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Uncovering Corporate Social Responsibility
Deparadoxation of power in the CSR-discourse

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A sculpture in the shape and size of a functional confessional. The sculpture is however abstracted as well as turned into a confined object one cannot enter. It is covered in layers of black car lacquer, creating a perfect black mirror.

A black project is a secretive project, such as military programs or police sting operations. Black absorbs all other colours in the spectrum and is often used to describe acts of secrecy or ambiguity.

Black mirrors became condemned by the medieval Christian church, linked to the act of scrying (divination based on an analysis of reflections in black mirrors or metal).

Cover design: Edvine Larssen
“One must not think slightingly of the paradoxical... for the paradox is the source of the thinker's passion, and the thinker without a paradox is like a lover without feeling: a paltry mediocrity.”

– Søren Kierkegaard
Acknowledgements

I dedicate this thesis to Edvine, my love. Without you I’d be lost.

I have been blessed to have many near and dear friends, providing support even when I’ve felt it unjust to receive it. None mentioned, never forgot.

Mamma and Pappa, unconditional love has given me the wings to explore and develop as my heart has desired. I consider you beloved parents and dear friends.

Kåre, my brother, you have been a role-model and an inspiration, probably a lot more than you know. Warm thoughts and love to Juhán Niillas, Risten Maja and Sini.

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Thank you Jonathan for challenging me and supporting me, your wise guidance has changed my perspective on many things.

Håkon, I am grateful for your patient and thorough guidance, without you this thesis wouldn’t have been possible.

Berlin: we’ll be back!
Abstract

In this study I analyze how 70 academic articles concerning Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) deals with questions of power. Based on Michel Foucault’s discursive theory and Niklas Luhmann’s systems theory, I present a conceptualization of CSR as a discursive system. I claim that paradoxes of power are central in the development of CSR, and that second order observation is vital for the identification of such paradoxes. My analysis shows that articles published in journals related to management theory are much less aware of problems relating to power, as well as being less critical towards such issues. Non-management-articles are found to identify more paradoxes, but they have lesser impact on the CSR-discourse.

Power created by social order as well as power created by system bias, are found to be core issues relating to the division of power between corporations and society at large. Also frequently found to be a concern, is power created by systems of thought, indicating both a critique towards the cultural and normative influence of large corporations, as well as a strong focus on developing knowledge within the CSR-discourse.

If CSR is to function as a correction of the development of corporations and society, a critical focus on all aspects of power-creation in the CSR-discourse is an important counter-weight to the extensively managerial focus.
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1. Introduction

“How wonderful that we have met with a paradox. Now we have some hope of making progress.”
— Niels Bohr

The CSR-discourse is often criticized for an apparent lack of critical ambition (Barley 2007; Frynas 2005; Hamann and Acutt 2003). The most critical voices even claim that the CSR-discourse has been usurped by big corporations, and that it is maintaining and reinforcing their power (Banerjee 2008; Khan and Lund-Thomsen 2011). At the same time CSR-initiatives flourish, publications increase and CSR is praised for its high moral standards and democratic ideals.

In this study I wish to uncover how questions of power surface, how they are dealt with, and what they focus on. Inspired by systems theory and discourse theory I ask:

**How are paradoxes of power handled in the CSR-discourse?**

My departure into the CSR-literature is to look at paradoxes. A paradox is characterized by its apparent insolvability, and when it is addressed it leads to a situation of indecision, or “a loss of decidability, [that is] of connectability to further operations” (Luhmann cited in Kneer and Nassehi 1997:110 (my translation)). According to Niklas Luhmann (2006) the paradox has to be dealt with in order to maintain further operations, i.e. a paradox must be solved or “made invisible” (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:111). This is what Luhmann refers to as deparadoxation. For my purposes it is of special interest how paradoxes are solved and discussed in the CSR literature.

My perspective of power is largely inspired by Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips book *Power and Organizations* (2006b), and my analysis of power is based on Mark Haugaard’s *Reflections on Seven Ways of Creating Power* (2003). In this article Haugaard presents a framework for analyzing power-creation, ranging from power created by social order to
power created by coercion. The framework also includes theoretical conceptions of power based on Foucault and Luhmann.

Foucault uses the term power/knowledge to describe the link between what shapes and guides decisions and actions. For him power and truth are inextricable from each other; power produces truth, and truth produces power, resulting in constellations of power/knowledge (Foucault 2002). As Clegg et al. (2006b:234) puts it: “The objects of knowledge are the consequence of power; it is the inscription and normalization of power relations in the field of knowledge that calls truths into being, which produce its realities, its ‘domains of objects and rituals of truth’”. In Luhmann’s version of systems theory, power is believed to permeate all aspects of the social system and to be constituted by communication (Chernilo 2002; Overgaard Nielsen and Vallentin 2003).

1.1. Research questions and methodology

My analysis of power in the CSR-discourse will be based on a discussion and analysis of three research questions:

1. Which forms of power are present in the CSR-discourse?
2. How does paradoxes of power surface?
3. How are paradoxes of power dealt with?

The first question is an investigation of whether the critique of a lack of focus on power in organization theory (Clegg et al. 2006b) also applies to the CSR-discourse. My assumption is that the CSR-discourse is based on a question regarding the balance of power between business organizations, the state and civil society (Clemens 2009). I analyze whether different perspectives on power stemming from different disciplines is represented in my data-material.

My second research question is based on the assumption that discourses develop over time, and that they structure how paradoxes are identified by a social system. This analysis is based upon Kidwell’s (2009) conceptualization of discourses in light of systems theory. I postulate that the concept of “second order observation” (Kneer and Nassehi 1997; Luhmann 1993) is central to the critical development of discursive systems. The field of management theory is often criticized for a lack of critical perspective (Reed 2006). My initial assumption is therefore that the managerial articles are less critical than those from other fields.
The third research question is an analysis of how the CSR-discourse solves or hides paradoxes. My initial assumption is that theories which are established as scientific truths (Haugaard 2003) are seen as solutions to the paradoxes of power. Those paradoxes that aren’t identified as immediately important are hidden or delegated to other systems. This analysis also uncovers how the discourse itself creates power through the production and reification of knowledge, and how social critique and empowerment is related to this.

In this study I focus on the academic discourse of CSR. Lockett et al. (2006) argues that the academic discourse of CSR hardly can be described as a paradigm, or even as a school, but is perhaps best viewed as a field. They describe CSR as relying on other disciplines for theories and methodologies, and that it can’t claim substantive distinctiveness as a separate discipline (2006:117). I analyze 70 articles found in 49 peer-reviewed journals, ranging across 14 academic fields, from law to psychology. The articles are selected to maintain a width of the academic CSR-discourse. In order to answer the research questions I have focused on articles that are representative for the both the managerial field (highly cited, managerial), as well as articles from journals outside this category. I analyze the articles using a technique of text scrutinizing (Ryan and Bernard 2003), and interpret them for implicit and explicit presence of Haugaard’s seven forms of power-creation (2003). I also investigate whether the articles are critical toward CSR or not. The articles are categorized according to the following categories: journal field, managerial/non-managerial and number of citations.

I will be using a methodology developed by Mark Edwards (2010b), which describes the process of metatheoretical analysis from project limitation and data-gathering to the development of new metatheory. The essence of this theoretical approach is that it is constructed to analyze multi-systemic theoretical discourses.

In chapter two I present the discourse of CSR in further detail (2.1). I present my theoretical framework, based upon Foucault and discursive theory (2.2), systems theory (2.3) and a presentation of Haugaard’s seven forms of power (2.4). In chapter 2.5 I sum up theoretical framework.

A theoretical conception of discourses as systems is presented in chapter three, which combines discursive theory and systems theory. This is a theoretical basis for a discussion of CSR as a discursive system. The conceptualization is based on the presented theoretical contributions from Foucault as well as systems theory, which are presented in chapter 2.2 and 2.3. Chapters 2.2. and 2.3. must as such be seen in relation to chapter three.
The metatheoretical methodology and my analytic techniques are presented in chapter four. Chapters five, six and seven are presentations of the empirical findings related to each research question. Chapter eight is a discussion of these findings in light of the theoretical framework. The last chapter sums up my findings, with a conclusion to the problem - how are questions of power handled in the CSR-discourse?
2. A paradox of power

In this chapter I introduce the discourse of CSR, the paradox(es) of power, my approach and my theoretical foundation based on Michel Foucault’s discursive theory and Niklas Luhmann’s systems theory.

2.1. The discourse of CSR

Corporate social responsibility is a term that infuses current theory and discussion within a large variety of fields (Lindgreen and Swaen 2010). It is used to describe just about everything organizations decides to do, and touches upon topics of relevance for politics, ecology, law, economics, marketing, and organizational theory. Although its central issues are fairly well established, the definitions of CSR varies (Dahlsrud 2008). Nevertheless, a simple search on Google provides more than 35 million hits. In Norway the government has formally placed the responsibility for CSR with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who has created a White Paper concerning CSR (2008-2009), publically recognizing the discourse of CSR as a part of the political reality.

2.1.1. Corporations and power

The corporation is a juridical entity that was formed at the end of the nineteenth century (Clemens 2009). At this time what used to be defined as personal responsibility for servants and employees was transformed into the responsibility of a non-physical juridical unit. This changed the dynamics of the balance between economical and political power. As Clemens describes it: “[The] transmutation of large organizations into fictive persons solved legal issues, [but] it created a durable problem for political and social theory” (Clemens 2009:537). This problem can be seen as the core theoretical problem of the CSR-discourse.

However, the societal role of organizations in general and corporations more specifically, has been neglected in both social theory and organization theory (Clegg et al. 2006a; Clegg et al. 2006b). As the economic power of the corporations grew, they gained increasing power, and the problem of democracy and corporations arose (Clemens 2009). This problem refers to the division of power between privately owned businesses and the democratic rights of citizens, where the businesses gain increasing economic and political
influence at the expense of the citizens. This problem spans from local to global democratic issues.

After the Second World War American sociologists addressed the issue of whether a ‘society of organizations’ could be meaningfully democratic, or at least compatible with democratic institutions. But even though the problem of corporative power was present, the focus was not on how the corporation affected or transformed society. The focus was rather on how the corporation could deal with these issues internally (Clemens 2009). The question of the balance between market, state and civil society created the basis for the macro-democratic issue of power. It can be argued that power was one of the main issues in the original CSR-discourse. According to Clemens it was also an issue that was thought to be of lasting interest: “The recognition of the corporation as a central feature of contemporary society remains a potential object of organizational inquiry and reflection on the ethics and political possibilities of mid-century liberalism.” (Clemens 2009:555).

2.1.2. The deparadoxation of power in the CSR-discourse

Even though the problem of the corporation is well known in organization theory, the development of CSR-literature from the 1950s and onward seems to ignore it. According to Min-Dong (2008) the trend of CSR-theories “has been a progressive rationalization of the concept with a particular focus on tighter coupling with organizations’ financial goals” (2008:53). Furthermore, the theoretical orientation has “moved from explicitly normative and ethics-oriented arguments to implicitly normative and performance-oriented managerial studies” (Min-Dong 2008:53). Min-Dong (2008) further shows that the focus has gone from a macro-societal level to the organizational level (Table 1 Trends in CSR-research (Min-Dong 2008:56)).

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Table 1 Trends in CSR-research (Min-Dong 2008:56)
Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) claim that there is a one-sided managerial and performative view of CSR, and that sensitive questions such as the role of power is ignored. They also claim that the role of business and management-literature in the development of CSR is downplayed; skewing the knowledge and understanding we have of CSR in favour of corporations. This critique is not only directed at the role of corporations in developed countries, but also at the north-south-divide between developing and developed countries. Khan and Lund-Thomsen (2011) also criticizes the CSR-discourse for ignoring power, and they suggest an alternative reading of CSR as imperialism – thoroughly questioning the role and function of the CSR-discourse. Banerjee (2008) follows the same argumentation, but goes a step further when he argues that “despite their emancipatory rhetoric, discourses of corporate citizenship, social responsibility and sustainability are defined by narrow business interests and serve to curtail interests of external stakeholders” (Banerjee 2008:51).
2.2. Discursive theory

For Foucault discourses, or discursive formations, are “bodies of knowledge that systematically form the object of which they speak” (Foucault cited in Clegg et al. 2006b:299). These bodies of knowledge are not an external element, but produced by language itself, and constitute both power and knowledge. Discourses are the words, concepts, and structures that we use to make sense of the social world through. Another function of discourses it that they structure the “conditions of possibility” that determine what can be said, by whom and when” (Parker cited in Clegg et al. 2006:299). These conditions of possibility both ascribe possibilities as well as exclude others – a process very similar to the aspect of distinction in systems theory, and directly related to Haugaard’s (2003) third form of power creation (see chapter 2.4.3)

One important aspect of this understanding of discourse is that it does not consist of something that is external, a resource, or something to divide. As discourses also constitute power then power can no longer be thought of as a resource to be held. However, power has been, and indeed still is, understood in this manner (Borch 2005).

2.2.1. Archaeology of knowledge, genealogy of power and history of the present

In Foucault’s Archaeology of Knowledge (2002[1969]), he shows how discourses develop over time, and how the linkage between power and knowledge produces and reproduce them. The ways in which we use words, and the meaning we ascribe to them, are inscribed in these discourses. Furthermore, they become naturalized, and make us take them for granted. This description of how the discourses develop show that what we take for granted is historically dependent and that it hasn’t always been that way. According to Clegg et al. (2006b) Foucault’s goal was not to uncover “the truth”, but rather to uncover an “understanding how what was thought to be true at a moment and among a particular social group came to be thought of as true” (2006b:299). Where the archaeology of knowledge consists of the tools and methodology, the genealogy of power is a critical analysis of the uncovered discourses and their relationship to knowledge-power in contemporary society (Ritzer 2008). This leads to a “history of the present”, in which Foucault, according to Ritzer, “seeks to illuminate the present by using ‘historical resources to reflect upon the contingency, singularity, interconnections, and potentialities of diverse trajectories of those elements which compose present social arrangements as experience’”(Ritzer 2008:609).
2.2.2. Discourses, knowledge and science

In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault dedicates a separate chapter to “Science and Knowledge” (2002:196-215), in which he describes the emergence of discursive formations. Here he shows how discourses emerge and cross the thresholds of *epistemologization, scientificity* and *formalization* (Foucault 2002:206). In order for a discourse to cross the threshold of epistemologization, it must have produced statements that “claim to validate (even unsuccessfully) norms of verification and coherence” and it must “exercise a dominant function (as a model, a critique, or a verification) over knowledge” (Foucault 2002:206). The threshold of scientificity involves a discourse to “obey a number of formal criteria, […] [and] comply not only with archaeological rules of formation, but also with certain laws for the construction of propositions” (Foucault 2002:206). In other words, the threshold of scientificity means that the statements in that discourse must be formalized, and that they are made in a way that is recognized as propositions. The threshold of formalization involves that the discourse has developed defined axioms, elements, formal structures of propositions and acceptable transformations. Furthermore, it must deploy these onto itself.

According to Foucault, a discursive formation “is the principle of dispersion and redistribution of […] statements”, and a discourse “can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation” (Foucault 2002:121). A statement functions not merely by imparting meaning to a group of signs, but rather by constituting the conditions of existence for the formulation of a linguistic performance (Foucault 2002). A discursive formation can be identified where the elements of “[…]objects, types of statement, concepts or thematic choices […] define a regularity” (Foucault 2002:41). These elements are subject to rules of formation, which are “conditions of existence in a given discursive division” (Foucault 2002:42). The analysis of discourses involves the study of such conditions, and of how they structure our society.

Foucault describes discursive practices as emerging and following various trajectories that can lead to the establishment of scientific traditions, theories, or disciplines, but he also makes it clear that this isn’t a determined course (Foucault 2002). The discursive practices may form “groups of objects, enunciations, concepts or theoretical choices” (Foucault 2002:200), and through analysis of these discursive practices it is possible to show the rules of this formation. These objects, enunciations, concepts and theoretical choices are elements of the discursive practice, “of which coherent (or incoherent) propositions are built up, more or
less exact descriptions developed, verifications carried out [and] theories [are] deployed” (Foucault 2002). It is through discursive practice that these elements can (following discourse specific rules) become knowledge.

For Foucault, knowledge is “that of which one can speak of in a discursive practice, and which is specified by that fact […]; knowledge is also the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse […]; knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, and are defined, applied and transformed [and] lastly, knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse” (Foucault 2002:201). There is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice, and sciences appear in discursive practices and against a background of knowledge. A discursive practice can be identified by its knowledge, and if the discursive practice crosses the threshold of scientificity, it can be defined as a science (Foucault 2002). Many discursive practices exist simultaneously, and a discursive field is constituted by discursive practices that are more or less related. As discursive practices develop, they can split and follow various trajectories, they can interact with other discursive practices in their discursive field, be absorbed in others or gradually cease to exist. The statements in discursive practices are always expressed through a medium, and the discursive practice also regulates the form and type of medium that is appropriate (i.e. an article, a book, a text etc.) (Kidwell 2009).
2.3. Systems theory

Systems theory usually operates with the social system and its functional subsystems, (face-to-face) interaction systems and organization systems. An autopoietic system produces and reproduces its distinction from its environment, using processes and structures to achieve this (Seidl and Becker 2006). Each system uses a specific form of communication. The communication of the interaction system is “based on the mutual perception of [the other present psychic system]”. The communication of the organization system is about decisions (Seidl and Becker 2006:24). Put simply, organizations choose between options (makes a decision), communicates about it, and the following decision is then by necessity based upon the former. However, according to Seidl and Becker, Luhmann leaves the existence of other systems open (2006). The conceptualization in chapter 3 is an attempt to examine if it is possible to include discursive systems as a fourth type of system. The systems theoretical framework can in itself provide new insights into CSR as a field, but combining it with discursive theory can add even more explanatory power.

The basic unit of systems is communication, which is a process that functions through a binary distinction of what the system observes, as well as the process of deciding what to observe and what to exclude. Through defining what the system isn’t, it also creates itself (Luhmann 2006). A system is constructed through observation, but it can’t observe this observation itself, because it cannot observe two things at the same time (Seidl and Becker 2006). However, systems theory opens up for the possibility to observe observations by choosing as its observation how other systems observe. This second order observation is in itself equal to other observations, and functions in the same manner, but it opens up “a view from “somewhere else”” (a phrase by Jeffrey Alexander (1991:147) in defending metatheorizing from the critique of neglecting the local).

2.3.1. Scope and core concepts in systems theory

In systems theory the object of study is world society, of which there can be only one. Society is defined as the “all encompassing social system including all other societal systems” (Ritzer 2008:343). However, without communication there can’t be any systems, and indeed nothing social. In systems theory the social only emerges when something is communicated, something which requires at least two systems. In order to communicate, systems need to understand uttered information (Seidl and Becker 2006). It is only as a synthesis of these

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three elements that communication can occur. If there is no information, nothing can be uttered, and nothing can be understood. This also excludes the possibility of understanding communication as the action of one person (or more precisely – one system) (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:85). Joined, these elements constitute a three part selection process. This process takes place within the system, and lead to the essence of what a system does, namely distinguishing itself from its environment.

At any time there is an infinite amount of information accessible, and as the system only exists through a process of understanding and uttering information, it has to select some information to process, or else cease to exist. This relies on the theoretical assumption that a system can observe. Through the process of selecting information it also makes a distinction between the selected and the unselected information (Luhmann 2006; Seidl and Becker 2006). An observation is therefore understood as the process of selecting information through a distinction. The selected information is what the systems synthesize with understanding and conveying, and so creates communication. This process essentially is a way to sort and use information about the world. Because there has to be more than one system in order for communication to exist, and systems thus are dependent on the existence of other systems, there can be no privileged position; no system can exist without the existence of other systems. Not even world society as a system can exist without the systems it is built up by, and so world society cannot exist without communication (Luhmann 2006).

In systems theory theories are understood as programs (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:138), which are the way that a systems decide how to distinguish information. This distinction has to be binary – either selected or not selected, because it isn’t possible to hold both options at the same time1. For systems theory, this distinction is system/environment. This distinction makes it possible to identify systems, and theorize about them (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:113). However, for science as a system, the distinction is true/false, and it is through the use of theories that this distinction is made. Theories are therefore the programs of science. Theories inform us what should be true, and if a statement can’t be interpreted as true, it must be false.

A second order observation – an observation of observations – is a way to see what other systems observe, and most crucially: by which distinction they do this (Luhmann 1993). Through this second order observation it is possible to identify what systems don’t see; their

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If a system distinguishes between true and false, and selects by a program to use the information defined as true, it cannot at the same time use the unselected information. It is by definition blind to the “other information”; it is not used, not selected, and not communicated further as a result of this. By second order observation correction and reflexivity is made possible. The second order observation is not a privileged observation, it is just another observation but with a different distinction, and therefore also has its own blind spot (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:105). A system can observe its own observations, or other systems observations, but the second order observation is still contingent on previous communication.

2.3.2. Self-referential systems

According to a lecture by Niklas Luhmann (2006), a major development in systems theory took place with the introduction of “observing or self-referential systems” (2006:36). Drawing on Spencer Brown’s “Laws of Form”, Luhmann develops the theory of self-reference. In order to make an observation a system must select something, and distinguish this from the unselected. An observation is therefore “an operation which consists of a distinction and an indication” (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:113). Luhmann refers to Spencer Brown’s “mark of distinction” (Figure 1), which is a symbol to show this distinction and indication (2006:41):

![Figure 1 Spencer Brown's mark of distinction](image)

Luhmann (2006) explains how he tries to understand Spencer Brown’s law by imagining a white sheet of paper, onto which a vertical line is drawn, marking a distinction between two sides. Then another line is drawn to indicate one of the sides. This is an analogy to how a system must be able to observe its environment, and select a part of it to communicate about. Luhmann exemplifies how this works: “Thus, if we intended to distinguish between men and women, we would have to ask: ‘Is it a man or a woman?’ And if
we answered ‘It is a microphone’, then our distinction would be unnecessary. In case we would like to mix the terms (nothing speaks against it), we would need a new term – for example ‘hermaphrodite’ – which in turn would have to be distinguished from other things” (2006:44). This shows how a binary code guides the distinction, and that a distinction can lead to other distinctions. It is important to note Luhmann’s addition of “nothing speaks against it”; the binary codes are not constant and predetermined, but are developed by the systems.

As a process, every observation takes some time, and this makes it impossible to observe oneself in the moment of observation. The distinction that has been used in the process of observation is therefore only observable by another system, or by the same system at a later time (Kneer and Nassehi 1997). The process of making a distinction isn’t possible to observe, as it is only communication which is observable. It is only through a second order observation that it is possible to identify the blind spot created by distinction (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:106). According to Kneer and Nassehi this leads to a “radically changed understanding of the world, being and reality” (1997:105-106). This changes the world from monocontextual to polycontextual: “We have to live with a polycentric, polycontextural society” (Luhmann 1997:75). This simply means that your perspective of the world goes from the assumption that there is some true way to understand the world, to the realization that there has to be many. With the former you don’t see that you have excluded a possibility, with the latter you realize this. The identification of the blind spot also leads to the realization that all systems require blindness, or rather exclusion, in order to come into being. This is a logical consequence of the starting definition of society. If nothing is excluded, then you are in effect society. It is only through excluding something a system can emerge.

The economy as a system uses the distinction of payment/non-payment. Everything that cannot be observed as resulting in payment isn’t relevant for the system of economy. But at the same time the economy would be pointless if there wasn’t such a difference. It is dependent on non-payment – which illustrates the paradox inherent in all self-referential systems. Is it economical to differentiate between payment/non-payment? Or for the system of science: is it true or false to differentiate between true and false? No matter what the answer is, the system is always dependent on, and even creates, the other option. If there is no difference between true and false, then there is no truth and nothing false. The moment something is differentiated as true, it must be because something else is distinguished as false (Kneer and Nassehi 1997).
2.3.3. Paradoxes

Understanding systems as self-referential has several implications for systems theory (Hernes and Bakken 2003; Kneer and Nassehi 1997). Of central interest to my analysis is that every system is based on a paradox - which is connected to almost all of the concepts of systems theory (Kneer and Nassehi 1996). Kneer and Nassehi present two definitional traits of a paradox. The first trait is that “paradoxical statements aim to give a complete description [of something][...]; they can however only achieve this completeness by including itself. Paradoxical statements are therefore self-referentially structured; what they state include themselves” (1997:109). As an example Kneer and Nassehi uses the paradoxical statement “everything written on this page is a lie”. This statement clearly includes itself, and if everything else on this page was a lie, then that would make the statement true, which again would make the statement false. The second trait is that paradoxical statements are founded on a distinction. In the example above, the distinction is true/false. As systems are based on observations, which are self-referential and based on a distinction, they are also based on a paradox (Kneer and Nassehi 1997). Furthermore, a paradox is also “characterized by a situation of undecidability” (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:110), and this must somehow be solved if the system is to continue its operations. According to Kneer and Nassehi, the paradox must “be pushed […] into the background” (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:111). If the paradox is hidden, the system can continue its operations, such as distinguishing between true and false, payment/non-payment etc. However, there is a difference between “true” paradoxes, which cannot be solved, and apparent paradoxes, which can be solved by unveiling them as false paradoxes, with possible solutions. As paradoxes are system-specific, a solution might be seen as good enough to enable one system to make a distinction, while at the same time this solution isn’t necessarily acceptable for another system.

2.3.4. Functional differentiation and societal subsystems

Systems create subsystems order to cope with complexity (Kneer and Nassehi 1997; Seidl and Becker 2006). Humans are seen as systems capable of communication, and they constitute all things social. It is through their further communication that societal systems are produced. Since communication is contingent on previous communication the development of further systems rely on distinctions that are made to cope with complexity. As a distinction requires at least two options, there are always options for alternative developments. The process of distinction both produces options, as well as excludes them. Paradoxically this
process both reduces and produces complexity, and as more options are available, further distinctions can be made. To deal with this another distinction has to be made etc… This also means that if society could remove complexity, there would be nothing to distinguish, no communication, and society would cease to exist and “revert immediately to a state of equilibrium without difference” (Luhmann 2006:38).

The dominating form of differentiation in modern society is functional differentiation, which operates by logics ascribed to specific societal functions. These are functions such as economy, law, science and politics. Respectively, these use the logics of payment/non-payment, legal/illegal, true/untrue, power/not power (Kneer and Nassehi 1997; Seidl and Becker 2006). For all of these subsystems their binary logic represents the truth, and their rationality is based on it; it is by their respective distinctions that they operate and exist.
2.4. Haugaard’s seven forms of power

Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips (2006b) focus on power in organizations, and show that power is a central aspect of the study of organizations. Nevertheless, they are critical to the lack of perspectives of power present in organization theory, and argue that the fallacy of dismissing this central issue in studies of organizations should not continue. According to Clegg et al. organization theory defined out power in favour of the term authority, and lost the societal impact of organizations from sight: “Calling [power relations] by the name of authority already effectively settled the matter, foreclosing debate and enquiry. In the future […] no one should make that error again” (2006b:400). They show how theoreticians such as Arendt, Foucault, Lukes as well as many others, uncover the devastating effects unchecked power can have on society.

Mark Haugaard (2003) has developed a typology of seven forms of power (Table 2), with the goal of rendering various perspectives of power commensurable with each other.

Haugaard’s framework can be described as a metatheory with the goal to “evaluate and adjudicate on the conceptual adequacy and scope of other metatheories and theories” (Edwards 2010b:39), which Colomy calls metatheory as adjudication (1991). Metatheorizing at this level necessarily involves making some theoretical abstractions, and Haugaard explicitly states that he does not go into detail about each perspective, but focuses on discussing what he understands as incommensurable elements between the theories (2003). The framework begins with an analysis of power as created by social order, which then serves as a backdrop for the following theories, with power created by coercion as the last form.
Haugaard’s seven forms of power

<table>
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<th>Examples of problems of power in CSR</th>
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<td>Division of power between social systems - e.g. the economy and other systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Power created by system bias</td>
<td>Order precludes certain actions: destructuration</td>
<td>Power-blindness embedded in systems due to their inherent binary logic</td>
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</tr>
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<td>5 Power created by reification</td>
<td>Social order has to appear as non-arbitrary</td>
<td>Scientification, dependency on measurements and standards.</td>
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Table 2 Haugaard's seven forms of power

2.4.1. Power created by social order

Power created by social order is based on “a consensus upon the recreation of meaning which is realized through structuring and confirming-structuring practices” (Haugaard 2003:93). This form of structuralist power is in line with Haugaard based on the premise that “a society gives actors a capacity to do things which they could not otherwise accomplish if they were not members of a society” (2003:89). The structures of society influences the options available for its members, and the members confirm these structures through their actions (confirming-structuring). Problems of CSR related to this form of power are based on the questioning of the structures of society, such as the division of power between social systems.
2.4.2. Power created by system bias

The second form of power-creation in Haugaard’s typology is based on system bias, and it “occurs through the imposition of structural constraint by one actor upon the other” (Haugaard 2003:94). By challenging these constraints new structures can be established. When the structures are seen to be restricting actions which someone wishes to do, they can attempt to destructure the existing limitations. A structure is a way to create order, but at the same time this order also excludes some options. This bias is the second source of power, which can be attained by destructuration, or organizational outflanking. While the first form of power is about the division of structures in society, the second form is about how each system (or structure) excludes and includes possible actions. In terms of problems of power relating to CSR, this can be about how the economy structures all issues as relating to payment/non-payment. Questioning the blind spot of a system is as I see it an example of questioning this type of power.

2.4.3. Power created by systems of thought

Power created by social consciousness which sustains structural practices is the third form of power-creation in Haugaard’s typology. This is power created by systems of thought, and it is based on Foucault’s concept of power/knowledge. In the same way as language serves as a limitation to what we can talk about, discourses limit certain forms of confirming-structuration, as well as making others more likely. I relate this to several elements of CSR. Where the second form of power is about the bias of systems, the third form of power can be seen as relating to the local horizons of meaning produced by discourse. CSR is itself a discourse which includes and excludes certain aspects, and the more detailed the discourse is, the stronger is its shaping force. This can also be reified as scientific truths or standards, which is the fifth form of power. Although the third form of power is much more general than a specific discourse, I have chosen to analyze the CSR-discourse as a whole as a representative of the third form of power. I have also classified reviews and theoretical concepts as relating to this form of power, whether the authors have been explicit or not about power. In my view all forms of formalized scientific discourse represent a powerful influence on a topic, and the mapping of such theories, critical or not, are related to this form of power.


2.4.4. Power created by tacit knowledge

The fourth form of power in Haugaard’s typology involves the relationship between tacit and discursive knowledge. Haugaard describes practical consciousness knowledge as “a tacit knowledge which enables us to ‘go on’ in social life”, while discursive consciousness is the “knowledge we can put into words” (2003:100). Haugaard argues that the term “false” consciousness has to be dropped, because its counterpart is “true” consciousness. Thus, the empowerment of enabling someone to develop discursive knowledge isn’t based on the assumption of the existence of a “true” knowledge, but rather an assumption that discursive knowledge gives actors access to other fields of influence. In my analysis I have marked articles relating to empowerment and stakeholders as belonging to this form of power.

2.4.5. Power created by reification

According to Haugaard reification “stabilizes structural reproduction by making the structures involved appear more than social constructs” (2003:103). If structures appear to be merely arbitrary constructs, then there is no apparent reason as why not to question them. Haugaard claims that truth “performs a significant reifying function” (2003:103) in modern societies, and he goes as far as to describe scientifically established truth as “the modern equivalent of God or tradition in pre-modern societies” (2003:103). According to Haugaard “de-reifying of truth is a central element of Foucault’s mode of social critique” (2003:103). This form of power relates to several aspects of the CSR-discourse, and especially to the standardization and measuring of CSR-activities. The scientification of CSR-theories and perspectives are also examples of this fifth type of power.

2.4.6. Power created by discipline

According to Haugaard, enforcing practices trough routine is a way to ensure predictable structuration and confirming-structuration (2003). Where the fourth form of power is based on the power drawn from going from tacit to discursive consciousness, this form involves a power of the opposite direction. Routinization and regulation involves internalization of “how things are done around here”, and in its ultimate form it removes any question of the structures which are enforced. This is again based on the fifth form of power, as it is not an arbitrarily introduced routine, but rather a scientific and reified form of power. Where the fifth form of power is about reification, the sixth form is about the deployment of reified structures.
In CSR this can be exemplified by guidelines and by usage of standards and other formal requirements.

### 2.4.7. Power created by coercion

The seventh form of power does not refer to the actual use of violence, but rather the threat of using it. Referring to Arendt, Haugaard argues that the use of violence is a proof of lacking social power, rather than a confirmation of it (Haugaard 2003). When none of the previously listed forms of power are able to regulate social actions, the threat and use of violence can be attempted. The destructive force involved in the usage of violence is also a reason for why modern states seek a monopoly of coercion. However, as multinational companies are increasingly present in states and areas where the usage of violence is more common, several corporations also use private military firms (Barley 2007).
2.5. Summing up the theoretical framework

Corporate social responsibility can be seen as a discourse related to the problem of power-division between democracy and corporations. However, this problem runs along several axes. As Haugaard shows, power spans from the structure of society’s order to coercion. At the same time the discourse of CSR covers functional subsystems, as well as organizations and interactions. CSR as a discursive field draws upon several other discourses, influenced by, and related to, many of these systems. Encountering paradoxes, and the following deparadoxation, can be seen as a central part of the development of the CSR-discourse. By using Foucault’s description of the systematic development of discourses combined with systems theory and Haugaard’s seven forms of power-creation I will later analyze how paradoxes of power are dealt with in the CSR-discourse. This combination of theoretical approaches covers a broad array of the axes which are present in the problem of democracy. Haugaard’s forms of power-creation ensure a width of power-aspects to be included in the analysis while systems theory provides a theoretical framework which spans across all societal systems. Foucault’s discursive theory offers a structure to analyze the discourse.

Analyzing any discourse involves a venture into power created by systems of thought, and the scientification of such discourses is related to power created by reification. In the next chapter I will present a conceptualization of discursive systems, in which I aim to create a theoretical framework combining discursive theory with systems theory. This enables the analysis of discursive systems to be analyzed with a unified vocabulary, and broadens the explanatory width of discourses to include relations to societal subsystems such as the economy and politics, as well as organizations. By introducing the concept of deparadoxation to discursive theory an additional explanatory element is included to the toolbox of discourse-analysis.
3. Discursive systems

Kirk Kidwell argues that political culture can be seen as a “autopoietic performative discourse system” (2009:533) based on performative statements that produce and reproduce themselves. Following Kidwell, discursive systems can be seen as a type of social system based on the specific type of communication of topical statements, which uses the distinction of topical/intopical. This makes the discourse system different from the other systems of (face-to-face) interaction and organizations, operating by the same systems-theoretical premises. A discursive system is different from the interaction system, as it isn’t based on observed presence. Furthermore, it differs from organization systems as it doesn’t communicate about decisions. It is also unlike societal systems as it is not founded on a societal function. Kidwell (2009) uses speech act theory to show that statements are performative, and thus produce something which can be a basis for further operations. Kidwell (2009) presents a thorough argument for the performativity of the statement, and clarifies what a statement is not. However, in my view it is possible to treat the statement as a communication by direct comparison to systems theory.

3.1. Statements as a type of communication

In systems theory a communication is a three part selection process consisting of information, understanding and utterance. Treating a statement as a communication therefore involves that a statement also consists of these three parts. At the same time the statement is more than its component parts. Foucault’s structural definition of the statement also fits the description of a communication: “an ultimate, undecomposable element that can be isolated and introduced into a set of relations with other elements” (Foucault 2002:90). The statement can be treated as a special type of communication. This process is undecomposable, as it ceases to be a communication if not all three parts of the process are present. The statement can be isolated, at least analytically, although a statement always has to be in relation to another statement in order to continue the autopoiesis of the system. This entails that it can be introduced into a set of relations with other statements. Luhmann describes this relationship in the following manner: “Each communication identifies itself by referring to past communications and by opening a limited space for further communications. It cannot happen as one single event, it cannot be recognized as communication outside of its own recursive
network” (1997:72). In his discussion of the statement, Foucault goes through a set of arguments that can be seen as very close to the elements of understanding, information and utterance: “[a statement] does not, of course refer to the material act of speaking […], or of writing […]; nor does it refer to the intention of the individual who is speaking […]; nor does it refer to the possible result of what he has said […]; what one is referring to is the operation that has been carried out by the formula itself, in its emergence […]. The [statement] is not what took place just prior to the moment when the statement was made[…]; it is not what might have happened, after the event, in its wake, and its consequences it gave rise to; it is what occurred by the very fact that a statement was made – and precisely this statement (and no other) in specific circumstances.” (2002:93). In systems theoretical terms this means that a statement is not the utterance, the information, or the understanding. It refers to the process of communication produced by communication itself, in its emergence. The statement is therefore not the previous communications (a time-distinction), it isn’t the other possible distinctions and communications, nor is it the contingencies, but it is the concrete process of communication.

3.2. Fixing the vocabulary

Overgaard Nielsen and Vallentin claims that “if systems theory wants to be something else and more than an esoteric and elitist discourse, it is necessary […] to develop a vocabulary that is suited to empirical studies, and that is closer to common social science vocabulary” (2003:179). Kidwell (2009) suggests the term “performative statement” to differentiate the term statement from other uses. Instead of this I have chosen to use the term “topical statement”, because I view the addition of “performative” as unnecessary. This is because in systems theory the performativity of communication is already given, since it is understood as a process. I have added the term “topical” to differentiate it from other applications of “statement”, and to make it more intuitive. The term “topical statement” is also linked to the distinction used by the discursive system as I conceptualize it: topical/intotopical. This allows for a more intuitive analysis, when attempting to identify discursive systems, in which one looks for topics or topical constellations (e.g. CSR and the related terms).

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Kidwell’s distinction (2009) _distinction_ of felicitous/infelicitous is based on Austin’s view of the importance of analyzing “serious” speech acts. Kidwell cites Austin as “stipul[ating] the “necessary conditions” for a _felicitous performative_ as “an accepted conventional procedure having a conventional effect” performed by “the particular persons and circumstances . . . appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked”” (2009:540 italics added). Instead of Kidwell’s distinction, I suggest the distinction of topical/intopical, as it is more intuitive, and it is more directly related to the type of communication called topical statements. The definition of the word topical relates to several aspects, making it suitable for usage as a distinction: “1) Of or belonging to a particular location or place; local. 2) Currently of interest; contemporary.[…] 4) Of, arranged by, or relating to a particular topic or topics”³ (www.thefreedictionary.com/topical). The term topical refers to a spatial, a temporal and a relational aspect, and guiding the usage of the term. It should however be noted that this is a conceptual usage. Further development of the terms and details of the discourse system needs to be investigated.

3.3. Discursive practice as a system

The transformation of statements into a form of communication is the basis for discursive systems. Understanding discursive practices as autopoietic systems rests upon this transformation. Furthermore, the statements must be organized and structured to form a systematic unit, and it must be “capable of connectivity” (Luhmann 2006:46). A statement is not determined to lead to another statement; it can end without following statements in the same way as a person might choose to leave the room or hang up the phone, ending the current interaction. But the statement must be _capable_ of connecting to another statement, if not it cannot be a constitutive part of a system. It has to relate to other statements, as Luhmann exemplifies: “systems are relations between elements; or a system is the relation of structure and process, a unit that directs itself structurally in and through its own processes” (2006:46). Structure and process are “two forms of selection amplification in social systems. Structures maintains this function by exclusion, processes determine a pre-selection by choosing suitable connection options” (Kneer and Nassehi 1997:99). Structure and process are the selection amplifiers that guide a course of communication, ensuring that it isn’t just a random sequence of communications. Joined, the communication, structure and process are

³ The word also has a medicinal usage, which I have not referred, see www.freedictionary.com/topical for details.
making an identifiable systematic unit – a system. The structure is the viable options that a statement is able to connect with. A statement about a topic is structurally guided to produce another statement within that topic. The structure excludes what isn’t considered to be relevant to the discourse. The process is the connection between statements in a sequence, and guides the next statement by pre-selecting possible options within the structure. The statement “CSR can be understood as a discursive system”, easily leads to another statement relating to the previous statement, such as “and discursive systems are based on systems theory”. Structurally there are many more options within the discursive system of CSR, but a statement limits the options of suitable connections, regulated by the process as a series of communications. Kidwell (2009) argues that the discursive system is regulated by an enunciative system, which can be understood as a description of the structure of the system. Furthermore, Kidwell shows that the statement is an event that can be coupled to other statements, establishing the process of the discursive practice. Kidwell (2009) has thus established the element (statements), the structure, and the process of the discursive system, and goes on to argue that this conceptualization of a discursive practice fits Maturana and Varela’s definition of an autopoietic system. It is also claimed that it satisfies their six key criteria for determination of unities as autopoietic systems, being characterized by Maturana and Varela’s three necessary types of relations that typify the organization of an autopoietic system (Kidwell 2009:546-548).

### 3.4. Knowledge as a systems-theoretical term

I have used Foucault’s definition of knowledge to develop a systems-theoretical definition of knowledge (2002:201) (cited in full in chapter 2.2.2, page 9). The first part, “that of which one can speak of”, implies that knowledge concerns something that is used in a process of communication. Knowledge must therefore at least consist of information. Knowledge in itself does not communicate; it is not a conscious system.

The next part of the sentence is more problematic: “in a discursive practice” could refer to what we have conceptualized as the discursive system, but that implies that knowledge doesn’t exist in interactions, organizations or society. It would be more precise to say “in a system”.

The sentence “and which is specified by that fact” suggest there being different types of knowledge (that it is specified), and that the knowledges are related to the system in which
it was communicated. This suggests differentiated, identifiable and system specific usages of knowledge.

The spatiotemporal aspect is suggested by the next sentence: “knowledge is also the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse” (italics added). As I understand this, Foucault doesn’t refer to a physical place, but a space relative to other elements of the system. This suggests that knowledge relates to structures defining inclusion/exclusion of communication (Luhmann 2002). It also relates to the pre-selection made by the process of communication. The structure and process regulate the spatiotemporal aspect of the communication (the structure and process regulates possible further communications, thus regulating your “space”). Knowledge is therefore related to the structure and process of the system. Foucault mentions “the subject” here, which hints at one of the possibly incommensurable elements between systems theory and Foucault, but I will leave this discussion for now4.

The sentence “knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, and are defined, applied and transformed” is also about the structure and process of a system, and describes some of the functions related to knowledge. This suggests that knowledge is more than an interaction; there is also formalization and regulation of the statements that are made. Knowledge appears (it is communicated), it is formalized (through a communicative process), applied (the communication relates itself to other communications), and it is transformed (leads to new communications relating to the previous).

The last sentence is “[and] lastly, knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse” which again can be interpreted as referring to the structure and process of a system, as well as presenting knowledge as system specific. I interpret this as meaning that knowledge must be translated by the specific system, and used according to the system-specific logic.

In sum, knowledge refers to accessible information ascribed a specified, formal status by a system, given a special regulating role in the structure and process of communication. It

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4 In systems theory the subject, or the human, is understood consisting of several systems (such as the psychic system, the nervous system etc.) or as an object that actions are ascribed to by a system (Kneer and Nassehi 1997). There are therefore similarities between the systems-theoretical understanding of the subject, as something produced and regulated by communication, and the Foucauldian understanding of the subject as regulating, and regulated by, knowledge and power (Foucault 2002).
also refers to the existing structures and processes within the system. Knowledge is thus information and communication, structures and processes, working as a program by regulating options. It differs from other information by its specified and formal status (given by the system), and when communicated it regulates the system specific structures and processes. The specified and formal status ascribed to the information is regulated by the system itself, and this process also regulates how the information is communicated, transformed and developed, based on the system-specific rationality.

Kidwell (2009:553) suggests that “political culture, as an autopoietic discourse system performatively operates to produce political knowledge and to regulate political action”. This implies that discourse systems produce knowledge, but in my view this requires some adjustment. Discourse systems might specialize in communicating about a specific knowledge (and they use knowledge as well), but all systems are capable of communicating about and using knowledge. Specialized discourse systems focusing on a specific type of knowledge, are better described as producing and reproducing topical statements about it, based on observations.

Discourse systems can use second order observations to further develop and correct their own discourse. They can focus on other systems, and attempt to irritate to such a degree that they internalize and use this information (on their own premises). Political culture can therefore, as a discourse system, produce knowledge about another system. But it cannot regulate the action of another system, because all systems regulate their own actions. It is only through perturbation, or structural coupling, that knowledge produced by a discursive system can provide information that another system decides to use. This requires that the information produced by one system is accessible to another system. A discursive system about political culture might therefore produce (through another system, as will be explained in the next paragraph) a theory that another system decides to use (as information communicated about internally in the system), which again can lead to regulation of that systems actions.

The connection between discursive systems and other systems can be exemplified by how academic discourses are related to organization systems. The materialization of the statements can be in the form of articles, books, web-pages, databases or other types of media. However, this happens in relation to another system that specializes in producing information. In case of a theory, it might be developed within a discursive system, but the publication is done through an organization. The organization system translates the information from the
discourse system into its own logic. By use of decisions the organization system then produces formalized, structured, and materialized information. The discourse system can therefore structurally be coupled to another system. The CSR-discourse system doesn’t necessarily produce scientific knowledge. A discussion forum about CSR on the internet can also be a discursive system, producing topical statements published through the system of that forum, but these statements aren’t necessarily scientific. It is through structural coupling to another system that the statements produced in a discursive system might be transformed into materialized information.

3.5. Science as a system and a formalized discursive system

Foucault describes how a discourse might develop and cross the thresholds of epistemologization, scientificity and formalization (Foucault 2002). For him, a science is a discourse that has crossed these thresholds. In systems theory, science is a societal subsystem based on the distinction true/false, using the programs of theories as a pre-selection to determine this. These two definitions are not compatible, as they do not describe the same thing. It is important both to distinguish these two, as well as to show how they are connected to each other. The function of science as a social subsystem is to distinguish true and false, while the function of a discursive system is to produce topical statements. In order to deal with complexity, a system creates subsystems that specialize in a selected part of the complexity. This emergent system is an autopoietic, structurally coupled system.

I suggest that a science is a discursive system that has crossed the thresholds of epistemologization, scientificity and formalization as a result of science’s (as the societal subsystem), or another systems, need to deal with complexity, and society’s need for programs to distinguish between true and false. Furthermore, a science must be structurally coupled to an organization system that can perform the materialization of the information, store it, provide it with psychic systems (such as theoreticians), and serve as memory. This group of connected systems can be referred to as a research unit, as commonly found in universities, laboratories or think-tanks (universities also consists of other systems and they are also connected to the subsystems of education, politics and economics). Furthermore, the thresholds are also products of social systems, and are therefore system specific (which relates to the discussion of different sciences having different definitions of what is “true” science). What distinguishes scientific (related to the subsystem of science) sciences is that theories are
the main programs, whereas other systems use other programs to a larger degree (doctrines, laws, prices, investment programs etc. (Kneer and Nassehi 1997)).

3.6. CSR as a discursive system and the thresholds of a discourse

There are several articulated statements about CSR, there are claims to validate norms of verification and coherence (Carroll 1999), and the CSR-discourse system functions both as a model and a critique of knowledge. There are also many models (Taneja et al. 2011), critiques (Archel et al. 2011; Banerjee 2008; Blowfield and Murray 2008) as well as attempts of verification (Carroll and Shabana 2010). It can therefore be argued that CSR has crossed the threshold of epistemologization.

The threshold of scientificity requires that the statements follow formal rules. By the fact that there are published articles about CSR, statements about CSR have been made following the requirements of these scientific journals. Although not all these articles follow the same rules (different journals have different rules – they are system-specific), there is a body of formalized statements about CSR. Thus it is also fair to state that CSR has crossed the threshold of scientificity. However, the third threshold cannot be claimed to have been crossed; CSR hasn’t been able to define its axioms or the elements that it uses (Lockett et al. 2006). A definition of CSR is a holy grail for some researchers, and it has far from been established (Carroll 1999; Cochran 2007; Dahlsrud 2008; De Bakker et al. 2005). It hasn’t been established which elements are to be used, and by the nature of the topic this might not be established at all. Because there are so many established sciences that produce statements about CSR, with their own existing thresholds, it isn’t likely that a single coherent scientific discursive system of CSR will exist.

Furthermore, CSR contains specialized fields that focus on certain aspects, producing theories relating to different societal subsystems (such as economics (Carroll and Shabana 2010), education (Arias 2008; Matten and Moon 2004), law (Buhmann 2006), religion (Dusuki and Abdullah 2007) and politics (Detomasi 2008)). This point to three aspects of discursive systems: 1) they can consist of several subsystems, 2) they can also produce specialized subsystems in order to deal with the complexity of the topic, and 3) they can be structurally coupled to different societal subsystems.
A discursive system doesn’t necessarily develop into a formalized science, and there can be subsystems dealing with other elements of a discourse than the producing of theory. An increasing number of articles concerning CSR focus on empirical analysis of what is actually done in the name of CSR (or interpreted to be done in the name of CSR) (Lockett et al. 2006). This indicates that there is a separate part of the CSR discursive system concerning itself with translating theory into practice; programming a systems communication to fit with the distinction of the system. This can be conceptualized as a structurally coupled subsystem with the function of implementation of practice. This isn’t necessarily a subsystem that develops towards scientificity, but it can be one that focuses on experience, such as a consultancy firm. This example shows that structural coupling can also take place between two existing systems: the CSR discursive system can produce a subsystem focusing on implementation, but a consultancy firm (an organization system) already focused on implementation of programs relating to a certain distinction, can become structurally coupled to a discourse system in order to cope with increased complexity in its environment. This suggests that a discourse system be reified by at least two different methods. The first is by scientification, and the other is by experience.

Experience is only different from knowledge in how it is legitimized, in every other aspect its effects are the same as that of knowledge. Experience is also referring to accessible information ascribed a specified, formal status by a system, given a special regulating role in the structure and process of communication, and it also refers to the existing structures and processes within the system, but it is ascribed to a system. It differs from other information by its specified and formal status (given by the system), but the specification and status is prescribed in another way than that of knowledge. When experience is communicated it regulates the system-specific structures and processes. The specified and formal status ascribed to the information is also regulated by the system itself, and this process is furthermore regulated by how the information is communicated, transformed and developed, based on the system-specific rationality. But even though experience and knowledge is essentially the same, they produce and are produced by differently regulated structures and processes. This means that they constitute different parts of the system, and different systems rely on knowledge and experience in different ways.

In order to analyze a discursive system, it is important to recognize that it can consist of several subsystems. Where I choose to analyze articles concerning CSR, I therefore only analyze the information that has been formalized. This means that there are several aspects of
CSR that are not covered, although some of the articles are second order observations of other systems (empirical observations of CSR in practice). Also important to keep in mind is that in analyzing a discourse, one only has access to a certain amount of information. Not all information goes through the process of formalization and become knowledge or experience, neither is all knowledge materialized. Furthermore, the access to all types of materialized information can be limited. This relates both to “classified” material, as well as information that a system has excluded by its own structures. While the first doesn’t need further explanation, the latter can be clarified by an example. A university has access to a certain amount of article databases, and has got a database of its library. If an article isn’t accessible through one of the databases, one has the option of buying a copy (regulated by access to funds), to gain access by other means (for example asking the author directly for a copy), or to exclude the journal from the analysis. These structural elements lead to an exclusion of accessible information.

This shows that a discourse system is regulated both by itself and by the systems populating its environment, which leads to the concept of power/knowledge.

3.7. Power/knowledge in a systems-theoretical perspective

Foucault claims that knowledge constitutes a system of power, and power is embedded in knowledge (Foucault 2002). This power/knowledge linkage clearly alludes to something more than the Luhmannian power as a symbolically generalized medium of communication, connected to the societal subsystem of politics. Because knowledge exists in all systems, the Foucauldian concept of power must also be found in all other systems. However, in systems theory power is found in other systems, not conceptualized as power, but as symbolically generated medium of communication. These media are connected to all societal subsystems, such as money, love and truth (Borch ; Chernilo). The strength of adding a power/knowledge concept to the systems-theoretical toolbox lies in the expansion of the analytic width. Using the power/knowledge concept to analyze a system, involves looking at how the system relates to all of the symbolically generalized media of communication, not only one of them. This has already been used as an analytic strategy, exemplified by Rennison in an analysis of a new payment system in the public sector in Denmark (la Cour et al. 2007).

In my view it is problematic to conceptualize power only as a symbolically generalized medium of communication, which lies in its specificity: it structures the
understanding of power in systems theory as it implies an exclusion of other types of power. Only through a high degree of familiarity with systems theory, does it become obvious that the other generalized symbolically communicated media can be seen as representing other types of power. At the same time, this specificity is also a strength; it allows for a higher degree of precision than the concept of power/knowledge. Both Lukes and Lynch criticise the Foucauldian concept of power for being so general that it becomes a catch-all-category (Clegg et al. 2006b:255). Although this critique “misses the point entirely” (Clegg et al. 2006b:255), a vocabulary that offers more precision about power would strengthen the intuitive aspect, as well as the explanatory power of the concept of power/knowledge. However, with the implementation of the concepts of discursive systems and knowledge, systems theory must also contain the Foucauldian understanding of power. It follows from this that a systems theory with these concepts must have at least two levels of power: as a power/knowledge concept, and as a generalized symbolically communicated medium. But it also implies that the other forms of generalized symbolically communicated media can be seen as a form of power. An analysis of power must therefore, as Rennison did, consider all these types. A thorough analysis of power and CSR would therefore involve the same focus.

Although I’ve made the case that power/knowledge can be understood by systems-theoretical terms, according to Borch (2005) the general theory of power in systems theory is different from that of Foucault in several aspects. His main critique is that Luhmann’s theory of power is constitutively tied to negative sanctions, which he claims “reinstalls an Old-European semantics of power” (Borch 2005:155). According to Borch, Luhmann’s theory of power is based on two fundamental pillars. The first pillar “concerns the functional or medial notion of power”, and the second pillar relates to power as “constituted by negative sanctions” (Borch 2005:156). Borch (2005) goes on to show that there are many similarities between Luhmann’s first pillar and Foucault’s conception of power. For example, the function of the medium of power is to regulate actions, as a relation between action and action, which equals the Foucauldian definition of governmentality as conduct of conduct. Furthermore, both Foucault and Luhmann base their conception of power on freedom and on the relational aspect of power (Borch 2005). Borch explains this comparison between Foucault and Luhmann; “Conceived as a medium, power ‘is’ nothing but a ‘code-guided communication’ (Luhmann cited in Borch 2005:160) or, to paraphrase Foucault’s […] nominalistic point, power is nothing but the name that is given to this communication” (Borch 2005:160). This is in essence the same familiarity as the connection I described concerning the statement and
communication. Borch shows that by treating power as a communication, the systems-theoretical consequence is that power “as an emergent solution to a specific evolutionary problem” (Borch 2005:160). This problem is the regulation of action, which must be “conceptualized within an evolutionary framework and not within a general (a-historical) theory of power” (Borch 2005:160). But, where the similarities between Foucault’s and Luhmann’s conception of power are many, the critical difference, according to Borch (2005), lies within Luhmann’s second pillar, and his idea of sanctions.

According to Borch (2005), power is related to sanctions in that in the process of regulating action, a system must choose between options, and power is the communication that some of these options can result in negative sanctions. This doesn’t necessarily mean that there will be any sanctions, but the communication that there can be sanctions, regulates the options. In relation to the mentioned element of freedom, more specifically the freedom to make a choice, leading to the statement that “The person exercising coercion must himself take over the burden of selection and decision to the same degree as coercion is being exercised . . . the reduction of complexity is not distributed but is transferred to the person using coercion” (Luhmann cited in Borch 2005:159). If there is no possibility to select an option, there is no freedom, and the choices are made by the coercing system, and not by the coerced. Borch is very clear that for both Foucault and Luhmann such coercive power exists, and it is important to maintain a theoretical explanation for this phenomenon. Nevertheless, the critique is that such a view must be complemented by other forms of power, something Borch doesn’t see this in Luhmann’s theory of power (2005).

3.8. Evaluation of the conceptualization of discursive systems

Combining Foucault’s conception of discourses with a systems theoretical framework poses some challenges, but it also provides several advantages to the study of power in the CSR-discourse. The main advantage is that the combination provides a theoretical framework which spans Haugaard’s seven forms of power-creation, all of systems theory’s social systems, while at the same time maintaining the explanatory power of discursive theory. The disadvantage is an increased complexity in the theoretical framework.

At least two important questions arise from the perspective of systems theory. The first question is if the adding of another system actually provides additional explanatory power? I would argue that it is possible to give an affirmative answer. Firstly, the analysis of social
systems usually involves the study of discourses, where the goal is to identify which distinctions are used and how these distinctions can explain sociological phenomena. The unit which is studied in systems theory is communication, and by directly linking systems theory to discursive theory, this becomes clearer. This can make it easier to bridge the gap between two theoretical traditions, something systems theory has been criticized for not being able to do (Overgaard Nielsen and Vallentin 2003).

Secondly, the linkage between power and knowledge established in discursive theory, can be implemented into a systems theoretical framework. This broadens the power-scope of systems theory, which is criticized by Borch (2005) for being too narrow.

Thirdly, the introduction of discursive theory provides an additional link between the other social systems of systems theory. While the discursive system is different from the other systems, it is also dependent upon them. By interpreting discourses as systems it is possible to identify which distinctions are used, and how the structures and processes influence the development of both the discursive systems, as well as the systems to which it is connected. This provides a systems theoretical explanation of how knowledge is produced and used between different systems, while simultaneously showing that this knowledge is dependent on each systems specific distinction.

Whether the discursive systems already are incorporated in the other social systems of systems theory is the second question. Discursive systems are probably closest related to organizations, where the communication is about decisions. Claiming that a discourse is only a series of decisions relating to a certain topic would cover most elements of how a discourse develops. Another central aspect of organizations is that membership is regulated, which can also be argued to be the case for discursive systems. To make a topical statement in an academic discourse requires certain formal requirements, such as higher education and academic status. The difference is that organizations use decisions in order to continue its operation, while a discourse use statements which focuses on the development of the discourse.

With my conceptualization I think it is at least possible to claim that the discursive systems are different from interaction-, organization- and societal subsystems. But this might be because the discursive is just a theoretical grouping of elements from the other systems, where the classical systems already can explain the discourses. The question then becomes if this grouping provides additional explanatory power, and if it enables the finding of elements
which wouldn’t be found with use of the traditional systems. In my study of the academic discourse of CSR, I would claim that understanding discourses as systems provides a much clearer distinction between what is considered a part of the discourse, and what isn’t. Analyzing the CSR-discourse by the use of systems theory without discursive systems, would focus on either one of the traditional systems, or a combination of these. This would overlook the theoretical explanation of the relationship between power and knowledge provided by discursive theory.

Systems theory provides theoretical tools such as distinctions, second order observation and paradoxes, but it doesn’t cover Foucauldian power-aspects and the development of discourses. The relationship between knowledge, science and power is also less clear. A purely Foucauldian approach provides these elements, but it could fail to see the relationship between systems, as well as the central role of paradoxes. It can be claimed that second order observation is present in discursive theory as a high degree of reflexivity, but the theoretical connection between the discourse and reflexivity is clarified with the use of second order observation.

In relation to my research questions, the conceptualization provides a unified framework combining the strengths of both discursive theory and systems theory. The forms of power found in the CSR-discourse, rely on a perspective of power which goes beyond both theoretical frameworks. This is provided by Haugaard’s work (2007), but could also be used with other theoretical approaches. The development of a discourse is described by using Foucault’s archaeology of knowledge, but the introduction of paradoxes provides a systems theoretical explanation of how this occurs. This additional concept provides a tool to identify how discourses develop in light of contact with other systems. This connects discursive theory with concrete systems, which is especially relevant for the study of organizations. By identifying how the distinctions found in a system uncovers new paradoxes, additional explanatory power is added both to systems theory as well as discursive theory. Where Luhmann states that the important question is how paradoxes are handled, discursive theory provides an answer to this. An analysis of power in the CSR-discourse without these concepts could therefore identify the same forms of power, but would lack the explanatory power to show how the discourse develop and influence other systems.
4. Methodology

In this chapter I describe the research questions in further detail. I also present the metatheoretical method that is used to create the basis for the analysis. An overview of the findings from the analysis can be found in appendix 1, which is sorted by journal field and author. In this overview my classification of each article is presented, along with citations from Google Scholar and Scopus. The forms of power I have found represented in each of them are also listed.

Edwards (2010b) criticizes other metatheoretical works for its lack of explicit methodology, as this makes it more difficult to trace how data is collected, what is omitted, and how the analysis is done. As a response to this critique I am therefore explicit about my procedures and assumptions. This eases critical evaluation of my metatheoretical study, both in terms of the analyzed data, as well as of my theoretical framework.

4.1. Which forms of power are present in the CSR-discourse?

In order to analyze the presence of power in the CSR-discourse I have analyzed each article for the implicit and explicit presence of Haugaard’s seven forms of power. By comparing management and non-management-articles, I examine if there is a difference relating to the focus on power. This is the basis for investigating if the critique of power-blindness is applicable to the CSR-discourse, and to what degree the discourse is influenced by problems of power identified in management theory.

4.2. How does paradoxes of power surface?

I assume that fields outside the mainstream management-field will be better able to observe paradoxes, as they use other distinctions. Because of this they can identify paradoxes which are unseen by the management-field. In my view, academic fields with a critical tradition will be more inclined to perform second order observations on themselves as well as on other systems. I therefore predict that such fields will be more critical.

I analyze the articles for presence of critique in order to indicate if there is a difference between fields. Through this I show that the structure of a discourse influences the ability to
identify paradoxes. However, for an uncovered paradox to be seen as relevant, it must perceived as more pressing than other problems. I assume that citations can be an indicator of how pressing a problem is, and that this can show how influential non-management-articles can be in the development of the CSR-discourse.

4.3. How are paradoxes of power dealt with?

My assumption is that the main form of deparadoxation in the academic CSR-discourse is the development of theories or tools. This also serves the function of scientification and reification, and represents solutions to the encountered paradoxes. If this is unsuccessful I assume that the paradoxes are hidden, which can be done either by development of subsystems, or by defining problems as irrelevant. By analyzing review-articles and critical articles related to Haugaard’s third and fifth form of power I reveal which problems are identified as lacking from the CSR-discourse, as well as those who are established as solved.

In addition, I discuss how deparadoxation contributes to the production of power, and how social critique and empowerment paradoxically both challenges and confirms this power. Following this I argue that the function of the academic CSR-discourse is to both solve and hide paradoxes, and that this discourse enables other systems to continue their operations related to CSR.

4.4. A general method for metatheory building

The methodology presented by Edwards describes eight phases (2010b). I have made some alterations to Edwards’ model so that it better suits the analysis of this thesis (Figure 2 My research design).

The first phase is groundwork, which involves “stating the topic of interest, declaring the basic aim and objectives [and] providing a rationale for developing metatheory on the topic of interest” (Edwards 2010b:92). Phase two is specification of the domain, and setting the boundaries of the research. This chapter equals Edwards’ phase three: Design. Here I present sampling procedures and the analytical tools and techniques used in the analysis.

5 There is also a ninth phase that is the further iteration and repetition of the research based on new developments.
The empirical chapters includes Edwards’ *phase four*: multiparadigm review. This phase involves ordering of sampled materials, applying review techniques and ensuring that multiple conceptual layers are involved in the review process. *Phase five* is multiparadigm analysis, which I have included in the discussion chapter.

Where Edwards’ goal is to use a metatheoretical approach to build new (meta) theory, my aim is to use a metatheoretical method in order to do an analysis of existing theories. *Phase six* – metatheory building is therefore not relevant for this thesis.

*Phases seven and eight* – implications and evaluation - will be included in the final chapter where I discuss the findings of my analysis.

![Research Design Diagram](image-url)

*Figure 2 My research design*
4.4.1. Sampling procedures

I’ve used three strategies for gathering the articles in the study. The first step was an analysis of existing reviews (Lockett et al. 2006; Min-Dong 2008; Taneja et al. 2011). From these articles I created the initial guides for inclusion, and identified some central articles.

The second step was tracing citations of articles from other fields as well as those that were critical in nature. One example is Banerjee’s article *CSR: The good, the bad and the ugly* (2008), an article published in Critical Sociology. I traced the articles citing it in order to find other critical articles, assuming that those who had cited it either would share Banerjee’s point of view, or critique it.

The third strategy was database searches. Searching JSTOR, CSA Illumnia and Scopus using the search term “Corporate Social Responsibility”, limited to English language, titles and abstracts, I established a base of almost 3000 possibly relevant articles. Citations and publication was used to limit the sample size to include only relevant articles. Since the number of citations can be a sign of impact, I used this as a factor when choosing which articles to select. In order to describe trends, it is necessary to use some articles that have shown an impact on the field of CSR. These will be the older, more cited articles. In addition it is necessary to include newer publications, both to show current developments, and in order keep this thesis as up to date as possible.

Sorting these by citations, year and field, I established the initial 302 articles. 276 of these were available for full-text download through the NTNU-licenses with journal publishers. After reading the article abstracts 259 were left, from 106 journals. I then selected the articles that were critical, about power and most cited from each academic field. After the first round of selection 122 articles were left. In order to reach the goal of 70 articles (discussed in the next section), an additional round was made, removing articles which had no citations, interpreted as already covered in other articles, and limiting by number of fields covered. Articles shorter than 7 pages were excluded. The 70 articles covered 49 journals and 14 fields. 38 of these were interpreted as containing some sort of critique, and 35 explicitly mentioned power. Table 3 shows the article representation.
Determining a sufficient sample size is based on the research goals. The main distinction is between managerial articles and non-managerial articles, and the number of articles should therefore represent a fair division between the two. As the category “non-managerial” is very broad, the number of articles should represent a width of fields. Most of the non-managerial fields have few articles about CSR, and in order to reach a number of articles representing this category compared to the managerial field, many fields had to be included.

Edwards (2010b) used 335 texts as his sample size, Taneja et. al. (2011) used 80, Egri and Ralston (2008) used 321 articles and Lockett, Moon and Visser (2006) used 176. In order to cover a broad array of both managerial as well as non-managerial articles, I have chosen a sample size of 70 CSR-articles. Table 4 shows the journal representation by the journal fields, total number from each field, names of the journals, as well as the number of papers from each journal.

### 4.4.2. Analytic strategies and tools

My analytic strategy is based on text scrutinizing (Edwards 2010a; Ryan and Bernard 2003) and bridging and bracketing (Edwards 2010a; Lewis and Grimes 1999). The articles were classified according to their academic field, management and non-management-journals and by type of article.

#### 4.4.2.1. Academic field

The academic field of the articles was classified according to which journal they are published in, and these were classified by reference to Lockett, Moon and Visser’s (2006) classification. They list the leading management and CSR-journals, as well as the leading journals in economics, psychology, sociology, philosophy, law, political and environmental studies. I’ve classified journals that were not present in that study by how the journal homepages has described them.
### Journal representation by journal field

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name of Journal (number of articles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accounting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal (1) Accounting, Organizations and Society (3), Critical Perspectives on Accounting (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Social Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Business &amp; Society (2), Business Ethics Quarterly (2), Journal of Business Ethics (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Development in Practice (1), Development Southern Africa (1), Third World Quarterly (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Business Strategy and the Environment (1), Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>International Feminist Journal of Politics (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Antipode (1), Geoforum (1), Global Networks (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdisciplinary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Economy and Society (1), Enterprise and Society (1), Futures (1), Globalizations (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>International Affairs (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>American Behavioral Scientist (1), Journal of Consumer Psychology (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Critical Sociology (2), Symbolic Interaction (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Journal representation by journal field

#### 4.4.2.2. Management and non-management distinction

My distinction between management and non-management is also based on Lockett, Moon and Visser’s article (2006). The category of management contains CSR, management and accounting-journals. I have placed marketing-journals in the non-management category, although it could be claimed that it should be classified as belonging to the management field. The marketing-journals are classified as non-management because they are usually not mentioned as a part of the management field. As this is somewhat problematic I’ve discussed this specifically in sections where I’ve judged it to be relevant. By defining them as non-managerial there is also a greater balance between the number of management-journals and non-management-journals.
The interdisciplinary journals are also often referred to in management-literature, but as they also relate to non-management aspects to a large degree, I’ve placed them in the non-management category. In total there are 38 management-articles, and 32 non-management-articles (Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overview of findings by management/non-management</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td># Mentioning of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Overview of findings by management/non-management

4.4.2.3. Number of citations

The citations for each article were found using searches on Scopus and Google Scholar. As my main focus is on the academic discourse of CSR, the citations in Scopus is of greatest interest. Scopus only reports citations in other peer-review journals, whereas Google Scholar also counts citations in books, websites and other publications. The citations in Google Scholar were added to analyze if there are obvious differences between the two databases, but they were very similar. The number of citations for each article is listed in appendix 1. The main tendency is that there are about 3 times as many citations in Google Scholar (see Table 5 for citations for fields, and Appendix 1 for article citations).

4.4.3. Text scrutinizing for power and critique

In order to identify the presence of power and critique in the articles I’ve mainly relied on Ryan and Bernard’s (2003) article Techniques to Identify Themes. Ryan and Bernard describes theme identification as “one of the most fundamental tasks in qualitative research”, as they view thematic categories as the core analytic category (2003:85). Describing the methodology and background for identifying the themes is important to show how the study was done, allowing readers to evaluate the research. In this thesis I’ve focused on two main themes: power and critique. According to Ryan and Bernard “you know you have found a theme when you can answer the question: what is this an example of?” (2003:87). For both of
my themes this might seem intuitive, as power and critique usually are familiar terms. However, themes come from both the author (a priori) and from the analysis of the data (inductive) (Ryan and Bernard 2003). Inducing themes from the data is done by analyzing the data in order to find the presence of existing themes. When I first started analyzing the CSR-field, it was without the specific lens of power and critique, and it was through an inductive approach that I first noted the presence of these themes within this discourse. In order to do a more systematic analysis of power, I then developed the theoretical framework, and chose to use Haugaard’s seven forms of power as an analytic background. The problem is that these themes are often only alluded to, or assumed, and seldom made explicit. Even those articles that are explicit about power don’t always refer to which form of power they are concerned with.

In order to find those that were explicit about power and critique, I first analyzed the articles by searching for “power” and “criti**”. This search was conducted on the entire texts of the articles, and I read the paragraphs where the words were present. Some weren’t relevant, such as “explanatory power” (Chatterji et al. 2009), and some also referred to an explicit form of power, such as Lukes three levels of power (Campbell 2006). In order to find any articles that referred directly to any of Haugaard’s seven forms of power, I searched for the authors referred to by Haugaard as central theorists relating to each form (Table 6 Mentioning of power-theorists). This also served as a control to my finding in the text scrutinizing. However, the presence of reference to these theorists wasn’t always in relation to power, especially with regards to Giddens and Weber, who were referred to in relation to other parts of their theoretical works.

Classifying articles as critical is based on the general presence of some sort of critique, but it doesn’t necessary relate to power. My assumption is that critical articles employ some sort of reflexivity or second order observation, whether this is explicitly stated or not. Following my theoretical framework, this could imply that these articles are better able to identify paradoxes. Articles which aren’t labelled as critical are those who apparently hasn’t identified some sort of paradox, or which are merely a presentation of empirical findings. This includes both some review-articles as well as presentations of data from analysis.

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6 I used the search-term “criti**” in order to include critique(s), critical, criticism(s) etc.
4.4.4. Classification based on Haugaard's seven forms of power

In order to classify the articles according to Haugaard’s seven forms of power, I’ve looked for problems relating to one or more of the forms of power. However, it should be noted that the presence of these problems doesn’t necessarily mean that these are the main focus of the articles. My analysis is on whether there is a presence of power, not to which degree this presence is dominating. As such, articles which I have classified as relating to a certain form of power aren’t necessarily focused on this form or a relating problem, but merely related to it. Even articles explicit about power can have another main focus.

I have used scrutiny techniques such as repetitions, metaphors and analogies, similarities and differences and missing data (Ryan and Bernard 2003). Repetitions are “topics that occur and reoccur (Bogdan and Taylor cited in Ryan and Bernard 2003:89), or are “recurring regularities” (Guba cited in Ryan and Bernard 2003:89). An example is the reoccurrence of “stakeholder(s)” (Garriga and Melé 2004; Waddock et al. 2002; Waldman et al. 2006), or “empowerment” (Cooper and Owen 2007). Analysis for metaphors or analogies is “the search for metaphors in rhetoric and deducing the schemas or underlying themes that might produce those metaphors” (Ryan and Bernard 2003:90). Norman and MacDonald (2004) asks if the idea of “bottom line” is a metaphor which is useful for dealing with social responsibility-issues. As a metaphor this compares social aspects with pure financial reporting. In the same way I’ve looked for other theories or explanations comparing CSR-aspects to other, often managerial, concepts. Similarities and differences has been the main scrutinizing technique employed in this analysis. By asking “what is this sentence about?” (Ryan and Bernard: 91) and “what does this remind me of?” (Bogdan and Biklen cited in Ryan and Bernard:91), I’ve looked for parts of the texts relating to one of the seven forms of power. An example is when Shamir (2004a:639) writes “Plaintiffs argued that Unocal relied on Burmese army units for building a gas pipeline and that the latter, with the tacit knowledge of Unocal, resorted to extreme methods of forced labour and forced relocation of villagers in

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Theorist</th>
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<td>Parsons:</td>
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<td>Poggi:</td>
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<td>Lukes:</td>
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Table 6 Mentioning of power-theorists
the course of construction.”, it clearly reminds me of Haugaard’s seventh form of power: power created by coercion. Missing data involves looking for elements that aren’t covered, which can indicate the presence of assumptions that “everyone knows” (Spradley cited in Ryan and Bernard 2003:93). Several of the articles in my analysis are not explicit about power, but by trying to identify the assumptions of these can indicate what form of power they might be related to. Ryan and Bernard warn that this type of scrutinizing must be carefully done, in order to avoid finding only what the researcher is looking for (2003:92). The added categories of explicitness and critique, which indicate where I’ve found an assumption, and where the problems or forms of power are explicit, make the analysis transparent in relation to this.

When I’ve identified something in the articles relating to Haugaard’s seven forms of power, I’ve marked the articles accordingly. This is done in an inclusive manner, so that an article can (and most do) cover several forms of power. The analysis of critique has been more general. As a main rule, if an article is explicitly critical, focuses on a specific problem or issue, or somehow claims that something is wrong, or un-developed, I’ve marked it as critical.

4.4.5. Bridging and bracketing

Bridging and bracketing are two techniques used to uncover the “theorists’ underlying, and often taken-for-granted, assumptions on their understanding of organizational phenomena” (Lewis and Grimes 1999:673). Bracketing involves grouping assumptions to abstract categories in order to analyze them (Edwards 2010b; Lewis and Grimes 1999). This can be done in an inductive or a priori-way. Lewis and Grimes (1999) show several examples of both how new categories have been created, and how existing categories has been used to analyze organizational phenomena. Edwards (2010b) uses both an a priori and an inductive strategy to find theoretical lenses explaining organizational transformation. I have used the scrutinizing methods mentioned above to identify the forms of power established by Haugaard, and as such this is an a priori use of bracketing.

Bridging involves analyzing connections between the established forms of power (Lewis and Grimes 1999). Many these forms are interrelated to other forms, such as power created by social order and power created by tacit knowledge. An example from CSR is the division between economy and other systems, which is connected to the problem of
empowerment between those who are identified as relevant stakeholders and those who are not. This technique has been used as a guide to the analysis and discussion of my findings.

4.5. Evaluation of methodology

The theoretical framework and the methodology used in this study provide both strengths and weaknesses. Although I’ve attempted to be explicit about how I develop my theoretical framework, there are many assumptions as well as theoretical choices. These assumptions and choices restrict the scope of the study. As the theoretical framework can be perceived as deviating from more established use of the theories, a central Achilles heel can be that the study is theoretically underdeveloped. However, in doing this, I also question the inherent limitations of the established theories, possibly (and hopefully) contributing to a development of both. The findings from this study must however be seen in light of this, and as such it is more suited to present new areas of inquiry rather than claiming definitive findings.

Another aspect is my interpretation of articles as related to power or critique. These are guided interpretations, but nevertheless results of my individual reading. In order to strengthen this study the analysis should be repeated with the same articles read by other researchers, to see if the same interpretation is done by others. The selection of articles is also biased by my interpretation, and consequent studies should use other data-sets to see if the findings can be generalized.
5. Which forms of power are present in the CSR-discourse?

The claim that the CSR-discourse is power-blind has largely been directed at the management-fields focus on CSR. However, the discourse of CSR also includes critical voices from other fields. My analysis shows that all of Haugaard’s seven forms of power can be found in the discourse, which initially counters the claim of power-blindness.

CSR is described as being multi-disciplinary, although with a dominance from the management-field (Lockett et al. 2006). From a systems-theoretical perspective this is as expected, as CSR is concerned with issues related to several social systems. From the perspective of functional subsystems, the relation between the economy, politics and law are especially relevant, and connected to Haugaard’s first form of power creation. The relationship between organizational systems is also a central aspect of CSR-activities. This relates to cooperation between different financial organizations, as well as the relationship between financial and non-financial organizations. This intra-organizational nature of the field suggests that the management-field could be dominant, but then again, the political aspect of CSR would imply a larger interest from political science and other social sciences.

Through the process of identifying and selecting CSR-articles to cover both the managerial and non-managerial fields, we notice how skewed the literature is towards the management-field. An example is the search on Scopus, where the articles span from 1604 articles classified as “Business, Management and Accounting”, 1002 as “Social Sciences”, 746 as relating to “Economics” and then dropping to 254 for “Environmental Science”. Social Sciences as a category is of course much broader than Business, Management and Accounting. The number of CSR-articles published in management-journals indicates that the weight is heavily skewed towards management-literature. The only journal classified as sociological, Critical Sociology, had three articles listed in this search. The attempt of finding the number of articles needed to compare with those from the management-field could serve as an example of how management-articles define the theoretical horizon in the CSR-field.

In my analysis I aim to represent the width of the CSR-field, and as such there is a large overrepresentation of non-management-field articles, compared to what is found in the general CSR literature.
5.1. Forms of power found

Figure 3 shows the forms of power identified in all of the articles in my analysis. The first and third forms of power are most often found, both implicitly and explicitly. Power created by system bias is also frequently found, while the other forms have significantly less focus. In my analysis I’ve frequently found articles relating to several forms of power. This is also in line with Haugaard’s framework, where he describes each form of power as relating to others.

![Forms of power found in CSR-articles](image)

Figure 3 Forms of power found in CSR-articles

I have classified articles referring to theories such as triple bottom line (3BL) (e.g. Norman and MacDonald (2004)) as relating to the second form of power, in that it searches to include non-economical aspects to the organization. Stakeholder-theory (e.g. Harrison and Freeman (1999)) also relates to the problem of empowerment, or in Haugaard’s terms: power created by tacit knowledge. Archel et al. (2011) claims that the organization which endeavours to develop a stakeholder-relationship usually has resources in form of time, knowledge and money, and they are in control of the playing-field. This is often in contrast to the stakeholders, who often lack such resources, and in the last instance they also lack the formal authority to make decisions. These managerial problems are all present in my analysis, with a clear focus on the first form of power.

However, the third form of power is also frequently found. This relates to the production of knowledge, which is one of the main functions of an academic discursive
system. The reviews and articles concerning definitions are examples of such measures to chart and develop the field. Other articles explicitly question the development of CSR as a discourse (e.g. Banerjee (2008), Archel et al. (2011) and Bendell (2005)). Viewing CSR as a discursive system leads to the assumption that systems outside the core managerial CSR discursive system by definition will use different distinctions as a base for their academic writing. Following this, the non-managerial articles should have a more critical view of CSR, and thus question the production of knowledge within the mainstream CSR-journals. Another part of this is the nature of this thesis: a focus on academic articles, combined with a critical view of power inspired by Foucault will influence my classification of articles, as the thesis itself represents the third form of power.

Articles relating to the fifth form of power-creation are those who aim to legitimate parts of the discourse by providing definitions or standards, as well as those who criticize this process. By attempting to prove the scientific aspects of CSR-related terms, these articles provide authority and trustworthiness to the CSR-discourse. Standards and guidelines also regulate how CSR-activities should be managed, and articles relating to this have been interpreted as relating to the sixth form of power.

In relation to CSR, power created by coercion is directly connected to the firms choosing to attempting to control coercive power on their own. Usually this control is limited to governments and supra-governmental political units, such as the UN. However, as Barley (2007) shows, the organization who chooses to employ private military fields also incur this responsibility.

5.2. The difference between management and non-management articles

One of the main differences between the management-articles and the others is the degree of explicitness in terms of power (Figure 4). Of the 38 management-articles only 14 explicitly mention power, while 21 of 32 non-management articles do the same.
Interestingly, all of the management-articles who are explicit about power relate to the third form of power, and 13 of 14 relate to the first (Figure 5). These are also by far the categories which are most often implicitly referred to. This suggest that in terms of problems related to power, the management-field is mainly concerned with developing secure knowledge about the division of power between organizations and society at large.
The non-management-articles largely focus on the same forms of power, but are a lot more critical (Figure 6). There is however one clear exception and that is the marketing-field. Only one article (Vaaland et al. 2008) from this field is explicit about power, and this review-article is also critical in nature. Without this group of articles, almost all of the non-managerial articles would be explicit and critical. Even with this category of articles included, the difference is unmistakable.

![Non-managerial articles mentioning power](image)

Figure 6 Non-managerial articles mentioning power

### 5.3. Findings of power in the CSR-discourse

My analysis shows that there is a focus on power present in the CSR-discourse. Both the management- and non-management-fields mainly focus on the three first forms of power, but the non-management-fields are much more explicit about power. The non-management-articles are also more critical.

The first form of power seems to be the core issue in CSR, followed by the second form of power. These relates to the division of power in society between the economy and other systems, as well as between corporations and civil society at large.

The high degree of articles interpreted as relating to the third form of power indicates a focus on both the cultural and normative impact businesses have on society, as well as a field heavily occupied with identifying its own boundaries and established knowledge.
The other forms of power attract much less focus, although they can be interpreted as relating directly to organizational issues, and thus to the impact of corporations or other large businesses.
6. Presence of critique and impact of articles

My analysis show that the claim of power-blindness isn’t valid for the CSR-discourse at large (including non-management articles), as there is a clear presence of articles relating to power. However, the critique can still be valid for the articles published in management-journals. In my analysis I have found a distinct difference between the management and the non-management articles.

6.1. Explicitness about power and presence of critique

The biggest difference is the presence of critique, while the forms of power which are covered are fairly similar. I interpret articles which are explicit about power and interpreted as critical as explicitly aware of power, and capable of identifying problems related to this. Only 11 of 38 (29%) of the articles from the management-field is explicit about power as well as critical in nature, while 20 of 32 (63%) of the non-management-articles do the same (Figure 7).

![Percentage of critical articles mentioning power](image)

Figure 7 Percentage of critical articles mentioning power

Of the articles explicitly mentioning power (Figure 5 and Figure 6), the majority focused on the three first forms of power. The general trend is that those who are explicit about power are also critical in nature. This indicates that both the management as well as the
non-management articles show a tendency to neglect power-aspects not directly related to the division of power between corporations and society at large, as well aspects not related to knowledge-production. The management-articles seem to be influenced by the major non-critical trends of organization theory, and they do not question this influence as much as the non-managerial articles.

6.2. Impact of articles

If citations can indicate which issues are regarded as most pressing, my findings suggest that the CSR-discourse is not much occupied with critical questions relating to power, as the explicit and critical articles get much less attention. The management-articles hold 68% of the total citations, whereas the other articles only represent 32% of the citations (Figure 8). See also Table 5 for citation numbers.

![Citations in Scopus, by field](image)

Figure 8 Citations in Scopus, by field

By splitting the categories of management and non-management into its academic fields we can see that marketing, as previously shown to be very un-critical, represents 19% of the citations from the non-managerial articles, leaving 13% for the critical non-management articles (Figure 9). This indicates that the critical questioning of power-aspects
isn’t high up on the agenda for the CSR-discourse. This also confirms Lockett’s (Lockett et al. 2006) description of the CSR-discourse as mainly influenced by the management-field.

![Scopus citations by academic disciplines](image)

**Figure 9 Scopus citations by academic disciplines**

The non-management-articles do not have a great impact on the CSR-discourse, indicating a limited ability to (re)surface paradoxes related to power. What is perhaps most surprising is that almost all of the non-management journals, except marketing, have a very low impact. I would have expected a bigger influence from political science as well as sociology, as they have had a focus on power over a long time. This again suggests that management-literature is the main influence, even when relating to issues that are covered by other fields. An example is Grosser and Moon’s articles concerning gender mainstreaming, where one is published in International Feminist Journal of Politics (IFJP) (Grosser and Moon 2005b), and the other in Journal of Business Ethics (JBE) (Grosser and Moon 2005a), which is classified as a management-journal. Although the impact for both is low, the JBE-article has 14 citations, which is 11 more than the one published in IFJP, indicating a greater possibility to influence the CSR-discourse if directly related to management. This would be
natural within other academic fields, as they use established theories and structures. But as CSR draws upon other fields, this is more surprising.

If critical focus on power indicates ability to uncover paradoxes, the non-management-articles are apparently much more inclined to do so. Despite this, they gain much less attention, while the management-field maintains its self-referential habits.
7. Paradoxes of power and accepted aspects of CSR

Reviews and critical articles relating to Haugaard’s third form of power, systems of thought, can indicate what is seen as present paradoxes in the CSR-discourse. Two of the major approaches to CSR, stakeholder theory and 3BL, seem to be established frameworks, as they are frequently referred to, and often used without critical consideration. Although these approaches are criticized, these critiques do not seem to attract much attention, as they are cited relatively seldom.

7.1. Critiques of CSR

Banerjee (2008) claims that the discourse of CSR is defined by narrow business interests, and that it curtails external stakeholders, suggesting that the stakeholder approach legitimize and consolidate the power of large corporations. However, Banerjee’s article (2008) is only cited 32 times, indicating that this critique does not have a large impact. Similar critiques are provided by Greenwood (2007) (22 citations) and Unerman and Bennett (2004) (71 citations).

Norman and MacDonald (2004) criticizes the 3BL-rhetoric for being misleading, and “may in fact provide a smokescreen behind which firms can avoid truly effective social and environmental reporting and performance” (2004:243). This article is cited 71 times, but it is one of the few explicit critiques of the 3BL-approach.

The paradox of democracy seems to be an issue which is gaining interest, both in terms of local as well as global problems. Barley (2007) addresses the political power of corporations, how they are central in controlling law, and in contributing to the privatization of functions which formerly have been the responsibility of national governments. Palazzo and Scherer (2006) also criticize the lack of focus on the political role of corporations, claiming that the problem of democracy isn’t solved with current day versions of CSR. Barleys article is cited 33 times, while Palazzo and Scherer is cited 76 times. Both these articles are within the management-field, suggesting that there is a critical aspect present within this field.

In terms of global democracy there is a rising interest in the relation between industrialized nations and developing countries. The issue of the global south and developing
countries is addressed by Bendell (2005) (33 citations), Blowfield (2007) (25), Blowfield and Frynas (2005) (69), Frynas (2005) (33), Khan and Lund-Thompsen (2011) (2), Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) (31) and Soederberg (2007) (7). As Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) shows, this issue is also addressed by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD 2003). These articles also point to related issues such as roles of power, class and gender issues, poverty and the aspects of local cultures and traditions. Even though these issues are addressed by several articles, their impact seems to be limited, and related to a small group of theoreticians.

The gender-issue is only mentioned by a very few articles. Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) mentions it as an area which needs to be addressed, while Grosser and Moon (Grosser and Moon 2005a; Grosser and Moon 2005b) represent the only two articles directly related to this issue. These articles, which are essentially two variations of the same article, published in two different journals, has not seemed to have had a big impact, as they are cited only 3 and 14 times.

Utting (2007) claim that issues of empowerment, rights and redistribution remain marginal in the CSR-discourse, which is also confirmed by the relatively few articles relating to Haugaard’s fourth form of power-creation.

Reification is an issue which also attract little attention, with the exception of Chatterji et al. (2009) who question the role of social ratings. They claim that social ratings measure past impact but do not predict future actions, and do not serve to increase the responsibility of the organizations using such ratings. Cooper and Owen (2007) also conclude that reporting does not function as exercises in accountability.

Several critical articles claim that the CSR-field is defined by business interest and a market-ideology. Doane (2005) claims CSR “falls prey to the vagaries of the market”, and argues for a need to change this mindset and not accept the logic of the financial mammoths, but encourage ethical minnows. Epstein (2007) also criticize the market-ideology, claiming that it overruns ideological movements such as CSR, making them insufficient to counter and control corporations. Marens (2010) question the role of American hegemony in the development of CSR. He also describes how the theoretical traditions in CSR are largely created by American business school academics, and how they influence today’s CSR-approaches. Raman (2007) states that CSR “conceals its own invention and intentions”, and

7 A general term used to refer to small freshwater and saltwater fish (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/minnow).
serves to legitimize corporate and oligarchic power structures. This critique of power-division is also addressed by Roberts (2001), argues that CSR can be seen as acts done to be perceived as ethical, and that this desire is the “obverse of “being responsible for”” (2001:109), and so questions the assumed role of CSR. Ronen Shamir is especially interested in the power of business interest, and has 4 of the 70 articles in my data-set. He questions the role of market related NGOs in the development of CSR, claiming they confirm the power of large corporations (Shamir 2004b). He also describes a tendency towards “responsibilization”, in which the “moralization” of the economic system serves to sustain neo-liberal governmentalities (Shamir 2008).

7.2. Critical perspectives gain little attention

Although many articles address the power of corporations, none of the mentioned articles have more than 80 citations. This suggests that such critical voices are well hidden, and that they represent a niche of the CSR-research. Examples of articles that are frequently cited relate to the relationship between CSR and financial reporting (e.g. Waddock and Graves (1997) (555 citations) and Harrison and Freeman (1999) (166 citations)), definitions and reviews (e.g. Carroll (1999) (478 citations), Carroll (1991) (411 citations) and Garriga and Melé (2004) (203 citations)), and the impact of CSR on consumers (e.g. Brown and Dacin (1997) (463 citations), Sen and Bhattacharya (2001) (380 citations) and Waddock et al. (2002) (102 citations)). None of the articles with more than 100 citations are critical in nature and only Garriga and Melé’s article (2004) is explicit about power.
8. Discussion – How are questions of power handled in the CSR-discourse?

In systems theory each paradox is system-specific and must be identified by each system. A system, such as an organization or the CSR-discursive system, can only deal with a paradox when it has become aware of it. This has several implications for how a focus on issues of power can be brought back into consideration for systems dealing with CSR. Firstly, the identification of a paradox is system-specific, and the solution will also be system-specific. As there are many systems, and each system uses its own experience and knowledge, both to identify and solve a paradox, there will be many interpretations as well as solutions for each paradox. As each system has separate functions, only some paradoxes will be relevant to any given system. Secondly, each paradox relates to a specific problem of power, which in turn is only seen by the specific system. Thirdly, because each system must identify its own paradoxes, the systems must be capable of self-reference and self-observation. This means that each problem of power must be related to each specific organization or system, and that these problems must be seen as relevant by the systems themselves.

These three factors suggests that systems with a developed capacity for second order observation, will be better able to identify paradoxes although this is limited to paradoxes which are seen to be directly relevant. As the CSR-discourse spans across several systems it is important that the systems dealing with CSR has the ability to make use of programs which allow them to deal with paradoxes based on other distinctions.

8.1. Dealing with paradoxes

Paradoxes that are observed are actively dealt with, but only those that seem to be solved can cross the threshold of scientificity. The description of the thresholds that a discourse can cross is based on Foucault, and this shows the combination of these theoretical approaches. Only when a paradox is perceived to be solved can they become theories or tools that are sufficiently trusted as a solution. However, unsolved paradoxes don’t necessarily vanish. They can be frequently revisited, and in some cases the process of deparadoxation takes a long time. Furthermore, the solution to one paradox might bring other paradoxes back into focus, or question existing solutions.
The power/knowledge structure of the CSR-discourse guides which paradoxes that the CSR discursive system can identify on its own. Most of the managerial articles focus on Haugaard’s first or third form of power (Figure 5, page 51), while non-managerial articles focus more on the limitation of CSR (the 2\textsuperscript{nd} form of power-creation), in addition to the first and third (Figure 6, page 52).

The relatively low number of articles focusing on the remaining four forms could indicate that these aspects of power don’t represent real problems. In my view this is not the case. Given the CSR-discourse focus on stakeholders, the problem of empowerment seems quite apparent. This is also a problem which several of the critical articles address, especially relating to developing countries (Bendell 2005; Blowfield 2007; Hamann and Acutt 2003; Utting 2007).

The power/knowledge structure of the CSR-discourse seems sufficiently self-reflexive to identify some paradoxes, but at the same time it is blind to others. The presence of critique from other fields therefore serves to bring other paradoxes forth, ensuring further development. The ability to identify paradoxes is structured by what the system observes as relevant information. This structuring implies that the historical development of the discourse functions as a pre-selection of key problems. Through second order observation it is possible to expose what is excluded in this process, increasing the probability of identifying hidden paradoxes. The citations indicate that the management-tradition serves as one of the major influences on the CSR-discourse, with limited impact from critical external influences.

8.2. Re-surfacing paradoxes

My analysis shows that there are both explicit and implicit occurrences of power within the CSR discourse. The critical articles explicitly about power can be interpreted as trying to solve a specific paradox, or bring a paradox into focus. An example might be Cooper and Owen (2007) who criticises stakeholder theory for not realizing its promise of empowerment. Harrison and Freeman’s (1999) article argues for stakeholder theory as a solution to the problem of power-division between organizations and its surroundings. Nevertheless, they are missing the problem of power-balance between those identified as stakeholders and the organization, and the systematic way in which stakeholders are identified. Harrison and Freeman’s article (1999) can be seen as having accepted stakeholder theory as a solution, but Cooper and Owen (2007) tries to resurface this paradox to show that
it isn’t solved. Because both articles are within the management field (published in *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, and *Academy of Management Journal*), this show that within the management-literature in the CSR-discourse, power is indeed seen as an issue and attempts are made to solve these paradoxes.

### 8.3. Power found in organization theory

Despite Clegg et al.’s critique, there is, and has been a focus on power in the management-field, although often in the disguise of research on authority (2006b). As a discourse, this literature is structuring the theoretical horizon available for developing theories of CSR; therefore it also structures the uncovering of problems related to power. Drawing on Foucault, this represents a power/knowledge constellation which shapes the thoughts and actions of those who are a part of it. This leads to the assumption that the paradoxes of power, which can be expected to have surfaced, are related to the problems of power focused on within organization theory in general. Clegg et al. (2006b) argue that these issues are largely ignored, but at the same time they show that there is a critical tradition which focus on power. They are themselves a part of this tradition. Clegg et al. (2006b) does however note that this isn’t a central field in the organization and management theory canon, even though it is a significant and accepted body of work. Furthermore, they comment that critical management studies (CMS) has had little impact outside the confines of its own academic journals and conferences (Clegg et al. 2006b).

#### 8.3.1. Critical management studies

Fournier and Grey, cited in Clegg et al. (2006b:281-282), argue for three defining characteristics of CMS; an anti-performative stance, a commitment to some form of denaturalization and a reflexive approach to methodology. Anti-performative means “an approach to knowledge that does not privilege efficiency as the measure for value or usefulness” (Clegg et al. 2006b:281). This is descriptive of my personal view of CSR – as something more, or other than, relating to efficiency or monetary value. Denaturalization refers to “works that intentionally challenges the taken-for-grantedness of current versions of capitalism and organizations” (Clegg et al. 2006b:281). This is described as work that seeks to unveil current power divisions, and shows that there are other, even preferable, options. The element of denaturalization is closely related to the discourse of CSR, as it focuses the division of power. The third element, a reflexive approach to methodology, is also found in
the CSR-discourse, combining both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, as well as constantly reviewing theoretical developments.

The growth of critical approaches is often related to the advent of post-modernity, where several theoretical issues arose, such as reflexivity, knowledge and power. The focus shifted from internal organizational issues (such as production efficiency, and management-worker relations), to the relationship between organizations and society at large. This turn in organization theory is often placed around the years after WWII and the following two-three decades (Scott 1994), but is also argued currently ongoing (Jones and Munro 2005; Weick 1999).

8.4. Haugaard’s seven forms of power in organization theory

In the general development of organization theory there has been a focus on the first, fifth and sixth form of power creation in Haugaard’s typology. The division between organizations and society at large has been an important problem. Reed describes organizational theorizing as a historically contested terrain, with historical roots to the second half of the second century (2006). Influenced by political ideas, the belief was that organizations would solve society’s problems. There was a lot of confidence to this endeavour in the 1950s and 60s, but this faith was fragmented from the 1980s (Reed 2006). This fragmentation was linked to critical metatheoretical studies, which showed that there were several deficiencies in the theories of the organization, such as a one-sided focus on positivism and functionalism.

The fifth form of power-creation, reification, has also been a central aspect of organization theory. Especially American organizational theorists have been occupied with the scientification of organization studies, aiming to produce scientifically based management tools and procedures. This ranges from scientific management and fordism, to present day leadership theories which still search for the “best way” to lead and manage. Standardization is also closely related to this, where measuring is not only seen as a tool to develop science, but also as an instrument to manage and report on organizational issues. This is also criticized for creating powerful blinders in regards to what is considered measurable, leaving out the elements which are difficult to measure (Saravanamuthu 2004).
The more critical traditions, such as CMS, have also focused on the role of discourses as well as empowerment, which relates directly to Haugaard’s third and fourth form of power. McKinley, Mone and Moon (1999) presents how schools of organization theory develop, and although generally positive, they also warn that if such a development goes unchecked, it can have detrimental long-term consequences. One of the goals of Burrell and Morgan (1979) was to question the dominance of the functionalistic paradigm, attempting to balance the development of organizational theory. There is also a growing critical tradition within CSR-research that questions the dominating influences on the knowledge, research and praxis within CSR (e.g. Banerjee (2008), Maclagan (2008) and Khan and Lund-Thomsen (2011)).

Nonetheless, as Calás and Smircich (1999) describes, the work of Burrell and Morgan was also adopted as tools to aid in the search for “true” knowledge – well within the confines of the positivist/functionalist paradigm. This is in line with Reed’s description of how the discourse of organization theory dealt with the critique directed at it. He describes two main results of the break with the positivist/functionalist orthodoxy, where the conservative branch attempted to re-establish strong hegemonic discourses and research paradigms. The other part embraced a proliferation of paradigms. Reed also refers to a third, metatheoretical option, which aims to “retell organization theory’s history in ways that rediscover the analytical narratives and ethical discourses that shaped its development and legitimated its character” (2006:21).

These concerns are also connected to the issue of the relation between organizations and the rest of society. However, in organization theory this was also an issue that appeared outside of a post-modern approach. The focus on the organization as a separate, closed entity was no longer satisfactory in dealing with the issues and problems that theoreticians of organizations had to deal with.

The seventh form of power, coercion, has had a limited impact on organization studies (Clegg et al. 2006b). There are however some important exceptions to this, many growing out of the need to explain and understand how atrocities such as the holocaust could occur. The focus on how total institutions can organize normal people into partaking in horrible atrocities has been of great importance, but curiously absent from organization theory at large (Clegg et al. 2006b).
8.5. The development of organization theory as a discourse

At the same time, and of equal importance, the fact is that the various approaches to organization theory do not stop just because new ones arise. They continue to have followers, their impact is still present (Reed 2006). For most of them, they are equally as relevant and applied, if not more than the post-modern approaches.

Organization theory is influenced by issues that have appeared as problematic and lead to developments in the approach to organization theory. As a discursive system, it is structurally coupled to many other social systems, which uncovers issues that organization theory can deal with. According to Reed (2006), these issues can be theoretical, societal, or practical. Theoretical issues can be the further development of theory that allows new aspects of the organization to be focused on, or theories that no longer are found to be satisfactory. Societal issues can be related to changes in society that leaves current theories less applicable (such as politics, globalization, developments in technology, changes in industrial organization, population growth). Practical issues can be accessibility of data and technology to produce and analyze these, and development is often caused by a mix of these.

Reed (2006) presents seven interpretative frameworks which he claims has structured the development of organization theory. The first is rationality, or the search for “scientific laws”, in which the organization is seen as a production facility, and central to the development of society. In this view the organizations produces and develops the things that society needs. It is believed that this should be done as efficiently as possible to ensure the welfare of society. This is linked both to the third, fifth and sixth form of power, in that the rationality becomes the “true” horizon of meaning, where the “irrational” is seen as degrading society, or at least the function of organizations. Through this process organizations are rationalized through reification of the scientific way to do things. In detail, this structures in both how workers as well as leaders are expected to act. As this develops it influences the division of society, linking it to the first and second form of power-creation as well.

The second framework is integration, focuses on how the role of the worker fits in the picture of the rationalized organization. When the questioning of the image of the worker as yet another cog in the machinery of the organizations arose, research into how the worker could be better integrated arose. Reed (2006) uses the work of Elton Mayo on the role of socio-psychological effects as an example. In this framework the organization is seen as the intermediate social unit, in which the individual is integrated into the modern industrialized
civilization. This framework relates to the sixth form of power, as the worker is understood as in need of specific guidance in order to be as efficient as possible, while also maintaining the socio-psychological aspects. The flip-side of this managementality (Sørhaug 2004) is that the worker will question the guidance, and seek to overcome it, linking it to empowerment and the fourth form of power.

*Market* is the third framework, in which the role of the organization is defined by the market. This relates to the laissez-faire-philosophy and the connected belief that the market best regulates itself. In this framework the role of organization theory is seen to be how to best understand and adapt to the market. Reed (2006) argues that theories within this framework show a conspicuous absence of interest or concern with social power. This is similar to the first framework, rationality, but now specified as a market-rationality. Theories within this framework are therefore also related to the fifth and sixth form of power-creation, but they are closest to the second and third. This is because they confirm a division of society where the market is seen as most important, and this discourse limits other theoretical points of view.

*Power* is the forth framework, and represents a more critical approach to organizations. According to Reed (2006) this framework is grounded in Weber’s sociology of domination, and the works on bureaucracy. However, where Weber provides a description of modern society, many theorists related to this framework chose to focus on how power could be managed and controlled. Reed (2006) shows how some theorists such as Foucault and Lukes understands organizations in relation to power, and how they remain much more critical than other theorists. Their focus is largely on the macro-level, and it spans across several of Haugaard’s seven forms of power.

Foucault is also connected to the fifth framework, *knowledge*, in which organizations are understood as consumers and producers of knowledge and information. Within this framework several other academic traditions such as ethnomethodology, post-modernism, decision-making theory, actor-network-theory and post-structuralist theory provide theoretical additions to organization theory (Reed 2006). In this framework the study of organizations is moved out of its roots in positivist and functionalist ontologies as well as the dominating positivist epistemologies, providing alternative and critical approaches to organizations. This relates directly to the third form of power-creation.
The sixth framework is *justice*, in which the micro-focus of integration and rationalization led to a question of the macro-role of the organization in terms of politics and democracy. Reed (2006) refers to neo-institutionalism as one theoretical approach within this framework, but also links it to research on social movements and alternative forms of organization. This framework relates to the first, second and fourth form of power-creation. The first form of power is questioned by a focus on whether the structure of society is just or defensible, and the second by questioning if the systems of society are fulfilling their roles. The focus on social movements is related to empowerment, and on how the movements can change existing structures of society.

The final framework is according to Reed (2006) *Network*, where the organization is understood not as a local enclosed entity, but rather through the lens of networks and their interconnectedness. This spans across the micro-macro perspectives, where a focus on the role of individuals as parts of the network is combined with global perspectives.

### 8.6. Haugaard’s forms of power and CSR

Sorting the articles by Haugaard’s seven forms of power shows that the main problems in the management-field are focused on power created by forms three (28 instances of 38 total), one (24) and two (14) (Figure 5, page 51). Form one is about power created by social order, which I have interpreted as being about the division of power between the economy and other systems. It is as expected an issue for CSR-literature, as this can be claimed to be the original problem for CSR. As 13 of these articles are critical, I would claim that the original issue is still present. Power created by tacit knowledge, reification and discipline has gained relatively little attention, and I will therefore focus on the first three forms. Power created by discipline deserves special attention, as it is connected to the most devastating results, and relates directly to what has been assumed to be the responsibility of nation states.

#### 8.6.1. Power created by social order

The CSR-field has roots to the problem of power created by social order. Carroll (1999) traces the evolution of CSR back to the problem of the corporation and its relation to society. According to Carroll a landmark book is Howard R. Bowen’s *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman*, which according to Carroll proceeds “from the belief that the several hundred largest businesses were vital centres of power and decision making and that the actions of these firms touched the lives of citizens at many points” (Carroll 1999:269).
Theories such as stakeholder theory (Harrison and Freeman 1999) has attempted to address this problem, by establishing solutions to balance the interest of economic organizations with the interest of other groups. This has developed from an intra-organizational perspective involving shareholders and business relations, to a perspective in search of including non-economical interest-groups. This has happened in relation to the 3BL approach (Elkington 1997; Norman and MacDonald 2004) which seeks to balance the focus on financial reporting with social and environmental elements.

However, the focus on stakeholders has been managerial in nature (Norman and MacDonald 2004), as it has been more occupied with how the organization deals with stakeholders, rather than how the stakeholders deal with the organization.

**8.6.2. Power created by system bias**

The second form concerns power created by system bias, which I have interpreted as being about the limitation of options based on a systems distinction. While the first form of power relates to the division of power between systems, the second form is connected with the inherent limitation within one system. Problems of the second form of power related to CSR can be whether an organization should only be about making money, as Milton Friedman (1970) famously argued, or if there can be other responsibilities. Questioning the focus of CSR can deconstruct these limitations or biases. Haugaard (2003) uses the terms organizational outflanking, and I claim that CSR can be seen as a form of organizational outflanking towards a widening of the system bias of the economy. Haugaard (2003) uses feminist ideas as an example of successful deconstruction of established system bias. Grosser and Moon’s (2005a) article addresses the issue of focus on gender-issues in CSR, and this example shows that there are critiques regarding this second form of power. At the same time it shows that the feminist ideas still haven’t become mainstream, not even in the CSR-discourse.

**8.6.3. Power created by systems of thought**

The third form of power is about how a specific discourse is shaping our interpretive horizon. I have interpreted reviews as concerned with this problem, as reviews can be seen as an examination of the specific academic knowledge about a certain topic. The problem of power is in these instances seen as relating to what we know, and thus implicitly about what we don’t know. I have classified 14 articles as reviews of some sort, but only three of these (Blowfield 2007; Englander and Kaufman 2004; Vaaland et al. 2008) are explicitly critical.
Most of the reviews are non-normative and only attempt to create a map which others might use to explore further issues. The three critical articles also criticize what we know. They also present what they feel necessary to focus on in order to balance this knowledge. There are two main reasons for the large focus on power created by systems of thought. Firstly, CSR as a discursive system is still emergent (Lockett et al. 2006), and therefore it is still developing its main theories, definitions and methodologies. In Foucault’s words, it is attempting to cross the threshold of formalization. This is largely a systems-internal development, with self-reflectivity and self-evaluation. Secondly, the focus on knowledge as power has been central in critical traditions (Clegg et al. 2006b).

Articles from non-management-fields are much more critical than those from the management-field (Figure 6, page 52), both overall, as well as in regard to the third form of power-creation. This trend seems to be imbalanced on the fifth form of power, but this is due to my inclusion of marketing-articles as non-managerial. 5 of 6 articles in this field are classified as being about power created by reification, because they are all about the impact CSR-branding has on customers. The exception is Vaaland et al.’s critical review-article (2008). If I had chosen to put the marketing-articles together with the managerial articles 9 of 10 articles classified as relating to the fifth form in the non-managerial field would be critical. Only 8 of 17 articles in the management-field would then be critical in regards to this form of power.

8.6.4. Power created by coercion

The limited numbers of articles focusing on coercive power might be an indication that this doesn’t occur very often. I think it is more likely that this is because this hasn’t been a central issue in the CSR-discourse. Furthermore, the question of coercive power can also be turned around, questioning the social responsibility of those companies offering private military services. Such firms find themselves in the unclear position between financial, military and political systems, and their social responsibility should be of central concern. Not because they are the most common of firms, but because they wield the most devastating power of them all. Nevertheless, in terms of CSR, power created by coercion is directly related to at least the first and second form of power, which governs who should wield coercive power, as well as by which logic it should be wielded. Regardless of which argumentation or logic one uses as a motivation for coercion, it should at the very least be stated explicitly, although this is probably an area where disclosure won’t be prioritized.
8.7. Explicitness about power

The articles are not always explicitly about power. However, differentiating between implicit and explicit power, provides a methodological advantage, as the interpretation of explicit power is easily controlled. Articles explicit about power are easier to classify. Furthermore, the implicitness of power can also hint at a structuring of ideas, indicating that some truths have been accepted and taken for granted. It’s therefore of specific interest that many articles are identified as relating implicitly to the first and third form of power. In my view there are two separate explanations for this. For the first form of power, I’ve found that most of the implicit articles accepts the division of power between systems, and simply treats it as a given precondition. For the third form of power, the high degree of implicitness is because the critical tradition of viewing knowledge and power as tightly connected, has had limited impact. In other words; the articles implicitly concerning the third form of power doesn’t focus on the societal role of knowledge-production, but goes on with the knowledge production regardless. On the other hand, the articles explicit about the third form of power often focuses on discursive theory, and the role of knowledge production.

8.8. Different interpretations of paradoxes

A difference between the functionalistic positivistic paradigms and the more critical ones is how the problems are perceived. The management-tradition has looked for solutions, while non-management has focused on social critique, and questioned the findings from the management-field. Understood as a distinctive sub-system of organization theory in general, it is expected that there’s a greater focus on the first form of power within the CSR-discourse, which my analysis aims to show. With the development of the CSR-discourse it is also expected that this has developed to include the second and fourth. While the second form of power is generally under-theorized, systems theory does offer considerable strength to identify this form of power. The fourth form of power has had less focus than I expected, especially as the focus on stakeholders being as large as it is.

8.9. Influence from other systems

Through interaction with other systems, such as when organizations include stakeholders in their development of CSR-activities, other perspectives are introduced and
made available. This can provide systems access to second order observations which in turn can be used to uncover hidden paradoxes. This however, relies on the systems willingness to listen to such observations, which economical organizations frequently are criticized for not doing. In relation to CSR as a discursive system, this can be seen by the low number of citations of critical articles, which indicates that the impact of second order observations is limited. This might be due to the impact classical functionalistic management-theory has had on the power/knowledge-structure of the CSR-discourse. Even though I have found that there are critical voices present, I would still claim that the CSR-discourse at large remains uncritical.

8.9.1. A discourse related to several systems

The CSR-discourse isn’t only about corporations, although large multinational companies have been the main focus. There’s a growing research-venue focusing on small and medium enterprises (e.g. Castka et al (2004)). CSR is also related to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governments, global political unities, as well as other non-financial voluntary organizations. Meaning that the CSR-discourse is potentially is connected to many systems, providing many opportunities of access to other perspectives. The influence from such systems can uncover hidden paradoxes. The growing focus on the global south and questions of development can serve as an example (e.g. (Khan and Lund-Thomsen 2011)). The traditional western perspectives on management-theory and CSR has met many challenges when spreading to developing countries, and these issues have been identified as insufficiently developed. Another example is the increased need to use military firms, which hasn’t been theorized and seen as relevant within management-literature, but has been put on the map by the increased activity in unstable areas.

8.9.2. CSR-education

Another central influence is the education of business professionals, which structures the understanding and development of CSR-issues. The education of CSR is often related to major business schools, and Clegg et al. (2006b) claims that the presence of critical perspectives are absent from these educational institutions: “on the whole, this work is not found in the curriculum of major business schools, nor has it gained much traction in changing corporations or the management practices upon [which CMS] depend” (Clegg et al 2006b:267). In their study of the Financial Times 50 global business schools Christensen et al. (2007) found that only one of three major business schools require coverage of ethics, CSR
and sustainability in the MBA\textsuperscript{8}-curriculum, although a majority requires coverage of at least one of these topics. Matten and Moon (2004) shows in their study of European educational institutions offering business education, a majority offers courses on CSR. Both these studies show that the main driver is student engagement and dedicated academic staff, as well as a pressure from the business sector. The last find is in line with Lockett et al.’s (2006) claim that the field is driven by agendas in the business sector.

### 8.10. Scientification as a way to deal with paradoxes

The scientification of the CSR-discourse involves establishing theories and tools which are accepted as scientifically valid. In order for this reification to occur, the doubts and critical aspects need to be minimized. In relation to CMS, this seems somewhat paradoxical, as a theory without sufficient self-reflexion is not seen as trustworthy, but rather as under-developed. Deparadoxation can also be described as minimizing doubt. When paradoxes are hidden, the remaining elements are seen as more trustworthy. In relation to the CSR-discourse this might be done both through the process of scientification, but also through the direct hiding of paradoxes. This can occur when certain issues are taken over by a subsystem or related to another system, and as such distanced from the main discourse. Power created by coercion can be understood as an example of this, as it can be seen as belonging to political science, or as the responsibility of the national state, even though paradoxes related to this has been shown to exist.

As several articles argue, CSR has also been described as a smokescreen or cover (e.g. (Frynas 2005)). This can be understood as another way of hiding paradoxes. By focusing on processing issues rather than solving them, the paradox can remain unsolved while allowing the system to continue its operations. The most obvious way of hiding a paradox is by directly stating the paradox as irrelevant, and as such communicate it as a non-issue.

In organization theory at large, most forms of power have been focused on. The lack of focus on coercive power could be due to a development towards a society with less need for this type of force, but it should still be an important part of the CSR-field. The limited number of articles relating to the fourth, fifth and sixth forms of power is somewhat more surprising. This suggests that management-questions concerning the “how” are not a central

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\textsuperscript{8} MBA is short for Master of Business Administration
part of the CSR-discourse, but perhaps left to the management-field at large. This however, poses a challenge on the development of the CSR-field, as the questions relating to the fourth, fifth and sixth form of power influences the persons who have limited access to power most directly. The strategies and tools developed in management-theory can be suited to dealing with the employees and business partners in industrialized modern nations, with good education systems and well functioning juridical and political organizations, but the paradox of emancipation is valid for the best of intentions. The question of whether it is possible to enforce empowerment is one thing, but the normative question will always follow. When any organization endeavours to establish itself in a new environment, they should be aware of the forms of power which are at play in such a setting.

8.11. Discursive systems as a theoretical framework to analyze power in the CSR-discourse

Both Foucault and Luhmann are offering perspectives on power which in themselves can provide important insights into power in the CSR-discourse. Any academic field is tightly connected to Foucault’s conception of scientification as well as power/knowledge, and my findings show that these are central aspects of the CSR-discourse as well. As these issues are directly connected to how we think and act, they are also ultimately connected to Haugaard’s other forms of power. As argued by Borch (2005), the insights of Foucault can provide a broader understanding of power to systems theory, with its more limited focus on power. A systems theoretical analysis is in effect based on an analysis of discourse, as the object which is studied is communication. However, a systems theoretical analysis would focus on the distinctions that are used, and not on the development of the discourse itself. Nonetheless, my understanding of CSR as a discourse is founded on the works of Foucault.

Despite the heavy influence from Foucault, my analysis is equally based on Luhmann’s systems theory. The systems theoretical description of how a distinction is guided by structures and processes is very close to the description of a discourse, but the logical consequences of systems theory lead to additional insights, such as self-reference and paradoxes. Understanding discourses as communications produced by systems, enables a connection between the discourse itself and other social systems. This provides a clear link to other organizational theories, as well as to the development of society at large. With the concept of distinction, systems theory links all of Haugaard’s seven forms of power-creation,
as the same theory can provide an explanation to how each form of power is connected to others, as a series of decisions or distinctions. The paradoxes arising from these distinctions are also the source of further development, which both develop and constrict the power of each system.

The development of a vocabulary describing discursive systems includes defining words and concepts that are used. This needs to be critically examined in order to avoid unclear definitions and misunderstandings. One example is the change from Kidwell’s (2009) “performative statements” to “topical statements”, which can lead to some confusion when used. When analyzing a discursive system, some statements can be missed, as the most common topical words aren’t applied. A topical statement relates to other topical statements. When speaking of CSR, the development of the discursive system might well lead to discussions about other topics, and it is only through familiarity with the discourse that it is possible to identify the topical statement as relating to CSR.
9. Conclusion

Within the CSR-discourse there are various paradoxes of power. At large it remains relatively uncritical, and influenced by managerial traditions. There are several exceptions, but these are attracting much less attention than those who avoid criticizing the field. The CSR-discourse is well established, as it clearly has crossed the threshold of scientification. The CSR-discourse cannot be described as power-blind, as all of Haugaard’s seven forms of power-creation are found, both explicitly and implicitly.

However, it remains closely related to the management-field, showing a limited impact from the non-management articles. The problem of the division of power between corporations and society at large is either hidden or accepted as the way things are. Stakeholder-theory and 3BL seems to be established as accepted solutions to the division of power between civil society and economic organizations. These problems are also found in organization theory in general. There are critical voices, but these attract little attention, and they seem to contribute to the development of these theories rather than to discourage them. My assumption that theories such as 3BL and stakeholder-theory are representing solutions to paradoxes seems to be confirmed.

CSR can be described as a discourse about developing tools for businesses to handle social issues that don’t have existing solutions, as well as providing an ethical sheen to their activities. Whether the distinction of payment/non-payment is ethical, seems to be irrelevant. The discourse is more occupied with how other distinctions can be translated into economical terms.

The power-aspects present within the CSR-discourse focuses on the division of power between organizations and society at large, and the development of secure knowledge. Haugard’s other forms of power-creation attract little consideration, which is somewhat surprising. The focus on empowerment is limited, even though a range of articles points to problems relating to those stakeholders with limited possibilities of influencing large corporations that are establishing activities in their local environments. The issue of coercive power is all but absent. My assumption that CSR is about the division of power between organizations and society, seems to be confirmed, but only a limited aspect of power is included in this.
Understanding CSR as a discursive system has provided a theoretical framework combining discursive theory with systems theory, enabling a description of how CSR develops and interacts with other systems. The structures and processes guiding the development of the CSR-discursive system seem to be influenced by management-theory and the management-related articles are showing a much lower presence of second order observation. This is also in line with the general description of management-theory. This confirms the assumption that managerial articles are less critical, and influenced by management-theory.

The distinction used in the CSR-discursive system is CSR/not CSR, but because CSR as a term isn’t clearly defined, it remains very open. Even though the managerial influence is largely structuring the discursive system, it is also influenced by other systems. The focus on development is for example influenced by political systems and organizations, as Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) shows. The CSR-discursive system is structurally coupled to a lot of societal subsystems, and it has developed specialized subsystems in order to reduce the openness of the topic. CSR consists of several subsystems linked to various power-aspects, as well as several specialized areas of CSR, such as the relation between CSR and financial performance.

Although my analysis is confirming Min-Dong’s (2008) description of the trends of CSR-research as increasingly managerial, there is also a trend focusing on knowledge-development. This is due to the large focus on Haugaard’s third form of power-creation, which Min-Dong’s article is also part of.

By using Haugaard’s seven forms of power I have found that there are several forms of power not gaining much attention, although they are clearly related to the responsibility of corporations. This needs further investigation, both to confirm whether my findings are representative, but also to develop further understanding of how this can be seen in light of other theoretical approaches.

The conceptualization of discursive systems should also be developed further, especially in regard to how the discursive systems relate to the other systems found in systems theory.

This study is based on a metatheoretical approach focusing on the academic discourse of CSR. As the CSR-discourse also consists of several other elements, other studies should
examine whether my findings are transferable, and if the same focus on power is to be found. The level of abstraction in a metatheoretical study makes it difficult to generalize the findings, and I expect that there is great variation in how CSR is understood within concrete organizations and specific settings. As the field of CSR also has a large impact outside the academic venues, research on the CSR-discourse related to ongoing CSR-activities should be done. How power is treated in the internet-based CSR-discourse is of special interest, as well as amongst CSR-practitioners.

According to Clemens (2009), Berle and Polanyi argued that the corporation represented a new constellation of power, analogous to the modern nation state or the Catholic Church. It can also be likened to the confessional – it serves both as a way to confess sins, and as a place to seek guidance. However, as Norman and MacDonald (2004) argue, this confession could also serve as a smokescreen to detract focus from other aspects. Today, when organizations are as large as they have ever been, the task of critical analysis of power is of increasing importance. It is essential that no forms of power are left out, as this can leave us blinded by the focus on the effects of the other forms.


(Retrieved: 12.04.2012)
## Overview of findings, by field and author

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Reviewed articles


Appendix 2 – Reviewed articles


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