

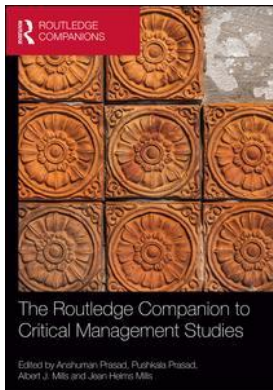
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### **History of-in-and Critical Management Studies**

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# Part V

## History and discourse

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# History of-in-and Critical Management Studies

*Terrance G. Weatherbee*

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## Introduction

This chapter is a theoretical exploration of the scholarly activities associated with the ‘historic turn’ (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004) as currently unfolding in both Management and Organization Studies (MOS) and Critical Management Studies (CMS). It is a synthesis of work which has taken place in organization studies over the last two decades constructed through my own effort(s) at investigating the processes of knowledge production occurring at the sites where History and MOS/CMS intersect and interact.<sup>1</sup> The focus of this enquiry was to understand the potentials of the turn to history for MOS/CMS when history is viewed as a process rather than as a product or outcome and to identify the implications this has for advancing our collective and future efforts at historiographical understanding (Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills & Helms Mills, 2012) in MOS/CMS. Though sections of this chapter deal with events antecedent to the present, and while this work is both historically and historiographically informed, the chapter itself is *not* intended to be read as a *history*.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to engaging with the contemporary activities within the historic turn, it is considered apropos to briefly illustrate the conditions within which contemporary MOS/CMS developed for two reasons. First, it fills a lacuna as the interactions between historical context and the development of these fields remain largely underexplored and unacknowledged (Stager Jacques, 2006). Second, because each area has traditionally maintained a different orientation towards the importance of history and historiography in research, entering the turn through a historiographic space in this way will highlight specific aspects of the conditions which saw the emergence and crystallization of the call for a historic turn. It will also situate the potential for history–work and its interrelation with the pursuit of historiographical understanding within MOS/CMS.

## The loss of history and the emergence of the historic turn<sup>3</sup>

The following section summarizes the conditions and processes leading to the marginalization of historical consideration from MOS thought and research activities – whether those were conceptual, theoretical or substantive – a circumstance which was both concomitant with and constitutive of the entry and development of MOS as a separate field within the academy (Khurana,

2007; Weatherbee, 2012). It also provides the context for understanding how the dominant form of historical thinking in organization studies has come to be as it is.

Throughout the 20th century, management and business researchers slowly replaced 'rules of thumb' and 'anecdote' with increasingly scientific approaches (Khurana, 2007).<sup>4</sup> In doing so, they set organizational and business studies on an ahistorical trajectory.<sup>5</sup> This trajectory was further buttressed as the emergent MOS borrowed its foundation from the Policy/Administrative Science branch of Sociology (see, for example Parsons, 1956a, 1956b). A disciplinary domain where method and theory development had already largely moved to one based upon experimental and quantitative paradigms. In its marriage to the Social Sciences, MOS increasingly distanced itself from the Humanities (Zald, 1993) as it embraced a positivistic and functionalist approach to research (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Weatherbee, 2012). This orientation would firmly sediment as MOS found its home within business school practices (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004). The marginalization or exclusion of history from introductory and pedagogical business texts (Stager Jacques, 2006) would follow despite protests from scholars who saw history as an important subject for the education of business practitioners and researchers alike (see, for example Bedeian, 1998; Cummings & Bridgman, 2011; Van Fleet & Wren, 2005; Wren, 1987; Wren & Van Fleet, 1983).

As history and historiographic considerations in MOS were quantized, marginalized and finally almost excised from business research and curricula, the ahistorical condition reached an equilibrium which would perpetuate itself.<sup>6</sup> In large measure, the only interaction with historical considerations that remained in MOS would be abandoned to only those with a special interest in history<sup>7</sup> or relegated and confined to the sub-specialties of Strategy and Business History (Khurana, 2007; Weatherbee, 2012). This slow evisceration would continue for almost a century before the absence of active historical consideration would become viewed as problematic by a broader group of scholars and researchers in both MOS and CMS (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Kieser, 1994). The return to history was also a gradual process. It commenced in the early 1990s and evolved over the next two decades, somewhat more vigorously in the second half.<sup>8</sup>

In a review of the activities which could be categorized as taking place within the historic turn, Mills, Weatherbee and Durepos (2013) identified several distinct yet overlapping shifts present in the renewed trajectory of historiographic research in MOS/CMS during this time. These included approaches to historical and historiographic issues described as Factual (e.g. Chandler, 1994), Contextual (e.g. Kieser, 1994), Methodological (e.g. Booth & Rowlinson, 2006) and Epistemic (e.g. Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills & Helms Mills, 2012). These shifts did not displace one another – as in an evolutionary series – but rather the later approaches tended to be added to the overall changes in the stratagems for historical consideration in research. What the analysis revealed was a return to historical consideration which was ongoing, shifting and variable with regard to how the past was/is being conceptualized. As will be argued in the following sections, this condition still holds, and it has several critical implications for understanding the process of ordering knowledge of the past in both MOS/CMS.<sup>9</sup>

The Factual and Contextual efforts of the turn first viewed the lack of historical consideration in organizational theory in general (Kieser, 1994) and the distancing of MOS from the humanities in particular (Zald, 1993, 1996) as two concerns. These centered on the absence of historical consideration of the contexts in which organizational theory was developed and in the exclusion of active consideration of the socio-contextual aspects of management research. In the case of the former, it was believed that history could more fully inform those engaged with theory development in MOS. In the case of the latter, it was believed that the relevance of MOS research to the practices of management required re-engagement from a more humanistic and less scientific orientation.

Concurrent with and sympathetic to the expression of concern focused on the ahistorical and overly scientific nature of MOS research was a growing movement in research which was founded in alternatives to the mainstream approaches of knowledge production in MOS. Many of these alternatives were critical of MOS thought and incorporated historical perspectives as levers of critique. These various positions converged in their reaction to what was perceived as the increasingly hegemonic presence and spread of managerialist ideology, both within the academy and in the sphere of business practice outside. Broadly speaking, these researchers and their efforts have been described as critical studies of management (Mills & Helms Mills, 2012). These emerging and alternative approaches stemmed from various positions including critical sociology-, Marxian-, feminist-, critical theory-, postmodern- and poststructuralist-based critiques (Adler, Forbes & Willmott, 2007). Somewhat later, the appellation 'Critical Management Studies' would become a signifier for these critiques of managerialism, critiques which interrogated both the practice of management and its academic research arm – MOS (Fournier & Grey, 2000).<sup>10</sup> While historical consideration was often the basis for these alternative approaches, it would be some time later before a more contemporary 'CMS critical edge' would be brought to the historic turn (Durepos, 2014, forthcoming). This process would take another decade to more fully develop, and when it did, it would raise additional methodological and epistemic issues for consideration.<sup>11</sup>

From these critical and alternative-to-the-mainstream perspectives, the canonical history of MOS was largely read as a unitary re-presentation supported by a system of beliefs founded upon a simplistic historiography unproblematically assumed as a linear chain of chronological progress – a version of the past which had been so thoroughly naturalized throughout Western society and MOS that it went largely unquestioned by business researchers. It was a system with a history which not only valorized the benefits of managerialism and management theory – presenting both as progressive, scientific, timeless and universal (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006) – but which simultaneously concealed the hegemonic nature of its particularistic socio-political worldview (Weatherbee & Durepos, 2010). A dominance perpetuated by a historiography in which non-ideologically sanctioned and less than savory historical influences on/in/of management had effectively been written out (Cooke, 1999, 2003).<sup>12</sup>

A short time after the institutionalization of CMS within the Academy of Management, the call for the historic turn would become somewhat more formally recognized, heralded by the arrival of a critically oriented journal founded in 2006. The journal, *Management & Organizational History*, was intended to be a forum for critical and alternative approaches to history and historiography. It was designed to be an outlet that could recapture and renew historically informed research and theorizing in MOS from a critical perspective. It was to be a space for those forms/methods of historiographic research that were not being addressed elsewhere in the mainstream of organization studies, e.g. in publications such as the *Journal of Management History*.<sup>13</sup>

Many of the first and early scholars turned their attention to the potentials existing at the intersection of history and MOS and focused on exploring the terrain and on mapping potentials. These efforts sketched out theoretical challenges and identified the empirical potentials to be found in a renewed historicized approach (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; see, for example, the terms of engagement as laid out by Stager Jacques, 2006, and for a more detailed description of the 'mapping' of the 'terrain', readers are referred to Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills & Helms Mills, 2012). These early scholars also encouraged engagement with additional methodological and epistemic issues for future research.

Methodological formulated work drew upon contemporary debates in History in order to explore the different ways in which history-work in MOS/CMS could be married with theory of History. For example, in employing a Munslowian framework (Munslow, 1997, 2000, 2010)

Rowlinson, Stager Jacques and Booth (2009) show how much mainstream history-work was still bound by modernist tenets, sensibilities and practices of historians. They explicated the differentials of historical treatment and interpretation in MOS along modernist reconstructionist and constructionist variants and advocated for moving beyond these. They argued for expanding the range of historiographic methods used and for adopting a more postmodern and deconstructionist orientation towards history-work in MOS.

The epistemic thematic has witnessed other work to interrogate disciplinary notions of the past and their relationship with history. Efforts have been made to deconstruct the dominant notions of the relationship between the past and history, theory and method, as found in both modernist and postmodernist historiography (Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013). One of the outcomes of this research was an increasing interest in doing history-work that moved beyond simply the address of (or lack thereof) history *in* MOS to include a focus on historiography *and* MOS (Weatherbee, 2013; Weatherbee & Durepos, 2010). This latest Epistemic orientation has been one which draws upon Mannheim's conceptualization of the Sociology of Knowledge (1985) as informed by amodernist notions of Latourian Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 1993, 2005a, 2005b). From this position, Durepos and Mills are using Anti-History to advance history work beyond the modernist reconstructivist/constructivist notions of a past-history relationship *while* avoiding the dangers of relativist history that modernists ascribe to poststructural deconstructionist approaches. They propose that the way forward is through an amodernist and relational view of history-work (Durepos & Mills, 2011; Durepos & Mills, 2012) and to move the engagement with history beyond the modern-postmodern contours which have consumed much of the debate in the discipline of History for the last two decades (Durepos, 2014, forthcoming).

Finally and most recently, various efforts are underway to build upon the Anti-History approach to investigate how historiographic processes influence knowledge production and theory development by identifying those historiographic and social processes which have structured the fields of both MOS (J. Foster, Mills & Weatherbee, 2014) and of CMS (Mills & Helms Mills, 2012). Particular attention is being given to the investigation of how the social nature of historiography results in the exclusion or inclusion of various aspects of the past. The intent is to identify the manner in which broader socially generated processes and mechanisms, both inside and outside MOS/CMS, lead to the writing-out (Cooke, 1999) or writing-in (Weatherbee, 2014) of events or persons of the past on a ideological or socio-political basis. These efforts represent a new focus in the historic turn and are signal of a potential sociological shift to the treatment of history and historiography (Foster, Mills & Weatherbee, 2014; Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013) with focus on the historical and social constraints upon disciplinary knowledge production (Weatherbee, 2014, under review).

In addition to the factual-, contextual-, methodological-, epistemic- and emerging socio-logical-focused thematic, there has been a wealth of other approaches or styles of address to the issue of history in MOS/CMS. These include counterfactual, virtual or counter-narrative histories (MacKay, 2007; Maielli & Booth, 2008; Mordhorst, 2013) and a broadening of interest in using history to more fully inform management education (Cummings & Bridgman, 2008; Topping, Duhon & Bushardt, 2006). Finally, there are efforts to more fully inform those who wish to engage with historical consideration in their research with methodological articles and texts published specifically for this purpose (see, for example, Bell & Taylor, 2013; Musacchio & Mutch, 2013).

A great deal of work has been expended over the decade since the latest call for a 'Historic Turn' went out. The return to historical consideration is now engendering increased attention in both the mainstream (see the works by Greenwood & Bernardi, 2014; Rowlinson, Hassard &

Decker (2013), in *Organization and the Academy of Management Review*, respectively) and critical strands (Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills & Helms Mills, 2012) of MOS. Explicit historical thought is starting to return to theory development (W. Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011; Rowlinson & Hassard, 2013; Rowlinson, Hassard & Decker, 2013), and historiographic study is being used to expand disciplinary knowledge which was previously missing, lost or unresearched (Le Texier, 2013). The naturalized version of the past development of MOS is being interrogated further (Hassard, 2012; Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013) and in this respect may be somewhat less hegemonic in stature as research problematizes the common sense notions of history underpinning MOS (Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013).

In sum, it is fair to say that there has been a small explosion of historically oriented work covering a wide gamut of subjects, approaches and areas. The results have seen positive growth in a wide range of methodological, conceptual, theoretical and empirical concerns that have been collectively raised both in MOS and CMS. However, while the scale and scope of research with a historical orientation are accumulating, almost all of this work retains MOS as its central subject and focus of inquiry. Few efforts have been made to turn a gaze upon critical studies of management or the institutionalized variant Critical Management Studies, employing a historical rather than a theoretical or methodological lens.<sup>14</sup> In fact, despite a comprehensive search of the literature, only one such effort could be located, an article by Mills and Helms Mills in *Organization* (2012). The use of their work is a reflexive and potentially fruitful way to explore the interrelations of the tenets of historical consideration with the narrated pasts of CMS. This is the main focus of the next section.

## Deconstructing history(-ies) of CMS

In a reversal of the traditional directionality found in most CMS critiques, the work of Mills and Helms Mills turns a historiographically informed gaze towards critical studies of management/CMS. Their interest in doing so appears to have stemmed from two impulses. The first arose from the historiographical investigation focused on exploring the origins of CMS. Relatedly, the second was founded in their efforts at understanding how scholars of critical management studies/CMS; at least those who have produced accounts of the origin(s) of CMS, construct, narrate and re-present the CMS past. Mills and Helms Mills' objective was, in part, to surface and problematize the underlying notions associated with the past–history relationship as presented in historical descriptions of CMS found in the literature.

Their analysis used several journal articles and one book chapter. Each was chosen on the basis that it was either explicitly authored or presented as a history of CMS or because the text heavily imbricated their focal subject from a historical perspective on critical studies/CMS.<sup>15</sup> Their analysis determined that each had differentially assumed, interpreted, and employed particular past–history logics in their versioning of a CMS past. Though each text could be read as having “contribute[d] to a sense of the history of the field [CMS]” (2012: 118), when apprehended together, i.e. the narrative–sum of each text read against the other, the unfolding, variable and relational nature of contemporary versus ‘historicized’ CMS identity was foregrounded. For Mills and Helms Mills, this meant that even after decades of critical studies of management and the institutionalization of CMS within the Academy of Management, that CMS still remains a “contested actant” (2012: 126).<sup>16</sup>

The turning of a reflexive and historic gaze upon these versions of the past of CMS is particularly revealing in several respects. First, it highlights the ways in which common sense and un–problematized notions of the past–as–history are dominant circulations in the network. Second, by shifting a historic gaze from a perspective which problematizes looking from CMS



outwards – to one that problematizes inwards – they reveal how historiographic processes interact with political, theoretical and geographical interests within the network. Third, it reveals how these re-presentations of CMS origins may delimit or bound the activities within CMS and influence what is seen as legitimate CMS scholarship.<sup>17</sup> Finally, it highlights the central role that the CMS collective-identity-problematic<sup>18</sup> has had on notions of the CMS past, on the historical representations of CMS offered to the network, and on the topology of knowledge production over the ‘life’ of the CMS institutional project.<sup>19</sup>

It is difficult to gainsay the conclusions reached by Mills and Helms Mills regarding the CMS past(s) and the extant histories which re-present them. In fact, the common starting point between their efforts and this one may best be described as beginning with a case of violent agreement. However, their work also presents us with an interpretive paradox viz. discussion of a CMS past and how such a discourse of the past is constructed. In the final sentence of their article, they employ a quotation from Ibarra-Colado: “[i]n short, ‘the future of CMS must be imagined as a set of multiple dialogues and conversations ... across different regions and cultures’” (Mills & Helms Mills, 2013: 934). This quotation is taken from a relatively short but historically based article, and the work describes the colonization of the Latin American Academy by the Western one (Ibarra-Colado, 2008: 127). In this brief but powerful polemic, Ibarra-Colado recounts some of the major historical elements that have led to a colonization which, he argues, resulted from the adoption of the academic norms of research and writing as found in the Western Academy (in this case both MOS and CMS) by the Latin American one.

On the one hand, Ibarra-Colado’s observations concerning the scholarly and hegemonic domination of ‘the rest by the West’ appears to arise from an assumption that the present of CMS has been absent of a multiplicity of dialogue. This is a perspective which sees the CMS past as having led to a condition that he argues is somehow singular, perhaps unitary in and of itself or, at the very least, CMS as part of a unitary and hegemonic Western project.<sup>20</sup> However, on the other hand, we have a multiplicity of origin histories available within CMS which, arguably, reflect an ongoing conversation about the CMS past. Even if these non-consensual views of a CMS past reflect to a certain extent the theoretical and political divides found within the contemporary CMS tent (Adler, 2002), this circumstance begs several questions. What is the relationship between the contested nature of CMS and the way(s) its past has been/is being constituted as ‘history’? Is it the case that the predominant norm of the past–history relationship – the way we think about history in the modernist, Enlightenment tradition of Western European thought<sup>21</sup> – is the very condition which contributes to Mills and Helms Mills’ fifth observation “that the various histories tend to reinforce the idea of csm/CMS as an Anglo-American project” (2012: 127)? Finally, if CMS has been historically constituted as a ‘contested actant’ is it because the conceptualization of the past–history relationship remains largely unquestioned and taken for granted?<sup>22</sup>

An appropriate starting point to attempt to answer these questions, or at least for exploring their resonance with the present condition of origin histories in CMS, is to envision the objects of Mills and Helms Mills’ analysis otherwise! Instead of viewing these works as outcomes of historiographic research undertaken by specific *individuals*, we could instead reposition them within a *collective* process of doing history-work. While analytical movement away from the deconstruction of histories of CMS to a process-oriented investigation of history-work in CMS is possible, to do so requires four moments of reframing. The first is to acknowledge the ontological difference between the past and history. The second is grounded in an understanding that the purposes of doing history-work within a collective context are attempts to find meaning within the past. The third moment comes in recognizing that any collective *discourse of the past* is multi-purposeful and multi-constructed. The final moment is recognizing that disciplinary History

and the conventions and practices within it constitute just one mode of thinking and one way of doing history-work. Each of these is discussed in more detail in the sections to follow.

### The past–history relationship and epistemic fallacy<sup>23</sup>

With few scholars in MOS/CMS trained in the methods (Bedeian, 1998; Greenwood & Bernardi, 2014) or exposed to the theoretical debates (Weatherbee, 2013) in History, the orthodoxy of the past–history relationship is generated by our experience as scholars and persons. First, in the Kuhnian sense of new scholar entry, we are expected to learn the discipline’s stock of past knowledge, our canon. Once it is mastered, we may then seek to contribute to the literature ourselves as guided by disciplinary boundaries and conventions previously established. In this process, we learn to both interpret and contribute to the discipline’s past – to do history-work by engaging with the knowledge we inherit.<sup>24</sup> The second source, also imbricated with the first, is a Western and culturally derived formulation of the past–history relationship. There are two aspects to this second formulation. The first is the ‘common sense’ orientation we believe exists between the past and history, and the second is the role that we see Historians assuming in the production of it (Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013; Rowlinson et al., 2013; Rusen, 2005a).<sup>25</sup> Together, these serve to establish the legitimacy of history-work – a history taken as an accurate reflection/reconstruction/representation of the past world – based upon a presumed correspondence between the empirical fact(s) from the past and the history(ies) produced from them. This approach has been coined “history of a particular kind” (Munslow, 2000: 18) and can be problematic if the reality of the past world becomes equated/conflated with the representations we produce of it (Jenkins, 2003; Munslow, 2010).

Contrary to the evidence given to us by our disciplinary and our common sense notions of the past, the actuality of the past world is no longer accessible to us. All that is available are the remnants of material trace, both natural and constructed. These traces are the ‘facts’ which historians seek, collect and use in the construction of their histories. Therefore, there is an ontological distinction which needs to be made between the past-as-it-was and any history that is a representation of it (Munslow, 2010). As a past–history relationship cannot be based upon theories of correspondence, from this it follows that the past world has no pre-given ordering to it. Hence the articulation of the past–history relationship is itself the basis for our ordering of trace(s) to produce knowledge of the past (Foucault, 1973). However, possession of ordered knowledge of the past is an insufficient condition for generating historical understanding of the past, as knowledge of the past, in and of itself, is just a collection of traces or ‘facts’—whether these facts are found in an individual’s memory, an organization’s archive, or a disciplinary canon. In order to have a *meaningful sense* of the past, what Lukacs terms a remembered past (1968), first requires that historical knowledge be given purposive meaning (Carr, 1961). The way in which a culture inheres meaning to knowledge of the past is through how history-work collectively establishes a past–history relationship and orients the collective to the past, the present and the future. This temporal orientation and the mechanisms whereby it is achieved, its purposes and how it is maintained through time have been conceptualized as Historical Consciousness (Rusen, 2007c).

### Historical Consciousness: How we order the past-present-future

As temporality of experience is part of the human condition, all individuals and collectives maintain an orientation to the past. However, even though collective Historical Consciousness is a universal phenomenon (Rusen, 2005b), *how* knowledge of the past is produced and used is a culturally specific, collectively determined and learned practice (Rusen, 2007b). Variation in

how cultures and collectives produce such historical knowledge, indeed even how they determine what *is* historical knowledge, flows from culturally and/or collectively determined meta-historical assumptions (Megill, 1994; White, 1973) or modes of historical thinking (Rusen, 2005a). Modes of historical thinking are a constellation, or set, of organizing assumptions, concepts and practices which “educate us on how to know, deal and think about the past” (Liakos, 2010). These modes are the ways and means in how a collective makes sense of the changes in the world through varying acts of interpretation, translation and the purposes to which we put knowledge of the past to use (Minear, 1940).

Taken together, Historical Consciousness and modes of historical thinking represent the totality of *how* a collectivity gathers, categorizes, organizes, expresses and uses knowledge of the past to achieve historical understanding in the present. Therefore, cultural discourses of the past are collective processes which arise from and are constituted by the various mechanisms employed to produce historical representations *and* the purpose(s) to which these representations are put (A. Assmann, 2008a; Rusen, 2007a). So it is the sum of all such history-work, whether disciplinary or not, which comprises “the human effort to understand the present and expect the future by understanding and interpreting the past.” (Rusen, 2007b: 4). Or, to restate and extend Ermarth (2007), it is necessarily both “historical conventions” and *history-work* which serve as our “basic tools of thought” (p. 51).

While in the case of the Western experience, the academic field of History has traditionally been given the societal responsibility for constructing history (Iggers, 2002) history-work is conducted by persons, groups and institutions outside the discipline as well. But it is the outcomes of both forms of history-work which inform the historical understanding of the collective in which they operate. And the collective’s past-present-future orientation influences the history-work ongoing both outside and inside the discipline (Rusen, 2004). Recognition of the mutual constitution of the past from both within and without History invokes the revisiting of the relationship between History and Memory Studies<sup>26</sup> since now “memory has a history” and “history is itself a form of memory” (A. Assmann, 2008b: 62). If a collectively held sense of the past is founded upon the totality of the collective’s meaningful knowledge of the past – whether it is text-based history, a film, a museum display or even an academic article – and the work which produces such knowledge – be it disciplinary or not – this is a signal of the potential for the theoretical and analytical collapse between History and Memory Studies as both are *ways* in which a collective orients itself to the past though both may have different *means*. This is a position that is increasingly being explored and argued for as History and Memory Studies co-evolve (see, for example Confino, 2011; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Rasmussen, 2009; Tamm, 2013). It is also a position I am sympathetic to and one which directly bears upon the issue at hand: the role that CMS ‘histories’ play in the construction of a CMS discourse of the past.

### **From memory to history and back again: A discourse of the past?**

While a full discussion of the effects that History and Memory Studies are having upon one another is beyond the remit of this chapter,<sup>27</sup> there have been several theoretical developments which make a repositioning possible of CMS ‘histories’ in the liminal space between these two areas of study. As distinctions, both epistemological and ontological, which previously existed between History and Memory Studies are made porous, perhaps even arbitrary, one of the more significant lines of theorization has focused on the interrelationships between the collective processes of memory making and collective remembering and the processes of transformation of collective memory into history (A. Assmann, 2008a, 2008b; J. Assmann, 2008). Table 16.1

Table 16.1 Relationships between collective memory and history.

	Conceptualizations of Collective/Cultural Memory and Disciplinary History			
	Halbwachs	A. Assmann	J. Assman	Rusen
Individual level	–	Neuronal	Autobiographical memory	Autobiographical memory
Social level	Collective Memory	Social memory	Communicative memory (Intergenerational)	Historical consciousness and modes of historical thinking and disciplinary history-work
		Archived memory (unused but potentially meaningful)	Cultural Memory (incorporates disciplinary and non-disciplinary history-work)	
Relationship to disciplinary history	Dead memory	Functional memory (meaningful and used)		

presents a brief overview of some of the relationships now theorized between collective memory and history in this respect.<sup>28</sup>

This suggests that a collective discourse of the past is comprised of all the ongoing processes involved in the production, consumption and exchange of both ‘memory’ and ‘history’. Returning to our own CMS ‘histories’, the objects of Mills and Helms Mills’ analysis may now be viewed as elements *within* a process and not just outcomes *of* a process. In other words, they need to be seen as contributing to a sense of the CMS past rather than as reflections or reconstructions of either ‘a’ or ‘the’ CMS past – read as being part of the ongoing construction of a sense of a CMS past rather than as a determinant of it.

### *CMS and the historic turn: Potentials*

If we were to abandon the dominant correspondence theory of the past–history relationship and view our notions of the past as an open process of becoming rather than as one foreclosed by an outcome orientation of history-work, our CMS histories could now be considered as antenarratives (Boje, 2011). Repositioning them as *antehistories* within a collective discourse of a CMS past would have several desirable outcomes. First, it abandons the notion of a fixed past as produced by a collective focus on history-work-as-outcome. Second, it would bring into sharper relief the multiple processes involved in history-work and our collective efforts in constructing and reproducing a discourse of the past. Third, it would reconcile the oft contradictory nature of re-presentations and interpretations of the past within the discourse itself. Rather than focusing on issues of what actually happened, it permits a greater focus on how and why such interpretations come to be and what purpose(s) they serve. Fourth, it avoids epistemic foreclosure of interpretations of the past by opening up the discourse to the multiplicity of ontologies involved in doing history-work. Finally, as “[n]o one owns the past, and no one has a monopoly on how to study it, or, for that matter, how to study the relation between the past and present” (White, 2007: 25), it creates a space between history *and* CMS which would allow CMS and the historic turn to proceed otherwise.

For both MOS and CMS, being more reflexive about history-work, whether from a meta-theoretical, meta-historical, or empirical level, means we must acknowledge that our history-work is polysemous. This is a critical observation, despite the similarity of the epistemic and

## History and discourse

ontological concerns raised in the ‘history–culture wars’ (Munslow, 1997) to those of our own ‘paradigm wars’ (Pfeffer, 1993; Willmott, 1993), as the subject of history has remained (and remains) only a silent participant. As much of the ongoing disciplinary conversations – the discussions, debates and exchanges in MOS and CMS – have centered on the inter-paradigmatic differences in meta-theoretic assumptions, this has meant that, unlike the history–culture wars, meta-historical assumptions and the subject of history, are generally *not part of* these conversations (Durepos, 2014, forthcoming). Even with the influence of the ‘posts’ (including postcolonialism, which, along with feminist history and others remains absent from our analysis) and a reinvigorated renewal of meta-theoretic debates, the past–history relationship has remained largely untouched.

Given the historically derived nature of paradigms themselves (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) and the perspective of hindsight, this seems a somewhat paradoxical and surprising circumstance. However, and more importantly, the absence of meta-historical discussions has meant that their consonance, or dissonance, with MOS/CMS’s own meta-theoretical assumptions has also rarely been fully explored. These are the ontological and epistemological leaps needed to surface the historically contingent nature of our taken-for-granted knowledge and the ways in which we collectively relate the past to the present and the future. This is critical as what we perceive, interpret and constitute as the past-as-history holds the potential to change attitudes and move collectives to action (Carpenter, 1995; Durepos, 2014, forthcoming).

Through surfacing and interrogating our meta-historical assumptions, we can begin to see how our fields of study (both MOS and CMS) are constituted as much by the discourse of the past we collectively construct as they are by any scientific discourse or imperative of managerialism. An understanding of how a sense of the past is produced and consumed would further inform us as to how disciplinary boundaries and knowledge have come to be (Mills, Weatherbee & Durepos, 2013). Perhaps this is a route whereby Ibarra-Colado’s (2008) concern could be addressed? By avoiding history–work of a particular kind, one in which the pursuit of what actually happened simply reifies the past into the form of the content we give it, it becomes possible that CMS could be reimagined as something other than “a creature of the global north” (Parker, 2013: 173).

## Notes

- 1 To differentiate between the discipline of history and the outcome of history–work – a history of something – the term ‘History’, with a capitalized ‘H’, will be used to indicate the discipline (conventions, etc.); ‘history–work’ will be used as an umbrella term for all forms of research or production of representations of the past, and ‘history’ will refer to a product or outcome.
- 2 It is taken as a given that the terms ‘past’ and ‘history’ are perspectival and based upon various epistemological and ontological positions. The problematics of extant notions and understandings of these terms will be addressed later in the chapter. Given that scholarly understanding is subject to the unfolding and temporal nature of lived experience – in both the collective and academic senses, as well as the individual and personal senses – the chapter is a spatio-temporally bounded construction and work-in-progress. While I have employed the concepts and terminologies associated with historiography when speaking to past events, the reader should consider this work an act of storying (Czarniawska, 1997; Gabriel, 2000) of the past. A narrative reflecting the meaning(s) I have given to my own experiences of/with CMS over the last decade and my own participation in being shaped by (and perhaps in a small way in shaping?) CMS and the historic turn within it. Thus, the textual presentation, by necessity, imbricates my personal with my scholarly understandings as they relate to CMS. So while grounded in ‘verifiable’ traces of the past and while employing a historiographic method, the narrative is devoid of any intent to re-present a fixed or stable version of what has happened. In other words, while the traces have been framed in a particular way – it is not the only possible way! It should be read as a *living story* (Boje, 2001).

- 3 The intent here is to demonstrate how 'history', as formally promulgated in disciplinary literature, may sediment over time into the background to become taken for granted and remaining unquestioned (see, for example, Czarniawska, 1998).
- 4 The reliance on rule-of-thumb approaches on the part of business was a position which was heavily critiqued by Wallace B. Donham, the second dean of the Business School at Harvard (Donham, 1922b). Paradoxically enough, one of the first formalized approaches in the development of an early theory of business within the university was itself heavily historical. Donham believed that by emulating natural science methodology, i.e. the collection of empirical data from records of business decisions and subsequent analysis, a scientifically based theory of business was achievable. This was the genesis of the renowned Harvard Business Case approach (Donham, 1922a). However, despite a great deal of effort put into this project by Harvard, it would ultimately be supplanted by economic and statistical approaches (Weatherbee, 2012).
- 5 While the term 'ahistorical' is employed to describe contemporary organization studies, it is not to imply that MOS or CMS is unhistorical. There is much of History and 'history' in MOS and CMS. It is just that both are employed largely unreflexively and without consideration for the epistemological and ontological implications of their use (for a more detailed exploration of this, see Durepos, 2015).
- 6 Ultimately, MOS would so fervently embrace a scientific and quantitative orientation that some two decades later it would be assessed as having become overly scientific and analytically oriented as to make the research being conducted within so abstract as to be irrelevant to practitioners (Porter & McKibbin, 1988). The debate which coalesced around the issues of academic rigor versus practical relevance spawned a critique of MOS and its relationship with the business school model which remains ongoing and unresolved (Pfeffer & Fong, 2002; Trank & Rynes, 2003; Tushman, O'Reilly, Fenollosa, Kleinbaum & McGrath, 2007).
- 7 Within the Academy of Management structure, the Management History Division is one of the originals at the formation of AoM. The division is also been consistently one of the smallest (Stiles et al., 2010). There has also been a long-running and active set of scholars interested in the history of business and businesses outside of the AoM. For example, the Business History Conference association (<http://www.thebhc.org/>) has been in place since 1954. In other areas, there has been significant intersection between history and business strategy, e.g. stemming from the important works of Alfred Chandler (Chandler, 1962, 1980, 1990, 1994). However, the work in these areas has had relatively little impact or influence upon other sub-fields within MOS or business education overall (Stager Jacques, 2006).
- 8 It is understood that the selection of a beginning for any historical narrative is the decision of the author (White, 1987) and that there are few 'natural' beginnings in the social realm. This time frame was chosen as it is the canonical one portrayed in the literature (see, for example Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Rowlinson, Stager Jacques & Booth, 2009). It is also understood that the enactment of the 'turn' is still ongoing and underway. Indeed, this contribution may be considered part of this process. Therefore, it is likely that the activities of the address of history in MOS and CMS will evolve into the future. So it is also likely that any future description may undoubtedly portray it differently than is the case here.
- 9 The common sense everyday approach to the past, one which reflects our everyday experience, tends to be based upon the idea that there is a past reality somewhere out there waiting to be found or uncovered through the discovery and accumulation of 'facts'. Therefore, there are various forms of knowledge within the discipline (facts, theories, etc.) which become taken for granted, not because they are valid but because they have a strongly narrated 'history' underscoring their validity. The pig iron work calculation and Maslow's Theory of Motivation are two such taken-for-granted elements in MOS historiography. Similar examples can be found in terms of other orthodoxies of context, methods and epistemological considerations.
- 10 It is understood that the ongoing construction of CMS, whether considered as a community, brand, label, social movement or scholarly field, is a socially heterogeneous, highly fluid and contested process in both contemporary and historical terms. This will become apparent as the discussion in this work unfolds. Because the collective identity of CMS remains contested, so too are its origins and its 'history' (see, for example, Mills & Helms Mills, 2012). As the intent of this project is, in effect, to apply the tenets of the historic turn to CMS the constitutive relationship between the past, identity and 'history' will be addressed separately in later sections.
- 11 Arguably, while critical of the lack of history in MOS, Keiser's positioning is not synonymous with the 'critical' of either critical theory or the critical nature of a postmodern/poststructural 'critique' of History. Neither is Zald's positioning on history, although the call to see more a more humanistic MOS is.
- 12 It should be emphasized that even with the advent of postmodern/poststructural and postcolonial thought, the notion of History (as a discipline and as the outcomes produced by Historians) is still dominated by Western notions of what History is and how histories are to be produced (Iggers, 2002).

- 13 This is not to say that other journals did not previously accept critical articles which were historically based (Dye, Mills & Weatherbee, 2005) or those which used alternative approaches to do history work, e.g. Foucauldian archaeo-genealogical methods (Burrell, 1988). However, *M&OH* was the first journal specifically dedicated to critical and alternative historiographic approaches in MOS.
- 14 While both critical studies of management and CMS have been the focus of much critique – some reflexive, some not – these critiques have been made from personal, political or theoretical sensibilities (Clegg, Kornberger, Carter & Rhodes, 2006; Cooke, 2008; Cunliffe, 2008; Marens, 2013; Thompson, 2004) and more recently from a postcolonial and epistemological standpoint (Faria, 2013; Faria, Wanderley, Reis & Celano, 2013; Ibarra-Colado, 2006, 2008) While many of these address the past of CMS – and as such are historically oriented – they do not take a historiographical perspective, nor do they problematize notions of the past or the representations of CMS history.
- 15 While the article by Burrell, Reed and Calas (1994) predates the formalization of CMS in institutional terms, it positions critical studies of management as breaking away from the mainstream ‘past’ of organization studies, and in this sense it is a prospective account of the potential for the emergence of CMS. The remaining publications, an article by Adler, Forbes and Willmott (2007) and one by Hassard, Hogan and Rowlinson (2001), are both accounts of the origins of CMS from a ‘common sense’ and retrospective notion of the past–history relationship. A few other sources speak to some elements of the past of critical studies of management (Grey & Willmott, 2005) or to the origins of CMS (The Origins of Critical Management Studies, 2013). Other sources, while not specifically written as historiographies, do contain fragmentary commentary on the past of both (see, for example, Fournier & Grey, 2000). Finally, it should be noted, that the article by Mills and Helms Mills, while an interrogation of canonical versions of the past, must also now be included amongst them. In this regard, it should be positioned as an example of a relational historiography (Durepos, 2014, forthcoming).
- 16 While the contested nature of CMS is not especially revelatory – the variety of answers to the question ‘What is CMS?’ is an open secret – the novelty of their historiographic approach and the identification of several articulated pasts of CMS within the literature are!
- 17 As noted by Mills and Helms Mills, all of the authors of these histories were involved in the activities or promotion of critical studies of management/CMS. Therefore, the authors are also informed by their own personal scholarly ‘histories’ and experiences as they too had part in the activities they render historically in their writing.
- 18 As our professional activities in academe – what we study, research and teach – all contribute to how we see ourselves and our sense of self (Alvesson, 2001; Jawitz, 2009); our work as scholars may be considered “an experience of identity” (Wenger, 1998: 215). This plays an especially significant and central role for those who associate themselves with CMS (Clegg, Kornberger, Carter & Rhodes, 2006) as our “collective visions of self” tend to “become not so much the ‘main show’ as important resources in the formation of personal notions of self.” (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008: 16). As “CMS distinguishes a kind of discourse and/or type of academic (in the main) that, in varied ways, problematizes established canonical forms of doing and representing ‘management!’” (Willmott, 2006: 36), the collective identity of the ‘we’ in CMS remains a highly diverse collection of personalized meanings (Alvesson et al., 2008) as CMS is a “catch-all term used to describe a pluralistic and diverse field of work or intellectual movement” in order to “maintain its identity” (Willmott, 2013: 151). The diversity of approaches to MOS and the varied theoretical positions used has meant that it is difficult to use normative terminology to identify what the institutionalized CMS is at a collective level. This is perhaps why CMS has been described variously, and alternatively, as a school or branch of MOS (Kettunen, 2013), a sub-field of MOS (Malin, Murphy & Siltaoja, 2013) and even as an insurgency or social movement rather than a coherent collective whose glue was “a distinctive domain of knowledge” (Willmott, 2013: 126). I personally see CMS as a scholarly outlet that allows me to participate in a project to improve the way in which we think about the world of organizing and organizations. I am not overly fussed about how it is categorized, though I recognize that identities are constructed through the activities of both insiders and outsiders and, in the collective sense, may be seen to be the outcome of processes of social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) over which I may have little to no influence.
- 19 This observation also reflects some of my own experiences and concerns viz. the issue of domain-bounded legitimacy. For example, I have always wondered why there is more than some discomfort and disagreement evident between the feminist and critical management elements with the structural organization of the AoM. I once attended a symposium entitled “The Uneasy Marriage Between Feminism and CMS,” (Benschop et al., 2006) where much of the discussion centered on scholarly exclusionary practices of the this-does-not-belong-here form. I have had papers which use a critical historiographic lens to critique MOS which were panned by critical management reviewers as being more suitable for history sessions and

history track reviewers, suggesting that the work is really a critical orientation on an element of MOS, e.g. organizational behavior, and that the paper should be submitted to another “more appropriate sub-field” track. While certainly not a new observation, for me personally this reinforces notions that the way we organize and structure disciplines has as much effect on what and how we theorize as the results of any scholarly enquiry. To resituate this observation in historical terms, the way in which we interpret and present the past within the CMS network also serves to delimit what questions are considered worth answering in scholarly terms. I see this as a very un-reflexive problematic and contrary to much of what we speak about on an ongoing or day-to-day basis within csm/CMS.

- 20 In many ways, Ibarra-Colado's critique centers on CMS as part of a larger project – the Academy and Western views of 'doing' academics – a view which collapses CMS into MOS on grounds of epistemological colonization. While his point of critique is valid and I am in sympathy with it, it will only be touched upon briefly in this work. And then it remains an oblique touch in that it is only to highlight how patterns of historical consciousness vary across cultures.
- 21 Western Historiography is still dominated by realist history in the modern tradition (Iggers, 1997), and, despite the linguistic and cultural turns, the discipline of History still remains dominated with Rankeian tenets of doctrinal realism- and correspondence-based methods of reconstructing the truth about past events (Wilder, 2012).
- 22 Even the most cursory review of the CMS literature shows patterns which reveal how un-reflexively we engage with notions of 'history' and the 'past'. A search in several top critical journals on the terms 'history', 'historiography' and the phrase 'in the past' reveals how often we refer to the past and its representations without specific reference to the ways we think about the past and history. Searches of *Organization, Culture and Organization* and *Human Relations* show that the use of 'history' and 'in the past' is extremely common. They are almost ubiquitously used within the full text of articles. Yet these same terms are almost non-existent in the Title, Abstract or Keywords fields of these works. Using *Organization* as an example, the term 'history' is found within the full text of 537 articles for all work published in the period 1994–2014. In this same period, only 11 articles have 'history' in the title field, 37 in the abstract, and 11 in the keyword fields. Search on the term 'the past' resulted in 2 article titles, 18 incidents in abstracts, 280 times in full text and once in keyword. 'Historiography' is even more limited and is found in only 2 article titles, 4 abstracts, 24 times in the full text and once in any of the other searchable fields. Despite the contention that CMS work tends to be more historically informed than that of MOS (Rowlinson, 2004), the CMS literature appears to be no different in its embedded assumptions than is the MOS literature. For example, in the *Academy of Management Journal*, the term 'history' is found in 1114 articles with only 7 instances in the Title field, 47 in the Abstract field, and 18 in the Keyword field. Similar patterns are also observed in the *Academy of Management Review*. The term 'historiography' may be found only on two occasions in *AMJ* and four times in *AMR*. While these results cannot be considered comprehensive or complete, they certainly may be read as linguistic signs which signal how naturalized reference to the past has become and how under-problematized the past–history relationship remains in the patterns which inhere in the language we use to describe and communicate our research and theorizing.
- 23 Following Bhaskar (1997), the phrase 'epistemic fallacy' is used to refer to the condition where our epistemological beliefs have been collapsed into our ontological beliefs concerning the past. This is a hyper-realist notion of the past and a circumstance which, despite the debates of the 'history wars', still remains the default for both disciplinary (Iggers, 1997, 2002) and non-academic or popular history (Munslow, 2010). While the past world did happen and while we can be assured that the past was comprised of persons, places and 'things' (even postmodern historians will agree to this; see Jenkins, 2003) the ontology of the prior (our past world) and the ontology of our representations (our histories) are categorically of two different orders (Munslow, 2010).
- 24 As has been argued elsewhere (Durepos, 2014, forthcoming; Weatherbee, 2013; Weatherbee & Durepos, 2010) we are both the producers and consumers of our own histories – even while we are naïve concerning the methods and theories appropriate to understanding the complex nature of the past–history relationship of our knowledge and its construction.
- 25 It is recognized that this is a Western and Eurocentric view of History and of history.
- 26 The concept of Cultural/Collective/Social Memory and the related emergence of a field tentatively labeled Memory Studies remain a somewhat ambiguous and loose conceptualization in the literature(s). Part of the reason for this is that its antecedents include the natural sciences, social sciences and humanities (disciplines including psychology, history, sociology and literary studies), as well as the intersections of media and cultural history, history and sociology, neuroscience and social psychology, and cognitive psychology and history (Erll, 2008).



## History and discourse

- 27 Memory Studies finds its antecedent largely in the work of Halbwachs, who saw collective memory and history as distinct from one another; collective memory was living memory in the present, while history was dead memory from the past (Halbwachs, 1992). Unfortunately, Halbwachs never addressed the relationship between these two (Olick & Robbins, 1998), and a great deal of effort has been taken since to theorize the interrelationship between collective memory, cultural practices of remembrance, History and historiography. As history has been variously viewed as “a method of research (‘inquiry’), a place (‘the past’), a process (temporality), a practice (memorialization, celebration, remembrance), a literary or, more precisely, rhetorical genre (history writing), and even a manifestation of an ontological category (humanity)” (White, 2002: 10), there has been a great deal of scope for enquiry. Efforts at exploring the linkages were accelerated by the ‘memory boom’ occurring at the end of the last century which increased the empirical pressure on both historians and cultural theorists to reconsider the notions of both collective memory and the practices of disciplinary history (Tamm, 2013). Readers are referred to the debates and discussions in Assmann (2008b), Kansteiner (2002), Klein (2000) and Tamm (2013) for a more detailed and comprehensive perspective on this issue.
- 28 The relationship between collective memory and history is very resonant with the triadic system of story forms proposed by Boje (2011). Boje’s Living Story and Fixed Narrative forms conceptually resemble the notions associated with intergenerational storytelling (living memory) and history as a fixed object belonging to Cultural Memory, respectively. It is also possible, from a process perspective, to see the extant CMS Histories as forms of antehistory, analogous to Bojeian antenarratives.

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## History and discourse

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