

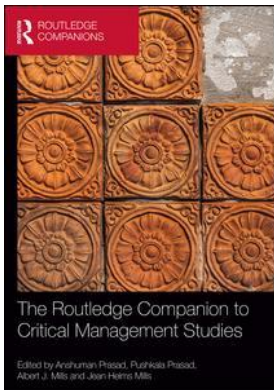
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Part IV

Knowledge at the crossroads

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Toward decolonizing modern Western structures of knowledge

A postcolonial interrogation of (Critical) Management Studies

Anshuman Prasad

At long last we seem to have recognized that neither is Descartes the last word on reason nor is Marx that on the critical spirit.

(Ashis Nandy, 1983)

In postcoloniality, every metropolitan definition is dislodged . . . all metropolitan accounts are set askew.

(Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1993)

Observers of the current global scene generally seem to agree that we are living in a world which is going through far-reaching changes. Underscoring the significance of some of those changes, an editorial in the *Economist* (2010) argued a few years ago that ongoing transformations have literally created a new world in which existing global institutions have been rendered obsolete, and need major reform in order to remain relevant. Insisting on the urgency of such institutional overhaul, the editorial added: “The case for reform is overwhelming. America’s unipolar moment has passed. [New] rules [are needed] . . . in a world where power is shifting” (*Economist*, 2010: 16).

The Economist editorial, needless to say, was mainly commenting in the context of large-scale shifts in the global economy, which have received extensive attention in academic, business and national policy-making circles (Goldman Sachs, 2003; Govindarajan & Gupta, 2000; National Intelligence Council, 2008, 2012; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2011; Standard Chartered Bank, 2010; Wallerstein, 2000), and what the editorial specifically had in mind was the need for new rules of international governance involving, for instance, restructuring of the United Nations by expanding the Security Council to include major polities like Brazil, India, South Africa and others as permanent members. But might we, with due justification, further extend *The Economist’s* line of argument and propose that “the great shift of wealth and power to the . . . [non-West]” (Prestowitz, 2005), which seems to be occurring today, would likely necessitate changes not only in the rules and structures for international/geopolitical governance but also in the rules and structures that govern the production of *scholarly knowledge*?

It would appear that arguments that share certain aspects of such largely economy-based lines of thinking can easily be made by drawing upon the insights of world system analysis (see, e.g., Frank, 1998; Lee, 1996; Wallerstein, 2000, 2004a, 2004b). That, however, it is important to emphasize here, is *not* the principal line of reasoning proposed to be adopted . . . search for alternative knowledges. Rather, while recognizing the importance of the systemic shifts occurring today in areas like the world economy or geopolitical balance of power, this chapter seeks to locate the transformative impulse for radical revisions of current structures of knowledge in that *prior space of contestation* which gave rise long ago to impressive anticolonial liberation movements and sophisticated “theoretical practices of the freedom struggles” (Young, 2001: 159), and which, in more recent years, has witnessed the emergence of what has come to be called postcolonial theory (or postcolonialism). The objective of the present chapter, accordingly, is to develop a postcolonial theoretic critique of *modern Western approaches and structures of knowledge* (with particular focus on management studies and other social sciences) and to explore some of the ways in which postcolonial thinking might contribute to a radical reorientation of management knowledge and scholarship.

Before proceeding further, a word of caution might be in order. Anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that, at least in some circles of management scholarship, the rapid economic rise of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and several other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America may have come to be viewed as a sign that the world has moved beyond the era of (neo-)colonialism. Such a position lacks merit and is not subscribed to in this chapter. Instead, while acknowledging the significance of ongoing systemic changes at the global level, the present chapter also seeks to provide a more nuanced reading of the current global conjuncture, a reading embedded in the traditions of postcolonial critique. Accordingly, while this chapter duly recognizes the force of various analyses anticipating and projecting a post-Western world order (see e.g., *Foreign Affairs*, 2010; Ikenberry, 2011; Kupchan, 2012; Layne, 2006), the chapter also takes serious note of a multiplicity of Western efforts designed to resist such a development¹ and of the persistence and/or renewal of (neo-)colonial practices in different parts of the world.

As a result, this chapter views the current historical situation neither as an era of renewed Western hegemony nor as a moment when the world has finally and decisively consigned (neo-)colonialism to the past, but rather as a period of large-scale systemic makeover of the kind that is commonly accompanied by *intense struggles* over disposition of geopolitical and geo-economic power, *as well as* over structures of knowledge. That being the case, one of the important motivations for this chapter is provided by the scholarly necessity of reflecting upon the variety of ways in which current structures of knowledge might come to be transformed in the course of those ongoing struggles. Indeed, in view of the continuing intensification of contemporary globalization, the increasing focus in management scholarship upon understanding the complexities of ‘East–West’ encounters² and the growing interest within management research in issues related to critical scholarship and postcolonialism, the present moment seems to provide a particularly opportune moment for engaging in those reflections.

The rest of this chapter is organized in four sections. The first section briefly outlines the scholarly contours of postcolonial theory. This section begins by reviewing the contributions of some of the key scholars of the genre – focusing, in particular, on those scholars’ appraisals of modern Western knowledge – and thereafter discusses a number of important characteristics of postcolonialism as a vehicle for critique. The second section provides a historically contextualized understanding of the emergence of management as a professional/applied social science. The transformation of management into a social science is a somewhat recent development that can largely be traced back to the middle of the last century. However, the wider domain of Western social science has a considerably longer history. Hence, this section contextualizes the rise

of modern management within the larger history of the growth of Western social science and highlights the significance of colonialism and neocolonialism for the construction of the social scientific approach to knowledge. In the third section, a variety of epistemological and ideological problems, limitations and dilemmas associated with modern Western social science and (critical) management studies are examined, and, following that, the fourth and final section of the chapter discusses some of the ways in which postcolonial theory might be helpful in addressing those difficulties and thereby radically reorienting social scientific and management scholarship.

As we proceed with this agenda outlined, it might be useful to add here that the expression ‘modern Western approaches and structures of knowledge’ (or ‘modern Western structures of knowledge’) is being employed here to refer to that prevailing combination of a specific epistemological worldview and a particular institutionalized organization of scholarly knowledge production, which is largely premised upon (1) a deep separation across the three realms of truth, ethics and aesthetics; (2) a binary epistemological divide between *nomothetic* natural sciences and *idiographic* humanities/arts; (3) the idea of nomothetic natural sciences as models for producing knowledge/truth; (4) the notion of social sciences as belonging to a domain of knowledge that inhabits a somewhat ambiguous space between the natural sciences and the humanities; (5) an institutional structure mostly based on the idea of ‘disciplines’ as generally reflected in today’s university departments; and (6) a ‘research industry’ involving a hierarchically ordered system of academic journals, learned societies, scholarly conferences, doctoral programs and so on (Lee, 1996; Mignolo, 2000, 2002; Wallerstein, 2004a, 2004b). In addition, it seems important to emphasize also that this chapter primarily focuses upon Euro–American circuits of knowledge. Hence, the chapter might be of somewhat limited *direct* relevance for scholarly circles in the non–West, where the focus and content of management and social scientific knowledge, as well as the meanings and practices attached to institutions of knowledge and scholarship, are likely to be considerably different. Within those circles, however, the chapter might be helpful in raising new questions on issues of knowledge production.

Postcolonial theory and criticism: An overview

Briefly stated, postcolonialism may be understood as a theoretical and ethico–political response to the past and the continuing present of modern Western colonialism/imperialism and anticolonial resistance. Western colonialism is a phenomenon of considerable depth and density in geographical as well as historical terms. Not surprisingly, therefore, colonialism and anticolonial resistance have left a lasting imprint – economic, political, cultural, epistemological and the like – on the world. Moreover, even after the formal political end of Western colonialism, many of its dynamics have continued to live on through a variety of *neocolonial* forms of domination. Hence, adopting a scholarly vantage point which “identifies with the subject position of [the colonized and the] anticolonial activists” (Young, 2001: 19), postcolonialism endeavors to develop an in–depth critique of the complex dynamics of (neo–)colonialism and anticolonial resistance.

Postcolonial theory forms part of a very long tradition of oppositional criticism directed against modern colonialism. At the same time, postcolonialism also represents a somewhat new and unique approach for critiquing (neo–)colonialism on account of (1) its efforts to develop a more comprehensive critical understanding of colonialism and the colonial aftermath and (2) its creative mobilization of conceptual insights from a wide range of critical perspectives, including the “theoretical practices of the freedom struggles” alluded to earlier (Young, 2001: 159), Marxism/neo–Marxism, feminism, poststructuralism, deconstruction, psychoanalysis and others. Partly as a result of such theoretical eclecticism and syncretism, postcolonialism has developed into a considerably heterogeneous intellectual position with significant internal debates and

contestations and should not be seen as representing a narrowly systematized and monolithic theory. Indeed, as Harding has pointed out, “such contestations are a productive process” (2009: 417) and need to be regarded as a major source of strength for the field of postcolonial inquiry.

The emergence of postcolonialism in the Western academic world is closely linked with the extraordinary success achieved by Edward Said’s masterpiece, *Orientalism* (1978). Since then, postcolonialism has continued to deepen its influence and is beginning to be seen now as “one of the most important intellectual movements . . . if not *the* most important [intellectual movement]” in the Western academe during the past 50 years or so (Nichols, 2010: 111; italics in the original). Reflecting these developments, postcolonial theory has been extensively utilized in a range of scholarly disciplines including, for instance, anthropology, art and art history, cultural studies, geography, history, literary theory, media studies, philosophy, political science, sociology and many more (Lazarus, 2004; Loomba, Kaul, Bunzl, Burton & Esty, 2005a; Moranña, Dussel & Jáuregui, 2008; Williams & Chrisman, 1994).

Postcolonial theory is by no means a stranger to the scholarly field of management, and especially during recent years, there seems to have been growing recognition within the discipline regarding the value of postcolonialism as a powerful instrument for critique (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008; Jack & Westwood, 2009; Jack, Westwood, Srinivas & Sardar, 2011a; Prasad, 2003b, 2012b). As a result, the last several years have seen increasing numbers of management and organizational scholars drawing upon postcolonialism with a view to addressing a wide range of issues, including, for instance, workplace diversity and multiculturalism (Kalonaityte, 2010; Prasad, 1997b, 2006; Prasad & Prasad, 2002), international and cross-cultural management (Ailon, 2008; Fougère & Moulettes, 2007; Jack & Westwood, 2006, 2009; Kwek, 2003; Westwood, 2004; Westwood & Jack, 2007), globalization (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001; Gopal, Willis & Gopal, 2003; Mirchandani, 2004, 2005), bureaucratic management of Australian Aborigine affairs (Sullivan, 2008; Tedmanson, 2008), the lasting imprint of (neo-)colonialism on existing institutions (Harrison, 1997; P. Prasad, 2003), control and resistance in organizations (Mir, Mir & Upadhyaya, 2003; Pal & Dutta, 2008; Prasad & Prasad, 2003), organizational communication (Bradfoot & Munshi, 2007; Grimes & Parker, 2009), knowledge transfer across organizations and/or economies (Chio, 2008; Frenkel, 2008; Mir, Banerjee & Mir, 2008; Mir & Mir, 2009) and so on. Simultaneously, researchers have utilized postcolonialist ideas also for the purpose of critiquing different aspects of (production of) management knowledge (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Jaya, 2001; Özkazancı-Pan, 2008; Westwood, 2004; Westwood & Jack, 2007).³

Before proceeding further, a brief word about the postcolonial theoretic terminology employed in this chapter might be in order. To begin with, following a common postcolonial practice, the words ‘colonialism’ and ‘imperialism’ will be used interchangeably in this chapter. Similarly, the chapter will mostly employ the expressions ‘Europe’ and ‘the West’ synonymously and also as “figure(s) of the imaginary” having “somewhat indeterminate geographical referents” (Chakrabarty, 1992: 1). In light of earlier debates regarding the appropriateness of the prefix ‘post’ (see e.g., Gandhi, 1998; Hall, 1996; Mishra & Hodge, 1991; Shohat, 1992), scholars often employ the term ‘post-colonial’ (i.e., with a hyphen) as a temporal expression that refers to the *period* that comes after the decolonization of the mid-20th century, whereas the term ‘postcolonial’ (note the absence of the hyphen) is used to indicate a *form of critical practice* with specific ways of thinking about (neo-)colonialism. The same terminological practice will be followed here as well. On a cautionary note, it might be worth emphasizing here that neither of these two terms (‘post-colonial’ or ‘postcolonial’) is intended to suggest that colonialism has decisively ended.

Furthermore, the word ‘discourse,’ as used in this chapter, will not be indicative of language alone but rather will refer to the “intersection of ideas and institutions, knowledge and power” (Loomba, 1998: 54). Consistent with this understanding of ‘discourse,’ the term ‘colonial discourse’

will be employed here to refer to “the body of knowledge, modes of representation, strategies [and institutions] of power, law, discipline, and so on, that are employed in the construction and domination of ‘colonial subjects’” (Niranjana, 1992: 7). Any deviation in the chapter from these terminological usages will generally take place in relatively well-defined contexts where the different meaning of a given expression will be fairly obvious. With the preceding background, we may now turn toward taking stock of some of the contributions made by postcolonial theory, especially with respect to postcolonialism’s engagement with modern Western knowledge.

Postcolonial theory and modern Western knowledge

As noted, postcolonialism has been employed by scholars to examine a whole host of important questions. However, amid the wide variety of topics addressed by postcolonial research, an issue that appears to have received careful and sustained attention across different disciplines involves the project for “a *radical rethinking of knowledge* . . . authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination” (Prakash, 1994: 1475; italics added).⁴ In this regard, we may usefully note that Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) itself offers an extended critique of modern Western knowledge. *Orientalism*, in brief, foregrounded the complicity of knowledge and power and proposed that colonialism involved not only military and economic control but also a discourse of domination that operated to secure specific representations of the Western colonizer and the non-Western colonized and thereby “consolidated certain ways of seeing and thinking which . . . [enabled the exercise of] colonial power” (Loomba, 1998: 43–44). For Said, in other words, colonialism invariably “involved epistemic as well as physical violence” (Young, 2001: 383), with each form of violence facilitating and reinforcing the other.

In the specific context of Orientalist knowledge, Said argued that while growing knowledge about the Orient provided the West with an overarching framework for viewing and dominating the Orient, in its own turn, increasing control over the Orient “itself spawned . . . [specific] ways of knowing, studying, believing and writing” (Loomba, 1998: 44). Hence, according to Said, Western colonial knowledge *about* the non-West invariably went hand in hand with Western colonial power *over* the non-West. In this regard, Said pointed to the crucial role played by Orientalist knowledge in producing an elaborate structure of hierarchical binaries (e.g., civilized/savage, modern/traditional, scientific/superstitious, the vanguard/the led, etc.) which relegated the Orient/non-West to a position of ontological *inferiority* and elevated the West into a position of ontological *superiority*, with the result that the West largely came to regard colonial rule not only as something *natural* but something that was even a Western *moral obligation* (Prasad, 1997b, 2006). Thus, Said’s analysis underscored the profound and mutually reinforcing links between modern Western knowledge and the exercise of colonial power.

While *Orientalism* is undoubtedly the book Said is best known for, his subsequent writings have added further depth and refinement to many of the arguments introduced in that book. In that process, Said’s scholarship has covered such themes as Western media’s coverage of Islam, the Palestinian issue, the complex links between colonialism and culture, resistance to colonialism and so on (Said, 1979, 1981, 1993). Said’s ideas have exerted a major influence on postcolonial theoretic research in management studies. For instance, his insights inform a large number of critical works dealing with workplace diversity and multiculturalism, otherness in organizations, cross-cultural management, issues of representation and so forth (Fougère & Moulettes, 2007; Kwek, 2003; Prasad, 1997b, 2006; Priyadharshini, 2003; Westwood, 2004).

If Edward Said mobilizes the notion of colonial discourse to interrogate modern/colonial Western knowledge, Ashis Nandy (1983, 1987, 1988, 2000) may be seen as drawing upon the psychology of colonialism and “the subversive radicality of . . . [Mahatma] Gandhi’s

counter-modernity” (Young, 2001: 340), with a view to raising highly troubling questions about colonial and neocolonial forms of knowledge. Following his interest in the psychology of colonialism, Nandy often focuses upon what he calls “second colonization” (i.e., the ideological colonization of mind and imagination that came after the ‘first colonization’ involving military conquest and occupation of colonial territory), and he offers the argument that it is this “second colonization” that has helped “generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category” (1983: xi), with disastrous consequences for the *entire* world, Western as well as non-Western. For Nandy, in other words, the second colonization is something akin to “a universal malaise” that affects significant sections of the West as well as the non-West (Buell, 1994: 244).

One of Nandy’s (2000) key concerns, hence, is with articulating a radical critique of certain pivotal ideas (e.g., modernity, the nation-state, science, instrumental rationality, Western secularism, development, etc.), which constitute the West as a psychological category and undergird modern structures of knowledge. Nandy frames his scholarship in terms of “defy[ing] the key categories of the Enlightenment” (2000: 85) and, for that purpose, seems to find his major inspiration *not* within the academic ‘research industry’ of the social sciences, but in the world of those intellectuals and activists (especially, perhaps, in the global ‘South’) who are relatively outside the circuits of social science and, therefore, can understand and work with nonmodern categories and structures of knowledge. In this process, Nandy also seeks to “provide a language where a dialogue can be established” between the modern social scientific ‘expert’/academic and the nonmodern intellectual (2000: 33).

All in all, Nandy’s defiant postcolonial vision for the future includes an epistemological approach which produces open-ended knowledge that refuses systematization, as well as a world of *plural* knowledges “in communication with each other in their own way, and sometimes not even in communication” (2000: 81). In addition to knowledge and epistemology, Nandy’s writings have focused upon a variety of other issues, including religion and fundamentalism, popular culture, technology and development, the problematic nature of modern nationalism and so forth (1988, 1994, 1998, 2001). Within the scholarly discipline of management, Nandy’s ideas have been utilized in studies dealing with a variety of issues, including knowledge and epistemology, and control and resistance in organizations (Prasad, 1997a; Prasad & Prasad, 2003).

While Nandy’s theorization of second colonization serves as a vehicle for launching a radical critique of the consequences of modernity and modern Western knowledge, Homi Bhabha (1990, 1994) relies upon concepts like ambivalence, mimicry and hybridity to point toward certain intriguing weaknesses at the very core of modern/colonial discourse, which render such discourse into a somewhat unreliable instrument for establishing Western hegemony – in Antonio Gramsci’s sense – in the colony. For instance, Bhabha (1994) highlights the ambivalence of colonial knowledge by pointing out that colonial knowledge simultaneously represents the non-West as desirable and undesirable, familiar and strange, weak/effeminate and yet full of menace, as an other “which is at once an object of desire and derision” (p. 67) and indeed as “a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible” (pp. 70–71). According to Bhabha, such ambivalence of colonial knowledge and discourse implies that, rather than being a cohesive and monolithic instrument for the exercise of hegemonic power, discourse comes to serve as a site where the colonizer’s deepest anxieties are put on full display.

Similarly, moving away from earlier analyses of colonialism – which often adduced colonial mimicry (i.e., the imitation of the colonizer by the colonized) as evidence in support of their argument that the colonizer wielded hegemonic authority in the colonial situation – Bhabha contends that, far from consolidating hegemonic control, mimicry “simultaneously stabilizes and destabilizes” colonial power and knowledge (Young, 1990: 148). Bhabha points out that, rather

than producing (among the colonized) figures who might be *exact* copies of the colonizer, mimicry produces only *partial* replicas who are “*almost the same but not quite . . . almost the same but not white*” (1994: 89; italics in the original). Mimicry, hence, needs to be seen also as an act of refusal on the part of the colonized “to obey the colonizers’ narcissistic demand/command to be the ‘same’” (Prasad, 2003a: 22). For Bhabha, therefore, mimicry represents “an ambivalent mixture of deference and disobedience” (Gandhi, 1998: 149) that persistently menaces colonial discourse and “[results in] paranoia on the part of the colonizer” (Young, 1990: 148).

Along parallel lines, Bhabha points to the process of hybridity to emphasize how, during the very course of exercise of colonial power itself, colonial discourse ends up being ‘translated’ by the colonized, who combine that discourse “with a range of differential knowledges . . . [and thereby] produce new forms of knowledge . . . new sites of power” which destabilize the colonizer’s knowledge and power (1994: 120). Thus, through his theorization of ambivalence, mimicry, hybridity and related concepts, Bhabha highlights certain fundamental difficulties faced by colonial discourse in the process of the exercise of power. In so doing, Bhabha deals a serious blow to some earlier scholarly claims that interpreted colonial authority as largely being hegemonic and hence tended to occlude the resistant agency of the colonized. In management scholarship, Bhabha’s insights have been employed to study a variety of issues, including the dynamics of knowledge transfer, representations of the ‘other’ in business journalism, the processes relating to the formation of canonized knowledge in management studies, workplace resistance, and so on (Frenkel, 2008; Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; Prasad & Prasad, 2003; Priyadharshini, 2003).

In comparison with Bhabha, whose writings seem to exhibit a somewhat persistent preoccupation with the psychic economy/structures of colonial knowledge and discourse, the scholarship of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1990, 1993, 1999) is recognizably much more “heterogeneous . . . and diverse” (Young, 1990: 157) and spans a considerably wider variety of interests. Nevertheless, interrogating Western knowledge has always been one of Spivak’s important concerns, and this issue seems to have received renewed attention in some of her more recent works (e.g., Spivak, 2003, 2008, 2012).

Being deeply aware of the profound problems investing current (structures of) Western knowledge, Spivak is concerned with imagining new and different ways for transforming that knowledge. One of her suggestions, in this regard, calls for promoting extensive collaboration between the humanities and the social sciences. Spivak fully recognizes that there exist serious institutionalized hurdles working against transformative collaboration of the kind she has in mind. However, Spivak (2003) points out that, within today’s social science, there already exist “strong tendencies [that] . . . (acknowledge) . . . the central role of the humanities” (p. 19), and she believes that those tendencies create a promising opening for genuine collaboration between these fields. In addition, Spivak proposes that Western knowledge needs to learn to recognize “the ‘other’ as producer of knowledge” (2003: 11). Spivak is critical of the blindness of Western knowledge to the presence of theoretical sophistication in the non-West and believes that attempts to transform Western knowledge need to learn to “infect” that knowledge with theories from the global ‘South’ (2003: 11).

Spivak may be said to be arguing, furthermore, that attempts to draw upon non-Western theories need to go beyond relatively elite corridors of knowledge in the ‘South.’ In particular, Spivak (2008) seems to insist that attempts to transform Western knowledge need to establish connections with non-Western *subaltern* groups – i.e., groups “removed from lines of social mobility” (p. 22) – and “learn to learn from below” (p. 43). In other words, Spivak (2008) may be seen as suggesting that a radical transformation of Western knowledge requires that scholars linked to various circuits of that knowledge “[give] up convictions of triumphalist superiority” (p. 43) and

develop the necessary mindset and competencies that would allow them to “learn from people with no institutional education” (p. 5).

As noted earlier, Spivak’s scholarship ranges over a wide variety of subject matters. Apart from critiquing modern Western knowledge and its structures, Spivak’s writings have focused upon such themes as critical pedagogy, the problematic aspects of First World feminism, the value of ‘strategic essentialism’ in the service of progressive politics, globalization and the changing geopolitical/geo-economic order and so on (1987, 1990, 1993, 1999, 2012). Within the field of management, Spivak’s ideas have been utilized in studies dealing with representational issues, pedagogical aspects of international and cross-cultural management, disciplinary critiques of management, and the like (see, e.g., Jack & Lorbiecki, 2003; Priyadharshini, 2003; Westwood & Jack, 2007).

The prominent place accorded to the idea of the ‘subaltern’ in Spivak’s project for transforming Western knowledge attests to the importance of this concept in postcolonial thought. Although the notion of the ‘subaltern’ originates in Antonio Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks* of the 1920s and 1930s, this concept gained renewed emphasis within postcolonial circles as a result of the efforts of the Subaltern Studies Collective, a group of scholars devoted to investigating the condition of subalternity in the South Asian context. Inspired by the historian Ranajit Guha (1963, 1997), the Subaltern Studies project grew out of a feeling of intense dissatisfaction with the prevailing state of historiography relating to South Asia. Specifically, conceptualizing the ‘subaltern’ as a demographic category distinct from the elite, the Subaltern Studies Collective roundly criticized existing histories – whether colonialist, Marxist, or elite nationalist – for ignoring the *agency* of the subaltern.

Accordingly, many of the works of the collective have sought to revise South Asian history by providing a sophisticated understanding of subaltern agency. Moreover, the project for rewriting South Asian history has also grown into a critique of conventional Western historiography as such, including Western historiography’s taken-for-granted “techniques and procedures” (Prakash, 1994: 1485), as well as into a critique of “Europe and the modes of knowledge . . . instituted [under Western auspices]” (Prakash, 1994: 1483). Following these developments, the subaltern has emerged within postcolonialism as an influential *epistemological position* for rethinking and reorienting current (structures of) Western knowledge (Chakrabarty, 1992, 2000). Moreover, although the subaltern perspective emerged with an initial focus on South Asia, it has since found global resonance and is being extensively utilized in studies dealing with many different areas of the world, non-Western as well as Western (Chaturvedi, 2000; Prakash, 1994; Mignolo, 2000; Prasad, 2003a).

As pointed out earlier, in addition to knowledge and epistemology, postcolonial scholarship has addressed a wide range of other important concerns. Apart from knowledge/epistemology, some of the questions taken up in postcolonial inquiry include, for instance, issues of otherness (Daunton & Halpern, 1999; Gidley, 1992; Sardar, Nandy & Davies, 1993), race/ethnicity and identity (Arias, 2008; Gilroy, 2000; Goldberg, 2002; Morales, 2008; Retamar, 1989), nation and nationalism (Bhabha, 1990; Butler & Spivak, 2007; Chatterjee, 1986, 1993; Chrisman, 2005; Mallon, 2005; Nandy, 1994), religion and secularism (Maldonado-Torres, 2008; Nandy, 1998; van der Veer, 2001), colonialism and sexuality (Stoler, 1995, 2002; Young, 1995), ‘Third World’ development (Escobar, 1995; Grosfoguel, 2008; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997; Sachs, 1992), globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Behdad, 2005; Brennan, 2003, 2005; Cooppan, 2005), cultural aspects of colonialism (Dirks, 1992, 1998; Said, 1993), language, literature and rhetoric of empire (Brantlinger, 1988; Sharpe, 1993; Spurr, 1993; Suleri, 1992; Teltscher, 1995), the complex role of Western women in the colonial project (Chaudhuri & Strobel, 1992; Jayawardena, 1995), postcolonial feminisms (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997; Lewis & Mills, 2003; Mohanty, 2003; Mohanty, Torres & Russo, 1991) and many more.

The postcolonial project: Major characteristics

As the preceding review indicates, postcolonialism as a genre of critique has emerged from the intermingling of a variety of academic disciplines and approaches to scholarly inquiry, with the result that the field exhibits considerable heterogeneity. The heterogeneity of the field implies also that, as postcolonial theory has expanded impressively across various academic disciplines, scholars have tended to “move beyond narrow definitions of postcolonial [theory]” (Lomba, Kaul, Bunzl, Burton & Esty, 2005b: 3) and developed increasingly comprehensive conceptualizations of this area of research. Hence, a host of “research initiatives and political projects” that are committed to “a critique of Eurocentrism, racism, . . . colonial discourse” and related phenomena may now be viewed as forming part of the postcolonial oeuvre (Stam & Shohat, 2005: 293).

Accordingly, postcolonialism is now frequently seen to include not only those works that somewhat closely follow the broad research approaches suggested by the scholarship of Edward Said, Ashis Nandy, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Ranajit Guha and similar other figures but also various aspects of “other forms of adversarial knowledge” (Stam & Shohat, 2005: 293), such as critical race theory, border thinking, diaspora and migration studies, critical multiculturalism, world system analysis, transnational cultural critique, studies of indigenous knowledge systems and epistemologies, aborigine studies, whiteness studies, post-development critiques, and many more. Such a *comprehensive conceptualization* of postcolonial theory reflects a scholarly recognition that postcolonialism needs to be an intellectually broad-based approach with a view to serving as an effective instrument of critique. Moreover, such a comprehensive conceptualization implies also that postcolonialism has come to be seen now in a somewhat open-ended way, i.e., as a field with rather porous boundaries, which is “still discovering [itself, even as it] . . . is getting bigger” and is always on the move (Hulme, 2005: 42).

It is important to recognize here that the remarkable heterogeneity and dynamism of the field is accompanied, at the same time, by a number of intellectual and ethico-political commitments that are widely shared, in a variety of ways, by postcolonial researchers, and which may be said to lend an overall coherence to the postcolonial project. Among those, mention may be made of commitment toward:

- 1 Persistent critique of Eurocentrism (Blaut, 1993, 2000; Shohat & Stam, 1994; Prasad, 2012a);
- 2 Interrogating “the denial of coevalness,” i.e., questioning that dubious but fairly common modern Western idea which locates inhabitants of different civilizations in a “chronological hierarchy” and views non-Western peoples as “removed from the present” (Mignolo, 2000: 283; citing Fabian, 1983);
- 3 Provincializing Europe, i.e., challenging Europe’s appropriation of the universal (Chakrabarty, 1992, 2000; Prasad, 1997a);
- 4 Questioning the Western “subalternization of knowledge” which denies the status of ‘genuine’ knowledge to the heterogeneous knowledges of the conquered and the colonized and further extending such questioning by constructing “new loci of enunciation” from where alternative knowledges might be produced (Mignolo, 2000: 13);
- 5 Recognizing the mutual imbrications and inextricability of the processes of modernity and colonialism, such that each implies the other and is seen as contributing to “the making of the modern/colonial world” (Mignolo, 2000: 21),⁵ with the result that the Western metropole and the non-Western colony come to be viewed as a “unitary field of analysis” (Cohn, 1996: 4);
- 6 Recuperating – and understanding the significance of – the long history of global linkages, interactions, and interdependencies generally ignored and/or underemphasized in modern/colonial Western historiography; and

- 7 Working against the grain of modern/colonial knowledge and discourse with a view to radically reorienting such knowledge/discourse (Bhabha, 1994; Mignolo, 2000, 2011; Prasad, 2012a; Spivak, 1999, 2003, 2008).

The next section of the chapter situates Western social science within the broader dynamics of colonialism and neocolonialism and offers a brief discussion of the emergence of modern management as a professional/applied social science.

Western social science and the rise of modern management

Western social sciences are generally seen as making their first appearance on the European scene during the 19th century (Wallerstein, 2004a). However, although the emergence of the social sciences may indeed be viewed as a 19th-century event, this phenomenon is inextricably linked with certain major developments taking place during the second half of the previous century. The latter half of the 18th century seems to mark a somewhat pivotal period of transition between the first and the second *phases* of European modernity and colonialism (Mignolo, 2000, 2002). This period of transition is characterized by a range of far-reaching developments, including a consolidation of the gradually occurring shift in the European balance of geopolitical and economic power from the Iberian Peninsula toward northwestern Europe, a switch from the epistemological framework of the European Renaissance to that of the European Enlightenment, and rapidly gathering momentum in the European conquest and colonization of foreign territory, especially in Asia (Darwin, 2008; Mignolo, 2000, 2002; Panikkar, 1959). All these historical developments appear to have left crucial marks on Western social science.

Modernity/colonialism and Western social science

The transitional interlude between the two phases of modernity/colonialism also served as the historical moment when some European countries made significant advances toward *nation-state* formation at ‘home’ and *colonial-state* formation in the conquered territories abroad (Cohn, 1996; Dirks, 2006; Sen, 1998). In many ways, Britain – which began its colonial conquest of India during the 1750s – is often seen as providing an early exemplar of the simultaneous unfolding of the two, mutually reinforcing state-building processes.⁶

Taking the case of Britain as a first-mover that “set the tone” (Sen, 1998: 3) for future European endeavors in these areas, scholars have pointed out that state-formation activities of the period were largely governed by two major ideas: (1) that any society was knowable by means of a “series of facts” that were empirically observable and (2) that the power of a state depended upon the “efficient use of these facts” (Cohn, 1996: 4). Moreover, it was believed also at the time that the ‘facts’ necessary for effectively knowing and administering the state spanned a wide domain covering the natural as well as the social worlds (Sen, 1998). As a result, state building in the late 18th century – whether in Europe or in the colony overseas – relied upon gathering facts pertaining to a broad assortment of social and natural fields. It is in this context of gathering of wide-ranging facts that the colonies came to play a crucial role in shaping the emergence and development of Western social science.

It is important to recognize here that whenever European colonizers invaded a distant territory overseas (e.g., when the British invaded India in the 1750s), they also came across a different “epistemological space” with its own unique definitions and understandings of facts about the

(local) world, 'facts' that often dramatically diverged from the so-called facts of the colonizers (Cohn, 1996: 4). At the same time, however, in order to put their rule of the conquered colony on secure foundations, the European invaders needed to make the colony (with its own 'strange' universe of facts) less perplexing and frustrating and thereby more "familiar and governable" (Sen, 1998: 95). Hence, the *imperatives of colonial rule* (e.g., gaining control over local revenues and institutions of trade and exchange, supplanting the laws of the defeated regimes with new sets of laws, mapping of local terrain and roads and rivers of military significance, etc., for instance, in late 18th-century India) set the stage for the launching of a vast effort to collect, record, classify, document, catalog and archive a huge amount of facts about the territory and the world of the colonized. In this process, the colonial theater served as a crucial site where European understandings of a multitude of facts were repeatedly worked over, tested, and refined/consolidated (Dirks, 2006) and where a range of "investigative modalities" (Cohn, 1996: 5) were developed and/or perfected that enabled the gathering of those facts.

The term "investigative modality" has been formulated by Cohn to refer to "the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate knowledge is gathered, its ordering and classification, and then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopedias" (1996: 5). In the course of examining different aspects of the formation of a British colonial-state in India, Cohn (1996) offers insights into a number of investigative modalities, such as historiographical, observational, enumerative, museological and so forth. Considerations of space prevent us from providing a discussion of these investigative modalities, although the labels used by Cohn for different modalities do appear to be quite informative. What needs to be especially emphasized here, however, is that the elaboration of these investigative modalities in the colony, including the creation of specific "institutions and administrative sites with fixed routines" and methods for collecting facts, greatly influenced the subsequent development and transformation of many of these modalities into various 19th-century Western (social) sciences, such as economics, cartography, ethnology, tropical medicine and so forth (Cohn, 1996: 5).

In this context, furthermore, it deserves to be underscored also that the work involved in the elaboration of Western knowledge and investigative modalities in the colony necessarily required significant reliance upon local inhabitants (e.g., local groups of scholars, scribes, craftsmen, bankers, merchants, soldiers etc.), as well as upon a great variety of local knowledge and skills, including, for example, knowledge and skills in areas like accounting, administration, botany, medicine, terrestrial surveying and mapping and so forth (Harding, 2009; Raj, 2007; Washbrook, 1990). Thus, non-Western peoples and knowledge systems played a crucial role in the emergence of modern Western (structures of) knowledge.

Emerging out of the colonial and national state-building activities of the 18th century, a number of social scientific disciplines gradually became institutionalized during the course of the 19th century. The growth and institutionalization of social scientific disciplines (e.g., economics, history, political science, sociology, etc.) was significantly influenced also by the late 18th-century European "divorce between philosophy and science" (Wallerstein, 2004a: 2) leading to the eventual separation of the 'sciences' from the 'humanities' (or the 'arts'). Such intellectual parting of ways was accompanied by a number of other important developments, including a deep epistemological divide between *nomothetic* natural sciences (e.g., physics, chemistry, mathematics, etc.) and *idiographic* humanities (e.g., languages and literatures, philosophy, etc.), and a "radical separation . . . in the world of knowledge between the true, the good, and the beautiful" (Wallerstein, 2004a: 74). In the course of time, the various social sciences came to be divided between the two rival epistemological camps, with some of them (e.g., economics, political science or sociology)

turning largely nomothetic during the 19th and 20th centuries, while disciplines like anthropology or history remained mostly idiographic.

During the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries, moreover, Western social sciences were gradually institutionalized as departments within the structure of the modern (Western) university – usually seen as emerging initially in Germany during the first half of the 19th century – and the *production* of new social scientific knowledge became increasingly concentrated in those specialized departments (Lucas, 1994; Oleson & Voss, 1979; Ross, 1979). Along with such growth of *university-based* research, most of the social sciences – with the exception of anthropology and Oriental studies – also began to principally focus on the Western world alone. Indeed, Wallerstein notes in this context that “at least 95 percent of all . . . [social scientific] scholarship from the period of 1850 to 1914, and probably even to 1945, originates in five countries [only]: France, Great Britain, the Germanies, the Italies, and the United States . . . [and] *most of the scholarship by most scholars is about their own country*” (Wallerstein, 1996: 3; emphasis added; quoted in Mignolo, 2000: 251). As a result, huge areas of the world came to be almost completely ignored by different social scientific disciplines.

Neocolonial imperatives and the new social science paradigm

If, as we’ve seen, European *colonial* imperatives had played a crucial role in the emergence and development of social science; this field of knowledge was significantly reoriented during the 1940s–1950s and subsequent years as a result of key *neocolonial* imperatives as well (Cohn, 1996; Lee, 1996; Wallerstein, 2004a). The dynamics of neocolonialism unfolded in a world characterized by at least three unique features: (1) it was a world populated by a large number of newly independent post-colonial states, (2) it was a world in which the United States of America had claimed the leadership of ‘the West,’ and (3) it was a world of intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union primarily for control over non-Western areas of the world (Arrighi, 1994; McCormick, 1989; Pletsch, 1981). All these aspects of the mid-20th century global order significantly influenced the future development of Western social science.

We may begin by noting that, in the rapidly decolonizing world of the mid-20th century, the United States as the leader of the so-called ‘First World’ urgently needed to establish *neocolonial* control over the ‘Third World’ for a host of reasons, including (1) the necessity of ensuring continued access to important raw materials from territories that were no longer under European colonial control, (2) the need for finding/expanding overseas markets for American and/or Western products and securing safe investment outlets for American/Western capital, and (3) the requirement of setting up a worldwide network of military bases with a view to challenging the Soviet Union in the Cold War (Arrighi, 1994; Darwin, 2008; Escobar, 1995; Klare, 1974). However, the mid-20th century U.S. quest for neocolonial control faced a number of serious hurdles. For one, the U.S. government, as a close ally of virtually all major European colonial powers, was viewed with suspicion in large parts of the world. Similarly, the Euro-American capitalist model was suspect in many areas of the world because, among other things, it had precipitated the Great Depression that devastated the global economy and also because it was seen as an instrument of exploitative (colonialist) extraction. In addition, the United States suffered also from a serious deficit of cultural ‘soft power’ as large sections of ‘Third World’ elites viewed “America and Americans as uncouth and uncultured” (Guha, 2007: 164).

In contrast to the United States, the Soviet Union stood as an open supporter of decolonization, and, moreover, its message of Socialist egalitarianism held significant appeal in the ‘Third World.’ As a result, to the U.S. policy-makers, the middle of the 20th century appeared to be a

period when “the free enterprise system [itself] was in peril” (Escobar, 1995: 71), and the neo-colonial imperatives just mentioned seamlessly metamorphosed into the Cold War program of action for defending the so-called ‘free-world’ of Euro-American capitalism. The Cold War program of action that ensued involved also a significant redesign of Western social science. As a result of that redesign, Western social science – which had been rooted thus far in the discourse of the ‘civilizing mission’ – was transformed and became grounded in the discourse of ‘modernization and development’ (Mignolo, 2000, 2002; Spivak, 1999). As will be discussed, such transformation significantly relied upon the tropes of ‘useful knowledge’ and ‘precise knowledge’ and involved not only major changes in the nature of social science but also a large-scale overhaul of the institutional structures of knowledge.

The opening move in the aforementioned transformation of Western social science seems to have been made around the time World War II ended, when significant sections (private and public) of policy-making circles in the U.S. began to argue that the task of conducting U.S. policy with respect to different countries and regions of the world was greatly hampered because of a serious lack of ‘useful’ knowledge (i.e., the kind of knowledge produced by social sciences like economics, political science or sociology) about the non-Western world. As noted earlier, such absence of knowledge was due to the fact that most Western social sciences had overwhelmingly focused on Western countries alone. The U.S. policy-makers, hence, demanded that the situation be rectified. Moreover, since the 1920s, major American universities had witnessed rapid growth of the “‘scientific’ social sciences . . . [involving] Parsonian sociology, Keynesian macroeconomics, systems analysis and operations research, demography, and statistics,” and the U.S. policy-makers began expressing the need for “‘precise knowledge’” about the ‘Third World’ derived on the basis of the *nomothetic* insights and increasingly *quantitative* procedures of the new *scientific* social sciences (Escobar, 1995: 37; see also Bottom, 2009). The U.S. response to all those stated needs was to result in a sweeping restructuring of Western social science and its institutional arrangements and, in the process, lead to a *further consolidation* of U.S./Western academia as a key site for making “‘pragmatic contributions to . . . [neo-]imperial rule’” (Cohn, 1996: 12).

The U.S. response to the needs of the moment consisted of several elements, including (1) establishment of Area Studies programs at different universities, (2) consolidation of the discourse of modernization and economic development, and (3) reorganization of the field of business management on a ‘scientific’ basis (Bilgin & Morton, 2002; Carroll, 1959a; Escobar, 1995; Pletsch, 1981). The new Area Studies programs were intended to organize the production of knowledge about various world areas (e.g., East Asia, Latin America, South Asia, etc.) on the basis of application of different social sciences to each area (Bilgin & Morton, 2002; Wallerstein, 2004a). Area Studies programs were usually set up by the U.S. intelligence agencies working closely with a range of private foundations, and available internal documents suggest that “the intelligence function” of such programs was often fully recognized by the foundations (Cumings, 1997).⁷ Gradually, Area Studies programs emerged in other Western countries as well.

The Area Studies programs fostered “the emergence of the three worlds schema” (Bilgin & Morton, 2002: 59) and shaped the growth of a new “social science paradigm” (Cohn, 1996: 14) that worked to *produce* the ‘Third World.’ This new paradigm for the social sciences was founded upon the progressivist narrative of modernization and development, which took the ‘West’/‘First World’ as the norm and declared that the ‘Third World’ had no option other than to ‘progress’/‘modernize’ and keep working to become an ever closer *replica* of the ‘West.’ Moreover, the new paradigm was committed also to the production of universalistic nomothetic knowledge by means of increasing reliance upon mathematics, statistics, quantitative techniques, electronic computing and reductive model building.

The social scientific transformation of Western management

The transformation of management/business administration into a new (professional, or applied) social scientific discipline may be seen as being linked to the growth of the new (i.e., nomothetic and quantitative) social science paradigm, as well as to the U.S./Western imperatives of neo-colonial control. University-based *business* education is generally regarded as a U.S. invention of the late 19th century. From those beginnings, business schools grew to become an important part of university structure in the United States, and, by the middle of the 20th century, degrees in business accounted for fully one-seventh of all university degrees being awarded across the country (Carroll, 1959b). Clearly, by the 1950s, business education in the U.S. had become a “numerical giant” and a big business (Carroll, 1959b: vi).

At that point in time, however, business education was mainly *vocational* in nature and prepared the student for a career in a specific business or industry. Moreover, business education at this time had relatively limited contact with the social sciences (economics being an exception): business school courses were primarily designed to teach current business practices and were mostly taught by experienced (working and/or retired) business executives. Furthermore, business schools at that time, generally speaking, were not expected to *produce* new knowledge: business school faculty, for the most part, did not engage in scholarly research, and production of new business knowledge was seen as largely taking place *outside* the structures of the university (Carroll, 1961; Clinebell & Clinebell, 2008; Khurana, 2007).

The generally vocational character of business education in the United States during the 1950s, however, should not be taken to imply that business schools at that time were completely insulated either from the world of scholarship or from the domain of social science. For instance, as early as the 1920s, elite social science networks in the U.S. had expressed the need for redesigning business administration/management along social scientific lines, and starting in the 1920s, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the Rockefeller Foundation had provided financial support for scholarly research in business, including, for instance, the research by Adolf Berle and Gardiner Means on the separation of ownership and control in the large U.S. corporation and Elton Mayo’s research that eventually established the Human Relations School of management (Bottom, 2009; O’Connor, 1999a, 1999b).⁸ Similarly, Bottom (2009) has pointed out that the Ford Foundation’s involvement with the project of transforming business management into an applied social science began during the 1940s itself. Notwithstanding such developments, however, it would appear that, for the most part, business schools in the U.S. during the middle of the 20th century continued to have a mainly vocational orientation in their overall makeup.

Thus, by the 1950s, business schools were an important part of the U.S. university system – indeed, going by student enrollment, they constituted a somewhat dominant presence within the university – but, at the same time, by generally electing not to engage in knowledge production, business schools presented a significant challenge for the scholarly ethos of the university, which increasingly saw the university as the preponderant site for producing new knowledge. Similarly, by frequently choosing to ignore most social sciences, business schools implicitly questioned the claim of the new social sciences that true knowledge about all aspects of the human/social world could be obtained only by relying upon those very social sciences themselves.

In a somewhat related fashion, business schools represented a problem for the new Area Studies programs as well. Area Studies programs were part of a larger discursive apparatus that sought to entrench the ideology of modernization, and a specific model of ‘Third World’ economic development involving measures like free trade, private investment, minimal role for government in the economy and reliance upon the production of primary commodities (e.g., raw materials and cash crops) and relatively low-value manufacture. Such an ideology and its prescriptions for

‘Third World’ development were of considerable value for purposes of linking ‘Third World’ economies in a hierarchically subordinate relationship with the West and thereby furthering neocolonial control.⁹ The said ideology’s prescriptions for ‘Third World’ development, however, ran substantially counter to the actual *historical experience* of the economic development of Europe and the United States, which had extensively relied upon government intervention and support, protectionism and a concerted shift to high-value manufacture.¹⁰

By and large, therefore, the experience of business practitioners (who tended to provide the bulk of the professoriate at the U.S. business schools at that time) was a somewhat unreliable instrument and foundation for promoting the new (neocolonial) model of economic development being engineered by Area Studies and development economics. Moreover, practitioners tended to offer also a much more contingent, locally situated and particularistic knowledge about business and economics that stood in sharp contrast to the model of universalistic knowledge being promoted by Area Studies and the social sciences. Finally, as part of the larger project of exporting the model of free-enterprise capitalism, Area Studies specialists and U.S. policy-makers seem to have intended to make business education itself into an important export of the United States to the rest of the world (Bottom, 2009; Carroll, 1959a, 1961). However, business education in the U.S. around 1950 was too closely focused on the specificities of local businesses and industries to appear relevant outside the United States and, hence, was not readily exportable. Thus, for a variety of reasons, business education of the time came to be framed as a ‘problem’ in the United States and became a serious target for ‘reform.’

Although, as already noted, some efforts to ‘reform’ business management along social scientific lines had been made as early as the 1920s (Bottom, 2009), things began moving rapidly on that front only in the 1950s when the Ford Foundation, the U.S. private philanthropy with the largest endowment at that time (Tadajewski, 2009), became seriously involved in promoting Area Studies, development economics and business education and research and, over different periods, invested close to \$1.5 billion in support of those activities (Cumings, 1997; Escobar, 1995; Sheridan & Kushner, 2009). Financial support for these activities was provided by various other foundations as well.

The program for transforming business management into a ‘scientific’ discipline – as outlined in a major report commissioned by the Ford Foundation – called upon business schools in the U.S. to develop a *new* understanding of “the practice of business . . . [by] relating it to *what we have* in the way of *relevant* systematic bodies of knowledge” (Gordon & Howell, 1959: 127; italics added).¹¹ This implied, as the report’s foreword (written by the Ford Foundation’s vice president) pointed out, that business schools needed to move away from the prevailing vocational and locally situated approach for understanding the problems of management and build up an abstract and universalistic approach based upon “the application of the fundamental disciplines of the social and behavioral sciences . . . [and] of modern mathematical and statistical methods” (Carroll, 1959b: v).¹²

Toward those ends, the Ford Foundation and others sponsored a range of activities, including the training of business school faculty in (1) different social sciences, mathematics and statistics and (2) in the use of “electronic computing machines” with a view to promoting the application of quantitative methods in business research (Carroll, 1959a: 162). Simultaneously, the use of Parsonian functionalism was encouraged in management research (Parsons, 1956a, 1956b). In these and related ways, business management in the United States was sought to be transformed into a ‘scientific’ discipline designed to produce universalistic and nomothetic knowledge by means of relying upon existing knowledge in the other ‘relevant’ social sciences and an epistemological approach committed to functionalism, positivism and quantitative methods. The reward for such transformation, argued the advocates of change, would be “full academic status”

(Carroll, 1959b: v) and increased prestige for business schools. We turn now to the third section of the chapter, which will offer a critical evaluation of management as a social scientific approach to knowledge. Following that, in the chapter's concluding section, we will explore some of the ways in which postcolonial theoretic insights might be helpful in productively reorienting management and organization studies (MOS).¹³

(Critical) Management Studies as a social scientific enterprise: A postcolonial critique

In Eurocentric accounts, modern Western scientific/social scientific knowledge is frequently represented as the result of a relatively disinterested pursuit of 'pure' truth and/or as the outcome of certain processes that are considered to be largely *internal* to the geographical space of Europe/the West (Hellyet, 2003; Wallerstein, 2004a; Westfall, 1992). From this vantage point, modern Western knowledge is often viewed as one of the "gifts that Western imperial powers brought to their colonies" (Seth, 2009: 373). As we have seen, postcolonial theory offers a much less pristine view of modern Western knowledge.

From a postcolonial perspective, (1) modern Western knowledge – including knowledge in the field of management – has been decisively shaped by Western colonial/neocolonial "geopolitical presence" (Darwin, 2008: 161); (2) such knowledge has often aided and supported the (neo-)colonial project and, to use Headrick's (1981) terminology, served as one of the "tools of empire"; (3) the origins of modern Western knowledge can frequently be found in "the projects and practices of colonialism" and neocolonialism (Seth, 2009: 374); (4) modern Western knowledge has generally played a "*constitutive* role . . . for colonialism [and/or neocolonialism, i.e.,] . . . as a means of conceptualizing and bringing into being the colonial [or, neocolonial] project itself" (Seth, 2009: 375; italics in the original); and (5) non-Western knowledges, techniques, actors and sites have played significant roles – from the very early days and in a variety of ways – in the creation of modern Western knowledge and its structures (Cohn, 1996; Harding, 1998, 2008, 2009; Raj, 2007). Management and other social sciences, however, appear to be largely oblivious of these aspects of their own history and, moreover, as will be discussed, to suffer also from a variety of other problems and limitations.

Management studies as applied social science: Major limitations

The 19th- and 20th-century consolidation of Western social science was deeply informed by prevailing ideas of unity of knowledge, which posited science to be a unified field (Lee, 1996; Sardar, 2006). Hence, paralleling natural science, social science also came to be viewed, in the main, as being engaged in a Cartesian search for *certainty* on the basis of a quantitative approach and positivistic conceptions of "truth associated with observable facts and the laws governing their relations" (Lee, 1996: 179). This view of knowledge, however, is premised upon notions of Cartesian rationality that posits an ontological dualism between body and soul (matter and mind) and sees reason as an instrument for controlling the body and the material world (Apffel-Marglin, 1996). As a result, significant sections of MOS and several other social sciences seem to subscribe to a very narrow and ethically questionable paradigm of knowledge, a paradigm mostly defined in terms of *prediction and control* of human/organizational/social behavior and rooted in a somewhat dehumanized understanding of individuals as objects to be controlled and manipulated.

Postcolonial critics of modern Western knowledge (including knowledge in the MOS field) note that Cartesian rationality – which leads to a separation of truth from the good and the beautiful – is only one among many competing forms of rationality that continue to exist in

different parts of the world. (Apffel-Marglin, 1996; Harding, 1998, 2008; Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Sardar, 2006). Conceptualizing cultures as “ways of knowing,” or as “knowledge systems” (Marglin, 1990: 24), these scholars propose that modern Western knowledge merely represents a particular *culture-specific* knowledge system, one which is grounded in, and profoundly limited by, the perspectives of Cartesian instrumental rationality. Moreover, point out the critics, the modern Western knowledge system suffers also from an “imperialistic pretension to universality,” which results in a “total inability to regard competing [knowledge] systems with anything but contempt, . . . [an] inability indeed even to contemplate the existence of competing systems” (Marglin, 1990: 25). As a result, MOS and other Western social sciences largely seem to *lack the capacity* to learn and benefit from the theoretical sophistication of non-Western knowledge systems.

The social scientific approach that has decisively shaped MOS over the last several decades suffers from several other problems as well. Western social science, as Bilgin and Morton point out, “was a creature of states,” and not infrequently, it has become a tool at the service of the state (2002: 58). For instance, as this paper has already discussed at some length, social science has played a crucial role in the discursive production of the West/non-West dichotomy, as well as the three worlds schema and thereby facilitated the exercise of (neo-)colonial power. Relatedly, scholars in anthropology, economics, international relations, political science and other fields have long served as administrators and advisers for Western governments and greatly contributed toward furthering (neo-)colonial control.

Similarly, the social scientific approach informing MOS is considerably compromised also because of its close links with social evolutionism and modernization theory, as a result of which social sciences, generally speaking, are led to produce highly problematic and stereotyped knowledge about different societies and cultures by following the formula of placing societies/cultures in the familiar grid of West/non-West hierarchy (Blaut, 1993, 2000; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010). Modernization theory, we may note, was deeply influenced by Max Weber’s “model of the difference between a modernizing and a traditional society” (Blaut, 2000: 27), a model linked to Weber’s comparative studies of world religions that have drawn considerable criticism lately for their arbitrary hierarchization of different religions, Eurocentrism and ‘cultural racism’¹⁴ (Masuzawa, 2005; Steinmetz, 2006; Zimmerman, 2006). Weber’s studies have provided some of the key ingredients for fleshing out the hierarchical dichotomy of ‘modern versus traditional society’ – constructed around notions of rationality, industrialization, urbanization, and so forth – which serves as an organizing principle for the comparative approach widely used in the social sciences for analyzing national societies. Within MOS, the troubling imprint of that dichotomy can be found in the research stream that builds upon Hofstede’s comparative study of national cultures (for critiques of Hofstede, see, e.g., Ailon, 2008; Fougère & Moulettes, 2007; Kwek, 2003).

In many ways, therefore, MOS and other modern Western social sciences may be seen as representing “ethnocentric . . . [and] arrogant” (Lee, 1996: 192) attempts to claim exemplarity and universal validity for certain ideas, beliefs, representations and ways of thinking that happened to gain prominence in one particular corner of the world at a specific historical juncture. Western social sciences, in other words, are unremittingly Eurocentric. Not surprisingly, during past years, virtually all the social sciences including MOS have drawn criticism for their Eurocentrism (Amin, 1989; Blaut, 1993, 2000; Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991; Frank, 1998; Prasad, 2012a; Wallerstein, 1997).

The Eurocentrism of social science, moreover, is crucially linked to extremely disturbing Western beliefs about race which, as Young (1995) has emphasized, “[permeated] . . . the fabric of almost all areas of thinking” in the West (p. 64) and seem to have provided “*the common*

principle of academic knowledge” during the 19th century (p. 93; italics in the original) and, indeed, *at least* up to the 1930s, if not even later (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010: 21). Racism, hence, has deeply informed the knowledge produced in virtually all the social scientific fields. Biological racism, however, seems to have been now largely rejected in social science. Nevertheless, ‘cultural racism,’ or ‘neo-racism’ (Balibar, 1999; cited in Zimmerman, 2006), continues to cast its deeply troubling shadows on a number of social sciences, including MOS. Cultural racism operates by defining culture largely as a *fixity*, with the result that “culture . . . [functions] like . . . nature and [locks] individuals and groups . . . into a determination that is immutable” (Zimmerman, 2006: 53; quoting Balibar, 1999). Neo-racism worked its way into social science largely via Max Weber’s influential rendering of the world as “a differentiated space of immutable cultural areas” (Zimmerman, 2006: 68), with Europe apparently occupying the top rank in the hierarchy of global cultures. As a result, scholars see neo-racism to be “latent” in concepts like ‘traditional society,’ ‘modern society,’ and others that have seemingly “functioned neutrally” in MOS and other social sciences (Zimmerman, 2006: 74).

Parsonian functionalism and Western management scholarship

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the range of these identified problems is deeply ingrained in Parsonian functionalism (Parsons, 1937, 1951), the scholarly framework that rose to become one of the major reigning influences in social science and that was the “dominant perspective” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: 163) – perhaps, even an “orthodoxy” (Reed, 2006: 20) – in MOS during the 1950s–1970s period. For Parsons, the modern West represented “the pinnacle of human achievement” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: 55). Hence, in the Parsonian world, the task of “social science becomes that of identifying the structures or elements” of a social system which ensure the system’s survival (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: 55).

Insofar as the field of MOS is concerned, the Parsonian framework influenced the growth of a number of theories and research programs – dealing, for instance, with formal organizational structure, systems approach, a variety of characteristics and features of organizations, relationship between organizations and their environments and the like (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Casey, 2002; Scott, 1992) – which were generally driven by a concern for technical efficiency/effectiveness of Western management practices and organizations and were largely underpinned by the arbitrary assumption that *Western* forms of managing and organizing necessarily served as *universal* norms. This assumption is reflected, for example, in Homans’ declaration that “the organization of the large formal enterprises . . . in modern [i.e., Western] society is modeled on, is a rationalization of, *tendencies that exist in all human groups*” (1950: 186–187; quoted in Scott, 1992: 7; italics added).¹⁵

Moreover, the Parsonian “utopianism of the present” (Zimmerman, 2006: 73) promoted an *idealized* image of the United States and the West, which led to status quo theorizing and marginalization of critique in management research. Consequently, MOS failed to pay adequate attention to issues of oppression surrounding, for instance, race, gender, class, managerialism and so forth.¹⁶ Simultaneously, international management researchers became involved in producing knowledge that mostly tended to conclude that the “modes of leadership and governance . . . [and] management systems . . . [in ‘Third World’ countries were] patrimonial . . . authoritarian, . . . dysfunctional, irrational, inefficient, incompetent, unsophisticated, and so on” (Westwood, 2004: 61).

Thus, MOS became a part and parcel of the larger institutional apparatus engaged in the discursive production of the ‘Third World’ and became deeply complicit with the Western neo-colonial project. Structural functionalism today is no longer the force it once was. Nevertheless, as

Casey (2002: 14), for instance, points out, “many of its categories, methods, and imperatives . . . remain . . . generally operative . . . in organization studies” and continue to persist. Similarly, critics have noted that, in significant ways, current international management research routinely continues to essentialize, exoticize and denigrate the non-West (Jack & Westwood, 2010; Westwood & Jack, 2007).

The critical imagination in Western management scholarship

In addition to conventional functionalist research, MOS has a long history of critical and interpretive scholarship drawing upon a variety of theoretical and philosophical perspectives, such as, existentialism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, hermeneutics, social constructivism, critical Weberianism, different forms of Marxism and neo-Marxism and so on (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Morgan, 1983; Prasad, 2005). During recent decades, critical MOS research informed by feminism, postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism and so forth has appeared as well. Generally speaking, critique of management and organizations now constitutes an expanding area of research, and the area is rapidly being institutionalized (at the U.S. Academy of Management and elsewhere) under the contested label of ‘Critical Management Studies’ (CMS).¹⁷ Needless to say, CMS scholarship has provided a useful alternative to the knowledge traditionally produced by functionalist management research in the West. Nevertheless, as will be discussed, *significant sections* of CMS continue to be marked by some of the limitations of Western social scientific knowledge identified earlier. Arguably, many of those limitations largely follow from certain problems that are deeply embedded in the very fabric of various theoretical/philosophical frameworks that inform CMS.

For instance, we noted earlier the questionable tendency in Western social science to refuse to accept non-Western knowledges as ‘genuine’ knowledge and, at the same time, to claim also that social science has the capability of producing universal truths. Those tendencies seem to be present in many of the philosophical frameworks that inform different sections of CMS. Indeed, Western thought has a long tradition of arguing that non-Western philosophies/knowledges are *not* ‘genuine’ philosophy/knowledge. An influential early 19th-century example of such belief can be found in Hegel’s declaration that Chinese and Indian philosophy “must . . . be excluded from the History of Philosophy . . . [because] Philosophy proper commences in the West” (1955: 99).

It deserves to be emphasized here that such dismissal of non-Western knowledges/civilizations is, by no means, confined only to politically conservative Western philosophers like Hegel. For example, even a radical thinker like Karl Marx – arguably, one of the most important influences on the development of critical social science and CMS – fully subscribes to Hegel’s philosophy of history (in terms of which Europe is seen as the teleological end point of universal history), as well as to the Hegelian history of philosophy (which dismisses non-Western philosophies as not being philosophical enough), with the result that Marx, the iconic Western philosopher of praxis and human emancipation, turns into a *defender* of brutal Western colonialism, which he comes to approvingly regard as “the unconscious tool of history” necessary for bringing the light of knowledge and civilization to the “semi-barbarian, semi-civilized” non-West (Marx, 1972: 581–582).¹⁸

Along with its general disregard for non-Western philosophies and knowledges, Western philosophy has long claimed also that it possesses the capacity to produce what Edmund Husserl calls, in his ‘Vienna Lecture of 1935,’ “absolute theoretical insights . . . through universal scientific reason” (Husserl quoted in Chakrabarty, 1992: 3). This belief leads to a further conviction that the West has at its command all the necessary *categories* that might be required for understanding

the entire world. Or, as Jean-Paul Sartre puts it in his *Existentialism and Humanism* (1948), “Every project, even that of a Chinese, an Indian or a Negro, can be understood by a *European* There is always some way of understanding an idiot, a child, a primitive man or a foreigner if one has sufficient information” (Sartre quoted in Spivak, 1999: 171; italics added).

The belief in the West’s exclusive access to Absolute Universal Reason animates a large galaxy of major Western philosophers and thinkers, such as Hegel, Heidegger, Husserl, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Karl Marx, Max Weber and others (Chakrabarty, 1992; Blaut, 2000; Halbfass, 1988), who have considerably influenced the development of CMS. The CMS field, by and large, has neither challenged such belief in any concerted fashion nor made meaningful attempts to encourage and facilitate the utilization of non-Western knowledges in management research.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, many of the philosophical perspectives informing various streams of CMS research tend to be deeply Eurocentric. Hence, for the most part, CMS also exhibits the problem of Eurocentrism identified earlier in the case of MOS and other Western social sciences in general. An important instance of the Eurocentrism of CMS may be found in its broad neglect of colonialism, a neglect that seems to have had significant scholarly implications. CMS, broadly speaking, appears to have unquestioningly accepted ‘internalist’ accounts of Western capitalism, which portray the development of Euro-American capitalism to be a product of certain dynamics that were largely internal to the West. As a result, to take merely one example out of many, CMS has largely failed to seriously examine the significance of colonialism for the emergence and development of the institutions of Western capitalism, including modern Western management practices and knowledge (Westwood & Jack, 2007). Hence, the Eurocentrism of large sections of CMS – as exhibited, in this instance, in their neglect of colonialism – may be said to have resulted in a highly partial and inadequate understanding of important management and organizational issues and phenomena.

As already noted, during recent decades, many CMS researchers have been drawing upon postmodernism and poststructuralism as well (Alvesson & Deetz, 2006). Despite their professed desire to give new directions to Western thought, however, it appears that postmodernism and poststructuralism remain deeply enmeshed in Eurocentric and universalistic ways of thinking. Postcolonial scholars, for instance, have critiqued postmodernism/poststructuralism for ignoring the dynamics of colonialism, for frequently treating the somewhat widely prevalent condition of European cultural angst as a global predicament, for seeking to consolidate a Eurocentric framework for viewing the cultural products of the non-Western world and for promoting a local cultural/epistemological attitude as a general movement having global relevance (Adams & Tiffin, 1990; Bhabha, 1994; Mignolo, 2000; Sardar, 1998; Spivak, 2008). Generally speaking, research in the CMS field does not seem to have made serious efforts to challenge these and related problematic tendencies exhibited by postmodernism/poststructuralism.

Critical Management Studies, as noted earlier, is a heterogeneous field comprising a variety of approaches to scholarly inquiry, and this chapter does not intend to offer close critiques of different streams of CMS research. Nevertheless, it might be useful here to take a quick look at one particular stream of CMS because of the long-standing commitment displayed by that stream to the project of institutionalizing CMS in a rather *narrow* fashion (for some examples of this stream, see Alvesson, Bridgman & Willmott, 2009; Alvesson & Willmott, 1992, 2003, 2011; Grey & Willmott, 2005a; etc.). Given space considerations, our examination of the said CMS stream – often referred to as the Manchester School of CMS (see Prasad, Prasad, Mills & Helms Mills, Chapter 2 in this volume) – must necessarily be somewhat brief.

We may begin by noting here that the Manchester School of CMS often makes rather extravagant claims about the special role played by researchers from Europe – or, perhaps even more narrowly, from Scandinavia and the U.K. – in the development of critical management scholarship¹⁹

and seems to contend also that the growth of a sizeable body of critical literature in management was somehow *catalyzed* by the emergence of the “capitalized phrase *Critical Management Studies* . . . the title of the . . . collection [edited by Alvesson and Willmott] . . . that appeared in 1992” (Grey & Willmott, 2005b: 3; italics in original). Gestures like these attempt to draw somewhat arbitrary boundary lines through historical time and geographical and/or conceptual space and work to generate a considerably scaled-down and truncated map of the overall CMS terrain. Needless to say, such gestures, along with a deep-rooted commitment to Eurocentrism, serve also as important anchoring devices for this research stream’s project to institutionalize a rather *narrow and provincial* version of CMS.

In this regard, furthermore, as a number of researchers have pointed out (see, e.g., Ashcraft, 2011; Ferdinand, Muzio & O’Mahoney, 2004, 2005; Prasad, 2008; see also Prasad, Prasad, Mills & Helms Mills, Chapter 1 in this volume), what seems also to distinguish the Manchester School of CMS research is a deep tension between, on the one hand (1) this school’s routine espousal of the idea of CMS as a pluralistic intellectual domain characterized by considerable debates across widely divergent scholarly perspectives and, on the other hand (2) its determined attempts to consolidate a somewhat narrow and exclusivist intellectual map of the broader CMS terrain. With respect to intellectual perspectives, for instance, this school of CMS appears to ascribe a “rather narrow definition . . . to the notion of Critical Management Studies” (Ferdinand, Muzio & O’Mahoney, 2005: 1715), tending to view the conceptual landscape of CMS mostly in terms of neo-Marxist Critical Theory and certain aspects of postmodernism and/or poststructuralism alone. Similarly, in terms of object of inquiry, this school increasingly seems to investigate *micro- and/or meso-level* processes largely by means of focusing upon “very limited sections of the professional and managerial class” (Ackroyd, 2004: 167)²⁰ and, as a result, mostly overlooks wider dynamics involving *macro-level* concerns, such as race, ethnicity, subalternity, workplace diversity and multiculturalism, systemic corruption in different corporate sectors in the West, global economic structures/crises, neocolonialism, Eurocentrism and so on (Ashcraft, 2011; Prasad, 2008).

Such a narrowly defined research program is clearly problematic and would seem to be of rather limited value in a post-colonial and rapidly globalizing world. In some ways, however, what appears to be even more problematic is this school’s insistent claim that, somehow, such a narrowly framed research oeuvre needs to be viewed as forming the core (or canon, or vanguard) of the *entire* CMS field (Ashcraft, 2011; Prasad, 2008). Such insistence on the part of a uniquely provincial and narrowly defined research stream within CMS – an insistence which, from a postcolonial perspective, may be regarded as a Eurocentric and modernist attempt to discipline knowledge, and to contain the force of the contestatory and liberatory impulses animating CMS – would hardly seem to promote the larger cause of radical critique in MOS.

Ashcraft (2011), for instance, has pointed out in this connection that the existence of the earlier identified tension in the writings of the Manchester School – namely, the tension between this school’s copious declarations regarding the pluralistic nature of CMS, on the one hand, and its concerted efforts to institutionalize a highly restricted version of CMS, on the other – implies that this stream of research is constrained to resort to a variety of “repetitive, beguiling (discursive) sleights of hand” that seek to assign a marginal status to various other critical genres of scholarship and, in so doing, frequently do considerable disservice to the wider critical project in MOS (see also, Ashcraft’s Chapter 6 in this volume). Parallel to this, Tatli (2011) has identified within this school a troubling absence of adequate self-reflexivity regarding its own dynamics of exclusion. Similarly, Prasad (2008) notes that this school appears reluctant to raise a number of critical questions including, for instance, “what might be . . . the ethico-political interests being promoted by . . . [that] variety of CMS” (p. 283). All in all, in other words, the Manchester School of CMS may be seen as providing a considerably limited form of critique within MOS/CMS research.

As the preceding discussion of critical as well as conventional management scholarship suggests, MOS may be seen as an approach to knowledge production which is defined by two analytically distinct – although “complementary and inseparable” – forms of *ethnocentrism*: epistemological and ideological (Mudimbe, 1988: 19).²¹ Epistemological ethnocentrism connects MOS as social science to “an intellectual atmosphere which [lends the discipline] . . . status . . . significance . . . and credibility as . . . science in . . . [a specific] field of human experience” (Mudimbe, 1988: 19). Thus, elements like Cartesian rationality, positivism, universalism, and so on may be seen as manifestations of epistemological ethnocentrism. Ideological ethnocentrism, on the other hand, refers to “an intellectual and behavioral attitude [linked to] . . . the scholar’s . . . consciousness, the scientific models of . . . [the] time, and the cultural and social norms of . . . society” (Mudimbe, 1988: 19). In MOS, ideological ethnocentrism mostly seems to express itself via notions like modernization, the hierarchical system of West/non-West dichotomies, and neo-racism. Generally speaking, the ideological ethnocentrism of MOS tends to result in a somewhat unthinking undervaluing of ‘Third World’ management practices and systems and a corresponding elevation/celebration of ‘Western’ ones (Westwood, 2004; Westwood & Jack, 2007).

As the final section of the chapter discusses, postcolonial theory offers several valuable ideas for (1) taking MOS beyond the intellectually debilitating confines of the previously identified twin forms of ethnocentrism and, in that process (2) for radically transforming the MOS field. In what follows, the chapter will first outline a number of important postcolonial considerations relevant to the project of reorienting MOS and then go on to discuss the significance of the need to rethink Western categories of knowledge. Thereafter, the chapter will offer some provisional suggestions for a critical postcolonial theoretic research agenda for the MOS field. Finally, the chapter will conclude with brief thoughts on the necessity of reimagining MOS as a multipolar domain of plural knowledges spread across different regions of the world. *Mutatis mutandis*, much of what follows may be seen as relevant for the CMS area as well.

The search for alternative knowledges: Toward a postcolonial reorientation of (Critical) Management Studies

Postcolonialism is a vehicle for critique and ethico-political transformation aimed at creating a more just and humane future. Hence, postcolonial theoretic insights have the potential to radically reorient MOS, effecting thereby far-reaching changes with respect to the field’s theoretical foundations, disciplinary boundaries, institutional arrangements, and epistemological and methodological commitments. To begin with, postcolonial theory provides valuable suggestions for rethinking the foundational knowledge of MOS which, as we have seen, is significantly marked by Eurocentrism, Orientalism, neo-racism and the like. Specifically, critiques of modern Western knowledge offered by postcolonial scholars (e.g., Mignolo, 2000, 2002; Spivak, 2003) suggest that MOS researchers need to seriously look for theoretical inspiration *outside* the conventional boundaries of MOS. In this regard, moreover, MOS also needs to take into account the growing recognition in postcolonial and other critical circles that a belief in Western scholarship’s traditional divide between the so-called two cultures – represented, respectively, by nomothetic and idiographic approaches to inquiry – has become a major hindrance to intellectual creativity (Mignolo, 2000; Spivak, 2008; Wallerstein, 2004a, 2004b). As a first step, therefore, MOS needs large-scale engagement with critical scholarship in other social sciences *and* humanities with a view to rejuvenating the field’s theoretical foundations.

As we saw in an earlier section of the chapter, the social scientific transformation of business was based on the idea of management as an applied social science. In that process, however, the range of social sciences that were deemed ‘relevant’ for management was somewhat narrowly

circumscribed and seems to have been largely limited to sections of economics, psychology and sociology. Moreover, in general, the humanities were considered ‘irrelevant’ for management. During recent years, researchers in the CMS and interpretive traditions have made praiseworthy attempts to draw upon other social sciences and the humanities, but much more extensive efforts in that direction might be necessary with a view to developing additional critical resources. It would seem that MOS researchers can gain substantially by engaging with critical scholarship in fields like anthropology, history, geography, international relations and the like in the social sciences and with cultural studies, feminist studies, race studies, religious studies and others in the humanities.

Postcolonial theory, of course, is not alone in emphasizing the need for interdisciplinarity, especially perhaps, when interdisciplinary engagement involves the crossing of disciplinary borders separating the humanities from the social sciences (see, e.g., Joshi, 1986; Wallerstein, 2004a, 2004b). Without getting into a discussion of different scholarly perspectives advocating collaboration between the humanities and social science, however, for a postcolonial theorist like Spivak (2003, 2008), a major benefit of such interdisciplinary exchange is to be found in the potential of the humanities to prepare the social sciences to offer *better* generalizations.

Spivak (2008) suggests that genuine collaboration between the humanities and a social science (e.g., MOS) requires that researchers do “not reject . . . [the social scientific] impulse toward generalization” (p. 46) and recognize that “the social sciences . . . can produce useful generalizations – *however limited*” (p. 228; italics added). For researchers in MOS and other social sciences, therefore, the project of engaging with the humanities offers an intellectual and ethico-political space for addressing many of the *limitations* of the social scientific imagination (identified earlier in the chapter) with a view to producing *improved* generalizations. In brief, following Spivak (2008), it is possible to suggest that a number of fields in the humanities (e.g., cultural studies, feminist studies, race studies, religious studies, etc.) seem to have the potential to provide MOS with that “exercise of the imagination” (p. 227) and “uncoercive rearrangement of desire” (p. 226) which, when combined with a “transnational [awareness of] . . . the dynamic [political and] geopolitical configurations of the globalizing world” (p. 226), might help develop within the MOS discipline a scholarly “habit of politically literate textured reading” (p. 229) that could, conceivably, lead to valuable generalizations about national and transnational processes involving businesses, organizations, industries, institutions, networks and so forth.

At the same time, in order to challenge Eurocentric habits of thought that seem to dominate the field, MOS researchers also need to develop a postcolonial historical sensibility built upon, among other things, the idea of “connected histories” (Subrahmanyam, 1997, 2005), “interactional history” (van der Veer, 2001: 8) or “horizontally integrative macrohistory” (Frank, 1998: 345). Such history draws attention to the rich record of global exchange and interactions in a variety of spheres (e.g., cultural, economic, intellectual, epistemological and the rest), and emphasizes not only that all cultures, whether Western or non-Western, bear significant imprints of influences emanating from other cultures but also that the *origins* of the various practices and institutions of Western modernity and Euro-American capitalism “cannot be neatly located . . . [within the ‘West,’ and] must be sought in the . . . [complexity] of [colonial] encounters” (van der Veer, 2001: 160).

Equally important, moreover, in tune with the suggestion made by Spivak (2008) and other postcolonial scholars, MOS researchers need to actively look *outside* the West and draw upon non-Western theoretical and philosophical resources also. In this regard, researchers need to keep in mind also that, in contrast to many Western countries where intellectual life has become largely dominated by “academic intellectuals,” large sections of Africa, Asia and Latin America continue to have thriving worlds of public intellectuals who are *not* part of the “organized

[research] industry” (Nandy, 2000: 33). Hence, in addition to drawing upon non-Western academic sources, MOS researchers also need to look beyond the academic world while engaging with the non-West.

Furthermore, in line with our earlier discussion of Spivak (2008), MOS researchers may also need to “learn to learn from below” (p. 43) and, toward that end, establish links with non-Western subaltern groups. Needless to say, the project of learning from the non-Western subaltern entails an unusually high level of difficulty, and space considerations here do not permit a detailed discussion of various issues relevant to this subject. In brief, however, Spivak’s (2008) notion of ‘learning to learn from the subaltern’ revolves around a complex set of ideas which emerged as part of Spivak’s attempts to develop a variety of pedagogical programs in collaboration with non-Western subaltern groups. Learning from the subaltern, as Spivak (2008: 38) cautions us, demands a “different way of epistemic access,” one which rejects the idea of the subaltern as an “object of investigation for disciplinary information retrieval.”

According to Spivak (2008), that different way of learning involves “a risky othering of the self” on the part of the ‘researcher’ (p. 267), as well as the ‘researcher’ adopting the role of an *apprentice* to the subaltern who is the “teacher” (p. 269). Such learning, moreover, is aimed at accessing/redefining, in a highly tentative fashion, the subaltern group’s “older cultural habits” (p. 25), and/or “erased ethical scripts” (p. 38) which often appear considerably damaged because of the deprecations of history but which still seem to offer the possibility of filling today’s structures of capitalism “with . . . [a] more robust imperative to responsibility” (p. 24), an imperative which resists Western modernity’s desire for “the extraction and appropriation of surplus . . . exploration and conquest of nature, and so on” (p. 24). While engaging with the subaltern, however, MOS researchers need to pay serious attention to Spivak’s (2008) warning that ‘learning from the subaltern’ involves a process which is extremely slow and painstaking, and, furthermore, that it is also an undertaking that comes with no guarantees about the outcome.

As we proceed with our discussion of various other postcolonial theoretic ideas that might be helpful in facilitating critique of epistemological and/or ideological commitment to universalism, positivism, structural functionalism, Orientalism, the West/non-West hierarchy, racism/neo-racism and the like, it would be useful to recall that scholarly commitment to many of these highly troubling notions can be found even in the works of major Western philosophers/thinkers who have frequently provided inspiration to management research belonging to the interpretive and/or CMS genre. Hence, MOS researchers need to develop a much more critical and interrogative relationship with such intellectual sources. It is important to note here that postcolonialism does not require that MOS scholars completely reject those “Wise Men of Europe” (Spivak, 1999: 111). Rather, what postcolonial theory suggests is that, in the process of making use of those thinkers, MOS researchers also need to explicitly highlight and critique the *complicity* of such thinkers’ ideas with the ‘axiomatics of imperialism’ (Spivak, 1999) and, in so doing, work to *decolonize* Western theory and philosophy (see, e.g., Spivak, 1999; Steinmetz, 2006; Zimmerman, 2006).

Needless to say, postcolonial theory suggests the need for a sustained program of critique directed at existing management knowledge and practices (including practices relating to the production of management knowledge in the academic ‘research industry’) and, in that process, developing a thoroughly revised and critical understanding of the same. The postcolonial critique of modern Western knowledge, moreover, extends into the methodological domain as well. In brief, postcolonialism seems to argue that the seriousness of the problems investing modern Western knowledge literally demands that we adopt an attitude of considerable skepticism toward the methods and procedures *responsible for producing* such flawed knowledge (Prakash, 1994). As regards methodology, therefore, postcolonial theory encourages significant exploration

and inventiveness. For MOS researchers, this suggests the need for eclectic experimentation with various postpositivist approaches (Prasad, 2005) and with different critical and indigenous methodologies (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith, 2008).

In a related vein, postcolonial scholars emphasize the importance of quotidian practices and everyday experiences (Chakrabarty, 2000) – of “being more sensitive to our own lived experiences and those of others” (Behera, 2007: 359) – for knowledge production. In part, this methodological guideline may be seen as being linked to a desire not to fetishize ‘data.’ As Wallerstein (2004b) has noted, even idiographic social sciences like history and anthropology, while mostly rejecting the idea of universal generalization, continue to cling to “the scientific emphasis on empirical data” (p. 19). Hence, postcolonial scholars like Mignolo (2000), for instance, have sought to challenge the social scientific obsession with ‘data’ by such means as employing “casual conversations [*not* interviews] . . . as research method” and “anonymous rumor” as data (p. xi).

Along with the foregoing, postcolonial theory suggests that MOS researchers in the West need to learn new ways of studying non-Western management practices. To begin with, researchers need to learn not to automatically view *difference* as *deficiency* or *inferiority*. As we have seen, MOS researchers frequently regard non-Western management practices as ‘inefficient’ or ‘flawed’ simply because those practices happen to be different from the Western norm (Westwood, 2004). A postcolonial reorientation of MOS would require researchers to give up such intellectual laziness and learn the habit of viewing non-Western practices and institutions as situated responses to local contexts and requirements.

At the same time, however, researchers also need to learn not to regard non-Western practices that might appear ‘similar’ to Western practices to be exact replicas of practices that prevail in the West. As postcolonial scholars have pointed out, *difference* is frequently embedded in what might appear as the *same* (Bhabha, 1994; Nandy, 1983). Hence, as regards the study of non-Western management practices, MOS researchers need to develop a new habit of intellectual caution that (1) would allow them to recognize the embeddedness of those practices in local cultures, meanings and institutions and (2) would thereby enable them to understand the said practices only on the basis of such contextual embeddedness. The significance of contextual embeddedness for knowledge production, however, raises important questions about the *theoretical categories* that might appropriately be employed in MOS research dealing with the non-West.

Rethinking Western categories of knowledge

Postcolonial theory is rooted in the awareness that “the question of what we keep and what we discard from the heritage of [Western] modernity needs explicit and ongoing discussion” and negotiation (Inayatullah & Blaney, 2004; quoted in Behera, 2007: 359). Crucially, however, one of the major legacies of modernity/colonialism is the very constellation of categories that inform Western structures of knowledge. Hence, postcolonialism argues that, in the context of understanding non-Western societies and cultures, there is a need also for a critical reassessment of the theoretical categories that undergird Western social science (Bhambra, 2007; Escobar, 1995). Such a reconsideration of social scientific categories has important implications for MOS researchers.

In this regard, scholars have noted that the categories of Western social science are intimately linked to the idea that social life is characterized by its “separation . . . into [a number of relatively autonomous] functional spheres . . . [such as] the economy, the polity, society, culture, and the like” (Escobar, 1995: 60). Management and other social sciences generally regard these domains as “natural, presocial and universal” and as the “fundamental building blocks of all societies”

(Escobar, 1995: 61). What needs to be recognized, however, is that such a configuration of the social world is merely an aspect of Western modernity and simply does not obtain in large parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Hence, a postcolonial theoretic overhaul of MOS would require that researchers interested in understanding non-Western management and organizational practices disavow the notion of the universality of the functional spheres that generally characterize the modern West. It follows, therefore, that MOS researchers need to discard the assumption of the existence of 'the economy' as a separate domain in all societies around the world. In other words, MOS researchers need to resist "the spontaneous impulse to look in every society for 'economic' institutions and relations separate from other social relations" (Godelier, 1986; quoted in Escobar, 1995: 61) and learn to rely upon *local categories* instead for purposes of understanding how social life might be structured in any particular society.

In a somewhat parallel fashion, postcolonial insights require MOS researchers to reevaluate their assumption regarding the universal usefulness of the category of 'the organization' as well. As Ibarra-Colado (2000) has pointed out, 'the organization' as a category is not particularly useful for understanding those *modes of organizing* that do not depend upon "instrumental rationality and the logic of the market" (p. 467). However, in large parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, there exist alternative "modes of organizing," undergirded by "non-scientific" knowledges and associated "modes of rationality," which simply do not conform to market logic and the tenets of instrumental rationality (Ibarra-Colado, 2006: 474). Hence, those alternative modes of organizing and related rationalities can be understood only on the basis of a "historically and culturally" contextualized approach that relies upon *local categories* of knowledge (Ibarra-Colado, 2006: 474).

The said local categories of knowledge may be found (1) in local intellectual traditions of thought and speculation, as well as (2) in the form of "practical concepts . . . embedded in quotidian practices" (Chakrabarty, 2000: 6), including "rituals and beliefs, . . . [unique] forms of division of labor and . . . [other] activities, . . . rites and celebrations" and so on (Ibarra-Colado, 2006: 474). Hence, MOS researchers desirous of studying non-Western modes of organizing need to develop the necessary competencies that would enable them to acquire access to, and adroitness in the use of, such categories within the relevant non-Western country or region. Among other things, developing those competencies requires that researchers build up what may be called, following Spivak (2003), an 'idiomatic understanding' of the non-Western society in question, that is, an understanding based on extended, in-depth, non-Eurocentric and serious efforts to learn the society's history, culture, politics, language(s) and the like. Needless to say, such a postcolonial approach toward studying non-Western modes of organizing requires considerable prior intellectual preparation on the part of the researcher (Prasad, 2012a).

The complexities associated with the issue of adequately understanding non-Western modes of organizing raise troubling questions about the role of so-called Western management experts who take on paid and/or unpaid consulting and training projects in the non-West. While this chapter is not intended to provide a detailed critique of projects of that nature, a postcolonial theoretic reorientation of MOS does require that scholars develop a sceptical attitude toward such Western efforts supposedly directed at 'improving' non-Western practices of organizing. Generally speaking, it would seem that unless the Western 'experts' involved have made *substantial* prior investments toward developing an 'idiomatic understanding' (Spivak, 2003) of the non-Western region where the consulting/training project is to be carried out, the project is unlikely to offer much of value to the non-Western area concerned. Critical MOS scholars, therefore, need to view such 'experts' and their projects as 'case studies' in need of serious scrutiny and critique.

A postcolonial agenda for (Critical) Management Research

The preceding discussions have highlighted a range of valuable postcolonial theoretic insights for effecting a far-reaching – and, we might add, much needed – transformation of MOS as well as CMS. Drawing upon those insights, this part of the chapter seeks to offer brief outlines of a tentative postcolonial research agenda for the discipline. It is important to note, in this connection, that past postcolonial scholarship has pointed out that the task of fundamentally reorienting modern Western knowledge involves two interrelated and simultaneously unfolding projects: one of ‘deconstruction’ and the other of ‘reconstruction’ (Escobar, 1995; Mohanty, Russo & Torres, 1991; Nandy, 2000). The ‘deconstructive’²² project primarily focuses upon developing radical critiques of modern Western knowledge with a view to “dismantling” various problematic aspects of existing knowledges, practices and knowledge-producing institutions and structures (Escobar, 1995: 16). The ‘reconstructive’ project, on the other hand, is principally concerned with imaginatively “constructing new ways of seeing and acting” (Escobar, 1995: 16).

Accordingly, the provisional research agenda about to be suggested includes both (1) a scholarly program of ‘deconstruction,’ as well as (2) a scholarly program of ‘reconstruction.’ For the sake of convenience, moreover, each of these two scholarly programs, in its own turn, has been sketched out here in terms of its focus upon three somewhat distinct, though highly interrelated, aspects of MOS: (1) MOS knowledge, (2) organizational/managerial practices and structures and (3) practices and institutions of MOS research, including the constitutive dynamics of the MOS ‘research industry.’ All in all, therefore, the postcolonial agenda for MOS research proposed in this chapter spans the following six overlapping dimensions: (1) radical interrogation and deconstruction of existing MOS knowledge and theory; (2) critique of current managerial, organizational and institutional practices and structures; (3) critique of existing MOS epistemologies and/or methodologies, as well as the MOS ‘research industry’; (4) imaginative reconstruction of new MOS knowledge; (5) creatively reimagining new and different modes of organizing involving ‘other’ work practices and structures; and (6) imaginatively envisioning new ways of doing research in the MOS field. These six dimensions are schematically laid out in Figure 10.1. Needless to say, our elaboration of the proposed research agenda under each of these dimensions is merely illustrative, rather than exhaustive.

As regards the first of these six dimensions (Cell-I, Figure 10.1), a postcolonial interrogation and deconstruction of existing MOS knowledge are intended to, among other things, deny the universalistic pretensions of MOS and to shed critical light on the many weaknesses/limitations of MOS knowledge stemming from, for instance, its complicitous links with the discourses of colonialism and/or neocolonialism. Accordingly, some possibilities for future research along this dimension might include (1) investigating the continued presence of colonialist/Orientalist binaries and/or (neo-)racist thought in extant theory and empirical research in a variety of areas

		FOCUS OF RESEARCH PROGRAM		
		MOS Knowledge	Current Practices	MOS Research Industry
AIM OF RESEARCH PROGRAM	‘Deconstruction’	Cell-I	Cell-II	Cell-III
	‘Reconstruction’	Cell-IV	Cell-V	Cell-VI

Figure 10.1 Postcolonial research agenda for management and organization studies (schematic).

including, for instance, management of workplace diversity, cross-cultural management, dynamics of gender and sexuality in organizations, tourism marketing and so on; (2) scrutinizing the role of Western MOS knowledge (e.g., in the field of international management) in furthering the interests of Western multinational enterprises (MNEs) and thereby facilitating the West's neocolonial domination of the 'Third World'; (3) bringing to light spectacular failures of Western theories of leadership, motivation, attribution, (Weberian) bureaucracy and so on in non-Western workplaces; (4) highlighting the provincial nature of Western MOS knowledge by bringing attention to the narrowness of MOS researchers' institutional affiliations, study samples and so forth; and (5) examining the economic, political and sociocultural consequences resulting from the adoption of Western MOS knowledge in 'Third World' work and employment sectors.

In a similar vein, a postcolonial critique and deconstruction of current management and organizational practices/structures (Cell-II) involves, among other things, developing a critical understanding of how contemporary managers, organizations and institutions might work to reproduce and further entrench the discourses of colonialism and/or neocolonialism. Hence, some possible avenues for future research under this dimension include (1) taking a critical look at the role played by corporate practices and structures of Western MNEs in designing a neocolonial international division of labor and the consequences of the latter for the economic, political and sociocultural well-being of 'Third World' peoples; (2) identifying the influence of Western private corporate interests on the formulation of (neo-)colonial and/or militaristic foreign policy agendas by governments of different Western countries; (3) investigating the significance of geopolitical considerations in the design and governance of global supply chains and international production networks; (4) studying the role of various policies, practices and structures of Western governmental foreign 'aid' agencies (e.g., United States Agency for International Aid) and/or international 'development' organizations (e.g., the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank), in perpetuating the discourses that ongoingly reproduce a neocolonial world order; and (5) understanding the psychological degradation and "cultural pathologies" (Nandy, 1983: 35) brought about within the 'West' itself as a result of various (neo-)colonial aspects of Western corporate practices and structures.

Parallel to what has been just stated, potential postcolonial critiques of current MOS epistemological/methodological commitments and dynamics of MOS 'research industry' (Cell-III) might focus upon in-depth examination of such issues, among others, as (1) consequences of the Eurocentrism/provincialism of major modern Western philosophers and thinkers whose ideas inform the foundational epistemologies/methodologies of MOS/CMS research; (2) factors that might perpetuate the reluctance of MOS/CMS researchers to employ non-Western epistemologies/methodologies for producing knowledge; and (3) the role of the institutional politics of publication and academia – involving, for instance, the deep ties binding together academic tenure and promotion decisions, faculty reward structures, enactment of various kinds of professional hierarchies, promotion within the discipline of a somewhat narrow set of so-called top-tier research journals, obsession with 'impact factors' and journal rankings and so on – in encouraging the continued production of epistemologically and/or ideologically ethnocentric MOS/CMS knowledge in the West.

Needless to say, moving from the scholarly program of deconstruction to one of reconstruction involves some important shifts in the suggested agenda for postcolonial theoretic MOS research. For instance, future research concerned with reconstructing MOS knowledge (Cell-IV) would likely involve focus upon at least two broad areas: (1) extensive rewriting of the history of the growth of MOS knowledge and different business/organizational practices, with a view to understanding the significance of the colonial and neocolonial encounters in shaping current knowledge and practice in fields like accounting, management, marketing and so on, and (2)

utilizing new critical resources (from different social sciences and humanities, as well as from a variety of non-Western academic and nonacademic sources) in order to generate novel and nonconventional understandings of work and work-related practices.

Accordingly, possible directions for future research aimed at imaginatively constructing new MOS knowledge might include (1) historical studies that investigate the important role played by colonial and/or neocolonial dynamics in the emergence of different aspects of management knowledge and practice and, in so doing, provide new and revised understanding of those phenomena; (2) theoretical and/or empirical studies of non-Western philosophies and cultures which seek to identify local categories of knowledge with a view to producing non-Eurocentric understanding of non-Western practices of work and organizing; (3) non-Eurocentric comparative studies of organizational practices and structures (between organizations situated in the global 'North' and those in the global 'South') which firmly reject the West/non-West hierarchy and do not view 'difference' as 'deficiency'; (4) non-Eurocentric comparative studies of organizations (between organizations situated in different countries/regions within the global 'South') which offer new insights into the extraordinary diversity and sophistication of work-related practices, arrangements and structures across various parts of the non-Western world; (5) empirical studies of cross-cultural 'translation' which provide in-depth understanding of inventive transformations of managerial and organizational practices in a global context; and (6) studies of creative resistance (in non-Western settings) directed against Western MOS discourse.

The fifth dimension of the proposed agenda – namely, creatively imagining new modes of organizing and work (Cell-V) – would seem to have especially close links with the fourth dimension just discussed, as well as with the second dimension of the agenda which focuses upon critiquing current management and organizational practices/structures. Accordingly, some suggestions for research along this dimension include (1) creatively drawing upon non-Western categories and practices of work for purposes of reimagining/redesigning Western approaches to management and organizing; (2) imaginative reconstructions of non-Western subaltern ways of relating to work and labor which might be helpful in giving a nonmodern and more responsible direction to modern Western organizational practices; and (3) carefully employing the insights provided by postcolonial critiques of Western management and organizations with a view to imagining new modes of organizing that might increasingly diverge from colonial and/or neocolonial discourses.

Finally, as regards the sixth dimension – i.e., imagining new ways of doing MOS research (Cell-VI) – some future research possibilities include (1) developing new practices of non-Eurocentric inquiry that inventively combine different postpositivist and/or indigenous methodologies; (2) epistemological/methodological studies that draw upon non-Western philosophies and practices of knowledge creation with a view to reframing MOS research practices; (3) demonstrating the intellectual value of nonconventional conceptions of 'data'; (4) highlighting the irrelevance of traditional disciplinary boundaries for MOS research in a rapidly transforming world; and (5) developing creative ways of identifying non-Western categories of knowledge and thought.

Concluding thoughts: Toward a pluralistic world of multiple knowledges

The postcolonial theoretic emphasis on the necessity of embedding the production of management knowledge in local categories, histories, cultures and modes of organizing implies also that researchers need to seriously begin the process of reimagining MOS as a pluralistic world of *multiple varieties* of MOS spread across different areas of the globe. The reader may recall that

this chapter's overview of postcolonial theory had drawn attention to postcolonialism's commitment to the project of plural knowledges. The project of plural knowledges, which has now gained considerable currency in different scholarly circles (Alatas, 2001; Behera, 2007; Ribeiro & Escobar, 2006; Visvanathan, 1997; Mignolo, 2011a, 2011b), is linked to the idea of cultures as knowledge systems and to the awareness that, throughout history, *all cultures have always produced knowledge*. As regards social science, the project of plural knowledges seeks to reinvent that approach to knowledge by means of imaginatively constructing a number of locally situated and non-Eurocentric social sciences in different parts of the world.

This chapter is not the place for a detailed discussion of the currently ongoing search for multiple social sciences. In brief, however, the project for multiple social sciences is neither anti-social science, nor nativist, nor relativist. Rather, that project seeks to create a variety of locally embedded social sciences in different regions of the world, all of which would (1) abandon goals of certainty and systematized knowledge aimed at totalized understanding and (2) produce instead open-ended knowledges informed by an awareness of their own limits. According to Mignolo (2002), the project for multiple social sciences represents a quest for the “decolonization of the social sciences” (p. 62), aimed at achieving what he calls “diversality,” i.e., “diversity [of knowledge] as a universal project,” committed to neither relativism, nor universal truth, but to “justice, equity, [and] human rights” (p. 90). A postcolonial theoretic reorientation of MOS may be seen as involving a somewhat similar decolonization of the MOS discipline as well.

It is important to emphasize here that the project of plural knowledges, multiple social sciences and different varieties of MOS holds great value not only for the ‘non-West’ but for the ‘West’ as well. During the last several decades, critics have drawn urgent attention to a range of crisis conditions confronting the world (see, e.g., Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1996; Sachs, 1992; Wallerstein, 2004a). Along with this, critics have also come to the realization that those crisis conditions – involving, for instance, the natural environment, growing polarization of income and wealth, the disappearing welfare state, increasing militarization, the decline of community and so on – seem to be linked to a much deeper crisis, namely, the crisis of modern/colonial Western knowledge, or what Harding (2009) has called “the epistemological crisis of the West” (p. 411).

Postcolonial scholars like Nandy (1983) maintain that the epistemological crisis may be seen as rooted in the “cultural and psychological pathologies produced by [colonialism and neo-colonialism]” *within the West itself* (p. 30), which caused considerable “long-term cultural damage” (p. 32) and set in place specific ways of seeing, thinking and acting that came to be regarded as ‘normal’ within Western modernity and Euro-American capitalism. Hence, the project for a plurality of knowledges and social sciences also represents a search for ‘other’ epistemologies and ethical systems that radically diverge from ‘the normal’ of modern Western knowledge and have a disruptive effect on the same. Or, to put it in other words, the said project represents a quest for different “mindsets that are *defective* for [Euro-American] capitalism” and Western modernity (Spivak, 2003: 33; italics added) – in the hope of “constructing new ways of seeing and acting” (Escobar, 1995: 16) that might provide a way out of the overwhelming situation of crisis in which all of humanity finds itself trapped today.

In that task of creatively constructing new ways of seeing, thinking, and acting, the cultures and epistemologies of Africa, Asia and Latin America – representing, in mutual solidarity, a “subversive ‘non-aligned’ force” (Escobar, 1995: 215), animated by “the spirit of Bandung” (Spivak, 2008: 237; see also Mignolo, 2011a, 2011b) – have a special role to play. By reimagining itself along the lines suggested by postcolonial theory, MOS/CMS has an opportunity to become an integral part of that radically transformative, intellectually exciting and ethically important project.

Notes

- 1 The wars being waged by the U.S.-led Western military alliance in places like Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, etc. may be regarded as merely a few of the examples of such efforts.
- 2 For instance, for its 2011 annual meeting, the U.S. Academy of Management adopted the conference theme of “West Meets East: Enlightening, Balancing, Transcending”.
- 3 For an excellent survey of the current terrain of postcolonial theoretic management research, see Jack, Westwood, Srinivas & Sardar (2011b).
- 4 Although the scholarly interests of postcolonial theory go considerably beyond issues of knowledge and epistemology, this overview – because of the specific focus of the present chapter – mainly highlights postcolonialism’s engagement with matters related to knowledge/epistemology. Hence, the overview will offer merely a brief glimpse into those areas of postcolonial scholarship that might not be directly related to issues of knowledge/epistemology.
- 5 From this perspective, modernity and colonialism are seen as two faces of the same coin (Mignolo, 2000).
- 6 Basically, state building involved consolidating the control of various governmental bureaucracies over populations and territories.
- 7 See also Bilgin & Morton (2002) and Parmar (2012), among others, for discussions of the close links between Area Studies programs and the U.S. national security agencies.
- 8 To be precise, some of these research fundings came from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), a body that was eventually consolidated with the Rockefeller Foundation in 1929. For a brief history of LSRM, see, e.g., Rockefeller Archive Center (2011).
- 9 It needs to be noted that, notwithstanding its support for the idea of free-trade liberalism, the Postwar International Economic Order (PIEO) established under U.S. auspices also tended to diverge, in important ways, from the model of ‘pure’ economic liberalism. For one, even while promoting multilateral free trade, the PIEO also permitted intervention by governments to protect “a domestic producer . . . threatened with injury from import competition” (Ruggie, 1982: 397) and in pursuit of goals of domestic employment stability and social welfare (Nayar, 2005; Ruggie, 1982; Tang, 2006). These provisions – when coupled with the Cold War–related U.S. decisions to (1) strengthen the economies of Western Europe by opening American markets to Western European exports *without* insisting on a reciprocal opening of European markets and (2) to provide Western Europe with massive financial assistance by way of outright grants (*not* loans) under the Marshall Plan – allowed *Western European countries* the flexibility of adopting a variety of *Keynesian* social welfare and full employment measures at home (Nayar, 2005). At the same time, however, the PIEO operated quite differently insofar as the ‘Third World’ was concerned. During the post–World War II years, for instance, in violation of the provisions relating to multilateral free trade and nondiscrimination – accepted under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of 1947 – the U.S. and other Western countries often “imposed quotas and non-tariff barriers” against exports from ‘Third World’ countries (Nayar, 2005: 69). As a result, the PIEO failed to facilitate large-scale liberalization of trade in those sectors (e.g., textiles and clothing) that were important to the ‘Third World,’ and the ‘Third World’ was denied many of the potential economic benefits of free trade. Moreover, the PIEO came to include two additional features: (1) a Western regime of ‘foreign aid’ for the ‘Third World,’ with specific policies aimed at “(creating) an open . . . world economy characterized by the dominance of market forces and . . . maximum freedom of private capital” (Wood, 1986: 21; quoted in Kaimowitz, 1992: 204–205) and (2) starting in 1948, a world of conditionalities devised by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which generally required ‘Third World’ countries to adopt *anti-Keynesian* policies like “domestic austerity measures . . . [and] reduced public spending” (Ruggie, 1982: 407, n. 90). The fact that the IMF conditionalities – which came to be applied against the Third World with devastating effect during the 1980s and the 1990s – were written up as early as 1948, says volumes about the Western agenda motivating the PIEO. Along with this, Western pronouncements (on ‘Third World’ development) regularly promoted the ideology of orthodox liberalism and unfettered free trade.
- 10 Arrighi (1994: 293), for instance, has pointed out that, starting in 1883 and up to the interwar years, the United States alone adopted at least six rounds of major protectionist measures, the latest rounds coming during the 1920s and in 1930.
- 11 A somewhat similar report was brought out by the Carnegie Corporation as well (see Pierson, 1959).
- 12 Thomas H. Carroll, Ford Foundation’s vice president, wrote a piece also in the second volume of the newly launched *Academy of Management Journal* (then called *Journal of the Academy of Management*) explaining the proposed reforms (see Carroll, 1959a). In general, the Ford Foundation (and many others who wrote on these issues at the time) tended to prefer the term ‘behavioral sciences’ over ‘social sciences,’ largely because

- many members of the United States Congress seem to have interpreted the latter term as indicating an approach for introducing ‘socialism’ in the United States (Tadajewski, 2009).
- 13 The mid-20th-century social scientific transformation of business schools involved all fields of business management, including, e.g., accounting, finance, marketing, etc. However, our discussion in the next section unfolds within a context largely framed by the field of management and organization studies.
 - 14 The concept of cultural racism is further elaborated on later in the chapter.
 - 15 George Homans was a member, alongside Talcott Parsons and others, of the so-called Pareto Circle at Harvard University in the United States.
 - 16 During the Cold War, such tendency toward marginalization of critique received further reinforcement from the prevailing ideological climate as well (Cooke, Mills & Kelley, 2005; Kelley, Mills & Cooke, 2006; Runté & Mills, 2006).
 - 17 For a discussion of the contestation involving the CMS label, see Prasad, Prasad, Mills & Helms Mills (Chapter 1 in this volume). The following discussion mainly focuses upon the limitations of CMS as a critical perspective. However, much of this chapter’s critique of CMS is generally applicable to MOS research that styles itself as ‘interpretive’ as well.
 - 18 Marx’s writings on colonialism first appeared in 1853. On the close links between Marx and Hegelian philosophy, see, e.g., Fetscher (1971).
 - 19 For instance, a recent edited collection brought out by this CMS stream declares that two specific researchers, one each from Sweden and the U.K., “are two of the *founding fathers* of modern critical management studies” (see Alvesson & Willmott, 2011; italics added).
 - 20 As Ashcraft (2011) notes, it is mostly the “white, Western, male, hetero, comparatively privileged knowledge workers who appear as the lead characters” in this stream of CMS. See also Ashcraft (Chapter 6 in this volume).
 - 21 Mudimbe (1988) primarily focuses upon anthropology as a social scientific discipline. However, his insights, *mutatis mutandis*, appear relevant for all Western social sciences, including management studies.
 - 22 We need to note that the notion of deconstruction evoked here (based on Escobar, 1995) is somewhat different from Derridean deconstruction.

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