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Promising Futures: CMS, Post-Disciplinarity, and the New Public Social Science

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ABSTRACT This paper considers the future prospects for Critical Management Studies and by extension management studies more generally. To explore these, two frameworks from the wider social sciences are deployed. The anchorpoint for the discussion is Michael Burawoy's work distinguishing types of scholarship on the bases of (a) conceptions of knowledge produced by social scientists, and (b) different audiences for that knowledge. Critical Management Studies is founded on critique but its future will be determined by how it makes its way across Burawoy's other domains of professional, policy and public scholarship. To examine this, I draw on John Brewer's recent articulation of the 'new public social science'. Brewer's problem-driven, post-disciplinary approach conceives the public value of social science as its conservation of moral sentiments and sympathetic imagination towards each other as social beings, and its ethical concern about the humanitarian future of humankind. The new public social science is normative and partisan, transgressive, scientific, and impactful. I argue that this provides a potentially fruitful template to guide future management studies. This is a future in which Critical Management Studies – as management studies' critical and emancipatory conscience – has a central role to play.

Keywords: CMS, critical management studies, impact, post-disciplinarity, public value, social science

INTRODUCTION

There has been little self-conscious reflection on what precisely the more critical management studies are aiming to achieve, and how it might be achieved and for whom it is 'working' . . . Can you have a radical management science? Is it not a contradiction in terms? If not, what would it look like?

The above quote appeared in the pages of this journal in 1978, when the *Journal of Management Studies* published a paper by Stephen Wood and John Kelly entitled 'Towards a critical management science' (Wood and Kelly, 1978). Their objective was to discuss

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the work of several authors 'who have recently critically evaluated management science (including what is broadly termed organizational theory) and attempted to direct research and thinking about management production systems away from the existing acceptance of the dominant values of society . . . what we are concerned to do is outline and evaluate the emerging radical critique of (and possible alternatives to) the traditional managerially-oriented "management science" '(pp. 1–2). Thirty-five years on, my task is much the same. Though in this paper I will also seek to develop some principles that might guide the future of what we have come to term 'Critical Management Studies' (CMS). These in turn, I argue, are crucial to delivering a more diverse, interesting, and impactful future for management studies more generally.

Exactly what constitutes critical management studies has received considerable attention. Wood and Kelly (1978, p. 18) themselves acknowledged the difficulty in defining such in unequivocal terms. However, they identified some key features that continue to be central to CMS: 'Perhaps the common thrust in the radical movement is a concern not to treat the existing patterns of inequality of wealth, status, power and authority as given, coupled with an attack on current management thinking for being a form of legitimation and support of the status quo'. There is, of course, a long tradition of critical management studies, but Critical Management Studies has developed over the last 20 years. In this paper CMS will be understood as a broad movement with some key shared themes and concerns. By common consent, CMS has become increasingly institutionalized within the discipline of management studies (Zald, 2002). There are large international conferences, workshops, journals, and handbooks dedicated to critical management studies and branded 'CMS'. And CMS scholars have published widely in general management journals. The Journal of Management Studies itself has a long and proud record of publishing work that critiques management practices and mainstream management theory (for example, Delbridge, 1995; Reed, 1984, 1996; Whitley, 1984; Wilkinson and Oliver, 1989; Willmott, 1993) and has also carried work debating the nature of 'critical management studies' in various hues (Alvesson et al., 2010; Reed, 2005; Willmott and Contu, 2005).

However, it is possible that CMS stands at something of a crossroads. Using Michael Burawoy's (2004) conceptualization of four domains of social science scholarship professional, critical, policy, and public - I will argue that CMS has proven rather less successful in exercising influence in each of the professional, policy, and public domains than its proponents would have wished. Indeed, I will review the arguments of leading CMS scholars who make precisely this point. Moreover, as I will elaborate below, evidence such as the citation indices and membership numbers of the CMS division of the Academy of Management hint at what may be a stagnation or decline in CMS activity. There are a number of elements to what is no doubt a complex story. First is the opposition CMS has faced from established interests in both academic and management spheres. But CMS researchers have pointed to how it has contributed to its own weaknesses, for example in the limiting effects of its 'anti-performativity' approach (Fournier and Grey, 2000), an exaggerated anti-management stance (Clegg et al., 2006), resulting in a lack of engagement with management practitioners (Spicer et al., 2009), a failure to fully embed CMS in education programmes (Contu, 2009), and the timidity and self-interest of CMS scholars in preserving the status quo (Fournier and Smith, 2012).

How can CMS be more impactful? And should the wider management research community care? Let me take the second question first. There is considerable evidence that management studies is becoming increasingly dominated by a narrow and increasingly homogenous approach to theorizing and research, and that it addresses a very small subset of the phenomena that might be investigated (for discussions of this issue with specific reference to the Journal of Management Studies see Corbett et al., forthcoming, and for Academy of Management Review see Delbridge and Fiss, 2013; see also Alvesson and Gabriel, 2013). While certainly not alone in its potential to do so, CMS has an important role to play in preserving and promoting inductive reasoning, phenomena-led and qualitative studies that complement the positivist, quantitative, and correlational theorizing that predominates. In addition, a wider concern to be more impactful in practical senses increasingly pervades academic contexts. A critical approach must remain a central element in management studies if we are to retain an independent and evaluative orientation and avoid the mistakes of previous 'bad management theories' (Ghoshal, 2005). The problematization of conventional thinking is crucial to confronting the formulaic patterns that increasingly pervade organization and management studies and constrain creativity and original thought (Alvesson and Gabriel, 2013). It is my contention that CMS has a vital part to play in a more heterogeneous, influential, and interesting future for management studies. How that might be achieved is the subject of this paper.

To address the future of CMS and its contribution to the development of management studies more broadly, I draw on the recent work of John Brewer (2013). He builds on Burawoy's work to outline a 'new public social science'. His manifesto for the future of social sciences includes a commitment to post-disciplinarity, the widespread engagement of stakeholders in addressing society's 'wicked problems', an underpinning requirement to meet the scientific principles of social science, and a valuation of science that reaffirms its public value in terms of the humanitarian future of humankind. I propose that such an approach can see CMS address the factors that have limited its influences on policy and public and, while certainly not without challenges and tensions, represents a promising future model for CMS scholars.

EXAMINING CMS

The anchoring framework for this discussion is Michael Burawoy's work on the types of sociology that may be discerned from consideration of (a) differing conceptions of the knowledge that can be produced by social scientists, and (b) the different audiences for that knowledge. From this analysis he articulates four sociologies: professional, policy, critical, and public (Burawoy, 2004, 2008). His work has been extremely influential in promoting further reflection on the characteristics and purposes of social science, particularly in relation to its 'publics' and the prospects for social science to 'make a difference'. It has been less often used to examine the characteristics of disciplines or sub-disciplines of the social sciences in their various spheres but it offers a useful way of doing so in that it maintains an integrated perspective and acknowledges the potential trade-offs and tensions in working across these. I have previously deployed his framework

to advocate the development of Critical Human Resource Management (Delbridge, 2010; see also Delbridge and Keenoy, 2010).

In this paper I contend that Critical Management Studies, while it has been founded on critique and successfully established itself as a critical movement within management studies, has failed to meet its own advocates' aspirations for influence in policy and public domains. I proceed to argue that if it is to prove a sustainable, vital and valuable contributory stream to the study of management then it is now going to need to make its way in the other three spheres, that is the 3Ps of professional, public, and policy. This requires some consideration of the current situation of CMS in each of these. Before that I outline the key elements of Burawoy's framework and explain its relevance in examining CMS.

BURAWOY'S FRAMEWORK IN BRIEF

Burawoy begins by asking two questions: For whom is knowledge produced? And, to what ends will that knowledge be used? He differentiates between academic and extra-academic audiences and between instrumental and reflexive knowledge. Instrumental knowledge is founded on Weber's conception of instrumental rationality: knowledge production is a technical exercise underpinned by concern with pre-determined means to address pre-defined problems. Reflexive knowledge is produced cognizant of the values that underpin it and the uses to which that knowledge might be put – that is, it is developed mindful of the politics of knowledge production. Burawoy (2004, p. 1606) comments: 'Like Weber, I believe that without value commitments there can be no sociology, no basis for the questions that guide our research programs. Without values social science is blind. We should try to be clear about those values by engaging in what Weber called value discussion, leading to what I will refer to as *reflexive knowledge*'. I will return to this key question of *values* in social science later.

Burawoy produces a 2×2 typology (see Table I) which he uses to outline four 'sociologies'. Professional sociology provides the basis for the other sociologies. This is the domain of mainstream social science scholarship, informed by norms of 'scientific legitimacy' and socially constructed peer conventions. The debates surrounding the development of individual disciplines, for example in management studies the 'Pfefferdigm' debates of a few years ago (Cannella and Paetzold, 1994; Pfeffer, 1993; Van Maanen, 1995), generally refer to the norms and conventions of what constitutes 'legitimate' professional scholarship in this domain. For Burawoy, critical sociology provides the necessary counterbalance to the potential pathologies of the other sociologies. With respect to the professional domain, critical sociology examines the implicit and explicit and normative and descriptive foundations and assumptions at play. This is the nature of my Critical HRM paper on mainstream HRM scholarship cited above (Delbridge, 2010). We can debate how much of CMS scholarship can be reasonably described as such, but it is clear that at least one major part of the rationale for the emergence of CMS was the desire to critique mainstream management studies. It is important to state explicitly that this does not mean I am suggesting that only Critical Management Studies is capable of 'critical management studies', nor that CMS is exempt from critique. All of the founding fathers of social science - Weber, Marx, Durkheim - commented critically

Table I. Burawoy's sociologies

	Academic audience	Extra-academic audience
Instrumental knowledge	Professional sociology	Policy sociology
Knowledge	Theoretical/empirical	Concrete
Legitimacy	Scientific norms	Effectiveness
Accountability	Peers	Clients/patrons
Pathology	Self-referentiality	Servility
Politics	Professional self-interest	Policy intervention
Reflexive knowledge	Critical sociology	Public sociology
Knowledge	Foundational	Communicative
Legitimacy	Moral vision	Relevance
Accountability	Critical intellectuals	Designated publics
Pathology	Dogmatism	Faddishness
Politics	Internal debate	Public dialogue

Source: From Burawoy (2004, p. 1607).

on capitalism and its corporations while, as Gibson Burrell notes (2009, p. 553), 'the concept of "critical management studies" itself... has also to be critiqued and opposed'. Other elements in the rise of CMS, in particular its problematization of the researching and teaching of management in contemporary academia, fit further aspects of how Burawoy understands critical sociology as the 'conscience of professional sociology' (Burawoy, 2004, p. 1609).

Public and policy sociology speak to audiences beyond academia. Policy sociology refers to where there is a specific problem defined by a client – the relation is instrumental since the research terrain is not defined by the social scientist. Public sociology is the domain of 'public intellectualism' and engages audiences beyond the academy in dialogue on matters of political and moral concern. As Burawoy notes, public sociology must be relevant without falling into the trap of faddishness and subservience to its publics. In this context, critical sociology questions the values under which research in the policy sphere is conducted and the moral commitments of public social science. It is probably reasonable to say that the origins of CMS are more clearly and directly associated with concerns to challenge dominant academic conventions and to highlight such issues as control and exploitation, the inequities and unitarist assumptions of management practices, than with client-driven policy agendas but all three are relevant and must feature in an assessment of any social science discipline. And as Burawoy (2004, p. 1609) contends, the sociologies are reciprocally interdependent, 'the flourishing of each depends on the flourishing of all'.

My point of departure is that Critical Management Studies can, at least to a considerable degree, be understood as being analogous to 'critical sociology', with a foundational and reflexive understanding of knowledge, a legitimizing discourse drawing from moral commitments over scientific norms, widespread internal debate and a potentially pathological tendency to dogma, damaging internal debates and antagonisms. While the desire and need to address non-academic audiences is a frequent feature of the internal

debate, the widespread view within (and without) is that the evidence is not strong on the level of outward engagement nor the positive outcomes of such activity.

SITUATING CMS

CMS is a broad church and an 'evolving body of knowledge' (Alvesson et al., 2009, p. 1) but it is possible to identify some common themes across its range of research and theorizing. One is the commitment to be impactful and promote change. It is, in part, this dynamic that makes CMS important for management studies more generally. The prolonged agonizing over the (lack of) relevance and impact of mainstream management research by some of its major protagonists speaks to these very concerns (from Pfeffer to Ghoshal). Of course, CMS is not interested in having the same sorts of impact that many mainstream management researchers would be.

Various attempts have been made to distil the essence of CMS. Drawing on the work of Fournier and Grey (2000) and Adler et al. (2008) it is possible to identify a number of key themes that are common to work in the broad school of CMS. These themes are: the questioning of the taken-for-granted; moving beyond instrumentalism and assumptions of performativity; the concern for reflexivity and meanings in research; and the challenging of structures of domination (this argument is made more fully in Delbridge, 2010). The Critical Management Studies Division of the Academy of Management has the following: 'Domain statement: CMS serves as a forum within the Academy for the expression of views critical of established management practices and established social order. Our premise is that structural features of contemporary society, such as the profit imperative, patriarchy, racial inequality, and ecological irresponsibility often turn organizations into instruments of domination and exploitation. Driven by a shared desire to change this situation, we aim in our research, teaching, and practice to develop critical interpretations of management and society and to generate radical alternatives. Our critique seeks to connect the practical shortcomings in management and individual managers to the demands of a socially divisive and ecologically destructive system within which managers work' (Academy of Management website).

The origins of critical management studies are in the founding fathers of sociology and their critiques of management. CMS did not invent the critical appraisal of management. But the mobilization of Critical Management Studies as a discrete 'movement' (albeit a broad and often fragmented one) drew from a variety of strands of critical thinking and theorizing. There have been very clear examples of the 'internal debate' and 'dogmatism' that Burawoy recognizes as features of critical sociology. Most obviously there have been protracted and often bitter debates between those with differing views on the nature of the labour process or what constitutes Labour Process Theory. More recently, however, there have been concerted efforts to acknowledge the potential of bringing together these multiple approaches and perspectives (see Delbridge and Ezzamel, 2005) and to 'lean in the direction of a view of CMS that is accommodating rather than restrictive whilst, at the same time, being mindful of the danger of being so open-minded and liberal that it includes everything and so ends up being a vacuous category' (Alvesson et al., 2009, p. 7). Substantive themes are part of what makes CMS distinctive and recognizable as a somewhat coherent grouping that fits well with Burawoy's expectations

of critical social science: CMS challenges the assumptions and conventions of managerialist thinking, confronting, and critiquing ('de-naturalizing') the dominant norms of mainstream professional management studies. Central to these has been the thoroughgoing challenge to the performative obsession of professional management research and practice – that is, the evaluation of knowledge as exclusively instrumental and in means—ends terms. The reflexivity of CMS recognizes the mediating influences of researchers' underpinning ontological and epistemological assumptions, thereby making explicit the values that inform research and practice. CMS' challenge to established structures of domination builds from its emphasis on contextualizing management in historical, political, and economic settings.

These features taken together provide the basis for coherence within CMS; that is, the commitments for change and challenge to the existing status quo. Alvesson's (2008) discussion of the future of CMS (a perennial topic for those within the movement if not those beyond it) centres on the aim of inspiring social reform. Proponents of CMS have advanced an explicit expectation that research is undertaken with the intention to radically transform management practices and organizational systems. While it is widely accepted that the evidence on its impact is much less compelling than the espoused intentions of its most spirited advocates, a politicized agenda of change is a central motif of CMS which places it in sharp distinction with much mainstream management theory. Management practices and organizational structures are located in wider relief, including recognition of their embeddedness within power positions and broader patterns of relations of domination. In this regard, the relationship between 'professional management studies' and Critical Management Studies mirrors Burawoy's critical and professional sociologies (Burawoy, 2004, p. 1612): 'One function of critical sociology is to show that the world does not have to be the way it is'. This problematization of the (increasingly homogenous) norms and conventions in management theorizing and research is central to CMS' contribution to management studies.

THE 3Ps OF CMS: AN ASSESSMENT

The next part of this paper will briefly explore the relationship CMS has with the professional, policy, and public spheres of management studies. To provide some form of evaluation will inevitably involve some assumptions and subjective assertions. I will also draw upon a number of self-reflective pieces by key CMS scholars.

Academic Audiences: The Professional Sphere

It is in this domain that we have the best set of empirical evidence upon which to base an evaluation. A brief review of citation statistics (see Appendix) shows how the numbers of articles with keyword references to CMS and 'critical management studies' have risen significantly over the last 20 years (though note the recent decline). Of course, these may or may not have had influence on mainstream researchers. My impression is that perhaps CMS has emerged largely as a parallel stream of management theorizing which has become increasingly prominent, running *alongside* the mainstream whose course and form has generally changed very little if at all because of the increasing presence of CMS.

Others have concluded similarly (Clegg et al., 2006). There are certainly pockets of research that have been highly influential. For example, Hugh Willmott's (1993) $\mathcal{J}MS$ paper on managing culture was one of a number of important critical contributions that informed how management researchers more widely began to understand corporate culture. More detailed citation analyses of the extent to which critical work has been cited by mainstream researchers would provide insights into the cross-fertilization of ideas.

Regardless of evidence of the relative 'siloing' of critical research to date, a key element in the future of CMS is its potential to promote diversity of theorizing in management studies. There have been numerous observations that the leading mainstream management journals are home to an increasingly homogenous approach to theorization and a rather limited subset of the potential phenomena (Alvesson and Gabriel, 2013; Corbett et al., forthcoming; Delbridge and Fiss, 2013). In this context, it was good to see the editors of JMS (Corbett et al., 2013) recently reaffirming the journal's commitment to inclusivity and heterogeneity of approach and invoking its long-standing openness to radical critique and the problematization of management practice (Legge, 1977). CMS has a potentially vital role in addressing these limitations since its approach allows for inductive reasoning and essay-based argumentation and provides a broader framing of the focus for such scholarship. Alongside the *conduct* of management theorizing, a second key contribution may be drawn from the critical foundation that CMS provides for an interrogation of the politics and power of the social organization and production of professional management knowledge, and the attendant consequences both for the nature and substance of that knowledge base and for management researchers producing and disseminating this knowledge.

Along with the citation data, a second set of material outcomes also speak to the rise of CMS in the professional domain. Led by some high profile scholars who have had significant influence in the professional as well as critical sphere, [1] CMS has developed a number of institutions – most notably the Critical Management Studies conference, a new division of the Academy of Management, and a number of journals with an avowedly critical orientation – over the last 15–20 years that have drawn in more and more academics with at least a curiosity to learn what CMS has to offer. Perhaps the most significant of these has been the CMS division of the Academy of Management since this most obviously brings CMS researchers into the mainstream professional domain. This began as a Special Interest Group in 1998 and was granted full Division status in 2008. The division's website records that there are 725 members (of which 130 are student members) and that the membership is the most international of all divisions. The biggest overlaps in membership are with Organization and Management Theory (285 people are members of both) and Social Issues in Management (158).

This is an impressive number of critically oriented (or at least interested) scholars, though it is worth remembering that these membership numbers are dwarfed by the long-standing mainstream divisions: Organization and Management Theory has 3940 (including 1015 student members), Business Policy and Strategy has 4988 (1086 students), Human Resources has 3452 (647 students), and Organizational Behaviour 6100 (1633 students). CMS compares favourably with Management History (396; 52) and Management Spirituality and Religion (612; 126), but Gender and Diversity in

Organizations has 1202 members (266 students) and Social Issues in Management 1602 (360). Perhaps more worryingly for the longer-term viability of CMS, the last few years have seen its numbers decline by around 20 per cent from the peak in 2008 when it was first conferred Division status. And student numbers have dropped appreciably (by around 35 per cent), with its proportion of student members amongst the lowest of all the divisions and interest groups (only Management History has a lower percentage). Taken with a close reading of the last year or two's publication and citation data (see Appendix), this suggests that CMS may have reached a plateau, calling into question its prospects for increasing influence over the professional domain.

Extra-Academic Audiences: The Policy and Public Spheres

A key issue in the policy and public spheres of management studies is how CMS researchers have chosen to conceive of themselves in relation to these extra-academic audiences. Much of CMS has been cast as oppositional, particularly to practising managers but also societal (including government and policy making) elites. A question posed by CMS scholars themselves has been their willingness to *engage* with those they would oppose. This has been a central point of internal debate, with some CMS scholars advocating a radical commitment which is explicitly 'anti-management'. This perspective eschews engagement and discussion with managers and notions of 'better management' are rejected: 'The argument is that management is irredeemably corrupt since its activity is inscribed within performative principles which CMS seeks to challenge' (Fournier and Grey, 2000, p. 24). But as Burrell (2009, p. 554) observes: 'CMS does not mean "we hate managers" '. Indeed, managers are often victims of the system, many practise (uncapitalized) critical management studies, and, of course, many academics undertake management activity themselves.^[2]

This issue of (anti-)performativity and its limiting effects within CMS was recently addressed by some leading CMS exponents (Spicer et al., 2009). They advocated the development of a more impactful 'critical performativity' which should be adopted by CMS researchers keen to exercise more influence in the public and policy spheres. They came down strongly in favour of engagement with management practitioners and argued that 'CMS needs to appreciate the contexts and constraints of management. It needs to take seriously the life-worlds and struggles of those engaged with it' (p. 545). This was an explicit attempt to address the lack of impact that many felt had held back Critical Management Studies and also to challenge what they see as the cynicism of much CMS. For instance, Spicer et al. (2009) quote Fournier and Grey (2000, p. 22) in noting that CMS researchers have a tendency to be preoccupied by 'the grounds and "righteousness" of our critique' which acts to displace engagement with management's practices and participants, and also Jaros (2001, p. 38) who complains 'we seem to spend more time debating with each other about political economy than we do with the right wing forces carrying the day'. They are clear that 'how we do CMS' needs to change:

We reject the idea that CMS is best characterized as non- or anti-performative (Fournier and Grey, 2000; Grey and Willmott, 2005). Instead, we suggest that *critical performativity* is a more 'constructive' direction for CMS. For us, critical performativity

involves active and subversive intervention into managerial discourses and practices . . . Critical performativity also moves beyond the cynicism that pervades CMS. It does so by recognizing that critique must involve an affirmative movement alongside the negative movement that seems to predominate in CMS today. (Spicer et al., 2009, p. 538)

Spicer et al. are explicit that these changes will require CMS researchers to engage much more openly and self-reflexively with third parties, both practitioners and various publics, which 'involves willingness and openness by the researcher to be challenged and have their views radically called into question by those that they are studying. At the most basic level, this involves recognizing the right of participants to speak as rational, reflexive individuals . . . It also means inviting those who are being studied into conversations about research results . . .' (p. 548). This can readily be interpreted in Burawoy's terms as a call for more concern with the extra-academic audiences of the policy and public spheres, and also recognition of the pathology of dogmatism that Burawoy ascribes to the critical domain.

In a recent further intervention on CMS' lack of wider influence and its causes, Fournier and Smith (2012) suggest the problem lies as much with the individual members of the movement as anything else. They are damning in their conclusions:

To sum up, CMS has been accused of failing to engage with current social and political issues, to reach out to a broader public in the name of whom they supposedly speak, and to reflect upon the ways their own practices reproduce the power relations they condemn. As a result, critique within management studies has remained ineffectual and has had little impact in changing practices, worse it has reproduced patterns of inequalities that it denounces in the outside world . . . In short, CMS has been little but self-serving. (Fournier and Smith, 2012, p. 464)

Their argument is that critique starts with holding oneself to account; by definition it requires self-sacrifice: 'we cannot denounce unfair practices whilst holding on to the benefits that these same practices give us' (Fournier and Smith, 2012, p. 468). And drawing on institutional positions to mobilize that critique is seen as deeply problematic since individuals are complicit in the systems that they may be critiquing.

This calls for further reflection on the institutional context within which CMS is conducted. CMS' close relationship with the business school has been widely remarked upon; Grey and Willmott (2002) have described CMS as parasitic to business schools. Their argument is one in favour of engagement and mutual transformation of management practices and business schools. This is therefore a strategy of engagement founded from within and based upon the institutions and authority structures of the dominant system. For Fournier and Smith (2012), the concerns of incorporatization have been borne out and they are highly sceptical of the prospects for radicalism when incumbents enjoy the current conditions of privilege:

The reward system within universities, and perhaps business schools in particular, has often been pointed at as the main culprit in encouraging 'moral bankruptcy' in

academia . . . In addition, the reward system creates conflict between serving the public interest and individual interests . . . academics are not rewarded for making the world a better place but for publishing in top ranked journals. (Fournier and Smith, 2012, p. 470)

Fournier and Smith imagine an altogether different approach in the form of 'quieter, smaller interventions' that would eschew any personal reward and take place outside the established institutions, thereby deinstitutionalizing intellectual practice and critique.

There is much to admire in the personal moral commitment and self-sacrifice that are called for by Fournier and Smith. Their analysis points to some important aspects of the explanation for the continuing irrelevance of CMS despite the espoused aspirations of its adherents. ^[3] But I am not personally optimistic that this is likely to prove a widely effective *cri de coeur*. Of course, I can quite accept I am too embedded in the current culture and institutions, too much a part of the problem, to be part of the solution. Or at least their conception of these. Either way, my own proposal to be outlined below is larger scale or more 'institutional' in spirit and informed by a reading of what the current context (and personal interests) might in some regards facilitate rather than militate against.

A final aspect of this review of contemporary CMS is consideration of the role that it plays in teaching and education. The CMS divisional domain statement makes explicit reference to teaching and this is clearly a key area of potential influence on non-academic audiences. Here also, the consensus among CMS scholars is that opportunities are being missed and something more (perhaps more accurately, something different) is needed. Those who have reflected on this issue have noted that critical programmes often fail to engage business students or indeed provoke resistance and hostility (Spicer et al., 2009). Grey and Sinclair (2006) suggest that the language of CMS makes it difficult to engage students or the wider public in its concerns. A key aspect of communicating the arguments and findings of CMS must be their incorporation into educational materials of various forms and in ways that are accessible.

This returns us to the limited influence of CMS in the public sphere. In regard to CMS' influences on and through the education of students, I have considerable sympathy with the argument put forward by Alessia Contu (2009, p. 541), proposing 'education as activism'. She rightly notes that from the pages of prestigious journals such as $\mathcal{J}MS$ to the side meetings of practitioner conferences to the public pronouncements of government ministers, there is a shared angst at the lack of impact and relevance of mainstream (and CMS) management theory and knowledge. And that education is the primary route through which CMS should have influence:

I wish to underscore and develop what has been suggested in the CMS literature: that education is first and foremost the realm in which CMS has, or can have, practical impact . . . Education should, I will suggest, be recognized as the basic and central, if not exclusive, practical terrain for CMS activism . . . (Contu, 2009, p. 537)

In my view it is highly regrettable that academia appears to have lost the argument that its major contribution to (and 'impact' on) society is through its education of students.

Perhaps put more accurately, academia has lost the ability to win this argument in the face of concerted attacks from corporate and political elites. Neo-liberal arguments about the value of universities have seemingly disregarded education itself; students are a way of subsidizing state funding while governments demand ever greater returns ('value') from their (declining) expenditure.

So let us turn to the question of value in universities before specifically considering the future value of CMS. To do so, I will draw parallels between the potential future agenda of CMS and the arguments about the prospective future of the social sciences more broadly that have been recently articulated by British sociologist John Brewer.

INTRODUCING BREWER'S PUBLIC VALUE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Brewer's (2013) recently published book, *The Public Value of the Social Sciences*, outlines a future manifesto for social sciences. It is a holistic and self-avowedly ambitious argument for significant changes to the current conduct of social science scholarship broadly defined. There are several key features of the argument that are directly relevant to our discussion of the potential future of CMS: definitions of the *value* of scholarship; the meanings of science and tenets of research design in social sciences; the potential of a post-disciplinary approach to producing knowledge of use in addressing society's problems; and the basis and logic for engagement with the public and policy spheres.

Brewer begins by acknowledging the dominant discourses of neo-liberalism and markets but proceeds to valorize social science in terms that go beyond here-and-now use and price value. Public value is defined in terms of humanitarian futures and societal good. This public normative value comes from, and reproduces, two qualities of social sciences: they generate knowledge about society and they are a medium for society's reproduction (Brewer, 2013, p. 29).

Brewer (2013, p. 168) is clear that social science contributes to all forms of value (use, price, and normative) but his interest is in prioritizing and protecting its normative public value. He lists the following range of contributions which social science makes in order to realize this:

- Social science engages with the social nature of society itself, in culture, the market, and the state.
- Social science generates information about society, the market and the state that informs society, the market and the state about themselves.
- Social science promotes moral sentiments and the sympathetic imagination that realizes a body of citizens educated to social awareness and appreciative of the distant, marginalized, and strange other.
- Social science teaching and learning has civilizing, humanizing, and cultural effects.
- Social science contributes to social amelioration and improvement in society, the market and the state, that extends well beyond short-term policy effects.

It seems to me that these are both an accurate summary of social science's *character* and a desirable set of contributions within which CMS' aspirations can readily be accommodated (though the explicit commitment to emancipation is missing). These goals reaffirm those aspirations, for example, in the promotion of moral sentiments and the

preservation of a sympathetic imagination (invoking C. Wright Mills) that sustains the social awareness of society and encourages social science practitioners to make public issues of private problems and to undertake social science to improve the lives of people by addressing those problems (Brewer, 2013, p. 158).

Brewer is at pains to draw out the distinction between 'impact', which he sees as a bottomless pit leading nowhere, and public value. He distinguishes between 'impact' and 'value' thus: 'Public value . . . is about the intrinsic worth of social science, what good it is in its own right. What I will be advocating shortly, therefore, is social science as a public good for its own sake' (Brewer, 2013, pp. 145–46). He is mindful that, while this articulation is consistent with a public sociology orientation, care must be taken that the agenda is not captured by government and other powerful sponsors: 'Publicly funded research agendas are under pressure to reflect government policy initiatives – not so much evidence-based policy, as John Holmwood (2011, p. 4) puts it, but policy-based evidence' (Brewer, 2013, p. 97). Brewer advocates a post-disciplinarity that links across disciplinary boundaries in social science, humanities, and natural sciences, and which connects with civil society and government, in order to allow society's problems to define the research agenda and the disciplinary perspectives needed.

Critical Management Science?

So far so good. Without wishing to underestimate the capacity for critical social scientists to find things to disagree about, this seems to me to be an agenda within which most CMS scholars could operate to varying ends. However, there are two areas of Brewer's argument that need closer attention if we are to build a future for CMS upon his manifesto: its scientific and post-disciplinary qualities.

Brewer is quite clear that his vision of social science is value-committed and ethically driven, rejecting value neutrality and moral relativism. But it is 'scientific'. The public value of social science must be founded on certain scientific qualities (Brewer, 2013, p. 57):

- the commitment to developing evidence-based observations, descriptions, and explanations (where 'evidence' is understood to include empirical data as well as theoretical ideas and models);
- the commitment to professional and ethical practice, including accuracy, honesty, and integrity, in all stages of the investigation;
- the commitment to objectivity (since even subjectivity can be studied objectively); and
- the separation of value and evidence.

Brewer proceeds to elaborate how he understands the science commitments that are necessary. He is clear that 'the idea of science' involves the observation, description, and identification of phenomena by empirical and theoretical examination in order that these phenomena might be explained. But he is also clear that no one kind of evidence or research method should be privileged, rejecting unreflexive preferences for numerical data gathered through quantitative methods.

Gone . . . are the commitments that privilege the natural sciences' practice of science, which the science-loyalists in social science seek to emulate, such as causation, deduction, the development of universal law-like generalizations and (it follows on naturally) prediction. It is the absence of these sorts of practices that provoke the regular complaint that the social sciences are not scientific enough; but this is just one mode for practising the idea of science. (Brewer, 2013, p. 58)

In this regard, social scientists must reclaim the idea of science as inductive (or abductive), open-ended, and exploratory, conducting research in ways that are consistent with the disciplinary and methodological requirements of whichever specific set of ontological assumptions and epistemological understandings are adopted.

As Alvesson (2008, p. 16) has mapped out, the approaches represented within the broad church of CMS range across the full spectrum of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigms 'from orientations that are extremely non-objectivist . . . assuming the unknowability of the social world' to 'approaches that assume there is an objective world out there that we can develop robust (if imperfect) scientific knowledge about'. It is for each to consider the tenets of Brewer's idea of science and determine whether they feel these are compatible with their own. As a critical realist, I can work to these myself though there are clearly potential tensions particularly around the notion of objectivity and the nature of evidence. I think these are worth pursuing through reflexive and constructive discussion since the 'strength of difference' (see Delbridge and Ezzamel, 2005) and opportunities offered by the plurality within CMS (see Delbridge, 2010) cannot be fully realized without such reflexive engagement at these ontological and epistemological borders (see also Alvesson et al., 2009; Janssens and Steyaert, 2009).

Brewer does not seek to dismiss the value-commitments of science, nor to suggest that science and value are at opposite ends of a spectrum. But he is clear that 'Partisanship is a problem only if the values it carries distort practice; it is not inevitable that it does so if values and evidence remain separated'. He continues:

What Lather (1986) calls 'openly ideological research' is partisan only if values and evidence elide, and now that we work in a post post-modern research culture (see Brewer, 2000) there is no reason to argue that the separation is impossible. It might well be the case, as postmodernists argue, that 'facts' are value laden and need to be critically examined; what matters for the practice of science is that the examination is not distorted by the values the examiner holds. (Brewer, 2013, p. 201)

This is easier said than done; and sceptical audiences will not be readily persuaded. However, I think the reflexivity and reflections on research ethics that have been prominent in recent evaluations of the weaknesses and opportunities for CMS (Alvesson et al., 2009; Brewis and Wray-Bliss, 2008; Wray-Bliss, 2003) offer routes through these issues that all across the range of CMS approaches might embrace in their own ways. This will involve clarity over ontological positions and epistemological assumptions, self-reflection, and a central role for critique as is consistent with Burawoy's conception of *reflexive* knowledge.

Knowledge of What, for Whom?

For Brewer, the research agenda should be led by society's pressing concerns. In this, there are clearly dangers that these are dominated by established elites. But he is clear that the ethics of his new public social science are both progressive and transgressive:

The ethical commitments of the new public social science make it normative and partisan. These ethical values are explicit. They are its point. Its focus on the big issues facing the twenty-first century is motivated by concern over humanitarian future we are bequeathing our grandchildren; its public value is to garner moral sentiment and sympathetic imagination towards other social beings with whom we share dwindling resources and space, which makes us aware of our responsibilities to the marginalized and dispossessed worse off than ourselves; its research and teaching agendas are designed to engage with publics, locally organic ones as well as powerful ones, privileged and poor ones, in order to involve all stakeholders affected by the 'wicked problems' we are experiencing; and the scientific commitments to analysis, explanation, and understanding are matched with the desire, at best, for solutions and at least amelioration. (Brewer, 2013, pp. 201–02)

Delivering this research agenda in ways that avoid cooptation and conservatism will need wider and deeper critical engagement with the policy makers, practitioners, and publics with whom the nature of the problem will be determined and knowledge will be created. As Brewer notes, this may also cause discomfort for critical social scientists:

Traditional normative social scientists may well dislike the idea of public social science because it challenges their preference for the naysayer role of critic, since they know that in order to make a difference to people's lives they will have to engage upwards to powerful publics. Traditional science affirmers in social science, conversely, may well dislike it because the focus on 'wicked problems' risks their detachment and threatens to get them engaged with issues that have clear moral dimensions. (Brewer, 2013, p. 200)

Brewer is explicit in recognizing that this will mean working with governments, big business, and other elites as well as marginalized groups, NGOs, charities, and local community groups. In other words, researchers will need to broaden their engagement, even 'working with the enemy', in order to deliver the 'critical performativity' (Spicer et al., 2009) of this new public social science: 'Research becomes participative, in which research questions are not defined solely as the preserve of the professionals; it is a form of co-produced knowledge. Public social science needs to be co-produced with the publics that name it as such . . .' (Brewer, 2013, p. 186). Impact on our humanitarian future will be achieved through local, national, and global activities, including research, teaching, and civic engagement in order to create, persuade, and prompt publics to civic action. These processes will be crucial to the prospects of delivering societal change.

Post-Disciplinarity

There is one further element of Brewer's manifesto that merits discussion: his commitment to post-disciplinarity. This has been considered in a number of different disciplines within social sciences over the last decade or so, including sociology (Sayer, 2001), political economy (Jessop and Sum, 2001), and science studies (Biagioli, 2009). Each of these discussions recognizes the 'pre-disciplinary' history of their domains and the limitations of the discursively and organizationally constructed boundaries that have come to silo their respective disciplines. Brewer picks up this argument that the identification of academics with specific disciplines within social science is counter productive to making progress in understanding society; the boundaries, parochialism, and imperialist tendencies of disciplines can stifle scholarship and innovation (Sayer, 2001).

Post-disciplinarity is a better foundation for addressing complex societal problems which require a variety of expertises and methodologies. It is also consistent with a fluid, problem-driven approach to organizing research teams and engaging stakeholders, creating 'clusters that may be too short-lived to be institutionalized into departments or programs or to be given lasting disciplinary labels' (Biagioli, 2009, p. 819). And as Sayer (2001) observes, post-disciplinary approaches may actually enhance coherence in research since they avoid the fragmentation of conventional disciplinary studies.

Brewer emphasizes that he sees post-disciplinarity as the hallmark of the new public social science research agenda: it is problem focused and encourages collaboration across all branches of knowledge, not just across the social sciences. Examples of the problems that might be addressed include: climate change, population growth, sustainable development, pollution, a rapidly expanding elderly and aging population, economic and political instability, terrorism and organized violence, and the like. Such challenges:

... invoke moral and philosophical ideas about human dignity but also have technical dimensions that are best understood by breaking down barriers between medicine, the natural sciences, like biology, chemistry and environmental science, and the social sciences... Being problem rather than discipline focused in this way means that issues demand a multidisciplinary approach that adds to our understanding of them and encourages individuals to step outside their disciplinary comfort zones in order to address them. (Brewer, 2013, p. 185)

I think this has considerable promise for an exciting new future where social sciences play a central role in connecting society with science to the betterment of humankind. But it will take some achieving . . .

Where do management studies and business schools figure in this post-disciplinary landscape? It is possible to construct both optimistic and pessimistic scenarios. Pessimistically, management studies and business schools are large communities and have what Biagioli (2009, p. 826) refers to as 'stable institutional ecologies', meaning they do not face the same imperatives to post-disciplinary collaboration that may confront other parts of the social sciences and humanities. The conventional wisdom that management studies and business schools are themselves inter- if not post-disciplinary may also feed a complacency and isolationism which will stand us (and society) in poor stead.

The disinterest (if not disdain) that is often forthcoming from 'proper disciplines' towards management studies also promotes its isolation. It is notable and regrettable that Brewer barely mentions business and management as a discipline within the social sciences. Business studies is cited three times in the Index, management studies not at all (nor accounting). Sociology is cited 34 times and economics 32. But look at Brewer's list of problems that might feature on his agenda for the new public social science: climate change, population growth, sustainable development, pollution, an aging population, economic and political instability, terrorism and organized violence. Do not all of these have key issues that would benefit from the contributions of those who understand business, management, and organization? Indeed, is it possible to imagine a 'wicked problem' in society that would not include such? So, I would argue, the new public social science agenda needs us!

The more optimistic scenario for management studies stems from our wide experience in research collaboration, our eclectic and innovative approaches to phenomena, the applied nature of much of our research, the sheer volume of students that we reach and so on. It is clear, given the context and tenor of this paper, that post-disciplinary approaches raise both a challenge and an opportunity for management studies in general and CMS in particular. There will be defensive voices raised about incorporation, cooptation, and the loss of disciplinary autonomy. And these are real dangers. For my part, I would follow Biagioli's (2009, p. 833) advice: 'What matters the most is to keep the game in play, not the canon in place, and see how it looks from where it goes'.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

So, there we have it. My promising future for CMS: a new public value of Critical Management Studies. This future will see critical management researchers join in postdisciplinary research teams and work with practitioners (from local community representatives to the senior executives of major corporations and policy makers at all levels) to make individual citizens' 'private troubles' public issues for attention, and address societal problems in ways that sustain society's moral sentiments and sympathetic imagination for the betterment of humankind. This will see CMS play a much greater role in the public and policy domains of knowledge production and dissemination. It is vital that critical scholars engage with the policy and public spheres to shape the research agenda. In the professional domain, CMS will continue to act as the conscience of management studies, challenging the taken-for-granted no-alternativism of unreflexive managerialism, highlighting the inequities and travails of the dispossessed and marginalized under capitalism, problematizing the conventions and assumptions of management researchers, sensitizing students to the structures and discourses of domination within which they live and work. Indeed, this approach goes a considerable way to addressing the key weaknesses of CMS that have been identified, such as the limiting effects of CMS' 'anti-performativity' approach, its anti-management stance, the lack of engagement with practitioners, and so on. I would argue that it also offers considerable potential for management studies more generally to play a key role in addressing societal problems.

This new public value vision for CMS is clearly no panacea. As my perspicacious colleague Mike Reed pointed out when we discussed Brewer's book recently, there are questions that remain unanswered. These include whether a concern with specific wicked problems will leave the underlying structures of domination and inequity unchallenged? Who will determine the wicked problems to be addressed? How will the social sciences develop if public social science becomes increasingly dominant; whither the professional and critical domains? Will a post-disciplinary world see the social sciences even more disadvantaged against the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) subjects that traditionally dominate universities and government policy debates? These are real concerns but there are reasons to be optimistic about the prospects for this agenda.

Much of the critique of CMS I have reviewed here has come from within. The extensive engagement of CMS with issues of reflexivity and ethics speak well for the potential for its further development. Of course, we must guard against the pathology of introverted internal debates and an ethical cul-de-sac (Thompson et al., 2000) that would see us ensnared by discussions of competing value commitments and moral relativism (which, by the way, Brewer declares is seriously challenged by the new public social science). Likewise, the 'idea of science' will prove contested. It will be important to find ways of conceiving this that facilitate rather than frustrate the prospects for post-disciplinary collaboration. Much of this will 'come out in the wash' as researchers join together to conduct new post-disciplinary projects and a 'pragmatic realism' (Watson, 2010) is negotiated. As Spicer et al. (2009) note, critical interventions are often pragmatic.

The contemporary context may prove conducive. Fournier and Grey (2000) noted that a particular set of historical conditions helped ferment CMS in the UK, including the rise of the New Right and New Labour, an increasing growth of 'managerialization' allied with an internal crisis of management, and changes in the social sciences generally, particularly the growth of UK business schools. Current debates over the value of public universities and government-funded academic research are creating a challenging context for critical researchers across the disciplines. But they are also producing an environment where critical researchers have to act in order to preserve their institutions. The notion of 'impact' as currently cast may be highly problematic but it might just promote the sort of engaged and impactful ('valuable') research that CMS advocates have been hoping for. The trick for researchers will be to engage in projects that produce beneficial outcomes in line with their moral commitments. There are some encouraging signs that CMS researchers have found ways to engage very directly with, for example, the Occupy! movement in recent times.

I started this paper with reference to the early paper in $\mathcal{J}MS$ by Wood and Kelly (1978) that sought to evaluate developments towards 'a critical management science'. It is apposite (and rather poignant) to close with their final words:

What exactly the tasks of a radical industrial studies entail is another story . . . What is certain though, is that waiting for the perfect manifesto for radical action is like waiting for Godot, and that any specification of the tasks of management science cannot be done in isolation from practical activities. (Wood and Kelly, 1978, p. 24)

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NOTES

- [1] I am thinking here in particular of the roles played by Paul Adler and Hugh Willmott in creating and sustaining the CMS Division of the Academy of Management and the Critical Management Studies conference respectively, but also Gibson Burrell, Marta Calas, Mike Reed, and Linda Smircich in establishing *Organization*, the journal most associated with CMS.
- [2] Academic managers have been an increasing focus for discussion amongst CMS researchers, especially in the context of research evaluation exercises.
- [3] My colleague Robyn Thomas directed me to similar debates in Feminist Theory (Stanley and Wise, 2000).

APPENDIX

Number of Papers with 'Critical Management Studies' in Title

Search conducted on Web of Knowledge, social science research domain: 'critical management studies' in title. 59 results (on 4 July 2013). Figure A1 shows the number of papers published in each year, and Figure A2 shows the number of citations in each year.

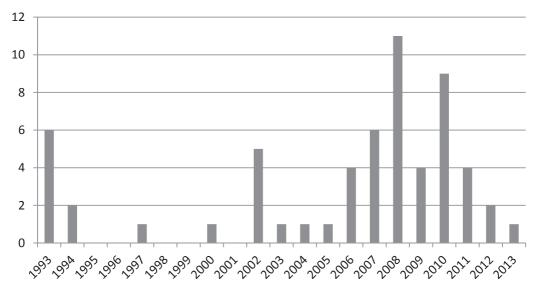


Figure A1. Number of papers with 'critical management studies' in title; number of papers published in each year





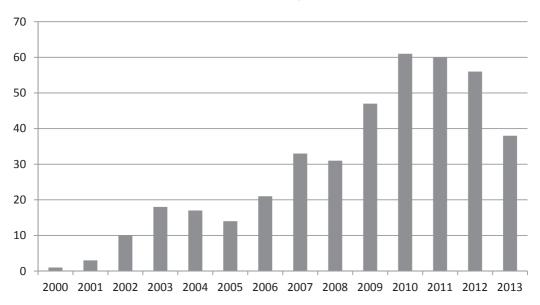


Figure A2. Number of papers with 'critical management studies' in title; number of citations in each year

Number of Papers with 'Critical Management Studies' as Topic

Search conducted on Web of Knowledge, social science research domain: 'critical management studies' in topic. 141 results (on 4 July 2013). Figure A3 shows the number of papers published in each year, and Figure A4 shows the number of citations in each year.

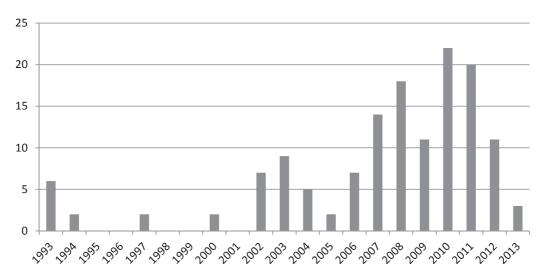


Figure A3. Number of papers with 'critical management studies' as topic; number of papers published in each year

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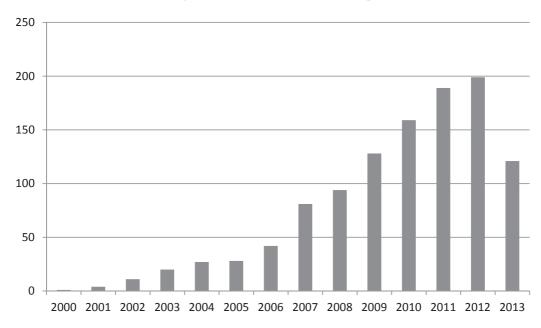


Figure A4. Number of papers with 'critical management studies' as topic; number of citations in each year

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