

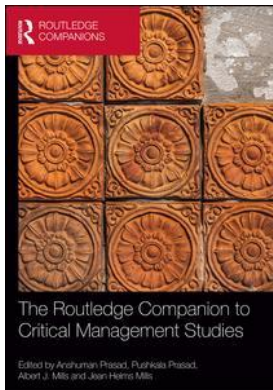
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Debating Critical Management Studies and global management knowledge

Gavin Jack

Introduction

This chapter debates Critical Management Studies (CMS) within the context of existing critiques of the characteristics, structures and institutions of social scientific knowledge on a global scale. It engages with CMS as one particular area of so-called global management knowledge (GMK), defined by Tsui (2004) as the totality of scholarship undertaken about management and organizations by researchers across the globe. Tsui's use of the term 'global' spans geographical, demographic and epistemic issues. It questions just how diverse global management knowledge, as well as the academic workforce that creates it, actually is. Just who produces management knowledge and under what conditions? Where are they located, and what kind of knowledge do they produce? Under what conditions are theoretical insights and social experiences from the periphery of GMK and CMS possible?

The chapter pays attention, then, to CMS as one thread in a broader tapestry of academic knowledge, woven together by particular people in particular places using and producing differently valued theoretical and empirical knowledge under different conditions. I conceive of CMS as a sub-field of management studies constituted by a number of scholarly and institutional activities "for the expression of views critical of established management practices and the established social order" (group.aomonline.org/cms). The quotation indicates that this chapter is particularly geared towards discussion of activities and outputs associated with the Academy of Management's (AoM) CMS Division (of which I am co-chair at the time of writing) and the International Critical Management Studies Conferences and networks in the U.K. and Europe (at which I have organized streams and presented work).

As a forum for critical expression, CMS is no monolith and is intended to be diverse in terms of its disciplines, topics, perspectives and methods (Cunliffe, 2008). For me, such openness is best encapsulated in the notion of CMS as a scholarly entity which is in a permanent state of 'becoming' (as suggested by Roy Stager Jacques to students at an AoM doctoral colloquium, Chicago, 2009). As such, CMS scholarship is alive to (self-)critique and the need for (self-)reflexivity and ongoing transformation. For, as with any approach, some CMS voices, perspectives, places and activities seem in certain respects to matter more than others and thus carry the potential to exclude. This is despite the best of intentions and with all the willingness and openness to let it be/become otherwise.

Against this context, the chapter comprises a number of sections organized in accordance with two tasks. The initial three sections address the first task of ‘provincializing’ global management knowledge (encompassing CMS) and the wider social sciences. Drawing on previous literature, I note the metropole-periphery¹ system (Connell, 2007) in which scholars located in, as well as theories and ideas generated and exported from the Global North elsewhere, dominate the global production of social science knowledge. Presenting some evidence that is suggestive of similar structures of dependency within the institutions of CMS, I point to a certain Eurocentrism at the heart of CMS theory culture.

The next three sections engage with the task of reconstruction. If we accept that CMS can in certain respects be characterized as parochial and dependent upon Eurocentric structures of knowledge, how might interested scholars best respond to these limitations? Existing work by CMS scholars raises the spectre of multiple CMSs, that is, of decentring and decolonizing CMS with respect to peripheral and Indigenous knowledges. I critically discuss a world of many CMSs as a possible response to the epistemic limits of existing institutions. In doing so, I draw on insights from comparative literary theorist Aamir Mufti and sociologist Raewyn Connell to argue for a decentred, relational and mutually engaged multiplicity of CMSs.

The parochialism of GMK

There is no shortage of writing by mainstream and critical scholars alike on the narrow constituency and parochial nature of global management knowledge. These writings consistently identify demographic and epistemic diversity as two issues of concern in the production of knowledge about management and organization.

Beginning with demographic diversity, Boyacigiller and Adler (1991) discuss the quantitative (and qualitative – see below) parochialism of organization science. They note the measurably skewed demographic profile towards scholars institutionally located in the U.S., a finding largely seen confirmed by a whole cottage industry of study dedicated to the historical analysis of the provenance of management research. This cottage industry typically proceeds through content analyses of one, or several, core management journals (either general or specialist) and profiles the scholarly output. Amongst other findings, these profiles typically confirm that authors located in a small number of countries situated in the Global North (predominantly countries in North America, Western Europe, and some others – the ‘minority world’) produce most of work; note that the majority world is significantly under-represented in the pages of our journals, unless as a site for data collection in multi-country studies designed by partners in the Global North; draw attention to English as the dominating language of management research; profile the Global Northern (and typically also white male) dominance of chief editorial roles and editorial board composition of leading journals (Jack & Westwood, 2009). The Academy of Management has sought to address some of these issues within its own sphere of influence, for instance through an explicit internationalization strategy (including the first AoM conference outside North America in 2013 in South Africa [AOM Africa Conference] – an interesting move worthy of debate) and explicit calls in the editorials of its key journals for more submissions by authors outside North America and Europe (see, for instance, Eden & Rynes, 2003).

Recent AoM membership data and its publication profile might show grounds for cautious optimism. Whilst domestic (by which the AoM means located within the U.S.) membership numbers have decreased, international (located outside the U.S.) numbers have increased. At July 1, 2014,² the AOM had 19,341 members: 10,196 domestic (U.S.); 9,145 (international). The gap between the numbers of domestic and international has closed since 2010, and indeed over that five-year period, there has been a 7.64% decline in domestic numbers compared to an 8.84%

increase in international numbers. Moving to Academy journals and taking the AMJ (*Academy of Management Journal*) as just one example, Kirkman and Law (2005) conducted an analysis of its scholarly output over the period 1970–2004. They identified an upward trend in the international content and orientation of the journal in the first five years of the 21st century, leading them to describe AMJ as a “truly international journal” (p. 383), with “many authors who are international scholars, . . . many samples collected outside North America, and/or . . . many topics related to international or cross-cultural management”.

A more insidious problem, however, is that of ‘qualitative parochialism’ (Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991), since it is connected to the substantive characteristics of the knowledge and knowledge systems of GMK. Even though there might be grounds for (cautious and limited) optimism regarding the demographic diversification of the base of scholars producing management research, the existence of qualitative parochialism seriously undercuts claims to progress. Scholars have identified at least four interconnected features of qualitative parochialism.

First, the values underpinning many dominant theoretical frameworks for management research are U.S.-based (e.g. individualism, free will and low context communication preferences, as noted by Boyacigiller & Adler) and thus culture specific. Reflecting the ascendancy of the U.S. in the post-war social sciences, Boyacigiller and Adler (1991) suggest that an “implicit, and yet inappropriate universalism” (p. 262) accompanied the rise of U.S. management theory. In such an historical context, “it was easy for researchers – including non-U.S. researchers . . . to assume implicitly that American theories also dominated” (Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991: 265). Secondly, then, these parochial and ethnocentric models are often exported unquestioningly outside their cultural boundaries as if they are cross-nationally/cross-culturally valid and meaningful (Westwood, 2014). With regard to management scholarship in Latin America, for example, Ibarra-Colado (2008) describes how:

[u]ntil now and dominantly, most of the Latin American researchers have been copying and pasting syllabus, theories, methodologies and other management fads and fashions manufactured in the Anglo-Saxon countries, *it doesn't matter if the appropriation is on mainstream theories or in those produced by critics or pomos* [critical management scholars or postmodernists].

. . . [W]e can recognize some mechanisms that stimulate these copy-paste practices. For example, most of the Latin American scholars in the field do not recognize the colonial condition of the region and, consequently, they systematically deny the structural differences and asymmetries with the centre. The problem is seen as one of development and the solution is reduced to the appropriate application of those management and organizational knowledges produced in the most developed countries. This uncritical acceptance of Anglo-Saxon theories conditions the type of explanation of the problems of the region and the type of solutions to confront them, producing in this way a certain kind of *self-imposed coloniality*.

(p. 933; italics added)

The export (“copying and pasting”) of knowledge from Anglo-Saxon into Latin American countries fosters a “kind of self-imposed coloniality”, according to Ibarra-Colado, where the framing of management problems and solutions of the former location becomes that of the latter. Such a process involves a disavowal of the colonial and neocolonial structures that make it possible in the first place, not to mention a marginalization of Indigenous perspectives on management and organization. Interestingly, Ibarra-Colado brackets both mainstream and critical, or postmodern, management research into this copy-and-paste exercise.

Inequality in the global division of academic labour is a third feature of the qualitative parochialism of GMK. Given the historical dominance of U.S./Global North theory, it is the case that

most theoretical intellectual labour occurs in the minority world of GMK and is then exported (as noted) into other locations for testing or modification (typically within the purview of the functionalist paradigm and a hypothetico-deductive approach to knowledge generation), thus rendering scholars in the latter locations ‘data collectors’ for studies designed and controlled elsewhere. Prichard, Sayers and Bathurst (2007) describe this as the basis for a ‘franchise model’ that dominates global management research and makes it very difficult to develop distinctive, Indigenous perspectives on management and organization. Recent debates in Asian management research have tackled the issue of theory development in non-metropolitan locations, specifically of indigenous³ theory development. Whilst offering important exemplars of how Asian management scholars might generate theory (sometimes indigenous to their contexts, sometimes not), the spectre of Global Northern meta-theory (and especially functionalist thinking) is still encoded in these progressive debates (Jack et al., 2013).

Finally, these forms of qualitative parochialism – especially the look to the center – are arguably being reproduced and perhaps intensified, thanks to “new neoliberal techniques of academic governance (league tables of universities, prestige rankings of journals, etc.) [that] tend to reinforce the dominance of the North-Atlantic metropole” (Connell, 2007: 289). Through national government assessments of ‘research quality’ (e.g. the ERA in Australia or the PBRF initiatives in New Zealand), for instance, researchers in these locations are measured on how much research they produce ‘at world standard’ (or equivalent terms). Of course, ‘world standard’ means publishing in journals associated with the centre, predictably the Academy journals and leading European ones. Prichard and colleagues (2007) argue that scholars located “closer to the NATO [North Atlantic Theories of Organization (Clegg, Linstead & Sewell 2000)] nexus” can “largely ignore” the resultant problem confronted by scholars located further away: “how to engage in research whose content, method, and format is at a distance and to varying degrees distinct from that produced by the particular location in which they find themselves” (pp. 27–28).

The parochialism of the global social sciences

This brief characterization of global management knowledge appears reflective of the situation within the social sciences more broadly. According to Connell (2007: vii), “Its [social science’s] dominant genres picture the world as it is seen by men, by capitalists, by the educated and affluent. Most important, they picture the world as seen from the rich capital-exporting countries of Europe and North America – the global metropole”. According to Connell, this status quo is part of an historical trajectory of the modern social sciences, which emerged at the height of European imperialism in the late 19th century. Her analysis shows how early social scientific interest, gleaned from the colonial encounter, in the knowledge systems of individuals and groups located in the periphery became expunged from emerging sociological knowledge.

As knowledges of ‘the Other’ were housed in the discipline of anthropology as studies of ‘primitive societies’, scholars in other social sciences became able to propagate “ethnocentric assumptions that amounted to a gigantic lie – that modernity created itself within the North Atlantic world, independent of the rest of humanity” (Connell, 2007: x). On this basis, Connell argues, key social science models, including functionalist sociology, modernization theory, neo-classical economics, were then exported to the rest of the world with the authority of the metropolitan centre. This export model continues today, part of a Western/Northern intellectual hegemony that mitigates against the successful widespread development of indigenous social scientific alternatives to the white, bourgeois, Eurocentric, androcentric biases of the center (Alatas, 2000; Harding, 1998; Keim, 2011; Loubser, 1988). Of course, alternative knowledge systems exist,

especially Indigenous ones, but as in any hegemonic context, these are contained or discredited typically through various means, including, as Connell notes, intellectual discreditation or commercial exploitation by multinationals seeking IP rights.

Alatas (2003) characterizes the social sciences as a system of academic dependency fostered by the interconnected historical and contemporary forces of economic, political and importantly intellectual imperialism (Alatas, 2000). Academic dependency is “the condition in which the social sciences in certain countries are conditioned by the development and growth of the social sciences of other countries to which the former is subjected” (Alatas, 2003: 603). According to Alatas, the dimensions of such dependency relate to the realm of ideas, the media of ideas, the technology of education, aid for research, investment in education and demand in the West for Third World scientists (p. 604). Calls for a reversal of this situation have been thwarted by what Alatas sees as key structural and phenomenological barriers to change. The first is the inequitable global division of social science labour according to which First World scholars conduct both theoretical and empirical work, studies of their own and Third World societies and do more comparative work, whilst Third World scholars are typically confined to empirical work, studies of their own country and single-case studies. As Alatas (2000) incisively notes:

You do not find Indian and Japanese scholars subcontracting data collection in Europe or in the United States, for research on culture, history, politics and social problems. You do not find Japanese and Indian scholars roaming all over the United States and Europe collecting data, publishing them at home, in their language, and then bombarding Europe and the United States with their published results on Europe and the United States.

(p. 30)

The phenomenological barrier that Alatas has famously discussed in relation to the development of the social sciences in Asia (Alatas, 1974) is that of the ‘captive mind’ and the ‘intellectual bondage’ (Alatas, 2000) associated with it. The captive mind is “an uncritical and imitative mind dominated by an external source [Western categories and modes of thought], whose thinking is deflected from independent perspective” (Alatas, 1974: 692). It has the effect of deflecting attention from issues of local importance, of stifling intellectual creativity and cultivating docility (as per Ibarra-Colado’s earlier note) and, in turn, of undermining the capacity for the development of a distinctive Indigenous tradition in social science.

So to/too CMS?

I now try to turn the critical lens onto CMS by considering some evidence for the existence within it of some of the problematic issues just raised with regard to GMK and the social sciences. In other words, is there evidence of quantitative and qualitative parochialism in the activities of CMS scholars and institutions? I have to acknowledge the trickiness of the following evidential base; first, it is difficult to paint a picture of a set of activities like CMS scholarship without falling into the trap of reification and perhaps even homogenization; second, it represents the particular choices I have made about how to portray CMS – others may choose different sources; third, it is hardly a portrayal of an objective reality that covers everyone’s experience. That said, there are institutional statements and sources of information (e.g. CMS websites and domain statements, AoM membership data and meeting programs), as well as published and informal accounts of experiences of working and writing in CMS. The latter comprise some of the sources of my

evidence, as well as my own position and experience as a self-identified CMS scholar and as former co-chair of the AoM CMS Division (2013–2014).

As noted in the provocative exchange between Tatli (2011) and Ford, Harding & Learmonth (2011), CMS scholarship includes plenty of calls for and examples of reflexivity, self-critique and ‘external’ critique. For instance, several of the *Speaking Out* pieces on the future of CMS (published in *Organization* (2008), 15[6]) demonstrate a concern with the demographic and epistemic diversity of CMS. Bill Cooke (2008) (past chair of the CMS Division at the academy), for example, expresses “concerns I have about class, affluence, locality, masculinity and age, and the way these play out in CMS career paths and practices” (p. 912). Ann Cunliffe (2008) (past chair of the CMS Division at the academy) notes, “It’s important to be more sensitive to issues of inclusion: intellectually, culturally and geographically. We have gotten better at moving beyond the image of CMS as male and Eurocentric, but not far enough” (p. 937). And within the AoM CMS Division, there have been professional development workshop presentations that express concern with the provincialism of CMS (A. Prasad, 2012; P. Prasad, 2012). How might we sketch out these concerns a little more?

If we turn first to the question of quantitative parochialism, the membership numbers and demographic profile of our main conferences and associations are interesting. The CMS division at the AoM is the most international of all the divisions and has a higher proportion of international vis-à-vis domestic members. As of July 1, 2014, there were 234 domestic (U.S.) members and 493 international members. Over the period 2010–2014, CMS Division membership numbers decreased, notably amongst domestic members. International numbers were also down but by a (significantly) smaller percentage. Declining membership is an academy-wide phenomenon, with a 13.56% decrease of domestic AoM members in the same period. In terms of conference attendance, the numbers of non-U.S. and non-U.K. participants are typically high, especially at the U.K. conferences, which now attract around 500 delegates. Unfortunately, I do not have the breakdown in numbers according to institutional affiliation. My sense in attending both U.S. and U.K. conferences and from my purview of co-chair elect, is that, whilst membership and conference attendance do attest to the high portion of non-U.S. and non-U.K. participants, the ‘international’ profile is skewed towards European nations and to a lesser extent Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Brazil. Fewer members and delegates come from nations in Africa, Central America, the Middle East, South and South East Asia. Whilst there is evidence that CMS is certainly demographically diverse, certain parts of the world are still under-represented.

Moving to the question of qualitative parochialism, statements about the emergence of CMS are a useful starting point. Whilst scholarly outputs and activities that are oppositional to the mainstream of management studies existed before the informal/formal institutionalization of CMS, there is a creation narrative. As the editors of *Organization* write in their introduction to the *Speaking Out* pieces, “[T]he evident success of this area of scholarly endeavour [CMS], [is] now institutionalized in conferences in the U.K. and as a division of the Academy of Management in the U.S.” (*Organization*, 2008: 911). In terms of the U.K., the 1st International Critical Management Studies Conference was held in Manchester in 1999 and has remained in the U.K. since (Lancaster, Cambridge, Warwick), apart from the 2011 meeting in Naples (and in 2015 back to the U.K. at the University of Leicester). As for the CMS Division at the AoM, it was initially instituted as an interest group (IG) in 1998 and awarded divisional status in 1998. Its chairs (as both an IG and a division from 2004 to 2012) have come from (in terms of institutional affiliation) New Zealand (2); the U.S. (5); Canada (1 – with two co-chairs); the U.K. (1); Brazil (1). A U.K.-centric narrative is also manifest in the following excerpt from the Critical Management website:⁴

Having originated in business schools in the United Kingdom, CMS as a platform has audiences all over the world including Europe, Australia, Asia, Latin America, Canada and the United States.

(criticalmanagement.org)

Interestingly in the preceding excerpt, non-U.K. locations are positioned as ‘audiences’ for CMS, suggesting that the CMS platform has a writerly centre in the U.K. and the English-speaking world (we would then have to exclude the writings from other European nations that have made substantive CMS contributions, including Sweden,⁵ Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and so on) and is transmitted/transmissible to all other receiving/peripheral locations. The nomination of Canada and the U.S. as separate nations (in which CMS has a following), as opposed to the other continents (minus Africa and Asia, unless this is included in Australasia) could be interpreted as a ‘worlding of the world’ that minimizes the importance of some parts of the globe (and the diversity and dynamism associated with them) whilst maximizing the importance of others. Of course, this sentence could also be interpreted as rhetorical flair or expedience on the part of the writer/s, with much less symbolic baggage than that attributed by my previous sentence. It is also appropriate to note that there are conferences and networks outside the Global North at which CMS work is presented, and where CMS scholars congregate, including APROS and ACSCOS in Asia-Pacific, the Iberoamerican Academy and LAEMOS in Latin America, and informal institutional seminars and personal connections.

Moving beyond numbers and historical narration, I do have concerns that the “theory culture” (Mufti, 2005) of CMS – that is to say, both the key theoretical frames and the embodiment and lived experiences of those frames amongst CMS scholars – exhibits parochialism. Some evidence for this includes the very critically reflective accounts of the diversity of CMS scholarship. For instance, Adler (2008) notes that:

there is the risk that we become complacent about our internal heterogeneity. I see increasingly frequent references to “CMS theory” as if there were a single body of theory that characterized CMS. In reality, there is a buzzing confusion and profusion, running the gamut from poststructuralism to labour process theory, from Derrida to Marx, from radical postcolonial feminism to moderate social-democratic liberalism, from positivism to critical realism to social constructivism.

(pp. 925–926)

And again from the Critical Management website (retrieved Sept. 2, 2014):

As an umbrella research orientation CMS embraces various theoretical traditions including anarchism, critical theory, feminism, Marxism, post-Marxism, post-structuralism, post-modernism, postcolonialism and psychoanalysis, representing a pluralistic, multidisciplinary movement.

Whilst I do not doubt these expressions of theoretical pluralism, they do hide two things. First, most of these theoretical resources are Eurocentric; that is to say, they are connected with writers and traditions connected to particular linguistic and cultural contexts, typically in Europe (notably France, Germany, the U.K., Austria and Italy). A quick glance (as of September 2014) at the “theorists which can inform CMS research” page of the critical management portal also manifests this Eurocentrism, with a near exclusive listing of living and dead European or American writers (Spivak is an exception in this list). The references to the prefix ‘post-’ are also

connected to Eurocentric periodizing categories – notably modernity/modern and postmodernity/postmodern – where ‘Europe’ is the centre of its own historicizing narrative and other places, variations on that history. CMS could thus be read as a critique of modernity, or at least a critical sociology of modernity. This is not to deny the existence within CMS of postcolonial and Indigenous perspectives that critique modernity as coloniality and attempt the difficult task of writing back from the periphery and of challenging the centre by learning from Indigenous knowledges and social experiences. However, I would certainly not want to overstate the extent to which Indigenous perspectives have found a place within CMS. Second, there exist relational differences and scholarly preferences between them. In my experience, there is comparatively less emphasis on anarchism, perhaps even feminism, than on some of the others.

In a presentation at the 2012 AoM meeting, Anshuman Prasad outlined a number of interconnected transformations in the world that raise serious questions about the “continued viability of *Eurocentric* approaches to knowledge” (emphasis in the original). Amongst others, these transformations are connected to the oft remarked geopolitical decline of the West, the economic crisis in the Eurozone, the rise of BRICS nations, environmental depletion and so on. These transformations undermine the power of the West and of its knowledge systems, to claim privilege and superiority in the organization of its and others economic and social affairs. However, Prasad argues that “most of CMS appears *blind* to this “epistemological crisis of the West” (Harding)” (emphasis in the original) is generated by these transformations and is so precisely because it is in large part a modern/colonial Western social science with accompanying epistemological and ideological limitations.

Reconstructing CMS as multiple CMSs?

If we accept that there are limitations and exclusions within CMS associated with its dominant institutional positioning and knowledge systems in/from the Global North, then how might it be otherwise? On what basis would non-metropolitan knowledges become knowable within our work? CMS scholars are addressing this complex issue, in part with the notion that we move from one CMS to multiple CMSs. The suggestion is to decentre CMS by creating a context in which a dominant Eurocentric epistemic space (connected to particular and dominant locations) becomes just one of several emergent epistemic possibilities connected to a more diverse set of geographical and cultural locations. Several CMS scholars have addressed this issue.

Anshuman Prasad (2012; see also his Chapter 10 in this volume) calls for no less than the decolonization of CMS, citing Arturo Escobar, Walter Mignolo, Chandra Mohanty and Ashis Nandy as some of the key theoretical sources for his suggested program of ‘deconstruction’, ‘reconstruction’ and ‘diversality’. Inspired by Mignolo’s notion of ‘diversality’, Prasad reimagines CMS as a “pluralistic world of *multiple varieties* of CMS spread across different areas of the world” (emphasis in the original). Recent critical work by Brazilian scholars also deploys Mignolo both to critique Northern/colonial social sciences (including CMS) and to inspire a different vision for the social sciences and other knowledge systems located in Brazil (and with implications for other Latin American contexts). For example, Faria, Wanderley, Reis and Celano (2013) call for a “decolonial-critical management studies” (D-CMS) and use a case study of a Brazilian organization to illustrate how D-CMS could be performatively accomplished through organizational practices of anthropophagy. In part, their paper is a response to their concern that “the performative turn within CMS could be used as a way of bringing “critical development” and “critical knowledge” to the “rest of the world” from a perspective of coloniality” (p. 208).

A recent special issue of *Organization* (2012, 19:2) on Southern voices in management and organizational studies, edited by Rafael Alcadipani, Farzad Rafi Khan, Ernesto Gantman and

Stella Nkomo, also represents an important contribution to decentring GMK. Whilst they do not explicitly focus on CMS, the issue is certainly relevant for it. In their editorial essay, they state their desire to “make [these] voices [beyond Northern academia] heard, without any particular commitments to Western theoretical framework or approaches” (p. 131) and to acknowledge the fact, so often overlooked by Northern perspectives, that “nations that comprise what today is the Global South have demonstrated the possession of relevant MOK [management and organizational knowledge] throughout history” (p. 133). They thus confront the stereotyping of Southern management practices as dysfunctional, affirm the importance of focusing on and learning from Indigenous perspectives and note the associated challenges of writing, listening to and understanding Indigenous knowledge. The special issue contains a number of papers that present Southern voices in their own terms and in interaction with Western categories and modes of thought. Readers might also wish to consult the *Organization* special issue on postcolonialism (2011) and the recent edited book by Westwood, Jack, Khan and Frenkel (2014).

Prichard, Sayers and Bathurst (2007) develop the concept of ‘locale’ as a foundation for responding to metropole–periphery relations in CMS and generating locally relevant and valuable CMS insights. Using examples from their joint research project on music, work and organization, they illustrate three different responses to the “predicament of management/social science researchers in New Zealand” (p. 26). That is, how to manage their peripheral location in the field of management research, whilst working in an institutional system that defines and rewards ‘world class research’ with regard to the institutional centre. These responses are:

- *Franchise model*: Sayers was involved in adapting and administering a questionnaire on styles of aesthetic labour in NZ as part of an existing, U.K.-led international comparative study. This involved using the theoretical framework, questionnaire instrument and key outlets (conferences and journals) of the centre in the NZ context. It is a form of imitation where “[w]ork *there* is repeated here in similar or refined forms: institutions and frameworks are imported, and efforts are made to reproduce the practices, processes and frameworks of the center in peripheral locations” (p. 30; italics in original).
- *Margin model*: Bathurst’s work with Burundian refugees in New Zealand attempted to understand how these “musical refugees” would use their cultural capital in efforts to integrate socially. He found they do not use music to help them to become Kiwis but instead to express and preserve their Burundian cultural identity. Bathurst interprets this as a “marginal group choos[ing] to remain at the margin” (p. 32), a position with paradoxical challenges for cultural groups and researchers alike. For researchers, not complying with the centre may result in work being perceived indifferently, or worse.
- *Locale model*: Prichard’s research on music calls for the integration of a sense of place into one’s theoretical framework. Based on this notion, he argues for a third response that turns location into locale, a position that:

does not ignore the centre’s research problems or theoretical machineries, and nor does it react to these by tracing out the boundary positions. . . . it attempts to re-invent or re-imagine these as part of a response to the empirical and theoretical materials found or experienced in a particular location. This involves explicitly speaking back to the dominant theoretical and conceptual machines of the metropolitan centres.

(p. 35)

The authors advocate this locale response as the “next step” for CMS researchers in peripheral locations. They make it clear that they are not suggesting that we ignore or dismiss NATO

debates but “beg, borrow and steal from them in ways that turn location into a locale, a space from which to address both local issues and concerns and to speak back to the centre” (p. 39).

If we return to the humanities and social sciences disciplines, we can see similar and more concerted scholarly struggles with how to respond to institutionalized parochialism, especially in terms of disciplinary theory culture. In the final two sections of this chapter, I draw selectively on two authors whose perspectives can further animate debate in and about CMS and global management knowledge with regard to two issues of significance that emanate from the preceding concerns. First, how should we best confront the dominant Eurocentrism of our theory culture? Can it simply be ignored as we reach out for knowledge contained in non-Western, or Indigenous, languages, literatures and social experiences? Second, how might we conceive of a relational framework in which these multiple knowledges could sit together? Is a ‘mosaic’ of different and autonomous knowledge systems the right frame?

Mufti’s global comparativism

Over the last 20 years in comparative literature, leading scholars (notably Said, 1978, 1993 and Spivak, 2003) and professional associations have recognized the Eurocentrism of their discipline’s knowledge structures and debated ways to better address its global purview. The dominance of the languages and literatures of Europe (notably British, French and German) and North America as the principal axes of scholarly comparison represent the discipline’s most pressing challenge. Literature(s) produced in languages of a non-Western origin have traditionally occupied the margins of this comparative literary world. The publication of the Bernheimer Report (commissioned by the American Comparative Literature Association) in 1993 made recommendations to address this scenario including, as noted by Mufti (2005), expanding the linguistic competences of scholars in order to ensure that literature is read in its original language of production, and incorporating so-called minority literatures into the curriculum as part of a “multicultural recontextualization of Anglo-American and European perspectives” (p. 478).

Since the publication of this report, Mufti argues that the inclusion of non-Western languages in the discipline remains minimal and that linguistic asymmetries continue (as also noted with reference to management and organization studies by Merilainen, Tienari, Thomas and Davies (2008)). For instance, he describes how students who are working on “literatures in non-Western languages are expected to demonstrate a familiarity with at least the theoretical literature of one or more of the European languages” (p. 477). However, with regard to cultural literacy, no equivalent range is expected of students whose work is mainly conducted in the dominant European languages. Furthermore, he expresses the view that the inclusion of more so-called minority literatures (whether under the rubric of postcolonial literature, world literature or others) “most often represent[s] an accommodation with the status quo rather than an attempt to interrogate it rigorously” (p. 477).

According to Mufti, the reason for this scenario is that the reaching out to non-Western literature continues to rely on Eurocentric structures, for example through use of categories of Western literary history (romanticism, realism, postmodernism and so on) and through the naming and labelling of particular ‘non-Western’ genres, such as ‘the Arab novel’ or the ‘Urdu short story’. To explain how the latter constitute examples of Eurocentrism, Mufti turns to Dipesh Chakrabarty’s (2000) reflections on the ‘informal developmentalism’ that underpins much historical scholarship and rendered challenging his own writing about ‘Indian’ history. Informal developmentalism is the notion that ideas and history happen “first in the West and then elsewhere” (Chakrabarty, 2000: 6; in Mufti, 2005: 474). Europe acts as “the sovereign, theoretical subject” of all historical knowledge, so that histories that are supposedly ‘Indian’, ‘Chinese’ [or]

‘Kenyan’ . . . tend to become variations on a master narrative that could be called “the history of Europe” (Chakrabarty, 2000: 3; in Mufti, 2005: 474).

When literary theorists talk of genres like the ‘Arabic novel’ or the ‘Urdu short story’, the deployment of the adjectives presupposes but disavows the existence of an original ‘European’ novel or short story against which it requires a name. Thus they become knowable as an object of study (rather than as an active cultural media, as Mufti remarks with reference to Spivak), marked by difference within the discursive system of Orientalism. As Mufti incisively notes, under these epistemic conditions, we continue to be Eurocentric “even and perhaps especially when we attempt to tell the story of such non-European objects as Indian, Chinese, and Arabic literature” (p. 474).

The parallels to management research are most striking with respect to the recent growth of literature on ‘African’, ‘Chinese’ and ‘Indian’ management produced by mainstream academics and practitioners. Whilst seeming to offer a multicultural recontextualization of management theory and practice, the need to name them as ‘African’, ‘Chinese’ or ‘Indian’ suggests that they are knowable and intelligible only through the discourse of the centre. Alongside other problems with these genres (e.g. the essentialisms and problematic claims to authentic cultural knowledge in these texts or the commodification of Indigenous knowledge) (see Nkomo, 2011 in particular, for a critique), it is clear that turning to multiple versions or local forms of management knowledge could be problematic, especially if it is assumed that it solves the problematic of Eurocentrism by ignoring it. But what could we do instead? Can we simply rid ourselves of Eurocentrism in the effort to bring in other knowledges? What other kind of framework could we imagine?

On these questions, Mufti returns to his teacher Edward Said. Said’s concept of contrapuntality outlined in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) represents his response to the criticism that his pathbreaking work in *Orientalism* involved “bracketing off the cultural production and trajectories of non-Western societies or bringing to them modes of attention distinct from, and far less compelling than, those he has developed for a critical re-engagement with the Western tradition” (Mufti, 2005: 472).

Through contrapuntality, Said calls for a reconfiguration of the ways in which scholars read and relate to literatures and cultures on opposite sides of the colonial/imperial divide. For example, Mufti suggests that students could read Joseph Conrad’s *The Heart of Darkness* together with Tayeb Salih’s *Season of Migration to the North* or Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* with C.L.R. James. To read these texts together is to come to understand how such societies “live deeply imbricated lives that cannot be understood without reference to each other” (Mufti, 2005: 478), not as discrete and autonomous entities to be read individually and separately (as would be the case with a more conventional comparative literature approach). Whilst each novel may draw out particular perspectives on the experience of colonization/imperialism for its key protagonists, a reading-together approach highlights the broader and shared historical context of the settings. From this perspective, Mufti (2005) argues that:

The genuine alternative to this universalism of contemporary Eurocentric thought is not a retreat into the local, into so many localities, but rather a general account of the play of the particular in the universalizing processes of capitalist-imperialist Modernity.

(p. 485)

This is the framework for Mufti’s new global comparativism, and it involves a number of features inspired by Edward Said. First, a return to the past of the comparative literature discipline, one in which a transnational perspective was emphasized and which now needs to be renewed for

current times. Second, a “double critical consciousness” (Laroui, 1967) is required, in particular regard to attempts “to reclaim traditions whose social basis is seen to have been destroyed by the processes of capitalist-colonial modernization” (p. 481). Mufti is reliant on Abdallah Laroui’s essay on contemporary Arabic ideology in this regard. Laroui talks of the necessity of a double critical consciousness (toward both Arabic society and the Western Other) for understanding critically the postcolonial context of Arab societies. Mufti (2005) summarizes as follows:

No self-described attempt to “return” to tradition, religious or secular, can sustain its claim to be autonomous of “the West”, Laroui writes (p. 68), not even that of “the religious scholar” (cleric) whose claim to authenticity is based on a return to the purportedly uncontaminated doxa of religious tradition: “In contemporary Arab ideology, no form of consciousness is authentic . . .” . . . No attempt to explore one’s own tradition can therefore bypass a historical critique of the West and its emergence into the particular position of dominance. In this sense, the critique of the West is in fact a self-critique.

(p. 481)

According to Mufti, then, we cannot, and should not, excise a critical engagement with Eurocentrism from the picture. Instead, Mufti calls for conscious movements between recognition and disavowal that engage critically with an awareness of “the already translated nature of the objects it seeks to approach”:

the emergence of a critical consciousness that is neither fully inside nor entirely outside metropolitan Western cultures, a critical consciousness that will undertake a radical critique of Western culture as a condition for exploring “contemporary alternatives to Orientalism”.

(Said, 1978: 24; in Mufti, 2005)

Finally, this new global comparativism requires a fundamental transformation of the training, professional competences and expectations of literature scholars. Apart from a pedagogical rethinking of how core theoretical traditions should reappear in this framework, Mufti calls for students to be required to learn a non-European language, to broaden their cultural and intellectual knowledge, and to have a sound understanding of key terms like the Global North/the Global South that structure the field which they will reproduce.

Connell’s work, to which I turn next, extends some of these themes at book length.

Raewyn Connell’s *Southern Theory*

Raewyn Connell’s (2007) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science* is one of a recent number of texts that address the possibilities for a global sociology and global theorizing about social relations (see also Keim, 2011; Hountondji, 2002; Rodriguez, Boatca & Costa, 2010). As a cognate discipline for CMS, Connell’s sociological ideas are particularly pertinent, especially since they draw on postcolonial, decolonial and Indigenous perspectives that animate some of the recent critical work on CMS outlined earlier. The book is part revisionist disciplinary historiography – she describes the ‘founding fathers’ narrative surrounding Durkheim, Marx and Weber as one of sociology’s foremost and unhistorical bad habits – and part rally cry and manifesto for “a new path for social theory that will help social science to served democratic purposes on a global scale” (2007: vii). Her ideas are numerous, but seem to be underpinned by three overarching themes.

First, Connell is committed to combating the persistent inequality in the global division of intellectual labour between ‘theory’ produced in the Global North and ‘data’ to be collected by locals in the Global South. In *Southern Theory*, she states that:

colonised and peripheral societies produce social thought *about the modern world* which has as much intellectual power as metropolitan social thought, and more political relevance. Since the ground is different, the form of theorising is different too. Work needs to be done to develop the connections, as well as the contrasts, between these bodies of thought and those of the metropole.

(Connell, 2007: xii; italics in the original)

As such, the choice of her title *Southern Theory* draws attention to the notion that social thought occurs in particular places and reminds us that scholars in the majority world do produce theory. Often, this theoretical work will take form in genres that are not consistent with the “professional disciplinarity of the metropole” (Connell, 2011: 289), thus requiring patience, cultural contextual understanding and a commitment to become educated in ways we are yet to know. To demonstrate the rich possibilities of Southern Theory, the lion’s share of Connell’s book is dedicated to discussion of selected texts on social theory by scholars from various locations where economic and/or cultural dependency (associated with varying kinds of imperialism or colonialism) have been challenged. These peripheral locations include:

- Postcolonial Africa, covering work by Akinsola Akiwowo, Moses Makinde, Olatunde Bayo Lawuyi, Olufemi Taiwo, John Mbiti, Kwane Gyekye and notably Paulin Hountondji, as well as debates about the African Renaissance Model;
- Modernizing Iran and the relationship between Islam and the West, covering work by Sayyid Jamal ad-Din (al-Afghani), Jalal Al-e-Ahmad, Ali Shariati;
- Latin America since World War II, especially in relation to ideas about dependency, autonomy and neoliberalism, with work by Raul Prebisch, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Enzo Faletto, Marti Hopenhayn, Sonia Montecino, Nestor Garcia Canclini;
- India since the 1970s, including scholarly works by Ranajit Guha and Subaltern Studies, Indian feminism, Vandana Shiva, Veena Das, Ashis Nandy.

Connell demonstrates a particular ‘readerly’ disposition or attitude towards this scholarly endeavour. She reads and comments upon work by these scholars “as texts to learn from, not just about” (2007: viii), especially in terms of what they illuminate about the “project of theorising in the global periphery, its intellectual and practical problems, and its differing forms” (2007: viii).

She learns from these texts of the struggles and complexities of relations of dependency, including the conditions of possibility and constraints on asserting Indigenous knowledges as forms of intellectual resistance. She also highlights the double critical consciousness displayed by many of these authors in how they treat their topics of discussion.

Second, Connell is able to go further than Mufti in outlining specific characteristics and ideas for generating a “new science, prioritising the social experience and social thought of the majority world” (Connell, 2011: 288). I have summarized what I interpret to be the key characteristics and ideas presented in the whole book in Table 11.1. Her broad framework does share certain ideas with Mufti’s (coincidentally). For one, she makes it clear that she does not support, or even think empirically possible, the idea that a collection of distinct knowledge systems would ameliorate, far less transform the status quo in the social sciences. She asserts this position on the following grounds:

Every significant development in the social sciences in the periphery makes *some* use of concepts or techniques from the metropole. It is therefore not realistic to imagine the future of world social science as a mosaic of knowledge systems – as a set of indigenous sociologies, indigenous economics, and so on, all functioning independently. . . . I will go so far as to say the only possible future for social science on a world scale involves a principle of unification. (2007: 223)

For me, it is perhaps curious given her interest in relationality, as well as the various resistances and conscious silences of peripheral scholars/knowledge systems faced with the machinations of the centre, that she would suggest a “principle of unification” for the global social sciences. Admittedly it is a somewhat under-specified notion in Connell’s text (one that would concern me), but it seems that what belies it is a concern that conversation rather than scholarly isolation of different traditions should underpin the future of the social sciences.

Like Mufti, Connell believes we need to begin from the notion that texts, ideas and even the institutional conditions in peripheral contexts are already hybridized and translated objects as a consequence of the colonial encounter. Our task is to recognize these relational conditions for knowledge, not place too circumscribed a focus on any one form of peripheral knowledge, and to explore formations of knowledge in relation to one another. In exploring these formations, Connell notes three potential strategies. First, by emulating the writerly strategies of some of the authors whose texts she discusses in the four locations previously listed (especially Shariati and Hopenhayn). She describes how adoption of a critical distance to metropolitan knowledge involves a willingness to challenge it and knowing when to leave it. Second, by generating greater connections between scholars and knowledges located in peripheral locations, encouraging those in rich semi-peripheral locations or elites in other locations in particular to deploy their resources to generate connections. Practices of connection could cover travel, patronage and sponsorship, publication and research network formation. Finally, and crucially, a reconfiguration of relations between the metropole and periphery requires greater dialogue and a collective learning process that will help to ‘retool’ scholars in the centre. In practical terms, for metropolitan scholars, this would mean reflecting on and looking for changes to the kinds of knowledges and affiliations we privilege in our research, the publication strategies and citation practices we adopt, the theory and readings we set in our teaching and the languages in which we read and write.

Table 11.1 Recommendations for social sciences on a world scale.

-
- Name the pattern of inequality and register different situations of metropole/periphery (M/P) relations.
 - Undo the erasure of experience from the periphery (a constitutive mechanism of Northern Theory) to make a shared learning process possible.
 - Stop building models/social theory based on a privileged minority worldview.
 - Describe the characteristics/locations of the social scientific workforce, and evaluate the practices, contexts and institutions in which social science knowledge is produced.
 - Challenge and subvert any monologism in metropolitan perspectives based on a Southern Theory view (texts to learn from, not just about).
 - Avoid a future world of social sciences as a mosaic of distinct and independent knowledge systems.
 - Create the conditions and structures for a long-term educational process of retooling and reconfiguring social science based on respect and recognition of peripheral knowledge.
 - Expose, challenge and change the democratic deficits in the social sciences.
-

Source: Adapted from Connell (2007).

Table 11.2 Questions for debating a CMS in 'Becoming'.

Do we name colonialism and imperialism as the condition of possibility for the enterprise of CMS?

Are the viewpoints, perspectives and problems of metropolitan society/the Global North predominant in CMS?

Is CMS characterizable as an exporter of a set of Eurocentric theory, concepts and methods to peripheral locations? What happens to these exported perspectives in peripheral locations?

In what ways do the diverse and dynamic conditions of reception for CMS in peripheral locations play out in relation to local, Indigenous knowledges?

Where and how does Southern Theory circulate in CMS and with what effects? What distinctive perspectives, theoretical forms and empirical insights does it bring?

What are we to do with the existing fact of Eurocentrism? What are we to do with the phantasmic ideas of cultural autonomy, and how can we recognise and build upon the existing fact of cultural hybridity?

What are our structures for mutual learning and practices for connecting scholars in the metropole and the periphery?

Should all students of CMS be required to learn a second language, and especially a non-European/non-English language as relevant to their research?

How do we address the need for greater linguistic and cultural literacy in CMS?

Should CMS share Connell's desire for a social science aimed at serving democratic purposes on a world scale? What is the epistemological basis for such a planetary knowledge? How can we avoid 'worlding the world'?

Do you agree that the mosaic of knowledges is an unrealistic and unhelpful way of conceiving of things? Do you think the future of CMS is/should be a multicentered one? Under what conditions?

What specific role should Indigenous knowledge play in this multicentered re-imagining? How can we learn from Indigenous struggles, knowledges and politics?

Source: Author

Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to debate CMS in the context of existing critiques of both global management knowledge and the wider social sciences as Eurocentric and reproductive of inequalities between scholars and knowledge systems located in different parts of the world. The particular challenge for CMS at the Academy and in Europe that I see is the Eurocentrism of its dominant theory culture and the question of the conditions under which 'multiple CMSs' located across different geographical and epistemic spaces could become possible. By engaging with Mufti and Connell, I have outlined some of these conditions, emphasizing a focus on engaged and relational encounters between metropolitan and peripheral knowledge (not the development of autonomous systems), the need for a retooling of scholars in the centre with particular regard to linguistic competence and cultural literacy, and finally encouraging greater connections between scholars and knowledge systems (notably Indigenous knowledge and social experiences) in peripheral locations. I began by noting the notion of CMS in becoming, and I would like to end with it by drawing your attention to the questions I have posed in Table 11.2 as a basis (hardly exhaustive, of course!) for future debate about CMS.

Notes

- 1 I use the terms ‘metropole-periphery’ (from Connell, 2007) and ‘core/center-periphery’ interchangeably within the chapter.
- 2 The international membership numbers at July 1, 2014, are taken directly from official Academy of Management sources. Unfortunately the ‘international’ numbers available are not broken down by individual countries or continents. However, some indications (within limits – the costs of travel and accommodation for North America, for instance, are greatly prohibitive to conference attendance, especially for international members in countries and institutions with low levels of travel funding) of the location of international members might be extracted from the participant country numbers presented in the 2014 Academy of Management Annual Meeting Statistics (AOM Philadelphia 2014, Official Printed Program: 52). The number of international participants at the AOM conference in 2014 in Philadelphia by country were (countries with over 100 participants noted only): United Kingdom (694), Canada (484), Germany (426), Australia (321), Netherlands (313), France (255), Spain (211), Switzerland (197), Italy (178), Singapore (136), Taiwan (127), Denmark (124), Hong Kong (121), South Korea (105), Belgium (104), Finland (108). The United States had 4422 participants. There were participants from Africa (the highest number from South Africa – 15), India (91) and a number of other Asian and Latin American nations.
- 3 ‘Indigenous’ can be a confusing, even misleading concept as deployed in some management research. An example is the concern amongst Asian management researchers to create theory relevant to local issues and experiences; at best, this might be signified by ‘indigenous’ with a small ‘i’. This is not necessarily the same thing as talking about the histories and experiences of colonialism and imperialism, which created the very category of Indigenous peoples (with a capital ‘I’ for Indigenous). Perhaps a better adjective for researchers to use would be ‘endogenous’ when related to general forms of ‘local’ experience, and ‘Indigenous’ with more specific reference to groups subjected to colonial and imperialist histories.
- 4 The website (www.criticalmanagement.org) is a portal that, to quote from the site, aims to “gather information about CMS in one place as well as develop its own content (e.g. overviews on philosophers and CMS, overviews of themes researched within CMS, commentated bibliography etc.) through collaboration of the CMS community. The website works as a Wikipedia-type website, so everyone can contribute to its content” (retrieved September 2, 2014).
- 5 P. Prasad (2012) refers to the ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’ branding of CMS (so a slight amendment to a purely UK-centrist view of the genesis of CMS), with certain publications specifically pinpointing Alvesson and Willmott’s (1992) *Critical Management Studies* as a foundational moment in the field. See also the present volume’s introductory chapter by Prasad, Prasad, Mills and Helms Mills.

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