified two promising research avenues for the political CSR literature, aiming at bringing government back into the equation in order to provide a more comprehensive and dynamic view of the enactment of CSR through business–government–local community relations. The first avenue concerns the negative role of government regarding CSR. While previous research identified the positive role of government in promoting CSR or its neutral role of staying away from it (see Gond et al. 2011; Moon, 2002; Moon & Vogel, 2008), our study highlights the potentially negative role government can play regarding CSR, by impeding CSR from emerging. In the specific case of the CSG, the role played by government from the early 1960s until the mid-1985s was that of impeding the emergence of CSR by declaring the space activity inescapable and of strategic interest for France. Based on our findings, we suspect that when a project or industry is deemed of strategic interest, it can lead government to create conditions of operation that do not foster transparency, to make unilateral decisions without including external stakeholders and more generally to impede the emergence of CSR. We invite scholars interested in political CSR to empirically investigate other settings considered strategic by governments, such as sensitive mining projects or hydroelectric dams in which a discourse of greater national interest is held and the prospects of major economic development are used as a rationale for moving forward without much consideration for environmental and social concerns. A comparative approach could provide insights into the mechanisms through which different governments, at different times, impede the emergence of CSR.

A second area for future investigation revolves around the enactment of political CSR in public-private partnerships. In particular, there is a need to understand better how, in such contexts, business, government and civil society negotiate CSR while government plays simultaneously two roles, namely as a promoter and as a regulatory body. Finally, a third research avenue could contribute to inscribing political CSR into a historical turn by exploring longitudinal cases of business penetration into the political sphere and

concomitant government penetration into the economic sphere. A historical approach would allow political CSR to better capture the dynamic relation between politics and markets that results in a movement where business and government alternate, over time, predominant positions (see Polanyi, 1944; Wood & Wright, 2015).

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Chapter 2
Creolization as invisible resistance to CSR: The Contested field of the past at the Guiana Space Center

Abstract

Various types of organizations are confronted with the challenge of engaging in corporate social responsibility (CSR) with stakeholders who hold the memory of their past irresponsible actions and consequently resist any attempt to improve relations. This paper sheds light on how a negative shared past continues to shape the present and future relations of an organization in the European space industry with the local community in which it is embedded. Longitudinal data covering a 50-year period show how the past is a contested field—that is, what should be remembered or forgotten—which is continually revived and hinders the improvement of relations despite increasing engagement in CSR from the organization. While no overt confrontation can be observed between the organization and the local community, the latter maintains a collective memory of the past through a process of *Creolization*, which is the capacity of an extremely diverse set of people to invent a new and unique culture through the daily practice of togetherness. As a form of invisible resistance, *Creolization* brings new insights into how uncoordinated stakeholders can undermine any effort to implement CSR. This paper contributes to the political CSR (PCSR) literature, which focuses on the contribution of business organizations to the provision of public goods through their CSR initiatives. More specifically, the paper uncovers the non-visible yet undermining role of stakeholders who resist their inclusion in the governance of CSR and proposes a Creolized conception of PCSR that unveils the agency of marginalized stakeholders.

Keywords

Business–government relations, collective memory, Creolization, infrapolitics, marginalized stakeholders, political CSR, space industry.

2.1 Introduction

"The rocket takes off, but Guiana remains on the ground" [iii]

Title of a local rap song which has become a popular saying

> "In my social activities, I typically refrain from mentioning that I work at the Guiana Space Center to avoid having to defend myself over accusations that nothing positive comes out of the space industry. Even today, many people reject [the organization]."

An employee of the Guiana Space Center, 2012

> "The unrest [in Guiana] has shuttered schools and blocked access to the main airport; prompted a travel alert from the State Department of the United States; **and even postponed the launch of an Ariane 5 rocket, carrying a Brazilian satellite and a South Korean satellite, from the aerospace center that France and the European Space Agency run off the territory's coast.**"

The New York Times (Breeden, 2017, emphasis added)

The space industry is everything but an ordinary one. Lying at the intersection between science, creativity, and public policy, space activity sparks fascination and fuels imagination (McCurdy, 2011). It is associated not only with technological prowess but also increasingly with civilian applications contributing to societal progress (e.g., fight against climate change, post-disaster intervention, Internet provision in remote locations, etc.). Bearing on such positive outcomes, the space industry has strong arguments to convince society of its usefulness and legitimacy. The European space industry, specifically "Europe's Spaceport," located in French Guiana, is no exception as regards the fascination fueled by its technological and technical achievements: more than a third of the tourist flow in Guiana is estimated to be driven by the space activity (CNES, 2009). For the outside observer, hosting the successful Guiana Space Center is an incredible opportunity, especially for a remote territory. From the Guianese perspective, however, it is quite the opposite (BBC News, 2017). In fact, after more than 50 years of

activity and renewed efforts to improve its relations with the local community, the Guiana Space Center is subject to much criticism and dissatisfaction locally due to the enduring memory of the negative conditions of its implementation back in 1964.

The point of departure of this research is an empirical puzzle based on what appears to be an intractable distance between an organization and the local community in which it is durably embedded. While the community seems to focus on its collective memory of a negative past event, the organization focuses on fact-based history (Nora, 1989) to build its past around technological prowess. On one hand the community evokes the past, selectively and subjectively remembers it, while on the other hand the organization systematically organizes and reorganizes its own narrative of the past (see Anteby & Molnar, 2012). While an empirical puzzle, the story of the Guiana Space Center has broad theoretical implications, as the challenges it faces are similar to those of many organizations that strive to recover from past irresponsible actions that are kept alive by mnemonic communities (Mena, Rintamäki, Fleming, & Spicer, 2016). Such organizations primarily include those that are locked-into a territory, such as "firms in industries with fixed long-term investments, oil and gas, mining, and manufacturing that have limited options beyond trying to continue business and engage in conflict mitigation" (Westermann-Behaylo, Rehbein, & Fort, 2015, p. 388). For these locked-in organizations, the need to understand and cope with the demands of their local stakeholders is of paramount importance.

While the processes of the inclusion of stakeholders have been discussed by critical scholars especially concerned with marginalized groups in the developing world (see Banerjee, 2008), the question of how stakeholders resist their attempted inclusion in corporate social responsibility (CSR) governance remains unexplored. In particular, the multifaceted and contextually situated practice of resistance performed by local stakeholders has been largely overlooked. Understanding how resistance unfolds in unusual contexts is of great relevance in a globalized world, as organizations are increasingly inclined to operate in foreign environments.

Recognizing that resistance is both common across human societies (Brighenti, 2011) and contextually situated leads to the necessity to understand how its practice

differs from one setting to another. Previous works show that resistance oscillates between visibility and invisibility and that the more invisible it remains, the better the chance its subjects may avoid being noticed and disciplined (Brighenti, 2011; Scott, 1985). Invisible resistance—that is, a form of resistance that goes unnoticed by those to which it is targeted—has seldom been investigated empirically by political CSR (PSCR henceforth) scholars. Arguably, by its very nature, invisible resistance is difficult to identify and therefore to study. One such study was conducted in the context of education and underscored how young Black boys escape from disciplinarization by engaging in "retreatism," a form of invisible resistance (see Sewell, 1998). More research is needed to unveil the processes through which invisible resistance takes shape toward the CSR initiatives undertaken by organizations, precisely because CSR is portrayed as requiring the inclusion of stakeholders to be legitimate (see European Commission, 2011). Hence the research question guiding this study is *what do marginalized stakeholders do to resist their inclusion in CSR governance over time?*

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First, it starts with a literature review on the importance of history for the field of CSR and more specifically for the growing body of PCSR literature, which is centered on the expanding boundaries of business responsibility. Second, it presents the research context and design. The findings section that follows presents in detail how the collective memory of the 1964 events is kept alive by the local community through a process of Creolization—an invisible form of resistance—and how this living memory prevents the focal organization from successfully projecting its relation with the community in the future. Finally, the discussion underscores how the findings can inform research on PCSR by showing that an organization that only intervenes in the objectified realm of history when dealing with its past cannot effectively engage with stakeholders who maintain a collective memory of that past.

2.2 Mobilizing the past to assess present and negotiate future responsibility

> "The past is everywhere. All around us lie features with more or less familiar antecedents. Relics, histories, memories suffuse human experience. Most past traces ultimately perish and all that remain are altered. But they are collectively enduring. Noticed or ignored, cherished or spurned, the past is omnipresent."
>
> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a foreign country—Revisited* (2015 [1985]).

The importance and enduring influence of the past on present and future human activity has been vividly underscored by renowned historians (see Halbwachs, 1992; Lowenthal, 2015 [1985]; Nora, 1996). In organizational theory, recent work has emphasized how the past is reinterpreted to shape organizational actors' present (Anteby & Molnar, 2012; Wadhwani & Bucheli, 2014). As regards relations between an organization and its stakeholders, past practices can be at the center of discussions around CSR (Mena et al., 2016; Schrempf-Stirling, Palazzo, & Phillips, 2016). While the spatial extension of the boundaries of CSR has been at the core of various debates initiated around PCSR, recent calls have been made for a serious consideration of the temporal extension of such boundaries (see Schrempf-Stirling et al., 2016). In this endeavor, understanding how history shapes the construction of CSR becomes timely.

2.2.1. Recognizing the importance of history for the field of PCSR

History has been granted increasing attention in organizational theory (Rowlinson, Hassard, & Decker, 2014). In the field of business and society, recent contributions have highlighted such importance of history for the study of CSR (e.g., Djelic & Etchanchu, 2015; Mena et al., 2016; Schrempf-Stirling et al., 2016). Three main arguments are relevant to stress the importance of history for the specific field of CSR.

First, it can be argued that history is inseparable from the study of business and society and, in particular, from CSR. As eloquently stated by Preston, "the central thesis of [CSR] is that managerial organizations cannot operate successfully over the long run in conflict with their environment" (1986, p. 262). The very idea that there is a need to adopt a long-term perspective when designing and assessing an organization's intervention toward external stakeholders pleads for a special consideration of history in CSR.

The second reason that makes history an important matter for the field of CSR is that organizations are moral actors whose responsibility can be assessed over the long term. Despite the tendency of widely cited CSR research to focus on short-term strategic issues (e.g., the prolific research agenda of instrumental CSR), CSR scholars have had an enduring concern in regard to how organizations last over time. As argued by Schrempf-Stirling and colleagues, companies are "intergenerational actors with moral duties that result from [their] past decisions" (2016, p. 6). Drawing on a few evidential examples, they show how companies are held responsible for past harm-doing despite their attempts to deny such responsibility. In a different line of reasoning, Mena et al. (2016) demonstrate that cases of corporate irresponsibility can be both remembered or forgotten in the collective memory depending on how mnemonic communities are able to organize remembrance and on how successfully "forgetting work" is undertaken by companies.

The third reason why history matters for CSR is that the field is concerned with social change (Aguilera, Rupp, Williams, & Ganapathi, 2007), a phenomenon that unfolds over time. While it must be recognized that one of the most prolific and influential streams of research on CSR is based on instrumental considerations (e.g., Porter & Kramer, 2011), some have warned that neglecting social issues over performance concerns might set the field astray (see Gond, Palazzo, & Basu, 2008). More importantly, a few influential contributions have underscored the necessity to give full consideration to social change in the study of CSR (Aguilera et al., 2007; Frederick, 1986; Walsh, Weber, & Margolis, 2003). One of the main difficulties with considering social change is that it is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, which, at minimum,

requires longitudinal data to capture its evolution over time (Garonna & Triacca, 1999). Historical data, by taking time seriously and allowing a view on how CSR phenomena unfold over the long run, become very useful to cope with such a challenge.

2.2.2. Bringing a historical perspective to PCSR

While the previous section served to underscore how history is central for understanding CSR, it is important to stress that historical studies have remained scarce in the field. PCSR is a stream of literature that developed over the last decade, gaining increasing traction in the research on CSR to the point that the field is considered to have taken a "political turn" (Djelic & Etchanchu, 2015; Joutsenvirta & Vaara, 2015; Mäkinen & Kouroula, 2012). As its main proponents have recently argued, PCSR is an umbrella concept, which has to do with all the activities that are undertaken by companies in their attempt to behave responsibly, through "engag[ement] in public deliberations, collective decisions, and the provision of public goods" (Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo, & Spicer, 2016, p. 276). In other words, PCSR unpacks the complex governance challenges that arise when one admits that business undertakes political roles *de facto*, a hypothesis that mainstream CSR has completely overlooked by assuming an absolute division of labor between business and government.

According to mainstream or instrumental CSR, which relies heavily on the economic theory of the firm (Donaldson & Walsh, 2015; Margolis & Walsh, 2003; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011), business and government operate in strictly distinct spheres of society—respectively private and public—and shall not interfere with one another's legitimate area of intervention. PCSR convincingly challenges these assumptions and proposes that globalization has dramatically changed the rules of the game to the point that it is time to recognize the political role of multinational corporations. While PCSR authors have not discussed historical issues *per se*, it is clear that they introduced a breach in the ahistorical conception of the role of business in society. But as they now recognize, the initial theorization of PCSR—which they label PCSR 1.0—suffered from a "static/ a-historic view on division of labour between private and public actors" (Scherer et al., 2016, p. 280). Acknowledging that PCSR 1.0. was mistakenly based on a

snapshot of the division of labor between business and government, they propose PCSR 2.0, which takes history and time seriously (Scherer et al., 2016), thereby responding to Djelic and Etchanchu's (2015) call to recognize the political role historically played by business. This study contributes to such a renewed research agenda for PCSR by delving into the way history shapes present and future relations between an organization, the government, and the local community.

Bringing in a historical perspective to PCSR not only allows accounting for the past in the construction of business and society relations, it also opens new possibilities to consider marginalized stakeholder groups that have been neglected over time. In other words, a historical perspective contributes to extending our conceptualization of PCSR not only in time, as discussed above, but also in space. It does so thanks to a salutary sensitivity to the evolution of power relations between different groups. In the case of PCSR, the extension of our conceptualization of space concerns what lies beyond the public–private spheres divide proposed by PCSR to encompass the dynamics at work in the third sphere, which is the realm of marginalized stakeholders. The addition of the third sphere allows the enrichment of PCSR's limited view of power dynamics between business and society. In fact, an enduring paradox of the PCSR literature is its silence around issues of power (Banerjee & Sabadoz, 2014), while one can hardly ignore that power is consubstantial to the concept of politics. In a recent contribution to PCSR, Gond, Barin Cruz, Raufflet, and Charron (2016) have empirically emphasized the dynamic power struggles between business, government, and civil society in the controversy around shale gas exploration in Canada. This work and a few others (e.g., Ehrnström-Fuentes, 2016) have paved the way for an informed and meaningful discussion of PCSR from a critical perspective that gives importance to power struggles between business and other actors in society. In this paper, we explore how an invisible form of resistance, namely Creolization, allows the local community to undermine an organization's legitimacy despite the fact that the power asymmetry is to their disadvantage.

As regards legitimacy issues, PCSR has been quite convincing in arguing that companies are confronted with an ever increasing level of demands from their

stakeholders (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2011). By engaging in public deliberation with their stakeholders, companies strive to (re)gain their moral legitimacy (see Gond et al., 2016). What this literature has yet to explain is how such legitimacy struggles are undertaken over long periods of time (Scherer et al., 2016). We know from Mena et al. (2016) that organizations can effectively engage in deliberate forgetting work to lead stakeholders and the public more generally to forget about their past irresponsible behavior. Yet there are instances where such forgetting work is rendered ineffective by the enduring collective memory of stakeholders. This empirical study shows how such collective memory undermines any effort of an organization to engage in responsible initiatives, under the seemingly harmless guise of a distance that is in fact invisible resistance. The phenomenon that is at stake in this study is Creolization, a form of invisible resistance that differs from previous forms discussed in the literature (see Fernández, Martí, & Farchi, 2017 for a recent synthesis of resistance practices from marginalized groups). By reacting to Creolization with more engagement in the public sphere, namely with more PCSR, the studied organization tries to shift the focus of the conversation to the present and the future—including by writing history-in-the-making—rather than the past. But by doing so, the organization limits its own capacity to settle legacy issues and indirectly fuels more resistance on the side of the local community.

2.2.3. Creolization as resistance within a relation

> "Creolization **always** entails inequality, hierarchization, issues of domination and subalternity, mastery and servitude, control and resistance. Questions of power, as well as issues of entanglement, are always at stake."
>
> (Hall, 2003, p. 16, original emphasis)

Creole, Creoleness, and Creolization. For the purpose of this research, it is crucial to distinguish between the terms Creole (language and people), Creoleness (identity), and Creolization (process), which have been abundantly discussed in the literature and

linguistic studies but are absent from organization theory. First, Creole is what linguists call a contact language, which emerged from slavery and colonial societies (Chaudenson, 2001; Thomason & Kaufman, 1997). Put differently, "Creole is a lingua franca forged in the crucible of colonization" (Lionnet & Shih 2011, p. 22) and it can be classified as an open language—that is, one that can be quite easily reclaimed by new speakers without restrictions on who is entitled to practice it and how (Benrabah, 2009). It is also the name given to the people coming from such societies (Chaudenson, 1995). Creole people are characterized as bearing on a composite culture "that emerged from the movement of history and therefore finds [itself] naturally inclined to sharing, to exchange, to change" (Glissant, 2002, p. 289). The second concept, Creoleness, was developed in the late 1980s by a group of writers from Martinique, a French overseas region with the same status as Guiana. Introduced in their essay titled *In praise of Creoleness,* the concept of Creoleness was highly influential in circles of scholars interested in francophone literature (Lionnet, 2009). Inspired by the groundbreaking works of postcolonial writers Aimé Césaire and Edouard Glissant—who respectively coined the concepts of *Négritude* and *Antillanité*—Creoleness refers to the capacity of an extremely diverse set of people to invent a new and unique culture through the daily practice of togetherness (Bernabé, Chamoiseau, & Confiant, 1993 [1989]; Burton & Réno, 1994, p. 140). Creoleness is a cultural phenomenon that has diversity at its core; it is rooted in orality, true memory, and existence (Bernabé et al., 1993 [1989]). Dissecting these three fundamental components of Creoleness will allow for a thorough discussion on how the present case study illuminates the struggles of an organization and its local community of stakeholders in understanding each other and building a relationship.

Finally, unlike Creoleness, which has to do with identity and has been criticized for its essentialist bias (Chancé, 2011), creolization refers to a process that has power asymmetries as one of its key dimensions (Rodriguez & Tate, 2015). Creolization is by definition unfinished (Hall, 2003); it is a never-ending process that produces unexpected consequences (Glissant, 1995; Rodriguez & Tate, 2015). What makes Caribbean societies such as Guiana so distinctive is precisely the process of creolization (Hall, 2003)—"the meeting, the interference, the clash, the harmonies and the disharmonies between cultures" (Glissant, 1995, p. 194). Creolization is a form of resistance that does

not appear as such to the outside eye, because it is undertaken without noise. Silence is an unusual point of departure for research, as researchers typically consider noise rather than silence to be indicative of anomalies—that is, phenomena deemed worthy of study. As argued by Patriotta in his discussion around sense-making, certain phenomena are "not immediately accessible to empirical observation, unless things go wrong in some way [...] and noise comes in" (2016, p. 557). In the case of the Guiana Space Center, the absence of noise makes it challenging to understand that something meaningful is nevertheless going on.

The concept of Creolization emerged in very specific contexts that are historically and geographically bound, namely the various societies that are the product of the transatlantic slave trade and colonization (Palmié, 2006; Shih & Lionnet, 2011, p. 23). Yet this concept is informative of the dynamics that are unfolding in a globalized world characterized by the disharmonious encounter of various cultures (Glissant, 1995). Creolization is an open-ended process whose outcomes can hardly be predicted, unlike plain mixing (Glissant, 1995, 2011). It is a "grappling process [which] is always a two-way struggle as well as always reciprocal, and mutually constituting" (Hall, 2003, p. 15). It implies that the cultural groups that are in relation influence each other, despite the existence of a dominant group. Hence Creolization brings in a critical perspective that departs from deterministic and essentialist views of power relations.

2.2.4. Creolization and resistance through memory

An anthropologist who conducted ethnographic work on Caribbean culture highlighted the endurance of collective memory conceived as the "other history." In his view, "the other history is that told by any islander and held in common mind by all, but for which there is no documentary reference" (Wilson, 1973, p. 29, cited in Baugh, 2012 [1977], p. 66). This "other history" is not written and is therefore hardly accessible to historians, because it is "behind the dates, behind the known facts" (Bernabé et al., 1993 [1989], p. 99), and it remains hermetic to outsiders' investigation. The case study undertaken here shows how memory, which is difficult to seize and control by nature, can effectively undermine any effort of an organization to give precedence to an

objectified and written history. This is made possible through the process of Creolization, which keeps memories alive within a local community despite the passing of time and the significant demographic change undergone by the community. There is a fundamentally different approach of the past, present, and future between the organization under study and its local community. While the organization tends to put the past behind and argue that the present is shaped primarily by the ambitions held for the future of space activity, local community members claim that the past is key to understand what can be expected from the organization in the future and how to interact with it.

2.3 Methods

This empirical study is based on longitudinal data in the tradition of process research, which aims at shedding light on how a phenomenon evolves over time (Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven, 2013). The research undertaken relies on qualitative data from a "single case chosen for its revelatory potential and richness of data" (Langley & Abdallah, 2007, p. 205). The objective sought with such a case selection strategy was to offer novel insight into an understudied phenomenon (Yin, 2009), namely the invisible resistance of a local community toward continuous attempts from an organization to include them in the governance of CSR initiatives. The lead author, who grew up in Guiana and has an intimate understanding of the context under study, conducted all the interviews. Her knowledge of and ties with the local context were instrumental in unveiling what Caribbean postcolonial writers consider as stories hermetic to the understanding of outsiders (Bernabé et al., 1993 [1989]; Walcott, 1974). Such an understanding was also helpful in securing access to informants and to archival data. This research strategy was inspired by the Gioia methodology, which values the insights yielded from the maintenance of insider and outsider perspectives (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013; Langley & Abdallah, 2007).

2.3.1. Research context: The uniqueness of Guiana

Guiana is a French overseas Territorial Collectivity located in the northeast of South America and shares lengthy frontiers with its two neighboring countries of Brazil and Suriname. A former colony, Guiana is part of France since 1946 and has the status of an ultra-peripheral region within the European Union (along with enclaved territories like Martinique, Guadeloupe, the Canary Islands or the Azores). Social scientists from a variety of disciplines have emphasized its unique characteristics in terms of its being the last continental country in the world being attached to a former European colonial power (Schwarzbeck, 1983); its history of tragically failed colonial settlements (Lowenthal, 1952); its long-held status as a territory of legal exception compared to France (Spieler, 2012) and its long-lasting function as the forgotten land of the marginalized groups (Schloss, 2013); the peculiar role played by the creole culture in the evolution of its cultural diversity (Martin & Favre, 2002); its geopolitical specificities and the challenging coexistence of two temporalities within its territory (Silva, Porto, Santos, & Dhenin, 2016); and its being "always perceived as a blank on the map" on which endless fantasies have been projected (Jones, 1994, p. 389).

Guiana is undeniably a unique setting, whose "history [remains] largely obscure, unexplored and overlooked" (Hamilton, 2012, p. ii). The combination of its uniqueness and absence from the academic world (Hamilton, 2012; Schloss, 2013) make it an appropriate choice for a revelatory single case study (see Langley & Abdallah, 2007; Siggelkow, 2007). And yet, despite this uniqueness, since Guiana is a setting where heterogeneous cultures have historically been in constant and close relation (Martin & Favre, 2002), it is a place where the current challenges of encounter faced worldwide have been—and still are being—dealt with (see Martin & Favre, 2002). The results of this study can therefore inform general organizational theory by the illumination of phenomena that can be abstracted in the form of concepts and principles transferable to other domains (see Gioia et al., 2013).

2.3.2. Guiana Space Center, "Europe's Spaceport"

> "CSG is a major asset of Europe, one that France provides to the European Space Agency so it can develop its policy of autonomous access to space."
>
> (Latitude5, 2013, p. 6)

Guiana Space Center—commonly referred to as "CSG" due to its original French name Centre Spatial Guyanais—is called "Europe's Spaceport" and serves European interests primarily. A site for the launch of rockets carrying both institutional and commercial satellites for European and worldwide customers, CSG is a property of the French national center for space studies (CNES), a public enterprise responsible for conceiving the French space policy under the authority of the prime minister (Legifrance, 1961). While originally the result of a strategic political ambition, namely guaranteeing France's independent access to space, the specifics of CSG's host site made it a significant economic force in Guiana. These include a small population of 33,000 inhabitants at the time of the implementation in 1964; no preexisting industries (Granger, 2010); and meager infrastructure in terms of transportation (Colmenero-Cruz, 1987), housing, health, education, etc. (Joseph-Affandi, 1999). From the outset, CSG has been a major economic actor at the local level and has been described a posteriori as "the driving force of the Guianese economy" (INSEE, 1999). It employs about 1,500 persons (INSEE, 2010), generates 9,000 indirect and induced jobs, and accounts for about 15% of both the GDP and the fiscal contribution of Guiana (CNES, 2012). For all the aforementioned reasons, the analytical boundaries of the local community are Guiana *per se*.

CSG is an extreme case for the study of how collective memory has a lasting influence on the relation between an organization and its local stakeholders. First, since the focal event of this study occurred at the moment of the implementation of the organization, back in 1964, the case shows how a local community sustains collective memory over time without the initial help of strong media coverage, a condition stressed by previous research as being of primary importance (see Mena et al., 2016). Indeed,

Guiana has been quite absent from the media's attention, even up to today. Locally, there was only a handful of newspapers whose resonance did not extend beyond Guiana and its 30,000 inhabitants at the time (Granger, 2010). This is an important characteristic of the case, since previous literature on the functioning of a mnemonic community underscores the role of the media in drawing the public's attention to an event involving harm-doing (e.g., Mena et al., 2016).

When it comes to its relations with the local community, one of the main preoccupations of the management of CSG is the enduring tale of its past misconduct. Such a tale is kept alive through what Mena and colleagues (2016) label a stakeholder mnemonic community, namely a diverse group of stakeholders—who can be both internal and external to the focal organization—which allows for the remembering and the forgetting of a past event. According to various respondents met in the course of this research, the detrimental effects of CSG's implementation for the local community of the time are still perceived by most as unforgettable and by many as unforgiveable. The stakeholder mnemonic community has been quite effective in organizing the remembering of what some respondents refer to as "the original sin," anchoring any discussion on the space industry in the past and making such past permanently relevant to understand the present. On the other hand, CSG is engaged in a continuous attempt to project the relevance of the space industry in the future and the importance of preparing it in the very present. Hence there is a significant temporal gap between CSG and the local community over what should be done in the present.

2.3.3. Data collection

We adopted an inductive approach to study how CSG engaged with the local community from 1964 to 2014. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse set of stakeholders around the space activity in Guiana; these constitute the primary source of data. They were complemented with rich archival data from various public and private sources.

In-depth interviews. A total of 48 persons were met through semi-structured interviews conducted in three phases. The first phase started in November 2012 and ended in January 2013 in Guiana, the second phase was carried out in July 2013 in Paris, and the third phase took place between September and October 2014 in Guiana. To mitigate bias from the retrospective interview data, we followed Eisenhardt and Graebner's (2007) recommendation to target high-level respondents who can be expected to be knowledgeable informants; in addition, we attempted to maintain diversity by interviewing informants with varying group memberships and stances toward CSG. This strategy was particularly useful for gaining a fine-grained understanding of how the relations between CSG and the local community have evolved over time. First, we interviewed high-level managers of CSG, including its director as well as the director of an arms-length organization created by CSG to contribute to Guiana's economic development. Second, we interviewed high-level managers of the French public enterprise CNES and the European private enterprise Arianespace, which are respectively responsible for the political and the economic missions of CSG. Third, we interviewed external stakeholders, such as political actors who hold or have held elected positions that led them to interact with the organization; members of trade unions; partner organizations for specific projects; representatives of civil society organizations; representatives of local aboriginal groups; members of the local community; consultants and researchers who work extensively on or with CSG; local media specialized in the space sector; and representatives of the French ministries of Ecology and Education. All but two interviews were audio-recorded, and each interview lasted between 40 minutes and two hours. Once transcribed verbatim, these interviews resulted in about 600 pages of single-spaced text. Since the interviews were conducted in French, the quotes presented in the findings are translations of the original verbatim text.

Archival data. In January 2013 and October 2014, we were given access to the archival center of CSG, where more than 700 pages of a wide variety of documents were gathered, including corporate publications; socio-economic studies conducted by third parties, such as INSEE and other government agencies; various reports prepared by administrative and political institutions; academic publications; and interview transcripts

of prominent actors in the history of CSG. As a complement to these rich documents, with the help of an informant, we collected archives from general and political newspapers dating as far back as 1964.

2.3.4. Data analysis

From the outset, we adopted a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) for both data collection and data analysis by going back and forth between the categories emerging from the field and the analysis. While conducting the interviews, we soon realized that almost every single respondent would spontaneously refer to 1964 as a milestone, notably the founding moment that was perceived by most as key to understanding the difficult relation between CSG and the local community. Despite the 50 years that had passed and the high number of initiatives undertaken by CSG to demonstrate its willingness to redeem its past, the memory of 1964 remained very lively within the local community. Particularly striking was the difference in temporalities between CSG and the local community: on one hand, CSG was attempting to project its relationship with the local community in the future, insisting that history was in the making for the benefit of all. On the other hand, the local community generally considered that the past was absolutely relevant to assess its present relation with CSG. No matter how much CSG invested in diverse CSR initiatives, it was facing resistance from the local community. CSG has written a lot about its integration in Guiana, yet its story is ignored by the local community which cultivates its own collective memory of 1964 through oral tradition.

2.4 Findings

The analysis of the findings starts with a description of the conditions that gave the installation of CSG such a negative and lasting resonance in the local community. This is followed by a presentation of the various ways in which CSG and the local community refer to 1964 in their reflection about the past, present, and future of their relation. Then an explanation of how creolized resistance unfolds at CSG follows: through (1)

remembering from traces; (2) distancing; (3) integrating through relation; and (4) expressing disenchantment rather than opposition.

2.4.1. 1964: One time too many

When on an official trip to Guiana in April 1964, General de Gaulle, then President of the French Republic, announced the creation of CSG in the following terms: "We are called upon to achieve, you onsite and France with you, a great French work" (Guillebaud, 1976, p. 214); this was soon followed by outraged reactions locally. The announcement that the space activity would contribute to the long-awaited economic development and social betterment was received with skepticism and hostility by local actors, who considered this new offense as one time too many (see Héder, 1964a, 1964b).

One needs to bear in mind that the relation between France and Guiana has been marred with a history of mistreatment and disregard. Among the most significant periods of such history are slavery, which lasted some two centuries until its official abolition in 1848 (Garraway, 2008); various failed attempts at colonization, which ended with the death of thousands of settlers and earned Guiana the reputation of a cemetery for white men (Lowenthal, 1952; Schwarzbeck, 1983); the creation of the penal colony of Cayenne, famously known as Devil's Island (Lowenthal, 1960; Toth, 2006). The selection of Guiana as the host site for CSG, after two years of thorough analysis and the comparison of 14 potential sites (Debomy, 1964) but without any information given to the local actors about the ongoing process until General de Gaulle made his public announcement (Colmenero-Cruz, 1987), was followed by accusatory declarations by the Guianese deputy of the time:

> "All the Guianese have been convinced for good that the French government has no intention to take into account our legitimate aspirations and, even worse, behaves like a master." (Heder, 1964b)

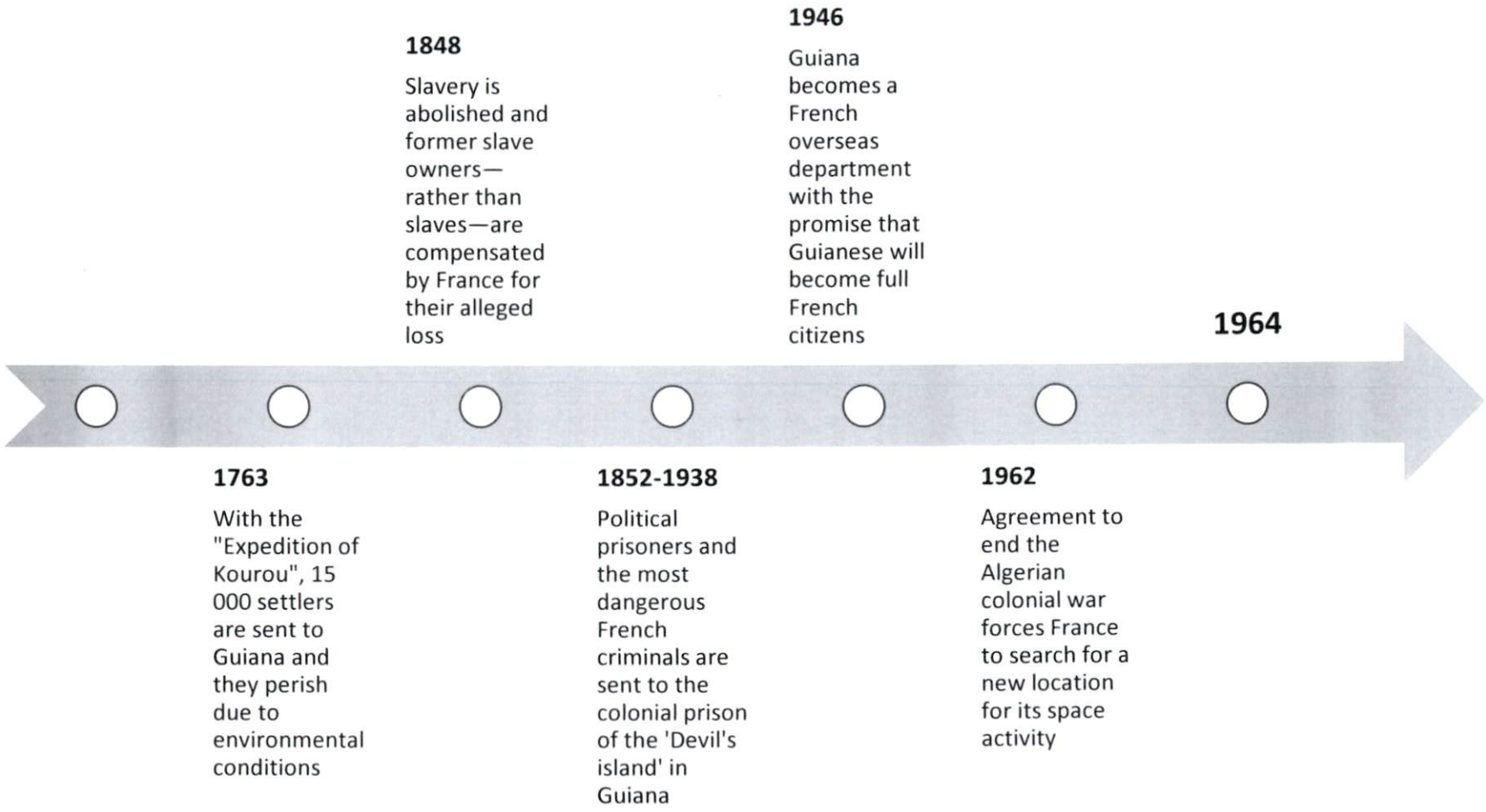
> "What will be left to the Guianese in this business apart from the crumbs and the heavy work?" (Heder, 1964a)

Indeed, the lack of consideration by the government was manifested, among other things, through the decision to install CSG without consulting the local community or informing any elected official of the upcoming announcement; the hurried conduct of the expropriations required for the implementation of CSG in exchange for small compensations and poor conditions of relocation; the reservation of all management positions in CSG for the army composed exclusively of non-locals; the dramatic transformation of the host city of Kourou, back then a typically Guianese locality, into a socially segregated city where the army and then the engineers were at the top of the socioeconomic pyramid; and finally the installation of the Foreign Legion, a notorious colonial army, at the entry of Kourou to protect CSG. CSG, a direct emanation of the government, was immediately perceived as symbolizing the enduring power asymmetry between France and its former colony turned an overseas territory, and the lack of consideration for local aspirations left long-lasting impressions locally, imprinting the collective memory. Such a failure to take into account the past mistakes of France in Guiana led to a generalized sentiment that nothing would ever change in the relation between the former metropolis and the colony.

2.4.2. Permanent reference to "the original sin"

As briefly explained in the previous section, the initial conditions of the implementation of CSG led to its complete rejection locally and to the emergence of a mnemonic community, which managed to pass from one generation to the next with the memory of what many still refer to as "the original sin." Of the 48 persons interviewed over the three phases of fieldwork, almost every single one spontaneously mentioned the episode of the expropriations in one form or another, something that was obviously a pattern in the data (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014). This event is the one that appears as the focal point for CSG's stakeholders, including for those who were not present at the time of the expropriations and know little about it. Quite impressive is the fact that Guiana's population amounted to only approximately 33,000 people when CSG arrived and now accounts for about 250,000 people, among which more than one-third are foreigners,

Figure 7 - Timeline of Guiana's relations with France before the implementation of CSG



according to the latest census (INSEE, 2013). This means that more than 85% of the people who now live in Guiana were not present or not yet born in 1964 when CSG was implemented. In light of those factors, the enduring memory of "the original sin" is in itself worthy of investigation. In fact, younger generations and immigrants often do not know the details surrounding the expropriations, such as the year it occurred, how many people were expropriated, and how things actually happened. Yet in spite of this lack of a clear knowledge or memory of the chronology of the 1964 events, it is a shared story that virtually every local has heard about.

In a way, this is typical of a creole culture, which is characterized by a non-history and a tendency to remember past events by referring to their affective meaning rather than by chronologically organizing them (Glissant, 1997, pp. 224–225; Walcott, 1974, p. 6). The reference to affective meaning also manifests through the daily practice of togetherness that bonds the community despite its heterogeneity. A telling illustration of this can be found in the unprecedented popular movement that gave rise to massive strikes in Guiana in March 2017 (AFP, 2017; Breeden, 2017; Dreyfuss, 2017). The movement was named "Let Guiana take off," explicitly referring to the take-off of rockets from CSG and to the popular saying that "the rocket takes off, but Guiana remains on the ground" (see France-Guyane, 2015). While the protesters came from all strata and groups of society—including immigrants and expatriates—they demonstrated a shared perception of injustice toward the prosperity of CSG in contrast with a society in socioeconomic decay. As will be discussed later, such a communion exemplifies the capacity of Creolization to bring together heterogeneous people around a sense of belonging that is itself conducive to the maintenance of a collective memory.

2.4.3. Forms of Creolization

The inductive analysis of the data led to the identification of Creole culture as a central feature of the phenomenon at stake, namely the ways through which the local community resists its inclusion in CSR governance around CSG's activity. The results of this study allowed for the unveiling of a typology (Cornelissen, 2017) of four forms of resistance that are intimately tied to Creole culture and that remain invisible to the outsider's eye

because of their elusive character. Creolization refers to those mechanisms that allow marginalized stakeholders to maintain a vivid memory of the past and to resist their attempted inclusion in CSR governance without engaging in overt opposition.

Remembering from traces. The first form of creolization is related to a particular way of keeping memories alive, through orality. As elaborated earlier, orality is a fundamental trait of Creoleness (Bernabé et al., 1993 [1989]; Glissant, 1997), and it allows people to creatively organize the past around shared stories in the absence of archival records and artifacts. This way of remembering from traces originates from the oppressive era of transatlantic slavery and then colonization (Glissant, 1997), during which those who would later be known as Creoles were deliberately separated from their fellow countrymen to prevent communication and avoid rebellion and who were also denied a place in the historical records. Hence orality, at first a survival mechanism, became a lasting cultural trait. In the case of CSG, orality made it possible for the local community to remember "the original sin" despite the passing of time and the major demographic change that occurred after the implementation of CSG. We drew from Glissant's discussion of the creolization process to label this first form of creolized resistance as *remembering from traces*, a process that leads to new stories and cultural references that "can be said to be valid for all" (Glissant, 1995, p. 15). Remembering from traces has to do with resisting oblivion by recollecting vague elements of the past without the support of history books, artifacts, or written testimonies. This effort is helped by the use of words that are powerfully evocative and imprint upon collective memory, such as "the original sin." The following excerpts illustrate how the past is remembered by referring to evocative images:

> "We can feel that these expropriations generated a historical split between the space [activity] and the inhabitants of Kourou."
>
> Former elected official of Kourou

> "The space activity was given, in terms of land use, the equivalent of the territory of Martinique."
>
> Former member of the parliament

"Some expropriated people died of grief because they could not bear the loss of their former lifestyle, which was simple but rich. Others still won't attend a [rocket] launch, even today. The scars are still there."

Inhabitant of Kourou—1

"People who used to be self-sufficient were suddenly parked in tiny homes, with no access whatsoever to a bit of land where they could grow something."

Inhabitant of Kourou—2, songwriter

"When Ariane* arrived, they made you disappear."

Song "Malmanoury" (name of a village that was expropriated) by Lexio's, 2003. *Ariane is the name of the flagship rocket of CSG

"In a way, these are the original sins of the space industry, in the sense that [the space center] was implanted in the most unfavorable conditions possible for its integration into the Guianese society."

Former member of the parliament

"History has left traces, undeniably."

Consultant, former employee of CSG

Distancing. The second form of resistance is one that is particularly elusive, and it entails two dimensions that operate simultaneously and reinforce each other. Distancing occurs when the local community keeps its distance vis-à-vis CSG by denouncing its failures while at the same time maintaining outwardness. In other words, while the local community criticizes CSG for not doing enough to integrate and contribute locally, it shows no willingness to reinforce the ties with CSG and to engage in a dialogue. This reflects an ambivalent relation with CSG that is illustrative of Creole "cultural character [which is] a function of acceptance and denial" (Bernabé et al., 1993, p. 88) and explains the apparently silent resignation of the local community—the "impenetrable areas of silence where screams were lost" (Glissant, 1997). As a form of resistance, distancing is extremely difficult to detect and tackle. The first three excerpts that follow illustrate the first dimension of distancing, namely the denouncing of failures:

> "I find it very surprising to hear people compare the oil [companies] with the space industry: 'We will be fooled once again,' they say. […] There is an illusion, among the population, that there are high profits being made by the space [center] that are not given back to them."
>
> Editor of a local scientific review

> "The security needs of the space industry translated into a great physical visibility of the armed forces, which excluded the locals—since there are no locals in the Foreign Legion, obviously. Picture this at the entrance of a city, it is some sort of a signal that it is a fortified city that has been taken away from its inhabitants."
>
> Former member of the parliament

The second dimension of distancing, which has to do with maintaining outwardness toward CSG, is illustrated by the following quotes taken from the interviews and archival data:

"CSG manages its risks in the most complete lack of interest."

(Carlier, 2013)

"Guianese people were despoiled. [...] From the moment Guianese felt they had been despoiled, the space center became an enclave."

Former representative of the local government

"Originally there was a distance, a willingness of the political figures to ignore the space activity [for about two decades]."

Former member of the parliament

Integrating through relation. As previously discussed, Creolization is a process that occurs in the context of encounter between different cultures (Glissant, 1995). In the context of Guiana, the demographic growth and the constant arrival of immigrants did not undermine the maintenance of the collective memory; instead, it set into motion the innovative ability of the local community to keep alive and share the traces of their memories of 1964 with others. Here again, Creolization allowed such memory to be transferred, albeit vaguely, to newcomers and new generations without the support of historical records or artifacts. The first excerpt that follows gives an indication of how the integration through relation occurs, while the second one shows how the transfer of memory is clearly perceived locally:

"On these construction sites, there was no labor union at the beginning. But as anger increased, the [foreign] workers came to see us, and we organized together; we built a union that became very strong and we succeeded in obtaining important changes: they stopped paying rent to CSG, their food stopped being deducted from their income, and their income got increased."

Labor union representative

"The fact that local populations were displaced marked those that were present at the time, and this marking is transgenerational, because we hear certain lasting comments, including from young people who did not experience the situation."

Former senior representative of CSG-2

Expressing disenchantment rather than opposition. Finally, the fourth form of resistance is intimately related to the long history of distrust that characterizes France and Guiana relations. A generalized perception that nothing will ever change and that history keeps being reenacted leads the local community to consider that its interests will systematically be ignored by the state and any of its creatures, whether they are governmental agencies or companies like CSG. Consequently, instead of confronting CSG on what it considers unsatisfactory the local community expresses disenchantment by using imaged discourse to describe the situation, as the following quotes show:

"The rocket takes off, but Guiana remains on the ground."

Popular saying originating from a rap song

(France-Guyane, 2015)

"A few decades ago, we asked questions about the impact of the space activity on the environment and public health. We soon were overwhelmed with technical data presented by engineers asserting that there were no risks [...] We felt that we could not argue on this ground and even if some of us remained suspicious, the group progressively stopped asking questions on that matter and focused on others."

President of a local environmental group

"The 'metropolis' remembers Guiana just the time of take-off of a rocket."

(Martin & Favre, 2002, authors' translation)

2.5 Discussion

2.5.1. Creolization and invisible resistance in the everyday

"The attempt to approach a reality that was so many times obscured cannot be ordered immediately around a series a clear things. We claim the right to opacity." (Glissant, 1997, p. 14, authors' translation)

Research on resistance is attracting increasing attention in social science as new forms of mobilization emerge globally in the context of widening inequalities (Fernandez et al., 2017). In organizational theory, recent efforts have converged in an attempt to map the realm of resistance in and around organizations (see de Holan, 2016). Building on Scott's (2012) critical discussion of the institutionalized forms of political contestation vs. non-institutionalized forms, called infrapolitics, which are the "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985), Fernandez and colleagues empirically explore the everyday resistance practices of "those [groups] deemed powerless" (2017, p. 203). What creolized resistance brings to the conversation is the demonstration that invisible resistance is not always a means of action toward oppressive regimes (Scott, 1985, 2012) or political domination (Fernandez et al., 2017) but can also be a response to attempts of inclusion that are perceived as fatally flawed. In the case of CSG, creolized resistance expresses the persistent—albeit invisible—refusal of the Guianese local community to be included in the governance of CSR as promoted by CSG. In that sense, creolized resistance is not inconsequential as it is the case of infrapolitics (see Fernandez et al., 2017; Marche, 2012), because while it is invisible to the outsider's eye, it is both perceivable and challenging for the organization at which it is targeted, in our case CSG. In other words, creolized resistance creates discomfort and frustration, because it is

understood by the targeted organization as defiance that can hardly be tackled, precisely because this form of expression or of "being and knowing" (Shih & Lionnet, 2011, p. 2) comes with no claims and no intention for settlement. Hence the consequentiality of creolized resistance does not result from a demand for social change but from the continuous evolution that it indirectly fuels, as it leads the organization to do more in terms of CSR with the hope of coming to terms with the covert contestation.

In social theory, resistance is often associated negatively with the unwillingness to accept change and evolution (Brighenti, 2011). But resistance can be creative and lead to unexpected outcomes. In the context of Creole societies, orality plays a central role in making such unexpected outcomes of resistance occur. Orality does not appear naturally as a form of resistance to the external eye. Yet it "contains a whole system of countervalues, a counterculture; it witnesses ordinary genius applied to resistance, devoted to survival" (Bernabé et al, 1993 [1989], p. 95). Orality is a central feature of Creole societies (Bernabé et al., 1993 [1989]; Glissant, 1997), which makes possible the maintenance of memory despite the passing of time. "To perceive our existence is to perceive ourselves in the context of our history, of our daily lives, of our reality" (Bernabé et al., 1993 [1989], p. 100). Through orality, the Guianese local community keeps alive the memory of the 1964 events and passes it not only from one generation to another but also from the Guianese to the new waves of immigrants that continue to arrive.

Guiana's population has gone through phenomenal demographic growth over the last 50 years, a situation that is considered to be highly linked to the installation of CSG (Granger, 2010; Mam-Lam-Fouck, 1992). As Aimé Césaire powerfully put it in 1975 in one of his discourses in parliament, French overseas territories such as Guiana went through profound and accelerated cultural disruption with the organized arrival of immigration waves that could quickly outnumber the small local population, something he controversially labeled "genocide by substitution" (Henane, 2010, p. 116). In such a context, a dilution of collective memory could have been reasonably expected, but the outcomes differ from such expectation. Because Creolization is a process that occurs in the context of encounter between different cultures—hence its characterization as a

contact language in linguistics (Thomason, 1997)—it set into motion the innovative ability of the local community to keep alive and share the traces of their memory of 1964 with others. Creolization allowed such memory to persist without the support of any historical records or artifacts. On the other hand, CSG collected archives and artifacts of the history it prides itself in, one that is centered on technological excellence and local development; these sustained efforts have nonetheless failed to earn it legitimacy with the local community and settle legacy issues. Indeed, "in a [creole] society that has been abused by prejudicial and partial accounts of the past, history as a discourse is associated with colonial ideologies" (Garraway, 2005, p. 19).

2.5.2. Creolizing PCSR

As previously discussed in this paper, PCSR has been criticized for not taking politics—in other words, power struggles—seriously (Banerjee & Sabadoz, 2014). PCSR relies on a smooth conception of the political by embracing a very liberal view of it, one that focuses on the common good and deliberation but in the meantime overlooks power asymmetry and exclusion, which are game changers in the very conception of the common good and of what effective deliberative democracy entails (see Scherer, Palazzo, & Matten, 2014). It seems fair to say that the current PCSR literature suffers from "the displacement of politics in political theory" (Honig, 1993, p. 2) by emphasizing regulation over social change and consensus building over dissonance, resistance, and struggle. While the so-called PCSR 2.0 outlined by Scherer and colleagues (2016) is presented as an improvement in this regard—among other things—the introduction of a creolized perspective of business–society relations takes the effort much further. Because "Creolization evokes the political" (Hesse, 2011, p. 37) and inherently implies power asymmetry and struggles (Hall, 2003), it is highly relevant to further our conceptualization of PCSR and to ground it in the real-world experience of those actors that are generally ignored. Indeed, creolizing theory means doing "justice to the lived realities of subaltern subjects" by taking it to "a mode of theorizing that is integral to the living practices of being and knowing" (see Shih & Lionnet, 2011, p. 2).

In our effort to creolize PCSR, we propose a conception of politics informed by our empirical findings, which can be differentiated from both Scott's (1985) concept of infrapolitics and Fernandez et al.'s (2017) concept of mundane politics. Compared to infrapolitics and mundane politics, creolized politics, as they happen in Guiana, are not triggered by precariat but rather by marginalization. Marginalization goes beyond the unstable material conditions found in the emergence of precariat and entails instability in identity and a lack of trust in government and governance mechanisms—all this in the context of rapid and profound demographic change that fuels a process of creolization. Table 6 provides a systematic comparison of creolized politics with infrapolitics and mundane politics. It shows how creolized politics is consequential but only indirectly—that is, how it triggers change not through the actual practices of those marginalized groups who enact it but through the practices of the powerful who attempt to satisfy the demands of the marginalized, albeit unsuccessfully. As an illustration, the response of CSG to creolized politics was to engage increasingly more in CSR practices, hoping to finally meet local expectations but systematically failing to do so. It is in that sense that creolized politics are indirectly consequential by eliciting change and not the direct and deliberate consequence of those who enact them. Moving back to PCSR, what creolized politics brings to the debate is the need to move beyond conjectures around deliberation and governance mechanisms supposedly reinforcing the democratic legitimacy of business (see Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2011) and to make space for discussions around the inclusion of marginalized stakeholders.

Table VI – Political practices and outcomes

Initial conditions Specific social situations that affect individuals in a particular way	(Inter)action mechanism Specific combination of individual desires, beliefs, and action opportunities that generate a specific action	Transformational mechanism Mechanisms that show how the individual actions are transformed into some kind of collective outcome
Infrapolitics	Common consequences of "expulsion" and emergence of "precariat": • Loss of jobs and/or job insecurity • Unstable occupational identities and careers • Lack of social protection • Dispossession of material conditions	•• Mostly inconsequential •• Ambiguity and anonymity
Mundane politics	Common consequences of "expulsion" and emergence of "precariat": • Loss of jobs and/or job insecurity • Unstable occupational identities and careers • Lack of social protection • Dispossession of material conditions	•• Local practices and interventions •• Re-create broken social ties •• New form of labor coordination and solidarity •• New (collective) identity •• Normalization of the territory
Creolized politics	Consequences of "marginalization": • Loss of territorial autonomy • Unstable identity due to demographic change • Lack of trust in government and institutionalized governance mechanisms • Dispossession of material conditions	•• Indirectly consequential •• Ambivalence •• Invisibility to outsiders but visibility to target of resistance •• Renewed (collective) identity through creolization

Adapted from Fernandez et al. (2017). Additions from the authors highlighted in grey

2.6 Implications for future research

This research sheds light on the importance of silence as a mode of expression and resistance. When researching vulnerable or marginalized groups, it is important to acknowledge that silence rather than noise—which tends to be what researchers look for as an indicator that something is going on (see Patriotta, 2016)—may be worth investigating. Like "the dog that didn't bark" in one of Conan Doyle's famous mysteries starring Sherlock Holmes, non-events can sometimes lead to important findings. In certain cultural contexts, silence has a deep meaning (Glissant, 1997). Since unveiling such meaning is not possible through conventional research methods (Bernabé et al., 1993) that are typically valued in organizational studies, our understanding of the social world consequently neglects certain phenomena rooted in outwardness. Yet, what is happening in such outward contexts has the potential to give us access to prescience—anticipating what needs to be known—a concern that should be central in our scientific endeavors (Corley & Gioia, 2011). More specifically, the relational capacity of Creolization that is unveiled in this research is prescient of the challenges to come in an era characterized by our striving to reinvent our ability to achieve successful togetherness (Glissant, 1997, p. 17; Palmié, 2006, p. 434; Walcott, 1974).

Finally, another implication of this study is that it contributes to recent efforts undertaken to move the organization–stakeholder research away from orgo-centrism (see, critically, Pasquero, 2005). In line with Davila and Molina (2015) and with Baba & Raufflet (2017), this paper adopts the perspective of a diversity of stakeholder groups, including some perceived as non-stakeholders or as dormant stakeholders by the focal organization. It allows for a more accurate rendering of the complexity of the phenomenon under study in the authentic tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Langley, 1999). Such a methodological approach is consistent with Creole storytelling, which gives primary importance to the diversity of perspectives to get a sense of what is actually happening in any given setting (Seifert, 2002). Creole storytelling does not give primacy to the coherence and integration of the narrative but rather to the multiplicity of real voices expressed (Jolivet, 1993). Moreover, from a Creole perspective, history is creative and cannot be dissociated from storytelling, specifically because Creole societies need to

make a creative leap when recalling their past, since they have to tackle the obstacles that arise from "a history made of ruptures" (Glissant, 1997, p. 223).

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Chapitre 3

Business, society and *subalterness*: Revisiting political CSR from a Creolized perspective

Abstract

This conceptual paper proposes a new research agenda for political CSR (PCSR) by drawing from a creolized perspective to reconceptualize the interactions between business, government, and marginalized groups of society. It is based on an inductive approach that allows for new insights to emerge from the experiences of marginalized groups in their relation with business. The paper makes two important contributions to PCSR. First, it challenges the dichotomous view of society held in the literature by showing that a subaltern sphere complements the public–private divide so far discussed. Second, the paper shows that in the subaltern sphere, marginalized groups express their agency in ways that remain invisible to business and government until unexpected crises occur. Overall, the proposed creolized perspective paves the way for a profound rethinking of (P)CSR to align it with the times of division that characterize the current world and create new challenges for business.

Keywords: *business–society relations; creolization; marginalized stakeholders; political CSR; subalterness*

3.1. Introduction: Business and Society in Times of Division

Recent events have shown the increasingly divisive state of politics in many established democracies. Whether one looks to Europe with the Brexit and the so-called migrant crisis (Armstrong, 2016; Asthana, Quinn & Mason, 2016; BBC News, 2016; Yardley, 2016) which led to a major reconfiguration of the European political landscape; to the United States with the Standing Rock uprising against the Dakota access pipeline, the Black Lives Matter movement and the dramatic demonstrations–counter demonstrations such as the Charlottesville events (Carasik, 2016; Douthat, 2017; Wright, 2017); or even to Canada—portrayed as a safe haven for "the last liberals" (The Economist, 2016)—with the systemic racism documented by the UN Human Rights Council (Canadian Press, 2017) and the recent clash between Indigenous Peoples and Armed Forces members (Bresge, 2017; Levin, 2017); the divide is profound between the different components of society. Perception of marginalization is often entailed in such divisions and threatens the long-held stability of many democracies, as marginalized groups engage in unexpected forms of resistance (Fleming, 2016). In such a context, it becomes crucial for management scholarship to take seriously issues of division and marginalization in order to build theory that is in adequacy with the current world.

Indeed, while divisions are primarily expressed in the political arena, companies and business leaders are increasingly pressed upon to take a stance (Rushe & Gabbatt, 2017). The resignation of business leaders from the U.S. president's business councils following the Charlottesville events (Gelles, Thomas et al. 2017) or the decision made by various Spanish companies to move their headquarters out of Catalonia after the controversial independence referendum (Treanor, 2017) illustrate such a pressure to choose their side. These developments that are taking place in the real world are opposite to the "displacement of politics in political theory" (Honig, 1993, p. 2) also witnessed in organization studies, i.e. the emphasis on regulation over social change, and the focus on consensus building over dissonance, resistance and struggle. Such developments are major challenges not only for political theorists, but also for management scholars, especially those interested in the role of business in society or in the way business is "interpenetrated with society" (De Bakker, Den Hond, King & Weber, 2013). They call

for theories that have the potential to help business make a positive impact on society or, relying on Marti & Scherer's (2016) terminology, to help business participate more actively in social welfare. Considering the persistent "weakness of management theory: its naivety about politics" (The Economist, 2016), much work is still needed to render organization theories more attuned to politics (De Bakker & Den Hond, 2008), in an effort to join forces with the critical management scholarship which has its own challenges when it comes to embracing a more transformational research agenda (Spicer, Alvesson & Kärreman, 2009).

In the field of business and society, the most promising avenue to pursue such an agenda is arguably within the political corporate social responsibility (PCSR) body of research. PCSR stresses the need for the field to recognize the importance of politics for the conduct of business (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006; Whelan, 2012) and rehabilitates a long needed discussion on politics beyond instrumental reasoning (Scherer, 2017). The point of departure of this literature is the blurred frontiers between the public (political) and private (economic) spheres of society and the consequent increase of both power and responsibility of corporations (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2008), including SMEs (Wickert, 2016) and state-owned enterprises (Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo & Spicer, 2016). In light of these developments, PCSR draws from the work of Habermas (1989) to argue that, since business intervenes in the public sphere which is the realm of common good, it should abide by the same democratic principles as government (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). In other words, since business is also a political actor, new theories addressing the purpose of business are urgently needed (see Donaldson & Walsh, 2015). In such a context, CSR scholars need to update their conceptualization of business firms as not only economic actors absorbed by their own interests, but also as political actors engaged in the provision of public goods alongside governments (Matten & Crane, 2005; Scherer, 2017; Scherer, Palazzo & Matten, 2009, 2014).

While PCSR laid the groundwork for the reconceptualization of the role of business in society, it has been criticized with reason on a number of issues (see, critically, Djelic & Etchanchu, 2015; Edward & Willmott, 2008; Frynas & Stephens, 2015; Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012; Whelan, 2012). One of the critics that requires serious consideration is

the neglect of power asymmetry between business and stakeholders and its consequence for the enactment of Habermasian principles of deliberative democracy that are presented as a remedy (Banerjee & Sabadoz, 2014). More fundamentally, the Habermasian perspective in which PCSR is grounded (see Scherer & Palazzo, 2007) needs to be critically revised to unveil some of its premises that prevent from paying attention to issues of exclusion and marginalization. In a critical discussion of his own theorization of the public sphere, Habermas (1992) recognizes that his initial work had overlooked the patriarchal character of the bourgeois public sphere and the resulting exclusion of women it entailed. As contemporary societies become increasingly diverse in part because of (im)migration (Collier, 2013; Hugo, 2005; Matejskova & Antonsich, 2015), and as socioeconomic inequality progresses (IMF, 2017; Piketty, 2015), the potential for exclusion and marginalization of various groups—and not only women—from the public sphere widens. In addition, some groups are particularly exposed to exclusion because they find themselves at the intersection of various sources of discrimination, a situation that requires an intersectional lens as advocated in feminist studies (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008). While the leading proponents of PCSR have recently recognized numerous blind spots in their previous conceptualizations and suggested promising avenues for improvement (see Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo & Spicer, 2016), the admitted omissions do not frontally address issues of exclusion and marginalization. Hence, their call for a profound rethinking of the literature is yet to be transformed into actual research, both conceptually and empirically.

This paper addresses the aforementioned shortcomings by introducing a creolized conception of politics which embraces a feminist perspective attentive to marginalized groups as delineated by Fraser (1990). Such a creolized conception of politics allows for the inclusion of marginalized stakeholders of society into CSR frameworks. More precisely, the central argument of this paper is that PCSR needs to depart from its liberal view of politics in order to include the marginalized groups of society in its frameworks of deliberation. The creolized conception of politics (Hesse, 2011) that is introduced strongly diverges from the one espoused by PCSR proponents. Indeed, in creolized politics the political role of business cannot merely take place in the so-called public sphere, but also in the subaltern sphere where marginalized members of society (e.g.

racialized groups, socioeconomically vulnerable groups, immigrants, undocumented workers, etc.) express their concerns in ways that are unusual to corporations and that may be more or less radical (see Scott, 1985).

3.1.1. An inductive approach

The insights that led to the creolized perspective on PCSR introduced here emerged from an empirical work undertaken at the Guiana Space Center, a European launch site based in the French overseas locality of Guiana. Delving into a Creole society which hardly lends itself to investigation by outsiders (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant, 1989[1993]; Glissant, 1997: 227), this empirical work highlighted the blind spots of the PCSR literature which has so far ignored the lack of inclusiveness of the dichotomous public–private conceptualization of society. Indeed, current PCSR relies heavily on the false premise inherited from Habermas' (1989) theory of democracy that all constituencies can potentially participate in debates occurring in the public sphere. In contemporary democracies marred with issues of division and marginalization, this premise is particularly misleading because structural power asymmetries persist and lead to the exclusion of certain groups from the private and public spheres (Banerjee, 2011; Banerjee & Sabadoz, 2014). Since marginalized groups tend to be wary of the political process (Fleming, 2013; Fraser, 1990), they rather express themselves in a third sphere, the subaltern one (Hesse, 2011), which is the realm of emancipation and creative expression (Fraser, 2013). There lies the promise of a creolized perspective on PCSR, which allows for a more critical theorization of the relationship between business, government and (marginalized) civil society. Hence, creolizing PCSR contributes to showing that experiences from the global South, which have historically been considered as exceptions or even anomalies (Shih & Lionnet, 2011), are meaningful and can inform general theory. This effort is a response to Chakrabarty's (2009) widely discussed call for "provincializing Europe". In this powerful work, the historian invites his contemporaries to constructively challenge the tendency of social theory to emerge from the West and to diffuse thanks to unquestioned claims of universal applicability. He proposes to develop theory genuinely grounded in experiences originating from developing contexts.

Creolizing PCSR contributes to this effort of reversing the logic, by telling "a global history of not just excluded but unaccounted–for people [and by showing] the way remote colonial territories helped structure national legal imaginaries." (Savage, 2014).

The inductive theorization presented here is in line with Scherer's (2017) call for more openness to new contributions to PCSR that depart from Frynas & Stephens' (2015) assumption that this literature is necessarily built upon general management theory (e.g. institutional theory, stakeholder theory, resource-based view, etc.). Rather, this paper inductively builds a contribution to PCSR and creatively borrows a concept from outside the management field while being careful not to deradicalize it (Oswick, Fleming & Hanlon, 2011). In a nutshell, the empirical work that underlies this paper unveiled the powerfulness of a particular form of resistance to PCSR, labelled Creolization, which unfolds in the subaltern sphere. While this subaltern sphere is typically out of sight of business organizations, and even if what occurs there may remain invisible for a long time (see Courpasson, 2017), it is nonetheless highly consequential when it comes to implementing CSR practices. The refusal of marginalized stakeholders to recognize the legitimacy of business organizations makes their CSR practices ineffective. Moreover, the invisibility of the subaltern sphere for business does not prevent unexpected outbursts from occurring and transferring to the public sphere (e.g. Occupy movement and the anti–Dakota Access Pipeline demonstrations).

This paper is structured as follows. First, a literature review of PCSR underscores the promises of this body of research and its potential to shed light on major issues of business and society. Follows a critical discussion of the underlying assumptions of PCSR that lead to important blind spots which need to be addressed in priority to make the literature more in phase with the current challenges faced by business organizations. Then the main contribution of the paper is delineated, namely the introduction of a creolized conception of politics that paves the way for a renewed conceptualization of PCSR. Creolized PCSR is grounded on the recognition of a subaltern sphere in modern societies, where marginalized stakeholders express themselves in unusual ways and resist attempts of inclusion in both the private (economic) and public (political) spheres. Finally,

theoretical and methodological implications of the proposed creolized PCSR are discussed.

3.2. Political Underpinnings of CSR: from the Sideline to the Center stage

Over the last decades, the field of CSR has mostly developed around an economic and instrumental perspective dedicated to addressing the question of whether it pays to be good (Margolis & Walsh, 2003). Discussions around the political dimensions of CSR were primarily initiated by critical scholars bemoaning the detrimental consequences of the increasing power of private firms, and deconstructing CSR discourse as neocolonialism or an extension of capitalism (e.g. Banerjee, 2003, 2008; Frynas, 2005; Shamir, 2005, 2010). These crucial discussions long remained within the circles of critical management scholarship and seldom reached mainstream conversations and publication outlets. Yet it is worth noting that early in the history of the field, the very notion of CSR was vehemently attacked for its alleged political underpinnings. Among the most historical and influential critics of CSR were Levitt (1958) and Friedman (1970) who considered it subversive and irreconcilable with the preservation of a free market society. In a much more recent contribution, Orlitzky (2015, p. 5) asserts that "Friedman's (1970) strident critique of CSR, though often unfairly attacked by researchers as well as advocates of CSR, is still valid today", arguing that CSR research is pervaded by "a leftwing ideological bias" (2015, p. 6). One could have expected that politics be a central issue in the study of CSR (see Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012; Whelan, 2012), but it has in fact been eluded, remaining on the sideline for most of the history of the field. The recent 'political turn' in CSR (Djelic & Etchanchu, 2015) is dramatically changing this state of affairs by taking the political discussion to the center stage.

3.2.1. The Political Turn in CSR

The field of CSR is experiencing a strong revival of debates around its political underpinnings (Frynas & Stephens, 2015). Recognized by various scholars as a

'political turn' (Joutsenvirta & Vaara, 2015; Kourula & Delalieux, 2016; Mäkinen & Kourula, 2012), these developments are opening up new research avenues on the political role of business in society. More specifically, there is an increasing concern in the field for the role played by business outside of the market realm, alongside or in substitution to traditional political actors. Such a concern has been at the origin of the emergence and the development of PCSR, which is treated here as a research program (Lakatos, 1970) "united by a common core analogy" (Ketokivi, Mantere & Cornelissen, 2017, p. 638), in this case business as a political force contributing to the common good.

PCSR has developed during the past decade (Moon, Kang & Gond, 2010) mostly in Europe, as an alternative to mainstream instrumental CSR which primary focus has remained on determining whether doing good is financially rewarding (Margolis & Walsh, 2003; Scherer, 2017). Its proponents have adopted either a descriptive stance by arguing that instrumental theories of CSR are obsolete in their depiction of the social expectations faced by business firms (see Matten & Crane, 2005; Scherer & Palazzo, 2008); or a normative stance by addressing the moral challenges associated with admitting businesses into the political realm (see Crane & Matten, 2008; Néron & Norman, 2008a, 2008b; Scherer, Baumann-Pauly & Schneider, 2013). In both cases, bearing on the transformation of the global governance system which erodes national institutions (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007; 2011), they argue that modern corporations can hardly escape the pressures they face from civil society to engage increasingly in the political sphere (Scherer, Palazzo & Matten, 2014). Rather than a discretionary activity, CSR then becomes a well-established norm which corporations can hardly ignore if they are to secure their legitimacy (Joutsenvirta & Vaara, 2015). Whether through the provision of social rights, the enabling of civil rights or the channeling of political rights, the contemporary corporation becomes involved in the realm of citizenship that used to fall under the state's purview (Matten & Crane, 2005; Matten, Crane & Chapple, 2003).

One of the main contributions of PCSR is the acknowledgment of the blurred frontiers between the political (public) and economic (private) spheres of society and their consequences for CSR. This literature sheds light on the variety of circumstances that lead

private firms to go beyond enlightened self-interest to actually act along or in substitution to government (Scherer, Palazzo & Matten, 2009), and contribute to the common good (Scherer, Palazzo & Matten, 2014). By positing the embeddedness of CSR within wider systems of governance (Gond, Barin Cruz, Raufflet & Charron, 2016), PCSR opens new research avenues at the societal level, a level of analysis that has long been neglected in the field of business and society (Walsh, Weber & Margolis, 2003). This literature also moves away from the critical CSR literature which depicts companies as being blinded by their self-interest, a situation that turns CSR into yet another instrument of domination at the exclusive service of business interests (see Frynas, 2005; Shamir, 2005, 2008).

3.3. Limitations of PCSR

The following section identifies some of the main blind spots of PCSR, which will later form the starting point for our creolized perspective. To do so, it is useful to unveil and challenge the assumptions upon which this literature has been built (Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011). This effort is undertaken in accordance with Davis' epistemology of the interesting which requires to "attack [...] the taken-for-granted world of [one's] audience" (1971, p. 311) in order to contribute to a theory. In the case of PCSR, two important assumptions are key to support the theoretical armature of this literature and challenging them paves the way for our creolized perspective. First, PCSR scholars assume that deliberative democracy is effective and that its logic should be a template for business firms as they become political actors. Second, this literature assumes that the conditions of political will formation that were historically found in Western countries are still present and are universal. The following section details each of these assumptions.

3.3.1. Unveiling the assumptions of PCSR

The first problematic assumption of PCSR is that deliberative democracy is completely functional, and is therefore the designated framework to organize dialogue between business and its various stakeholders (see Scherer & Palazzo, 2007). A brief

exploration of the meaning of deliberative democracy is welcome to appreciate the implications of such an assumption. The "first and most important characteristic [of deliberative democracy] is its "reason-giving requirement" (Gutmann & Thompson, 2009, p. 3), i.e. the necessity to justify the decisions that are made on behalf of the polity, whether they are made by elected officials, institutions or citizens (Nanz & Steffek, 2004). This is a rather limited requirement if issues related to inclusion and active participation are to be considered. Espousing the precepts of deliberative democracy cannot be done without adopting a critical stance towards power dynamics and established institutions if one has a real concern for the authenticity of the process (Dryzek, 2000). In fact, a serious limitation to the enactment of the principles of deliberative democracy lies in the structural inequalities that persist and even progress in most contemporary societies and that affect many marginalized groups (McCarthy & Muthuri, 2018; Young, 2001). More fundamentally, it is important to bear in mind that most democracies were established by excluding specific groups from "the people", a pattern that, in its most tragic form of ethnic cleansing, is referred to as the dark side of democracy (Mann, 2005). In light of this, expecting deliberative democracy to be naturally inclusive is extremely naïve. Moreover, holding such an expectation or assumption reflects a lack of attention to systemic mechanisms of exclusion that are at work even in societies that are highly regarded for their perceived inclusiveness (see Canadian Press, 2017).

The second problematic assumption of PCSR is related to the fact that this literature is centered on frameworks of democracy exported from Western countries and treated as universal truths. PCSR was initially conceived bearing on the situation of governance voids said to be primarily seen in developing countries (Scherer, Palazzo & Baumann, 2006; Valente & Crane, 2010). It is somewhat ironic that there was—and still is—no explicit reflection on the actual functioning of the public sphere in these contexts. For example, the lack of trust in the will–formation processes and in the institutions that host public debates has been extensively documented (Easterly, Ritzen & Woolcock, 2006). In these contexts, the principles of deliberative democracy—which are far from perfect as just discussed—cannot be proposed as a solution. Now that many democracies, including long–standing ones, suffer from high levels of distrust in

political processes (Diamond, 2008), much can be learned from the experiences of developing countries (Teivainen, 2002).

3.3.2. Taking stock and moving PCSR forward

The limitations of PCSR just discussed were among the shortcomings that prompted a revision of the literature. Overall, PCSR neglects the challenges associated with the inclusion of marginalized stakeholders for reinforcing the authenticity of deliberation. After recognizing the validity of some of the criticism PCSR faced, Scherer and colleagues reformulated some of their initial arguments and discussed the way ahead by proposing a revised version of the theory, namely PCSR 2.0. As regards the dimensions that are relevant for the present discussion, the revised PCSR recognizes the "weakening of democratic institutions", the "repressive tendencies" of governments in both developed and developing countries and the "hardening of identities" (Scherer, Rasche et al., 2016, p. 280) that create political polarization and jeopardize the processes of deliberation. What is left to explore is how these new realities affect the role of business in society, especially towards marginalized groups.

As previously argued, PCSR has been criticized for not taking politics, i.e. power struggles, seriously (Bair & Palpacuer, 2015; Banerjee, 2011; Banerjee & Sabadoz, 2014; Edward & Willmott, 2008). Even in its latest version, PCSR relies on a very liberal conception of politics, one that focuses on the common good and deliberation (see Scherer, Palazzo & Matten, 2014) but in the meantime overlooks power asymmetry. Yet power asymmetry involves exclusion and marginalization which are game changers in the very conception of the common good and in the determination of what effective deliberative democracy entails. The introduction of a creolized perspective on business–society relations takes the conversation much further. Because "Creolization evokes the political" (Hesse, 2011, p. 37) and inherently implies power asymmetry and struggles (Hall, 2003), it is highly relevant to further our conceptualization of PCSR and to ground it on the real–world experience of those actors that are generally silenced by omission. Indeed, creolizing theory means doing "justice to the lived realities of subaltern subjects"

by taking it to "a mode of theorizing that is integral to the living practices of being and knowing" (see Shih & Lionnet, 2011, p. 2).

3.4. Revisiting PCSR: Introducing a Creolized Perspective

Bringing in a creolized conception of politics within PCSR promises to make this literature more in line with the challenges faced by most contemporary societies, namely a high degree of fragmentation and social exclusion (IMF, 2017). In other words, it contributes to the unfinished business of PCSR. Indeed, what PCSR has so far achieved is to reframe CSR as pertaining to wider reflections on the role of business in society, by positing the public sphere—in lieu of the private sphere—as the space where deliberations about CSR ought to be held. But by not paying attention to power issues, PCSR failed to acknowledge that there is no such thing as a single public sphere where deliberation takes place. This paper shows that there are parallel arenas occupied by marginalized groups where alternative discourses are elaborated and circulated, arenas that we consider to be "subaltern counterpublics" (Fraser, 1990, p. 67).

The creolized perspective proposed here offers unique insights into the way marginalized groups of colonized settings have historically created their own opportunities to express themselves despite their invisibilization or silencing from the public sphere. While their stories have seldom been heard or told—precisely because they were silenced from the colonial chronicle (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant, 1993[1989]; Glissant, 1997)—these marginalized groups are nonetheless part of the wider stories about globalized humankind. Their struggles are prescient of those currently experienced by marginalized groups in Western societies. More importantly, through "the silences of the maroon and the orality of the Creole storyteller" (Garraway, 2005, p. 19), their reinvented agency against all odds has an heuristic value for understanding the unusual forms of expression of various marginalized groups. In fact, "most liberal [democracies] also had colonies [where] terrible atrocities against very large out-groups" (Mann, 2005, p. 70) were carried out. Hence, because they experienced legal, symbolic and practical exclusion from the democratic rule (Spieler,

2012), colonies were settings that adapted by creating their own forms of and spaces for expression. It is precisely in such colonies that the phenomenon of creolization emerged as a way of "being and knowing" (Shih & Lionnet, 2011, p. 2) of the subalterns, as a form of resistance and emancipation.

3.4.1. Creolizing politics to foster inclusion

In this section, the concept of Creolization is presented based on the work of scholars from literature studies, cultural theory and political science. Interestingly, the cultural background of these scholars being mostly Caribbean, it gives them an emic perspective that builds on their intimate understanding of creolization, but it is reinforced with an etic perspective that allows for a theorization of the phenomenon (Morey & Luthans, 1984). Drawing from the work of this multidisciplinary scholarship, the following section shows how insightful the concept of creolization is to rethink business and society dynamics in times of division such as those currently experienced by most democracies. Garraway eloquently argues that creolization is:

> "productive of new ways of thinking, knowing and imagining that diverge from colonialist epistemologies and exclusionary identity formations based on fixed notions of race, language and nation" (Garraway, 2005, p. 18).

The aforementioned excerpt captures the idea that creolization has to do with cultural transformation, thanks to mutual exchanges between colonizers and colonized (Hesse, 2011). This cultural transformation involves the ability of both dominated and dominating groups to influence each other (Brathwaite, 2005), despite the persistence of inequality and subalternity (Hall, 2003). Going back to the origin, the concept of Creolization was introduced in the late 1980s and early 1990s by a group of Caribbean scholars who, at the time, felt the need to inscribe the singularity of their societies in wider discussions in social sciences. This concept was developed to theorize phenomena unfolding in very specific contexts which are historically and geographically bound, namely the various creole societies that are the product of the transatlantic slave trade and colonization (Palmié, 2006; Shih & Lionnet, 2011, p. 23). These societies were born

out of the forced reunion of settlers on the one hand and extremely diverse people from African countries who shared no language or cultural practices on the other hand. The mixing was deliberately implemented to erase slaves' history and culture as well as to avoid easy communication and association that could have facilitated collective rebellion. The result of the forced mixing of radically different cultures was the creation of new hybrid languages and cultures that later became called creole (Garraway, 2005), otherwise characterized as contact languages and cultures (Chaudenson, 1995, 2002; Thomason, 1997). Despite its specific context of emergence, Creolization is informative of the dynamics that are unfolding in a globalized world characterized by the disharmonious encounter of various cultures (Glissant, 1995). It implies that the cultural groups that are in relation influence each other, despite the existence of a dominant group. Hence Creolization brings in a critical perspective which departs from deterministic and essentialist views of power relations. Indeed, creolization is a dynamic process based on the encounter of heterogeneous people who create the unexpected by learning to be together against all odds (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant, 1993[1989]). Interestingly, the outcome of this process cannot be predicted as it results from the creativity and resilience of those who participate in it (Brathwaite, 2005; Glissant, 2002; Walcott, 1974). Hence, otherwise dominated and disenfranchised groups demonstrate resourcefulness by actively shaping the outcome of the process of Creolization. Moreover, Creolization is by definition unfinished (Hall, 2003), it is a process that produces unexpected outcomes and consequences (Rodriguez & Tate, 2015) and therefore needs to be studied empirically.

By creolizing the politics of PCSR, we acknowledge the importance of a third sphere of expression in addition to the public and private spheres whose blurred frontiers are discussed at length in the literature. The "subaltern sphere [consisting of those who historically were] the slaves, the colonized, the natives and the segregated others" (Hesse, 2011: 59) is also a space for expression. The contemporary subaltern sphere is found in compartmentalized societies where stakeholder groups do not trust the functioning of the public sphere and do not participate in it. In such settings—which are now found in many Western democracies—the conclusions of PCSR on the need for companies to live by the precepts of deliberative democracy to maintain their moral

legitimacy (see Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2011) are simply inoperative. Quite the opposite, companies need to learn how to engage with stakeholders who express their agency in the subaltern sphere, a sphere where the discourse is produced by and directed towards its own members (see Delannon & Raufflet, 2017). This is a challenging task, specifically because outsiders are not particularly welcome in the subaltern sphere and, most importantly, they can hardly know their way in a sphere based on governing principles that are unknown to them.

Going back to the empirical work undertaken at the Guiana Space Center, the findings were quite illuminating in respect to the incompleteness of the public–private divide. A highly competitive rocket launch site (Cabirol, 2016), the Space Center is based in Guiana, a French overseas entity located in South America which is characterized, among other things, by a dramatic socioeconomic situation (Krief, 2017; Schneider, 2017; Thomas, Trugeon et al., 2014). Contrasting with the overall situation suffered locally (Dreyfuss, 2017), the Space Center has continuously been rejected by local voices, albeit in ways that are non–confrontational and somewhat invisible. While CSG has been in operation for more than 50 years, it still has not managed to be perceived as a positive socioeconomic force locally and to become accepted. In 2017, an unprecedented social movement shook Guiana (BBC, 2017; Breeden, 2017) and the Space Center rapidly became the target of demonstrators, although the initial trigger had nothing to do with the organization. In this case, the invisible resistance that had long been expressed in the subaltern sphere without acknowledgement from business and government, spilled over the public sphere.

Current PCSR is ill-equipped to capture the dynamics that are at stake in the subaltern sphere which, as was just explained at length, works as a plurality of alternative spaces alongside the dominant public sphere. A creolized perspective, inspired from the way of being and knowing of subaltern groups (Shih & Lionnet, 2011), is a powerful lens and a promising avenue to further the critical agenda of PCSR. Indeed, such a creolized perspective, which is rooted in the lessons learned from the lived experience of members of Creole societies characterized by their extreme diversity, allows for a critical examination of issues of power asymmetry and inclusion.

In that sense, the Creole experience is prescient of the transformations currently in progress at a global scale (Glissant, 1997, p. 17; Palmié, 2006, p. 434) with the encounter of diverse people at an accelerated pace (Slack, 2014). Table I shows how the subaltern sphere stands out from the public and private spheres, and challenges the public–private dichotomy so far proposed by PCSR.

Table VII – Creolized PCSR and the three blurred spheres of society

	Private sphere	**Public sphere**	**Subaltern sphere**
Overarching principle	Self-interest	Common good	Emancipation
Ideal-typical form of dialogue	Stakeholder engagement	Deliberative democracy (Habermas, 1989)	Discursive democracy (Dryzek, 2000)
Mode of expression	Instrumental rationality (win-win)	Reason-giving	Creativity, orality
Role of business	Central (main actor)	Accepted	Contested
Role of government	Accepted	Central (main actor)	Contested
Role of civil society	Bystander *Stakeholder status / Homogeneity of participants*	Important *Citizen status / Homogeneity of participants*	Central (main actor) *The people status / Heterogeneity of participants*
Relevant CSR literature	Instrumental CSR	PCSR 1.0 and 2.0	Creolized PCSR

Creolizing politics to make space for intersectionality

The previous section showed how creolizing politics allows PCSR to become more inclusive of marginalized groups of society, by rethinking modes of deliberation

and acknowledging the existence and legitimacy of a subaltern sphere. In addition to that contribution, creolizing politics allows for a fertile hybridization of PCSR with a powerful approach developed in feminist theory, namely intersectionality. This approach is based on the foundational work of Crenshaw, who coined the influential concept of intersectionality to initially theorize the situation of African-American women unprotected by antidiscrimination law (1989) and victims of violence (1991). These women "fell between the cracks of both feminist and anti-racist discourse" (Davis, 2008, p. 68) because of the interaction of gender and race in shaping their experiences of discrimination. In short, intersectionality introduced a radical shift in feminist studies (McCall, 2005) by giving ways to theorize the particular situation of social groups that suffer from multiple layers of discrimination because they are simultaneously part of various marginalized groups (e.g. racialized women whose sexual identity is queer and who get discriminated for being non–male, non–white and non–heterosexual). Such groups that are at the intersection of multiple sources of discrimination (gender, race, class, etc.) are typically torn between their different groups of belonging and implicitly urged to choose their side when expressing claims or seeking protection from discrimination. This makes their quest for equality and social justice all the more challenging (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays & Tomlinson, 2013; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991).

The reason for borrowing from the intersectionality approach is that it provides new insights into the experience of marginalized groups such as those found in the subaltern sphere. It also helps strengthen the theorization of the heterogeneity of social groups found in the subaltern sphere. Indeed, in the archetypical public sphere theorized by Habermas (1989), which has served as the basis for PCSR, a high degree of homogeneity prevails in terms of gender and social class of the participants (Eley, 1992; Habermas, 1992; Kellner, 2014). By contrast, the subaltern sphere unveiled by our creolized conceptualization is the realm of heterogeneity. It gathers a patchwork of individuals and groups that do not or cannot participate in the public sphere, because their subordinated position in society leads them to envision their involvement only in alternative public spheres (Fraser, 1990, p. 67). Hence, "it is more productive to theorize a multiplicity of public spheres, sometimes overlapping but also conflicting" (Kellner,

2014, p. 267). The working class, women, members of racialized groups, Indigenous people and other marginalized social groups are often absent from the dominant public sphere. Nevertheless, their agency can hardly be denied, as they struggle to have their concerns heard (Calhoun, 1992). And in times of crisis, sudden outbursts—such as those witnessed in many Western societies (e.g. the Black Lives Matter, Occupy or *Indignados* movements)—act as reminders of the presence, aspirations and agency of these marginalized groups (Fraser, 2013: 121).

Finally, creolized politics has to do with post-recognition politics (Fleming, 2013) , i.e. forms of resistance that depart from the widely studied ones intended at merely being heard and recognized as a legitimate voice in deliberation. Instead, post-recognition politics are motivated by the willingness of resistors to exit or escape the system (Courpasson, 2016), in our case by choosing not to participate in public/private deliberation perceived as "a game that only penalizes" (Fleming, 2016, p. 108). The subaltern sphere offers a safe space for marginalized groups who can, all of a sudden, rely on the source of their exclusion from the public sphere to create a context that is conducive to emancipation and empowerment. In other words, being at the intersection of multiple sources of exclusion becomes, in the subaltern sphere, a driver for social transformation that has the potential to spill over the public sphere when circumstances permit.

3.4.2. Implications for research

Creolizing PCSR has serious implications when it comes to both theoretical framings and methodological approaches, which are closely interrelated and must fit (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Indeed, "method can generate and shape theory, just as theory can generate and shape method" (Van Maanen, Sørensen & Mitchell, 2007, p. 1146). The creolized perspective proposed in this paper is a direct call for more research inspired by the experience of the subalterns, whether they are individuals, groups or entire societies such as Creole ones which have been completely ignored in management—including business and society—scholarship. It has the potential to profoundly reshape the PCSR

literature, but on the condition that serious efforts are undertaken to reconsider the way we theorize and conduct fieldwork.

In terms of theoretical implications, a creolized perspective of PCSR implies that we move beyond the simple borrowing of foreign concepts for their domestication in management theories. As powerfully argued by Oswick, Fleming & Hanlon (2011), the strategy of borrowing that is pervasive in our field leads to an opportunistic use of concepts that we strip of their radicalness in the process. What is proposed here is not to simply borrow a concept and adapt it to serve a narrow purpose, but rather to adopt a creolized perspective that changes dramatically the way we theorize the role of business in society. It is about making PCSR more inclusive of marginalized groups by bearing on their experiences of subalternity—"a condition of subordination brought about by colonization or other forms of economic, social, racial, linguistic, and/or cultural dominance" (Beverley, 1999)—to redefine what proper forms of engagement could be. Moreover, a creolized perspective requires that we move away from business-centrism when theorizing (P)CSR, by recognizing that business has much to learn and to contribute to if acting in support of subaltern groups on matters they deem legitimate. PCSR has already broaden the scope of theorization by stressing the importance of what business accomplishes in the public sphere. A creolized perspective takes the conversation further by putting the subaltern sphere on the radar.

As regards methodological issues, the implications of a creolized perspective are all the more challenging. First of all, even with the most genuine intentions to give a voice to subalterns, researchers cannot escape the pitfalls that come with their privilege of speaking on behalf of others (Spivak, 1988). As radical as it may seem, this means that researchers need to become more inventive and find ways of letting the subalterns speak for themselves. This can be done through methodological innovations, such as visual participatory research methods (see McCarthy & Muthuri, 2018). But more fundamentally, the acknowledgement of subalternity must be accompanied by a sustained effort to give space to researchers who have the most intimate understanding of the subaltern sphere because of their background. The fact that academic production is by and large the apanage of Western scholars is in itself problematic in this regard. It is time that

the academic world walks the talk when it comes to making space for truly international research, and one of the necessary conditions to do that is to reconsider what good research is, so that scholars trained in subaltern societies and institutions from the global South get a chance to share their insights and stories. In fact, while it is increasingly recognized that business and society research is insufficiently international and disregards developing countries (Egri & Ralston, 2008; Pisani, Kourula, Kolk & Meijer, 2017), it is far from obvious that the field is ready to embrace the diversity and complexity of the empirical world (Meriläinen, Tienari, Thomas & Davies, 2008). A serious limitation to any effort in this sense is the hegemonic position of English which places its native speakers in highly favorable conditions to express and diffuse their ideas (Ammon, 2001). More concerning is the fact that "non-English nativeness [acts as] stigma in academic settings" (Horn, 2017, p. 579) by making the peer-review process unduly painful and prone to failure, an additional hurdle for many non-Western scholars. In this paper, the inductive use of the Guiana Space Center case served as an inspiration to spark new ideas and open new research avenues (Siggelkow, 2007), namely a creolized perspective. The hope is that creolized PCSR becomes an integral part of the research program and inspires insightful contributions on the relations between business and society in times of division such as those we are currently experiencing.

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Conclusion générale

Cette thèse avait pour objectif d'offrir une meilleure compréhension des relations entreprises–gouvernement–société civile autour d'enjeux de RSE, à une époque marquée par de profondes divisions. En s'inscrivant dans les débats ayant cours au sein de la littérature, chacun des articles composant cette thèse permet de construire une contribution générale qui culmine par l'introduction d'une perspective créolisée de la RSE politique. Pour mémoire, les articles ont été présentés dans l'ordre dans lequel ils ont été conçus, en cohérence avec la démarche abductive suivie et pour rendre justice au cheminement non linéaire qu'a été la réalisation de cette thèse. Ce choix permet de donner à voir l'évolution de la réflexion menée et la clarification progressive de la contribution théorique proposée. L'enseignement majeur qu'offre cette thèse est que la RSE doit être repensée à la lumière des défis sociétaux majeurs auxquels sont confrontées la plupart des sociétés contemporaines, en raison des divisions qui les traversent et qui invalident les schémas éculés de consultation des ou de concertation avec les parties prenantes.

Dans le premier article, la contribution a été centrée sur le rôle du gouvernement, dans ses rapports avec l'entreprise, pour rendre possible ou non l'émergence de la RSE. Cela a permis de mettre en évidence le rôle d'empêchement que peut jouer le gouvernement, notamment dans des contextes postcoloniaux, ce qui constitue un angle mort de la littérature actuelle. Le second article a quant à lui mis au jour la manière dont une société civile marginalisée parvient, par des formes de résistance invisibles à l'observateur externe, à rendre inopérantes les tentatives de mise en œuvre de RSE par une entreprise. Nommée créolisation, cette résistance invisible qui est avant tout une façon d'être et de comprendre le monde, permet de mieux appréhender les formes de résistance auxquelles certains groupes marginalisés de la société civile ont recours, souvent de façon imprévisible pour l'entreprise et même le gouvernement. Enfin, le troisième article s'est attaché à faire sens des enseignements tirés pour offrir une contribution strictement conceptuelle. Pour cela, il s'appuie sur une perspective créolisée et féministe pour conceptualiser les formes de résistance de la société civile qui se retrouve en marge de l'espace public et qui, ayant pris l'habitude de s'exprimer dans l'espace subalterne, peut

néanmoins faire irruption dans l'espace public et rendre caducs les efforts des entreprises en matière de RSE.

L'ensemble de cette thèse est un plaidoyer en faveur d'une véritable ouverture du champ de la RSE aux contextes non nord-américains et non européens. S'il est vrai que les appels à une telle ouverture sont récurrents, dans les faits les conditions ne semblent pas réunies pour permettre que des travaux traitant de contextes diversifiés soient publiés dans des revues académiques de référence. Ainsi, le champ de la RSE contribue à rétrécir artificiellement le monde en n'offrant pas d'espace à une variété de phénomènes qui, parce qu'ils se déroulent en dehors des contextes jugés centraux, sont rendus invisibles alors qu'ils pourraient contribuer à enrichir nos discussions théoriques. En plus d'être contestable d'un point de vue normatif, cette invisibilisation du reste du monde contribue inévitablement à l'appauvrissement des débats théoriques sur la RSE. A travers la perspective créolisée proposée, il est ici question d'offrir un aperçu de l'apport singulier des territoires et des acteurs marginalisés pour la compréhension du monde que les chercheurs en management doivent permettre de mieux appréhender.

Note de fin

[i] In the French administrative system, the Département is a level of local government between the Région and the Commune. But in the case of Overseas Départements, which is the case of French Guiana (and Martinique, Guadeloupe, La Réunion, and, more recently, Mayotte), the same geographical area has the status of both a Département and a Région, which means that there is a complete overlap between the two.
[ii] Italics are used for quotes from interviews.
[iii] The original title of the song is "La fusée décolle mais la Guyane reste au sol."

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