Travailler autrement via l'économie sociale et solidaire : le cas des coopératives d'activité et d'emploi

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THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

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Préparée à l'Université Paris-Dauphine

Travailler autrement via l'économie sociale et solidaire. Le cas des coopératives d'activité et d'emploi.

École Doctorale de Dauphine — ED 543

Spécialité **Sciences de gestion**

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REMERCIEMENTS

"*Quand on veut une chose, tout l'Univers conspire à nous permettre de réaliser notre rêve*" Paulo Coelho, l'Alchimiste.

L'Univers qui m'a permis d'arriver jusqu'à l'écriture de ces lignes est peuplé de constellations de très belles personnes que je voudrais ici remercier.

La constellation académique.

Peuple mystérieux que celui des chercheur.e.s. Son langage est souvent codé : « il a dû être publié dans ASQ », « il faudrait viser deux ou trois étoiles » et ses rituels demandent de l'entrainement : colloques annuels, révision d'articles.

Mais c'est aussi un peuple de personnes qui ont le sens du partage. Elles sont en effet nombreuses à m'avoir consacré du temps, à m'avoir conseillée et incluse dans leur communauté de recherche. C'est ainsi que chaque année j'avais plaisir à retrouver les membres du RIUESS, que j'ai pu nourrir mes travaux des échanges avec Farah Kodeih, Hélène Lambrix, Anne-Claire Pache, Martine Vézina et bien d'autres, rencontrés lors des colloques d'EGOS, de l'AOM et aux séminaires Scancor de 2015. Un grand merci à vous toutes et tous.

Je tiens également à remercier vivement les membres du jury qui ont accepté d'évaluer mon travail : Amina Béji-Bécheur, Eva Boxenbaum, Thibault Daudigeos, Philippe Eynaud et François-Xavier de Vaujany.

A Reims, j'ai eu la chance via la Chaire Économie Sociale et Solidaire (ESS) de traverser la rue Pierre Taittinger, qui sépare le campus de NEOMA Business School et l'Université de Reims Champagne Ardenne, pour travailler sur des projets partenariaux et pluridisciplinaires.

Mes multiples aventures de recherche et d'enseignement n'auraient pas été possible sans les conseils et la gentillesse de chercheurs passionnés et passionnants. J'ai eu grand plaisir à échanger et travailler avec Caroline André, Elodie Brulé-Gapihan, Monique Combes-Joret, Romain Debref, Xavier Deroy, Sylvie Jolly, Christopher Lecat, Anabel Mauve-Bonnefous, Diana Mangalagiu, David Menival, Jean-Paul Méreaux, Jean-Baptiste Suquet, Maryline Thénot, Lisa Thomas et bien d'autres.

Merci aux Mostiens de l'Université Paris Dauphine pour nos échanges stimulants et bienveillants. Laurent Cabanes, Guillaume Flamand, Stéphane Jaumier, Wafa Ben Khaled, Fatmaa Jema, Margot Leclair, Isabelle Lefevre, Anne Martin, Sophie Michel, Julia Parigot et tous les autres, c'est toujours avec joie que je vous retrouvais pour partager séminaires et repas du CROUS.

Les chercheurs sont accompagnés d'un grand nombre de personnes qui dans l'ombre œuvrent aux succès académiques et pédagogiques. De la traduction à la recherche documentaire, en passant par la correction, la retranscription, la gestion administrative et financière, la maintenance informatique, leur aide m'a été si précieuse. Un grand merci à Aurélie Duval, Anna Goychman, Mark Holdsworth, Elisabeth Patin, Siham Nachate, et tant d'autres qui ont toujours eu un petit mot, un conseil bien avisé, un sourire dans les couloirs.

Il n'est pas toujours facile pour une jeune femme d'entrevoir sa carrière dans un monde aussi exigeant que la recherche, il faut donc des mentors et des modèles qui prouvent que rien n'est impossible. Je tiens particulièrement à remercier trois d'entre eux.

Laëtitia Lethielleux, qui prouve chaque jour qu'il est possible de mener une vie épanouie en étant femme, mère, enseignante, chercheure et manager de projet. J'ai beaucoup appris à tes côtés et espère encore apprendre lors de futurs projets.

François Rousseau, qui a été pour moi comme pour beaucoup un véritable modèle de chercheur-militant. C'était une immense chance d'avoir pu travailler à ses côtés. Ses convictions, sa bienveillance, sa joie de vivre m'ont appris à regarder le monde avec optimisme. François nous a quitté beaucoup trop tôt mais ses travaux poursuivent leur chemin grâce notamment à une petite équipe que je remercie pour leur engagement : Nicole Alix, Michel Berry, Christèle Lafaye, Nadine Richez-Battesti, Michèle Severs.

Et bien sûr, Bernard Leca, qui m'a accompagnée dans cette aventure, m'a poussée dans mes retranchements, m'a encouragée à donner le maximum de moi-même et m'a fait comprendre que je pouvais réaliser bien plus que ce que je pensais. Grâce à vous je termine cette thèse avec une plus grande confiance en moi et une vision plus claire de la suite du chemin que j'ai envie de tracer. Un grand merci.

La constellation des « utopistes-réalistes »

Partager un bout de l'aventure des membres des Coopératives d'Activité et d'Emploi a été une grande joie. Leur accueil, leur sympathie et leur sens du partage sont au cœur de cette thèse. Ils/Elles sont nombreux/ses les Coopanamien.ne.s et expert.e.s des coopératives qui ont partagé avec moi leur expérience pour que je puisse réaliser cette thèse. Merci à Justine Ballon, Catherine Bodet, Elisabeth Bost, Anne Chonik-Tardivel, Nathalie, Delvolvé, Noémie de Grenier, Luc Mboumba, Joseph Sangiorgio, Nicolas Scalbert, Stéphane Veyer et tou.te.s les autres de m'avoir ouvert si grand les portes d'une utopie en construction. Je souhaite longue et belle vie à vos « bigres » projets !

La constellation des ami.e.s

Mes temps "hors thèse" ont été peuplés de précieux moments de partage entre ami.e.s: foulées le long du canal de la Vesle à Reims, paniers bio et petits plats surgelés, match de badminton, tasses de thé et verre de vin blanc, voyages culinaires savoureux, heures de discussion psycho-féministo-écolo... Merci à Marie & Thibaud, Mukta & Benjamin, Anaïs, Ana, Julie, Elise, Camille, Amina, Aï, Irina, Valentine, Bruna, Karine et Lulu. Merci aussi à Simon & Zoé de m'avoir permis de terminer ma thèse dans un environnement verdoyant.

Du Sud vers le Nord vous m'avez accompagnée d'une belle amitié que je souhaite encore longue. Badr, Maïdé, Thomas merci pour vos mots d'encouragements et de réconforts. Et surtout merci de ne pas m'avoir demandé sans cesse quand est-ce que j'allais terminer !

Merci Quentin d'avoir partagé un bout de ce chemin avec moi, tu as embelli l'aventure de moments de tendresse, de rire et de super virées en Clio !

La constellation familiale

Merci enfin à ma famille, aux sorties à la bibliothèque qui m'ont données le goût de la lecture et de l'écriture (malgré les fautes !), aux milliers de moments passés dans la nature Catalane qui me ressource tant. Merci maman pour ta simplicité et ta résilience. Merci papa d'avoir suscité mon esprit critique. Merci Brice pour nos moments complices et ta philosophie de vie. Merci aussi à mes tantes, oncles, cousines et cousins pour vos petits messages et les moments de partage !

Pour un radicalisme-tempéré

Dans cette thèse il est question d'innovation sociale, d'organisations hybrides, de sens et d'ambivalence, il est question de ce que deux chercheuses américaines Debra E. Meyerson & Maureen A. Scully appellent les radicaux tempérés, des ‘personnes qui travaillent dans des organisations et professions conventionnelles et veulent aussi les transformer’. ‘Des personnes qui s'identifient à et sont engagées dans leurs organisations et sont aussi engagées pour une cause, une communauté, ou une idéologie qui est fondamentalement différente, et potentiellement en conflit avec la culture dominante de leur organisation. La position ambivalente de ces personnes crée de nombreux challenges spécifiques et des opportunités.’ [1]

Aux belles personnes que j'ai eu la chance de rencontrer et qui m'ont tant apportée.

Aux radicaux tempérés !

[1] "We write this paper about and for the people who work within mainstream organizations and professions and want also to transform them. We call these individuals "tempered radicals" and the process they enact "tempered radicalism." […] "Tempered radicals" are individuals who identify with and are committed to their organizations, and are also committed to a cause, community, or ideology that is fundamentally different from, and possibly at odds with the dominant culture of their organization. The ambivalent stance of these individuals creates a number of special challenges and opportunities." (Meyerson D.E. & Scully M.A. *Tempered radicalism and the politics of ambivalence and change*, Organization Science, 1995, Vol.6, No.5, p.586).

INTRODUCTION : LES ENJEUX DE LA TRANSFORMATION DU TRAVAIL

Le travail connait d'importantes transformations dont nous ne saisissons pas toujours les ressors. Dichotomisé depuis la révolution industrielle avec d'une part le salariat et d'autre part l'indépendance, le travail présente aujourd'hui de multiples facettes. Ces formes se sont diversifiées : intérimaire, à temps partagés ; il est pratiqué dans des lieux nouveaux : espaces de coworking, télé-travail à domicile et ce qui affecte les identités des travailleurs : auto-entrepreneurs, freelances, slasheurs[2].

Aux frontières entre salariat et travail indépendant se développent ainsi des zones grises où croît le nombre de « quasi-salariés » et « quasi-indépendants » (Lorquet, 2017).

Pour les entreprises ces nouvelles formes de travail sont perçues comme source de flexibilité gage d'une diminution des coûts et des efforts de supervision.

Les travailleurs, pour leur part, y voient une alternative leur permettant de se substituer aux liens de subordination, aux procédures bureaucratiques liés au salariat et de développer leur savoir-faire de manière autonome. Le travail indépendant est cependant source de craintes car il est bien souvent synonyme de précarité. Les temps de travail sont incertains, tout comme les revenus et les mécanismes de protection sociale ne sont pas toujours adaptés (Fourcade, 1992). En effet, bien que ces mutations du travail aient débutées au tournant des années 70, nos institutions peinent encore à s'adapter. Les travailleurs à mi-chemin entre salariat et entrepreneuriat souhaitant contracter un prêt auprès d'une banque ou louer un logement auprès d'un bailleur doivent souvent faire face à l'incompréhension et aux réticences vis-à-vis de leur situation professionnelle.

[2] Le terme de *slasheur* (en référence au slash /) désigne les pluriactifs pratiquant différents métiers à la fois.

De nombreuses organisations se sont donc créées dans ces zones grises de l'emploi afin d'apporter un cadre et de jouer le rôle d'intermédiaire entre les travailleurs et leurs clients /employeurs : sociétés de portage salarial, groupements d'employeurs, coopératives d'activité et d'emploi. Si les services proposés par ces organisations - mutualisation des moyens, des risques, formations, accompagnement, cadre juridique - font l'objet de travaux de recherche, ils ne permettent pas d'expliquer comment ces organisations participent à la transformation du travail. Il s'agit donc avec cette thèse de mieux comprendre comment ces organisations répondent aux enjeux d'aujourd'hui et participent à la construction du travail de demain.

S'appuyant sur l'étude du processus d'innovation sociale des coopératives d'activité et d'emploi, cette thèse propose d'apporter des éléments de réponse à ces questions. Avant de présenter les enjeux théoriques de la thèse, je propose de revenir dans cette partie introductive sur les enjeux de la transformation du travail et les dynamiques d'innovations sociales.

1. Transformation du travail: de la dichotomie salariat-entrepreneuriat aux zones grises de l'emploi

Dans une approche idéelle et idéale sont attribuées au travail les capacités de « se révéler à soi, de révéler sa sociabilité et de transformer le monde » (Méda, 2010). Les formes concrètes que prend le travail s'éloignent toutefois de cet idéal.

Au sortir de la seconde Guerre Mondiale, le travail prend deux formes principales : le travail indépendant et le travail salarié. Poussé par la croissance économique et le développement de l'Etat social, le salariat va devenir la norme. La situation « typique » d'emploi - travail en tant que structure sociale - devient une relation salariale durable et à temps plein avec un employeur unique (Fourcade, 1992). Une norme qui signe l'ambivalence de nos relations au travail. Le salariat, que la jurisprudence française caractérise par le lien de subordination, relève à la fois de la soumission du travail au capital et d'un rattachement à une « communauté politique » via l'accès au système de protection sociale (Laville, 1999; Méda, 2010). Le modèle de protection sociale française de type Bismarkien est en effet un système assurantiel qui repose sur le statut de travailleur, celui-ci par ses cotisations assure, à la fois, la protection de sa personne et de sa famille. Entre aliénation, via la subordination et réalisation de soi, via la protection, s'est ainsi installée la régulation fordiste (Bélanger & Lévesque, 1991; Boyer & Orléan, 1991), fruit des négociations entre syndicat et patronat. Cette régulation sociale s'est adossée, jusque dans les années 1960, sur le travail de masse. Cependant, les mutations économiques et idéologiques de ces dernières décennies - mécanisation, informatisation, tertiarisation - mises en exergue notamment par Rifkin (1997), sont venues perturber les régulations établies.

La « déterritorialisation des tâches hors de l'entreprise» (Castel, 2009) portée par le mythe d'une entreprise réduite à un simple nœud de contrats commerciaux (Laville, 1999), liant de façon provisoire l'individu à sa tâche, ont fait croître les formes de travail dites atypiques (Fourcade, 1992; Galtier & Gautié, 2003; Hernandez & Marco, 2008). Cette catégorie d'emploi englobe le travail à temps partiel, à durée déterminée, intermittent, à temps partagé, ainsi que les nouvelles formes de travail indépendant. Le marché du travail s'est ainsi peu à peu dichotomisé, avec d'une part, un marché du travail dit interne avec des travailleurs « in », c'est-à-dire en entreprise avec un emploi stable et les protections sociales afférentes ; de l'autre, un marché du travail externe, réunissant les travailleurs « out », qui au « mieux » ont des contrats atypiques au pire sont sans contrat (Gautié, 2003). Les compromis anciens et les modes de régulation collective se sont ainsi peu à peu délités pour laisser place au chômage de masse et à une individualisation croissante des rapports au travail déséquilibrant les négociations entre employeurs et salariés.

Face à cette situation et en fonction des alternances politiques, la puissance publique française s'est déployée dans diverses directions.

2. Politiques publiques et nouveaux acteurs: entre insertion dans le salariat et micro-entrepreneuriat

Durant la fin des années 70, les pouvoirs publics ont couplé une politique de formation et d'augmentation des indemnités chômage, à une politique de formation et d'incitation à la création d'entreprise, avec notamment la mise en place de l'Aide aux Chômeurs Créateurs et Repreneurs d'Entreprises (ACCRE). Les personnes sans emploi étaient tout simplement invitées à le créer.

Au début des années 80, la nouvelle majorité au pouvoir choisit de mener une politique de relance keynésienne par l'augmentation des bas salaires et des prestations sociales. Puis, un changement d'orientation va s'opérer dans le milieu des années 80, où la priorité devient la lutte contre l'inflation. En parallèle d'une dérégulation du marché du travail, la lutte contre le chômage est traitée conjointement par l'État et les associations via la création de contrats aidés.

La fin des années 1980 voit naître, notamment avec le revenu minimum d'insertion (RMI), l'approche de (ré-)insertion. Il s'agit d'un « traitement social du chômage » reposant sur l'idée que « la sphère économique est un des principaux vecteurs d'intégration sociale » (Laville, 1999, p.75). Les pratiques de réinsertion destinées aux personnes rencontrant de grandes difficultés économiques et sociales vont ainsi progressivement s'étendre plus largement aux personnes sans emploi. De nouvelles formes d'associations dont l'objet est de prendre en charge cette insertion (entreprises intermédiaires, chantiers d'insertion, etc.) voient alors le jour. Parallèlement, les pouvoirs publics vont soutenir l'idée d'un partage du travail avec le passage à la semaine de 35 heures en 2002 et le soutien à la création d'activités nouvelles notamment dans les services à la personne. Les activités qui auparavant relevaient de la sphère domestique, de la solidarité de proximité ou du marché noir passent sur le devant de la scène, encouragées par l'évolution des modes de vie et de la démographie (augmentation du taux d'emploi des femmes, vieillissement de la population, maintien du taux de fécondité[3]). Les dispositifs dédiés à l'entrepreneuriat de très petite échelle vont se multiplier avec la mise en place de mesures fiscales et de modes de paiement spécifiques - TVA réduite, réduction d'impôt pour les ménages clients, chèques emploi service – et la création en 2009 du statut d'auto-entrepreneur[4]. Le développement du micro-crédit et des structures d'accompagnement telles les boutiques de gestion vont également accompagner le développement de cet entrepreneuriat de petite échelle.

Avec la montée en puissance du micro-entrepreneuriat, le travail indépendant - non salarié - qui avait fortement diminué avec l'industrialisation, augmente ces dernières années (Haut Conseil du Financement de la Protection Sociale, 2016). Il connait une hausse particulièrement importante dans le secteur des services (informatique, conseil en gestion, activités artistiques, enseignement, etc.)[5]. Au-delà des politiques publiques incitatives, le plébiscite du travail indépendant tient aux entreprises qui souhaitent externaliser certaines tâches, dans l'optique d'une baisse de coût et d'un transfert du risque, et aux travailleurs déçus des rapports hiérarchiques du salariat et en quête d'autonomie dans le développement de leur savoir-faire (Kunda, Barley, & Evans, 2002).

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[3] Tableau de l'économie française - Insee Références, 2017 - Estimations de population et statistiques de l'état civil.

[4]. Pour une approche critique de cette forme d'entrepreneuriat lire notamment Abdelnour S. et Lambert A. (2014) « L'entreprise de soi », un nouveau mode de gestion politique des classes populaires ?, Genèses, 95(2): 27.

[5] Panorama de l'emploi et des revenus des indépendants – INSEE – 2015.

La France métropolitaine comptait ainsi fin 2014, 2,82 millions de travailleurs indépendants dont 1,09 millions d'auto-entrepreneurs (Haut Conseil du Financement de la Protection Sociale, 2016).

Le travail indépendant recouvre cependant des situations très diverses en termes de secteur d'activité, de motivation, de rémunération, et de protection sociale. Alors que le revenu moyen des travailleurs indépendants « classiques » - artisans, agriculteurs, commerçants, professions libérales - était de 3100 euros nets par mois en 2011, celui des auto-entrepreneurs ne s'élevait qu'à 460 euros. Il faut toutefois souligner que 33 % d'entre eux sont pluriactifs, cumulant activité entrepreneuriale et activité salariale[6]. D'autre part, la pérennité des auto-entreprises est plus faible que celle des entreprises individuelles classiques. Seuls 49 % des auto-entreprises ayant eu une activité sont pérennes à trois ans[7].

Les formes prises par le travail et les trajectoires des travailleurs se sont ainsi grandement diversifiées. Cappelli (2013) propose une typologie de ces nouveaux modes d'organisation du travail reposant sur le droit et plus précisément sur les responsabilités en termes administratif et de protection. Il distingue d'une part les formes salariales comprenant l'emploi direct sous toutes ses formes, temps plein, temps partiel, à durée déterminée, etc. et le co-emploi impliquant une relation tripartite et un partage des responsabilités ; et d'autre part, les formes de travail contractuelles comprenant les contractualisations directes entre le travailleur et l'entreprise, et les sous-contractualisations impliquant un intermédiaire.

C'est dans ce contexte d'élargissement des zones grises entre salariat et entrepreneuriat que fleurissent une myriade d'intermédiaires permettant aux « quasi-indépendants » et « quasi-salariés » de trouver des clients, de se former, de mutualiser leurs moyens et/ou risques (Lorquet, 2017). Leurs formes sont très variées allant de la plateforme web, à l'espace de

[6] Panorama de l'emploi et des revenus des indépendants – INSEE – 2015.
[7] INSEE Première n°1595 – Mai 2016.

coworking en passant entre autres par les coopératives et les groupements d'employeurs (de Vaujany, Bohas, Fabbri, & Laniray, 2016; Jang, 2017; Lorquet, 2017).

Ainsi en quelques années, sous l'effet des mutations économiques et avec le soutien des pouvoirs-publics, le travail en France est passé d'une dichotomie entrepreneuriat-salariat à une myriade de formes atypiques d'emploi faisant émerger de nouveaux enjeux sociaux.

3. Les enjeux de la flexibilité, sécurité et citoyenneté

Perçu par certains comme un moyen de se défaire du lien de subordination et par d'autres comme de l'auto-exploitation, l'expansion des formes de travail contractuelles, aussi appelées *gig economy*[8], questionne les rapports au travail. Ces nouvelles formes de travail posent de manière pressante la question des conditions de travail et de la protection sociale des travailleurs. Comme le montrent notamment Beaucage and Bellemare (2007), si certains travailleurs autonomes « comblés » ne tarissent pas d'éloges sur ce statut qui leur confère une grande liberté, d'autres « nuancés » voire « insatisfaits » soulignent l'insécurité de leur statut. Il est non seulement difficile pour certains de générer du chiffre d'affaires de manière suffisante et régulière mais la difficulté à concilier vie personnelle et vie professionnelle, à faire face aux démarches administratives et financières, l'isolement et les exigences des clients peuvent rendre l'expérience douloureuse (Tremblay, 2002).

Le risque étant de voir se constituer une « société de pleine activité », et non de plein emploi, qui représenterait, selon Castel (2009), un retour à des modes de « servitude précapitaliste ».

[8] Emprunté au monde de la musique, ce terme désigne aujourd'hui toutes les formes d'emploi dites aussi atypiques : contrat à durée déterminée, travail à temps partiel, travail à la tâche, etc. Pour plus d'information lire notamment G. Friedman « Dog Walking and College Teaching. The rise of the American Gig Economy » Dollar & Sense, 2014 ; M.W. King « Protecting and Representing Workers in the Gig Economy. The case of the Freelancers Union », dans R. Milkman & E. Ott « New York : Precarious Workers and the Future of the Labor Movement » Cornell University Press, 2014.

La notion d'activité paraissant à ce dernier trop imprécise pour pouvoir lui arrimer des droits sociaux.

La caractéristique de ces nouvelles formes de travail est en effet leur niveau élevé d’anomie. En d’autres termes, elles présentent un niveau très faible de régulations légitimes permettant de constituer des communautés autour d’un projet (Reynaud, 1989). La faiblesse de ces régulations, qui sont source de lien social et de sens, affecte profondément les travailleurs. Libéré des contraintes collectives, le risque est grand pour l’« individu hypermoderne » de devenir un individu « par défaut » incapable d’assumer positivement sa liberté (Castel, 2009).

Les problématiques soulevées par les zones grises de l’emploi s’articulent ainsi autour du triptyque flexibilité-sécurité-citoyenneté.

Allier flexibilité et sécurité appellent au-delà d’une révision des modes d’organisation et de régulation à un changement paradigmatique de la conception de l’individu. J. Gautié (2003) identifie deux paradigmes de la flexi-sécurité, constituant une troisième voie entre régulation fordiste et libre fonctionnement du marché du travail.

Le premier paradigme est celui d'un « État social patrimonial » qui pourvoirait les individus d'une partie des capitaux (économiques et sociaux) qui leur sont nécessaires pour devenir « entrepreneurs de leur vie ». Le second paradigme est celui d'un État post-beveridgien qui passerait par la mise en place de régulations collectives destinées à sécuriser les citoyens tout au long de leurs parcours professionnels. Ces deux propositions reposent sur deux conceptions très distinctes de la personne : individualisme patrimonial/activation des dépenses publiques d'un côté, « empowerment »/travailleur citoyen et régulation collective de l'autre. Cette seconde proposition est à rapprocher du concept de marché du travail transitionnel, dont « l'idée est d'étendre la protection que procuraient les marchés internes en encadrant les transitions entre deux emplois ou entre l'emploi et d'autres statuts (formation, congé sabbatique, etc.). » (Gautié, 2003).

Ce marché du travail transitionnel peut être pensé à l'échelle territoriale, avec ce que l'on appelle la gestion territoriale des emplois et des compétences via par exemple les groupements d'employeurs qui permettent, à partir des besoins spécifiques d'entreprises (saisonniers ou temps partiels) sur un bassin d'emploi donné, de constituer des emplois stables. Le travailleur n'a qu'une seule fiche de paie centralisée par le groupement d'employeurs mais travaille au sein de diverses entreprises.

A plus large échelle, les transitions professionnelles peuvent être sécurisées via ce que Supiot (cité par Gautié, 2003) appelle des « droits de tirage sociaux ». Ces droits (formation, santé, etc.) seraient directement rattachés à la personne et non plus à son statut pour une meilleure fluidité et sécurité des parcours professionnels. C'est précisément cette dernière option, de la portabilité des droits, qui semble avoir été privilégiée dans l'accord interprofessionnel signé en janvier 2013 et la mise en place en 2017 du Compte Personnel d'Activité.

Au-delà des périodes de transitions, la perméabilité de plus en plus importante des espaces-temps, notamment due aux technologies du web (télétravail à domicile par exemple) et la diminution globale des besoins en travail marchand, appellent à une réflexion plus large sur la reconnaissance et l'organisation du travail marchand, non marchand et non monétaire (J.L. Laville, 1999 ; D. Méda, 2010).

Le rôle des « institutions intermédiaires », comme les appelle Sainsaulieu (2001), semble ici primordial. « Les milieux productifs se trouvent ainsi chargés d'une fonction institutionnelle intermédiaire entre celle de l'État chargé du contrôle social et celle des structures éducatives responsables des modes de socialisation primaire. » (ibid., 105). L'entreprise devient alors sociale dans le sens où elle permet la socialisation des travailleurs. « L'entreprise contribue dès lors à la démocratie, non plus seulement en redistribuant équitablement les fruits économiques de la croissance, mais aussi, et peut être avant tout en visant les désirs d'identité et de réalisation de ses membres producteurs comme acteur social. » (Ibid., p.151).

Cette conception de l'entreprise met ainsi fin à une forme de schizophrénie où « Citoyens au moment du vote et de l'accès aux droits civiques, les acteurs de la production se trouvent en fait confrontés à des régulations sociales arbitraires dans le contexte de leur vie productive » (Reynaud, 1989, p.181).

Cette approche de l'entreprise comme une institution intermédiaire caractérisée par la démocratie n'est pas nouvelle et trouve son application dans ce que l'on nomme aujourd'hui l'économie sociale et solidaire et les dynamiques d'innovation sociale.

4. Les Organisations d'Economie Sociale et Solidaire et l'Innovation Sociale

La genèse des Organisations d'Economie Sociale et Solidaire (OESS) s'inscrit précisément dans les transformations du travail liées à la révolution industrielle et dans la volonté des travailleurs de s'auto-organiser. Les travailleurs, qui autrefois s'organisaient en corporations, et devenus salariés ouvriers vont créer des sociétés de secours mutuels, des comptoirs alimentaires et coopératives de production pour améliorer leurs conditions de vie. Ces initiatives, nommées « associationnisme ouvrier », reposent sur le principe de double qualité selon lequel les travailleurs de coopératives de production sont également patrons et les assurés de mutuelles sont également assureurs (Draperi, 2012).

Si les mutuelles vont progressivement s'institutionnaliser, les coopératives de production vont être marginalisées. Les régulations fordistes vont en effet se substituer à la proposition autogestionnaire. Les mouvements ouvriers sont ainsi scindés en deux ; avec d'une part, le mouvement syndical s'inscrivant dans une logique de lutte des classes et d'autre part, le mouvement coopératif prônant l'expérimentation d'organisations alternatives. Bien que de nombreux leaders syndicaux soient également des leaders coopérativistes, les marxistes se montrent très critiques vis à vis du mouvement coopératif, à qui l'on reproche essentiellement trois points : leur relation avec les pouvoirs publics ; la non égalité des travailleurs (différence entre sociétaires et non sociétaires) ; et la non abolition de la rémunération du capital. Cette « scission » entre les deux mouvements, qui ont au départ une origine commune, va durement marginaliser le mouvement du travail coopératif au profit du compromis fordiste.

Cependant, ni les coopérativistes, ni les marxistes, ne remettent en question la place centrale accordée au travail. « Le droit du travail, se confond avec le droit à la vie » (Méda, 2010).

L'histoire de l'ESS est étroitement liée à la conjoncture économique et aux politiques publiques. Durant les périodes de crise, les pouvoir publics se tournent volontiers vers les OESS, après-guerre pour l'approvisionnement des usines et aujourd'hui pour garantir la cohésion sociale (Draperi, 2007).

Les années 1970 ont vu naître de nouvelles initiatives dans le sillage des mouvements sociaux de la fin des années 1960 et la crise de 2007 a jeté un nouvel éclairage sur l'ESS. Les coopératives ont ainsi fait l'objet d'une publicité avantageuse ventant leur résilience[9]. La reprise d'entreprise par leurs salariés sous forme coopérative a également été (sur)vendue

[9] « Resilience of the Cooperative Business Model in Times of Crisis » International Labour Organization – Sustainable Enterprise Programme – 2009.

comme une solution aux cessations d'activité[10]. Enfin, un sous ministère délégué à l'Economie Sociale et Solidaire, rattaché au ministère de l'économie et des finances a été créé en 2012 et a donné naissance à la loi relative à l'ESS votée par le Parlement le 31 juillet 2014.

Cette loi redessine[11] les contours de l'ESS en incluant les organisations de droit privé qui ont un but autre que le seul partage des bénéfices, ont une gouvernance démocratique, dont les bénéfices sont majoritairement consacrés au maintien et développement de l'organisation et qui constituent des réserves impartageables et non distribuables.

Au-delà de ces modes d'organisations spécifiques, si l'ESS attire autant l'attention ces dernières années c'est plus particulièrement pour sa capacité à générer de l'innovation sociale[12](Bouchard, 2006). Sa faculté à créer des passerelles entre privé et public, entre économique et social, à hybrider des ressources de nature diverses (marchandes : produit de la vente de biens et services, non marchands : dons, non monétaire : bénévolat) en font effectivement un terreau propice au développement d'innovations sociales.

Le concept d'innovation sociale désigne les nouvelles initiatives qui voient le jour afin de répondre aux enjeux sociaux - chômage de masse, vieillissement de la population, immigration - ou aux nouvelles aspirations - meilleur équilibre entre vie professionnelle et vie personnelle, une démocratie plus directe, etc. Ces initiatives peuvent prendre des formes très diverses : entreprises d'insertion par l'activité économique, monnaies complémentaires, associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne, etc. (Cloutier, 2003; Mulgan,

[10] Les reprises des entreprises SeaFrance, Lejaby ou encore Fralip par leurs salariés ont fait pendant un temps la une des médias, et l'ancien ministre de l'économie, du redressement productif et du numérique de 2012 à 2014, Arnaud Montebourg, faisait la promotion de ce qu'il nomme un capitalisme coopératif.

[11] Les acteurs de l'économie sociale et solidaire s'auto-définissaient par leurs statuts : associations, coopératives, mutuelles et leurs fondations qui garantissaient à minima le respect de certaines règles et modes de fonctionnement. La loi du 31 juillet 2014 a opté pour une approche incluant toutes entreprises répondant aux modes de fonctionnement cités.

[12] La Loi ESS n°2014-856 du 31 Juillet 2014 relative à l'économie sociale et solidaire définit dans son Chapitre IV l'innovation sociale comme projet consistant à offrir des produits ou des services qui répondent à des besoins sociaux non ou mal satisfaits, ou répondent à des besoins sociaux de façon innovante.

Tucker, Rushanara, & Sanders, 2007; Terstriep, Kleverbeck, Deserti, & Rizzo, 2015). Elles sont soutenues par les pouvoirs publics qui y voient une manière moins couteuse de répondre aux besoins sociaux et par les entreprises qui anticipent des opportunités d'affaires et/ou une façon d'accomplir leur responsabilité sociale.

Bien qu'il existe une grande diversité d'innovations sociales, quatre caractéristiques principales semblent faire consensus auprès des chercheurs et des pouvoirs publics.

Premièrement, ces innovations doivent répondre à des besoins sociaux non ou mal satisfaits (Edwards-Schachter, Matti, & Alcantara, 2012; Mulgan et al., 2007). Deuxièmement, elles impliquent les bénéficiaires dans le processus de création du bien ou service dans une dynamique émancipatrice. Ainsi la co-conception ou co-construction sont des caractéristiques importantes de l'innovation sociale (Klein, Fontan, Harrisson, & Lévesque, 2010; Selloni & Cantù, 2013). Troisièmement, leurs succès dépend de la collaboration d'un large éventail de parties-prenantes : entreprises, organisations à but non lucratif, pouvoirs publics, etc. qui traversent les frontières institutionnelles. Ainsi, les approches en « silo » ont été identifiées comme l'un des freins au développement des innovations sociales, alors que les réseaux de communications et les environnements collaboratifs lui sont favorables (Harrisson, Chaari, & Comeau-Vallée, 2012; Terstriep et al., 2015). Quatrièmement, elles visent à créer un changement institutionnel ou systémique. Ce dernier critère s'inscrit notamment dans la lignée de l'approche institutionnelle du Centre de Recherche sur les Innovations Sociales du Québec (CRISES) qui distingue l'innovation sociale d'autres initiatives ayant un objectif social mais n'impliquant pas de changement systémique ou institutionnel (Bouchard, Evers, & Fraisse, 2015a; Westley, Antadze, Riddell, Robinson, & Geobey, 2014).

Enfin, si l'objectif commun des innovations sociales est de créer de nouvelles idées ou produits pour satisfaire des besoins non pourvus (Westley et al., 2014), il existe plusieurs orientations pour atteindre cet objectif. Ainsi Grimm, Fox, Baines, and Albertson (2013) distinguent les innovations sociales « orientées vers le but » où ce sera le produit ou service créé qui répondra au besoin social et les innovations sociales « orientées processus » où le besoin social sera comblé via l'émergence de nouvelles idées et la mise en place de nouvelles pratiques. Si cette distinction peut avoir un intérêt méthodologique, dans la pratique les innovations sociales sont à la fois orientées but et processus. En effet, étant donné les caractéristiques citées précédemment de soutien d'une diversité de parties-prenantes et l'implication des bénéficiaires, il apparait que si l'innovation sociale s'incarne dans un bien ou service, il s'agit avant tout d'un processus.

Un processus qui s'apparente à ce que Sainsaulieu (2001) nomme les « dynamiques intermédiaires » qui reposent sur « l'hybridation de plusieurs formes d'économie, marchande, non marchande et bénévole […] » Le sociologue s'interroge cependant « Dans ce contexte de développement mondialisé sur le plan économique et de la communication mais en crise de régulations écologiques, sociales, politiques et culturelles, voit-on, comme dans les périodes antérieures, apparaître de nouvelles formes d'institutions intermédiaires porteuses de légitimités futures ? » (Ibid., p.76).

En d'autres termes, les processus d'innovation sociales permettent-ils la création de nouvelles institutions qui, non seulement répondent aux enjeux actuels, mais plus encore dessinent la société de demain ?

La question reste en suspens, les travaux de recherche sur les OESS et l'innovation sociale mettent en effet davantage l'accent sur les contraintes institutionnelles, et tendent à négliger les capacités de création institutionnelle.

La littérature sur les OESS et les processus d'innovation sociale[13] soulignent deux principales contraintes institutionnelles : le risque d'instrumentalisation par les pouvoirs publics et le risque de banalisation. D'une part, les OESS, en contrepartie des financements qui leur sont accordés, au travers des conventions, agréments et autres partenariats, sont amenées à adopter l'agenda des politiques publiques et perdent ainsi leur indépendance. D'autre part, dans un contexte de restrictions des budgets publics, les OESS sont mises en concurrence notamment via les appels d'offre et ainsi poussées à adopter les pratiques gestionnaires des entreprises à but lucratif. En bout de course les OESS se banalisent. En d'autres termes, elles perdent leurs spécificités. Leur gouvernance démocratique et leur caractère non lucratif s'affadissent (Bidet, 2003; Marival, 2008). Ces trajectoires ne sont toutefois pas des fatalités et certains chercheurs ont pu mettre à jour des stratégies organisationnelles de « régénération » (Cornforth, 1995), de réinvention (Rousseau, 2007) ou encore d'hybridation (Malo & Vézina, 2004) permettant d'allier développement du projet social et développement économique. Celles-ci s'apparentent cependant à des stratégies d'équilibristes au niveau organisationnel, laissant de côté la dimension politique de changement institutionnel ou selon les termes de Draperi (2012) le « projet de transformation sociale ». Si certains travaux, menés notamment au Centre de Recherche sur les Innovations Sociales du Québec (CRISES) s'intéressent aux trajectoires d'institutionnalisation des innovations sociales, l'attention semble centrer sur les interactions avec les pouvoirs publics (Bouchard et al., 2015a; Klein et al., 2010). La capacité des OESS et des processus d'innovation sociale à créer de nouveaux cadres institutionnels restent donc encore à étudier notamment en matière de travail où, comme nous l'avons vu, le besoin de nouvelles institutions est important.

L'objet de cette thèse est donc de comprendre comment les innovations sociales participent à la transformation du travail.

[13] Il est ici important de noter que si cette étude se centre sur les innovations sociales portées par les OESS, d'autres organisations publiques ou à but lucratif peuvent également être à l'initiative d'innovations sociales.

La théorie néo-institutionnaliste (TNI) qui a connu ces dernières années une expansion considérable offre des outils conceptuels propices à la compréhension des dynamiques institutionnelles qui accompagnent les transformations du travail et les innovations sociales. De nombreux chercheurs mobilisent en effet cette théorie afin d'étudier les spécificités des entreprises sociales (Battilana, Sengul, Pache, & Model, 2014; Mair & Marti, 2009). Cependant, tout comme les études précédemment citées sur les OESS et l'innovation sociale, les analyses néo-institutionnelles s'en tiennent majoritairement à décrire des stratégies organisationnelles plutôt réactives face aux contraintes institutionnelles, négligeant les capacités de création institutionnelle (Lawrence, Hardy, & Philips, 2002).

L'étude des transformations du travail et des dynamiques d'innovation sociale a donc permis d'adresser un vide théorique commun aux recherches sur les OESS, l'innovation sociale et à la TNI.

Le chapitre 1 présente plus en détails les enjeux théoriques pour la TNI ainsi que les choix épistémologiques et méthodologiques.

CHAPITRE 1: CADRE THEORIQUE ET METHODOLOGIE

INTRODUCTION

Sur le plan théorique l'enjeu de cette thèse était de trouver un cadre analytique permettant d'appréhender le processus d'innovation sociale dans sa complexité - inclusion d'un large éventail de parties-prenantes, une finalité sociale et politique arrimée à une activité économique. La démarche abductive décrite dans la deuxième partie de ce chapitre m'a ainsi conduit à mobiliser la théorie néo-institutionnaliste (TNI). Cette approche théorique s'est considérablement développée ces dernières années, si bien qu'elle offre aujourd'hui un grand nombre de concepts permettant de prendre en compte la complexité des organisations et de leur contexte. L'autre avantage de cette approche théorique est la prise en compte des dimensions à la fois tangible – pratiques, outils, etc. - et intangible – normes, croyances, etc. - qui composent les organisations et institutions. D'autre part, l'étude d'un processus d'innovation sociale avec une visée de changement institutionnel permettait d'adresser certaines limites de la théorie-néo-institutionnaliste en matière de processus. La thèse permet en effet un (re-)centrage sur les formes d'*organizing* et leur interrelations avec les institutions (Meyer & Höllerer, 2014). Elle montre ainsi comment la TNI peut permettre de mieux comprendre les phénomènes sociétaux contemporains et la construction des institutions du futur.

1. THEORIE NEO-INSTITUTIONNALISTE

1.1. Les logiques institutionnelles

Bâtie à l'origine autour des questions d'uniformité et de stabilité (Di Maggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), la théorie néo-institutionnaliste s'est étendue et permet aujourd'hui aux théoriciens des organisations d'appréhender la diversité et les changements (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011).

Ainsi, le concept de logique institutionnelle (Friedland & Alford, 1991) permet de théoriser la diversité de l'environnement organisationnel. Ces logiques représentent des 'ensembles de pratiques, postulats, valeurs, croyances et règles socialement construits et historiquement ancrés qui permettent aux personnes de produire et reproduire leur moyens de subsistance, d'organiser leur temps et espaces et de donner du sens à leur réalité sociale' (traduction de Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p.804). Ces logiques représentent donc des idéaux types (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) comprenant des éléments matériels et symboliques utiles aussi bien pour les chercheurs que pour les acteurs. Si ces derniers n'utilisent pas le terme même de logiques institutionnelles, ils les mobilisent néanmoins au quotidien de manière plus ou moins consciente pour agir.

Les rapports entre les logiques institutionnelles et les acteurs - individus et organisations - relèvent d'une relation d'agence paradoxale, les logiques institutionnelles étant à la fois contraignantes et habilitantes (Thornton et al., 2012). De nombreux travaux mettent ainsi en évidence la diversité des rapports pouvant se construire entre les logiques et les acteurs.

Jaumier, Daudigeos, and Joannidès (forthcoming, 2017) distinguent trois approches pour appréhender les relations entre logiques institutionnelles et individus.

D'une part, les individus peuvent être perçus comme incarnant une ou plusieurs logiques institutionnelles avec lesquelles ils ont été socialisés tout au long de leur parcours. Cette socialisation va alors expliquer leur comportement. Bertels and Lawrence (2016) se réfèrent ainsi au concept de biographie institutionnelle. Dans cette lignée, Pache et Santos (2013) proposent une typologie des rôles que peuvent être amenés à jouer les individus en fonction de leur degré de socialisation avec différentes logiques, ces rôles allant de membre candide à celui d'hybrideur en passant entre autres par ceux de challenger ou de protecteur.

D'autre part, dans une approche plus habilitante les logiques peuvent représenter des outils que les personnes vont être amenées à utiliser de manière stratégique en fonction des situations rencontrées. McPherson and Sauder (2013) mettent ainsi en lumière la façon dont les logiques sont mobilisées au sein d'une cour de justice pour faire face à des situations complexes.

Enfin, les logiques peuvent représenter en quelque sorte des ressources incomplètes dont seule l'utilisation, la pratique va permettre l'entière expression. L'étude d'institutions financières de Smets and Jarzabkowski (2013) souligne la malléabilité des logiques en montrant comment à travers leurs pratiques les personnes construisent des complémentarités entre des logiques paraissant aux premiers abords incompatibles.

Au niveau organisationnel, s'aligner sur une logique institutionnelle est source de légitimité (Cloutier & Langley, 2013) et l'arrivée de nouvelles logiques institutionnelles aux demandes contradictoires est source de complexité (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Selon la nature des demandes – portant sur les buts ou les moyens – et selon le positionnement de l'organisation au sein du champ, les organisations vont développer des réponses pouvant aller de la conformité aux demandes, à leur manipulation en passant par leur éviction (Besharov & Smith, 2013; Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010). Des études récentes ont également mis en lumière des stratégies plus proactives où les organisations utilisent diverses logiques institutionnelles comme ressources pour innover et se développer (Dalpiaz, Rindova, & Ravasi, 2016; Durand, Szostak, Jourdan, & Thornton, 2013).

L'une des approches qui a suscitées une attention toute particulière est celle de l'hybridation des logiques. Selon la définition de Pache and Santos (2010) les organisations hybrides ont la spécificité de combiner des logiques institutionnelles dont les buts sont contradictoires et d'avoir en interne des représentants de chacune des logiques.

Cette stratégie, qui est celle des entreprises sociales (Battilana & Lee, 2014), présente donc un intérêt tout particulier pour l'étude des dynamiques d'innovation sociale.

1.2. Les organisations hybrides

Il existe différentes formes et degrés d'hybridité, celle-ci peut concerner la forme organisationnelle, les pratiques, l'identité, les logiques (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Greenwood et al., 2011). L'archétype de l'organisation hybride est l'entreprise sociale, qui combine une logique marchande et une logique sociale. Si ces entreprises sociales sont perçues comme une innovation organisationnelle permettant de répondre plus efficacement aux enjeux socio-économiques, les contradictions entre les finalités poursuivies et les moyens prescrits par ces deux logiques génèrent d'importantes tensions internes.

De récents travaux se sont penchés sur les modes de gestion de ces tensions. Celles-ci peuvent être gérées à un niveau structurel comme le montrent Pache and Santos (2013b) au sujet des entreprises d'insertion qui mobilisent de manière différentiée les logiques pour leur forme juridique, leur mode de gouvernance ou encore leur choix d'affiliation aux réseaux. Etudiant des organisations de micro-finance Battilana and Dorado (2010) ont également montré l'importance d'une gestion des ressources humaines adaptée. Alors que la constitution d'équipes mixtes avec des personnes déjà liées à la logique financière et d'autres liées à la logique de développement peut dans un premier temps permettre un développement rapide, cela peut également être source de tensions fortes amenant à la paralysie de l'organisation. D'autre part, recruter des personnes novices et leurs proposer une socialisation interne spécifique réduit le risque de tensions mais au prix d'un développement plus lent. Une fois les équipes constituées gérer les tensions demande de faire appel à certains mécanismes.

Ashforth and Reingen (2014), qui ont étudié une coopérative d'alimentation naturelle confrontée à des tensions entre une approche pragmatique et une approche morale, ont mis en évidence trois mécanismes. Le premier consiste à mettre en place des rituels qui permettent l'expression de chacune des approches dans un cadre clairement établi. Le deuxième tient au rôle des « paratonnerres », des personnes qui représentent chacune des approches dans leur acception la plus extrême et permettent finalement aux autres membres de se positionner comme constructeurs de consensus. Enfin, le troisième mécanisme concerne les modes de prise de décision oscillant d'une approche à l'autre en fonction du contexte. Dans cette même lignée les travaux de Battilana et al. (2014) sur les entreprises d'insertion soulignent l'avantage pour une organisation hybride de recruter des managers ayant eu des expériences à la fois dans le secteur social et dans le secteur marchand et la mise en place d'espaces de négociation pour gérer les tensions.

Ces réponses managériales ou stratégiques se situent au niveau organisationnel – pratiques, identités, etc. (Jay, 2012). – sous estimant la capacité des acteurs à agir sur les institutions voire à en créer de nouvelles (Lawrence et al., 2002; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011).

Or, en matière de transformation du travail c'est précisément l'adaptation des institutions qui fait défaut.

Il s'agit donc de comprendre comment les organisations d'ESS et les dynamiques d'innovation sociale qu'elles portent permettent de répondre aux enjeux de la transformation du travail.

Pour ce faire j'ai mené une étude de cas en suivant l'approche épistémologique et méthodologique présentée ci-dessous.

2. APPROCHE EPISTEMOLOGIQUE ET METHODOLOGIQUE

2.1. Positionnement épistémologique

L'étude d'un phénomène sociétal tel que l'innovation sociale appelait de par sa complexité à une approche inductive (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016), j'ai donc opté pour une étude de cas holistique afin d'appréhender le phénomène dans sa globalité (Yin, 2003).

Deux postulats ont guidé mon approche. J'ai d'une part adopté une approche interprétativiste (Berger & Luckmann, 2004), postulant que la réalité se construit à travers l'interprétation des acteurs et se matérialise par leurs discours. Le but du chercheur est donc de confronter son interprétation avec celle des acteurs qu'il étudie afin de proposer une lecture théorique de la réalité. D'autre part, suivant une approche processuelle, j'ai postulé que cette réalité était constituée de multiple flux (Hussenot & Missonier, 2015; Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven, 2013). Le défi d'une telle ontologie pour le chercheur est de s'outiller théoriquement et méthodologiquement afin d'appréhender efficacement les multiples mouvements qui composent l'objet d'étude. L'organisation est ici en perpétuelle construction et les frontières sont floues et poreuses. Tsoukas and Chia (2002) parlent ainsi d' « organization becoming ». La stabilité apparente cache de nombreux mouvements qui peuvent parfois rester imperceptibles au chercheur notamment de par ses choix de circonscription spatio-temporelle.

L'accueil que j'ai reçu de la part des membres des coopératives d'activité et d'emploi m'offrait la latitude nécessaire à une telle démarche.

2.2. L'étude d'un cas « extrême » : les coopératives d'activité et d'emploi

La première coopérative d'activité et d'emploi a été créée à Lyon au milieu des années 1990 afin de répondre aux besoins des nouveaux travailleurs indépendants peu familiers de la démarche entrepreneuriale. Un groupe d'organisations publiques, privées et de l'ESS ont créé cette nouvelle forme organisationnelle mixant entrepreneuriat, salariat et coopération.

En vingt ans d'existence, ces organisations hybrides se sont rapidement développées. Aujourd'hui la France compte environ 200 établissements de CAE avec 7000 entrepreneurs-salariés et 3000 porteurs de projets en contrat d'accompagnement[14].

Ces coopératives d'un nouveau genre proposent à des porteurs de projet désirant entreprendre d'être accompagnés dans leur démarche afin d'éviter les écueils de l'entrepreneuriat individuel (solitude, manque de compétences gestionnaires, manque de réseau) (Bost, 2011). Ainsi, la CAE réunit des entrepreneurs aux savoir-faire divers qui travaillent de façon autonome sur leurs projets respectifs tout en contribuant à la réalisation d'un projet commun, celui de créer une entreprise coopérative d'échanges d'expériences, où sont mutualisées, avec d'autres, les fonctions fiscales, administratives et comptables. Il ne s'agit toutefois là que des grandes

[14] Ces chiffres fournis par la Confédération Générale des Sociétés Coopératives et Participatives ne sont qu'une estimation car il est encore difficile d'établir des statistiques précises sur les CAE tant celles-ci sont diverses.

lignes de fonctionnement des CAE, à partir desquelles chaque CAE construit son propre modèle en fonction de son environnement et des personnes qui la composent.

Le parcours proposé aux membres de CAE est composé de trois étapes. Les nouveaux arrivants signent tout d'abord une convention d'accompagnement ou contrat d'appui au projet d'entreprise, qui leur permet de conserver leur statut précédent et leurs droits tout en développant leur projet via la participation à des ateliers et réunions. Les entrepreneurs offrent leurs expertises et démarchent leurs clientèles avec leurs propres services et/ou produits et sous leurs propres marques. Les premières prestations ou ventes de produits entrainent la signature d'un contrat de travail salarié à durée indéterminée. Le chiffre d'affaire généré par l'entrepreneur est ensuite transformé en salaire par l'équipe support de la coopérative (comptabilité, accompagnement, etc.). Dans un troisième temps, les entrepreneurs-salariés, tout comme les membres de l'équipe d'appui, peuvent devenir coopérateurs et prendre part à la gouvernance de la coopérative. Ainsi la CAE réunit des entrepreneurs aux compétences diverses qui travaillent de manière autonome mais au sein d'une entreprise leur offrant des services administratifs mutualisés. Les entrepreneurs sont responsables de leur activité, ils financent leur salaire et protection sociale avec leur propre chiffre d'affaires. Une part de celui-ci (en moyenne 10 %) est utilisée pour financer les services mutualisés. Enfin, la coopérative, qui offre des services d'intérêt général en apportant des conseils et aidant toutes personnes avec un projet entrepreneurial, bénéficie également de financements publics (fonds européens, fonds régionaux, etc.).

2.3. Collecte et analyse des données

C'est en 2010 lors d'une conférence que j'ai découvert la coopérative d'activité et d'emploi francilienne Coopaname. Cette coopérative, créée à Paris en 2003 est aujourd'hui, avec plus de 800 membres, dont 194 associés et un chiffre d'affaires de 8 millions d'euros, l'une des plus importantes CAE de France. Cette coopérative déjà très liée au milieu de la recherche m'a largement ouvert ses portes. J'ai pu y récolter de très nombreuses données qualitatives via des entretiens, des archives et des observations non participantes. Si ma porte d'entrée était la CAE Coopaname, le but de ma démarche était plus largement de comprendre comment le processus d'innovation sociale qui anime les CAE parvenait à répondre au défi de la transformation du travail. J'ai donc tâché de récolter des données auprès des réseaux de CAE, de leurs partenaires et d'experts. J'ai également pu interroger la fondatrice de la première CAE, qui a aussi dirigé l'un des réseaux de CAE et a été à l'initiative de Coopaname.

Adoptant une stratégie de théorisation ancrée (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012; Langley, 1999; Suddaby, 2006) la collecte et l'analyse des données s'est déroulée en deux temps.

(1) La première phase a eu lieu entre juillet 2011 à décembre 2013, période durant laquelle j'ai collecté un premier ensemble de données dans une démarche exploratoire. Données provenant de deux focus groupes avec les membres de Coopaname (entrepreneurs accompagnés et accompagnants), d'entretiens semi-directifs avec l'un des co-dirigeant et deux représentants des entrepreneurs salariés (3 d'une durée moyenne de 70 minutes), d'observations non participantes de sessions de formation, d'assemblée générale ou encore de visites officielles de personnalités politiques (7 évènements représentant 4 journées et demi) et de documents - rapports annuels et articles de presse (une cinquantaine de pages au total). Ce premier ensemble de données a fait l'objet de deux étapes de codage via le logiciel Nvivo10 selon une approche interprétativiste (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). La première étape consistait en un codage descriptif qui a permis d'identifier trois grand thèmes représentant

chacun un niveau d'analyse : le champ avec les diverses parties prenantes et les enjeux sociaux ; l'organisation avec son fonctionnement et la diversité de ses pratiques et outils ; et les parcours individuels des membres de la CAE. La deuxième étape consistait en un codage théorique où le concept d'innovation sociale et la théorie néo-institutionnaliste avec les concepts de logiques institutionnelles, d'organisation hybride, de travail et de changement institutionnel sont apparus les plus appropriés pour interpréter le cas des CAE.

(2) La seconde étape s'est déroulée de mars 2014 à septembre 2015 et a consisté à approfondir ma compréhension du processus d'innovation à chacun des trois niveaux d'analyse jusqu'à saturation théorique où aucune nouvelle information n'émergeait. J'ai ainsi collecté de nouvelles données via des entretiens semi-directifs (30) avec les membres de la coopérative et ses partenaires, des observations non participantes (4 évènements) et la collecte de nouveaux documents de communication interne, externe, de gouvernance et de régulation (400 pages environ). J'ai analysé ce deuxième ensemble de données en deux étapes : premièrement, afin de m'assurer de n'avoir manqué aucun thème lors de la première étape, j'ai mené un second codage descriptif. Comme quatre années séparaient le début de la première période de récolte de données et la fin de la seconde période de récolte, cela m'a permis d'identifier des changements de discours et pratiques. Entre ces deux phases le projet de loi ESS était à l'étude ce qui au niveau du champ occupait beaucoup les réseaux de coopératives. Au niveau organisationnel, la coopérative avait développé de nouveaux projets et noué de nombreux partenariats. La seconde étape a consisté en un codage théorique pour chaque niveau d'analyse. Au niveau du champ le codage s'est particulièrement focalisé sur les documents de communication et rapports, les entretiens avec la fondatrice des CAE, les dirigeants de Coopaname et leurs partenaires mais aussi sur les observations d'évènements organisés par Coopaname et les réseaux de CAE. Ce qui a permis de mieux comprendre

comment le processus d'innovation interagit avec son contexte. Au niveau de l'organisation, le codage a pris en compte non seulement les données internes (documents, entretiens, observations) mais aussi externes, en provenance des partenaires, réseaux et autres informateurs. A ce niveau d'analyse c'est la stratégie déployée par Coopaname pour gérer la complexité institutionnelle qui a pu être mise à jour. Enfin, l'analyse comparative des trajectoires personnelles des membres de la CAE a permis d'une part d'établir une typologie et d'autre part de conceptualiser la manière dont la CAE permettait à ses membres de (re)donner du sens au travail.

La thèse s'articule donc autour de ces trois niveaux d'analyse chacun faisant l'objet d'un article de recherche qui représente ici un chapitre.

3. PRESENTATION DES TROIS ARTICLES

Le premier article (chapitre 2) se situe au niveau du champ organisationnel des CAE. Il s'agissait de comprendre comment le processus d'innovation sociale s'inscrit dans son contexte. L'analyse des données a mis en lumière des interactions constantes entre le processus d'innovation sociale et son contexte. Durant la phase d'émergence les innovateurs sociaux s'appuient sur leur contexte - problématisation des enjeux sociaux et hybridation des logiques institutionnelles - pour développer une nouvelle forme organisationnelle hybride. Pendant la phase de diffusion, les innovateurs doivent à la fois s'adapter aux attentes de leur contexte notamment en termes de structuration mais aussi amener celui-ci à lui faire une place à travers la théorisation. Enfin durant la phase d'institutionnalisation, deux stratégies complémentaires menées par deux acteurs distincts apparaissent. D'une part, les réseaux représentatifs des coopératives travaillent à la stabilisation de la nouvelle forme de travail hybride à travers la mise en place de règles et de normes. Il s'agit de répondre aux enjeux sociaux du chômage et aux échecs entrepreneuriaux. D'autre part, l'organisation bénéficiant d'un statut élevé dans le champ, Coopaname, et ses partenaires poursuivent l'expérimentation afin de générer un changement institutionnel. Il s'agit ici de répondre aux nouveaux enjeux sociaux des zones grises de l'emploi via la mise en place de nouvelles pratiques et instruments. On voit ici que le contexte nourrit le processus d'innovation sociale dans le temps et que les interactions sont gérées à l'échelle du champ où il se dessine une répartition des tâches entre les acteurs.

Cette première étude permet de « dégeler » le contexte encore trop souvent considéré seulement en amont - déclencheur - et/ou en aval - étude d'impact - des processus visant à générer un changement institutionnel (Seo & Creed, 2002). C'est notamment le cas pour l'innovation sociale qui manque encore d'étude processuelle empiriquement fondée (Bouchard et al., 2015).

Le deuxième article (chapitre 3) se centre sur Coopaname et étudie comment une organisation hybride peut parvenir à diminuer les tensions internes dues aux incompatibilités entre logiques.

En effet, pour répondre aux enjeux de la transformation du travail les innovateurs sociaux ont créé une nouvelle forme de travail hybride adossée à une organisation elle-même hybride, c'est-à-dire mêlant différentes logiques institutionnelles contradictoires. La gestion des tensions entre les différentes logiques est donc cruciale pour la pérennité de l'organisation. De plus, l'un des enjeux majeurs pour les innovateurs sociaux est de préserver leur projet social face à la concurrence marchande.

Cet article montre ainsi comment Coopaname, qui bénéficie d'un statut élevé dans le champ, surmonte ses tensions en agissant directement sur les logiques institutionnelles pour construire sa propre proto-logique institutionnelle hybride – un assemblage institutionnel innovant en voie d'institutionnalisation (Boxenbaum, 2004; Lawrence, Hardy, & Philips, 2002). Dans un premier temps la coopérative imperméabilise les logiques, elle met en lumière le découplage de leurs composants - pratiques et discours - et les rend plus ambigus, en faisant preuve d'ambivalence à leur égard. En d'autres termes, en développant des relations à la fois positives et négatives avec les logiques, la coopérative met en lumière un niveau supplémentaire de complexité – intra-logique. Cette perméabilisation lui permet par la suite de mener un bricolage institutionnel (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013 ; Perkmann & Spicer, 2014) en recombinant de manière cohérente les logiques. Ce qui donne naissance à une proto-logique institutionnelle hybride (Boxenbaum, 2004 ; Lawrence et al., 2002). Celle-ci représentant un cadre protecteur permettant à la CAE de préserver ses spécificités d'organisations de l'économie sociale et solidaire face à la concurrence des entreprises à but lucratif. Pour ce faire la proto-logique est imperméabilisée via la différenciation par rapport aux autres initiatives en matière de travail et l'ancrage dans une logique coopérative encore marginale dans le pays. Ce travail montre ainsi que les logiques institutionnelles peuvent devenir plus ou moins perméables sous l'effet des organisations (Kent & Dacin, 2013).

Sur le plan pratique, il s'agit pour la coopérative d'enclencher un changement institutionnel, de créer de nouvelles régulations collectives, de nouvelles institutions, répondant aux enjeux de la transformation du travail – allier flexibilité, sécurité et citoyenneté. Ceci passe par la construction d'une approche alternative globale - une nouvelle logique institutionnelle - comprenant à la fois des éléments tangibles - des pratiques, des outils - et des éléments intangibles - un idéal, des discours. De plus, cette approche alternative globale offre un cadre protecteur à la dynamique d'expérimentation qui a vocation à se poursuivre.

Enfin, ce travail met également en lumière la façon dont Coopaname s'appuie fortement sur les principes historiques de la coopération pour briser le cycle de managérialisation ou dégenerescence (Cornforth, 1995). La coopérative s'appuie en particulier sur le cinquième principe coopératif : éducation, formation et information et le sixième : coopération entre coopératives. Deux principes souvent négligés dans la littérature qui se centre davantage sur la gouvernance et la structure financière des coopératives.

Enfin, le troisième article (chapitre 4) a permis de comprendre comment les personnes peuvent s'appuyer sur une organisation hybride afin de (re)donner du sens à leur travail. Les transformations du travail ont fortement ébranlé nos repères historiquement fondés. Les rapports de subordination du salariat - pour ceux qui peuvent encore y accéder - sont de plus en plus source de frustrations voire de souffrances et le micro-entrepreneuriat génère une grande insécurité. En quête d'une approche renouvelée de leur rapport au travail, les personnes qui s'adressent à Coopaname y trouvent un environnement plutôt complexe mêlant entrepreneuriat, salariat et coopération. Cette complexité qui pourrait être source de confusion, s'avère finalement être source de sens. Pour cela, Coopaname socialise ses membres aux trois logiques institutionnelles hybridées - entrepreneuriat, salariat, coopération - leur permettant d'utiliser chacune d'elle pour construire leur travail comme bon leur semblent (Berg, Dutton, & Wrzesniewski, 2013). L'accès à l'entrepreneuriat - source d'autonomie - et au salariat - source de sécurité - leur permet de donner sens à leurs activités. Cette utilisation des logiques est facilitée par la culture d'entreprise de Coopaname caractérisée par la confiance et la camaraderie qui apportent un deuxième niveau de sens en permettant un sentiment d'appartenance. Enfin, la coopération apporte un dernier niveau de sens en permettant un rattachement à un projet collectif à finalité sociale (Pratt & Ashforth, 2003). Il a également été intéressant de constater que les expériences précédentes face à la transformation du travail - frustrations face aux rapports hiérarchiques, chômage, solitude de l'entrepreneur - influencent la façon dont les personnes utilisent les différentes logiques institutionnelles. Trois catégories de membres ont ainsi pu être identifiées : les activistes (militants), les développeurs, et les personnes centrées sur leurs conditions économiques. Ces résultats contribuent ainsi au courant néo-institutionnaliste étudiant la façon dont les personnes habitent les organisations hybrides (Pache & Santos, 2013 ; Voronov & Yorks, 2015), en comblant le lien manquant entre l'appréhension des contradictions institutionnelles, se manifestant ici par la transformation du travail, et le passage à l'action. Ils contribuent également à la littérature sur le sens du travail en proposant une approche dynamique. En effet, le processus de construction de sens, en particulier dans le cas des développeurs, changent de forme durant le parcours au sein de l'organisation hybride. Ceux-ci commencent par utiliser l'entrepreneuriat et le salariat puis mobilisent progressivement la coopération.

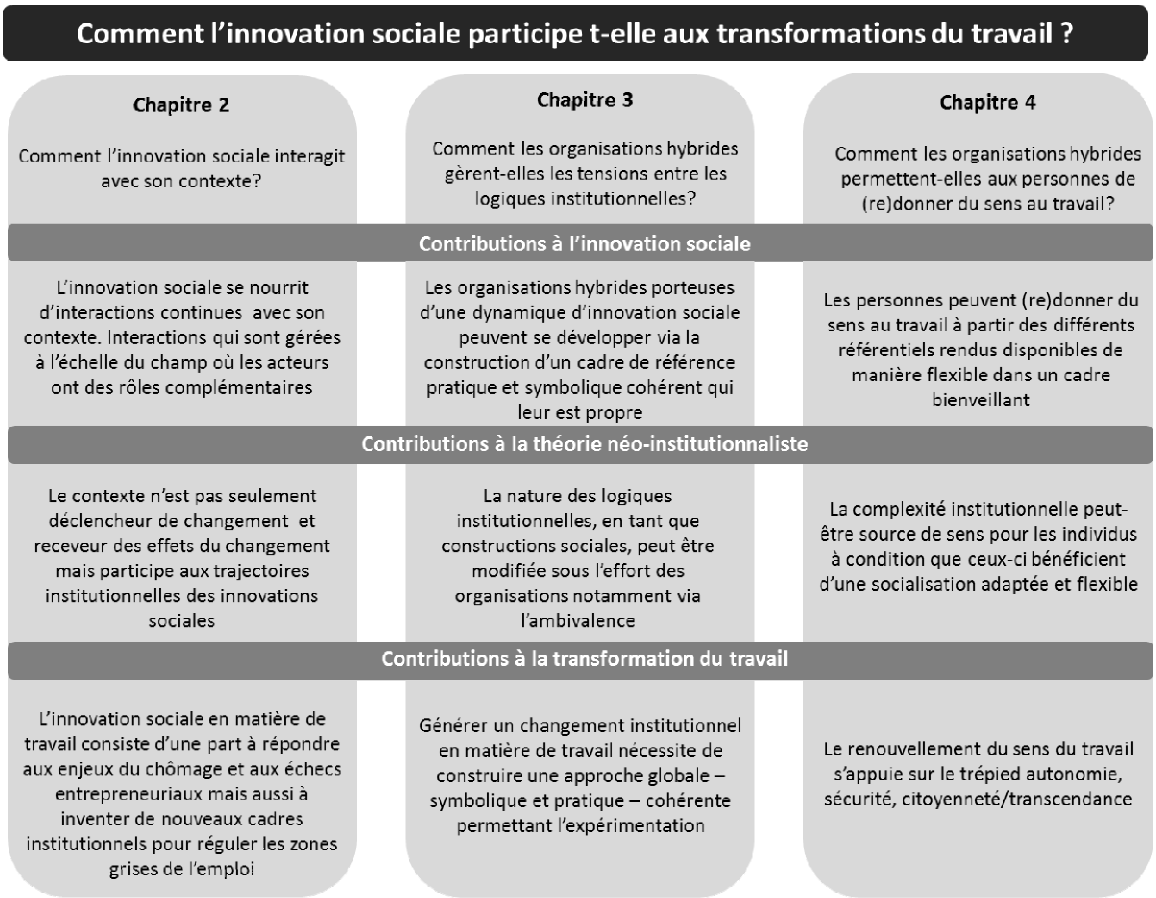
Ainsi, les transformations du travail et les enjeux sociaux qui les accompagnent appellent à une vision renouvelée du travail qui pour faire sens doit être capable de répondre aux différentes attentes des travailleurs. Ceci est rendu possible par l'hybridité à condition que celle-ci ne soit pas imposée. Au contraire, les personnes doivent être accompagnées et bénéficier d'un environnement adapté pour pouvoir s'approprier l'hybridité.

L'étude des coopératives d'activité et d'emploi (CAE) en France m'a ainsi permis de montrer comment la complexité institutionnelle (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011) - la diversité des références symboliques et pratiques parfois contradictoires - pouvaient être utilisées de manière stratégique dans le cadre d'un processus d'innovation sociale afin de répondre aux enjeux de la transformation du travail.

Le processus d'innovation sociale des CAE leur permet de construire de nouvelles formes de travail qui allient flexibilité, sécurité et citoyenneté. D'une part, elles permettent à des milliers de personnes de redonner du sens au travail. D'autre part, elles dessinent les contours du travail de demain en nourrissant une dynamique d'expérimentation sous la protection d'une logique en voie d'institutionnalisation.

Le schéma 1 résume les sous-questions de recherchent traitées dans les trois chapitres qui suivent ainsi que les principales contributions pour l'innovation sociale et la TNI.

Schéma 1 : Composition de la thèse



CHAPITRE 2: INTERACTIONS ENTRE L'INNOVATION SOCIALE ET SON CONTEXTE

Ce chapitre offre une analyse des interactions entre le processus d'innovation sociale et son contexte à travers le temps. Centrée sur les enjeux de la transformation du travail, cette étude de cas longitudinale met en lumière les multiples mécanismes qui existent depuis la phase d'émergence jusqu'à la phase d'institutionnalisation en passant par la diffusion de l'innovation sociale. Elle contribue ainsi aux recherches sur les innovations sociales qui manquent encore d'études longitudinales et à la littérature néo-institutionnaliste centrée sur la complexité et les changements institutionnels.

How does social innovation interact with its context? Analysis of the business and employment cooperative

INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have seen an upsurge of new initiatives by coalitions of diverse actors combining different resources to resolve social issues such as illiteracy, unemployment, health access, natural resources degradation, and demographic tension. These initiatives, which are known as social innovation, aim to tackle such problems by provoking institutional change. Thus, social innovation is doubly embedded in its socioeconomic context: its *raison d'être* is the fulfillment of highly contextual social needs; and its higher objective is to radically change this context. Although scholars have studied the effects of diverse, complex contexts on social innovation (Battilana et al., 2014; Bouchard, 2006), they have not studied how this context evolves over time, and how the social innovation process co-evolves with it. This paper aims to fill this gap through a longitudinal case study of a new form of work developed in France by the business and employment cooperative (BEC).

It is based on the new institutional literature, and more specifically on two main concepts: institutional logic and institutional change.

I use the concept of institutional logics, which are different frames of reference available for actors to make sense of their choices (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012), to conceptualize the diversity and complexity of the context.

The second concept used is that of institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002), as this is precisely the aim of social innovation.

From a new-institutional perspective, social innovation is defined as the process of tackling social issues and generating institutional change using multiple institutional logics.

This study presents how BECs have co-evolved alongside their environment from their emergence in the mid-1990s until now. It highlights the constant interactions between the social innovation process and its context through diverse mechanisms: problematization, hybridization, adaptation, theorization, stabilization, and movement. Moreover, it shows how roles are shared between the actors – whereas the organization benefiting from a high-status in the field and its partners work to maintain the innovative movement, the BECs representative networks work to stabilize, and thus legitimize, the hybrid organizational form. The following sections present successively the theoretical foundations of the study, and in particular, why the new institutional literature can enhance social innovation research, the methods, and the findings. As a conclusion, I propose some insights for both social innovation and new institutional scholars.

1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

1.1. Social innovation

Although the growing interest in social innovation from policymakers and the media is accompanied by increased academic research on the topic, this process still raises questions. Although it is easy to assume that the popularity of the concept results from the difficult socioeconomic context, we do not know exactly how social innovation is linked to context.

During the 20th century, the concept of social invention was considered as a means to sustain technological innovation (Hillier, Moulaert, & Nussbaumer, 2004), but nowadays the concept is attracting attention as a way of meeting social needs (Cloutier, 2003). Social innovation is simultaneously a process and a result (Grimm et al., 2013), and can be approached in many different ways: as social capital, social movement, or public policy; and with a focus on territory, organization or individuals. Here, I retain four characteristics over which the academic community seems to have reached a consensus. First, social innovation aims to improve social conditions. It tackles social issues such as unemployment, population ageing or poverty, and answers social needs and aspirations, such as equality, improved food quality, belongingness, etc. (Edwards-Schachter et al., 2012; Mulgan et al., 2007). Secondly, the process involves all stakeholders, particularly the beneficiaries, in an empowerment approach. Thus, co-building, co-production and co-design (Klein et al., 2010; Selloni & Cantù, 2013) are characteristic of social innovation processes. Third, its success depends on interactions between diverse actors such as policymakers, corporations, and civil society, who cross institutional boundaries. Indeed, whereas "silo thinking" has been identified as a barrier for the development of social innovation, network communication infrastructures and collaborative environments foster it (Harrisson et al., 2012; Terstriep et al., 2015). Fourth, it generates institutional or system change. With this last criterion, I subscribe to the institutional approach Center for Research in Social Innovation (CRISES) of Québec and differentiate between social innovation and initiatives with social objectives but no broader aim of systemic or institutional change (Bouchard, Evers, & Fraisse, 2015b; Westley et al., 2014).

Thus, social innovation is a multi-level dynamic dependent on context (Westley et al., 2014). The literature highlights three main components of the context: economic conditions and markets; public authorities and policymakers; and civil society and social movements (Nicholls, Simon, & Gabriel, 2015; Terstriep et al., 2015).

Economic conditions and the market, with its focus on profit and competition, are both an opportunity and a threat. Market failures trigger social innovation, and the market itself can provide opportunities for the spread of social innovation. On the other hand, market forces can threaten the development of social innovation when it is in competition with profit-oriented players (Malo & Vézina, 2004).

Legal authorities and policymakers, from supra-national organizations to local public institutions, can facilitate or impede social innovation (Bouchard et al., 2015b; Klein et al., 2010). Sometimes they foster the emergence and development of social innovation through dedicated funding schemes or infrastructure that prevents "silo thinking". Conversely, ill-adapted infrastructure and procedures, such as those designed for profit-oriented organizations, might prevent social innovators from accessing vital resources (Terstriep et al., 2015).

Civil society also provides an important part of the context. Many social innovators emerge from civil society: entrepreneurs, non-profit-organizations, social movements, informal neighbors' groups, etc. Moreover, as social innovation aims to respond to people's needs and aspirations, civil society is its main beneficiary. Here, we note that literature refers to civil society almost exclusively as an enabler or beneficiary and not as a potential opponent to social innovation. However, one might expect some resistance from civil society to the changes generated by social innovation. Additionally, although this is overlooked, social innovations can have a "darker" side (Nicholls et al., 2015).

Scholars researching on the interactions between social innovation and their environment focus on two main questions. Firstly, they study how the context causes, enables or constrains social innovation. Here, scholars list favorable and unfavorable context features as mentioned above (e.g. market competition, "silo-thinking") (Bouchard et al., 2015a; Moulaert, Maccallum, & Hillier, 2013; Phillips, Lee, Ghobadian, O'Regan, & James, 2014). Secondly, scholars study how social innovations are part of and influence their institutional contexts.

This second line of research, which somewhat overlaps the first, adopts a life cycle approach and focuses more specifically on the diffusion and institutionalization of social innovation. Scholars have produced typologies and detailed descriptions of strategies for developers to spread their social innovation and integrate them within their environment (Gibassier, De Menna, & Arjaliès, 2016; Malo & Vézina, 2004). For instance, Westley et al. (2014) distinguish between scaling out strategies, which spread the innovation to reach a broader range of people; and scaling up, or generating "broader institutional change" to address the " larger institutional roots of a problem" (ibid. p.237). Bouchard et al. (2015b) identified three main institutionalization processes: negotiated institutionalization with policymakers, which recognizes unique features of the social innovation and gives innovators a degree of autonomy; flexible institutionalization, which adapts to local contexts; and refocusing on innovation.

The main problem with these two lines of research is that they implicitly "freeze" the context, as if society, economic conditions, social needs, aspirations, rules, norms, and so on, do not evolve over time. However, as highlighted by Evers and Ewert (2015): "Just as important as the initial goals of social innovation are the wider political concepts and institutional systems in which they become embedded (see e.g., Osborne and Brow, 2011): how the social and economic environment reacts to them in terms of the better strategies and solutions that they advance. Hence, social innovations are, over the course of their development, marked by a high degree of risk and uncertainty." (Ibid. p.108-109).

Yet interactions between social innovations and their contexts over time remain overlooked. To return to the definition of social innovation, this blind spot is intriguing. Indeed, as the goal of social innovation is to meet social needs, and as these evolve constantly along with the context, it is important to understand how social innovations, co-evolve alongside social needs and aspirations, legal rules and social norms.

To answer this question, I have based my work on new institutional theory, which has moved from a focus on stability and uniformity (Di Maggio & Powell, 1983) to change and diversity (Greenwood et al., 2011), with the concepts of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012) and institutional change (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinnings, 2002).

1.2. Conceptualizing context through new institutional theory

The concept of institutional logics makes it possible to conceptualize the complexity of context. According to this approach, society is an inter-institutional system made up of institutional orders, each with its specific logic: a "*set of material practices and symbolic constructions – which constitutes its organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate*." (Friedland & Alford, 1991). These different institutional logics exert isomorphic pressure (Thornton et al., 2012) on organizations, pushing them to align their practices and structures with their ideal types. In fact, to survive, organizations need social acceptability and credibility (Scott, 2008); in other words legitimacy. Legitimacy is non-absolute. It is acquired by conforming to each institutional logic's social system of norms, values and beliefs. However, organizations are increasingly pressed by the contradictory demands of different institutional logics – such as economic efficiency (market logic) and social responsibility (social logic) – so organizations have to behave strategically to develop in this complex environment (Greenwood et al., 2011). Moreover, when the logics fail to adapt to socioeconomic trends, such as computerization, globalization and increasing life expectancy, social issues arise, in the form of unfulfilled needs and aspirations. They render the context even more complex for people and their organizations, and are important triggers of institutional change.

The literature identifies four main steps in institutional change. First, the emergence of a trigger or precipitating jolt leads to deinstitutionalization (Greenwood et al., 2002; Seo & Creed, 2002; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012). As highlighted by Seo and Creed (2002), contradictions between institutions (inefficiency, adaptability, incompatibilities, divergent interests) are important triggers of institutional change. However, it is not so much institutional characteristics *per se* that generate institutional change, but how actors make sense of them. This is the second step in the change process: the recognition that the deinstitutionalization is important. This results in a sensemaking, reframing or theorization process (Munir, 2005; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Seo & Creed, 2002; Tracey et al., 2011). In this vein, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) show how institutional logics shape the focus of decision makers, who pay attention to issues considered as crucial in the dominant institutional logic. Sensemaking indeed plays an important role, it is the "*process by which actors identify or bracket "events" amidst an ongoing flow of experience, assign meaning to an event, and draw on that meaning to define an appropriate course of action*." (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010, p.826). Moreover, Greenwood et al. (2002) underline the role played by intermediary actors such as professional associations, which have the power to legitimate changes or not. During the third phase of change: praxis, innovation or pre-institutionalization (Greenwood et al., 2002; Seo & Creed, 2002), a new institutional proposition is developed by a collective of actors, sometimes through bricolage (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013; Mair & Marti, 2009) and improvisation (Smets et al., 2012). The last phase consists in the diffusion and institutionalization of the new institutional proposal, which, by the end of the process, has become widespread and taken-for-granted (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011; Colyvas & Powell, 2006; Greenwood et al., 2002).

The seminal work of Barley and Tolbert (1997) highlighted the fact that institutional change is an ongoing process, a continuous flow of interactions between the realm of action and the realm of institution. However, here again, no longitudinal empirical studies have offered an in-depth explanation of how the interactions between change makers and their institutional context evolve over time.

I propose to fill this gap by focusing on the issue of labor transformation and the emergence of new forms of work. Based on the study of a business and employment cooperative, this research highlights the nature and evolutions of the interactions between social innovation and its context.

2. RESEARCH CONTEXT

2.1. Evolution of Labor in France

This study focuses on the issue of labor transformation in France. Since the political revolution, with the prohibition of guilds, and the industrial revolution, with the emergence of factories, two main ideal types or institutional logics have dominated the French labor landscape: employment and entrepreneurship[15]. The entrepreneurship logic is built around the market; it finds its legitimacy in the need for independence and relies on contracts and self-regulation. Employment is built around the State and then the welfare regime, which implements labor laws to respond to the need for equitable personal protection. A third form of work, cooperation, emerged in reaction to the industrial revolution. In a cooperative, people self-organize their work and consumption to fill basic social needs: affordable food,

[15] Although voluntary and domestic work provides a great deal of wealth, I only take into account work that has economic value in society and is rewarded by financial payment.

health care, etc. The cooperation logic is built around what is now called in France the social and solidarity economy (SSE), which includes different kinds of civil society organizations: non-profit and mutual organizations, cooperatives, foundations and social enterprises. It fulfills the need to be part of a collective and uses not-for-profit organizational forms. However, at the time of the French revolution, policymakers repressed this form of work[16], which also faced competition from Marxism. Unlike in a self-organized cooperative, where workers are both employees and employers, Marxism is based on a struggle between labor unions and employers to overturn the balance of power. As socialism and labor unions developed in France alongside the Welfare regime, the cooperative movement was progressively marginalized (Draperi, 2012). The French welfare regime is based on the Bismarckian model of an insurance system based on worker status. Employees insure both themselves and their family through their contributions. Until the 1960s, the French welfare regime relied on the Fordist compromise –negotiations between labor unions and employer associations - and on a massive workforce. However, economic change - globalization, the growth of the service economy, computerization, etc. – have profoundly destabilized the socioeconomic equilibrium (Rifkin, 1997). Thus, since the first oil crisis, France has experienced high unemployment rates that disrupt the balance of the welfare regime. Since 1984, the unemployment rate has never fallen below 7% of the workforce, reaching 9.8% in 2013, according to ILO criteria. Moreover, according to the French national statistics institute, an additional 1.3 million people are not included in the statistics as they are looking for work but not immediately available; do not want a job; or have been discouraged from looking for one. As fewer workers are contributing and the number of unemployed people receiving social benefits is growing, the welfare system is constantly in deficit (9.7 billion Euros in 2014[17]). More importantly, since labor has become central to society – being the

[16] Le Chapelier law and Allarde decree banned all forms of association.
[17] Direction de la Sécurité Sociale – « Les chiffres clés de la sécurité sociale 2014 »

access point for social rights - its transformation and the resulting unemployment affects citizens' lives profoundly (Méda, 2010).

Policymakers have tackled this problem in different ways. During the 1970s, they adopted an approach called "activation of social expenses," which linked the payment of unemployment benefits to training and entrepreneurship incentives (including for the new entrepreneurs the cancellation of social contributions). The jobless were simply invited to create their own job. However, the results were unsatisfactory the unemployed do not always have the necessary skills to create a business. At the beginning of the 1980s, the new French government chose a Keynesian policy, increasing low incomes and social benefits. The State also nationalized some companies and recognized the role played by the Social and Solidarity Economy (Demoustier, 2004). A change occurred in the mid-1980s when the priority became the fight against inflation. In parallel with deregulation of the labor market, the fight against unemployment was led jointly by the State and non-profit organizations through, among other measures, the creation of subsidized contracts. This approach considers that the jobless are excluded and need help to integrate society and find work. Therefore, new non-profit organizations, "work integration social enterprises", emerged to take care of this integration. Although these initiatives were part of the Social and Solidarity Economy, the jobs offered were in employment and not necessarily in cooperative organizations. Indeed, these structures were considered transitory; they were supposed to provide the unemployed with the necessary personal and professional skills to find a job and then leave the social enterprise. In parallel with this, the State introduced a work-sharing policy by reducing the working week to 35 hours and providing support for the creation of new jobs in the household services sector. In recent years the popularity of the myth that "we are all entrepreneurs" seems to be increasing through the creation of new statuses supporting small- and very-small-scale entrepreneurship, alongside the development of micro-finance and non-profit organizations to help entrepreneurs. Over the years, a new, pluralistic organizational field has emerged comprising new organizational forms and schemes to regulate labor.

To sum up, the State, in partnership with corporations and non-profit organizations, developed new practices and instruments, which altered institutional logics. The employment logic was adapted through the creation of work integration social enterprises. The entrepreneurship logic was adapted through micro-entrepreneurship, helping the unemployed to set up small businesses and so create their own jobs.

Table 1 presents the three institutional logics regulating labor in France with their material and symbolic elements (Thornton et al., 2012). It also presents their limits and how they adapted to socioeconomic changes. Although organization in professions has been and is still very important in some sectors, this logic appears to be transversal to the three previously mentioned. In fact, guilds organized professions for centuries through cooperation and self-organization. Moreover, since the development of the welfare regime, professional organizations play a crucial role in the dialogue between employers and employees and with the national authorities for, among other things, the creation of norms.

Table 1: The Three Main Institutional Logics Regulating Labor in France

Institutional logics building blocks	Entrepreneurship	Employment	Cooperation
Cornerstone institution	Market	Welfare regime	Social and Solidarity Economy
Symbolic construction (Meaning - Source of legitimacy)	Need for autonomy	Need for protection	Need to be part of a collective
Material practice - Structure	Contract	Labor law	Not for profit organizations
Limit	Entrepreneurial failures	Unemployment	*Marginalized*
Logic adaptation	Micro-entrepreneurship	Work integration	*Instrumental use*

Despite these adaptations social issues persist. Indeed, when they become members of work integration social enterprises, the unemployed people have no guarantee that they will find a job. In a context of high unemployment rates and increased competition between workers, they remain poorly equipped to compete. When the unemployed people create their own micro-enterprises they face a similar situation. Even though they obtain support for a few months or years, many are unable to build a sustainable business.

Moreover, global competition increases market flexibility, leading to worker insecurity, and the State appears unable to (re)create appropriate, efficient solidarity. As a result, the labor market is now divided into "insiders," with long-term employment and the related social benefits; and a growing number of "outsiders," the jobless, or people with insecure contracts (self-employed, short-term and/or part-time workers, etc.) (Galtier & Gautié, 2003). The increasing gap between the two groups creates tension. Whereas the former try to maintain their security and working conditions, the latter are tempted to consider them as the happy few who are blocking the balancing mechanisms of the labor market.

In recent years, new organizations and non-standard or alternative forms of work have developed in the space between employment and entrepreneurship: telework, on-call employment, freelancing, etc. (Cappelli & Keller, 2013; Kautonen et al., 2010; Tremblay, 2002). Blurring the boundaries between institutional logics, this so-called “gig economy” or grey employment zones now form a labor market in its own right. Here, I choose to focus on one of these organizations offering a new form of work: the Business and Employment Cooperative, and so to analyze how social innovation interacts with its context.

3.1. The Business and Employment Cooperatives

The Business and Employment Cooperative (BEC) was created by a group of public and private for-profit and not-for-profit organizations in the mid-1990s, to support the increasing numbers of the self-employed.

The path taken by BEC members can be divided into three stages. First, entrepreneurs sign a mentoring contract, which allows them to retain their former status and rights, and at the same time develop their entrepreneurial project by attending meetings and workshops. They propose their own expertise and canvass clients for their own products. After the first product sale or service delivery, they sign a work contract. The turnover generated is transformed into a salary by the cooperative’s shared departments (accounting, management, etc.), staffed by what are known as “permanent employees.” In a third phase, salaried entrepreneurs, like permanent staff, can become associates and get involved in the cooperative’s governance. Thus, BECs bring together entrepreneurs with various skills who work independently but within an enterprise with shared tax, administrative and accounting departments, and in which they can develop working groups and become decision makers. The BEC business model relies on sharing resources. Entrepreneurs are accountable for their own activities; they finance their salary and social security contributions with their turnover. A share of the turnover (on average around 10%) is used to finance the shared support services. Finally, the cooperative is also a public interest service, giving advice and help to anyone with an entrepreneurial project; this activity is supported by public funding (European funds, local administration funds, etc.). Over the last 20 years, the BEC has developed rapidly, and in 2013 there were 200[18] BEC establishments in France with 7000 salaried workers and 3000 project holders with a support contract.

The case of Business and Employment Cooperatives and labor transformation in France appears to be revelatory (Langley & Abdallah, 2011; Yin, 2003) for a study of how social innovation and its context interact and co-evolve over time.

First, the first BEC emerged only 20 years ago, and its legal frame was created in 2014, making this a contemporary case, allowing for a study of process that avoids retrospective bias–we do not know yet whether this new form of work will be a success or failure in the long term (Van de Ven, 1992). Secondly, extensive, varied, easily accessible data sources exist, including reports, meeting minutes, interviews, and observations. This allows a fruitful triangulation of data sources (Yin, 2003) and increases the accuracy of the findings.

4. METHOD

4.1. A process study of change

Labor transformation represents a grand challenge, in the sense of Eisenhardt et al. (2016). It is a complex phenomenon deeply affecting a vast number of people, and its successful accomplishment requires a mix of political, technical and social solutions (ibid., 1113).

[18] The BEC statistics are taken from a report published by the network of worker cooperatives in January 2014.

Inductive approaches appear most appropriate to a study of how people try to solve such challenges (Eisenhardt et al., 2016). Therefore, I adopted an interpretive approach and follow a grounded-theory strategy (Langley, 1999; Suddaby, 2006). In other words, my position is that reality is constructed through the actor's interpretations, which are materialized by their discourse. The aim of the researcher is then to compare his/her own interpretation with that of the actors to achieve a theoretical understanding of reality. As underlined by Philips, Lawrence, and Hardy (2004), and Nigam and Ocasio (2010), discourse and action are closely tied. "*Action affects discourse through the production of texts [and] discourse affects action through the production of institutions*" (Philips et al., 2004, p.641 and 644).

Moreover, as the aim is to understand how the social innovation process interacts with its context over time, the study follows a process ontology (Langley et al., 2013) assuming that reality is fluid, and change occurs prior to organization (Hussenot & Missonier, 2015; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). "In such a view, context is not something that is held constant and outside the changes being analyzed but is itself continually reconstituted within and by processes of interaction over time […] environments, and organizations are all in constant and mutually interacting flux" (Langley et al., 2013, p.5). It is precisely these fluxes and their evolutions over time that interest me.

4.2. Data collection and analysis

The study began when I met the former co-director of the Parisian BEC, Coopaname. This cooperative, created in 2003, is now one of the biggest BECs in France, with more than 800 members including 194 associates, and a turnover of €8m. Coopaname was extremely welcoming.

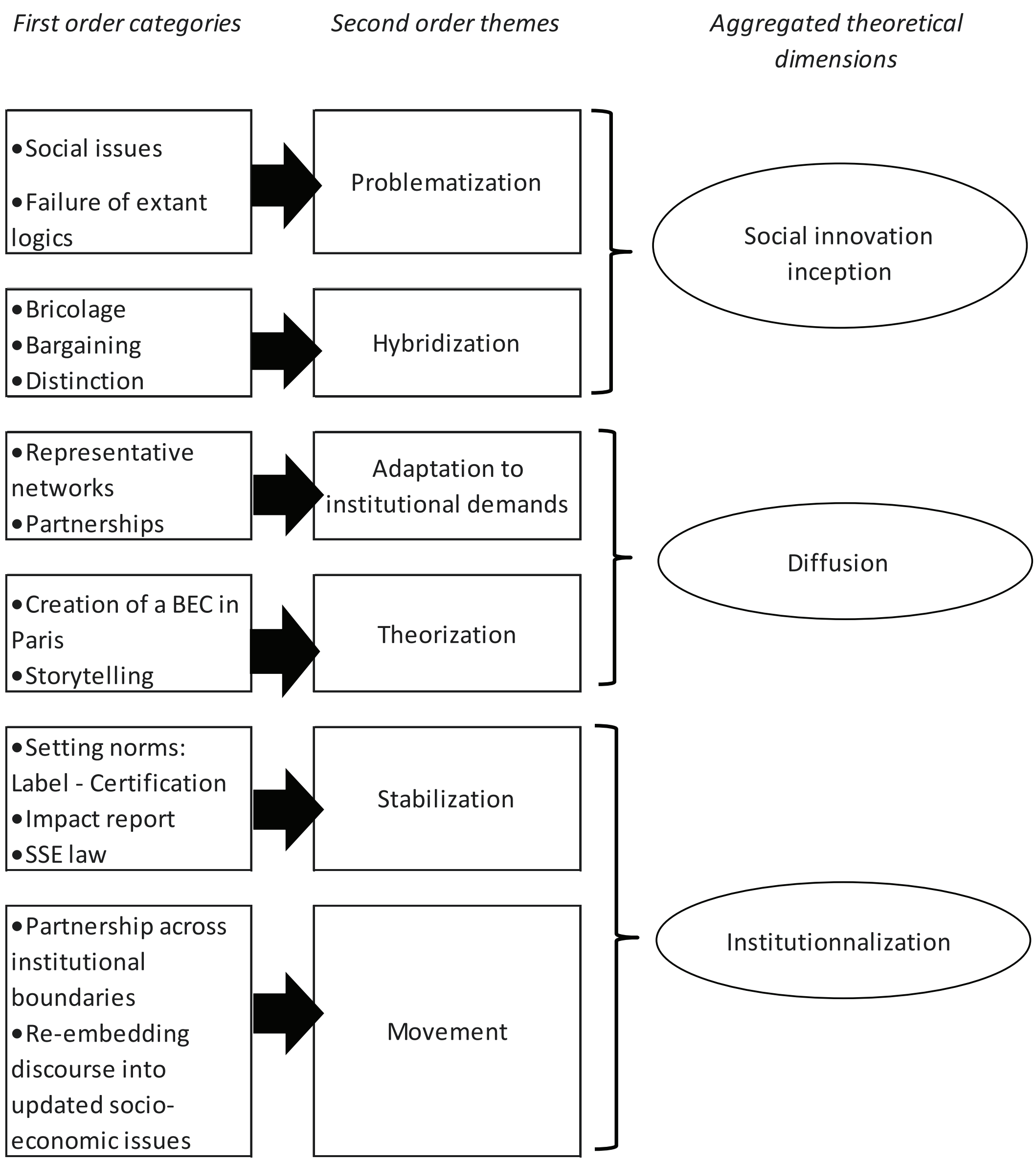
Following a grounded-theory strategy (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) I went back and forth from data collection to data analysis over four years.

The first exploration phase consisted in data collection, from July 2011 to December 2013, and a two-step coding scheme with Nvivo10. I collected primary data from three main sources: semi-structured interviews, focus groups and non-participative observation. Moreover, the cooperative provided access to its intranet and files comprising annual reports, newsletters, PowerPoint presentations, meeting minutes, press and academic articles, pictures and books. Through open coding I identified the main topics that the actors considered important: social issues, bargaining, creation of representative networks, partnerships, etc. Then, through theoretical coding, in which I compared actors' interpretations to the literature, I identified relevant concepts: social innovation, institutional logics, and hybrid organization.

Then, during the second phase, I attempted to achieve an holistic view of the case (Yin, 2003) and reach theoretical saturation, where no new information emerges from the field. Thus, from March 2014 to September 2015, I extended my data collection[19] to other field actors. I interviewed the founder of the BEC concept, members of cooperative and BEC networks, observed the latter's first annual university, and collected reports and communication material. In parallel with this project, I also studied other BECs, interviewing members and partners in very different contexts. This gave me a broader view and deeper understanding of the BEC field. I also analyzed this new pool of data using a two-step coding scheme - open and theoretical coding - from which emerged the second order themes and aggregated dimensions presented in Figure 1.

[19] The full data set includes 33 interviews lasting on average 70 minutes, 2 focus group, 11 events observation and more than 400 pages of archives.

Figure 1: Data structure



5. FINDINGS

5.1. Social innovation inception

Problematization

In the mid-1990s, in the French city of Lyon, a think-tank of public and private organizations acting in the field of labor regulation created the first BEC to support the growing number of unemployed trying to set up their own business.

In her book recounting the creation of the BECs, their founder explains her motivation: "*The reasons for my involvement with BECs are numerous. […] The first was the fight for employment. I have spent my whole life fighting unemployment, as I entered the job market after the first oil crash and at the end of the 1945-1975 boom. Unemployment causes society to decay*."

Although new practices and organizations emerged to respond to unemployment, their results remain limited. Micro-entrepreneurship, whereby the unemployed become self-employed, is not suitable for everyone. Setting up a business is risky, and demands particular technical and personal skills. Even though organizations supporting micro-entrepreneurship emerged, their support was limited in time and scope, leaving some people even more discouraged. Meanwhile "integration social enterprises" provide appropriate work and training to enable people to find salaried work; but many still fail to get back into traditional employment, going from one integration structure to another.

Aware of these failures, the think-tank wanted to create something new to enable the jobless to launch their own activities within a secure frame. It hired a consultancy to conduct a study and provide recommendations. This agency proposed to experiment with the concept of individual venture incubator, with five objectives:

"-to enable a smooth shift to the greatest possible autonomy for the creator;

-to provide a bridge between social benefits and economic income;

-to promote people's personal and technical potential;

-to offer security, without which any activity is inhibited;

-to build individual projects collectively." (Extract from the report by Joël Lebosse, Nathalie Highley and Michel Basset cited by Bost, 2011)

This shared critical awareness of the context - the social issues and the failures of existing institutional logics - represent a problematization process (Greenwood et al., 2002; Munir, 2005). A shared critical understanding emerged (Seo & Creed, 2002) enabling stakeholders and social innovators to unite their efforts to develop solutions.

Hybridization

A first experiment was set up using features from the different institutional logics - entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation – available in the context. They use them to build a new hybrid organizational form (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2010).

Bricolage was widely used during this first stage of the social innovation process, in other words, actors were "using whatever is available, within a restricted environment, to get the job done" (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013) (p.202). During this bricolage phase, the founder followed a trial-and-error process. For instance, she had problems with accounting, due to the characteristics of the new organizational form, and had to find innovative solutions to ensure the sustainability of each entrepreneur's venture, as well as that of the whole enterprise. The selection of a status was also question of trial-and-error, as the first BEC was set up as a non-profit organization (NPO), before the founder transformed it into cooperative. Driven by her desire to become deeply involved in the shared entrepreneurial journey, and realizing the limits of NPO status, she found inspiration in other cooperative experiences. This is particularly interesting as she mobilized a logic that had long been marginalized in the country. Using former organizing principles such as cooperation is unexpected in a context so dominated by employment and entrepreneurship.

The BEC founder related an interesting event at the intersection between bricolage and bargaining: one of her partners advised her to set up two distinct organizations: one for promising projects that would most probably make a profit, and the other for less promising projects. But this was not an option for her. She wanted to co-create something new with the project holders. She considers that solidarity and interesting learning processes will emerge from the wide variety of members.

Moreover, the founders had to negotiate with the regulatory authorities. For instance, they had to convince them that joining a BEC is a form of job seeking, and should entitle people to unemployment benefit. The founder also had to convince her partners that the time required to launch a venture cannot be measured precisely and applied equally to all entrepreneurs, as each experience is unique.

Another important exercise at this stage was that of distinguishing between the new organizational form and those based on the insertion and micro-entrepreneurship logics. The founder considered it vital to differentiate her project from the insertion logic. She did not consider any of her members as marginalized, or as lacking the necessary skills to enter the job market or set up their own enterprise. For her, they were all simply project holders.

To summarize, the hybridization process comprised three sub-processes:

-Bargaining with the other field actors to develop a new organizational form.

-Bricolage to assemble diverse features from the different institutional logics available.

-Construction of a discourse distinguishing the new organizational form from other forms with which it was often confused and/or compared.

Table 2 presents quotes that illustrate the social innovation inception phase, comprising the problematization and hybridization processes.

Table 2: BEC inception

Aggregated dimensions	**SOCIAL INNOVATION INCEPTION**
Second order themes	**Problematization**
First order categories	***Social issues***
"The reasons for my involvement with BECs are numerous. […] The first is the fight for employment. I have spent my lifetime fighting against unemployment, as I entered the job market after the first oil crash and the end of the 1945-1975 boom. Unemployment causes our society to decay." (Founder of the BEC)	
"When the BEC appeared, the status of self-entrepreneur did not exist and they were no other w activity than to register an individual enterprise. However, this enterprise creation had three sei drawbacks: personal financial risk (for instance, mortgaging your house to obtain a loan to fund th wide range of charges even before the activity starts; and the time consuming administrativ procedures reducing the time dedicated to the activity" (Founder of the BEC)	
"If they [BECs] attract more and more candidates, it is because they respond to profound changes in our society. According to the sociologist Jacques Ion, by combining individual initiative and solidarity, they respond to the demands of contemporary people: autonomy and the search for social connections"(Founder of the BEC)	

First order categories	Failure of existing logics

"*At the beginning of the 1990s, the local labor department for the Lyon area, and more precisely the department responsible for developing self-employment, admitted that for the unemployed to set up their own companies is not a good solution. It is not source of sustainable job creation and leads to tragic situations. It is in this context that the Caisse des dépôts et consignations [public funding origination] assembled and led a regional think tank with the local labor department, organizations supporting business creation, the network of worker cooperatives [...] All participants agree that it is necessary to provide enterprise creation support that is better adapted to the new creators*." (Founder of the BECs)

"*Urgency and precariousness are, in this frame of thought, highly interwoven. All supporters should be especially sensitive to these aspects and the value of the support depends greatly on the quality of those that provide it. [...] However, without generalizing, observing and listening to beneficiaries shows the need to correct a double shortsightedness. The first is temporal, because we tend to favor short-term support, even very short-term, to the detriment of long-term approaches [...] The second one can be called "spatial," and originates in the strong focus on over-general problems [...] To this myopia is added a squint, because it results in most existing structures concentrating on more or less illusory key success factors*" (citation from Sylvie Sammut "Reflection about the tools and methods to be used by the enterprise creator" by the Founder of the BECs)

Second order themes	Hybridization
First order categories	***Distinction***

"The only short term effect perceived and expected by the public authorities is a reduction of the unemployment rate resulting from the number of individual enterprise creations. The approach proposed and developed by the BECs runs counter to this movement" (Founder of the BECs)

"Although the BECs are enterprises in their own right, they are a completely new form of enterprise, relying on the cooperative values of mutualization and solidarity, distinguishing them fundamentally from the other structures with which they are sometimes confused. 'Umbrella companies' appeared in the 1980s [...] as commercial corporations providing administrative and accounting services. Their form, operations and spirit are radically different from a cooperative enterprise. [...] The incubator has emerged from the same movement as the BECs. [...] It is a stepping stone before creation and not a joint enterprise." (Founder of the BECs)

"The report explained: 'as in the case of the employability initiatives […] the objective of the incubator [the first BEC experiment was called "Enterprise Incubator"] is to produce the conditions for the fulfillment of the individual entrepreneurship projects.' This approach seemed restrictive to me, it stigmatizes these new creators by considering them from the beginning as experiencing employability problems as long as they do not have all the qualities required to enter the traditional entrepreneurial framework" (Founder of the BECs)

First order categories	Bricolage

"The first eight months of experiment within the non-profit organization Créons have taught us a lot, and the logical next step leads me to respond to the entrepreneurs' demand, to think about the creation of an enterprise. The non-profit form appears not so suitable for the development and management of economic projects. Moreover, fundamentally, I want to become a full stakeholder of the enterprise project that we share with the entrepreneurs." (Founder of the BECs)

"When Cap Services [name of the first BEC] finalized its accounts after its first financial year, we had not yet had the chance to discuss the result and its management. […]I suggested as a matter of urgency that we should retain the profits for use as salaries in the next financial year. The accounts are balanced even if I am aware that this is an emergency solution, not satisfying if we want to be an enterprise. [...] Our accountant brought me down to earth: the retained profit will be included in the calculation of the result for tax purposes [...] the consequence for the entrepreneur is heavy: they will have to pay social contributions on this amount (their future salary) and, in addition, corporate tax [...]" (Founder of the BECs)

"We hypothesize […] that the BECs are still today legal objects sui generis, relying more on the social economy as a whole than on one of its particular constitutive families (cooperatives, mutual organizations, not-for-profits)" (Academic paper written by the former co-director-1 of Coopaname and an administrator)

First order categories	Bargaining

"the question of member status rapidly entered the debate with the institutions, including the organizations responsible for unemployment benefits. In fact, by joining the incubator the project holders are no longer considered as job seekers. We had to argue, within a period where activating passive social benefits was suggested, that joining an incubator in order to test a project is the same as job seeking (that the creator proposed to create). Eventually our partners agreed with this argument and admitted that joining an incubator should not exclude our members from job seeker status." (BECs founder)

"Rapidly I came to disagree with some partners about my approach. One of them for instance […] advised me to create two structures: one non-profit to host project holders that do not appear very promising […] the other, commercial […] dedicated to economically successful projects that promise to be productive. Obviously, this advice is based on the idea of a successful economic project that is going to make money. But obviously that is not my project, which is directly founded in cooperative values that put the individual at the center of the enterprise project." (Founder of the BECs)

As social innovation consists in creating something new from the context, social innovators need to obtain the support of legitimated logics and actors (Tracey et al., 2011) and to build an identity for the new hybrid organization to diffuse (Kraatz & Block, 2008).

5.2. Social innovation diffusion

The second phase of the social innovation process consists in the diffusion of the BEC concept, and comprises two main sub-processes: adaptation to institutional demands from the context and theorization of the social innovation to establish it in its context. These processes aim to give legitimacy to the social innovation process and its resulting hybrid organizational form.

Adaptation to context institutional demands

To develop at national level, BECs had to conform to the institutional demands of its context (policy makers, market and civil society). Organizing the BECs into a national network was a way to gain visibility in the labor regulation landscape, to improve BEC practices through sharing experience, and to promote the organizational form. Thus, it facilitated the dialogue with national policymakers.

Another way to adapt to institutional demands was to establish partnerships with key players in the field: the national authority responsible for unemployment benefits, trade unions, health insurance companies, etc. Through partnerships, the BECs aligned with national standards and gained legitimacy, for instance by negotiating individual agreements or insurance contracts.

Theorization

Whilst BECs had to adapt to the context in order to develop, they also had to promote themselves through theorization. To do so, the BEC network set up a BEC in the French capital, Coopaname, to give the concept a showcase close to policymakers and national media. Thanks to their location, Coopaname members have easy access to the media and the policymakers, and are particularly active promoters. Its members publish numerous press articles and have set up a research committee, whose members present and publish academic papers, establishing the building blocks for BEC theorization. Finally, in 2012, the cooperative hosted visits by the presidential candidate François Hollande and the Minister for the Social and Solidarity Economy, highlighting the success of the "Parisian showcase" strategy. Thus, Coopaname benefits from high status among BECs and, as we will see later on, this provides it with greater freedom (Durand et al., 2013). The diffusion process is illustrated in table 3.

Table 3 : BECs diffusion

Aggregated dimensions	SI DIFFUSION
Second order themes	**Adaptation to context demands**
First order categories	***Representative networks***

"the BECs also build their network […] with the support of the steering committee, Coopérer pour entreprendre [name of the BEC network] the national level structure aiming to: -support the creation of BECs; -define the joint operating rules (writing the charter); -professionalize the management of the new enterprises by producing a job reference guide, [...] -discuss the legal problems raised by the State and the workers and employers representatives [...] In 2002, the headquarters were transferred to Paris, the position of managing director was created, which I hold full time, answering to a board, made up of the first seven BECs and supported by the steering committee" (Founder of the BECs)

"Coopérer pour entreprendre represents the cooperative societies that signed the present charter and generates their policies. The BECs, each at its own level, in its region, and according to its means, helps to develop shared practice and experience, to develop and represent the network" (Charter of Coopérer pour entreprendre)

First annual university of the BEC network (November 2011) - The objective was the discussion and co-construction of a shared strategy, a "mutual progress approach".

First order categories	***Partnership***

"Impressed by the success of the first cooperative and its project holders, and convinced of its importance, the director of the local department of labor, sent the file to the national department for labor and training in Paris. This marks the national dimension of the project." (Founder of the BEC)

"One of the most remarkable actions of Coopérer pour entreprendre [BECs network] was the creation, in 2003, of a training course - in reality a research-action university approach - for directors of BECs in partnership with the CNAM (Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers) and the CEIF (Conseil en ingénieurie des compétences et de la formation). The action shows the desire to discuss, construct, capitalize and mutualize these innovative business practices" (Academic paper written by the former co-directors of Coopaname)

"The BEC is a tool for the social and economic development aiming to create wealth and jobs in its territory. It cannot emerge without the voluntary support of the main surrounding public actors […] it becomes an effective tool just through its everyday local appropriation by the public employment services, social organizations and all the local actors in enterprise creation, insertion and employment." (Academic article written by the former co-directors of Coopaname)

Second order themes	Theorization
First order categories	***Creation of a showcase***

"Coopaname was created by Coopérer pour entreprendre [the BEC network] Coopaname was a showcase in the Parisian area. There was a mix of genres and then at last we had our own identity." (Former co-director-2 of Coopaname)

Visit of François Hollande during his presidential candidature and visit of the Minister of the Social and Solidarity based Economy

First order categories	***Storytelling***

"the more it is empowered, the more BEC entrepreneurs are socially and economically secure, compared with their situation in self-employment (social protection, risk sharing, possibility of taking a break from work without social risk). It brings people within the trajectory of labor law who would have been outsiders if they were independent workers [...] or working in the parallel economy [...]" (Academic article written by the former co-directors of Coopaname)

"Since its emergence 11 years ago, the BEC concept has stumbled over its own definition. It probably resists definition so much, because we use traditional models of organization analysis for the purpose. However, BECs blur the lines, escape traditional frames of thought, and multiply their inconsistencies: social instrument and economic enterprise: school for learning and legal frame for action; beneficiary and shareholder; supporter and supported; entrepreneur and employee... To understand the Coopérer pour entreprendre phenomenon, one should accept the invitation of the BECs to think counter intuitively. A BEC is not an object, it is a project. It is not an organization, it is a dynamic." (Academic article written by the former co-directors of Coopaname)

5.3. Social innovation institutionalization

Although numerous BECs were created all over the country, the spread of the hybrid organizational form did not spontaneously lead to its institutionalization (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). In fact, although the BECs have obtained recognition and support from their public partners, they are still in process of becoming “taken-for-granted” by workers and enterprises. Thus, the third phase of BEC development consists in embedding the social innovation process and its resulting hybrid organization into the consciousness of people and organizations (Colyvas & Powell, 2006). This process comprises two complementary strategies enacted at different levels by different actors. The networks try to stabilize the BEC model, to establish it in its context. At the same time, Coopaname, the most well-known BEC, tries to ensure BECs continue to adapt to changes in the context and new social issues.

Stabilization

From the start, the BECs were an experiment, but had no official status. Therefore, the new Social and Solidarity Economy law of 2014 was important, as it included a section dedicated to the BEC. Section IV defines the goal of the BEC, the status of salaried-entrepreneur-cooperator, and the contract between the members and the cooperative.

The BEC network, *Coopérer pour entreprendre,* and the national network of worker cooperatives, *Confédération générale des sociétés participatives et cooperatives (CGScop)*, took an active part in writing and implementing the law. Both networks consider the law as providing legitimacy and as a step forward in the development of the BEC. To support the new legal framework for the BEC, CGScop wrote a report explaining to Parliament what a BEC is. The network also wrote a report assessing the impact of the BEC. This kind of evaluation builds a shared language between BECs and policymakers. It reduces ambiguity and facilitates access to much-needed public funds. However, some ambiguity remains, because organizations can interpret the law opportunistically. The network fears the arrival of new players that do not adhere to BEC principles, and cite anecdotes of people who attempt to use the BEC form to bypass labor laws. In order to avoid these threats from the environment, the networks have complemented the legal frame by creating norms.

Thus, the BEC network, *Coopérer pour entreprendre*, organizes meetings and seminars during which BECs discuss best practices. The aim is to create a label recognizing high quality BEC services. An employee of the network explained that the goal is to create "*a kind of network for BECs of excellence*" that respect the values and principles held by the movement.

The strategy of the networks consists in stabilizing the BEC structure and practices to create a model that is firmly entrenched within its context. This stabilization strategy relies on a set of instruments – the law, the label, impact reports – that facilitate the dialogue between the BECs and stakeholders in its context.

Movement

As Coopaname was well-known in its field and was highly involved in promoting the BEC concept, one might have expected it to play a decisive role in writing the law. However, Coopaname representatives were extremely skeptical. When I questioned them about the impact of the law, the former co-directors of Coopaname had mixed views. One after the other, they explain that the law: "*is not enough. It is a means*." and that "*like any framework, it will both secure and stifle practice*". They fear that the new legal frame will block innovation. Coopaname's members played only a limited part in writing the bill and published scathing articles about it. In 2013, while the SSE bill was being debated, one of the former co-directors co-wrote an article in the respected newspaper *Le Monde* calling for the “social economy of good causes” to be replaced by a “fighting social economy”. Coopaname’s discourse is above all political, and encourages people to go beyond the SSE law.

The cooperative chose to move the debate on to the new context and to engage with new social issues. Indeed, since the BEC’s inception in 1995 the French context had changed. Whereas the main issue in the mid-1990s was unemployment, 20 years later a broad range of insecure forms of work, called grey employment zones, had emerged. This added insecurity to the persistent issue of unemployment. Coopaname, with its excellent reputation due to its history and location in the French capital, was able to build a strong self (Kraatz & Block, 2008) and propose an alternative route to stabilization.

Thus, Coopaname developed its own strategy alongside the SSE law, working to build partnerships and pursue the innovation process. Internally, the cooperative has set up numerous project groups dedicated to improving its business model, and developing its democracy and equality. Thus, new practices and tools have appeared in recent years. It chose to elect the two co-presidents using a method based on sociocratic principles called ‘election by consent’. It also chose to select staff representatives by drawing lots, to ensure that a range of staff members are involved in the system. Reports were prepared about salaries or gender equality to raise members’ awareness of important issues. The “Coopanamians” (what Coopaname members call themselves) also energetically supported two partnership-based projects: the Manufacture cooperative – or Manucoop – and Bigre. As it developed, Coopaname realized that micro-collective project lack support. With Manucoop, Coopaname and its partners are trying to adapt to help these groups develop their projects democratically. In parallel, Coopaname is trying to develop its range of services to support long-term careers through Bigre. The cooperative has built partnerships with three other organizations to develop more inclusive services and support people during their whole career, regardless of profession or status, even during training, multiple activity careers, etc. These two projects pursue the same aim: to provide new solutions to support labor transformation.

The institutionalization phase involves two complementary dynamics. That of the networks consists in stabilizing BECs through rules and norms. That of Coopaname consists in pursuing the innovative movement by embedding it into the current context and experimenting with new practices and tools. These two processes are presented in table 4.

Table 4: BECs institutionalization

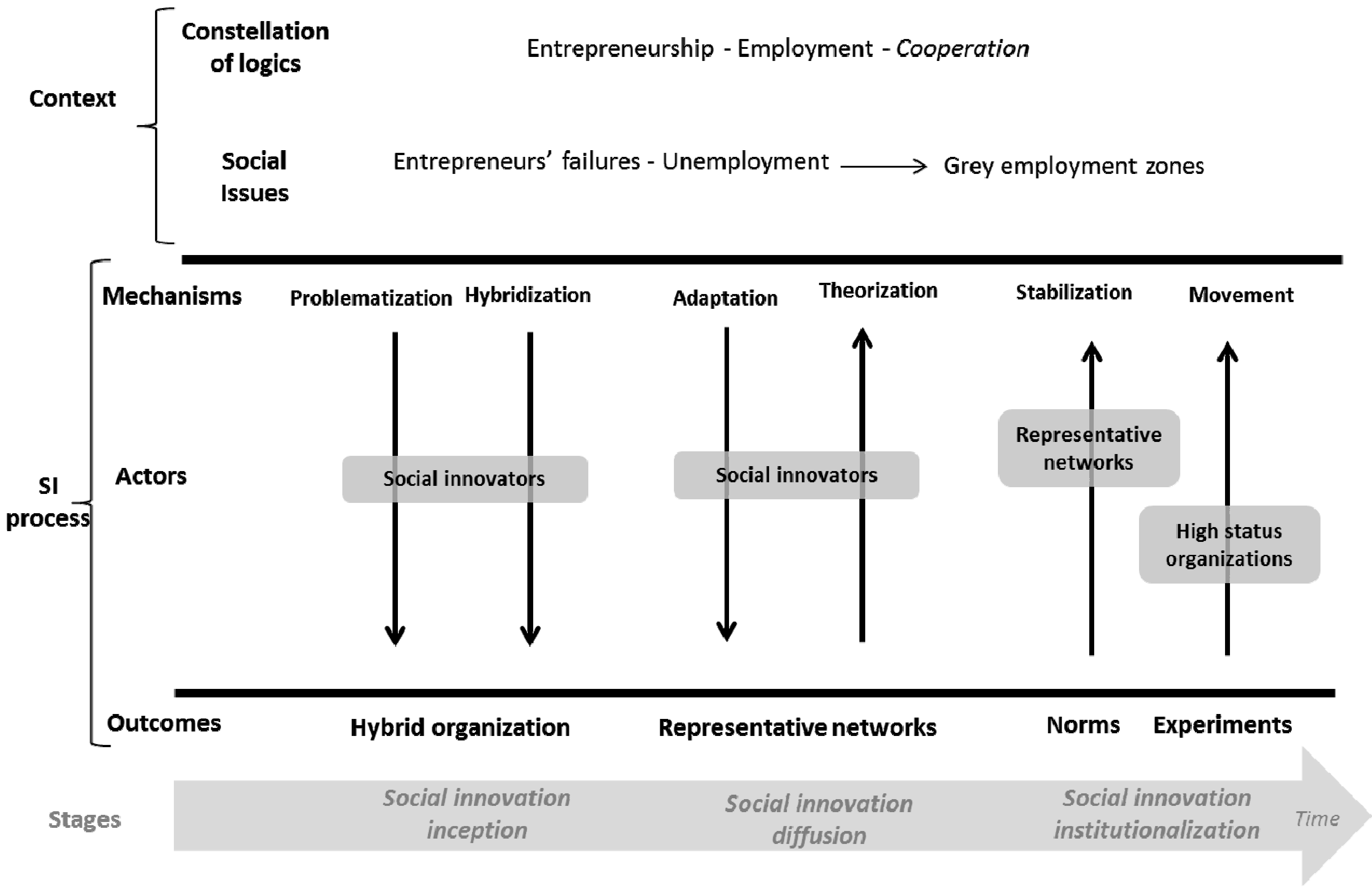
Aggregated dimensions	**DOUBLE DYNAMIC OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION**
Second order themes	**Stabilization**
First order categories	***Supporting legal framing: the SSE law***
"This is a file we made for lobbying members of parliament among others, explaining the BECs" (Employee of the worker cooperative network in charge of the BECs) - A 10-page file with 56 slides PowerPoint presentation was produced and handed out to members of parliament "If you want the law it is an opportunity to stabilize and develop the BECs. Well. Now, the law just set the principles. And the risk, poorly applied, poorly confined, is that it makes it possible to justify or consolidate socially unacceptable situations " *(Employee of the worker cooperative network in charge of the BECs)*	
First order categories	***Modeling: Setting norms***
"*We would like to develop a territorial network present in all regions. […] First, we should consolidate the existing BECs and then gradually welcome other creations, for instance, in the regions where there are none yet, to develop a network logic*." (Employee of the network Coopérer pour entreprendre) "*There are different events; there are network meetings that we try to organize every year. […] Oh, yes, there is also the accounting group […] during December we meet, the beautiful initiatives, we offer to develop the things they had implemented and which have worked well*." (Employee of the network Coopérer pour entreprendre)	

Second order themes	**Movement**
First order categories	***Experimentation beyond the legal framework***
"It is good that it [the BEC law] exists but at the same time, when you see the section about the BEC, we feel a bit less concerned […] we do not consider ourselves as a BEC as defined in the texts. You see, on one hand it is very good because the BEC will be official, recognized, it will have a place, etc. On the other hand, the risk is that it will be constrained." (Former president of Coopaname-1) *"The problem with security is that, ultimately, our legal insecurity was, in one sense, the best guarantee of respect for the political project. […] Now that it will be secure, there is a good chance that we will see a lot of new actors, who will not care in the slightest about the political project." (Former co-director of Coopaname-1)*	
First order categories	***Re-embedding into current context***
"It is in our interest to have a cooperative group of structures working in the field, I don't know how to say, of grey employment zones. […] grey employment zones? Well, it means all these jobs that are salaried without really being salaried and at the same time are salaried. That is to say all these jobs for which the notion, the concept, the principle of a subservient relationship do not exist or no longer exist. [...] So it is perhaps time to redefine another way to conceive labor relations, relations between individuals within labor relations and within the enterprise." (Former co-director-2 of Coopaname) *"I think that tomorrow's issue is: how will totally new social organizations forms, which we don't yet know about, emerge within these grey employment zones. The BECs are preparing the ground but there will perhaps be other things which will rely equally on mutual organizations, cooperatives, labor unions." (Former co-director-1 of Coopaname)* *"Ten per cent of workers in France, almost 8 million in Germany, are outside the classic alternative between self-employment and subservient long term labor contract. […] Their situation is that of a new, active, educated proletariat, which bears a double burden: they are as precarious as independents, as subordinated as employees [...] To think about the deep evolutions in labor relations should not be the prerogative of liberals. It is a progressive position to wish for the end of the anachronistic subservient relationship that regulates the majority of productive relations" (article co-written by the co-director of Coopaname and its partners and published in a national newspaper)*	

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to understand how social innovation interacts with its context over time. My longitudinal approach revealed the diversity of the relationships linking the social innovation process and its context. Figure 2 summarizes the main components and mechanisms of the three phases identified.

Figure 2: Social innovation process in context



The context includes a constellation of institutional logics, which act as references or ideal types for people to make their choices; and social issues arising from the misalignment between new socioeconomic conditions and institutional logics.

The social innovation process has three components: the actors involved in the process, the interaction mechanisms they create with the context, and the outcomes generated during each phase.

At the inception stage, the context serves as a resource. Social innovators find their motivations in surrounding social issues and use the constellation of institutional logics to build hybrid organizations. While social issues trigger the social innovation process, the constellation of institutional logics is used as a toolkit (Swidler, 2011) to build the new hybrid form. This process follows what Seo & Creed (2002, p.230) called praxis, a "*free and creative reconstruction of social patterns on the basis of a reasoned analysis of both the limits and the potentials of present social forms*." Thus, the arrows on figure 2 go from the context to the hybrid organization as social innovators rely on their context to innovate.

The second phase, diffusion, is a twofold process. First, social innovators adapt to current institutional requirements in terms of structuration: they create representative networks and build partnerships with the main stakeholders. On figure 2, the arrow goes from the context to the representative networks as social innovators yield to institutional pressures. Second, social innovators theorize the hybrid organization to strengthen its identity and establish it within the environment. Therefore, the second arrow goes from the networks to the context as the organization is searching to establish its position within the context.

Finally, the institutionalization phase also comprises two distinct strategies developed by two different actors and highlighting two different relationships to context. While the representative networks stabilize the hybrid organization through rules and norms, the high status organization and its partners pursue the innovative movement by experimenting with new practices and tools to respond to new social issues. Networks, with their national positioning and their links with policymakers, provide technical support for BEC institutionalization. The high status organization benefits from its position to behave as a kind of troublemaker. Along with its partners, it develops new practices and tools to support the political project and institutional change promoted by the hybrid organization. The arrows go from the norms and experiments to the context, as both institutionalization sub-processes embed the social innovation and hybrid organization into its context. In a sense, the networks promote the new hybrid organizational form as a model to meet the social issues identified at the beginning of the social innovation process. Meanwhile the high status organization promotes the social innovation process as a way to anticipate social needs.

Insights for social innovation

First, this study addresses the lack of empirically rooted longitudinal studies in the organizational literature on social innovation. In fact, although scholars have been studying the institutionalization of social innovation for a long time (Bouchard et al., 2015a; Malo & Vézina, 2004; Westley et al., 2014), they either lack empirical data and/or overlook changes in the context. My study of BECs, based on a large set of qualitative data, highlights how the social innovation process and its context co-evolve over time. The results underline the unique features of the social innovation process with its dual objectives: an immediate, practical socioeconomic objective to fulfill social needs and aspirations, and a long-term political objective of institutional or systemic change. Although these objectives are intertwined, during the last phase of institutionalization the social innovators largely divided the tasks, with the networks promoting the BEC socioeconomic model and the high-status organization and its partners pursuing the innovation movement.

Insights for new institutional theory

The case of the BECs also contributes to research on institutional change by highlighting a process of evolutionary change. It "unfreezes" the context and stresses the constant interactions between the social innovation process and its environment. Whereas scholars studying institutional change present this process as being triggered by contextual factors and accomplished by actors' efforts in a kind of single process, this study highlights the multiple two-directional mechanisms between the changing context and the social innovation process. In this sense, my study of a nascent field complements studies like that by Wright and Zammuto (2013), who studied the institutional change process in a mature organizational field. My work confirms the fact that high status organizations are more prone to deviate from norms (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003), even in a nascent, unsettled field, where these norms are emerging.

This case also contributes to scholarship on hybrid organization and institutional complexity by offering a longitudinal analysis. Although scholars have already reported findings about how hybrid organizations are created (Tracey et al., 2011), how they maintain their hybridity and fight against the pressure to conform to a single logic (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013b), their evolution over time, particularly their institutionalization, remains an understudied process. Some scholars have called for investigations in that direction (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Greenwood et al., 2011), as we do not know how hybrid organizations gain legitimacy and become taken-for-granted (Colyvas & Powell, 2006). For instance, the impact of the new hybrid legal forms flourishing around the globe on these organizations–B-corporations in the US, community interest companies in the UK, social economy law in France and worldwide, etc.–represents a promising subject for research. The case of the BEC provides some answers by highlighting the features of the institutionalization process for hybrid organizations emerging from a social innovation process. Indeed, what distinguishes the social innovation process most from other innovation processes is that it comprises organizational and political dynamics simultaneously, which entail two different relationships to institutional complexity. The organizational dynamic moves towards stability. It relies on what Clemens and Cook (1999) call the "must and must not set of institutional rules" including legal frames, and intends to reduce complexity. On the other hand, the political dynamic, moves toward change, it draws its strengths from the complexity of the context – new social issues and new combinations of institutional logics. Consequently, my study also shows different assertions of legitimacy during institutional change. While for BEC networks legitimacy "acts like a taken-for-granted belief system," for the high-status organization it "acts like a manipulable resource" (Suchman, 1985, p.577).

Finally, the BECs case highlights how actors can search for marginal logics to overcome the limits of the incumbent logics. Indeed, the social innovators took the cooperation logic, which had been marginalized in society for centuries, to meet social needs. Only the future will tell whether such a strategy can influence the position of this logic in society.

Limits and future research

My data collection ended between the time when the SSE law providing a legal framework was passed and its enforcement; therefore the study does not explain how the new legal frame has influenced the social innovation process. Future research on BECs, but also on other socially innovative organizations to which this law gave recognition, might help understand the interactions between the context – especially the legal context – and the social innovation process.

CHAPITRE 3 GESTION DES TENSIONS AU SEIN DES ORGANISATIONS HYBRIDES

Ce chapitre identifie une stratégie permettant à une organisation hybride porteuse d'innovation sociale de dépasser les tensions entre ses différentes logiques institutionnelles. Cette stratégie se situe à un niveau institutionnel et consiste à (1) perméabiliser les logiques institutionnelles via l'ambivalence, (2) construire une proto-logique institutionnelle hybride via le bricolage institutionnel, et (3) imperméabiliser la nouvelle proto-logique afin de constituer un cadre protecteur permettant à l'organisation et sa dynamique d'innovation sociale de se développer.

Cette étude permet d'enrichir les travaux néo-institutionnalistes en présentant la perméabilisation des logiques institutionnelles via l'ambivalence comme un moyen de résoudre les problématiques liées à la complexité institutionnelle. Elle montre également que répondre aux enjeux de la transformation du travail nécessite une approche globale et cohérente sur le plan pratique et symbolique.

Playing with the permeability of institutional logics to overcome tension in hybrid organizations

The journey of a business and employment cooperative

INTRODUCTION

In recent years hybrid organizations have flourished, and now they seem to be everywhere, becoming in one sense a new norm. From a new-institutional perspective, these organizations combine different organizing principles or institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012). Although hybridity makes it possible to respond to conflicting demands, such as those faced by social enterprises, which fulfill social goals through efficient business (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013b), it also raises complex managerial issues, in particular regarding legitimacy. Legitimacy is crucial to organizational survival (Suchman, 1985), but it is acquired by conforming to the norms, values and belief system of a given institutional logic. Hybrid organizations, as they integrate different logics, have to deal with multiple sources of legitimacy that can be contradictory. Hybridity is in fact synonymous with duality (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014), dissonance (Ashcraft, 2001) and conflict (Besharov & Smith, 2013; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Moreover, as underlined by Kent and Dacin (2013), hybridity can backfire and, in a newly hybrid organization, the borrowed logic can ultimately come to dominate the original one.

How do hybrid organizations cope with the tension between contradictory logics? Research points to management (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010) or organization structure (Pache & Santos, 2013b) as a way to manage hybridity, but overlook the organization's ability to act upon the institutional logics. Indeed, scholars tend to forgot that institutional logics are social constructs and naturalize their characteristics (Kent & Dacin, 2013; van Dijk, Berends, Jelinek, Romme, & Weggeman, 2011).

Through an in-depth, longitudinal analysis of a Business and Employment Cooperative (BEC) managing three contradictory institutional logics: employment, entrepreneurship and cooperation, I explain how this organization overcomes its internal tensions by strategically modifying its constitutive logics to form a consistent hybrid proto-institutional logic.

This study contributes to research on the management of institutional complexity. It highlights how hybrid organizations can permeabilize institutional logics–make them more ambiguous and loosely coupled–to re-combine them and eventually create a consistent proto-institutional logic. This new logic, when made impermeable–less vulnerable to the pressures of other logics (Kent & Dacin, 2013)–will provide a protective framework in which the organization can develop.

Thus, the study shows that organizations can change the degree of permeability of logics, and consequently that market logic domination is not inevitable.

The article is organized in four parts. The first presents previous research on hybrid organization and its pitfalls. The second section presents the case study and the qualitative method used. The third section presents the strategy that the Parisian BEC, Coopaname, uses to overcome its internal tension. The final section discusses how this study contributes to new institutional and cooperative theories and offers some avenues for future research.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THE HYBRID AGE

1.1. Hybrid organizations and tension between institutional logics

Social enterprises, merged international companies, public services with private sector management modes: these are all hybrid organizations. They have gradually become so familiar that we can consider ourselves to be living in a hybrid age. In fact, in recent decades, as business has come to face new social demands and social projects have come to face business constraints, numerous hybrid organizations have emerged in response to this complexity.

Studied from a new institutional perspective, these hybrid organizations mix different institutional logics. An institutional logic is a set of "material practices and symbolic constructions – which constitute organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate." (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

Each institutional logic represents a frame of reference providing organizations with legitimacy (Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz, 2011; Suchman, 1985). Thus, as hybrid organizations integrate different logics, they have to deal with multiple conflicting sources of legitimacy. Consequently, hybrid organizations experience tension leading to duality (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014), dissonance (Ashcraft, 2001), conflict (Besharov & Smith, 2013; Kraatz & Block, 2008) and paradox (Jay, 2012).

The strength of these tensions, in other words, the degree of complexity faced by hybrid organizations, depends on two factors: the number of different logics (multiplicity) and their level of contradiction (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Regarding multiplicity, although empirical studies focusing on the number of logics remain scarce, it is assumed that the greater the number of logics, the greater the level of complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Regarding contradiction, its level depends on the compatibility and centrality of the different logics. When multiple logics generate incompatible demands at the heart of the organization, its goal or raison d'être, the degree of complexity experienced will be greater than if the logics are less central and generate incompatible demands at the periphery and with regard to the means (Besharov & Smith, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2010).

Therefore, whilst hybridity appears to be an effective response to complex demands (i.e. social and environmental responsibility and business efficiency, compliance with different national cultures and globalization) managing institutional complexity is a challenge.

1.2. Managing institutional complexity

Scholars have identified organizational strategies used to manage the number of logic or the level of contradiction.

The number of logics, or the relative importance given to them, can be managed by escaping from the demands of a logic (Pache & Santos, 2010) or purifying the organization by focusing on only one logic (Durand et al., 2013). Although scholars (Greenwood et al., 2011) have called for more research on the influence of the number of logics upon complexity, most hybrid organization studies cover cases of only two logics.

The level of contradiction can be manage by strategically combining the institutional logics (Dalpiaz et al., 2016) or by selectively coupling the demands imposed by each logic (Pache & Santos, 2013b). This first group of strategies consists in adjusting the centrality of the logics in order to decrease the level of complexity.

Another group of strategies consists in reducing incompatibility by developing appropriate management (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana et al., 2014; Cornforth, 1995), governance (Pache & Santos, 2013a) or rituals (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014).

As highlighted by Jay, 2012, all these strategic or managerial responses to the tension between institutional logics lead to organizational level changes: practice and identity. However, the characteristics–particularly the level of permeability–of the institutional logics play an important role in how organizations manage them.

1.3. Permeability of institutional logics

Some logics appear to be more susceptible to hybridization than others. According to Kent and Dacin (2013), each institutional logic has a certain degree of permeability. "The more permeable a logic, the more it is amenable to re-interpretation" (ibid., p. 767). For these authors, a logic's level of permeability depends on two factors: its degree of ambiguity and the degree of coupling between its components.

The less ambiguous the logic's components–norms, rules, practices, etc.–are, the less prone the logic will be to alternative interpretations and the more permeable it will be.

The more tightly coupled the logic's components–strong ties between means and ends–the less permeable the logic will be.

Although Kent and Dacin (2013) recognize in their discussion that permeability is dependent on time–historically constructed–and space–relative to the field–, their demonstration relies on the prerequisite that some logics are "by nature" more permeable (ibid.p.760). Like van Dijk et al. (2011), who consider ambiguity, multiplicity and heterogeneity as logic properties to be enacted, Kent and Dacin (2013) naturalize the permeability of logics.

In this research, logics represent "takeaway" resources, and scholars seem to forgot that institutional logics are "socially constructed" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p.804). Institutional logics constrain action and provide sources of agency at the same time (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p.101). Thus, "Institutional logics through various mechanisms may get reshaped and customized in an organizational field" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p.119). However, we know little about these "mechanisms" labeled by Thornton et al. (2012) "cultural evolution" and through which "institutional logics emerge at the levels of society, institutional fields and organization" (ibid., p.85). To fill this gap some scholars have combined institutional logics with a more recent trend in new institutional sociology: institutional entrepreneurship and work (Lawrence, Leca, & Zilber, 2013).

1.4. Institutional work

Institutional work is "a purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions." (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p.215) Numerous empirical studies have identified a wide range of institutional work, at either individual level, for instance identity or affective work (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Tracey, 2016), or organizational level, for example temporary work (Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2015) or bridging (Tracey et al., 2011).

The study of Tracey et al. (2011) is particularly interesting here, as it focuses on the emergence of a new hybrid organization and the interdependence of organizational forms and institutional logics. These authors highlight how important it is for a new hybrid organizational form to be underpinned by a hybrid institutional logic. However, they do not clearly explain what constitutes this logic.

To summarize, hybrid organizations face institutional complexity due to their multiple contradictory logics. Although research has stressed that institutional logics are socially constructed ideal-types that can be changed, scholars have focused on organizational level strategies, overlooking the capacity of organizations–especially hybrid organizations facing high levels of legitimacy threat–to strategically change institutional logics or even create their own hybrid logic. By focusing on a high status hybrid organization, I intend to fill this gap.

2. CASE SETTING

2.1. Emergence of the Business and Employment Cooperatives

The Business and Employment Cooperative (BEC) is a new organizational form, which emerged in the mid-1990s in France to respond to the failure of self-employment to reverse the huge challenge of growing unemployment. Since 1984, the unemployment rate has never fallen below 7% of the workforce, reaching 9.8% in 2013, according to ILO criteria. Moreover, according to the French national statistics institute, an additional 1.3 million people are not included in the statistics, as they are looking for a job but not immediately available, do not want a job, or have been discouraged from looking for one. One way policymakers have attempted to improve this situation is by encouraging the unemployed to set up their own business, giving them new legal statuses and easing administrative procedures; however, many new entrepreneurial projects do not generate any turnover[20]. In response to these issues, the first BEC appeared in 1995, in Lyon. A group of public and private, for-profit and not-for-profit organizations created this new organizational form,

[20] In 2015, more than a million people were registered *auto-entrepreneurs* (self-employed), but 40% of them did not generate any turnover (sources ACOSS Stat n°227 – Janvier 2016).

combining entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation, to support the increasing numbers of self-employed. Over the last 20 years, this type of hybrid organization has developed rapidly. There are now more than 200 BEC establishments in France, with 7000 salaried workers and 3000 project holders holding a mentoring contract.

BECs offer their members a three-stage path. First, they sign a mentoring contract, under which they retain their former status and rights while developing their project by attending meetings and workshops. Entrepreneurs canvass clients with their own products or services. After the first product sale or service delivery, they sign a salaried contract. The turnover generated is then transformed into a salary by the cooperative's shared departments (accounts, management, etc.), staffed by permanent employees. In the third stage, salaried entrepreneurs, like permanent staff, can become associates and contribute to the cooperative's democratic governance. Thus, BECs bring together entrepreneurs with various skills who work independently but within a company with shared tax, administrative and accounts departments, and in which they can develop working groups and become decision makers. The BEC business model is also hybrid, and relies on sharing resources. The entrepreneurs are accountable for their own activities; they finance their salary and social security contributions with their own turnover. A share of the turnover (on average around 10%) finances the shared support services. Finally, the cooperative is also a public interest service, giving advice and help to all those with an entrepreneurial project who contact it; this activity is supported by public funding (European funds, local government funds, etc.).

The case of the business and employment cooperative (BEC) is particularly interesting as these hybrid organizations combine three institutional logics–entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation–that before now have largely been kept apart. Therefore, it enriches the literature on hybrid organizations, which previously focused on dual logics (Greenwood et al., 2011). It is also the right time to study these organizations. In fact, although BECs have spread all round the country since they emerged 20 years ago, they are not yet institutionalized, so there is room for these organizations to cope with tension in innovative ways.

2.2. Coopaname: the Parisian BEC showpiece

This study focuses on an extreme case (Yin, 2003), the Parisian BEC, Coopaname, which, due to its high status, is more amenable to developing innovative strategy (Durand et al., 2013). The history of this BEC is closely linked to that of the BEC movement. The founder of the first BEC in Lyon, and who led the first BEC network, founded Coopaname in 2003 in Paris. At that time, around 20 BECs already existed, but in a centralized country like France, the creation of a BEC in the capital was essential if they were to gain the attention of the authorities and media. Indeed, Coopaname was considered a kind of showpiece for this new form of cooperative. Today, the cooperative is one of the biggest BECs in France, with 5 sites in the Paris area, more than 800 members, including 194 cooperators, and a turnover of €8m. The showroom strategy has worked, as the cooperative has privileged access to national media and policymakers. In fact, in 2012, the then presidential candidate François Hollande visited Coopaname, followed, after the election, by the minister for the social economy. Coopaname also featured in numerous articles in national newspapers.

2.3. Data collection and analysis

As the goal of the study was to understand an organizational process, I chose to conduct a longitudinal, holistic case study (Yin, 2003). I collected qualitative data that provide extensive details about the processes in play within the cooperative and its field. I adopted a "grounded theory strategy" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and organized data collection and analysis in two stages. (1) From July 2011 to December 2013, I explored the field and collected a first data pool. I collected data from two focus groups with entrepreneurs and members of the support team, non-participative observation of annual meetings, training sessions, etc. (7 events over 4-and-a-half days), interviews (3, lasting 70 minutes on average), training sessions (3, lasting 3 hours each) and documents (annual reports and press articles, around 50 pages in all). I analyzed this first data pool using interpretative coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gioia et al., 2012) with NVivo10 software. At this first stage, I identified three main themes: the diversity of practices and tools, a continuous innovation process, and specific vocabulary to support political objectives. These themes led me to the new institutional literature, with its concepts of institutional logics and institutional work.

The second stage lasted from March 2014 to September 2015, during which I deepened my understanding of the cooperative project and how it operated. I collected new data through semi-structured interviews with cooperative members and partners (30, lasting 70 minutes on average), non-participative observation (4, events such as annual universities and the welcome meeting, over 2-and-a-half days) and new documents related to internal and external communication, governance and regulation (more than 400 pages). I analyzed this new data pool in two steps: first, to ensure I had not missed any themes in the first round, I undertook a second round of coding. As four years separated the first and second rounds of data collection, I was able to identify changes in the cooperative's discourse and practices, and a certain degree of ambivalence. Shuttling back and forth from data to theory, I finally identified the concept of hybrid organization as that matching closest what I had observed at Coopaname. Although the new institutional literature provides concepts to explain the emergence of hybrid organizations, few studies provide clues to explain their evolution over time. The second step consisted in the theoretical integration of the initial codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The goal was to better identify how Coopaname developed a strategy to cope with its internal tensions. I finally identified a three-stage strategy consisting of: permeabilizing the institutional logics, building a hybrid proto-institutional logic, and impermeabilizing the proto-logic thus created.

3. FINDINGS

The BEC was a particularly suitable case for studying how hybrid organizations can manage their tension. It hybridizes three conflicting logics and develops an innovative strategy with regard to logics. First, it permeabilized the institutional logics through ambivalent discourses and practices. Second, it created a hybrid proto-institutional logic through institutional bricolage. Third, it impermeabilized this proto-logic to preserve it from new hybridization. Figure 1 and table 1 present the data structure resulting from the coding process and some illustrative quotes. The next section details these findings.

Figure 1: Data structure

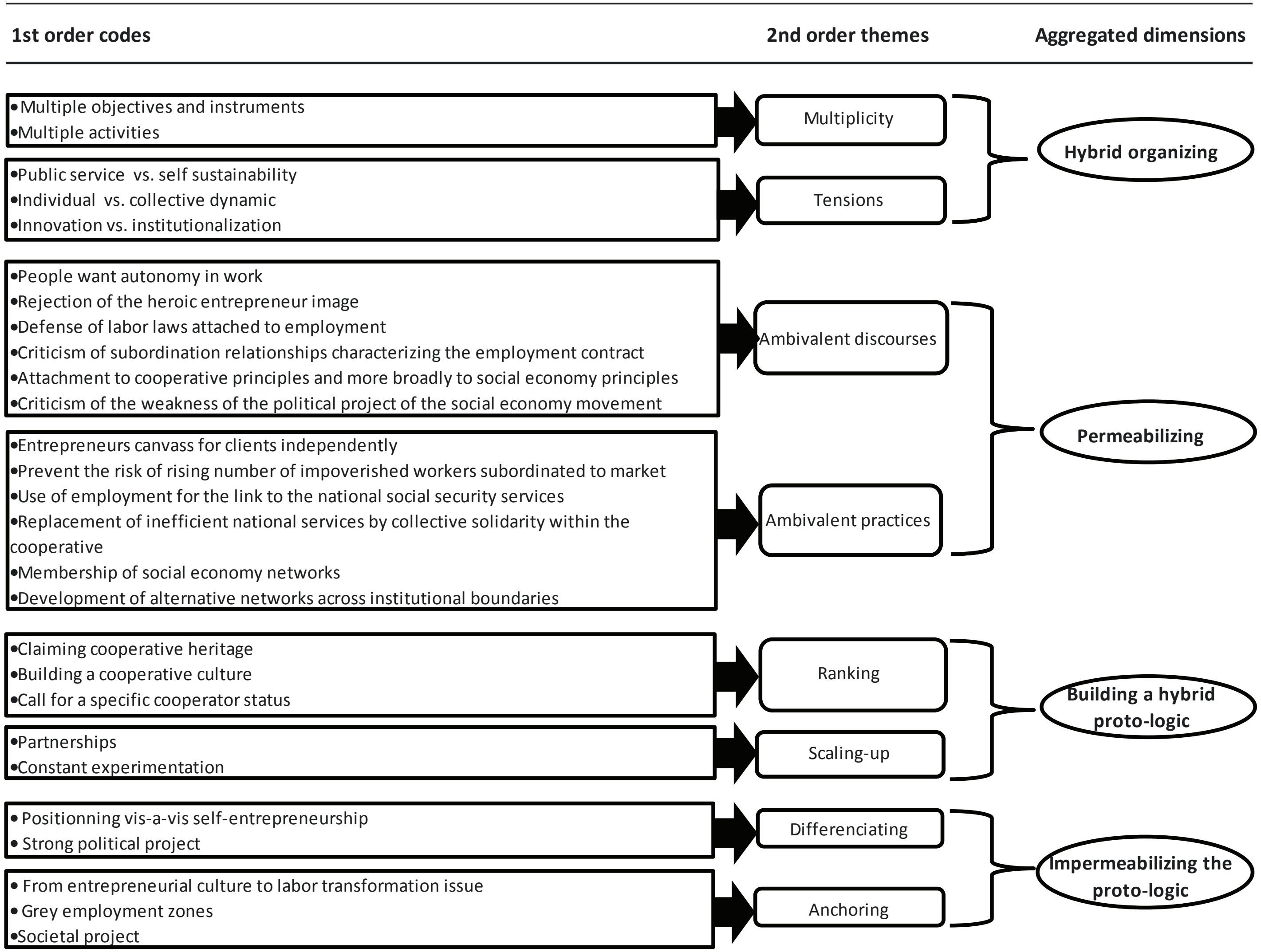


Table 1 : Illustrative quotes

Aggregated dimension: Hybrid organizing
Theme: Multiplicity
"The first experimental convention signed by Coopaname and the Inter-ministry department for Social Innovation and Experimentation and Social Economy reveals in its appendix both the objectives of the BEC and the action program deployed by Coopaname to reach these objectives: These are: -"To reduce economic insecurity for individual project holders by allowing them to integrate their micro-projects and knowhow with work collectives with access to broader business opportunities" -"To make professional pathways more secure by fostering, organizing and accompanying mutual apprenticeship within the work collectives" -"To enable, via work collectives, a better economic integration of micro-entrepreneurs within local economic dynamics, and real wealth production for the territory" -"To allow the emergence of a new economically efficient form of enterprise, exclusively dedicated to a social project, the professional fulfilment of its salaried members" (Report - Evaluation of the mutualization devices within Coopaname - Plein Sens Consulting group)
"[…] the law ratifies that within a BEC they might be people who are at the same time entrepreneurs and employees. What is not obvious." (Founder of the BECs)
Welcome booklet: page presenting the professions of the Coopanamians: "Images inventors: photographs, graphists […] craftmen: carpenters, upholsterers, home help handymens […] well being providers: sport coachs, therapists, consultants […] computing manipulators: free software specialists, webdesigners, web developers [...]"
Tensions
"Challenge: to create a sustainable economic model while maintaining a logic of inconditional welcoming" (Training session "Knowing Coopaname")
"What we want is a peer support, creating synergies, exchanges, and so on […] Not 100% but 90% do not work because: either people are in a waiting position […] either, I had choice to make at a time between my personal activity and the group, and I will systematically choose the personal because it is reassuring." (Member of the support team)
"We pretended that we were an atypic enterprise, we pretended that we were creating an atypic functioning mode for the employee representation. [however] we received the texts and they said: no its illegal. And when I said: this is mandatory, they said to me: [...] we are typic [...] We were swimming in confusion." (Former salaried-entrepreneur)

Permabilizing the logics

Ambivalent discourses

Entrepreneurship "Yes, we are independent also, because I absolutely count on it. I did not wanted to go back to employment" (Salaried-entrepreneur)

Entrepreneurship "The generalization of the political decisions to support the entrepreneurship, led by the policy makers for the projects smaller and smaller, hold by people less and less prepared socially, professionally and financially to the success of their enterprise do constitute a solution to unemployment only because it push out of the employment category an increasing number of people. [...] the micro entrepreneur appears, beyond the myth, as a new emblematic figure of the precarious: his micro-enterprise allows him to gain micro-income that allows him to reimburse his micro-credit and to access to micro social protection..." (Article written by Coopaname members and published in academic journal)

Employment "Our project is to reintegrate into labor laws people who would be excluded from it if they were to adopt for instance the self-entrepreneur status." (Former co-director1 conference presentation)

Employment "The worker cooperatives of the 19th century were built upon the call for the end of the employment, though as a theft of the working tool. At Coopaname we inscribe ourselves in this history and search to go beyond a type of relation to labor alienating, dumb, violent, that seems to us completely incompatible to the necessary evolution of the economy. Waiting for this evolution that we call for - and paradoxically - we inscribe ourselves completely within the employment that is still the only framework where we can find the social protections, rights, solidarities [...]" (Welcome booklet)

Cooperation "It is important within a BEC to encourage this reflexing, what is related to a subject that is important for me, the cooperative culture." (Founder of the BECs)

Cooperation "It's time to say farewell to the social economy as a heterogeneous group of "sympathetic enterprises" to make alive a political project rose well beyond our organizations by all people wanting to change the society." (Article in national newspaper)

Ambivalent practices

Employment Coopaname was one of the first BEC to use the employment contracts even for few working hours whereas the BECs used to salaried their members if they reach a higher level of working hours. (Training session)

Employment What is important is not the employment contract but the social contract attaching neither to the employment, nor to the independance but projects the individual to the cooperation (Training session)

Entrepreneurship "Better sell our product, better sell ourself. We have to go this way, to enter in this capitalist logic, we do not have the choice." (Salaried-entrepreneur during a focus group)

Entrepreneurship "The advantage was the security […] for instance the brand [client] took more than 12 months, 13 months to pay us, and it was a big invoice, so if we didn't have had the general treasury of all the cooperative that gave us our salaries, it would have been complicated to stand." (Salaried-entrepreneur)

Cooperation "We recently joined the Council of social economy enterprises, employers and groups, which brings together the three families of the SSE. Few firms are direct members of the council. So, we have reached a higher level […]"(Cooperators meeting minute)

Cooperation" They [the SSE networks] don't even understand what we are talking about. We are on different planets. So we went directly to the minister." (Former co-director1)

Building a hybrid proto-institutional logic

Ranking the logics

“The BECs were born out of an entrepreneurial culture […] we were the first to say, more or less, we don’t care about entrepreneurs. In other words, the people who come to us consider themselves as independent rather than as entrepreneurs.” They are above all willing to have a new relationship to labor. So the issue is not entrepreneurship but labor.” (Former co-director1)

"[…] there is a project that is utopic, there is a structure that is in constant evolution but that is still unfinished." (Co-director)

“I think that in five years there will be no more old-style BECs. I think tomorrow’s question is: how will completely new types of social organization be born within the grey employment zones. The BEC is preparing the ground, such organizations do not have to be cooperatives; they could be mutuals or unions.” (Former co-director1)

Scaling-up

“This democratic aspiration – because it is – is already practice by thousands of experiments and cooperative enterprises […] But there is still a movement to call for and create a real, political, social transformation project. This is the path followed by a dozen production cooperatives, engaged in the construction of Bigre!, an “associated work cooperative” already with thousands of members.” (Article written by Coopaname members and published in a national newspaper)

“For 15 years we have been assimilating people into a relationship of trust by supporting them, by allowing them to evolve in their relationship to the cooperative from independent to cooperator. Couldn’t we invent the same thing at a meta-level? That is to say, an organization, a group of individuals, because they ask themselves the same type of questions, they can be integrated to a group and we accompany them within this group and we mutualize things, and we bring them to a form of cooperation within this group named mutual work.” (Former co-director1)

“[...] the first point that united us is: our interest is to have a cooperative group of structures working in the field of grey employment zones. [...] The general idea behind it is: what united us, as cooperatives, is the notion of social protection, general protection, when we say social protection, mutuality let’s say.” (Former co-director2)

Permeabilizing the hybrid proto-institutional logic

Differentiating

“When auto-entrepreneurship arrived, I remember that the BECs were wondering how to position themselves with regard to this. […] our discourse was extremely clear, […] we said it is a catastrophe, it is something to reject. Do not be the allies of auto-entrepreneurship. […] What we do is the opposite of auto-entrepreneurship, because in auto-entrepreneurship you’re on your own, whereas we try to recreate cooperation.” (Former co-director1)

"[…] the problem behind is maybe the current logic that we can call the French social entrepreneurship […] consisting in saying: how the social can become a market and how will we create start-ups, success stories, solutions consisting in saying: finally, if I make a good, very good living, it is not bad, it is good, because I am doing good, I can earn a large amount of money. It is fundamental problem for us. We are structures were the incomes are limited, and we claim that they are limited." (Former co-director2)

"I think that Coopaname acts as a model. It shows that it works. It shows that it works, and furthermore by experimenting and constantly adapting. I think that it is its strength. But there is also the purity, the ethical purity, the purity of the political project, that is essential here." (Salaried-entrepreneur)

Anchoring
Coopaname, cooperation proselyte, some food for thought: sensitize to cooperative economy; work on wealth equivalents, support the setting up of cooperative organizations, relocate the production" (Welcome booklet)
Integration meeting: reminder of the collective frame and the necessary balance between individual advantages and collective risk when implementing an online payment service for example
Training sessions "History of cooperation" open to all members
Organization of annual universities open to all members: one day of open debate on the BEC issues - Title of the 2011 universities: "Ah! If I were rich… Earn more, to share more. And vice-versa."

3.1. Hybrid organizing

Multiple institutional logics

Although many different organizations have emerged in recent decades to fight unemployment, the BEC presents the unique feature of combining three different logics: entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation.

In this original hybrid organization, each logic plays an important role in the organization's activities, composition, design, culture, and relationships (Battilana & Lee, 2014).

Symbolically the entrepreneurship logic relies on the belief in natural market equilibrium and on people's need for independence. Materially, it relies on free contracting. Indeed, within the BEC, each member behaves as an entrepreneur, enters the market, and freely canvasses clients using his/her own brand. Thus, the cooperative brings together members from diverse professions, and the professional logic is not central. However, unlike in the case of traditional entrepreneurs, three stakeholders are involved in sales: the client, the entrepreneur who offers the service or product, and the cooperative that will receive the payment and transform it into salary.

Symbolically, the employment logic relies on people's need for protection and equality. Materially it relies on employment contracting, which provides access to the protection of labor law and social benefits. When BEC members start selling products or services, the BEC takes them on as an employee. This contract provides them with access to national insurance, but also commits them to the BEC.

The founder of the BEC–and of Coopaname–explains in her book relating her experience that: "Although they are perceived as contradictory, the terms "entrepreneur" and "employee" are combined in the BEC." Thus, BEC members are "salaried-entrepreneurs." Moreover, when their business is established, they can become cooperators.

Indeed, interestingly, the founder of the BEC chose to include a third, cooperative, logic. According to her: “We set up the enterprise as a worker cooperative because, by putting people at the heart of its aims and operations, this form of organization encompasses all the values that I consider unescapable.” Symbolically, the cooperative logic relies on people’s need to be part of a collective and for emancipation or self-fulfillment. Materially, the logic relies on a not-for-profit, democratic organization. Thus, BECs, as worker cooperatives, are ruled by the seven principles guiding cooperatives all over the world: voluntary, open membership; democratic member control; member economic participation; autonomy and independence; education, training and information; cooperation among cooperatives; and concern for the community[21]. They offer their members shared resources (support, training, administrative departments), shared spaces and opportunities to meet, debate and take an active part in democratic governance. Moreover, since the social economy law was enacted, BEC members have to become cooperators within three years of their admission. That is to say, they must at least buy cooperative shares and elect representatives to govern the cooperative.

On joining the BEC, the entrepreneur learns about each logic in succession, moving gradually from the status of user to that of contributor. “As their activity develops, they require less and less support for their own personal project, but contribute more and more to running the cooperative and to the shared project […]” (former co-directors of Coopaname in an academic article published in 2006).

Consequently, members use different logics over time. They start with entrepreneurship, then employment, when they sign their contract and finally cooperation, when their project is established.

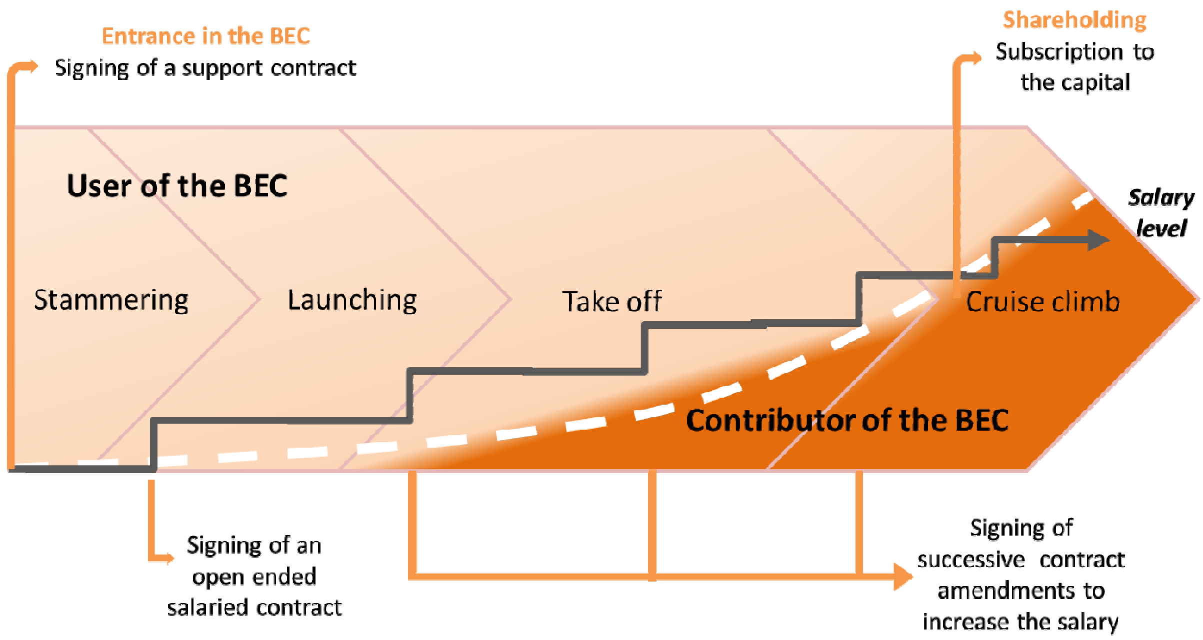
[21] International Co-operative Alliance – Statement on the identity of the co-operative

Table 2 summarizes the symbolic and practical components of the three logics hybridized by the BECs, and Figure 2 is a version of a figure presented in the article co-written by the former co-director of Coopaname to illustrate the path of BEC members.

Table 2: Institutional Logics Hybridized by the BECs

Institutional logics components	Entrepreneurship	Employment	Cooperation
Symbolic construction (Meaning - Source of legitimacy)	Need for autonomy	Need for protection	Need to be part of a collective
Material practice - Structure	Contract	Labor law	Not for profit organizations

Figure 2: Entrepreneur Pathway within the BEC
Translation from "L'entrepreneuriat collectif comme produit et projet d'entreprises épistémiques : le cas des Coopératives d'Activités et d'Emploi" Revue de l'Entrepreneuriat, vol.5, n.2, 2006



When presented separately these logics might appear complementary. However, they include incompatible features that generate tension within hybrid organizations.

Tension between institutional logics

The first type of tension appears between entrepreneurship and cooperation. Whereas the entrepreneurship logic is based on the market and self-interest, the cooperation logic aims to create shared objectives. Although - in the long run - the development of individual and shared projects might be complementary, at some point a tradeoff has to be made between the two in terms of time and resources. The salaried-entrepreneurs have to choose between spending time and energy on developing their own or joint projects. The cooperative faces the same dilemma. Although creating synergy and solidarity is an important aim for the cooperative, another crucial, related aim is to enable people to make their own living.

A second type of tensions exists between employment and entrepreneurship. Whereas the first relies on the welfare regime to provide every citizen with a safety net, the second is based on freedom, self-sustainability and market self-regulation. For instance, while the entrepreneurship logic allows entrepreneurs and their clients to decide freely the content and format of their relationship, the employment logic prescribes a legal frame for contracting and a minimum wage. Therefore, when one logic develops, it is at the expense of the second.

Finally, the tension between cooperation and employment concerns the opposition between subsidiarity/innovation and centralization/institutionalization. Cooperation is based on the principle of subsidiarity, whereby local rules prevail and national rules apply only when actors are unable to organize at a lower level. In this logic, cooperatives develop innovative organizing rules. The employment logic, on the other hand, is based on centralization and equal treatment; norms and rules are institutionalized and practices are standardized.

Thus, the three logics have conflicting goals and use different means to attain them.

To tackle these tensions, Coopaname, the BEC showpiece, developed an innovative strategy. The next sections present the three mechanisms of this strategy.

3.2. Permeabilizing logics through ambivalence

With its high status, one might have expected Coopaname to take an active part in BEC regulation. In fact, although BECs have spread rapidly throughout the country and even abroad, until the enactment of the social economy law in 2014 they did not enjoy a clear legal status. This situation complicated their relations with the authorities. Interestingly, my data analysis reveals that the Paris cooperative did not take part in the regulation process, but adopted ambivalent discourse and practices. Following Ashforth, Rogers, Pratt, and Pradies (2014), I define ambivalence as "simultaneously oppositional positive and negative orientations toward an object" (ibid. p. 1455). Here, the cooperative uses ambivalence to clearly indicate the advantages and drawbacks of the logics. This is a way to increase the permeability of institutional logics (Kent & Dacin, 2013). In other words, ambivalence highlights an additional level of complexity. It renders the components of logic more loosely coupled and ambiguous. Finally, it enables the cooperative to express its discomfort with the hybridized logics and paves the way for a strategy that will go beyond managing the tension between them. Indeed, displaying ambivalence allows cooperative members to be clear about the present situation: an institutionally complex hybrid organization. It develops collective awareness or critical understanding (Seo & Creed, 2002). This ambivalence towards the three logics is expressed through discourse–permeabilization of the logics' symbolic components–

and practices–permeabilization of the logics' material elements. In the following paragraphs, I use a selection of quotes to illustrate these simultaneous positive and negative attitudes toward entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation.

Ambivalent discourses and permeabilization of symbolic logic components

Entrepreneurship logic. Entrepreneurship is widespread in society, and autonomy is sometimes seen as an obligation. Thus, policymakers strongly encourage the unemployed to become self-employed. Coopaname is highly critical of the widespread image of the heroic entrepreneur, and of the market as the ultimate solution.

"[…] the model of individual success. […] is a discourse based on setting up companies, individual success, showing off. Behind it lies a whole culture. How would we deconstruct it a bit? Actually it is a universe, the dominant thinking that has a big effect." (Member of the support team, now an elected co-director)

However, the cooperative aims to respond to people's new aspirations at work and therefore also advocates more freedom and flexibility in career paths.

"Make multiple activities possible. If there is a real satisfaction in giving people the means to enhance their art and "good work", why should they restrict themselves to just one activity? […] This is an idea that we defend in Coopaname: to allow those who are willing and able to make a living by, why not, writing, electronics and donkey trips." (Welcome booklet)

Employment logic. In its discourse Coopaname defends labor law and State social protection. However to access this national welfare scheme, workers need salaried status, and thus to be subordinate to their employer. Although, Coopaname advocates social protection for workers, the subservient relationship is a bugbear. The cooperative criticizes this relationship in the media and encourages its members to discuss it, as highlighted by the quotes below.

"Are Coopanamians salaried workers?

1. Yes, for the protection the welfare regime gives to salaried workers (more protection than for freelancers)

2. No, they are above all future cooperators.

3. Isn't one of the cooperative's projects to voice its opinion on the subordinate employee relationship?"

(Notes from a training session)

Cooperation. As a worker cooperative, Coopaname is part of the social economy. However, the BEC is very critical of this organizational family; it deplores the fact that it has gained economic recognition but has failed to develop into a united political movement. When parliament was debating the new French social economy bill, Coopaname welcomed the news with an opinion column in a national newspaper calling for the social economy "of good causes" to be replaced by the social economy "of struggle". Reading between the lines, one has to remember that the French government has often used social economy organizations (mainly those with charitable status) to enforce job creation policies through funding, specific contracts or new organization status. From Coopaname's viewpoint, this manipulation by policymakers, to create new jobs or foster entrepreneurship, has separated the social economy from its raison d'être: emancipation of the people.

"We hypothesize that BECs, by looking for ways for the social economy to respond to the atomization of career paths, will raise questions similar to those of mid-19th century laborers. The practices that they create lead in the same way to the invention of a legal form that borrows from non-profit associations as well as from mutual organizations or production cooperatives" (Communication to a research conference on the social economy)

"Under the label SSE [Social and Solidarity Economy], everything seems more humanistic, less subversive, less radical. Let's admit it: the SSE only exists in the eyes of the powers that be." (Article written by Coopaname members and published in a national newspaper)

In parallel with these ambivalent discourses, the cooperative displays ambivalent practices.

Ambivalent practices and permeabilization of material logic components

Entrepreneurship. The cooperative uses the entrepreneurship logic: its members freely canvas for clients and deliver their products or services in their own name. Moreover, their salary depends on their turnover. However, being aware of the risk of self-exploitation in the face of harsh market competition, the cooperative tries to overcome entrepreneurial insecurity by using national and group solidarity.

"Within the business and employment cooperative, everyone pays himself at the level dictated by his turnover. At first glance, it is a very self-centered model! However, cooperative mechanisms are in place: the result at the end of the financial year, made up of all the profits or losses of each activity, is the "collectivized" result that feeds into the cooperative's indissoluble reserve, which will fund the financial participation of all salaried staff, whether their own activity was profitable or not." (Communication to a research conference on social economy)

Employment. Coopaname uses employment to benefit from national welfare services, but on the other hand, it replaces inefficient national services with its own solidarity. When I discussed legal recognition of the BEC with one of the former co-directors, his reaction was symptomatic of the cooperative's ambivalence toward the employment logic and labor law:

“[...] the status of salaried-entrepreneur should not have been regulated. I think that we opened a breach within labor law that is extremely dangerous [smiling] that’s what I say, but we do it anyway [laughs]” (Former co-director1)

Cooperation. Coopaname follows cooperative principles. It promotes a cooperative culture through various instruments, such as training sessions about the history of the cooperative movement and annual universities where all members can openly discuss the cooperative project. Such events make concrete sense of the cooperative principles of economic participation and democratic control by members. Whilst the cooperative relies on traditional cooperative artifacts (status, governance rules, etc.) it has also developed alternative practices and artifacts (report on gender equality, random sorting to select representatives, etc.) to overcome their limits.

The cooperative also belongs to several social economy networks. These networks are organized by type (cooperatives, mutual organizations, charitable organizations), field (employment, health, education, etc.) and territory. Although these networks improve the dialogue between social economy organizations and public authorities, they increase the risk that social economy organizations will be manipulated by the authorities. In other words, policymakers might use social economy organizations to reach their own objectives. Coopaname is aware of this risk, and has developed alternative networks across institutional boundaries.

"I think that the busiest months are November and December. November, because it is social economy month, so we take part in many events all the time." (Member of the support team)

"The institutional representation of the cooperative movement [...] with the structuration by federations of enterprises we can't federate politically." (Former co-director1)

"So Manucoop [Coopaname swarming project] means a rapprochement between Coopaname and Oxalis. […] but you have to know that Coopaname is a member of Coopérer pour entreprendre [first BEC network] and that Oxalis is a member of Copéa [second BEC network]." (Former co-director2)

Rather than trying to overcome the tension between the hybridized logics immediately, Coopaname demonstrates how each logic is ambiguous and loosely coupled. By doing so, it increases the level of permeability of the logics. This, and the following steps presented in the following sections, underline the fact that institutional logics are socially constructed ideal types that can be reshaped (Thornton et al., 2012).

3.3. Building a hybrid proto-institutional logic

By indicating another level of institutional complexity within each logic, Coopaname permeabilizes them and finds itself with elements of institutional logics available to build a hybrid proto-institutional logic through bricolage. Bricolage consists in creating something new with the resources at hand (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013; Mair & Marti, 2009; Perkmann & Spicer, 2014) – here the symbolic and material components of the three logics. To build a consistent, hybrid, proto-institutional logic Coopaname ranked the institutional logics and scaled up the resulting combination.

Ranking

Whereas the BEC was developed as an equal combination of the three logics, Coopaname prioritizes them; it focuses on the cooperative logic and makes the others secondary. As highlighted in the previous section, Coopaname considers that the social economy has lost its political roots, but the BEC still relies heavily on the cooperation logic. Coopaname strengthens its cooperative roots by constantly referring to cooperative history. Like the first 19th century worker cooperatives, it advocates emancipation at work and the abolition of subordination. In its practices, Coopaname emphasizes the fifth cooperative principle of *education, training and information* as a means of fulfilling the other principles. Indeed, it develops many processes and events to spread information, offer appropriate training and allow members to speak out and take part in debate. Coopaname does not just follow the cooperative logic, it renews it. The cooperative creates new practices and artifacts to promote its new flexible, secure form of work. Moreover, while the 2014 social economy law officially recognized the salaried-entrepreneur status, Coopaname's members highlight and promote the need for an explicit cooperator status.

Although Coopaname continues to combine the three logics, it considers that the entrepreneurship and employment logics should be secondary to the cooperation logic. Security, currently offered by the welfare state, should be attained through cooperation. Meanwhile employment is used as a temporary state. The entrepreneurs' independence is secondary to their collective responsibility; although members can develop their own project they must follow the cooperative's rules so as not to endanger it.

This ranking represents a form of manipulation, in the sense of Pache and Santos (2010), an "active attempt to alter the content of institutional requirements and to influence their promoters" (ibid., p.463) or selective coupling (Pache & Santos, 2013b). However, the unique feature here is that Coopaname creates a hierarchical combination of logics.

This new combination of logics can be called a hybrid, proto-institutional logic: an original combination of different logics that might become in the future a fully-fledged institutional logic (Boxenbaum, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2002).

"We also did a whole lot of work on […] the economic model […] among other things, we decided on the principle of a new contribution that can be also a new way to promote involvement and develop the internal market. […] the more you get involved, the more you help your colleagues at work, you sell, you buy things internally, etc., the less you contribute" (Former president of Coopaname)

"The third step for Coopaname: go beyond this idea of subordination. Re-write the salaried contract and the mentoring contract to make them consistent with the actual situation, more complex than the simple dichotomy between subordination and non-subordination." (Notes from a training session titled "Are Coopanamians salaried workers?")

Scaling up

In recent years, after facing criticism for its dominant position, Coopaname has entered into partnerships with other cooperatives and universities to develop its nascent hybrid proto-logic at a higher level. Scaling up consists of "identifying opportunities and barriers at broad institutional scales with the goal of changing the system that created the social problem in the first place." The aim is "to affect everybody who is in need for the social innovation they offer, or to address the larger institutional roots of a problem" (Westley et al., 2014, p.237)

Two main projects act as catalyzers in this process: the first is called *Manufacture cooperative*; it develops new forms of support for small groups of entrepreneurs setting up cooperatives. Previously, the cooperative supported individual entrepreneurs, but it realized that, increasingly, groups were calling on the cooperative for help; however, the mechanisms used hitherto were inappropriate. Coopaname is now working with another BEC and a university research laboratory to develop the required modifications. The second project is called *Bigre!* It develops the services offered by Coopaname and its partners by supporting different career paths in insecure grey employment zones. With these two projects, Coopaname and its partners are not attempting just to expand geographically and spread their practices (Colyvas & Powell, 2006), but are working together to generate institutional change. Moreover, when building partnerships, Coopaname did not align with legimated actors, as identified in the case of the social enterprise Aspire (Tracey et al., 2011) but it built its partnerships with actors sharing the same political objectives.

"[…] our aim is to have a cooperative group of structures working in the field of grey employment zones. […] The general idea behind it is: what united us, as cooperatives, is the notion of social protection, general protection; when we say social protection, let's say mutuality." (Former co-director2)

Although ranking and scaling up provides the cooperative with a new consistent combination of logics, it does not protect it from contestation and competition.

3.4. Impermeabilizing the proto-institutional logic

To strengthen its proto-institutional logic and prevent it from re-interpretation, the cooperative impermeabilizes it (Kent & Dacin, 2013) through differentiation and anchoring.

Differentiating

An increasing number of organizations have emerged in recent years creating different forms of work, especially in grey employment zones between employment and entrepreneurship. Thus, competition exists between actors who consider these zones as a new market, and actors such as BECs that take a nonprofit approach. Although the BEC is 20 years old, it is still a marginal type of organization, and the arrival of new actors does not help it to obtain recognition. What Coopaname fears is increasing pressure from the market logic, as marketization has already affected some fields, such as crowdfunding or organic food. To prevent this phenomenon, Coopaname promotes its unique feature: its cooperative logic, democratic governance and nonprofit philosophy. Internally, members learn these differences as soon as they join, through discussions with the support team and various communication tools: welcome booklet, intranet, etc. Coopaname also advertises in the media – articles in national newspapers – and through research – research partnerships leading to the organization of conferences and publication of academic articles.

"*With the issue of atypical employment we are on a razor's edge. […] we have to make our voice heard in this universe of sweeping auto-entrepreneurship […],to work increasingly on this difference [with commercial corporation offering new forms of work], because it exists, to make mutual career protection possible [...] we are working towards it step by step [...]*" (Co-director)

"*Is Coopaname, an umbrella company?*

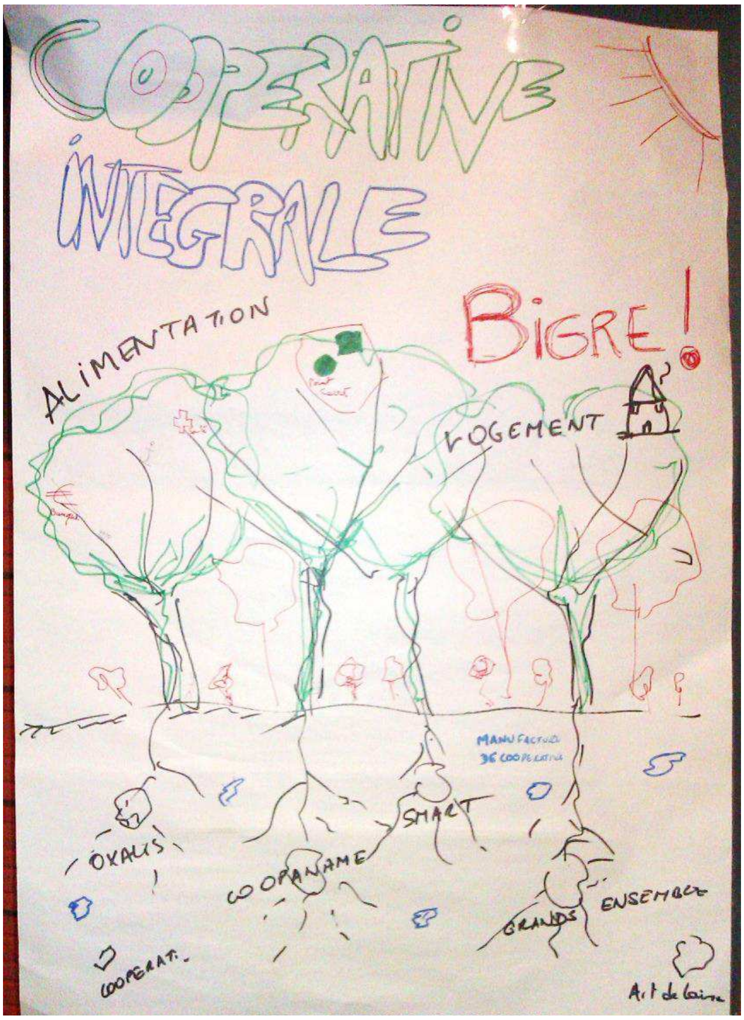
You can prepare yourself to answer this question […] An umbrella company is a commercial corporation that, for a price, transforms its customers' income into salaries. It chooses its customers depending on their expected financial outcomes. The cooperative form implies a *completely different relationship: Coopaname is not just a service provider for its members, as they own it. Nobody makes money at somebody else's expense; there is no entry selection or commercial objective*." (Welcome booklet)

Anchoring

The other form of impermeabilization consisted in anchoring the new logic combination in society issues. From focusing on (un)employment, the cooperative shifted to labor transformation and "grey employment zones," the various insecure forms of work (freelancers, short term contracts, part-time jobs, etc.) that are becoming increasingly common. This anchoring is interesting, as it moved the issue to a more abstract level, as highlighted by the verbatim below. By doing so, it could avert criticism of the cooperative's ability to create jobs, as this is not the stated goal of the cooperative. Moreover, anchoring is part of a sensemaking process (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010) that provides the cooperative with socio-political legitimacy (Colyvas & Powell, 2006). More broadly, the cooperative is developing with its members and partners what can be called a critical economic culture, encouraging them to rethink not only work relations but all socioeconomic relations.

Picture 1 shows a flipchart from a discussion group organized during Coopaname's 20th annual university in 2014. The participants were asked to draw the cooperative as they would like it to be 20 years from now. This drawing is entitled "integral cooperative", it shows a forest, in which the seeds are Coopaname and its current partners and the branches of the trees represent Bigre!, the partnership-based project, which - according to the drawing - will expand to include housing and food. This highlights that what Coopaname and its partners are building is not just a new organizational feature but a genuine new logic that might spread well beyond its origins in labor transformation. It also shows the extent to which the cooperative's members have adopted the logic.

Picture 1: Drawing from Coopaname annual universities 2014



However, for the moment, the logic is only at a proto-institutional stage (Boxenbaum, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2002). "An intentional combination of divergent institutional logics […] eclectic […] and highly malleable […] [that] may become more robust as they progress in level of institutionalization" (Boxenbaum, 2004, p.42).

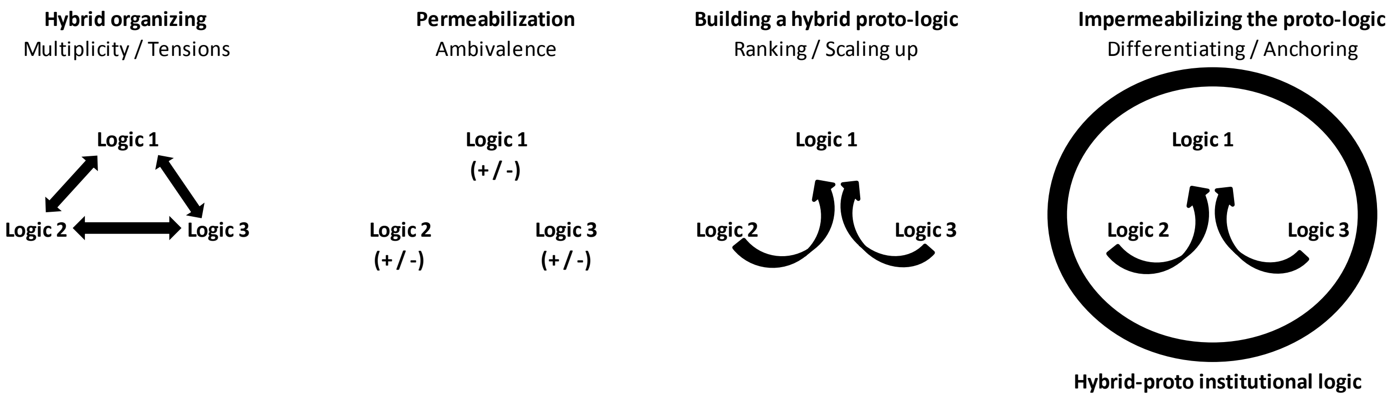
"*Coopaname is an innovative social and economic organization, engaged, militant, which experiments with new relationships with work, new ways to govern enterprises or undertake lifelong training through secure career paths. Is it utopic? Yes, but a practical, living utopia where everyone can find their place and contribute*." *(Welcome booklet)*

"*Let's not dream: neither worker cooperatives, nor the rest of the social economy will solve the employment issue. […] What they have to offer is much more precious: a model of a working relationship, but also of a relationship with power, time, ownership, a way of building social and solidarity links that will enable the invention of productive organizations and ways of doing business that we will need in the future*." (*Article by a former Coopaname co-director in a national newspaper*).

When it faced institutional complexity due to its hybrid form, as predicted by the literature, the cooperative could have tried to maintain its hybridity by adapting its structure, governance and management (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana et al., 2014). However, the cooperative chose to create a coherent, hybrid proto-institutional logic, an overall framework that released it from inter-logic tension, and in which the cooperative and its partners could develop.

The process that led the BEC to create its own proto-institutional logic to cope with its internal tension is summarized in Figure 3 and discussed in the concluding section.

Figure 3: From hybrid organization to proto-institutional logic



DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In a context of rising numbers of hybrid organizations with significant internal tension, this study aimed to understand how hybrid organizations can escape such tension and flourish. The Coopaname case suggests that hybrid organizations can overcome these tensions by creating consistent hybrid logics.

Insights for the Institutional Complexity Literature

First, these results enhance the research on hybrid organization management. So far, scholars have identified strategies affecting organizational identities and practices (Battilana et al., 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008), and consider the properties of institutional logics as "natural" (Kent & Dacin, 2013; van Dijk et al., 2011). The Coopaname case reveals that institutional logics are socially constructed, and so can be deconstructed and reshaped (Thornton et al., 2012). Thus, the case helps to answer Zilber (2013) call for constructionist approaches appreciating "the social action by which institutional logics are constructed, interpreted, and put to use" (ibid., 84). In fact, over time, institutional logics seem to have become "natural."

The case highlights what can be considered as a new form of institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2013) consisting in increasing the permeability of institutional logics to make them more malleable, and eventually to create a hybrid proto-institutional logic. In the case of Coopaname, this institutional work was divided into three stages: permeabilization of the logics through ambivalence, institutional bricolage to build a hybrid proto-institutional logic and finally impermeabilization of the new hybrid proto-institutional logic.

This enhances the research on two concepts: ambivalence and proto-institutional logic.

Although scholars studying the micro-foundations of institutions have in recent years highlighted the different relations that individuals can develop with institutional logics (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016; Jaumier et al., forthcoming, 2017; Pache & Santos, 2013a), they have not so far considered the concept of ambivalence, the simultaneous opposing orientations (Ashforth et al., 2014) that organizations and individuals can have toward institutional logics. This is unfortunate, as ambivalence can help to explain how awareness or critical understanding is developed to enable institutional change or creation (Seo & Creed, 2002).

The concept of proto-institution also seems to have been overlooked. Scholars developed the concept to designate institutions at an early stage of their institutionalization (Boxenbaum, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2002). It is highly relevant for studies attempting to escape post-hoc bias in process analysis (Langley, 1999). Applied to the literature on institutional logics it underlines their social construction.

Insights for cooperative and social enterprise research and practice

Secondly, this case study contributes to research and practices in cooperatives and social enterprises, which are hybrid organizations facing important pressure from the market logic. In fact, numerous scholars have studied the arrival of the market logic in different spheres, such as culture (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), the design industry (Durand et al., 2013), and poverty alleviation (Kent & Dacin, 2013), highlighting its hegemonic tendency. In other words, when hybridized with other logics, market tends to dominate. These findings align with the cooperative literature, which has studied the organizational tension between business objectives and social goals. Such research has generally concluded that as cooperatives mature, the business logic progresses at the expense of the social logic. This "*degenerative*" cycle can ultimately lead the organization to lose its cooperative features altogether and become just another corporation (Batstone, 1983).

However, the hegemony of the market or business logic is not inevitable. As highlighted by the Coopaname case, cooperatives and social enterprises can develop strategies to increase the permeability of the market logic and develop their own hybrid institutional logic.

Moreover, whereas with strategies at the organizational level hybrid organizations remain vulnerable to the evolution of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012), which can make the practices and identities they develop obsolete, the creation of an appropriate hybrid proto-institutional logic protects the new organizational form. This result complements the study by Tracey et al. (2011), who show that new hybrid organizational forms and hybrid logics go hand in hand. However, the authors fail to explain the composition of the hybrid logic.

Finally, Coopaname relies heavily on cooperative principles, particularly two of them: the fifth, education, training and information, and the sixth, cooperation among cooperatives. While Coopaname uses the former to foster democratic governance, it uses the latter to develop its political aims without losing integrity. Although cooperative scholars have preferred to focus on cooperative governance and financial structure, the Coopaname case highlights the importance of overlooked cooperative principles that can be activated to break down the "cycle of degeneration."

Limits and future avenues for research and practices

This study is based on a case combining three logics, which is rare. Future studies concerning organizations combining more or fewer logics should reveal whether the number of logics at stake plays a role in the process identified. Moreover, each sub-process, or stage of institutional work, I have identified–permeabilization, institutional bricolage and impermeabilization–could be the subject of its own in-depth investigation.

As underlined by Boxenbaum (2004, p.5) there is a “lack of empirical research on the genesis of a proto-institution [because] researchers require an enormous amount of luck to recognize an emerging institution and collect relevant data on ongoing interactions (Barley & Tolbert, 1997).” I was very fortunate to come upon Coopaname and have the opportunity to observe a process that is still continuing in real time. Although this proto-institution may not yet become fully-fledged, this approach avoids *a posteriori* rationalization bias (Van de Ven, 1992), and could also contribute to process theories.

CHAPITRE 4 (RE)DONNER DU SENS AU TRAVAIL

Ce dernier chapitre montre comment la coopérative d'activité et d'emploi (CAE), Coopaname, en tant qu'organisation hybride, permet à ses membres de (re)donner du sens au travail dans un contexte de flexibilisation et d'individualisation des rapports au travail.

La CAE offre à ses membres un soutien et un écosystème favorable fait de confiance et de camaraderie, qui permettent aux personnes d'utiliser les trois logiques institutionnelles disponibles : l'entrepreneuriat, le salariat et la coopération.

Ainsi les membres de la CAE peuvent façonner leur travail de manière flexible et lui (re)donner du sens. Deux facteurs influencent la manière dont les personnes façonnent leur travail : leurs expériences précédentes des logiques institutionnelles et leur situation socio-économique actuelle. Ce chapitre présente de manière détaillée les différents mécanismes à l'œuvre ainsi que les profils et trajectoires des membres. Ainsi, au-delà des contributions à l'innovation sociale et aux transformations du travail, ce chapitre contribue également aux travaux sur les microprocessus institutionnels et à ceux portant sur le sens.

Putting meaning back into work

through hybrid organization

INTRODUCTION

"I really needed to find meaning and value in what I was doing. I was fed up with hierarchical relationships [...] I wanted to be independent but I didn't want to be alone." (Member of Coopaname board – Int15)

As this quotation illustrates, some people's work aspirations have changed in ways that make traditional work forms – employment and entrepreneurship – entirely inappropriate.

Disappointed by the hierarchical relations at work, but fearful of the risks of entrepreneurship, they are looking for new meaningful forms of work, and so turn to hybrid organizations. Umbrella companies, web platforms mediating between entrepreneurs and their clients, and freelancer cooperatives are some examples of these hybrid organizations that attempt to provide workers with flexi-security (Jang, 2017; Legault & Bellemare, 2008).

Although they are widely covered in the media, these new forms of work remain overlooked by organization theorists (Barley & Kunda, 2001). At the crossroads between human resource management studies of work meaningfulness through job crafting (Bailey & Madden, 2016; Berg, Dutton, & Wrzesniewski, 2013) and new-institutional theory (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013a), this paper explores how hybrid organizations can help people put meaning (back) into their work.

In-depth interviews with the members of a French Business and Employment Cooperative (BEC), a hybrid organization that combines three institutional logics - entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation - highlight members' trajectories and the organizational mechanisms through which they use the different logics to meaningfully craft their work.

The paper first presents the theoretical foundations of the research, rooted in the human resource management and new institutional theory literature. Then I detail my case study method before presenting and discussing the findings.

1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

1.1. Work transformation

Work is a hugely important feature of adult life. The job you do, perhaps the profession you work in, and career changes and developments are some of the building blocks of your adult identity (Becker & Strauss, 1956; Fineman, 1983; Hughes, 1937). Moreover, in addition to the tasks you perform, work links you to multiple institutions. For example, in most developed countries, work status is linked to social protection.

Since the industrial revolution, the standard work form has been full time employment regulated by an open-ended contract with a single company, offering stable jobs and a linear career with internal promotion. However, the socioeconomic changes of the 1970s–tertiarization, computerization, globalization–transformed the world of work (Rifkin, 1997). In 2014, global unemployment stood at 201 million, and for those with a job, working conditions were increasingly insecure, with 60% of salaried workers worldwide in part-time or temporary employment (International Labour Office, 2015). Moreover, work arrangements have diversified greatly. What are called non-standard forms of work, contingent work, alternative work, or grey employment zones, are becoming the new work norm. Cappelli and Keller (2013) propose a classification of this constellation of work forms based on legal responsibilities and restrictions. The authors distinguish between employment work–direct and indirect employment–and contract work–direct contracting and subcontracting. This last category of work is on the increase under the effect of the combined demands of enterprises and individuals. However, whilst new flexible work forms provide companies with lower costs, more flexibility and less supervision (Cappelli, 2016), and some workers with more autonomy and higher income, they also contain a dark side: insecurity (Kunda et al., 2002). In fact, the constellation of new work forms represent more fluid but also more individualized work where workers directly contract with the buyers of the final products or services. Such workers are more independent, but can also feel isolated. They are free of organizational bureaucracy, but have to deal with clients' demands. Many people are not fully equipped to face these new work conditions. Whilst some of the self-employed are quite satisfied with their circumstances other have mixed feelings or even feel highly unsatisfied because of the isolation and insecurity (Beaucage & Bellemare, 2007). These new work conditions and aspirations influence how people make sense of their work life.

1.2. Work and meaningfulness

Embedded in this economic context fostering flexibility, impermanence and difference (Khun et al., 2008), people have to find new meaning in their work.

The process of meaning creation is defined by Pratt and Ashforth (2003) as a subset of sensemaking. According to the authors, sensemaking, "the attribution of significance to some target […] does not make necessarily something meaningful". For something to be meaningful, it should help answer "a broader existential question about the purpose of one's existence." (ibid., p.311). Studying what fosters meaning in work, they distinguish three categories:

- Meaningfulness in work coming from what people do, in other words, their role. This meaningfulness is enhanced by the enrichment of the tasks.

- Meaningfulness at work, which comes from people's membership of an organization, their feeling of belonging. It is enhanced by organizational culture or leadership.

-The transcendence that happens when meaningfulness comes from both role and membership.

As pointed out by Bailey and Madden (2016), although meaningfulness is a personal retrospective perception, it can be enhanced or deteriorated by the ecosystem. In other words, the characteristics of the organization, job, tasks and interactions will influence people's perception of work as either meaningful or meaningless. In this sense, Pratt and Ashforth (2003) explain that for transcendence to occur, the organization should provide its members with "(1) a connection to something greater than oneself such as a cause or other people [...] (2) an integration of the various aspects of oneself, such as identities and traits, into a roughly coherent system […] (3) self-development, a realization of one's aspirations and potential" (ibid., p.322).

Although these studies help understand the process of meaningfulness construction in the traditional employment context, they do not take into account recent evolutions of work presented in the previous section. As highlighted by Barley and Kunda (2001), organization theorists have to adapt their approach if they are to study new work forms appropriately. New hybrid organizations appear to be generating numerous new flexible forms of work that deserve scholars' attention.

In fact, in this context of unstable, individualized work relations, numerous support organizations have emerged, such as umbrella enterprises, co-working spaces, freelancer cooperatives, and web platforms mediating between entrepreneurs and clients. These new organizations attempt to provide people with new work frames adapted to the new socioeconomic context (Jang, 2017; Legault & Bellemare, 2008). Some of them are combining diverse work patterns - employment, entrepreneurship, cooperation – that previously were separate. However, such hybrid organizations are characterized by complexity and tension, putting their success at risk (Battilana et al., 2014; Jay, 2012). I will now turn to new institutional theory that provides robust empirical and theoretical foundations for the study of hybrid organizations and new forms of work.

1.3. Hybrid organizations, institutional logics and meaning

From a new institutional perspective, hybrid organizations combine contradictory institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2011). These logics are "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences." (Thornton et al., 2012).

Scholars such as Smets and Jarzabkowski (2013) have studied how individuals experience the arrival of a new institutional logic within their organization. These authors highlight how organization members, under the pressure of work, progressively became aware of complementary features in logics that initially had appeared contradictory, and expanded their repertoire of practices.

Thus, the way people experience hybridity depends on context and organizational characteristics. It also depends on the links that individuals develop with different logics (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016). The study by Pache and Santos (2013a) details the various responses and roles that people adopt within a hybrid organization according to their experience with the different logics. While, at one end of the continuum, those who are new to all logics will act as ingenuous members, people at the other extreme, who identify with all logics, will most probably act as “logic hybridizers.” In between, people may play a wide range of roles, depending on their ties with the logics and on the level of hybridity in the situation, that is, the degree to which one logic dominates.

Following Thornton et al. (2012) and Pache and Santos (2013a), people can socialize, in other words gain experience of institutional logics, in different ways. Organizations can make institutional logics: available, by providing information about the logic; accessible, by providing the means to use the logic; or activated, by enabling the actual use of the logic. Thus, people throughout their trajectories can tie different links with the logics. People can be novices, when they have only rudimentary knowledge of a logic they have never encountered; they can be familiar with a logic, without building strong ties with it; finally, they can identify with logics that provide them with behavioral guidelines and identity. And, when confronted with complex situations people can even use the multiple logics available as a toolkit to reach their goals (McPherson & Sauder, 2013).

Thus, the multiple logics merged in hybrid organizations might help people to find meaning in their work. In this paper, I study one of these new hybrid organizations providing a flexi-secure work form, to answer the question: How do hybrid organizations enable people to put meaning (back) into their work?

2. METHOD

2.1. Case study of a Business and Employment Cooperative

The Business and Employment Cooperatives (BEC) emerged in France in the mid-1990s, in a context of lasting high unemployment and public policies encouraging the unemployed to become self-employed. These organizations offer this new type of entrepreneur individual and collective support for their new project. When they find clients, the entrepreneurs sign an employee contract with the BEC, and the support team transforms their turnover into a salary. Finally, within their three years of joining the BEC, members have to become associates; they buy shares and take part in the democratic governance system.

Thus, BECs rely on three distinct institutional logics: first, entrepreneurship logic, which is based on the need for autonomy and materialized by free-contracting; second employment, based on the need for security, which is provided by labor law; and finally cooperation based on the need to be part of a collective, and materialized as non-profit organizations. Most people are relatively unfamiliar with the cooperative logic, as it is quite marginal in France. In fact, although cooperation appeared as a solution for workers during the industrial revolution, the cooperative movement was attacked bitterly by the authorities, and eventually lost its position as an available alternative work form with the establishment of the welfare State and a Fordist system of regulation based on collective bargaining between unions and employers (Draperi, 2012). Table 1 summarizes the symbolic and material components of these three logics hybridized by the BECs.

Table 1: Institutional logics hybridized by the BECs

	Entrepreneurship logic	Employment logic	Cooperation logic
Symbolic elements (Source of legitimacy)	Need for autonomy	Need for security	Need to be part of a collective
Material elements (Normative practices and instruments)	Contracts	Labor law	Nonprofit organizations

2.2. Data collection and analysis

This research focuses on the Parisian BEC Coopaname, one of the biggest BECs in France. Created in Paris in 2003 as a showcase for the BEC, the cooperative now has more than 800 members, including 194 cooperators.

I took an abductive approach, which started with an exploratory, data collection phase, comprising non-participative observation, focus groups, interviews and archival analysis.

My analysis of this first data pool using an interpretative coding scheme (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gioia et al., 2012) revealed overarching topics and drove the second data collection phase. The aim of this second step was access as many sources of evidence as possible until reaching saturation, when new information ceased to emerge (Yin, 2003).

During this phase, I interviewed the BEC's founders, partners, members of BECs network, and collected more archives to enhance my knowledge of the BEC's history, organization and field issues. In addition, to learn more about whom the members are and what they do within the cooperative, I conducted a new series of semi-structured interviews with a total of 30 members.

As the cooperative gave me free access to its intranet and email addresses, I could contact members directly to set up face-to-face or phone interviews. Moreover, the BEC provided me with a list of all its former members. I selected my interviewees to encompass the diversity of BEC membership. The main limit encountered in this approach was self-selection by interviewees. Although the interviews reflect the diverse profiles of the members and how they operate inside the organization, only the main trajectories are represented, as people less involved in the cooperative might have felt less qualified to answer the questions, and so not have replied to the invitation. On the other hand, those extremely involved in the organization may not have found time to reply. Table 2 (see appendix) presents the main characteristics of the interviewees.

The interviews lasted on average 70 minutes. I recorded and transcribed them all for coding through Nvivo10. Depending on interviewees and personal’s constraints, some interviews were organized by phone, others took place at Coopaname, in public areas such as coffee shops or even in members’ homes.

The interview guide contained three parts: first interviewees introduced themselves and gave their definition of the BEC. Second, they talked about how the BEC operates their relations with the BEC, its advantages and drawbacks, the features of their contracts and their relations with others (members, clients, partners, etc.). Finally, the interviewees explained how they had changed since joining the BEC and how they foresee their future career.

Although the 30 interviews helped understand Coopaname’s members and their experience within the BEC, only 21 of them were complete enough to be presented on the typology (Figure 1). My data analysis comprised two steps, following the interactionist approach of sociologists of profession (Becker & Strauss, 1956).

Firstly, I recorded the characteristics of each interviewee’s career (profession before entering the cooperative, previous work status, reason for joining, current profession, other activities, relationship with the cooperative, relations with other members, etc.). Then, I identified similarities and differences between the careers. These two first steps generated descriptive or first order codes. Then, going back and forth between the data and the literature I developed second order themes and aggregated dimensions, at a higher level of conceptualization (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gioia et al., 2012).

The next section presents my findings.

3. FINDINGS

After highlighting why the institutional logics currently regulating work are unsatisfactory, this section presents how the BEC socializes its members in multiple logics to help them find meaning in their work. Then, before discussing these results in the following section, I detail the three types of member trajectories I identified.

3.1. Limits of institutional logics and reasons for joining the BEC

Although institutional logics governing work provide people with ideal-types, taken separately these logics do not fulfill people's current demands. While the entrepreneurship logic is synonymous with independence, it frightens people. What most frightened the interviewees was loneliness and risk.

Int8 "As for being self-employed, which I had been considering, I was too scared of the solitude and isolation."

Int5 [previously self-employed] "I wanted to escape from a kind of isolation; I wanted to meet other people, even in different professions, to create synergies and work with others."

Int25 "Above all it was the status of salaried entrepreneur that reassured me for my future work. And the fact that if for any reason my project didn't work out, I would be able to stop and transfer to something else; the fact that it would be easier to stop than a company, because sometimes that can be trickier."

The employment logic is associated with stability and social security; however, it is also associated with hierarchy and subservient relationships. Thus, some members join the BEC because they are unhappy with their experience as employees. They relate inconsistent hierarchical functioning and bad relationships.

Int14 "I was fed up with hierarchical relations"

Int23 "I didn't want to become an employee again. That's for sure. For me, being an employee, I find it, how can I say? I'm going to be a bit extreme […] you're a bit of a slave, you might say. You have to play the game and you don't necessarily want to string along […] I was retired, so I didn't want to […] find myself with the same constraints as in a company"

As the cooperation logic is marginal in society, the interviewees do not refer to the limits of this logic[22] but refer to it as a reason for joining the BEC. They perceive the cooperation logic as providing greater meaningfulness. Young people in particular wonder about the meaning of their future career during their time at university, while older people are disappointed by employment and/or entrepreneurship and seek alternative forms of work.

[22] Only one member, who had extensive experience in the non-profit sector, related her disappointment with a lack of coherence, but this did not prevent her from wanting to use the cooperation logic.

Int17 "Initially I wanted to do [my traineeship] in a non-profit organization, or at least not in a typical firm, and even less in a large company. Even if that's how we were formatted at university."

Int20 "I developed a crisis of meaning very quickly as I got into my forties. And I decided to get into the social economy"

To remedy the limits of entrepreneurship and employment, BEC offers a hybrid form of work, combining these two logics with cooperation.

3.2. Putting (back) meaning into work within hybrid organization through flexible coupling of logics

As people do not relate to every logic in the same way and do not have the same demands, the BEC socializes them so they can access and make active use of each logic. Each member can flexibly combine the different logics according to their personal needs and aspirations.

Support for activation of the logics

Although the entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation logics are all accessible, not all members will activate all of them. Indeed, they need support to put the logics into use in social interactions (Pache & Santos, 2013a; Thornton et al., 2012).

Entrepreneurship logic

For some members of the BEC, with extensive experience as employees, using the entrepreneurship logic entailed a significant change of identity.

Int23 "I didn't feel at all like someone, like a market-oriented person… First of all for canvassing […] When you're state-employed you don't have that aspect in your life."
Int7 "It took me some time to make the psychological switch; it's a completely different type of job, I've been salaried all my life in short or long-term contracts, and I didn't even want to be independent."

The combined administrative support, training and professional groups compensate for the main limits of the entrepreneurial logic, so the members can use it actively without feeling overwhelmed.

Int28 "I also found it reassuring to be assisted by the accounts people and all that […] That sort of thing really scared me."
Int25 "The coach […] helped me avoid a lot of searching, gave me his experience or that of other people in the cooperative"
Int22 "You don't have to make a 5-year business plan 150 pages long. But you do have to learn to understand and to constantly check the financial side of your activity, that is, what will the costs be? What resources are you going to need? How is the money going to come in?"

Int29 "As far as the work goes, it's just as hard because clients don't fall into your lap, but at least you're assisted, socially, with friends, all that, and you're not just sitting in the corner all alone […] Because what's interesting is that the different professions form into groups […] which means you can talk about problems, and why not, find new clients, things like that, I mean."

Int16 "There's an extranet bit where you can ask quite a few questions and um, generally the people are very very responsive."

Employment logic

Although most people identified with the employment logic, the BEC offers its members new ways to activate the logic. In addition to employee status, which most people find attractive, the BEC provides its members with knowledge and support to manage their income and social protection themselves.

To offer its members stability, the BEC averages out their turnover to give them a regular salary over several months. Moreover, they offer a salary advance when entrepreneurs are waiting for client payments.

Int27 "So the advantage was this security […] being sure of getting a salary every month even if you hadn't invoiced anything or you were waiting to get paid, things like that. For example, what I was telling you [our client] took more than 12 months, 13 months to pay us. And it was our biggest invoice of the year. So if we didn't have the cooperative's overall cash to pay our salary, it would have been tricky to hold out, I mean. […] And that's another real strength of the thing; it's that when you leave you get unemployment benefit. I'm mean, me, *in fact I'm still out of work, I mean I'm still getting benefit on the back of that contract." [Former BEC member]*

Another important source of stability is that the BEC offers its members open-ended contracts and encourage them to remain for the long term. This is very different from incubators, which provide entrepreneurs with support for a limited period.

Int16 "I'm both an entrepreneur and an employee of Coopaname. […] That's the protection, that's the support. In the incubator of course we got support, except is a test, so I mean it has to come to an end. You can't stay in the incubator for ever. Whereas you can stay in Coopaname, you get protection, you benefit from their advice. You also benefit from the expertise of the other entrepreneurs."

Finally, the BEC provides its members with the necessary knowledge and tools to manage their salary and social protection flexibly in line with their circumstances.

Int29 "[…] It maybe helped me get to know that environment a bit and how it worked […] the different salary structures […] what different types of costs were related to, why you pay such-and-such. […] Because at school no one tells you why it's logical to pay 50% tax, what you get for it […] why it cost so much and why it's reasonable."

Int22 "[…] So far I have managed to pay myself a little bit every month. […] the minimum necessary for my pension allowance. […] All the money that comes in, I've decided to put it into my salary, so really I'm buying my social protection. So I decided not to include all my professional costs in my accounts."

Int25 "At that time [when I was moving out of the Paris area] I reduced my income on purpose, to keep some cash in hand, as insurance for afterwards, for several months when I was launching, you might say, the same activity in a new region. So you have to build everything up again. So, to prepare for that I lowered my income. [...] To be precise, I amended my contract to lower the salary. Up till then I had only raised my salary, and now I lowered it. In fact I'm annoying them a bit because I amend my contract every month because here I've found other part-time jobs, so depending on the number of hours I do, I balance it out."

Cooperation logic

Due to its marginal position in society, cooperation is the logic that requires the greatest efforts for socialization. With its status as a worker cooperative, the BEC follows the mandatory cooperative principles: member ownership, democratic governance, not-for-profit management.

In addition to these guidelines set by the cooperative movement, the BEC develops numerous initiatives to inform its members and get them involved in the cooperative project.

Here again, flexibility is an important feature. In fact, BEC members have different profiles, experience, skills, motivations, personal circumstances, etc. and there is no point asking them all to get involved to the same extent. Thus, the BEC provides them with access to the cooperation logic and lets them choose when and how they want to get involved. This socialization strategy works, as all the interviewees, even those not involved, recognized involvement as an important element in the BEC. Therefore, the cooperative logic is available to all and flexibly activated by some.

Int19 [looking at her notes from the BEC presentation meeting] "first Coopaname presentation about Coopaname governance. The SCOP [Cooperative and Participative Company], etc., the project is: to develop a new relationship to work, through democratic governance. And it resonates with people when they hear words like that because it means that in fact everyone does their bit for the project, and their contribution is as valuable as the next person's."

Int29 "What's interesting is that you can contribute to human relations as much or as little as you like at Coopaname. You can either be a real sleeping partner and just do the minimum and all that. Or you can really get involved, go to all the meetings and spend a lot of time. I was kind of in the middle. [...] You're never coldshouldered whether you come or you don't come, everybody did what they liked."

Int4 "One of the ideas I found really interesting […] was just that: everyone can get involved in the way they want. […] you could say to yourself that you didn't have to take part in everything all the time."

The following quotes, ranked by increasing degree of involvement, highlight how involvement is recognized as an important feature of the BEC and how the level of involvement varies widely.

Int7 "The information exists, but there are, Coopanamians [name that Coopaname members give themselves] who look for it and others that don't. As for me, I don't take part in the great merry-go-round of discussions about the cooperative; I prefer to stick to purely professional developments."

Int22 "I give very little time to the life of the cooperative. Above all because I don't have the time, eh?! I'm not an associate […] I don't go to meetings. […] it isn't just a question of *choice, I don't really have the choice, I mean when I've done everything I have to do plus technical jobs and little bit of leisure time, I admit I don't really feel like it."*

Int23 "It's a sort of potluck organization; everyone brings what they can and what they want. So if you don't take part, nothing happens to you.. […] I do feel a bit set apart though […] in fact, I wish I was a bit more involved. But there you are, I take part in the autumn universities, I go to a few meetings, but that's all."

Int25 "by contributing every month[23]*, by being an associate, I can participate in the BEC a bit. Then the other aspect I was telling you about, it's that if people starting out ever have any questions […] then I willingly try and give them some feedback when I can and when they ask."*

Int26 "I took some time […] I was a bit out of it and I had worries as well, […] personal things I mean […] so I didn't do much for a while. And then things got better, I got more involved, I became an associate, and I applied for the board of directors. So now I have been on the cooperative's board of directors for a year."

Int10 "I've always been very uncompromising. I'm not a consumer, I always get involved. In everything I've done I've always got involved. And anyway, the cooperative really made you want to get involved."

This flexible coupling is only possible due to the ecosystem provided by the BEC: an organizational culture based on trust and friendship, which provides members with the psychological safety necessary for them to "express their true selves" (May, Gilson, & M., 2004).

[23] Each member when becoming an associate gives 3% of its raw salary to increase the BEC equity.

Ecosystem favoring flexible logics coupling: trust and friendship

The BEC members often refer to the culture of Coopaname as an important factor enabling them to activate and combine the institutional logics meaningfully. In fact, it might appear overwhelming or even frightening to handle these three institutional logics; therefore, the ecosystem provided by the BEC is crucial. The interviewees refer especially to two key dimensions: friendship and trust.

Int26 "So, I had a job and they wanted me to travel all the time to meet clients but with nothing to sell. I really had some hard times, and I relished the fact that I could participate, talk to people, in an atmosphere that in general was really caring."

Int17 "The team is really natural, cheerful and attentive. So as soon as I arrived they made me feel comfortable. You could feel that they really wanted you to fit in. When I say 'you' I mean the trainees. They kept asking me all the time: have you got any questions? Have you got enough space? Do you know where everything is? Where you can get information?"

Int10 "It was incredibly friendly: the salaried staff had set up what we called at the time Jenner's café, every Thursday lunchtime, anyone could come, and bring whatever they wanted, and we all had lunch together. They were completely informal meetings, where you didn't have to talk about work but you could just talk, I mean get to know each other, become friends."[Former BEC member]

Int20 "I found myself in an environment where at last I was happy with what I was doing, I felt good because people trusted me, that too. […] Once again, what is very significant is the way we trust each other, that's all. So that's something that really facilitates relationships."

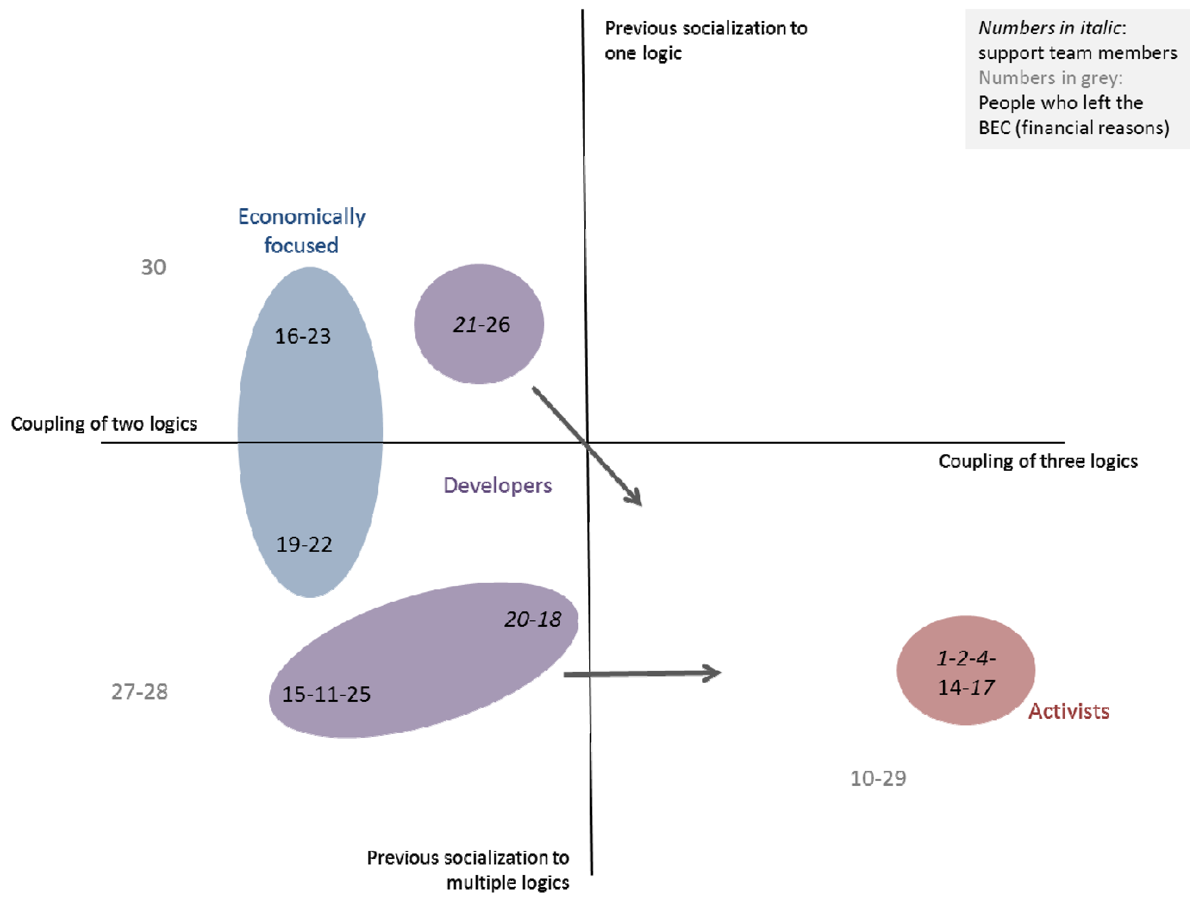
Int15 "What really helps there, and means that I hardly ever feel frustrated, is that people basically trust each other."

Int3 "It really struck me too when I arrived. From the start they trust you. Where I came from, their initial reaction is to mistrust you. That changes things a bit. And I think that explains a lot about the way it operates."

Int11 "The one thing I have learnt at Coopaname, is that every time I said to myself: no, I can't do that, I haven't got the ability, there was always an S., a coach, or a J. or someone from the board, saying: [...] get on board, you'll learn as you go along. That's what I remember about everyone at Coopaname. It was, don't think that you can't do it, just go on, and you'll learn. And you'll always have a role to play."

Helping people to access and activate the different logics is necessary, but not enough for them to combine them flexibly. The way people combine the different logics made accessible by the BEC depends on two main factors: their previous socialization and their current socioeconomic situation. These characteristics divide the members into three main groups - activists, developers and the economically focused - presented in figure 1 and detailed in the next section.

Figure 1: Groups and trajectories of Coopaname members



3.3. Individual trajectories

Activists

The first group, activists, has previous experience of multiple logics and/or with the marginal logic of cooperation. They clearly join the cooperative to find meaning in their work. Some are young people that decided during their university education to work in the social economy (charities, cooperatives, mutual organizations, foundations, social enterprises). The older are either disappointed by the employment logic and hierarchical management and/or people who have already worked in social economy organizations and wanted to continue.

Their socioeconomic circumstances are settled, either because they are support team members or because their entrepreneurial projects are successful. They actively use the three logics, but in different ways. Support team members do not use the entrepreneurship logic for an individual project but for the development of the BEC. They build meaningfulness through transcendence as defined by Pratt and Ashforth (2003). In other words, they find meaning in the tasks they perform - meaningfulness in work - , the context in which they perform them - meaningfulness at work - , and through their involvement in the BEC's political aim that is source of meaning. They care about the coherence of the BEC and are highly involved, sometimes too much. In fact, although this group is the core of the BEC, sometimes they suffer from burnout because of over-involvement.

The following quotes from a member of the board illustrate such a trajectory.

Activist's illustrative trajectory (Int14)

Female, +50 years old, BEC member for more than 10 years, member of the Board

"I'm the daughter of a union leader […] after university I did social work, a bit hardcore

[…]

The boss changed, it lost its values, etc. So I left the firm. And so then I really needed to find meaning and values in what I did. I was fed up with hierarchical relationships and at the same time I didn't want to be, I wanted to be independent but I didn't want to be on my own.

[…]

If I was joining a cooperative, rather than an ordinary firm, of course it was to become an associate."

[…]

I always put Coopaname first. So when you're a volunteer, and on top of that you're losing work because you turn it down because you've got a committee meeting, an AGM, a seminar or whatever, it's a bit hard to accept. I had a breakdown […] Even so, I'm OK, I've got work and get a good daily wage, so I can afford not to work every day, even so, it was obvious that after a bit my engagement was detrimental, not just to the pay I got for my work but also to my health, but also to my family life. It's a real vocation, you know."

Developers

Most members of the second group have had previous experience with multiple logics, they join the BEC for different reasons: to have an employee status, to be a different kind of entrepreneur, or to stabilize their work. Initially they rely on the employment and entrepreneurship logics; gradually they begin actively using the cooperation logic. The ecosystem of trust, friendship and flexibility encourages these members to use all logics actively to build meaning. After finding meaning in and at work, through their work status, income and tasks, they progressively develop meaning through transcendence, a combination of meaning at and in work and involvement in the BEC's political aims. However, their involvement appears more balanced and their risk of over-involvement is lower than for the activists.

The following quotes from a young member of the board illustrate the trajectory of this group.

Developers' illustrative trajectory (Int15)

Male, 30-40 years old, BEC member for more than 10 years, member of the board

"Before we started out, we wondered what status to choose […] So we joined up because we wanted to create a 3-person structure and that meant we didn't have to invest at the beginning, we could test things for real, and then pay the deductions on a salary only when some money came in.

[…]

I faced several situations in the cooperative when nobody was able to give me an answer, when I realized that in fact it was up to me to create the answer. That I could create the *answer to my question myself […] I quickly realized that everything was based on trust. I very quickly learnt to trust my coach.*

[…]

I think that BECs are like UFOs for the French authorities […] I see the extent to which that is true when I go and see my bank manager, for example […] I can easily see she doesn't understand […] Most of the time it's to my advantage because people I talk to about it say: look, you've got a permanent job, look you earn whatever. Yes, but earning whatever… At the same time I'm the one who sets my salary, so um... When I wanted a new apartment I had to have three times the salary, so I called my coach and I said: listen, I've got to give myself a pay rise over the next two months because I'm trying to get a new apartment and if not I won't get it. I increased my salary. There's absolutely nothing illegal about that.

[…]

I had a bit of time, and then I needed it as well; it was times when I had less work, so I didn't really know how to go prospecting, so I said to myself the best thing to do would be to go and talk to my colleagues and see what they did.

[…]

I realized that I'd been there for quite some time, that all things being equal I wanted to stay, that work was going well and that there was no reason for me not to become an associate.

[…]

It was really fascinating. I reached a new level of understanding of the cooperative thanks to the fact that I was a member of the board. What I liked was the fact that, at the beginning, I really didn't think I was up to it. […] And immediately they reassured me, saying: "no, there are no stupid questions", "nobody's going to judge you", "the aim is to think about strategic challenges, to ask in-depth questions about values, about our political aims, all that." And in fact, there was one reason that was behind the fact that I applied to be on the board. It was *that I was flattered, you might say, that people wanted to listen to me, that I thought it was important for the entrepreneurs to be represented on the board. […]And the other thing was that I could see in it a real practical application of my political ideas. I said to myself: It's going to be a place where I can be politically active, and it will immediately make a difference to my environment.*

[…]

There are moments when, whatever, my work takes priority. As long as I can arrange things and I can manage to prevent it encroaching on the work I do, there's no problem. When I can really see that it might be harmful for me, I don't take any risks; I prefer not to go [to the meetings]

[…]

Sometimes we really don't agree and sometimes really, it can even get a bit tense, but it doesn't matter. The tension is visible, we always answer each other politely, I've never seen anyone be rude, I've never seen that, and anyway, usually, when things get a bit tense between two people, they talk about it outside the meeting informally and things calm down. I've never really seen any bad feeling, nothing like that. With regard to all that, I find that the atmosphere is very grown up."

The economically focused

The third group is similar to the developers. It comprises people who may or may not have experience of multiple or marginalized logic and who enter the BEC to obtain employee status and/or to become an alternative kind of entrepreneur. However, unlike the developers, their current socioeconomic situation - insufficient income, social difficulties – prevents them from actively using the three logics. Although they have access to the cooperative logic, they do not actively use it. They either act as an employee or as an entrepreneur. These attitudes might also be because they are overwhelmingly "imprinted" with one logic, which prevents them from learning a new one. Imprinting refers to the effect of past socialization during sensitive periods on the present (Battilana & Lee, 2013; Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). When members are excessively influenced by the employment logic, they are unable to effectively canvass for clients; when they are excessively influenced by the entrepreneurship logic, they pursue their own interests and freeload. This economically-focused group includes a subgroup of people who have left the BEC. This subgroup is highly varied, as it comprises people who had been activists or developers in the BEC. Following changes in their personal circumstances, such as a significant increase or decrease in their entrepreneurial activity or retirement, they decided to leave the BEC for financial reasons. Some of them switched to self-employment, others joined an umbrella company, set up their own company, or are unemployed. For this group, meaning in work is tied to work status and income.

The following quotes from a member illustrate the trajectories of these members.

Economically focused's illustrative trajectory (Int19)

Female, more than 50 years old, BEC member for 1 year, support contract

"I was an entertainment artist doing casual work; I worked like that for a very long time

[…]

Someone dropped out the day before the job and as I knew the place like the back of my hand, I was ready to go and they asked me to do it in return for the promise of a permanent contract. I was nearly forty and I said to myself that it might be better like that. OK. But in fact the permanent contract went to a youngster who I had started training […]. And then I just went downhill; total depression because I couldn't trust anybody.

[…]

Theoretically, at 61 years old I have the right to retire, I have the right to claim my pension, and I'll get 180 euros. If I wait till I'm 67 I'll get 400 euros a month. As I have nothing to lose and I really don't feel ready for a quiet life (laughs). I'm going to wait. […] So, financially it's a catastrophe, I'm on the minimum allowance. […] It's hard to live on and it's getting worse and worse. […] So I did this training course two years ago telling myself: whether I'm retired or not, this activity is intellectual, as long as I don't lose my mind and I can type on a computer or write with a pencil, I can do this job.

[…]

Knowing that I can get the support of something that's bigger than me, that definitely reassured me. And still be independent! Because that's a basic need for me. Yet knowing that I am responsible for the salary I get at the end of the month.

[…]

That's another thing that's important in this cooperative. They care about the social cover that the members of the cooperative get.

[…]

I mean you start from the individual and then create a business structure, and not the opposite. And that's fundamental for me, that's why I hope it has a future.

[…]

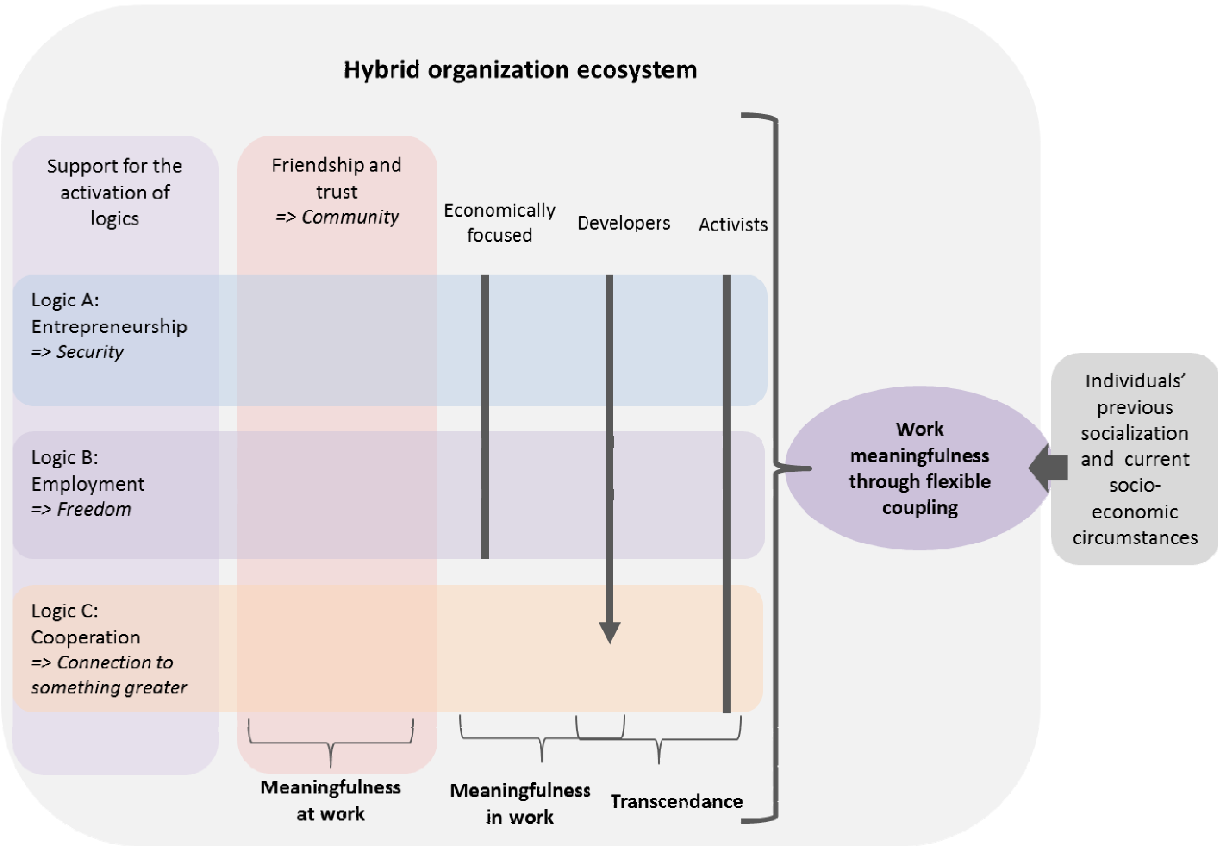
I'm still on the minimum unemployment allowance because I'm not an employee […] my great difficulty is not in working, because I like it... My difficulty is finding clients and agreeing to get paid for what I do […] but already, with Coopaname, the fact of knowing that there's something that's kind of there that isn't nothing, or just the Job Center, it's very different. I feel as if I have a professional existence, even if for the moment it isn't made concrete by a salary, but I do have a professional existence.

[…]

Right from the start I think that at the first induction meeting with D., I said: but it's going to take me maybe five years. But that doesn't matter, it's an adventure, they said: well then if that's what it takes… They didn't say: watch out you've got 6 months! No, I didn't get that. That too made me want to keep going."

Figure 2 summarizes how the BEC enables people to (re)create meaning in their work by flexibly combining the three institutional logics. Each logic has its own value added: security (employment logic), autonomy (entrepreneurship) and links to a larger organization (cooperation). Moreover, the organizational culture of trust and friendship provides a favorable ecosystem in which to handle the multiple logics. Finally, the figure highlights the influence of individual socioeconomic circumstances on members' trajectories and the three main member profiles identified: activists, developers and economically focused.

Figure 2: Meaningful work through hybrid organization



DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Since the 1970s and the transformation of work, the institutional logics that previously governed work have been unable to help people build meaning in their work. While career flexibility might be an opportunity, it is not enough for people to build meaningful careers. Even though the different logics might appear more accessible, it is not so easy for people to use them actively. Due to their previous professional socialization people are disappointed with (entrepreneurship and employment), afraid of (entrepreneurship) or just unaware of (cooperation) the different institutional logics available. By broadening the repertoire of logics and providing the necessary tools and context for their activation, the BEC enables people to build meaningfulness by flexibly coupling the logics. The administrative support and advice provided by the support team and peers overcome the entrepreneur's risk of loneliness. While benefitting from employee status and the associated national social protection, BEC members develop their activity independently. This freedom overcomes the dark side of employment, that is to say, hierarchy and subservient relations. By activating the employment and entrepreneurship logics, members can integrate various aspects of themselves into a coherent system and realize their aspirations. Thus, activating these two logics enables them to build meaningfulness in work, in other words to build the role that fits them best. Meaningfulness at work is enhanced by an organizational culture based on trust and friendship, providing members with a strong sense of belonging. Finally, they can attain transcendence through meaningfulness in and at work and by activating the cooperative logic that connects them with the BEC's political objectives. As cooperation has a marginal position in society, it is the logic necessitating the greatest efforts at socialization. However, people sometimes focus too many expectations on this logic, leading, in the worst cases, to over-involvement.

The aim of this study was to understand how, in a context of work transformation, hybrid organizations could help people put meaning (back) into their work. The results contribute to two research fields, those dealing with meaningful work and institutional complexity.

Contributions to research on meaningful work

The new socioeconomic context intensifies the issue of work meaningfulness. Indeed, surrounded by discourses promoting self-entrepreneurship through flexible and creative career paths (Khun et al., 2008) some people feel overwhelmed and work loses its meaning for them.

Although professional trajectories are less linear, as people move from one organization to the other or have multiple activities and statuses at the same time, scholars still rely on theories rooted in Fordism and focus either on employment and intra-organizational dynamics or on self-employment and client relations (Barley & Kunda, 2001). The growing numbers of hybrid organizations offering flexi-secured forms of work remain overlooked by organization scholars studying meaningful work. Thus, this case study of a business and employment cooperative addresses a pressing social issue and provides insights to update organization studies on work meaning.

Firstly, the results provide empirical evidence on how people can put (back) meaning into their work thanks to hybrid organizations. Research on work meaning provide typologies of meaningfulness (Pratt & Ashforth, 2003) and detail the variables that foster or impede work meaningfulness (Bailey & Madden, 2016) even in contexts of institutional complexity (Maitlis & Lawrence, 2007; Sharma & Good, 2013). Although these studies highlight the diversity of work meaning and the process of developing meaning, they overlook changes in how individuals build work meaningfulness. Indeed, as careers become more fluid and diverse, the way people make sense of their work might evolve along with their work conditions (status, income, membership, etc.). Fineman (1983) highlighted the difference in work meaning between workers and the unemployed. He also underlined the influence of occupations and skills on work meaning. However, this again was a static approach that does not explain how people's work meaning making process evolves through their career. The Coopaname case shows how a hybrid organization can support these changes in work meaning making through socialization into diverse institutional logics. Indeed, BEC members initially rely on only two logics (entrepreneurship and employment) to build meaningfulness in work (through their role) and at work (through belongingness) and progressively move to transcendence through socialization to the cooperative logic. This third logic allows people to engage in the BEC's political ideals and to connect with something bigger than their individual project. This evolution in the work meaning making process is enabled by the support and the trust and friendship ecosystem provided by the BEC.

Secondly, the results of this research and the institutional logic lens expand scholarship on work meaningfulness through job crafting (Bailey & Madden, 2016). Different types of job crafting have been identified, including tasks, relations, cognitive crafting (Berg et al., 2013) and enhancing the people-job fit. However, these studies do not take into account the surrounding logics that weave these elements. In fact, institutional logics represent coherent sets of practices, norms and values (Thornton et al., 2012) that can be handled creatively to attain work meaningfulness. Even when people are sufficiently socialized to logics, and can flexibly combine features of each logic to build meaning, this coupling, or crafting has to take into account the symbolic and practical components of the logics. Indeed, to support the active use of all three logics, Coopaname makes its members fully aware of all the logics so they can handle them meaningfully. Without clear understanding and appropriation of the logics, the crafting might be weaker.

Contributions to research on institutional complexity

The results also make two contributions to research on institutional complexity and hybrid organizations, at two different levels. First, the study enhances understanding of how hybrid organizations can help individuals manage institutional complexity. Second, it provides insights into how individuals handle such complexity. Together, these two contributions point to a third aspect: people's awareness and knowledge of logics vary enormously, and researchers often ignore this aspect.

Research on hybrid organizations has pointed out the difficulties of managing such organizations and in particular of helping members of the organization to make sense of this complexity. Such work focuses on emerging complexity, where a new institutional logic challenges the incumbent one. Thus institutional complexity can impose constraints on workers by making multiple contradictory demands (Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013). While managing such complexity might depend on individual ingenuity (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016), researchers have identified solutions developed by organizations to help members manage complexity, such as the compartmentalization of organizational units following different logics (Reay & Hinings, 2009), or hiring and socialization processes (Battilana & Dorado, 2010). This paper identifies another type of hybrid organization and institutional complexity. Indeed, from the outset Coopaname has been based on three institutional logics, therefore institutional complexity is consubstantial to the organization and was not imposed on people later on. However, Coopaname is aware of how difficult it is for members to engage with the different logics, and has organized itself accordingly. Those who join the organization are provided with support and an appropriate ecosystem to help them use each logic actively. Thus, my results also point to the need to distinguish between situations where logics are imposed, and situations where logics are provided to help people make sense of situations by combining them flexibly. Whereas research has stressed the challenges of managing institutional complexity within hybrid organizations, this study suggests that such complexity can be a source of coherence when actors can choose how to engage with institutional logics.

The study also provides insights into how people handle institutional complexity. In doing so, it contributes to scholarship on institutional micro-processes. Research on how actors engage with institutional logics has already identified the fact that they are used for sensemaking. For instance, McPherson and Sauder (2013) have shown that logics are more than extra-local dictates and help individuals make sense of local everyday situations. This view considers that actors can solve problems by drawing indiscriminately on different institutional logics. This study indicates that individuals may engage with a common set of logics in very different ways. In particular, it identifies the importance of previous career paths, and the level of socialization into the logics, in explaining how people engage with logics. This emphasis on earlier careers is consistent with research pointing to the importance of 'institutional biographies' (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2010; Suddaby & Viale, 2011) and previous socialization (Pache & Santos, 2013a), and more generally points to the importance of habitus in explaining how actors engage with logics.

Altogether, these contributions to the management of institutional complexity at organizational and individual levels point to a third aspect, namely how actors become aware of and knowledgeable about institutional logics. From the institutional logics perspective, actors are "situated, embedded, and boundedly intentional" (Thornton et al., 2012, p.102). It cannot be assumed they know about institutional logics, or that they have a full knowledge of them. Yet, most research does not consider how actors learn about logics. Nor does it consider the potential differences between people in awareness and knowledge of the logics. While notions of institutional biography and habitus can help to explain actors' awareness and knowledge of logics, my case study indicates that some may be more knowledgeable than others. It suggests that actors in the same organizational setting might have very different levels of knowledge of the same institutional logic, depending on their previous career. The effects of such differences might be reduced in an organization such as Coopaname, whose culture is based on trust and friendship. It might have different consequences in contexts where competition is the norm and where those with a better knowledge of the logics might use this to obtain competitive advantage.

Incidentally, this last aspect also resonates with research on meaningful work. Arguably, in order to make work or other activities meaningful, actors need to be able to relate to those assumptions, values, and beliefs (institutional logics), by which individuals and organizations provide meaning (Thornton et al., 2012). If they do not know about these logics, and so cannot manage them, people might find work meaningless; providing them with such knowledge might be a way to make work meaningful.

Limits and future research

Work transformation is one of the nowadays-biggest challenges, and the growing number of hybrid forms of work provide tremendous field of research that remains understudied.

The study of Coopaname presents a case embedded in French context with three prevalent institutional logics governing work. However, the issue is a global one that calls for international comparisons. Although this study traces back people work trajectories it does not identify the influence of turning points that might deviate the trajectories and imprint people. Further investigations would enhance the understanding of how hybrid organizations generate or overcome these turning points and imprints.

APPENDIX

Table 2: Interviewees Characteristics[24]

Characteristics	**Number of interviewees**	**All members**[25]
Gender		
Male	13	307
Female	17	510
Age		
-30	4	50
30-40	9	22
40-50	5	279
50+	12	266

[24] The two former co-directors were members of a focus group (in 2011), they were also individually interviewed twice each (2011 & 2014), one of the current co-directors was a member of a focus group before becoming co-director (2011) and was interviewed when co-director (2015). One salaried-entrepreneur was interviewed twice: before and after she left the cooperative (2012 and 2015). In addition, the founder of the BEC is currently a salaried-entrepreneur and is counted as such. These people are counted only once in the table.

[25] The number of 817 gathers the entire community around Coopaname including the former employees that remain associates, the entrepreneurs' employees, support team members shared with partners. Moreover, as some categories overlap, for instance, all administrators are associates, the total of the categories does not correspond to 817.

Work status in the cooperative		
Entrepreneurs	16	749
Supported– *Members without employee contract*	3	249
Employees – *Members with an employee contract*	7	500
Cooperators – *individuals' shareholders not support team*	10	145
Members of the board *Administrators not support team members*	5	12 (including 9 entrepreneurs)
Former members	5	14 (Former employees not support team members that remain associates)
Support team members	9	30
Seniority in the cooperative		
Less than 1 year	2	148
Between 1 and 3 years	4	247
Between 3 and 5 years	7	156
Between 5 and 10 years	6	180
More than 10 years	4	18
Unknown	2	

CONCLUSION

Dans cette partie conclusive je propose de revenir sur les principales contributions de la thèse pour (1) la théorie néo-institutionnaliste, (2) les recherches sur les organisations de l'économie sociale et solidaire (OESS) et l'innovation sociale, et (3) les enjeux de la transformation du travail. Chacune de ces contributions appelle à être complétée par de futurs travaux pour lesquels des pistes sont proposées.

La thèse montre comment les enjeux sociétaux tels que celui de la transformation du travail peuvent trouver leur réponse via la création de formes hybrides – organisations, pratiques, discours, etc. - dans une dynamique d'innovation sociale.

Le chapitre 2 explique ainsi comment la dynamique d'innovation sociale interagit avec son contexte. Cette première analyse se situe au niveau du champ organisationnel des Coopératives d'Activité et d'Emploi (CAE). Durant les phases d'émergence et de diffusion, la constellation des logiques institutionnelles - entrepreneuriat, salariat, coopération - et les enjeux sociaux - chômage, échecs entrepreneuriaux puis zones grises de l'emploi – qui constituent le contexte sont à la fois habilitants et contraignants. Ils permettent l'émergence de pratiques et organisations hybrides mais les contraignent aussi au respect des normes, règles et croyances autour de ses enjeux qui sont propres à chaque logique. Durant la phase d'institutionnalisation, les CAE, pour s'institutionnaliser, ont donc dû déployer des efforts contradictoires. Il s'agissait d'une part de poursuivre la dynamique d'expérimentation et d'autre part de stabiliser la forme organisationnelle hybride. La réponse aux grands enjeux sociétaux nécessite en effet à la fois une inscription dans le contexte actuel - stabilité - et une projection dans le contexte de demain - mouvement. Une forme de répartition des tâches s'est ainsi effectuée à l'échelle du champ où les réseaux représentatifs se chargeaient davantage de la stabilisation de la forme hybride alors que les organisations bénéficiant d'un statut élevé de par leur histoire, taille, localisation, réputation, etc. poursuivaient l'expérimentation.

Le degré de latitude en matière d'expérimentation dépend en effet du positionnement de l'organisation dans son champ, ce qui rejoint les résultats des travaux de Wright and Zammuto (2013) sur l'évolution du criquet et de Rao et al. (2003) sur l'évolution de la cuisine gastronomique. Dans un champ nouvellement créé, la poursuite de l'expérimentation n'est cependant possible qu'à condition qu'un travail de stabilisation soit par ailleurs mené afin d'assurer la légitimité des acteurs.

De plus, maintenir le mouvement d'innovation sociale dans le temps n'est pas chose aisée. La nature hybride des organisations sur lesquelles reposent l'innovation sociale est source de complexité institutionnelle, de tensions entre des logiques contradictoires (Battilana et al., 2014).

Le chapitre 3 montre comment Coopaname et ses partenaires - qui bénéficient d'un statut élevé dans leur champ - parviennent à surmonter ces tensions en agissant directement sur les logiques institutionnelles. En développant des rapports ambivalents - à la fois positifs et négatifs - avec les différentes logiques institutionnelles la CAE a augmenté leur perméabilité. En d'autres termes, elle a rendu leurs composants moins solidement couplés et plus ambigus. Rendus ainsi plus malléables, ces différents composants ont ensuite été recombinés afin de créer une nouvelle logique hybride spécifique au projet d'innovation sociale de la CAE. Cette nouvelle combinaison des logiques institutionnelles n'en est cependant qu'au stade proto-institutionnel (Boxenbaum, 2004; Lawrence et al., 2002). C'est-à-dire qu'elle n'est pas encore pleinement institutionnalisée et est donc susceptible d'être réinterprétée, modifiée sous l'effet d'autres logiques institutionnelles. La dernière étape de cette stratégie institutionnelle consiste donc à imperméabiliser la proto-logique, à la rendre la plus cohérente et solidement couplée possible.

En résumé, il s'est agi, à partir des logiques hybridées au niveau organisationnel de créer une nouvelle logique institutionnelle hybride permettant la poursuite du projet de changement institutionnel. La volonté de Coopaname et de ses partenaires est de proposer de nouveaux rapports au travail – de nouvelles pratiques et une nouvelle vision. La proto-logique institutionnelle hybride qui voit le jour a vocation à s'institutionnaliser pleinement en trouvant une place dans la constellation des logiques existantes (Goodrick & Reay, 2011) dominée jusque-là par l'entrepreneuriat et le salariat.

Au regard de ces résultats une question restait en suspens : comment les membres d'une telle dynamique d'innovation sociale, qui repose donc sur un niveau de complexité institutionnel important, parvenaient-ils à répondre à leurs besoins et aspirations sociales, dans le cas présent en matière de travail ?

Au niveau individuel, il a donc été particulièrement intéressant de voir que la complexité institutionnelle pouvait permettre aux personnes de (re)donner du sens au travail.

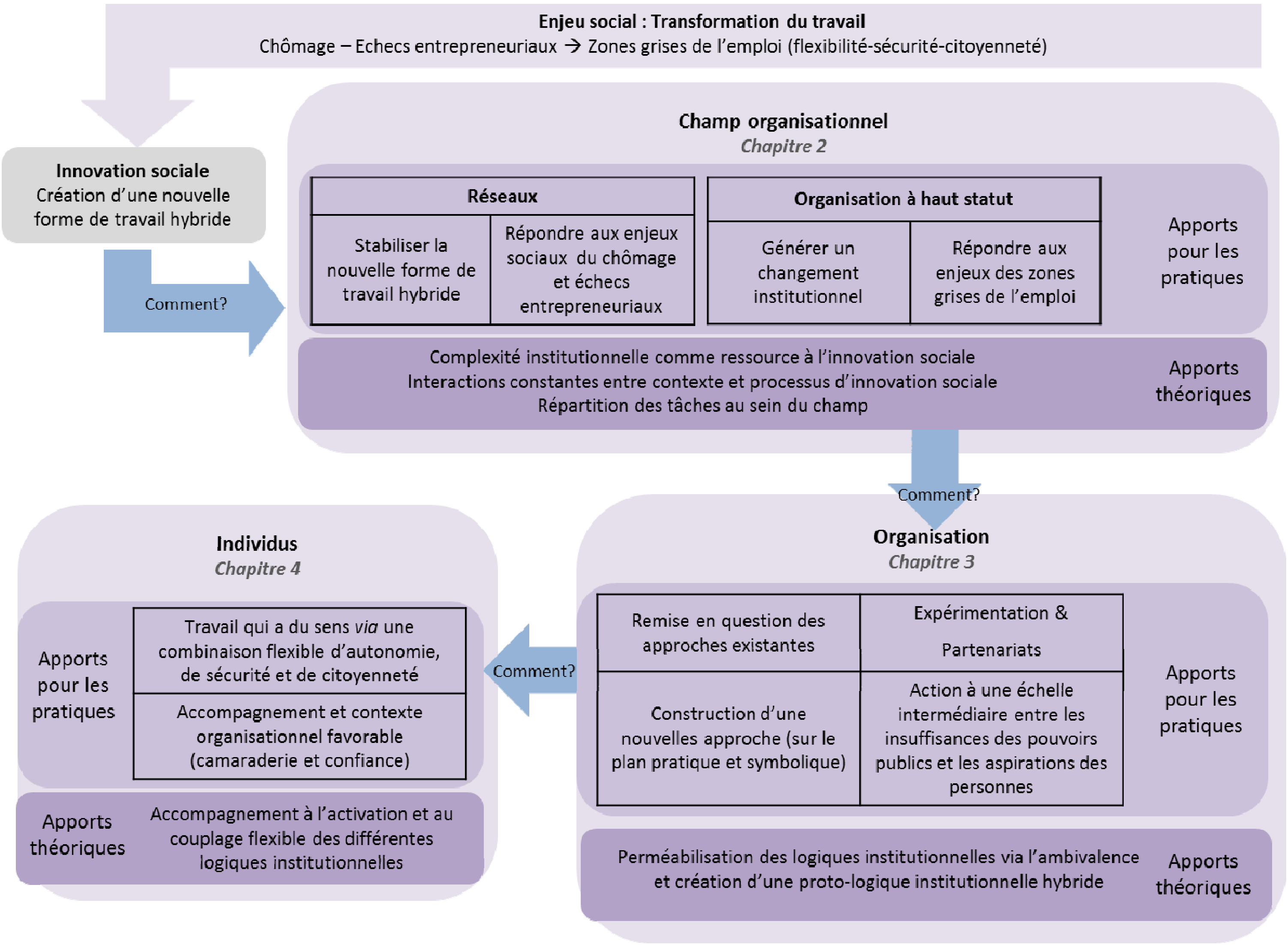
Si la complexité institutionnelle peut être déstabilisatrice (Battilana et al., 2014), elle peut, sous certaines conditions, créer du sens.

Le chapitre 4 montre ainsi comment Coopaname accompagne ses membres dans l'appropriation progressive des différentes logiques institutionnelles. La CAE socialise ainsi ses membres à la complexité (Pache & Santos, 2013a) pour qu'ils puissent en faire bon usage plutôt que de la subir.

Le contexte organisationnel, la culture d'entreprise joue un rôle clé dans ce processus. Tous les membres de Coopaname interrogés ont en effet souligné l'importance de la confiance et de la camaraderie qui règnent dans l'organisation. Ainsi, chacun(e) est amené(e) à construire de manière flexible le travail qui fait sens pour elle/lui. Différents profils de membres et trajectoires ont ainsi pu être dessinés : les militants, les développeurs et les personnes focalisées sur les aspects économiques. Les trajectoires des membres sont influencées par deux principaux facteurs, d'une part les expériences de travail précédentes et d'autre part, la situation socio-économique actuelle.

Le schéma ci-dessous résume les apports des différents chapitres sur les plans pratique et théorique.

Schéma 1 : Processus d'innovation sociale des coopératives d'activité et d'emploi



Les sections suivantes reviennent en détails sur les apports théoriques et pratiques de la thèse.

Apports pour la théorie néo-institutionnaliste

L'étude du processus d'innovation sociale des CAE a permis d'enrichir la littérature néo-institutionnaliste traitant de la complexité institutionnelle, c'est-à-dire de la multiplicité de logiques institutionnelles contradictoires (Greenwood et al., 2011).

La thèse montre que cette complexité peut représenter une ressource, tant au niveau sociétal, organisationnel, qu'individuel, pour ré-inventer le travail. Dans un contexte appelant à adapter les institutions aux transformations du travail (Laville, 1999; Méda, 2010; Rifkin, 1997), la complexité institutionnelle est en effet une ressource pour élaborer de nouvelles institutions qui réguleront le travail de demain.

Si la littérature néo-institutionnaliste tend parfois à réifier les logiques institutionnelles en leur attribuant des propriétés « naturelles » (Kent & Dacin, 2013; van Dijk et al., 2011), la thèse rappelle que les logiques institutionnelles sont des constructions sociales (Thornton et al., 2012; Zilber, 2013) que les acteurs bénéficiant d'une légitimité suffisante peuvent modifier. L'étude de Coopaname a ainsi mis en lumière la façon dont les organisations peuvent influer sur la perméabilité des logiques institutionnelles, c'est-à-dire sur le degré de couplage entre leurs éléments et leur niveau de clarté. Ainsi, en faisant preuve d'ambivalence – en ayant des orientations à la fois positives et négatives – à l'égard des différentes logiques, la CAE a perméabilisé les différentes logiques institutionnelles. Une fois perméabilisées les différentes logiques sont plus malléables. La CAE a donc pu construire à partir de celles-ci une nouvelle proto-logique institutionnelle hybride proposant une approche renouvelée du travail.

Les concepts d'ambivalence (Ashforth et al., 2014) et de perméabilité (Kent & Dacin, 2013) présentent ainsi un important potentiel pour l'analyse des stratégies de gestion de la complexité institutionnelle.

D'autre part, en s'intéressant, au-delà de la forme organisationnelle hybride des CAE, à la dynamique d'innovation sociale qu'elles portent, la thèse enrichit également la TNI en proposant une approche processuelle et multi-niveau. Elle s'inscrit ainsi dans les débats récents qui animent ce courant de recherche notamment celui sur la vocation de la TNI à développer des études institutionnelles sur les organisations ou des études organisationnelles sur les institutions (Greenwood, Hinnings, & Whetten, 2014; Meyer & Höllerer, 2014).

Comme le souligne Meyer and Höllerer (2014), et comme le montre notre étude de cas, les modes d'organisation sont de plus en plus fluides et éphémères, et les frontières organisationnelles souvent floues. Se borner à vouloir étudier des formes organisationnelles bien définies semble donc être une impasse. Considérer non plus l'organisation mais l'*organizing* (Battilana & Lee, 2014) ou selon les termes de Tsoukas and Chia (2002) l'*organization becoming* semble aujourd'hui plus approprié.

Le cas du travail est ici exemplaire. La diversité des pratiques et formes organisationnelles qui se développent dans les zones grises de l'emploi appelle en effet au renouvellement de notre approche des organisations, plus fluides, internationales, connectées, avec une dimension digitale grandissante. De plus, l'étude empirique de Coopaname, met en lumière ce flou des frontières organisationnelles et appelle à des analyses multi-niveaux. En effet, la CAE qui a émergé comme une structure organisationnelle hybride s'est progressivement développée jusqu'à créer avec ses partenaires une proto-logique institutionnelle hybride. Passer de l'étude des entreprises sociales à l'étude du processus d'innovation sociale permettrait de mieux saisir les dynamiques d'*organizing* en faisant le lien entre le niveau sociétal, du champ, de l'organisation et de ses membres.

Si les concepts d'entrepreneur institutionnel et de travail institutionnel (Lawrence et al., 2013) ont apporté du dynamisme à la théorie néo-institutionnaliste, il parait important à présent d'aller plus avant dans cette direction. Au-delà des différentes formes de dynamiques et de leurs conséquences, il s'agit également d'appréhender les interactions entre les différents processus institutionnels.

La thèse apporte à ce sujet quelques éléments. Le chapitre 2 montre ainsi comment co-évolue le contexte sociétal et le processus d'innovation sociale. Le troisième chapitre pour sa part nous éclaire sur la façon dont une nouvelle logique peut être créée et potentiellement s'inscrire durablement comme référence au niveau sociétal.

Ces dynamiques agissent à plusieurs niveaux à la fois et ont chacune des temporalités spécifiques. De futurs travaux comparatifs pourraient mettre en évidence l'incidence de certains facteurs sur ces différentes dynamiques. Par exemple, le nombre de logiques institutionnelles pourrait être un facteur important. Il est possible d'émettre l'hypothèse qu'au-delà d'un certain nombre de logiques institutionnelles, la complexité atteint un niveau trop élevée pour représenter une ressource.

L'histoire des logiques institutionnelles pourrait également avoir un impact. Les CAE ont fait appel à une logique institutionnelle marginalisée de très longue date, la coopération, mais qui a connu un récent regain d'intérêt lié à une conjoncture économique morose. Il est donc probable que certaines logiques puissent bénéficier ou pâtir d'une histoire leur permettant ou les empêchant d'être mobilisées notamment par des innovateurs sociaux.

Voyons donc à présent comment cette étude participe à la recherche et aux pratiques d'innovation sociale.

Apports pour la recherche et le développement des organisations d'économie sociale et solidaire (OESS) et de l'innovation sociale

L'innovation sociale est un champ de recherche encore très jeune qui a trait à des enjeux sociétaux, il nécessite donc des études empiriques pour en cerner ses contours et mécanismes (Eisenhardt et al., 2016). La thèse visait ainsi à améliorer les connaissances sur les OESS et leurs innovations sociales.

L'un des défis auxquels celles-ci sont confrontées tient à l'articulation entre les dimensions sociale – réponse à des besoins-aspirations - ; économique – pérennité des ressources – et politique – objectif de changement institutionnel.

Comme présenté en introduction, deux dangers guettent les OESS dans l'articulation de ces trois dimensions. Il y a d'une part un risque d'instrumentalisation par les pouvoirs publics pouvant détourner la dynamique d'innovation sociale en révisant les objectifs et/ou méthodes. D'autre part, elles risquent la banalisation lorsqu'elles adoptent les modes de fonctionnement des entreprises à but lucratif, s'éloignant ainsi de leur mode de fonctionnement participatif et de leur visée transformatrice (Draperi, 2012).

De plus, les OESS et leurs innovations sociales sont prises dans une situation paradoxale (Boudes, Lethielleux, & Mangalagiu, Forthcoming). D'une part, elles ont besoin de s'institutionnaliser, de gagner en légitimité et de s'inscrire dans les mœurs (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011) afin de répondre au mieux aux besoins sociaux actuels (dimension économique et sociale). D'autre part, atteindre leur objectif de changement institutionnel dans un contexte en perpétuel changement nécessite de poursuivre la dynamique d'expérimentation.

Les membres de Coopaname et leurs partenaires, réunis autour du projet de la Manufacture coopérative, reconnaissent dans l'ouvrage qu'ils ont fait paraître en 2014 cette situation paradoxale. Les auteurs appellent ainsi à une articulation vigilante des règles formelles et informelles, pour que la lettre et l'esprit aillent de pair :

« Dans la culture et l'histoire coopérative, on pourra ainsi voir couramment un glissement vers l'institutionnalisation lorsque la lettre supplante l'esprit. C'est-à-dire lorsque l'on respecte les textes, lorsque l'on assure une démocratie de forme, alors que la vie démocratique s'est usée, amenuisée.

Il est donc nécessaire de bien comprendre dans chacune des situations particulières comment s'articule la dynamique des règles formelles rendant possibles la coopération et la dynamique des règles informelles ou réelles qui instituent un fonctionnement démocratique, mais ne l'institutionnalisent pas nécessairement. » (La Manufacture coopérative, 2014, p.134-135).

Face à cette situation, la stratégie des CAE est particulièrement riche d'enseignements. D'une part, nous avons pu identifier dans le chapitre 2 une répartition des tâches entre les acteurs, avec des réseaux représentatifs cherchant à stabiliser la nouvelle forme coopérative et les CAE bénéficiant d'un statut élevé dans le champ poursuivant la dynamique d'expérimentation. D'autre part, l'étude de l'évolution de Coopaname a permis d'identifier la création d'une nouvelle logique institutionnelle hybride représentant tout à la fois un cadre protecteur pour l'expérimentation et une nouvelle approche du travail ayant vocation à s'inscrire dans la constellation des logiques institutionnelles qui régulent le travail.

Comme le souligne J.F. Draperi dans la postface du livre de la fondatrice des CAE, E. Bost, l'expérimentation, l'apprentissage continu représentent une finalité pour les CAE. L'enjeu étant de perpétuer cette dynamique d'innovation sociale, de la maintenir au-delà de l'institutionnalisation.

« La CAE n'est certes pas le premier type de coopératives à s'attacher à transformer les besoins de ses membres. Mais elle est parmi les rares à considérer cette transformation comme une finalité et peut-être la première à se concevoir comme institution des apprentissages coopératifs. » (Bost, 2011, p.175)

Sur ce point, il serait intéressant à l'avenir d'étudier les effets de la loi ESS votée en 2014 qui pose un cadre légal sur l'innovation sociale et les CAE. Des études longitudinales permettraient ainsi de comprendre comment les acteurs de l'ESS mobilisent cette loi dans leur démarche d'innovation sociale.

Enfin, dans un contexte où les pouvoirs publics tendent à catégoriser les personnes afin de développer des politiques ciblées, pour les jeunes sans qualification, pour les séniors, etc., la dynamique d'innovation sociale des CAE montre l'intérêt d'approches reposant sur la diversité. Le quatrième chapitre montre qu'il existe au sein de Coopaname des membres avec des parcours, des motivations, des métiers et des situations personnelles très divers. Cette diversité est l'un des facteurs de succès de l'innovation sociale. Elle permet d'éviter la stigmatisation ou inversement l'élitisme ; des complémentarités se dessinent et des collaborations voient le jour au profit d'un travail qui retrouve du sens aux yeux des travailleurs/ses.

Apports pour la transformation du travail

Il était important pour terminer de revenir sur les enjeux de la transformation du travail.
Comme souligné en introduction, nous assistons à la multiplication des formes de travail atypiques entre salariat et entrepreneuriat (Cappelli & Keller, 2013). Les acteurs intermédiaires œuvrant dans ces zones grises de l'emploi sont de plus en plus nombreux et proposent des approches très différentes.
La question étant de savoir si nous nous dirigeons vers un assemblage flexibilité-sécurité-citoyenneté ou vers une flexibilisation accrue laissant les personnes désespérément libres ? (Castel, 2009).
Les processus d'institutionnalisation de ces différentes formes de travail sont en train de dessiner le travail de demain. J'ai ainsi entendu à plusieurs reprises lors de mes entretiens dans les CAE et leurs réseaux une crainte de voir leur innovation sociale détournée à des fins lucratives pour augmenter la flexibilité et fatalement la précarité. Nous nous trouvons donc face à un choix de société que les travaux de recherche doivent permettre d'accompagner.

L'un des défis à venir avec la multiplication de ces intermédiaires va être l'orientation des personnes. Les travailleurs qui auparavant avaient le choix entre le salariat et l'entrepreneuriat ont aujourd'hui potentiellement accès à des dizaines de formes d'emploi à mi-chemin entre les deux. Comment les personnes vont-elles pouvoir faire un choix éclairé ? Où et comment vont-elles pouvoir trouver une information non publicitaire ?
Ces questions restent pour l'heure en suspens. Il est donc nécessaire de bien comprendre les avantages et inconvénients de chacune de ces nouvelles formes de travail.

Se pose également la question de la résurgence des professions. En effet, si les CAE étudiées dans cette thèse sont multi-activités et regroupent des métiers très divers certaines organisations des zones grises de l'emploi proposent des regroupements par métier ou champ d'action. Dans un contexte où les frontières organisationnelles ne représentent plus un cadre bien défini pour l'organisation du travail, les travailleurs tendent-ils à se tourner vers leurs pairs pour recréer des cadres collectifs structurants autour de leur métier ? (Anteby, Chan, & DiBenigno, 2016).

Enfin, la transformation du travail est un enjeu qui dépasse largement les frontières françaises.

Des études comparatives internationales permettraient de mieux comprendre les évolutions du travail à travers le monde.

C'est pourquoi j'ai choisi de mener à la suite de cette thèse une étude qui aura pour but de comparer les facteurs organisationnels et institutionnels influençant les trajectoires d'institutionnalisation des nouvelles formes de travail. Il s'agira de comparer des organisations à but lucratif et des OESS en France et au Québec. Ce travail sera mené avec l'appui des chercheurs du Centre de Recherche sur les Innovations Sociales (CRISES) du Québec qui ont développé depuis 1986 une approche institutionnelle poussée sur les innovations sociales.

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Résumé

Dans un contexte de transformation du travail et d'augmentation de la précarité, cette thèse aide à comprendre comment de nouvelles formes de travail émergent, se développent et parviennent à répondre aux besoins et aspirations sociales en matière de travail. Cette étude s'intéresse plus particulièrement aux dynamiques d'innovation sociale qui s'appuient sur les principes de l'économie sociale et solidaire. Elle repose sur une analyse néo-institutionnaliste, processuelle et multi-niveau des Coopératives d'Activité et d'Emploi, une forme organisationnelle hybride alliant les logiques institutionnelles de l'entrepreneuriat, du salariat et de la coopération. Elle a permis (1) de mieux comprendre les interactions entre l'innovation sociale et son contexte ; (2) de mettre en lumière une nouvelle forme de stratégie agissant sur les logiques institutionnelles pour gérer les tensions inhérentes à la forme organisationnelle hybride ; et (3) d'expliquer comment une organisation hybride peut permettre aux personnes de (re) donner du sens au travail.

Abstract

In a context of labor transformation and increased work precariousness, this thesis explains how new forms of work emerge, develop and respond to social needs and professional aspirations.
The study focuses especially on social innovation based on the principles of the social economy.
It uses a new institutionalist, processual, multi-level analysis of the Business and Employment Cooperative, a hybrid organizational form that combines the institutional logics of entrepreneurship, employment and cooperation. It (1) deepens understanding of the interactions between social innovation and its context; (2) highlights a new strategy at institutional logic level that can overcome the tensions inherent in hybrid organizational forms; and (3) explains how hybrid organizations can enable people to (re) find meaning in their work.

Mots Clés

Innovation sociale – Travail – Logiques institutionnelles – Organisation hybride

Keywords

Key words: Social innovation – Work – Institutional logics – Hybrid organization