

**Management Education in Chile: from politics of  
pragmatism to (im)possibilities of resistance.**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores several concerns and their relation to theoretical debates built around Critical Management Studies, Critical Management Education, Latin American Critical Thinking and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's Political Theory. By reflecting upon the practice of Management Education in Chile as a case study, this research tries to make sense of the propositions developed by CMS and CME as self-declared alternative projects to create new approaches to the aforementioned practices. My work seeks to address the perceived pitfalls of CMS and CME as radical projects, carrying out an exploration into their political failures and seeking to re-articulate the mentioned propositions using the political works of Laclau and Mouffe and possible insights from Latin American Critical tradition with the purpose of suggesting new radical standpoints.

The specific focus of this project is the identification of prevalent discourses among current management education in Chile and an exploration of the potential for a more critical agenda. My endeavour intends to challenge "traditional" and Anglo-Saxon constructions of critical perspectives within Management Studies with a view to developing a new interpretation of CMS and CME from a perspective which reflects the Chilean/Latin American social and political context. In this project, I set forth a position that addresses Latin America's liberation discourses as a normative standpoint that thus illuminates the incipient and untied resistance attempts that are loosely sustained by local management education's key actors. Those masked practices are showing the negativity and limit of mainstream management education practices, as well as the (im)possibilities for local criticalities that could challenge Eurocentric hegemonic attempts for resistance.

## Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university, or other institute of learning.



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## Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

*"I say that political action belongs to a category of participation completely different from these writings or bookish acts of participation. It is a problem of groups, of personal and physical commitment. One is not radical because one pronounces a few words; no, the essence of being radical is physical; the essence of being radical is the radicalness of existence itself"*

*Michael Foucault (1978)*

*"Democratic Teachers' is an unnecessary redundancy. To be a teacher is to be democratic. Those who aren't democratic aren't teachers; they scarcely attain the rank of dog-riding cowboys"*

*Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos*

This thesis explores several concerns and its related theoretical debates, all of them built around, Latin American Critical Thinking, Critical Management Studies, Critical Management Education and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's Political Theory. Reflecting upon the practice of Management Education in Chile as a case for study, my research intends to make sense of the propositions developed by Critical Management Studies and Critical Management Education as self-declared alternative projects to re-think those practices. My work looks to address the perceived pitfalls of CMS and CME as radical projects, exploring its political limitations and seeking to re-articulate those propositions using the political work of Laclau and Mouffe and possible insights from the Latin American Critical tradition with the intention of suggesting new radical standpoints starting from the concept of liberation.

## **Where my concerns come from: personal reflections**

My interest in Human Resource Development practice started early during my undergraduate studies. Within the vast range of professional possibilities for a psychologist, becoming an HRD practitioner was always my main area of interest. My understanding of being an HRD practitioner was that it was the best way to collaborate in raising human and social values within the most compulsory and extended human activity, namely *labour*. During my practice I had the opportunity to experience what was expected from HRD departments within companies. I belonged to the HRM dept in a bank and then moved to an HRD consultancy group. Generally speaking our task was always to stay in line with upper management strategies; HRD development was conceived as a way to put into practice business goals regarding people as a tool to achieve those aims. What I am trying to suggest is that people were not ends of those strategies but rather means of its endeavour.

To embrace preliminary criticisms of these issues was not difficult for me. It was evident that my practice was far from my former expectations and really far from my personal values and beliefs as well. But whenever I tried to state my reflections I found neither a positive reception nor an explicit rejection, but a "re-orientation" of my thoughts from my superiors and colleagues. They clearly explained to me that making profit was the main issue, and all working efforts carried out within management had to be profit-oriented. There were no arguments.

After eight years of professional practice I went to England in order to improve my practitioner skills through the study of a master's degree. Unexpectedly, I found an academic place in which my original motivations apparently had been considered for discussion.

The academic work that I was reading and studying was taking me to interesting findings: the possibility to talk about an alternative, critical or radical way of approaching management studies and management practice. And it was not just a possibility of discussion, I found a proper discipline emerging, the currently well known Critical Management Studies. The first door was

opened to understanding this particular practice from a non-mainstream way of thinking and a growing number of scholars had been working seriously on it.

Keeping my interest in my country's affairs I was tempted to embrace CMS rationale as a flagship in this struggle and was trying to figure out the way to "translate" and "transport" it to Chile. Bearing in mind the difficulties and resistances that I could find within the management practice there, I decided to approach management education as a friendlier room for newcomers carrying alternative conceptions. A PhD appeared as the perfect passport to enter in this new world as well as the way to reflect and develop a proposition about how to re-think management education tradition and practice in my country. Moreover, after some time of having closer contact with this critical community, questions and criticisms arose from and towards me. As both a masters and then as a PhD student I have been swimming in the deep end of this theoretical development.

I attended various critical conferences and I have been part of a "critical" department at Lancaster University. This involvement has showed to me some CMS and CME pitfalls in terms of its political subjectivity and related to the way in which they are (not)influencing our practice. Therefore in order to understand and unravel management education discourse in my country, CMS and CME political standpoints have to be challenged.

More relevantly, CMS and CME are theoretically inspired by Eurocentric critical philosophies. Although their explicit concerns were directed towards the marginal, silenced and oppressed participants of management practice, their voice scarcely represents the reality of Latin America as a Third World' subcontinent. Our history, mainly pictured as a colonial process, deserves particular attention. This unnoticed pitfall of these Northern/Western critical attempts was one of the main challenges of my research. Thereafter, my endeavours were pointed towards the exploration of Latin America's radical tradition with the expectation of building from that a new source of inspiration, or in other words, a re-articulation of criticality from a different understanding.

## **Latin American, “the Others”: The way in which we should regard ourselves.**

Latin America as a subcontinent could be studied from various standpoints. It is not easy to summarize our intellectual traditions in a few lines, particularly because very different historical, cultural, religious and political issues have informed them. The history of Latin American critical thinking is broad and extensive, its journey riddled with permanent questions, contradictions and challenges, starting from the very question of its identity.

As long as “emancipation” has been a crucial aspiration for Northern critical philosophies, our criticality is closer to “liberation”. It is that understanding what will be unravelled in the present research work. My aim is to use the theoretical frame of Discourse Theory to explore the antagonisms built around the liberation concept as well as its radical possibilities in a current context in Latin American management education affairs. Liberation is a term widely present among our radical tradition. Apart from its particular articulation within some well identified theoretical and activist developments, namely the work of the Brazilian Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of Liberation* and the Argentinean Enrique Dussel with his *Philosophy of Liberation*, its origins could be traced back from the preliminary questions about the (im)possibilities for a Latin American Thinking.

From the work of those authors it is possible to assert that our thinking has shown an evident trait of *un-authenticity* (Salazar Bondy 1968). This is explained by saying that our thinking was constructed as an imitated philosophy, as a superficial and episodic transference of ideas and principles. What is the background of that situation? In order to explain our particular thinking it is necessary to use concepts like *underdevelopment*, *dependence* and *domination*. Our subcontinent, labelled as Third World, is characterized by its dependant condition and its subjection to foreign economic-political power centres. The conditions of (im)possibility to overcome our historical negativity are related to recognise its oppressive features and deploying

effort in cancelling it. Therefore, we should find our own identity in the process of resisting and contesting that domination (Zea 1969).

The mentioned challenge of developing our thinking was widely assumed and reflected within the work of Freire and Dussel. They both presented different approaches about our local affairs, stressing educational and philosophical angles respectively. What they have in common is their constitution of Latin American people as oppressed, as “the other”, as objects rather than subjects within the concert of western life. All of them enhance *liberation* as our shared goal. Again, here *liberation* would be regarded as an empty signifier filled by different antagonisms with new political frontiers within them. A new articulation of the term reflecting from these three original developments would be a new antagonism, which will attempt to dislocate the sedimented nodal points of Critical Management Education informing new centres, centres that could incorporate the vicissitudes of far latitudes and in that way be radicalized and expanded.

### **Sketching the background: Critical Management Studies and Critical Management Education**

Critical Management Studies as a name was formalised with the publication of a book with the same title in 1992. Its authors, Mats Alvesson and Hugh Willmott, presented to the academic audience a series of articles which summarized almost a decade of endeavours oriented to the development of a critical understanding of Management Studies as a field. Critical Management Studies, as an academic stream is committed to critically reflecting about the practice and education of management as a field. This criticality is aimed towards developing an emancipatory social agenda through the role that management play within people’s lives. Far from accepting management as a technical tool oriented to achieve practical goals within an organization’s performance, CMS is concerned with revealing its social and political implications and hence its power inequalities and oppressive representations. Moreover, CMS is not a cohesive body of knowledge; its inherent diversity comes from its different theoretical backgrounds. Even though Critical Theory has been quoted as its main theoretical animus (Alvesson & Willmott 1992, 2005),

other voices within the field have fallen back on Marxism, Foucauldian, feminist and post feminist approaches as well as post modernist and post structuralist standpoints.

CMS could be regarded as a form of resistance against that so-called mainstream management. Moreover, with Laclau and Mouffe it is possible to recognise that not all kinds of resistances are political in character. Laclau and Mouffe (2004) have defined *political* as a particular kind of action which aims to transform a specific social relation which constitutes subjects within a relation of subordination. Some of criticism that has been directed towards CMS are related to the lack of impact of their endeavours despite the distance it has covered from its beginning. Its claims remain still captive within academic arena, and currently within the particular western (northern)-academic arena, with little impact on different scenarios and specifically with a lack of presence among management and broader social practices.

On the other hand management education<sup>1</sup> has been a practice as well as a field of study of growing significance since the last half of the past century. Management education activity has been one, or maybe "the way", open to managers to improve their skills, acquire technical knowledge and prepare themselves for the challenges of their profession (Engwall & Zamagni 1998). As well as mainstream management practice, traditional management education has undergone a process of self-criticism during the last decades. These issues, well established in the literature (Cunliffe, Forray & Knights 2002, French & Grey 1996, Fox 1997, Grey 2002, Reynolds 1997, Willmott 1997, Special Issue of Systems Practice 1997,), intend to increase the application of critical approaches to the current practice and development of management education. Most of these approaches share the assumption that management practice and management education are far from unproblematic fields (French & Grey 1996). This position implies that ME should restate its situation, making an effort to cope with the needs of a world in permanent change and with the ever-present and difficult-to-fill gap between theory and practice (Locke 1989). A relevant attempt to re-think management education was by situating itself under

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<sup>1</sup> Following Thomas (1997) I am regarding Management Education as a formal and institutionalized ( in the higher education system) way to deliver management formation.

the broad umbrella of CMS. Thereby Critical Management Education was growing as a prominent stream of that project. Alongside CMS, Critical Management Education has taken its inspiration from Critical Theory and particularly from Critical Pedagogy among other postmodernist and post structuralist standpoints. The crucial view which this critical position aims to enhance is that ME has become a social activity of central importance nowadays, and that the management academy has a decisive role in reproducing the practices of management (French & Grey 1996). But again, the same qualms could be presented for CME: where are their impacts on the way in which managers are being educated today? To what extent has CME been successful in challenged the practices that it critiques?

My research specifically sets out to explore the situation of current management education in Chile. It is concerned with the rationale and experiences of student and staff within Management Education among Chilean Universities. The specific focus of this project is the identification of prevalent discourses and an exploration of the potential for a more critical agenda. My endeavours intend to challenge "traditional" and Anglo-Saxon constructions of critical perspectives within Management Studies (see for example Alvesson & Willmott 1992, Fournier & Grey 2000, Zald 2002, Adler 2002, Walsh & Weber 2002, Grey & Willmott 2002, Nord 2002) with a view to critiquing them and developing a new interpretation of CMS and CME from a perspective which reflects the Chilean/Latin American social and political context.

### **Why Laclau and Mouffe? The connections between politics and my work**

In order to address that challenge, my research will attempt to re-articulate CMS's notion of politics, radical work and critique drawing upon Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory and Latin American Radical Tradition.

The post Marxian work of Laclau and Mouffe and its imaginary of radical democracy offer a stimulating framework to articulate these concepts. They are proposing an understanding of



politics and the social which strongly enhance the political as a result of their critique of essentialism. The very character of 'society' and identity are also put in question. Their early trajectory was one of a critical engagement with Marxist theory so as to arrive at a discursive understanding of hegemony and ideology. They argue that society is traversed by antagonism, it lacks of any essence to sustain its themes and it is overdetermined, in other words, its precarious unity results from discursive, articulatory practices.

Critical work within management studies has disputed the ontological and epistemological assumptions that traditional management studies were built on. This path is a way of permanent contestation, the terrain in which the articulation of being critical is constantly subverted. Laclau and Mouffe offer to us a non-essentialist and anti-foundational account of understanding the social characterized by the political struggle for hegemony.

From Laclau and Mouffe's wide and complex Discourse Theory, I will draw upon on their concepts of social antagonism and the establishment of political frontiers (2004) in order to make sense of the path that CMS and CME have covered as so called attempts of resistance. At the same time, Laclau's notion of empty signifiers is what allows my radical view of critical management offering, a place for a new nodal point, one of liberation, within the never-ending struggle for social hegemonies.

### **The re-articulation of liberation: a radical study of critical approaches to management and Chilean management education.**

Critical management approaches' possible roles as informing sources for Latin American management practices stimulated my research and its revision and exploration for local radical new articulations. In other words, my aim was to study critical approaches to management in radical terms mobilizing its political constituency as attempts towards public contestation.

In chapter two, I address the vicissitudes of Latin American radical philosophy and the way in which it has constituted a local identity from the experience of oppression. The liberation tradition, particularly the work of Freire and Dussel, is presented in this chapter. Specifically, my work proposes a genealogy of liberation, in other words, a process of exploration of their liberation in order to re-articulate its meanings, integrating its core propositions within the contextual problem of my research. The chapter ends with a novel proposition of liberation closely connected with Latin American's current forms of oppression.

Chapter three is devoted to introducing the context of my research and my object of study, namely Chilean management education practice. The chapter presents a re-visitation of our recent history and a proposed articulation of it, which deploys the way in which these issues have been constituting the conditions of (im)possibility for the current context of Chilean management education.

In chapter four I have engaged with the issues of the history of critical approaches and its conditions of possibility as well as its radical scrutiny highlighting its political lack and my proposed point of anchoring for possible re-articulations. In this chapter, I also provide an understanding of the philosophical position of the work of Laclau and Mouffe, specifically their understanding of the *social* as im/possible and the *political* as contingent negativity which constitutes any objectivity.

Chapter five discusses and justifies my methodological assumptions as well as disclosing the particularities of my chosen method. I do this in order to deal with the challenges of a novel methodological stance which barely has a history within management studies. My own path as an involved researcher is described there along with the main features of my data construction and analysis.

In the remaining chapters six and seven, I tackle more specifically business education practice in Chile by analysing and discussing the material produced in my research. The main rationale of these chapters has been based on the logics of critical explanation framework proposed by Glynos and Howarth (2007) which illuminate my work. This task has not been easy because there are virtually no examples in the literature of management education studies that have consistently drawn upon Laclau and Mouffe's work. Also the actual field of Chilean business education is little debated, situation that I articulated as the lack of problematization of its practice. What I do then in chapter 7 is to articulate the contextualized self-interpretation of key actors as an ensemble of four social logics, namely logic of pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism in the discursive formation that creates, maintains and sustains the business education production and reproduction in our local context.

In the final chapter of this thesis, chapter 8, I summarise the ground covered and highlight the main contributions that I think this thesis makes. These contributions can be outlined as: a) A re-articulation of the meaning of liberation as educational critique, reinvigorating it with the utilisation of the category of the other for making sense of the (im)possible place for resistance. b) Following Laclau and Mouffe, an elaboration of a position which addresses the primacy of politics in understanding the criticality within management studies and management education. c) Providing a debate with those who articulate and operate business education in Chile in which that social practice is sedimented as the reproduction of neo-liberal attempts, more precisely through the logics of pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism.

## **Concluding remarks**

There is much material produced during my research which I have not considered in this thesis, I think this is the case in all research. Yet, I am also aware that I have considered so much in terms of the wide topics that I have tried to knit together. It has been always been difficult for me to answer the question: 'what is your thesis about?' with just one sentence; I normally

overwhelmed my requesters with a huge and complex explanation. Besides, the relationships between one concept and another concept were always open to me. So that I found it difficult to accomplish a final closure. This issue might be obvious in many parts, and my 'thinking' could not be as linear and as clear as one might expect. Now, at the end, I would write certain parts differently, but I am aware that research is a never-ending process that should continue elsewhere, for example in conferences, journal papers and better among the permanent dialogues with colleagues.

More relevant, it is the first time I have written such a lengthy piece in English, which is not my mother tongue. In this respect this thesis has been a great challenge and a learning experience in which so many times I reach the limit of what made sense to me. At a certain point it was impossible for me to identify my written mistakes, the help of others was always necessary. But due to the fact this is my work I assume responsibility in some wording which no doubt is still rather foreign to standard English (if there is one). Nevertheless, this is my own way of using a different mode of expression. Finally, I'd like to just highlight the paradox of raising my own voice as Latin American, through the means and ends that in turn I have been trying to challenge.

## **Chapter 2 Latin American Radical Thinking: exploring its conditions of (im)possibility**

### **Introduction**

This chapter attempts to address the topics about Latin American critical thinking and its relevant role in illuminating and inspiring my analysis on the practice of management education and its critical possibilities.

One of the main aspects of my statements pointed out the need for new approaches of what has been regarded as a critical position within management studies. Critical Management Studies and its branch Critical Management Education have been respectable efforts in order to denounce and enhance the pitfalls and dark sides of the practice and educational dissemination of mainstream management. Moreover, their considerations and theoretical inspirations are still mainly based on Eurocentric and North American points of view; the cultural, political and historical context of Latin America claims for a specific consideration.

The history of Latin American critical thinking is broad and extensive; its journey is riddled with permanent questions, contradictions and challenges, starting from the very question of its identity. It is not my intention to deploy a detailed account of its happenings, of course this is a task that goes beyond this chapter and this thesis as well, but I will concentrate my efforts on shedding some light on what is relevant for my argument. For as long as “emancipation” has been a crucial aspiration for Northern critical philosophies, our criticality is closer to “liberation”. It said understandings that will be unravelled in this chapter.

My aim is to use the theoretical frame of discourse theory to explore the antagonisms built around the liberation concept, as well as its radical possibilities in a current context in Latin American management education affairs.

## **Is a Latin American Philosophy possible?**

The history of Latin American thinking originated as a question, namely, does a Latin American philosophy exist? This is not a whimsical question; it is inspired by a real concern about the authenticity and originality of our thinking. Philosophy's beginnings came about among us under very precocious conditions without any support on a vernacular intellectual tradition and together with native thinking being left out of the Hispanic philosophic processes. The philosophy was carried by the Spanish, they came to us in order to conquer and dominate our lands, and they imported the intellectual tools of domination as well (Salazar Bondy, 1988). Thus, Latin-American thinking has had an exogenous and fluctuant character strongly dependant on European and North American influences. In this way, it is possible to say that the so called Western thinking has permeated our thinking, in other words, its changes coincide with Western philosophy fluctuations because of its permanent influence over us.

Posing the question relating to our own thinking is first and foremost a statement of our diversity (Zea 1989). This question stems from our own perception as being different. Latin America has kept its unity as a historical phenomenon but why has it been so difficult to show our difference through a philosophical system of our own? Thus, asking the question about our own thinking is, also directly faces questions about its conditions of (im)possibility.

### **Historical account**

As I have stated above, Latin American philosophy as such is synonymous with external influence. Considering its evolution since America's discovery and Spanish conquest, this particular thought already has five centuries of history. In order to present its main features, I will follow Salazar Bondy's chronological articulation (1988) and Leopoldo Zea's (1988) historical account, both starting from the European penetration. They state that despite the cultural richness of our native past, Latin America as historical community does not exist as such before the Spanish conquest. Two aspects would explain their assertion. Firstly, irrespective of the

relevance of the European influence, cultural contact between original groups was not enough to regard them as a unity. And, on the other hand, apart from mythology and traditional legends aside, the historical information available about Latin American thinking only starts during the sixteenth century. I aim to present not an exhaustive history of Latin American philosophical ideas but to try and make sense of its orientation and character.

The Spanish conquerors' arrival during the sixteenth century brought to our subcontinent the predominant streams of their political and educational context. What was relevant for them was to indoctrinate the new subjects of the Crown according to the values of their State and the Catholic Church. In this way, the Scholastic was the philosophical system that they disseminated among our original people; an official system strongly centred in particular Spanish interests. If in any way this thinking showed any concern about the locals, it was just oriented to reflect how to dominate and civilize the Amerindians and their right to conquest and to colonize adapting the locals to European moulds. In those times there was not, and could not exist, any approach that would consider the needs and motivations of the new continent's Latin people.

Their first influence was present in our subcontinent until the eighteenth century. Different factors that were operating in Spain in those times, such as the liberal politics of Carlos III, and the meddling of new expeditions coming from other countries like France and England, ended in the arrival of the Enlightenment's ideas in our lands. Authors like Descartes, Leibniz, Locke, Galileo and Newton were part of the new philosophical streams, which promulgated in Latin America inspirations that finally represented counter positions against traditional scholasticism. From the stance of European timing these revolutionary processes were quite late, but there was a preliminary arousal of the critical local consciousness as well as a first hint of the recognition of self identity (Salazar-Bondy 1989). A new stage was inaugurated with the independency's political movements which finally cancelled out Spanish power by 1824. Now, without monarchist censorship our thinking could flow almost freely but it was still accompanied by a precarious socio-political status of our incipient republics.

The latest years of nineteenth century were dominated by the work of August Comte and positivism. That philosophical system was adopted by influential groups among Latin American societies during the consolidation of international capitalism in our countries. Moreover, its own self-criticism came from the core of the positivist movement. The heterogeneity of its adoption in our America spread its plurality which supported a wide range of convictions from an evident secularism to a deep profession of Christianity. The promoters of positivist criticisms which shared ideas with their European colleagues were oriented towards the constitution of a serious philosophical movement within universities. They were called *Los Fundadores*, the most prominent names being the Argentinean Alejandro Korn, the Uruguayan Carlos Vaz Ferreira, the Chilean Enrique Molina, the Peruvian Alejandro O. Deustua and the Mexicans José Vasconcelos and Antonio Caso. Their main concern was to grant a new sense and a more authentic base for our own culture. Generally speaking they could be represented as closer to idealism with evident preference for dynamic concepts, intuitive thinking and metaphysical speculation (Salazar Bondy, 1988).

The predominant thinking of the first half of the twentieth century was animated by Marxism and other social philosophies. A group of local thinkers led by the Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui tried to develop a Latin American Marxism incorporating local categories evidently different from those which instigated Marx's work. Marxist thinking in Latin America paid more attention to difficulties of social development rather than epistemological, methodological or axiological topics. Among local universities, Marxism had some legitimate influence by being included as a topic within different disciplines such as Economy, Sociology and Politics. Apart from classic texts some others authors were studied, namely Gramsci, Marcuse and Althusser. The second half of the twentieth century was the time of plural influences. Our intellectual circles received the disclosure of Catholic philosophies, Husserl's Phenomenology, Heidegger's existentialism, as well as influences from Jaspers, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty and Camus. Later it was the turn of language analysis and neo-marxism to step to the fore (Salazar-Bondy 1988).



## The debate

The question about whether or not a proper Latin American philosophy exists has been the nodal point of Latin American philosophy. The debate has been constructed around the question of whether Latin America is developing its own productions or if they are just adapting foreign frameworks to make sense of its own social and historical processes. The clearest expression of that polemic can be found within the work of the Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea (1989) and the Peruvian Augusto Salazar Bondy (1988).

The challenge was launched by Juan Bautista Alberdi in 1842. During his famous inaugural lecture Alberdi stated that it was impossible to affirm the existence of a proper Latin American Philosophy. He was talking about an own style of thinking, a development that aims to resolve our demands and promote our culture. His particular suggestion was to adopt any foreign (European) specific philosophical system that could be "adequate" to our idiosyncrasy. According to Alberdi our people do have not a speculative tendency, meaning that theoretical aspects were beyond our scope, in his words "*America does what Europe thinks*" (Salazar Bondy 1988). He suggested that our philosophy should not be theoretical or abstract but applied to solve social problems. In sum, he asserted that a Latin American philosophy must exist but via an adoption of European systems. This philosophy will be local despite its foreign origins, he explained, because a philosophy is local due to its special applications to a particular place and particular needs in a particular moment.

From those times a wide range of local scholars participated in the debate. Most of them supported Alberdi in saying that there was not a proper Latin American thinking. Others tried to rescue some particular aspects of our special way to adopt and adapt foreign influences.

In his book "*¿Existe una filosofía de nuestra América?*" <sup>1</sup> (1988) Augusto Salazar Bondy made an effort to address this problematic stating some considerations about the authenticity of any

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<sup>1</sup> Does any philosophy exist in our America?

philosophical system and thus our Latin thought. He defined three different concepts in order to clarify meanings: (i) Originality, any contribution of new ideas that should be different enough to be regarded as creations and not repetitions of doctrinaire concepts. (ii) Authenticity, a proper philosophical product, different from falsity and distortion. (iii) Peculiarity, implying the presence of differential historic and cultural traits which give a particular character to any philosophical product. It is a local emphasis which does not necessarily imply content innovations.

Following his own definitions, Salazar Bondy attempted to state that an original, peculiar and authentic Latin American Philosophy was possible but that said philosophy does not exist as yet. Despite his ability to recognize a peculiar character among our thinking developments, he clearly supports the argument of the inexistence of a proper philosophy. Having established its peculiarity, it is not possible to say something about its genuineness and originality. In his book, Salazar Bondy offered an interpretation and an explanation about the 'inexistence' of a Latin American thinking. His argument declared that our thinking showed an evident character of *unauthenticity*, being constructed as an imitated philosophy, as a superficial and episodic transference of ideas and principles. Its theoretical contents belonged to foreign existential projects which could not be repeated due to strong historical differences, even sometimes against our own values. But, what was the background of that situation? He said that in order to explain our particular thinking it was necessary to use concepts like *underdevelopment*, *dependence* and *domination*. Our subcontinent, labelled as Third World, is characterized by its dependant condition and its subjection to foreign economic-political power centres. Furthermore, he encourages new developments within our thinking oriented to transcending our lack of authenticity; a gap strongly embedded in our historical condition of undeveloped countries. In his terms, it is possible to overcome our historical negativity, starting by its recognition and then deploying enough efforts to cancel it out. Latin American philosophy should be a reflection about our anthropological status.

On the other hand, Mexican Leopoldo Zea wrote in 1989 *"La filosofía americana como filosofía sin más"*<sup>2</sup>. His book is another response to Alberdi's challenge, but from a different approach. Acknowledging the relevance of the question about whether or not Latin America owns a proper philosophical development, Zea attempts to respond by enhancing certain aspects which finally construct a new answer. In his terms, asking about the existence of a Latin American philosophy is to start by stating our difference. That question can only come up from the self perception of that difference, we feel different, and we know that we are different. Thus, making philosophy in Latin America originates from a polemic concerning the very definition of being human and the relation that this definition may have with our people. In Zea's terms Latin American people, constituted as mixed race, Amerindians and *criollos*<sup>3</sup>, were part of "*sub-humanity*", and as expression of that condition, its underdevelopment was a natural consequence of their inherent incapacity to progress. Facing this situation Latin American people makes their response arise and their argumentations constitute the beginning and the continuation of what would be called our original thinking.

Original meant independent from Spain. The condition for that independence was the creation of what he called "mental emancipation", namely a breaking-off from colonial culture. The aspiration was to create an ensemble of national cultures, like in Europe, a particular culture of Mexico, Argentina or Chile accompanied by a general background which would be a Latin American one. Furthermore, that was not the kind of philosophy that our continent produced in those times, but a particular sort of thinking which was determined to make Latin American people similar to the Eurocentric idea of humans beings. Zea highlighted that, as a result of this process, came the creation of new forms of subordination, where only the axis of political, economic and cultural subordination was shifted, from the Iberian Peninsula to Western Europe and the USA. Latin America is still the same for Zea, but now under a new dependency. To Zea, any attempt to amputate our past or deny our history makes no sense; on the contrary a distinctive philosophy should start from recognition. This acknowledgement is the acceptance that we are part of a

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<sup>2</sup> American Philosophy as just Philosophy.

<sup>3</sup> The label used to identify people of mixed race particularly of Amerindian and Spanish.

world, a world that already exists, the western civilization, but that is a world in which we cannot continue playing the subordinate role. The possibility of an original philosophy depends on the overcoming of this alienation.

This is the argument that Zea used to subvert the idea of originality, stated by Salazar Bondy which was widespread among Latin American thinkers. He invited us to approach philosophy as a reflection about human problems, practical and situated ones, rather than the aspiration to create huge universal models from zero. Thus, originality would start from our own sense of being, our own reality, *"let us just make philosophy, the Latin American character will come in addition"* (Zea, 1989 pg 44). Different from Salazar Bondy, Zea did not deny the existence of a Latin American philosophy. According to him it is a thinking that has taken inspiration from the European model but it has adapted and assimilated its products to our particular circumstance. Taking, selecting, choosing this or that philosophical solution in order to solve our own demands does not imply a renunciation of originality. Latin American thinking has not been a philosophy of our industry and richness but a philosophy of our politics. That is a philosophy which has not contained consideration about God, the Soul, Life or Death; it is a thinking which reflects on social and political order, our political order under domination of Spain, then Western Europe and finally USA.

### A world that already exists

Zea and Salazar Bondy have shaped the way in which our thinking tradition has been conceived. I will situate my own starting point within Zea's assertion: *"we live in a world that already exists"*.

Assuming this assertion as a starting point gives my articulation a particular shape that constitutes its main concepts and relationships. Maybe the most important aspect is that an assumption as such implies a consideration of the very identity of Latin America, and its inhabitants as a result of an external designation. As I presented above Latin America as a

subcontinent and as a culture acquired its existence from its 'incorporation' into the western world after the Spanish conquest. Following Mignolo (2007) it is possible to say that America was never a continent to discover, it was an *invention* forged during the process of European colonial history and the expansion of western ideas and institutions. The invention of America implied the appropriation of the continent as well as its integration into the Euro-Christian paradigm. Discovery and invention are not just two different interpretations of the same phenomenon, they are two different paradigms.

Before that *invention* the cultural production of our original people lacked an evident relationship that could be regarded as unity; differently, its features appear so unlike and so dispersed that it is not possible to talk about proper cultural and historical developments. Moreover, original peoples' trace almost disappeared after the Spanish invasion and renders its study and re-visitation difficult where there still are relevant gaps within its recuperation. It is crucial to bear in mind that Latin America was invented, which implies that before that issue its very existence as such is questioned. If not questioned, our existence would be invalidated, discarding all our construction through the process of a planned indoctrination and enculturation in foreign influences. Till now, our original developments remain as isolated examples of stubborn pride. Latin America, as a name and as an identity entails subordination as an ontological element of constitution, namely the 'colonial injury' (Mignolo 2007). The 'colonial injury', physical or psychological, is a consequence of a hegemonic discourse which weakens the subjectivity of the other, regarding them as objects supported by the self-designated privilege of classification (Mignolo, 2007).

Subordination, passivity and dependence, are nouns that can characterize the way in which Latin American thinking has built its tradition. Our sub continental affairs have been approached from de-colonialist stances (Mignolo, 2007), have been explained by the Theory of Dependence (Cardoso & Faletto 1969), and have been raised by the 'liberation' utopia embedded in the Theology of Liberation (Gutierrez 1971), Psychology of Liberation (Martín Baró 1998), Pedagogy

of Liberation (Freire, 2000) and the Philosophy of Liberation (Dussel, 1980). It is the concept of Liberation, that criss-crosses our local thinking, that I will unravel in the following paragraphs.

### **Liberation: genealogy of a concept**

Liberation, as a concept and as an emancipatory ideal has risen within a particular articulation of questions and problems that reveal the contextual issues which inform its emergence. Its conditions of possibility should be re-visited and re-articulated before integrating its meanings with a different contextual problem as the questions presented in this present research. Special caution is necessary in order to avoid a simple 'importation' of a concept which could evidence problematic essentialist or reductionist assumptions that are not compatible with this research's ontological presuppositions. Within the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis, namely a strategy which has drawn writings of Laclau and Mouffe and its methodological implications mainly developed by Glynos and Howarth (2007), the use of concepts that have emerged in different traditions of thought should be brought within the scope of our framework through a particular form of exploration. This process will involve the closely inter-related moments of reactivation, deconstruction, commensuration and articulation (ibid). In other words, this is an ontological inquiry journey.

### **Reactivating Liberation**

Drawing on Husserl, reactivation involves a return to the 'original' sorts of questions and problems that were addressed in the development of a theoretical concept. First and foremost I will borrow from the work of Roberto Rivera (2004) the notion of Liberation Discourses to label the endeavours of Freire and Gutierrez, adding the work of Martín Baró and Dussel under the same umbrella. These four, from different sides of Latin American social practices, aimed to challenge dominant discourses and the policies of institutions which are associated with them (ibid). More concretely, they seek to launch alternative frameworks and methodologies to advance political, social and economic emancipations considering the contextual reality of Latin

America as their foundation and values. Any single theoretical development is an experience itself, all of them broad and deep. Each of them capturing relevant issues of our historical and cultural context; thus, any attempt to expose all of them within the boundaries of just one thesis, even just one chapter, would be an enormous effort. Being pushed by focus, time and access constraints I have decided to orient my efforts to Paulo Freire and Enrique Dussel's major contributions.

*Paulo Freire: a libertarian educator.*

Paulo Freire, born in 1921, was a Brazilian educator and an influential theorist of education. Freire enrolled in the Faculty of Law at the University of Recife in 1943. He also studied philosophy, more specifically phenomenology and the psychology of language. Although admitted to the legal bar, he never actually practiced law but instead worked as a teacher in secondary schools teaching Portuguese. In 1946, Freire was appointed Director of the Department of Education and Culture of the Social Service in the State of Pernambuco in Brazil. Working primarily among the illiterate poor, Freire began to embrace a non-orthodox form of literacy. In 1964, a military coup put an end to that effort; Freire was imprisoned as a traitor for 70 days. After a brief exile in Bolivia, Freire worked in Chile for five years for the Christian Democratic Agrarian Reform Movement and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. In 1967, Freire published his first book, *Education as the Practice of Freedom*. He followed this with his most famous book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Portuguese in 1968. On the strength of reception of his work, Freire was offered a visiting professorship at Harvard University in 1969. In 1970 Freire moved to Geneva, Switzerland to work as a special education adviser to the World Council of Churches. During this time Freire acted as an advisor on the educational reform in former Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly Guinea Bissau and Mozambique. In 1979, he was able to return to Brazil, and moved back in 1980. Freire joined the Workers' Party (PT) in the city of São Paulo, and acted as a supervisor for its adult literacy project from 1980 to 1986. Paulo Freire died of heart failure on May 2, 1997.

Paulo Freire's work was mainly devoted to the needs of the oppressed. For him the oppressed were the poor people. He strongly believed that poor people through collective social action could free themselves from oppressive situations by changing the oppressive structures which generate inequalities. Hence, his main challenge was to find a method whereby people could put in practice the above named collective social action (Rivera 2004). This critical attitude would involve challenging certain meanings and certain argumentative strategies of dominant educational discourses and that, in so doing; these counter discourses would become the foundation of counter practices which challenged not only educational institutions but hegemonic political structures. This unmasking, according to him, would not be possible unless people were already aware of the repressive character of certain economic phenomena such as underdevelopment brought about by neo-colonial structures of dependency. Freire also argues that exploited people, rather than teachers or political leaders are more effective in facilitating this process. In other words, his main challenge was to make people aware that there is a relationship between the structures of underdevelopment and the concrete situations faced by poor people. According to him this awareness should be fostered in a non-authoritarian way by critical study groups. It is within this context that Freire believes that dialogue can bring about the process of *conscientization*, i.e., the process where poor people become aware that they can change the above-mentioned oppressive circumstances. What informs Freire's method is the dual belief that humans have the vocation to act upon and transform their world and that this transformation can be brought about by dialogue within the context of consciousness-raising groups. Freire believed that certain themes were more suited than others to generate discussion around these aforementioned concerns. These generative themes play a central role in the awakening of critical consciousness because they provide the linkage between hegemonic structures and the concrete situations which poor people face in their daily existence. Although Freire's method goes beyond the individual situation; nevertheless, it starts with individual situations that appeal to the individual experiences of the group members. Again, one of the main goals of conscientization is to facilitate the discovery of the contextualizations that would help people liberate themselves and others.



In order to analyze the complexity of these contextualizations, it is necessary to introduce Freire's definitions of the following key terms and assume that colonial dependence is an 'epoch'. The terms are: 'epoch', 'theme', 'limit situation' and 'limit act'. An 'epoch' for Freire is "a complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites striving towards plenitude". The themes of an epoch are "the concrete representation of many of these ideas, values, concepts and hopes as well as the obstacles which impede man's (sic) full humanization". Although these themes imply others, "which are opposing or even antithetical, they also indicate tasks to be carried out and fulfilled" (Freire, 1972: 91). Following his statements, 'limit situations' are "obstacles which impede man's (sic) full humanization". Limits acts are "those directed at negating and overcoming, rather than accepting as given limit situations", (ibid: 89) thus promoting the ideal of 'full humanization'. The broadest epochal theme "which includes a diversified range of units and sub-units (continental, regional, national and so forth) contains themes of a universal character". According to Freire, "the fundamental and hence the broadest theme of our epoch is domination, which implies its opposite, the theme of liberation, as the object to be achieved" (ibid: 93). Within the theme of domination, we find themes and limit-situations, which are regional in character. Freire is understanding underdevelopment as a limit-situation which is common to the so-called Third World societies. This limit situation has to be understood in relationship with another theme, dependency. The themes then, in descending order of generality, are domination, dependency, and within dependency, the limit-situation of underdevelopment. The novelty of Freire's approach was the way in which the meaning of the individual situation is challenged by interpreting it as an instance of domination, that is, as a recreation of the situation of domination in which poor people are controlled and are not able to act freely since their resources of interpretation are tightly controlled.

### *Enrique Dussel: a libertarian philosopher*

Enrique Dussel is an Argentinean philosopher and one of the most relevant representatives of the Liberation Philosophy and the Latin American Philosophy. His work embraces topics of

theology, politics, philosophy, ethics, aesthetics and ontology. He has built dialogues with Apel, Gianni Vattimo, Jürgen Habermas, Rorty and Levinas among other current thinkers.

Enrique Dussel's life and works are inextricably linked with Latin America's intellectual and historical issues. His concerns are focused to a liberating Latin America's philosophy for which the point of departure should be a radical critique of sedimented orthodoxical thinking systems. Moreover, what really disturbed him, "*a subverted unsettlement around everything that I've learned so far*"<sup>4</sup>, were his readings of Levinas. This philosopher's work allows Dussel to break with former totalities and finally reaches the disturbing presence of the Other, the voice, the glance and interiority of another human being, in other words, the alterity<sup>5</sup> of whom is external to any system. In his book '*Para una Ética de la Liberación Latinoamericana*' (1973), Dussel presented a chapter called 'La exterioridad metafísica del otro' (the metaphysical exteriority of the 'other') within which he stepped out from an ontological totality to his proposed trans-ontological alterity or meta-physics. This category, *meta-physics*, acquires here a new meaning different from traditional assertions. Dussel's meta-physics is neither the Greek concept, nor medieval, nor a modern one. It points to any reality that exists beyond of *being* or European world, it is not the *no-being* but *being other* (Diaz, 2001). In 1971, during the Second Conference of Philosophy in Cordoba Argentina, Dussel presented a paper against what he called 'metaphysics of the subject', that is against the ontological concept understood as:

*"..the expression of the imperial European dominating experience over its colonies,.....which is grounded as universal will of domination.....(and) if there is power there is someone who should suffer this power..." (Dussel, 1971: 28).*

During his presentation Dussel concluded:

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<sup>4</sup> Dussel, E. (1975) *Liberación Latinoamericana y Emmanuel Levitas*. Bonum. Buenos Aires.  
My translation.

<sup>5</sup> Alterity is the concept that Dussel, following Levinas, uses to refer to otherness.

*"...the task of a Latin-American philosophy that attempts to overcome modernity.... should aim to identify all traits of that north Atlantic dominating subject within our hidden, oppressed and dependant Latin-American being....any mere repetition of what has been thought and said there in the north Atlantic was not an innocent vocation of an intellectual concerned on theoretical and academic issues any more. This mere a-critical repetition is now a guilty adherence to a self-domestication which benefits others which take advantage of that oppression." (Dussel, 1971: 32).*

From 1970, Enrique Dussel became a well known philosopher among Latin America as well as some places in Europe. Through diverse meetings, courses and conferences, Dussel was polishing up his propositions which allowed him to interpret the complex Latin American reality. The political arena in Argentina was turbulent during these same years, after a military dictatorship, Juan Perón won for a new presidential period in 1973. During his government any traces of left wing political thinking were persecuted and Liberation Philosophy was regarded as too critical; as a consequence its supporters were labelled as 'enemies'. On the night of October the 2nd in 1973, Dussel's house was bombed. He was accused of teaching Marxism and, as a consequence, was expelled from the National University of Cuyo two years later. Enrique Dussel went into exile in México in 1975; since 1976 he has been teaching at Universidad Autónoma de México and Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. During these years, Dussel informed his work with new theoretical insights from linguistics, philosophy of language and Marxism. The total synthesis of his work, known as his 'first ethic', was captured in the publication of 'Filosofía de la Liberación' in 1980.

In Dussel, philosophy and ethics coincide; all his philosophy is an ethic that attempts to overcome all ontologies from his *meta-physic of alterity*. Ethic here denotes his point of departure which is an inter-subjective compromise with the other, recognized as other, as someone different. His anthropology, conceives human beings as '*socio-cultural and historical ones, as well as radically free*' (Diaz, 2001). Dussel builds his meta-ontology through the

categories of 'proximity', 'totality', 'mediations', 'exteriority', 'alienation' and 'liberation'. The commitment with the other, seeking their liberation, it is primarily embodied by the oppressed within what he has called the 'erotic', 'pedagogic', 'political' and 'anti-fetishism', four moments of the alterity practice.

Dussel's meta-physics is developed with the intention of overcoming traditional understandings of ontology well disseminated among western philosophies. Different from these traditions, Dussel's meta-physics embraces the epiphany of who is beyond the self; it is about the unavoidable manifestation of the completely different Other. It is the Other who questions all assumptions, all that is believed and accepted so far. This Other is other human being, a human being from another culture, from another world, another system, another Being. Dussel states that by just accepting the disclosure of the Other the radical change could come, the change of the real liberation (Diaz, 2001).

Liberation category approaches an ethical consciousness, a responsibility for the oppressed, a dismantling of the unequal order. Liberation starts from an ethical consciousness that is the willingness of listening and accepting the other. Conditions of possibility of that ethical consciousness were clearly stated by Dussel: first, being aware of system naturalization and, second, respecting the Other as an other recognizing their freedom. Thus the liberation process acquires two moments; in Dussel (1980: 75) words:

*"Negation of the negation within the system and the expansive affirmation of the Other's exteriority. Liberation is not only to leave the prison, besides it is the affirmation of the history that was before as well as exterior to the prison."*

In this way, the liberation practice involves the aspiration for a more equal historical social formation, the creation of new institutions, new relations and new signs and symbols. Liberation ethos is informed by the aspiration for innovating and creating the new, and is the alterity drive.

Now, in the practice of alterity which is the active relationship man to man (sic), the Other is concretized within four moments that place liberation theory closer to reality. These four moments are: political praxis – citizen to citizen interaction -; erotica praxis – male to female interaction-; pedagogical praxis – parents to children, teacher to students, State to people interaction -; and anti-fetishist praxis – man to atheism interaction, atheism before any entity and any system.

Through the conferences about his book *Introducción a la Filosofía de la Liberación* (1995) Dussel states several topics about his understanding of politics being: First, politics talks about the relations men to men relations (sic), where the human is articulated around the desire for freedom, for justice and the good of the Other as an other. Second, politics is related with economy due to relations between men (sic) and nature determines relations between men and men (sic). The moment of politics is widely defined by Dussel involving every human social action concerning the government and the people, social formations and their production modes, as well as groups and communities. Being politics the first philosophy, it makes the philosophy an immediate reality in practice. According to Dussel, political life has always been a structured and functional totality, with spatial and temporal implications, ruled by the power of any state. He added that all political functions conform to an organic and functional totality which face different moments through history, namely its beginnings, then a classical epoch or splendour and finally a fall which makes evident its incapacity to respond to current demands, after that, and not without conflicts, another political formation replaces it.

At this point it is worth mentioning that for Dussel the clarification of what 'people' actually refers to is a crucial issue. For him, people within peripheral nations are the oppressed classes, peasants, and working classes. They are the ones which represent the maximum exteriority and only they could represent a real alternative due to their meta-physic-alterity. Thus, the libertarian or meta-physics utopia has been rising during the twentieth century through alterity, but liberation, he states, is not an easy way, it is just a possibility. Liberation is always under threat;

the centre sustains its hegemony through the ontological philosophy, through capitalist economy and through military control. For Dussel, liberation clearly means liberation of the peripheral nations and the empowerment of populist classes. However, if domination practice implies a morality funded in totality which rationality consists in keeping the current system using a-moral pragmatism, liberation, on the contrary, needs a political agent: a libertarian politician, whose practice should be based on the obligation with the Other and committed to negate the oppressed negation and sustain the exteriority.

The practical moment of pedagogy embraces the education of the child, the youth and the people. Dussel asserts that humanity historically has been transmitting to new generations its own culture through any educational system. The domestic pedagogical system educates in the traditional ethos of the people, or the class and family which has been dominated for several centuries in a patriarchal system. On the other hand, the political pedagogical system educates in the economical-social ethos through institutional closed systems. Nowadays, school system and mass communications are the most relevant subsystems in human formations. These sedimented traditions or totalities are questioned by the exteriority of the child, who is someone new and exterior to what is organized. In this way the child, the youth and the people as such are the exteriority of the traditional culture, in particular to the imperial culture, new generations always imply something new. Dussel denounces that the Latin American, African and Asian cultures have not been included within educational systems or within mass communications because they have been rejected as ignorant, as barbaric or as illiterate. However, this pedagogic alienation has been perfected naturalizing its assumptions as eternal and divine truths. This proposal has been rendering the student into a functional citizen strongly identified with the 'natural' things.

*"Modern education, male chauvinist and individualist, educated the wolf that Hobbes needed: the man ready for the fight in the competitive world" (Dussel, 1980: 109)*

In fact, Dussel adds, current order educates through the powerful means of the imperial mass communication systems which become the measure of every single culture. The enlightened culture expresses pretended universal knowledge while obscure the domination attempt. The subversion of that ontology, according to Dussel, means opening up beyond current pedagogical being. Thus, meta-physic pedagogy accepts the disciple as someone different, historical, as someone who deserves to be listened to and respected. Pedagogy, then, is not a perennial imposition of tradition but a transubstantiation of human legacy into new generations within a re-creative dialogue between master and disciple. It is from the popular culture that the liberation emerges, not by people spontaneity, but with the mediation of the critical master.

### Deconstructing Liberation

Maybe the most relevant philosopher that worked on deconstruction was Derrida. Without the intention to visit developments on that concept here, I will draw on his articulation of that term in order to inform the following attempt to deconstruct the concepts of liberation presented earlier, namely, not simply reading them as a text as they have always been read but to read them differently. Deconstruction is not a 'method', it is not something that can be easily positioned, reproduced and examined. Instead, it is a movement that always escapes definition. This movement implies to put any truth into question by showing its limits as a fixed position. The aim of deconstruction in this section is to lay bare any ambiguity or exclusion presented by liberation concepts as it they have developed by my chosen authors. Just weakening any essentializing projections into the concept and/or exploring repressed possibilities foreclosed by reductionist tendencies it is possible to avoid the temptation to merge with my theoretical background any inconsistent assumptions.

In this chapter I presented two theoretical developments addressing liberation as an ideal for emancipation for Latin America as cultural communities. Liberation is neither a social movement nor a unified theoretical corpus but a significant development within our philosophical tradition. Although there are several authors that have been working on liberation attempts, I decided to

focus on Freireian pedagogical work due to its closeness with the educational standpoint of my thesis. Dussel theorization, on the other hand, offers a wide umbrella to posit liberation as general practice able to inform any social attempt. My aim here is to articulate a theoretical/practical inspiration to account for the perceived failures of Critical Management Studies and Critical Management Education that I will develop in detail in the following chapter.

Freire and Dussel's liberation attempts coincide in stating the need for a response to Latin America colonization from a counter point of view. Reflecting on Latin American situation both authors identify, as our main challenge, building a local response to the wide and intrusive influence exerted by foreign colonizers over our culture for centuries. This influence, in their terms, is evident along historical, cultural, philosophical, political, economic and educational affairs which render a conception of Latin American people as oppressed and marginalized. The colonization process started with America 'being discovered' in the fifteenth century strongly lead by Spain and the Catholic Church. This Iberian power was replaced by other European colonizers such as England, France and Germany, which exerted their influence mainly through philosophy and economy. Nowadays, and due to worldwide historical developments, the power has shifted to the USA which strongly determines the way in which our subcontinent articulates its (lack of) presence and (secondary) participation within global affairs. Although said power has been passing through different hands, the Latin American situation has always been the same, namely that of a marginalized follower.

Both authors share the emphasis on re-visiting historical processes in order to identify the conditions of possibility for our current position as oppressed and, as a consequence, state that liberation is our best way of articulating Latin American resistance. Their proposition can legitimately be understood as a response to the colonization problem for Latin American people. However, the initial formulation of a theoretical response to that issue may in certain aspects be problematic. My intention here is to disclose their essentialist form of reasoning as well as their ensnarement in a reductionist framework. Deconstructing these aspects presented within



traditional conceptions of liberation I aspire to conciliate their contributions with the broad standpoint of my thesis.

Freire and Dussel focus their endeavours on enhancing the identities of Latin American people as oppressed. This subjectivity, constructed in opposition to the foreign colonizer, essentializes the oppression as the main feature of Latin Americans where oppression is an attribute of the poor.

Among his writings, Paulo Freire was elaborating his understanding of the oppressed. He always mentions them as synonymous with popular class, peasants, proletarians, the people, poor and finally an oppressed class. Agglutinating them within a social class, Freire opposes their identity against privileged or dominant classes. Marxist theoretical influences were widely recognized by Freire, sharing with Marx a class reductionism as the main historical core. On the other hand, Enrique Dussel (1980) clearly states that *"liberation means....liberation of peripheral nations and power seizing from popular classes"*. Dussel also mentions oppressed as popular masses, the poor, the people; he adds:

*"it is necessary to specify the people notion within a social formation.....people, within peripheral nations, really are oppressed classes, peasant classes, emergent working classes in industries and the marginal groups. Oppressed or marginal classes are those who embodied the maximum exteriority within their culture; just as they can represent a real and new alternative to humanity due to their meta-physical alterity". (Dussel 1980: 67)*

Also, Dussel incorporates new identities within his description of the oppressed. Maybe one of his main contributions is to explicitly address women's marginalization (attention paid to his Erotic moment of alterity practice) as well as ethnicity issues within Latin American affairs, but they are equated into the poor classes when he raises their claims.

Referring to Ernesto Laclau (2005) it is possible to sustain that these conceptions of poor/oppressed are rooted in the limitation of the ontological tools currently available to those political analyses. As I have stated before, our two authors group under the name of 'oppressed' all Latin America's poor people which they equated with marginal, peasant and low classes viewed as synonymous. The oppressed are constituted against the 'oppressor' label which embodies the same foreign colonizers, rich people and local oligarchies. Liberation discourses, so far, are strongly embedded within a dichotomy such as people versus oligarchy or oppressed versus oppressor. Laclau (2005) states that there is in these dichotomies a simplification of the political space, all social singularities tend to group themselves around one or the other of the poles of the dichotomy. These sorts of dichotomies are rooted in an ontology that overlaps the ontic, assuming that labelled groups have a positive existence per se, a priori to any discursive formation. These given groups lay on the assumption that they are the expression (the epiphenomenon) of a social reality different from itself (Laclau 2005). For example, as I have state earlier, Dussel's definition of his meta-physics of alterity implies the *epiphany* of the Other, this other being the oppressed one. This epiphany means the *manifestation* of the Other, an other that has always been there. 'Always' not in terms of their existence as such, 'always' in terms of their constitution as oppressed. Thus, liberation texts make it possible to regard the historical conditions of possibility of Latin American oppressed, as a 'natural' consequence of a colonizing determinist process which shapes the very identity of the poor. This poor's given subjectivity which constitute them as oppressed colonizes all oppression meanings cancelling any other possible articulation.

As well as that assumed closed identity, liberation's current conceptualization of the oppressed implies a teleological definition of their aims, considering it as the fulfilment of the 'real humanization'. Freire (2000: 32), states:

*"Humanization and de-humanization, within history, within a real, concrete and objective context, are the possibilities for man (sic). Moreover, if both are possibilities, from our*

*point of view, just the first one answered what we call 'men's (sic) vocation'.....That is the humanist and historical oppressed task: liberate themselves and liberate their oppressors".*

Within Dussel's (1980) work this ideal of 'real man vocation' is presented as 'the new man' aspiration: *"the liberation project.....it is already in the people's conscience; it is the meta-physics a-priori of the process, it is what a long struggle tends to"*. If the oppressed already had a defined identity, their objectives were established also in advance. It is this essentialized conception of the oppressed identity and mission which I attempt to subvert. Furthermore, what differentiates Dussel's (1980: 50) teleology with Freire's is the assertion of the former about the never-ending feature of history: *"just affirming that what is divine is Other than any system possible, it is possible to avoid system's fetishism, neither present nor future, because it does not exist any state that could be the end of history"*. Dussel's articulation of a contingent and open history process represents a point of closeness with Discourse Theory assumptions. Moreover, Dussel fails in noticing that his Other should not be the same among different systems. In other words, the other is an impossible subject with a lack of a priori determinations founding her conditions of possibility in every single articulation.

At this stage, oppressed liberation movements have been relegated to a mere epiphenomenal level. The only things we could talk about are the social *contents*, in our case class and the poor, which these oppressions express. Questions about the *form* of these 'liberations' became redundant; other possible political alternatives or aims have been excluded. Confronted with aprioristic and positive identities and aims for the oppressed, all of them constituted as necessary consequences of a particular historical process silence any question about why that form of expression is necessary. My statement is that not only poor people could be regarded as oppressed within current Latin America affairs, and particularly within the relevance of managerial discourses among our current social practices. Liberation attempts are still meaningful for our cultures, but a widening subversion of their contents and forms appear

necessary today. In other words, its particular embodiment may be overdetermined by other forms of struggle.

### Commensurating Liberation

My third step within this liberation genealogy is devoted to commensurate liberation. Strictly speaking, commensuration is oriented to reworking the current liberation concepts so as to render them compatible with the ontological presuppositions of my research. My commensuration passage is informed by Laclau's work on populism (2005), where the author deploys his position before the emergence of 'people' within any articulatory hegemony attempting to establish a new political frontier.

Laclau's first theoretical standpoint is to shift the focus of the political analysis, from the *group* (as the social agent) to the *demand* (the socio-political claim). This shift allows our analysis to overcome the assumption that liberation is the sort of mobilization of an *already* constituted group, that is, as the expression (epiphenomenon) of a social reality different from itself (Laclau 2005). The aim here is to regard the 'oppressed' as a relation between social agents, where this very relationship constitutes them as a group; differently to what has been happening, an 'oppressed' identity as an ideological expression of the a priori Latin American identity. Thus, 'oppressed' becomes a political category, it is not just a datum of the social structure any more, which coincides with the objective of my genealogy of liberation, namely the proposition of a new agency out of a plurality of heterogeneous elements.

The smallest unit, from which Laclau recommends the start, is the category of 'social demand'. Any social demand starts from a request which later turns into a claim. Let me introduce a Chilean example in order to clarify these statements. Two years ago, my country was the scenario of one of the most impressive educational revolts ever. This manifestation had a unique feature: it the first, and still the only, secondary student's revolts around the world, the so called

'revolución pinguina'<sup>6</sup>. These students started their requests several years ago, strictly concerned around criticism of the public transport system benefits as well as the high costs of the university entry exams. They addressed the former government obtaining what they regarded as unsatisfactory responses to their requests. Some years later, as a response to public changes which complicate students' access to transport and the exams even more, they decided to re-state their requests. But this time, these requests were aligned with other wider claims first presented by public teachers. These other claims were directed towards the implementation of the full-day schooling system as well as criticizing the current educational law established during the former Chilean dictatorship. At this point there was an accumulation of unfulfilled demands and an increasing inability of the institutional system to absorb them in a differential way (each in isolation from others), as a consequence, an equivalential relation was established between them. In other words, penguins' revolt became the voice of a wider educational system's agent's discontent. The result was a massive students' revolt in 2006, which has been followed by new mobilizations which this time round invites the same students and teachers from schools and higher education to claim for a wide reform of the current educational system. So we have here the formation of an internal frontier, a widening chasm separating the institutional system from the people. Now, the process by which a social demand constitutes a new social agent could be presented as follows. Requests were turned into claims. In Laclau's terms a demand which remains isolated is a *democratic demand*; on the contrary, a plurality of demands which through their equivalential articulation constitute a broader social subjectivity is a *popular demand*. The latter starts, at very incipient level, constitute the 'people' as a potential historical actor.

Regarding, thus, 'people', or in our case 'oppressed' as the constitutive result of social demands allows subverting the traditional meaning of that *group* within Latin American affairs offering the possibility of a new articulatory inscription. Thus, oppression as the locus for the liberation claims

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<sup>6</sup> Penguin revolution. Here in Chile, public school students are called 'penguins' due to the resemblance of their uniforms with the penguins' appearance.

would exceed the frontier between peripheral poor marginalized and the foreign colonizer/oppressor as such involving new political frontiers, which re-embrace oppression, constituting it as a different sort of relationship between new social agents. That proposition is the main focus of the following step of this genealogy, namely a re-articulation of liberation.

## Re- Articulating Liberation

Let me start this stage with a quotation from Laclau which may be quite long but nonetheless necessary to sustain the following developments in this section:

*"The passage from one hegemonic formation to another will always involve a radical break, a creation ex nihilo. It is not that all elements of an emerging configuration have to be entirely new, but rather that the articulating point, the partial object around which the hegemonic formation is reconstituted as a new totality, does not derive its central role from any logic already operating within the preceding situation.....the genuine ethical act, is always subversive, it is never simply the result of an 'improvement' or a 'reform'. ....what is crucial for the emergence of the people as a new historical actor is that the unification of a plurality of demands in a new configuration is constitutive and not derivative." (Laclau, 2005: 228)*

This quotation could sound quite promising. By re-articulating liberation I do not mean an individual proposition of a new historical actor within our liberation tradition; undoubtedly this is an enormous discursive task far from my own personal reach through thesis writing. Furthermore, what I intend to develop now is a new reading of these philosophical insights, drawing them in order to address current managerial discourses among our management educational practice.

I would like to articulate liberation as a resistance response facing a new form of oppression within current Latin American affairs; or in other words a new form of colonization: colonization

through managerial discourses. As we have seen, liberation, as a horizon, has been constructed as the aspiration (or demand) of a wide group of people labelled as the Latin American oppressed. Radicalizing the meaning of oppression, originally essentialized as the feature of the poor, I attempted to inscribe its very experience beyond the particularities of that social agent. Oppression, meaning the relationship that constitutes a Latin American colonized and dominated by a foreign (northern-western) colonizer, is not exhausted by the poor identity claim. Radicalized, oppression is now an open room which allows other Latin American identifications as well. I will describe them in the next paragraphs.

Along with the main criticism raised by CMS, I sustain that managerial discourse has colonized almost all spheres of our current way of life constituting a precondition for an organized society, for social progress and economic growth (see chapter 3). Its worldwide hegemonic dissemination has found in Latin America a very good 'follower' particularly supported by our political, social and economic dependence on the USA. In the following chapter, I will devote my endeavours to a detailed description of Chilean management education practice, and how it has been articulated as a consequence of the neo-liberalist economics in our country. This educational practice, highly respected and embraced by, not only large amounts of people, but for a particular (and potentially powerful) sort of people among Latin Americans, has been reproducing the same means and ends as worldwide. Mainstream managerial discourses, which offer us the greatest wish of being part of the First World or developed countries, push us to pursue its ideals, pretending that these ideals are ours, and pretending as well, that we already have the tools to succeed, through hard work, in a society that is presented as essentially meritocratic.

Mainstream management is just a new form of colonizing. As its former predecessors, mainstream management invites us to 'act what others think' dangerously disguised as a neutral and democratic attempt which presents itself as 'the end of the history'. Within this new form of colonization, Latin Americans are still colonized, as our two authors generally presented; but

what I would like to emphasize now is a new form of oppression. This oppression is not just the poor's oppression; it is the oppression of every single Latin American which supports dominating discourses, unaware of our own participation within reproductive practices. The 'new oppressed' is not the poor (which has ever been marginalized), on the contrary, they are 'privileged Latin Americans' which have access to managerial education as well as management positions. This is a marginalized position that 'failed' in identifying themselves as 'the other', co-opting with a logic that promises a success which never arrives. We are marginal now not only because of our material poverty or our economical dependency, we are now oppressed due to our philosophical/theoretical poverty and our educational dependency. Both sorts of poverties are embedded in our reproduction and repetition of foreign contents, means and ends belonged to this managerial ideology fully presented among our management education curriculum. My 'new oppressed' is a large group of Latin Americans to which I belong. All of us are educated within a foreign understanding of doing business, which consequently, organizes our social life. All of us, embracing management as a promise of development fail to recognize our secondary position: without us, the third world, the first world is not possible.

Let me support these developments with some personal reflections. Some years ago, when I was applying to study a master's degree in England I was concerned with the 'risk' of having to compete with a many worldwide applicants. Meritocracy could be quite frightening if you don't know your competitors. In other words, I had no clue at all about the status of my qualifications in comparison with international competitors. When finally a place was offered to me I really thought that I had earned it. Not long after I realized that my programme 'encouraged' the application of minorities' representatives, I mean, women and exotic countries applicants, among others. Do I belong to a minority? What a surprise, considering I have always lived in my country! I used to think that I belonged to the privileged. Yes, because I have neither been poor, nor an Indian; I had been well educated and I had had good working positions. More relevantly, I was able to apply to a postgraduate course in a European country.



A year later when writing my dissertation I had the unbeatable opportunity to carry out a small research exercise with an art based group in charge of promoting disable artists. When I first met that group I realize that all of them were disabled and proud of running a user-led organization. Their identity as disabled was a political position supported by the social understanding of disability (Finklestein 1996). In those times they were struggling against the need of being helped/supported by non-disabled people or organizations. Within this scenario I wondered why they have been so open to me, an able-bodied person. In one of the several meetings that I had with their representatives, the group director told me that she fully understood my situation at that moment and that for sure I was experiencing the same thing than they were experiencing. In her terms, as deaf people, English is not my mother language, so I was being discriminated against by that fact. Besides, I am a woman, and a woman coming from a third world country; I was thus definitely regarded by her as another 'disabled'. Again, this was a new 'confirmation' of my 'marginalized' position within the western society. Again, what a surprise! I used to think that I belonged to the privileged.

Within a world that 'already exists' my subject position as a privileged citizen in my country was subverted by the glance of another one which established a chain of equivalences/differences between them and I. This experience was not the 'epiphany' of the Other facing me; on the contrary, it was a dislocatory experience which decentred me, it was the very experience of antagonism: an 'exterior' which is impeding my 'privilege identity' as full identity. This is exactly what I would like to present as the radicalization of the 'traditional' understanding of oppression. I would like to explore the possibility of an oppressive relationship that is constituting of a 'new other'. This new other is not the poor, is not the peasant, and is not a lower class. This new other shares with them a marginalized position within this world 'that already exists' but it is an other that has been co-opted with the system that marginalized them. My invitation is to construct this new 'other' and from this the point also construct the path of our liberation.

## **The challenge of this work**

This chapter and the following ones are devoted to the theoretical discussions around Latin America's philosophical tradition and Critical Management Studies and Education theoretical backgrounds. Thus, by having established my position before those debates with the support of the contributions of Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory my next steps will address the vicissitudes of my empirical research within Chilean business education current practice.

CMS and CME have constituted a relevant source of inspiration for the reflective re-visitation of my engagement with management practice and management education. Their critical revisions of those wide spread practices offer an unbeatable opportunity to reframe their instantiation among Chilean context. Moreover, from the very beginning of my investigative journey some of the particularities of these critical endeavours appeared not suitable for our local reality. Their insistence of European critical thinking tradition and their evident neglecting of peripheral countries' situation stimulated the criticism that I will develop in the next chapter. After presenting a radical reading of CMS and CME and established liberation as an insightful inspiration for local critical standpoints; my research attempts to explore - through the contextualized self-understanding of key actors - current and possible discursive articulations that shape local business education practice.

One of the main challenges of this present work is the use of Discourse Theory's theoretical achievements as a methodological framework. Laclau and Mouffe were less concerned with method and methodologies when they were developing their work. Moreover, their lucid contributions on discourse articulation and the constitutive role of social and political logics have inspiring a significant amount of political research. These fruitful theoretical and methodological achievements have been recently incorporated to organizational studies by no more than a dozen of scholars (see Contu 2004; Bridgman, 2004; Böhm, 2003) Although its contributions appear to be promising in terms of theoretical enrichment, its methodological novelty is still

challenging its practitioners. In the next chapters I will face my own appeal on these matters. Chapter 5 will embrace the methodological issues and framework that I have articulated during this research. Then Chapter 6 and 7 discuss mainly on my involvements with that mentioned practice as well as the interpretations and propositions that this work produced.

## Chapter 3 Chilean Educational Context

### Introduction

Having addressed Latin American philosophical developments as the main background of my research, the present chapter will be devoted to the historical particularities of Chile. A re-visitation of our recent history plays a necessary role in articulating the current scenario of our management education.

There has been much literature written about the process that Chile underwent during its recent past (Brunner 1981, Drake & Jaksic 1999, Larrain 2001, Moulian 2002, Salazar & Valderrama 2000, Tironi 1985). As many scholars have stated, the political, economic and cultural changes that Pinochet's government imposed over our society could be regarded as *revolutionary ones* (Brunner 1981, Drake & Jaksic 1999, Moulian 2002, Tironi 1985). Revolutionary because that experience transformed Chile in a particular phenomenon of a neo-liberalism attempt, the so-called *Chilean model* (Drake & Jaksic 1999). This label embraces the general historical affairs, which have shaped a particular neo-liberal rationality among our society. Chilean society changed socially, culturally and technologically. Companies acquired new technologies and recruited new kinds of people that made them better equipped, more efficient, competitive and profitable. New wealth was created through the formation of economic groups. By the end of the 1970s, people began to talk about the 'Chilean miracle'. The Chicago Boys'<sup>1</sup> promised society was in place, it was strongly linked with the desire of accumulating and maximising economic gains.

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<sup>1</sup> They were a group of highly qualified Chilean economists following Milton Friedman's theory at Chicago University in the USA.

## **The historical political context**

It is possible to trace back the origins of this current way of doing and understanding management to a particular period of our history. The Dictatorship that my country was subjected to between 1973 and 1989 strongly shaped our current economic, political and social discourses. I am talking about a process which has been labeled as a “capitalist revolution” by Moulian (2002), highlighting, in that way, the changes imposed on our society which prevail till now thanks to a process of “transformism”, namely the way in which those alterations have been translated, without essential criticisms, into a democratic pattern (Moulian 2002). Among others, some of the main features of that state of affairs are related to a culture in which individualist and purchasing components are more relevant than associative, communitarian and expressive ones. In other words, the individuals (literally) have lost their social connections. The new order has left in any single pair of hands the responsibility for their life, hampering, even voiding, any collective way to cope with vital demands. This was possible through the pervasive process of losing the political character of our society, due to a severe detachment of economic affairs from any other social concern. The acquisition of a neo-liberal economic model imposed a very sophisticated pattern of consumption, which finally developed a configuration of a true “consumer society” (Silva 1995).

Several years before the military coup, a relevant “educational event” happened in my country. Its features and consequences played a central role within the historical and political situations that shaped our management educational practice. In 1956, the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and University of Chicago signed an agreement which linked both Business Departments during more than a decade. Their aim was to allocate Chilean students within Chicago’s postgraduate system in order to research, among other topics, the role of private initiatives within national development. Since then, “Chicago boys” is the name given to a group of almost 30 Chilean economists, most of them holding Catholic University’s degrees who obtained their postgraduate at Business School of Chicago University under the tutelage of Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger. Most of them were the parties who managed our economical system during

the 1970s, and were the architects of Pinochet government's economic and social reforms. Their management was labeled by Milton Friedman as "the Miracle of Chile". The miracle of Chile was no more than the violent implementation of a neo-liberal model of development, way beyond our republican tradition, which strongly influenced the discourse of several political agents, particularly those involved with right wings ones.

Immediately after the military coup this group of outstanding neo-liberals was called to be part of the government in order to collaborate with it; they had already sustained a clearly defined project. The military government was attracted by a doctrine which enhanced its a-political, technical and scientific approach, which coincided perfectly with their reluctance of democratic stances, their technological ignorance, and their urgent need of international approval (Cáceres, 1994). Since the very beginning the assumption that was prioritized was the market, freely executed, because at that time it was considered to be the most efficient productive resources allocator, as well as the best mechanism to reestablish macroeconomics disequilibrium inherited by the last socialist government (Cáceres 1994). In 1975 a shock economic intervention was put in place: abrupt reduction of fiscal expenses and public investment, accelerated privatization of the state-owned companies, tax increases, wages decrease and deregulation of the financial system. Since then, the economic model achieved total articulation with the authoritarianism; after 1970s its ideological primacy was unbeatable invading all public spheres. Moreover, a harsh economic crisis experienced by the country during 1981 to 1983 eroded the model legitimacy. Having left the government, the Chicago boys returned to their original areas of influence: the higher educational system and private companies, where they are protagonist still this very day.

## **The Practice of Management Education in Chile**

### **A re-visitation of the history**

Chile's higher educational system has moved a long way from the State and professional guidance towards market coordination. Presently, market oriented policies predominate across the system aiming to enhance competition between state supported universities and private ones. The higher educational system in Chile started a long time ago in 1842 with the foundation of our very first academic institution, namely the University of Chile. Following Bernasconi and Rojas (2004) it is possible to understand its history as comprising of four stages; a) the period that preceded the reform of 1968, b) the reform era, till 1973, c) the military intervention period which ended with the reform of 1980, and finally d) the period inaugurated by the 1980s reform till nowadays.

Let me introduce the main features of our higher educational system through a brief revision of its history.

Since the creation of University of Chile, the higher educational system's history in Chile was dominated by the State, even after the emergence of the first private universities by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The concept of "Educational State" reflects the notion that education was primarily a State's responsibility, while private institutions involved in education were just collaborators within a State's mission. These factors, plus the tiny size of the higher educational system and the socioeconomic and cultural homogeneity of the elite that participated in it, tend to explain the high degree of institutional similarity between universities in those times.

A group of academic organizations have always been the core of higher education in Chile, i.e. the so-called "traditional universities", being public and private in nature, but both with a steady yearly-based state funding. These universities are the University of Chile and the Catholic University of Chile respectively, best described by J.J. Brunner (1997: 225):

*"Throughout history, the University of Chile has been the most important national, secular intellectual institution, and seat of the progressive professional middle class committed to public-service ideology. On the other hand, Catholic University of Chile has been a powerful intellectual tool of the Church and the upper strata of the ruling class, devoted to a more conservative and elitist Welstanchaung"*

In the same article J.J. Brunner (ibid: 225-226) clearly explains the main characteristic of our traditional higher educational system defining five features:

- a) institutional autonomy with a mixture of political and professional coordination;
- b) public funding through block grants with no strings attached;
- c) selected admission based on academic merit with tuition free;
- d) mostly five-year-long professional programmes and
- e) cooperation with little competition among institutions.

An intensive discussion about the nature of university and its role within Chilean society was the main feature of the reform period during 1967 and 1968. This political movement was initiated by students of the Catholic University of Valparaíso and the University of Chile; later its echoes reached the whole higher educational system. The reform entailed a massive transformation of Chilean universities; registration rose up to 146.000 students by 1973; the institutional administration was reorganized and appealed to a more democratic character; vice-chancellors, deans and departmental directors' positions started being elected; and staff and student representatives were incorporated within administrative instances. Academic structures were changed, replacing the European system of lectures by a new one closer to the American model of university departments. The amount of public funding was doubled between 1969 and 1974 in order to accommodate the registration increase, as well as incorporate a larger number of academics working on a full time basis and in charge of a wider provision of research, aiming to leave behind the prevalent paradigm of a professionalization university. Finally



a new conception of university was struggling to reach marginalized sectors of society that “ivory tower” model was being left behind. The politic polarization that followed socialist president Salvador Allende’s election in 1970 reached the universities, thereafter they became a concentrated version of the country’s social and political conflicts.

The previous process suddenly ended in 1973. Just three weeks after the military coup the existing eight universities were intervened by the new government through military vice chancellors, which assumed the whole management of these institutions. Faculty, students and staff involved with the former socialist government were expelled and some of them imprisoned, tortured, executed or exiled. Whole academic entities were dismantled; particularly those of social sciences, disciplines like Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology and Political Economy were entirely erased from universities. Institutional autonomy, free speech and pluralism disappeared. Structural changes achieved during the last reform were abolished and the whole institution was put under permanent surveillance (Brunner, 1986). According to the military government, the Chilean higher educational system was an *“eight universities state funded system, virtually monopolistic and characterized by a closed outline”*, which escaped from any form of efficiency control becoming *“the only Republic’s institutions which enjoy a high state funding, secured and out of control.”*<sup>2</sup> Thereby, in government terms, there was no competition between universities and in that way an inorganic growth among them was generated; all of them aggravated by the introduction of democracy and politics within the system as a consequence of the former reform.

During 1981, the military government boosted a wide educational reform. The changes were oriented to:

a) opening up the traditional system through unregulated market provision of private higher education with no public subsidies;

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<sup>2</sup> In “Comunicado del Ministerio del Interior sobre la Nueva Legislación Universitaria”, January 6th 1981, in Brunner 1986, Appendices.

- b) diversifying the supply of higher education through differentiated institutions based on a functional hierarchy of educational certification;
- c) partially transferring the cost of stated financed institutions to students, stimulate these institutions to diversify their funding sources, and thus reduce the state commitment to the financing of higher education. "*A predominantly market oriented system was introduced*". (Brunner, 1997)

As a consequence of that restructuring process, the eight existing universities till 1980 were divided into 25 regional sites. This decision responded to the need to control potential political activism within universities. These new institutions were allowed to create and establish their own rules and policies, but always within the boundaries of public sector rules as well as the supervision of vice chancellors and government representatives who had huge power. The same reform allowed the creation of new private universities completely detached from State in terms of their funding and administration. In order to start its activities those institutions had to obtain a political authorization by the local Home Office, plus a technical one granted by the Ministry of Education. Besides, these new institutions were not academically independent during their initial periods; they are not able to give academic degrees without the supervision and tuition of another traditional university. Thus, original private universities were supervised by an examination system administered by an examiner university which supervised programmes and contents as well as degree exams and certification.

The funding system was also reallocated in 1981. Former state provision was divided in two: a *direct fiscal contribution* distributed among public and private traditional universities according to the historical pattern of giving out funding up till 1981; and a *indirect fiscal contribution* as an incentive distributed among institutions which gather higher amounts of good students<sup>3</sup>. Former public and private universities were encouraged to recover part of their operational costs through charging their students. A national loan system was put in place in order to assist low income students. New private

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<sup>3</sup> According to the results of the local standardized test which select applicants to universities yearly.

universities had to fund themselves completely through their fees, moreover, their students were not allowed to have access to the national loan system.

Due to the massive creation of new universities after the cancellation of Home Office's political veto in 1988, the former examination system collapsed thus being replaced by the creation of the Consejo Superior de Educación (Educational Higher Council). As a public organism the Council was created after a Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza (LOCE) (Organic Constitutional Law of Teaching) in 1990. Since then, CSE has been in charge of supervising new private institution through a system of accreditation. This system implies the approval of the new institution's project by the Council, thus allowing it to start its academic activities; after a period of verification, normally between 6 and 11 years and after which the new institution could achieve its autonomy. Nowadays, there are 61 universities in Chile of which 75% are private, most of them delivering management studies.

### The situation of management education

Chilean Higher Educational System has altogether 427.502<sup>4</sup> undergraduate and 14.590 postgraduate master degree students. 45 universities have a business school with a registration of 43.842<sup>5</sup> undergraduate students plus 4.527 postgraduate students attending master degrees programmes; which is the largest group among master degrees in Chile. Local MBA programmes constitute 60% of all master degrees programmes in business and management. Notwithstanding, Business Schools have existed in Chile since 1924 with the creation of our first Business School at Catholic University of Chile. Moreover, it was the emergence of MBA programmes in 1986 that supported them as the relevant, and maybe the exclusive places for the formation of managers within our local context.

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<sup>4</sup> Source: Consejo Superior de Educación de Chile, 2007 statistics  
[http://www.cse.cl/public/Secciones/seccionestadisticas/estadisticas\\_sistema\\_2006.aspx](http://www.cse.cl/public/Secciones/seccionestadisticas/estadisticas_sistema_2006.aspx)

<sup>5</sup> idem

The general features of Chilean management education practice have been well evaluated by local rankings. The quality of its pedagogical efforts; the variety, coverage and reputation of its programmes; its well-prepared faculty, most of them with postgraduate studies in USA, and the satisfactory level of their academic publications, positions our local offer within the leading position in Latin American Universities. The “Chilean way” of doing business, quite successful during the last 15 years, has been a strong element of support towards to the success of management education among our Latin peers which has in turn positioned the country at the highest level of attractiveness for the potential students. Evidence of this characteristic is the percentage of international students of the four best-positioned Chilean programmes in the Latin American rankings, which on average is close to 55%, perhaps the highest within graduates’ programmes in Chile. As it is possible to see, there is no single reason to explain why studying management in Chile is an appreciated opportunity now, the openness of the economy, a competitive market, the relevant increase of foreign investments in the region and the stronger position of some Chilean companies in the continent appear as motives for the applicants. On the other hand, universities have found a satisfactory way to raise their profits and attract better teachers, transforming the dissemination of the courses in a big advertising campaign and a permanent battle.

### The exploration of a local critical agenda

Generally and in briefly speaking, it is possible to say that our current management education practice is reflecting and reinforcing a particular and conventional way of understanding management education, which is the mainstream American model. My exploratory research showed that this approach appears unchallenged and unquestioned within itself. My current work attempts to propose the need for reflection that should be open in order to cope with future challenges. After a period of growing and consolidating, management education in Chile would face the same challenges as in other countries, by which I mean, the conflict between two different ends, namely the ideals of classical pedagogy learning and knowledge as aims, versus the demands of governments and business for utilitarian relevance (Cunliffe, Forray & Knights 2002).

Students as "customers" are defined by certification rather than learning, which in turn acquires more relevance within graduates' initiatives. For students who already hold some practical experience, classical methods of lecturing and case study do not satisfy the current needs of their demands. The relationship between theory and practice that they are expecting should consider a more challenging experience by introducing a critical agenda:

*“a critical agenda in which students’ sense of themselves as morally sensitive and politically alert participants with capacity for self-reflection can be appropriated as a teaching resource” (Cunliffe, Forray & Knights 2002: 491)*

A critical agenda is the explicit concern of Critical Management Studies attempt. This anglo-saxon articulation of long standing questionings about the role of management studies and practice in society has been a relevant insight for my own developments about Chilean management education. The next chapter, quite a long one, addresses the vicissitudes of Critical Management Studies and Critical Management Education. This chapter is a personal articulation of their short history and their main propositions aiming to re-illuminate their work from my point of view as a Latin American reader and from that to inform a proposition for our local critical agenda.

## **Chapter 4 Critical Management Studies and Critical Management Education**

### **Introduction**

Since the early 1990s, Critical Management Studies as an emergent academic arena has been playing an increasingly relevant role within the field of study of management in European and North American Universities. Critical Management Studies question and challenge what they have called mainstream or traditional management contesting its self-declared neutrality and detachment from social and political affairs.

My research aims to address the perceived pitfalls of Critical Management Studies and, particularly Critical Management Education, as radical projects. Both streams have developed interesting academic work in their effort to denounce the narrowness of traditional management as a field of study as well as the negative and oppressive consequences of its practice. Nevertheless, these attempts have reached a deadlock around their desired political project facing difficulties to go beyond selective academic debates and to achieve a significant influence upon management study and practice. Theoretical constraints expressed through contested and contradictory ways of defining what 'critical' and what 'management education' is, keeps the debate locked in a high, exclusive and close conversation between privileged positions within critical and radical philosophical traditions.

In this chapter, by unravelling CMS and CME history and debates, I attempt to characterize and problematise their current state of affairs. Ontological and epistemological disagreements compete for colonizing the heart of CMS in an inalienable aspiration of constituting just one voice. These theoretical battles have rendered CMS as well as CME in an interesting place for a scholar's career but at the same time, rendered it in an empty political stance.

As I have indicated in chapter 1, one of my purposes for this writing is to recuperate the political and social theory mainly articulated by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and intertwined it with the vicissitudes of critical standpoints for management studies. Laclau and Mouffe, both (post)Marxist activists and scholars, in their understanding of discourse have engaged with the weight of radical epistemology and ontology to re-think politics and the political. Particularly, Laclau's work constructs a theory of the social and the political informed by post analytical philosophy, post structuralism and psychoanalysis generating counter-intuitive and complex arrays of arguments and strategies. From their wide theorization, this chapter focuses on their notions of ideology, discourse, antagonism, dislocation and politics, which would help in theorizing CMS' deadlock, making it possible to go beyond dichotomist understandings of the mainstream versus the critical. Focusing on CME, my aim in the second part of this chapter is to explore the discursive formation in which the signifier 'management education' is mobilized thus attempting to shape it as a form of reproduction and (potentially) resistance.

## **Part I Critical Management Studies**

### **Mainstream Management**

Critical Management Studies has posed its challenge in response to the worldwide expansion of management knowledge. Their criticisms are mainly oriented to the commercial logic as well as the positivist formulations of knowledge, which are hegemonizing management's current dissemination that would prevent alternative ways of conceiving organization and business. The target of CMS and CME is the so-called mainstream management, in other words the received wisdom embedded in the traditional and original ways of constituting management. Because mainstream management being perceived as common sense and its practice widely naturalized, my first endeavour will be to unravel its historical conditions of (im)possibility which sedimented its current hegemony and its possibilities of subversion.

Mainstream management could be regarded as a taken-for-granted and strongly naturalized signifier that has hegemonized meanings around how to organize and control organizations from their very beginning. This particular way of conceiving management has colonized almost all spheres of our current way of life constituting a precondition for an organized society, for social progress and economic growth (Parker, 2002). Management, as an outcome of this perceived general need of control and organization, embodies one of the dearest values of modernity - rationality, which in turn, has been equated with efficiency, neutrality, profits, straightforwardness, order and control.

Focusing on management as a practice, three main areas tend to shape its functioning; following Martin Parker (2002: 6-8) these three management areas are: a) the group of executives directing an industrial undertaking; b) a process or act of managing; skill in contriving, handling, etc; and c) the academic discipline concerned with managing and administration.

Conceiving management as a wide social practice these three meanings, as a noun and as a verb, pointing to a particular class of people, to what these people do and where these kinds of people obtain its skills. However, as I stated above, the articulation of management goes beyond this simple description of a certain sort of people's activities. Management as a signifier could be regarded as predicated on a large history of social development, which shapes the very meaning of work, knowledge, managers and even society.

Modern industrial history is marked not only by the rise of large corporations and the professionalization of management but by the formulation of theories that help to solve one of the main management problems, namely the control of complex organizations (Barley & Kunda 1992). Although managerial theories can be assessed as sets of propositions about how to perform organization and control, they may also be conceived as rhetorics or ideologies due to their wide social influence. The relevance of these rhetorics is related to the way in which it sustains the process in which the social world presents itself, primarily, as a sedimented



ensemble of social practices accepted at face value, without questioning the founding acts of their institution (Laclau, 1994:3).

The rationale of this thesis rests mainly on political theory and in particular on the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Their theoretical contribution points to the (im)possibility of the social and negativity, elaborated in their writing on the political and social theory of hegemony (Contu 2004). Their developments are broad and complex, and will be addressed in many opportunities within this thesis. For the purposes of the particular unravelling of mainstream management historical constitution, I want to concentrate on their developments on the ideology concept, which informs the way in which it will be articulated here. However, I do not propose to list their arguments point by point, but rather in general terms so that I can point out their major significance in relation to the problematics I am analysing here.

For Laclau (1990: 92) the ideological does:

*".. (does) not consist of the misrecognition of a positive essence, but exactly the opposite; it would consist of the non-recognition of the precarious character of any positivity, of the impossibility of any ultimate suture. The ideological would consist of those discursive forms through which a society tries to institute itself as such on the basis of closure....The ideological would be the will to 'totality' of any totalizing discourse. "*

Laclau and Mouffe support that our world is deeply and unavoidable ideological in character. In other words, we find ourselves in a world where ideology is a constant, present feature of social and political life. As Laclau stated in the above quote, ideology serves to naturalize what is a contingent result of historical practices of articulation. The ideological can thereby induce the 'forgetting of political origins' and it can enable subjects to live as if their practices were natural. Thus, Laclau and Mouffe reject the idea of 'society' as a naturalized and given object of analysis. Differently, their account emphasizes the manner in which a particular

discursive representation succeed in becoming hegemonic or decontested (Norval 2000). In this case, the ideological dimension signals the way in which the subject becomes an accomplice in covering over the radical contingency of social relations by identifying with a particular discourse. Regarding management as an ideological stance, mainstream management, represents the always fragile, hegemonization of a social practice from particular conceptions of what is this demand of organizing and control. The objects of rhetorical construction in managerial theories have typically been corporations, employees, managers and the means by which the latter can direct the other two. In order to establish it as a hegemonic discursive articulation I will review its historical path understanding it as its condition of (im)possibility.

### *The earlier industrial betterment*

Although Scientific Management is considered the very first systematic attempt to formalize management practices, some earlier endeavours could be traced back to the final decades of the nineteenth century. That period witnessed a revolution in technology that enabled mass manufacturing and corporate growth and consolidation. As firms grew, owners found face-to-face management more difficult. The pioneer works of Robert Owen (1813 quoted in Barley & Kunda 1992) and James Montgomery (1832 quoted in Barley & Kunda 1992) in the US, attempted to espouse the need for a consideration of working conditions within the incipient industrial market. Their work, later known as 'industrial betterment' or 'welfare capitalism' inspired loosely knit visions which grouped clergy, journalists, novelists, academics and capitalists, concerned about the responsibility that owners had to all others that have helped them to achieve wealth. At its core was a decidedly Protestant notion of duty. In particular, those visions paid attention to the need of educating and improving employees' conditions within an understanding that systems based on cooperation were more advanced than systems based on conflicts (Barley & Kunda, 1992). Thus, the most celebrated attempts aimed to create total institutions by furnishing the infrastructure of community: houses, schools, churches, stores and recreation facilities; the expectation was to achieve communal order and industrial alignment. The path to profit and

control laid in bringing the workers' interest, values and beliefs in line with those of the owners. Nevertheless, the spread of industrial betterment brought with it a growing criticism. The depression of 1896 in the US cast a shadow over promises of economic utopia, given that reform-oriented firms apparently went through the depression no better conditions than the less enlightened firms did.

### *Scientific Management.*

Industrial betterment was strongly challenged by the endeavours of industrial and mechanical engineers, therefore a radically different response appeared. 'Systematic management' promised to discipline and to organize production better, developing rational methods for managing the shopfloor. Fathered by Frederick Taylor and nurtured by a wide range of disciplines during the earlier 1900s, scientific management supplied the systematic management movement with a coherent ideological foundation to finally being regarded as the first American business fad (ibid: 369). Taylor's publication *'The Principles of Scientific Management'* in 1911 was a best seller. Challenging some *'traces of charity'*, present in betterment approaches, Taylor stated, "*no self-respecting workman wants to be given things, every man wants to earn things*" (Taylor, 1903: 1454). Taylor's insistence on the superiority of scientific reasoning and on the authority of expertise claims that college-trained elite would govern society better. The rhetoric of efficiency has become so popular in America as of that moment on. The rationale of scientific management summarizes its principles as an unbeatable belief with the strengths of scientific reasoning; the axiom that all people are primarily rational and the assumption that all people view work as an economic endeavour. The question of how to organise work properly was looked upon as a technical problem whose solution could be obtained by following the cannon of science and by applying the criterion of efficiency. Scientific management was more a way of thinking than a set of techniques, and as an ideological attempt supported the expansion of its principles to all other social arena.

### *The significant influence of New Right politics.*

Not only positivistic understandings of science and material-expected benefits have been informing mainstream management, but also political interests. During the second half of the last century, the New Right politics' hegemony among western powers, particularly the US and UK, strongly contributes to the raising of management as a broad and always-useful tool to address a wide range of issues. New Right, as a political development, rose during the 1960s and the 1970s as one of the responses to the changes inaugurated by the post-industrial era in Western Europe. The ideal of the welfare state has experienced a wide range of criticisms, both from 'left wings' and from the 'right wings' supporters. Left wing criticisms were represented by the claims raised by Green parties and the alternative politics; on the other hand, right wing flirted with a combination of pro-market and political authoritarianism tendencies which were conceived as 'new' primarily because of the pro-market appeal (Taggart, 1996). Ruth Levitas in her *The ideology of the New Right* (1986), articulate the term 'new right' as including a neo-liberal stance and a form of social authoritarian conservatism. According to her, the New Right bases itself on economics and on ideas about individualism and markets, in contrast with the old Right that was based on political philosophy and on ideas about tradition and hierarchy. She adds that its main thesis refers to the integrating force of the market within society, producing order, justice, economic growth and constantly rising incomes, despite the inequality which would appear here as the inevitable outcome of individual freedom and initiative. In Britain, its ideological articulation has been referred to as Thatcherism (Levitas, 1986). Again, Thatcherism existed as a new conjuncture whose novelty lied in the fusion of neo-liberal and neoconservative ideas.

*"The New Right is the seedbed from which Thatcherism has grown and is composed of two rather different strands. There is the revival of liberal politics economy, which seeks the abandonment of Keynesianism and any kinds of government intervention; and there is a new populism.....The real innovation of the Thatcherism is the way it has linked traditional Conservative concern with the basis of authority in social institutions and the importance of internal order and external security, with a new emphasis upon re-*

*establishing free markets and extending market criteria into new fields" (Stuart Hall & Jacques, 1983 quoted in Levitas, 1986:6)*

Thus, management could be regarded as the 'armed wing' of capitalism, disseminating the preservation of individual and corporate rights through constraints on government and any other communal or associative power.

### *Management as an academic agenda.*

Before formal education was put in place for its practitioners, the generation, transmission and application of management knowledge lied upon the assumption that it only occurred (or better) in the workplace. Thus, management knowledge had a local status, I mean a particular development derived from every day practices and transmitted by direct experience (Thomas, 1997). Subsequently and from the beginnings of the twentieth century, management education began to establish itself in the formal educational system. Its earlier attempts were supported by private initiatives aimed at conferring a qualified status for managers (Engwall, 1997 as quoted in Grey, 2002) giving a liberal general education special privilege which could equip business persons with a democratic and moral basis for their practice (Grey, 2002, Thomas, 1997). It was only near the middle of the last century that management education shifted into a more vocational orientation.

Europe and the United States started the formal education of business professionals through the inclusion in the higher education curriculum of topics relating to accounting, commercial and financial principles during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the very beginning of higher business education dated back to 1881 with the creation of Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania in USA. Then, by 1936, there were 180 business schools in that country and by the early 1970s, the majority of the 2.500 US institutes of higher education offered business education (Engwall & Zamagni 1998). Until the 1960s, management education was primarily an undergraduate formation with the exception of the graduate school at Harvard established in

1908. After the Second World War the expansion of business education among northern/western countries has been enormous, although it is possible to regard this field as a diverse one, the prevalence of the US model was evident. Moreover, the major expansion of graduate management education came only after 1945 in the United States, after 1960s in Britain and after 1990s in Chile.

Specifically in the UK, initiatives for formalizing management education came from the 1945 Labour government which aimed to pursue a strategy of industrial modernization that regarded management as central to enhancing productivity. It created the British Institute of Management which was appointed to investigate how management education could be improved. Following the USA experience, the Institute's conclusions encouraged UK to develop a similar practice of systematic management training in order to compete within international markets. Despite this serious suggestion few formal educational programmes were put into practice, both industry and universities remaining skeptical about the need for vocational education for management. The first postgraduate management course was offered at Manchester College of Science and Technology (later UMIST) in 1926, but by the end of 1950s few universities were offering such courses. The early 1960s saw a renewed push for formal management education; the creation of the Foundation for Management Education by a group of Harvard Business School's alumni and a government concern about the poor growth of the UK economy positioned management education as a kind of solution (Tiratsoo, 1998). There was acknowledgement by the key stakeholders, industry, universities and the state, that business schools, based on the US model, should be a UK reality.

Nowadays, graduate management education is widely associated with the well-known Master in Business Administration (MBA) programme, originally created at Harvard University, which has been exported to all over the world establishing the MBA as the current icon of Management Education practice. Harvard Business School applied the case method to business education within the understanding that using cases from actual companies would prepare MBA learners for management positions. The main strategy was to focus on teaching learners specific

management techniques, in particular, there was a strong emphasis on the use of quantitative methods for researching, students' and teachers' assessments, as well as portraying managerial disciplines. This tendency continues to this very day and age.

As I have stated so far, political, historical and theoretical influences were shaping management as a useful technique to confront a wide range of problems. Since the raising of management as a set of solutions, any problem becomes a lack of management. In other words, anything that is problematic or chaotic is potentially a target for management (Parker, 2002). Management acquired the status of a self-contained value including the power of constitute and define problems and provide useful solutions, whereupon managerial solutions were equated with the right and moral way of approaching any public and private demands (Fournier & Grey 2000). Professional management thus ideologically furnishes the key to the good society.

*"Our society has in this century become a society of organizations. Organizations depend on managers, are built by managers, directed and held together by managers and made to perform by managers. Once organization grows beyond a very small size, it needs managers who practice professional management. This means management grounded in a discipline and informed by the objective needs of the organization and of its people, rather than management based upon ownership or political appointment."*  
(Drucker, 1977: 33)

This widely generalized goodness of management as a technique has laid solid bricks foundations to construct 'managerialism' as the ideology of management (Parker, 2002). Managerialism, defined by Parker (ibid: 9) as '*a form of thought and activity*', bases its functionality on its scientific character. This bond between management and science, as an equivalential chain, backed its ethos of neutrality and its authority over the whole social spectrum. The neutrality of positivistic understanding of science applied to management enables it to differentiate itself from any politically –charged or value-laden contexts, becoming free to perform without constrictions. This belief in science legitimizes a technocratic understanding of

management from a conservative and corporate conception of relevance which confirms and secures the established role and status attributed to managers. Management explicitly detached from political aspects in turn, constitutes in turn its very ideological character.

The fact that management, as a set of administrative techniques has acquired a widely accepted respectability (Grey 2002) within public and private grounds in western societies, carries with it the seed of its fragilities as well. One of these is the growing criticisms against positivism and functionalism within social sciences. The embedded ideal that social science is able to replicate natural science has been widely put into question. The 'language turn', the raise of phenomenology and the recent influence of postmodernism have transformed the epistemological building of social sciences; and subsequently psychology and sociology, which have strongly influenced the study of organizations. Nowadays academic management embodies the same series of competing perspectives as the disciplines which attempt to study it. All of these issues finally rendered management in a practice open to criticism. Its achieved visibility, its pretended full applicability and its difficulty to fit within academic grounds offer to those who were closer to critical approaches a fruitful agenda. Critical Management Studies is the main theoretical orchestration of a series of standpoints, which have been confronting mainstream management from different sides.

## **First Steps of Critical Management Studies**

Primarily, I like to summarize the main issues and steps that shape CMS history. Most of them are well illustrated in reiterated publications, so it is not my intention to merely recreate what its main actors have declared as their own history. I have grasped part of these written moments that appears more relevant to my work from a different stance, which I complemented with information obtained through informal contacts with some of its main proponents. After all, history is no more than our memories and the way in which we remember them in order to tell it to others.



Critical Management Studies as a name was formalised with the publication of a book with the same title in 1992. Its authors, Mats Alvesson and Hugh Willmott<sup>1</sup>, presented to the academic audience a series of articles, which summarized almost a decade of endeavours oriented to developing a critical understanding of Management Studies. It started several years ago, in 1985, when they met. That year, the annual conference of Baruch College, organized by Toni Tinker, in New York was called "Critical Perspectives of Organizational Analysis", and presented some preliminary critical approaches to Management Studies. Scholars interested in those topics gathered there and they agreed on a new meeting, a workshop in England in 1989. The book that they published in 1992 was a formalization of what had been discussed there.

The emergence of an organized way of approaching management critically was stimulated by a series of historical, social and political issues that took place mainly in Europe and North America during the second half of the last century. Broadly speaking, critical approaches to traditional management were bringing to the fore along with the prominence of political developments from the New Right within western powers the internal crisis of management tradition and the increasing criticism against positivism placed within Northern academia since the 1950s (Fournier & Grey 2000). Nevertheless, assuming that CMS emerged as such in UK, its social, political and historical features should be addressed in order to contextualize this emergence. Although it is not possible to say that CMS is exclusively a British phenomenon the relevance of the island's formation and development related issues is in fact impossible to deny.

Traditionally, UK academia, particularly in social sciences, has shown some willingness to anti-positivistic debates intertwined with its belonging to a more radical intellectual tradition mainly based upon Marxism. In this scenario, the managerial academic boom found, from the very beginning, a "*ready-made*" critical tradition in the UK (Fournier & Grey 2000). Along with this cultural context, one of the impacts of the New Right in the UK universities was a significant cut-back in funding social sciences that provoke a massive move of social scientists to Business

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<sup>1</sup> Mats Alvesson is Profesor of Business Administration Department at Lund University in Sweden. Hugh Willmott is Research Professor in Organisation Analysis at the Business School of Cardiff University, Wales

Schools. They found in these places new job opportunities, which gradually transformed the scenario of management studies due to their alternative standpoint with regards to business and management studies. Besides, the first UK's business schools established during the 1960s belonged to social science faculties which encouraged their closeness to a more radical and anti-positivistic approaches. However, I am not saying that a critical tradition effectively colonized the whole management studies and practice tradition in the UK. On the contrary, British management practice is still showing great adhesion to mainstream like any other western society. Furthermore, the issues that accompanied the academic development in Britain can help us to understand the why and how CMS can be regarded as having been originated in the UK.

Critical Management Studies have been developed across Europe, Scandinavia and the Antipodes, as well as UK. Despite the controversies relating to its identity and its still weakly defined boundaries, the process of sedimentation of a proper academic stream has moved on. European scholars are organized around a Conference, which is held every two years in England and congregates hundreds of adherents. Some of CMS academics held relevant positions within European Schools of Business; all of them show a great standard of publishing within alternative and mainstream Journals as well as a significant number of books, even a Reader, (Grey & Willmott 2005) with a few of them in the process of translation into different languages. Finally, a website about CMS affairs is now up and running.

North American Scholars motivated by critical approaches to management started their endeavours after Baruch College meeting in 1985. Parallel to Toni Tinker's precursor endeavours within Critical Accounting, some other scholars started to "come out of the closet" and share their personal concerns about traditional management beyond social meetings. Maybe because most of them already belong to American Academy of Management, their preliminary conversations held informally during the AAM 'pre-conference' programme. Moreover, this informal starting point within a formal institution quickly encouraged amateurs

'critters' articulate their efforts and thus, since 1998, an Interest Group Workshop alongside AAM conferences has been organized. Since 1990s an active mail list appeal 'critters' to engage in live discussion daily.

## **The Challenge of CMS**

CMS started stressing the problems and limitations of traditional management as a social practice, particularly enhancing its lack of recognition of their active participation in society's construction. CMS is committed to critically reflecting about the practice and education of management as a field. This criticism aimed to develop an emancipatory social agenda through the role that management plays within people's lives. Far from accepting management as a technical tool oriented to achieve practical goals within the organization's performance, CMS is concerned to reveal its social and political implications and hence its inequalities of power and oppressive representations (Alvesson & Willmott 1992).

CMS is not a cohesive and homogeneous corpus of knowledge. Its inherent diversity comes from its different theoretical backgrounds. Even though Critical Theory has been quoted as its main theoretical animus (Alvesson & Willmott 1992; Grey & Willmott, 2005), other voices within the field have fallen back on Marxism, Foucauldian, feminist and postfeminist approaches, postmodernism and poststructuralist standpoints. Despite the wide range of theoretical inspirations deployed in these preliminary works, CMS decided to use the insights of The Frankfurt School's Critical Theory as a main resource to inform their endeavours (Alvesson & Willmott 1992, 1996). From "Making sense of Management" (1996), another foundational book of Alvesson and Willmott, it is possible to extract the main issues that they pointed out:

- *"Management is a social practice."* CMS adopts a position that reflects a discursive epistemological standpoint, and intends to re-articulate management as a social and political practice. This re-allocation seeks to strip mainstream management of its neutrality,

traditionally expressed through the negation of its historicity, value commitments and power issues involvement. On a different note, CMS endeavours are oriented to stressing the historical and cultural power relations which can explain the emergence and development of traditional management as well as the way in which this particular discipline has played a preponderant role in constituting social practices (management and business education) and identities (e.g. managers).

- *“Mainstream management theory represents its practices as objective/impartial/scientific.”* This attempt implied providing management with the same features and outcomes of traditional sciences; thus, management as a discipline would be able to report external reality seeking rational ends. This construction achieved naturalizing management as a neutral technique that is broadly useful in order to master any social practice and its representatives as experts fully able to face a wide range of demands.
- *“Tensions exist between the lived reality of management as a politically-charged process and its ‘official’ representation as a set of impartial, scientific techniques.”* By neglecting any political commitment, traditional management has failed in its own explicit goal of providing rational solutions for practical problems; a wide range of pitfalls and undesirable consequences of its interventions claim for a different approach. Social inequalities, ecological disasters, domination and a constraint of opportunities among citizens require a new conceptualization rather than more effective techniques.
- *“Critical studies of management recognize and examine these (mentioned) tensions.”* An effort in providing a critical approach about management practices is concerned with these tensions. Their main aim is to highlight the clash produced by asymmetrical power relations, which are mastering traditional management, both knowledge and practice.

- *“Critical studies are themselves a product of prevailing relations of power.”* Being aware of the relevance of power relations and assuming that they are part of social life; CMS seeks to state its critics recognizing and assuming that its own position is an active part of that play.
- *“Critical studies seek to illuminate and transform power relations despite their embeddedness in these relations.”* Providing alternative frameworks for interpreting the practices of management, CMS aims to challenge the way in which these practices are currently understood. Based upon Critical Theory insights they aspire to promote ‘*personal and social transformations*’ looking for emancipatory goals.

CMS has been struggling with the formalization of these principles, trying to accurately define what “critical” means within this context. Both European and American versions of CMS have set out their own understanding of critical management. Which are as follows:

#### *European developments of CMS*

By ‘European CMS’ I am labelling the endeavours of British, Scandinavian and the Antipodeans critical scholars. The ‘European’ signifier attempts to capture and enhance its closeness with European Critical Thinking as its main source of inspiration. In general, ‘European’ CMS has followed Fournier & Grey (2000) development of a critical formulation built around three main threads: reflexivity, anti-performativity and de-naturalization. Although there is no total consensus about this articulation (Thompson 2004), and the US version has developed its own “manifesto”, Fournier & Grey’s contribution still are the most commonly quoted principles when it comes to explaining what CMS is about. Their explicit intention was to formulate a series of remarks, which would constitute a ground that aims to group a large variety of different theoretical and political positions in flexible way, as well as define some boundaries, which separate CMS from mainstream, orthodox and managerialist positions (Grey 2005).

*De-naturalization* appears as the central issue aimed at the disclosure of the rigid taken-for-granted position related to mainstream management and forefront possibilities for new representations, challenging the “there is no alternative” (TINA) perception around traditional management. Thus, everything is subjected to management, and to a particular way of management: management built around hierarchy, masculinisation, technical control, expertise supremacy, efficiency and profit-driven. This given existing order is justified by either nature or necessity, but what it is evident is that it is hardly ever questioned. CMS is committed to challenging this discursive closeness, which would collude in covering over the radical contingency of social relations.

*Anti-performativity* is not a different standpoint, it is really a particular form of de-naturalization, that denies the tightness between management and instrumental goals. These critics aim to disclose the way in which instrumentality is assumed as ‘the feature’ of management, obscuring other aspects of that social practice. Maximising outputs from given inputs and utilizing economic efficiency as the guiding theme would be to ignore issues like ethics, values and political positions. This is the core of the CMS position on anti-performativity.

*“CMS questions the alignment between knowledge, truth and efficiency and is concerned with performativity only in that seeks to uncover what is being done in its name” (Fournier & Grey 2000: 17)*

Finally, *reflexivity* challenges the ontological and epistemological traditional positions that governed management research, enhancing instead the involvement of any social actor with any knowledge construction process. CMS criticizes the way in which positivism is naturally assumed as the way to ‘produce’ knowledge. On the contrary, they are committed with the reflexion around the issues concerned with methodology and particular attention is paid to cultural conditions of production of research.

### *North American Interest Group*

Despite my previous statement that it is possible to regard CMS as formally born in the UK, it is not possible not to take into account US developments. Firstly, because I have insisted on the fact that CMS is not a unitary and cohesive corpus; secondly, because both endeavours are contemporary and they are exerting parallel influences; thirdly, because it is feasible to anticipate that the North American version of CMS will firstly arrive in Latin America (as the US mainstream management is currently leading Latin American business) which, as I have said before is one of my concerns. Although some kind of collaboration between both is perceptible, they are always trying to set clear boundaries. Most of these differences are traced back on their particular historical affairs and the primacy of non-equal philosophical traditions. CMS-IG, the North American nomenclature, has stated their principles through their explicit domain statement published in their web page<sup>2</sup>,

*"We observe that management of the modern firm (and often of other types of organizations) is guided primarily by the interests of shareholders and other elites. We are critical of the notion that the pursuit of profitability will automatically satisfy society's broader interests. Such a system extracts unacceptably high social and environmental costs for whatever progress it offers. We believe that other priorities, such as justice, community, human development, and ecological balance, should be brought to bear on the governance of economic and other human activity.*

*The overall goal of our research, teaching, and extra-curricula activities is to contribute to the creation of better organizations, more humane societies, and a viable world system. Our specific objectives within the Academy of Management are to serve existing members' needs well so that growth in the Interest Group occurs, to generate high-quality dialogue in our meetings, to encourage the diffusion of our ideas and values in research and teaching,*

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<sup>2</sup> <http://group.aomonline.org/cms/About/Domain.htm> (August 2006)

*and to build bridges to progressive social movements to contribute to positive change for social and environmental welfare."*

Commenting on this 'mission statement' (really an early but similar version of 2002), Paul Adler (2002: 388) delimited this definition as their understanding of the term critical. He emphasized their openness to any critical view from a broad range of theoretical standpoints and no particular preferences for Critical Theory principles summarizing the 'spirit' of the above quoted statement as *"a combination of left values and post-positivist methodologies"*.

Moreover, far from achieving agreement, both statements have raised criticisms and debates. Nowadays, CMS is facing a major period of self-criticism. Its consolidation as an academic stream and its growing number of supporters has prompted a richer dialogue about what CMS means. Of course, this conversation is not only the result of a positive and well-intentioned aspiration of improvement; it is also about a disagreement, counter positions, antagonism, finally about the (im)possibility of constructing a particular political practice. The aspiration of a unified political project, (or at least a clear proposition, which could lead further projection within management studies) and practices have been prevented by serious internal disagreements. Incommensurable ontological and epistemological standpoints belonging to a variety of theoretical positions wreak havoc upon the desire of problematising mainstream management; other than that, the only thing that is being problematized is CMS as a movement itself. Nowadays the efforts of that stream are more concerned with their internal issues rather than their promised 'emancipatory agenda'. This lack of project that is perceived as a failure, is just sustaining the force of "TINA" effect, apparently, there are no alternatives before sedimented (traditional) conceptions of management as yet. CMS supporters and non-believers have faced this knot stressing its impossibilities and possibilities as well, declaring CMS efforts literally dead or proposing new re-launchings. This vicious circle is what I am trying to present as a deadlock, as a crucial point in which new templates are needed. Political Discourse Theory developed by Laclau and Mouffe is what is inspiring me to make sense of the story of CMS, articulating this



deadlock as the difficulty of constituting CMS as an empty signifier, which could articulate the resistance project that they would attempt to encourage.

### **Is CMS constructing a social antagonism?**

Despite all its efforts, CMS is still struggling with its own political identity. The lack of clarity regarding this issue reflects its still shaky political position, which supports one of its main internal criticisms, namely its evident lack of impact (Parker 2002, Grey 2005). CMS has come a long way from its beginning. Moreover, its claims remain captive within the academic arena, and actually, within a particular western (northern)-academic arena, with little impact on different scenarios and specifically with a lack of presence among management practices.

Subscribing to Foucault when he states that whenever there is power, there is resistance, we can regard CMS as an attempt to create resistance against that so-called mainstream management. Moreover, following, Laclau & Mouffe (2004) it is possible to recognise that not all kinds of resistance imply a political character. Within the work of Laclau and Mouffe (ibid: 195) *politics* can be regarded as a particular kind of action oriented to transform a specific social relation, which constitutes subjects within a relation of subordination. In other words, politics is understood as the creation, reproduction and transformation of social relations within a ground crossed by antagonisms. The concept of the political concerns the contestation and 'radical institution' of social relations through acts of decision (Laclau & Zac 1994; Laclau 1990; Marchant, 2007); the making of decisions in a contingent and 'undecidable' terrain, which involves radical acts of power and institution. This is why the political is, first and foremost, an ontological category that is distinct from the social, ontical or regional category (Marchant 2007). That is to say, *any social demand would be political to the extent that it publicly contests the norms of a particular practice or system of practices in the name of a principle or ideal* (Glynos & Howarth, 2007: 115). By reflecting the way in which CMS is constructing its antagonism, the

necessary constituent of any political attempt, I will intend to state a problem about its precarious political proposition.

Upon seeking its identity, CMS is labelled by a wide range of words some of them explicitly used to enhance its strengths or potentialities, others as evident ironic disqualifications. Starting from general considerations, CMS could be regarded as a 'term', 'emergent area' or 'genre' (Grey & Willmott 2005). These nomenclatures would play the role of being an umbrella overarching a broad range of diverse 'leftist positions' which share its oppositional glance to traditional management and offering a "*degree of protection and respectability*" to these marginal orientations on academics grounds (Grey & Willmott 2005). Further, main proponents of this stand are focused on stressing its political commitments talking about a 'movement' (Grey 2005; Willmott 2005) and evidencing its institutionalizing process as a positive feature (Willmott 2005). On the other hand, some of its internal detractors prefer to name it as a 'brand', highlighting its careerist bandwagon side (Thompson 2004). Even worse, others see it as an 'oxymoron' enhancing its constitutive contradiction and therefore the impossibility of its proposal (Zald 2002). Aspiring names or derogative labels that evidently lie behind this controversy are the difficulties for CMS to embody a provocative political agency. Internal disputes which run around theoretical disagreements (ontological and epistemological beliefs), contents emphasis (opposition to what?) and contextual differences (European v/s American versions of CMS) hegemonize its discussion, leaving behind concerns about their public impact.

CMS aspires to build the antagonism opposing a traditional management hegemonic discourse to a new understanding of management as a field of study and as a practice as well. Critical management wants to pay attention upon all excluded aspects from mainstream establishing a chain of equivalences between ethical, social, political, environmental, cultural and historical issues. The significance of those equivalences is to constitute mainstream management as a practice of domination and reproduction rather than just a technical/professional standpoint. Thus, management study and management practice would be re-articulated as reproducing

forms of that relation of domination. Critical Management Studies intends to reshape the very terms of traditional management, rescuing from the silence a broad range of elements that were excluded in its origins as a practice. They are talking about a management that questions the hegemonic institutionalization of the mainstream version constituting themselves as denunciation agents. Moreover, CMS is still a kind of denunciation, which hardly trespasses beyond the walls of northern/western academia.

Again, CMS' main expectation is to introduce a new articulation of management based on the incorporation of, thus far, excluded social and political aspects. This incorporation would not imply just 'critical' prefixes before the word management but a radical definition of the term. This radicalness would be built around the meaning and practical consequences of being 'critical', which however is still under dispute among CMS supporters and evidences the deadlock that the area has achieved. The European version of CMS is trying to hegemonize the meaning of 'critical' building from their triad "de-naturalization, anti-performativity and reflexivity" the nodal points of their proposed definition. On the other hand, the US IG summarizes its manifesto with the words of Adler (2002: 388) "left values and post-positivistic methodologies". Nevertheless, both understandings give to the concept of critical management a meaning that is easily understood as an oxymoron (Zald 2002). Yes, it is an oxymoron, because the contradiction between 'critical' and 'management' has not been yet dislocated by any of the two assertions. My argument is that the way in which CMS has stated its position has divided the ground of management in two contradictory fields, which finally is impeding a new articulation (Barros & Castagnola, 2000). In addition, without a new articulation, the public contestation of the rationales behind the sedimented mainstream management becomes difficult. Both features articulate what I will present as the lack of politics in CMS attempts.

## **Lack of Politics in CMS attempts: a Discourse Theory approach**

Laclau and Mouffe's socio political theory can shed light on the stalemate by offering a new understanding of antagonism as the nodal point of their deconstruction of Marxism and radical reading of the concept of hegemony that has been called a 'kind of negative ontology' (Glynos & Stavrakakis 2004: 203). Central to their developments is the notion that discourses and identities are inherently political entities, which denotes the construction of antagonisms and the exercise of power expressed through hegemonic formations. What is implied in a hegemonic articulation is the negation of a particular identity or group of identities through the repression of alternative meanings (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Laclau, 1990). Those repressed possibilities are always threatening/negating a fragile social system. Negation here does not constitute a frontal opposition of the contrary, in terms of the contradiction between A and anti A, but the external limit, which is subverting any identity and is impeding its final constitution. The experience of the limit of any objectivity is what Laclau and Mouffe (2004) call 'antagonism'. What is expressed in a social antagonism is the negation of a particular identity. That negation is playing a role of a constitutive exterior performing two contradictory functions, namely, blocking the identity of the interior and at the same time being its condition of existence. Laclau and Mouffe (ibid: 168 ) state:

*"Insofar as there is an antagonism, I can not be a full presence for myself. But nor is the force that antagonises me such a presence: its objective being is a symbol of my non-being and, in this way, it is overflowed by a plurality of meaning which prevent it being fixed as full positivity".*

The way in which this subversion is discursively constituted is expressed through the notion of *equivalence* and *difference*. These notions derive from a post- Saussurian ontology of signification. Saussure identified two fundamental relations in language – the associative (or substitutive) and the syntagmatic (or combinatory) relations (Saussure 1983: 121-32). Laclau and

Mouffe transformed them into two dynamic and politically inflected logics, which they call logics of equivalence and difference (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 130). Insofar as political practices entail the construction of new frontiers to challenge old social structures in the name of an ideal or principle (implying a new set of inclusion and exclusions), it is possible to say that the political logic of equivalence predominates (Glynos & Howarth, 2007: 160). A project using the logic of equivalence divides the social by condensing meanings around two antagonistic poles. Equivalence means to create equivalential identities between different social actors; these similarities position the agents in a chain against a contrary, which is, at the same time, negating and threatening their identities. In the case of CMS, the logic of equivalence position itself against mainstream management, and thus the social appeared as divided in two. However, insofar as there is a breaking down of the existing chain of equivalence and an incorporation of 'desarticulated' elements into the expanding formation, a political logic of difference predominates. A project using logic of difference attempts to displace weakened antagonisms, while endeavouring to relegate division to the margins of the society (Howarth, 2000). The internal disputes within CMS, fore-fronted a logic of difference which weakens its precarious antagonisms, displacing the conflict between CMS and mainstream to the margins of discourse. In sum, while a logic of equivalence appears as a simplification of the politics space, a logics of difference is a logic of expansion and complexion of the same. Nevertheless, relations between equivalence and difference are complex and contingent making it impossible to determine its features out of the context in which they are taking place. Allow me to unravel this passage.

An example of that logic of equivalence is the way in which CMS has been establishing its antagonism against traditional management. As I stated above, the technical/performative function of mainstream management was the place for the antagonism construction, where issues related to ethical, social, political, environmental, cultural and historical aspects of management practice were made equivalent by reference to a common technical-performative rationale of traditional management that was seen to deny and block the critical identity. Moreover, the situation of CMS could be regarded as one in which the antagonism is very much

pushed through its equivalential logic, and from here both antagonistic positions remain politically blocking each other and impeding new articulations. There is no equivalence between the elements of any system that could establish a relation with an element belonging to another system, except for an opposite relationship. There is not one single society, but two societies; there are no discourses able to establish any difference within a chain of equivalencies in which all (and every) of its terms symbolize the evil (Laclau & Mouffe, 2004: 173); again, there are two frontal equivalence chains, namely mainstream and critical management. I will explain this formulation drawing on Martin Parker's (2002) critiques of CMS, as well as Chris Grey's (2005) self-questioning.

## Two Contradictory Camps

In his well-known book *Against Management*, Parker (2002) illustrates the opposition that I intend to present devoting an entirely chapter to cross-examine the currently entangled knot of CMS identity. Using their self-definition of being critical – Fournier & Grey's (2000) proposition and IG Workshop manifesto – he summarizes the positions that any CMS supporter (or detractor) could choose as the excluding opposition between to be *in* CMS as against being *out* of it. In Parker's terms, what is understood by being critical is related to "*the negation of any contribution to the perpetuation of existing capitalist relationships*" (ibid: 120). Any kind of reproduction of existing practices of domination (namely traditional management) means to be *out* of CMS; on the other hand, to embrace any form of resistance means to be *in* CMS. To be *in* or to be *out* ? That is the question for him. But, both alternatives are straightjackets which suffocate the (im)possibilities for a new articulation of management as a social practice. According to this statement, definitions of what CMS is, are just playing the role of establishing rigid boundaries against its opposite rather than subverting the meaning of traditional management. CMS' contestation is built, as I have said above, upon an extensive chain of equivalences between the contents of historical critical standpoints, ethical, social, political, environmental, cultural, genre, racial and historical issues, sharing the same feature, which is to embody everything that traditional management is not.

Traditional management, qua capitalism, is equated with technicality, functionalism, profit driven, neutrality, positivism, objectivism, as well as oppression, domination, inequality, injustice, elite-driven and masculinity. In this case, we are attending a situation of strict antagonism in which the frontiers of both positions are rigidly sedimented. This strict split of the political space into two fields overdetermined by an equivalential division prevented the constitution of the two conditions for a new and stable hegemonic practice: the presence of a plurality of antagonistic forces and the instability of the frontiers separating those (Laclau & Mouffe, 2004: 179). In that way, it would not be difficult to agree with Parker that the work of CMS will be conclude when the rooms of Business Schools are emptied; apparently, there is no other path for so contradictory alternatives:

*"Should CMS academics attempt to work towards humanizing work organizations, and run the danger of being co-opted, or refuse to engage with managerial practice at all, and run the danger of being ignored?" (Parker 2002: 122)*

This apparent *cul de sac* is the deadlock that I am trying to recuperate. However, challenging Parker's assertion, I support that to be *in* or to be *out* CMS does not depend on contents' interpretation beyond *"this absolute dividing line between the critical and the co-opted"* (ibid: 120). What is at stake is their political dimension, not the rationality behind each particular position. Mainstream management reshaped the social by subsuming it to a market conception of society. Hereafter, identities acquire its status insofar as individuals play a valid role within market (namely producers and/or consumers), on the contrary, subjects that failed in achieving those positions were excluded of a valid societal participation (normally any who cannot afford any kind of consumerism) being regarded as alienated from the system. That is a narrowing of the political identities linking them to the exclusive field of market. The strong force of its historical process of sedimentation renders mainstream management rationale as natural glue behind society, becoming it a fundamental political division, or in other words the only one social imaginary available (TINA effect). CMS saw counter position as a strict negation of what

traditional management has put in place, just maintains sharply antagonist lines, that is to say it still uses the imaginary and representational resources provided by orthodoxical management. If, in Parker's words, the alternatives are to stay in or to stay out the prevalent way of things, it is because there are no other social imaginaries available. The lack of an (im)possible new articulation of management field is the result of the way in which actors are politically obstructing each other rather than their 'objectively' antagonistic management interests. In that way, the 'other' is merely rejected, externalised, excluded. Identities are constituted in such a way that articulatory practices between the elements of either of the poles were impossible. The sole disappearance of the contrary constitutes the opportunity for the survivor.

### **Stressing the opposition**

The situation of two strict antagonistic poles, which remain in a way static, pulling one against the other, is even subscribed to by some recent CMS propositions. Realizing that one of the pitfalls of CMS advancing as a political actor is this permanent movement in stillness in which the stream is trapped, Grey (2005) launched a new proposition: *'to speak with one voice'*. Grey's diagnosis condemns what he calls the *'internal feuding'* that CMS is undergoing. In his terms, these controversies are just complicating the small academic influence that the stream has achieved, and more relevant, definitively impeding further progress. In an attempt to enact the political character of CMS, he suggests:

*"....either to develop a common front against managerialism and all the assumptions to which it is related – hierarchy, globalization, masculinism, the primacy of markets, anti – unionism and so on – or to engage in an endless debate about how this confrontation is to be effected.....(ibid: 13)"*.

Even more, he stresses that internal differences between a variety of critical positions are less significant than the differences between critical and managerialism positions. Again, here Grey is



hardening what I am trying to denounce, the strict split of the social in two opposites camps. What is relevant now, within CMS postures, is that both positions remain being looked upon as if being critical or non-critical were constituted by aprioristic and contradictory terms.

At this point Laclau and Mouffe's developments would help us again to shed new light upon this deadlock. For Laclau (1990: 39) the structure of social relations is constitutively incomplete or lacking, or more pointedly, "every identity is dislocated". The relational character of any identity is a central premise for Laclau and Mouffe's theorization. The authors drew on Derrida's (1976) concept of *difference* and its inference that every affirmation of identity is premised on the active deferring of certain possibilities. Any identity lacks an essence and its meaning depends on its relationships with those identities from which it is differentiated. Therefore, the concept of *constitutive outside* is defined as the externality that is a condition of existence of all objectivity. Moreover, the constitutive outside is serving two relevant and contradictory roles, as I have stated above, – on the one side it 'blocks' the full constitution of the identity which is opposing, and on the other it is a prerequisite for the construction of it. The link between these two functions is what they call *contingency*. What contingency implies is the impossibility of any final fixation of both, relations and identities. Accordingly, what is constructed is a field of relational identities, which never achieves its final constitution, identities and their conditions of existence form an inseparable thing (Laclau 1990).

*"This relation between block and simultaneous affirmation of an identity is what we call contingency, and it introduces an element of radical undecidability in the structure of every objectivity" (Laclau 1990:38)*

Here *dislocation* can be understood as a moment when the subject's mode of being is experienced as disrupted. In other words, dislocations are those occasions when a subject is called upon to confront the contingency of social relations more directly than other times not facing what she is, but what she could not be. What is relevant for my present analysis is the

way in which that dislocation is constructed and enacted beyond the simple fact of dislocation. In order to put it in more analytical way I will borrow from Glynos and Howarth the concept of *public contestation*. By public contestation they mean the contestation of the norms which are constitutive of an existing social practice in the name of an ideal or principle (ibid, 2007: 167). The notion of public contestation is relevant to the present discussion because of its privileged status in relation to the radical contingency of social relations and because of its association with the concept of the political. Glynos and Howarth stated that what post-Marxists<sup>3</sup> call the political is an instituting dimension constitutive of social practices. In other words, to the extent that aspects of a practice make visible the instituting moment of a social practice, either through public contestation, or the active absorption of public contestation. Thereafter the way dislocation or identity disruption is constructed and enacted acquires pivotal importance because it may be absorbed by an existing social practice or it may provoke a political practice.

The notion of dislocation, articulated in these terms, helps us to make sense about this proposed lack of politics within CMS attempts. Thinking of the limit of orthodoxy in management cannot be a simple rejection of mainstream in the hope of a total *new* possibility, rather it involves a different modulation of its contents and categories, where the *ontological/foundational status* of the main categories of being critical/non-critical are challenged and subverted. The notion of a dislocated identity is stressing its precarious fullness and radical incompleteness, thus mainstream management is an impossible object, which deserves being subverted or dislocated and not merely opposed or contradicted. Here, there is not a relationship between two positivities, namely traditional management and critical management; rather we should face the antagonist confrontation between fragile competitive identities that is threatening their very possibility of being. Thus, the political act of being critical subverts and radicalizes sedimented and dualistic

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<sup>3</sup> the theoretical work of philosophers and social theorists who have built their theories upon those of Karl Marx and Marxists but exceeded the limits of those theories in ways that puts them outside of Marxism. Particularly, post-Marxism argues against derivationism and essentialism (for example, the state is not an instrument and does not 'function' unambiguously or relatively autonomously in the interests of a single class) E. Laclau and Chantal Mouffe regarded themselves as post Marxists (Laclau 1990).

definitions made by others in the past. The 'one voice' proposed by Grey should have a better future than just being ignored or co-opted, of course anything different from echoing in the empty rooms of disappeared business schools.

What Grey denounces as the lack of impact for CMS, the 'internal feuding' as theoretical discussions, is not an intrinsic difficulty, what is problematic is its excessive 'internal' character. The deadlock that I have been articulating has acquired a new feature, besides these contradictory camps trapped within an academic side, there is now a lack of a public impact as public contestation. Complaining between colleagues about the nature of orthodoxy in management just helps to keep the opportunity of a public contestation at bay. CMS has undergone the 'pre-emptive' aspects of mainstream management academic practice, which seeks to maintain its existing social structure by muffling or guiding the process by which grievances are articulated, so that its existing social structure remains unthreatened (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). An example of this is the Eden's challenge to the so-called critters within The American Academy of Management:

*"Critical scholars should be able to get across many of their points while playing the research game by its methodological rules. ....I am proposing a **more serious** entry into the scientific research arena as an additional way of gaining recognition for their cause" (my emphasis) (Eden, 2003: 5)*

The 'small academic influence' mentioned by Grey has been built around a CMS' preoccupation for a professional identity within the academic arena expressed through their endeavours in organizing conferences, launching publications and obtaining job positions within Universities. Here the public impact of that 'contestation' has just been narrowed to a particular academic practice impeding its wider dissemination. Thence, what is missing is a broader contestation that could go beyond 'obscure' theoretical discussions within the boundaries of scholars relationships aimed to reach management practice as well as management studies. The dislocation would be

politically constructed if CMS may publicly challenges orthodoxy in the name of something different. This 'something different' is not just one voice against the enemy, it is a type of action whose goal is the transformation of a social relation which constructs a subject in a relation of subordination (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 153). In terms of Laclau and Mouffe, a relation of subordination is questioned only when this subordination is constituted as a relation of oppression and thus it becomes the site for an antagonism. It is just in terms of a different discursive formation that the differential positivity between subordinated categories could be subverted and then subordination constructed as oppression. This means that it is not possible to have an oppressive relationship without the presence of a discursive 'exterior', which interrupts the subordination. As I have said, CMS has failed so far in constituting itself as an 'exterior' for mainstream management; rather they insist in two contradictory definitions of management, namely critical versus non-critical. I seek to foreground the negativity that these relations have been constituted around, which in turn could subverts 'that' management as the only one that we have, and finally allows us through the re-activation of its political character to re-think its themes. A dislocated structure (management) cannot have just one centre. Dislocation implies a constitutive de-centring, which is a result of the presence of antagonic forces. Social dislocation finally means the construction of new power centres. The response to dislocation is the re-construction of the structure (management) by the antagonic forces (plurality within CMS) through the articulation around new nodal points.

CMS as an academic stream has deployed its attempts denouncing the normative, bureaucratic, and technological character of current management theory and practice. Through their copious theoretical writings, they have invited their colleagues as well as their students to challenge the norms governing management practices. My proposition is that subjects should be invited to mobilize with reference to particular signifiers, signifiers that promise a fullness that is lacking in the subject and its practices. Certain signifiers or linguistic expressions like reflexivity, denaturalization, anti-performativity, and even critical management function as names that stand in for the absent fullness of a dislocated community or life. They are metaphors with no

corresponding facts – they are moments of naming in a radical sense – they strive to represent the failure of a signifying system or language. Laclau calls these kinds of signifiers 'empty signifiers'. CMS, far from being regarded as an oppositional stance against orthodoxy in management, should be conceived as an *empty signifier*.

### **Polyphonic voices? The search for a hegemonic articulation**

An empty signifier is, strictly speaking, a signifier without signified (Laclau, 1996: 36). I already mentioned that Laclau has followed Saussure in affirming that language is a system of differences and therefore that linguistic identities are pure relational. Here the totality is essentially required due to fact that if the differences did not constitute a system; no signification at all is possible. The clue is that the very possibility of signification is the system and the very possibility of the system is its limits. However, those limits can never be themselves signified; on the contrary, they have to show themselves as the interruption or breakdown of the process of signification. True limits can never be neutral because they presuppose exclusion. True limits are always antagonistics. One consequence of this is that the system cannot have a positive ground and that, as a result, cannot signify itself in terms of any positive signified. Therefore, an empty signifier can only emerge if there is a structural impossibility in signification as such, as well as, if this impossibility can signify itself as an interruption of the structure of the sign. In discourse theory, the social field can never be closed, and political practices attempt to fill this lack of closure. In other words, even if the full closure of the social is not realisable in any actual society, the idea of closure and fullness still functions as an (impossible) ideal. Thence, what is necessary for the emergence and function of these ideals is the production of empty signifiers (Laclau, 1996). Thus, the articulation of a political discourse can only take place around an empty signifier that functions as a nodal point. Put differently, emptiness is now revealed as an essential quality of the nodal point, as an important condition of possibility for its hegemonic success. Empty signifiers are thus means of representation that enable the welding together of internal differences, while simultaneously showing the limits of the group identity and its

dependence on the opposition to other groups. Touching back to CMS, it is possible to re-articulate Grey's denouncement saying that their efforts have faltered so far because of the absence of an empty signifier to fully unite the different sections of the critical management stream. The 'internal feuding' has been preventing the construction of an empty signifier around which the distinct identities and demands of the various groups of scholars could unite. The theorization of CMS as an empty signifier is important; it will be able to provide to the signifier 'critical management' with an intelligible and positive content. It is precisely because it is a signifier that it can accommodate so many different interpretations that it must always be understood as empty, or partially empty in that, although its meaning will always be contested, at any time there will always be a dominant discourse that will be controlling and delimiting its meaning.

In a paper published in *Management Learning*, Stewart Clegg et al (2006) addressed an issue similar to the one I have been presenting here. He summarizes his critique by asserting that CMS is trapped in what he called an 'against' position before (mainstream) management practice. This position against management, or anti-management, would be built upon an assumption that constitutes traditional management as a '*unitary suite of totalitarian practice ruling out all alternatives*'; therefore, the only place for critics is constructed regarding this practice as essentially problematic. This kind of oppositional relationship between the critic and the criticized would tend to extreme polar positions reducing the alternatives to *for or against* management. Particularly Clegg et al cornered CMS' struggle as the insistence on demonizing instrumental-driven managers who oppress powerless employees.

*"CMS can reside in the assumption that there is an asymmetrical relation between powerful managers and helpless, inarticulate workers/employees who need to be liberated by those critical researchers who are able to truly understand what is at stake" (ibid: 11)*

Clegg et al are presenting their contestation against CMS developments as an oppositional stance between approaches that are too theoretical and completely alienated from practice. In other words, when they said that CMS is constituted against management they are also saying that this opposition could be read as a strict separation between theory and practice, a separation that is constructing a particular domination practice denounced by privileged academic positions. In their terms, this situation would explain the lack of practical impact of CMS as well as its permanent internal conflict. As a response, they are proposing a new attitude for CMS, Clegg et al suggest to adopt "*possibilities for engagement and resistance within, not in opposition to managerial initiatives*" (ibid, 11).

In order to challenge this abyss between alternatives that are too contradictory, Clegg et al suggests adopting a more engaged position, which is "resistance from within management". However, what does that mean exactly? How it is possible to adopt a position within something that is completely demonized? What happens if there are no common points between critical and no critical management? According to Clegg et al, it is possible to provide different accounts of management practice informing critics from discursive/language approaches. Those standpoints with their emphasis on meaning and difference would provide opportunities to understand management constitution and enacting: what is at stake is a monadic representation of the management practice To jump within management in order to criticize it should not imply jumping into the enemy, quite the contrary, it implies to expand and complexing the social scope. This is the logic of difference (Laclau & Mouffe 2004: 170). Clegg et al propose to inform new approaches within CMS using the concept of *polyphonic organization* (Hazen 1993, ibid: 13). In their terms which is novel in this approach is its democratic standpoint and thereby its rejection of totalizing.

*"Concepts such as the polyphonic organization cater for this fact: they start with a potentially open and diverse field of forces that might be structured, silenced or enacted in different ways at different points in time" (Clegg et al 2006: 13)*

A polyphonic approach to management studies, according to Clegg et al, would help to challenge this deadlock paying attention to the multiplicities, the relations of powers between them and the unfinalizability of truth enacted through different agents (ibid: 14). These 'polyphonic voices' apparently contradict the 'one voice' proposed by Grey. Are we condemned to the permanent 'noise' of a chorus? Alternatively, do we have to align ourselves solely with a lead singer? The relationship between these two possibilities is not as easy as it seems, and definitively is not exclusive. In a way, Clegg et al. are stimulating the differences between any single concrete struggle within CMS, celebrating its diversity and preventing their subsumption under just one general claim. On the contrary, Grey et al warned us of the risks of internal conflicts between different critical standpoints and encourage consensus around just one and relevant claim. However, Laclau is pointing out that an effect of the exclusive limits of any system of signification is the introduction of an essential ambivalence within the system. On the one hand, each element of the system has an identity only as far as it is different from the others: ie. difference = identity. On the other hand, however, all these differences are equivalent to each other in as much as all of them belong to this side of the frontier of the exclusion. In the case of CMS, the meaning of all concrete critical propositions appear, right from the beginning, internally divided. The concrete aim of the struggle (hierarchy, globalization, masculinism, the primacy of markets, anti –unionism and so on) is not only that aim in its concrete idea; it also signifies opposition to mainstream management. The first meaning establishes the differential character of that demand *vis-à-vis* all other demands. The second signifier establishes the equivalence of all these demands in their common opposition to the prevailed practice. In sum, any concrete critical proposition is dominated by the contradictory movement that simultaneously asserts and abolishes its own singularity. The equivalential relation among different critical standpoints allows any of them, indifferently, incarnate the opposition of all of them to the orthodoxical management. However, this involves a double movement:



- 1) The more the chain is extended, the less each concrete struggle will be able to remain closed in a differential self. On the other hand, as the equivalent relations shows that these differential identities are simply indifferent bodies incarnating something equally present in all of them, the longer the chain of equivalences, the less concrete this 'something equally present' will be. At the limit of the chain will be pure 'critical' being independent of all concrete manifestation. On the contrary, beyond the limits of exclusion, mainstream management will count less as an instrument for particular different forms of oppression and will express pure anti-critical, purely evil and negation. The critical community created by this equivalential expansion will be the pure idea of a critical fullness which is absent because of the presence of the mainstream management.
- 2) Precisely because the 'critical' as such is not a purely differential space of an objective identity but an absent fullness, it cannot have any form of representation of its own and thus has to borrow the latter from some entity constituted within the equivalential space.

This emptying of a particular signifier of its particular, differential signified is, as we saw, what makes the emergence of 'empty signifiers' possible as the signifiers of a lack, of an absent totality. Nevertheless, this leads us to a new question: if all differential struggles are equally capable of expressing, beyond their differential identity, the absent fullness of criticality, what determines that one of them rather than another incarnates, at particular periods, this universal function? In Laclauian terms the answer is: 'the unevenness of the social'. For if the equivalential logic tends to do away with the relevance of all differential location, this is only a tendential movement that is resisted by the logic of difference which is essentially non-equalitarian. No position in society, no struggle is equally capable of transforming its own contents in a nodal point that becomes an empty signifier. The relation by which a particular content becomes the signifier of the absent critical fullness is exactly what Laclau and Mouffe call a *hegemonic relation*. The presence of empty signifiers is the very condition of hegemony. Any particular critical standpoint before traditional management could be considered hegemonic when it is not closed in a narrow theoretical/practical perspective, but presents itself as the realization of the

broader aims of emancipation for wider groups of population. The hegemonic operations would be the presentation of the particularity of a group as the incarnation of that empty signifier which refers to the critical management as an absence, an unfulfilled reality. Various political forces can compete in their efforts to present their particular objectives as those, which carry out the filling of this lacking element. Politics is possible because the constitutive impossibility of society can only present itself through the production of empty signifiers. The recognition of this constitutive gap and its political institutionalization is the starting point of modern/radical democracy (Laclau, 1996: 36-46)

It has been my argument that CMS' proposition is trapped within a totalization of the equivalential logic in this effort to achieve 'one voice'. Their pluralities have been subsumed under a permanent quest for agreement (although the explicit remark is plurality) that has built frontiers which have been excluding rather than subverting. On the contrary, the logic of difference consists in the expansion of a given system of differences by dissolving existing chains of equivalence and relegating that division to the margins of society (Howarth et al 2000). It is an attempt to make complex, expand the social breaking equivalences and thus incorporate those disarticulated elements into an expanding order. The relation between logics of equivalence and difference is a complex one in which both are permanently subverting each other competing for temporally fix in a determined hierarchy (Torfing 1999). Antagonism is not a single phenomenon; any position within a difference chain could be a place for an antagonism. On the other hand, antagonism could present different contents and values and hence over-determine subject's identities. What I am trying to say is that polyphony of pluralities is not necessarily achieved by the concurrence of completely different discourses that seek to agree in a common translation of their contents. Plurality is a political stance in which competing meanings struggle for their hegemonization. It is not a struggle between positivities; it is a subversion game, which never becomes total. CMS as an empty signifier should be the place for a plurality of antagonisms that could go beyond sedimented and orthodoxal accounts of critiques and resistance. The very terms of 'critical' and 'resistance' should be revisited within the understanding that there is no

foundational knowledge, theoretical, cultural or political tradition that exhausts its themes. Critique and resistance have been constituted as a universal emancipatory need, but what is critical and what is resistance beyond this northern/western articulation of CMS is still in silence. My re-articulation of the liberation concept is a form of exploring critical possibilities from different geopolitical places of enunciation. This exploration will be particularly located within the field of higher management education.

## **Part II Critical Management Education**

### **Education, the political ground of Critical Management Studies**

Critical Management Studies has been largely associated by its proponents with Business Schools' affairs. First and foremost, CMS would be regarded as raised within the context of Business Schools<sup>4</sup> and, as a critical academic endeavour, it is aimed at challenging the rationale and practice of these entities. CMS' positioning within business Schools has nurtured the development of a relevant stream, namely Critical Management Education. The same general insights that motivate CMS as a genre have illuminated the critics over management's main practice of dissemination (and reproduction), i.e. higher and formal education. Business as a practice has been struggling so hard since the beginning of the last century to achieve the status that formal education's qualifications offer to other disciplines. Its incorporation within universities' curriculum went through a relevant effort to fit within positivistic and functionalist requirements in order to be regarded as a science. Thus, universities and their wide extended regulations and standards for awarding offered business and management the status they have been looking for. The relevance of that status is related to the position that holders acquire when a university degree supports their mastery of a particular body of knowledge. This accreditation is nowadays strongly associated with better performances at work as well as better salaries. Critical

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<sup>4</sup> I will use the term business schools in the same broad sense that Grey's (2005) use it, namely alluding business, management or administrative studies schools.

Management Education has aimed itself at questioning this general rationale orienting its endeavours to state that management education as a field is far from an unproblematic practice. Alongside CMS, Critical Management Education has taken its inspiration from Critical Theory and particularly from Critical Pedagogy among others postmodernist and post structuralist standpoints. These critical positions aim to emphasize that ME has become a social activity of central importance nowadays, and that the management academy has a decisive role in reproducing the practices of mainstream management (French & Grey 1996).

My concerns expressed through this work particularly embrace the role that management education and its critical version are playing as form of reproduction and resistance within broader social and political affairs. Together with the need of just 'one voice' within CMS, Grey (2005) stressed the importance of Business Schools and academic work as the main field for their critical project. This decision has allowed the advance of CMS so far, but at the same time, it is what is constraining its developments within the sole academic arena.

### **Competing Discourses within Management: the background for management education.**

According to Enwgal and Zamagni (1998), classical economics understood the owner and the leader of a firm as just one or the same person. Insofar as business activity became complex, the need for assistance became an issue as well. Firstly, owners found that help within the boundaries of their families, but in general, it was not enough to cope with business demands. Therefore, external people should be invited (hired) to participate in companies organizing processes. However, who were the people that could fit within their requirements? In addition, where could they be found? We are talking about a person who does not necessarily belong to shareholders groups, a person that should be employed to do what the owners used to do in the past. This historical and contextual circumstance inaugurated a new occupation, namely a professional manager who is commissioned to create an efficient organization in order to coordinate a large number of activities, sometimes, at many different places. Originally, the

formation and training of those new managers were held at the very job position. A proper socialization process was developed within the companies' door. This process was oriented to ensure that the hired manager performed in accordance with shareholders intentions, therefore the employees were gradually incorporated into the corporate culture. Subsequently, and due to the increasing complexities of that indoor socialization, the formation of future managers was entrusted to formal education. This strategic decision performed a foundational moment for what has been an academic discipline, a professional activity, a market segment, in brief, a disputable and controversial social practice. The creation of management education and particularly its incorporation into higher education at universities has been a long standing process full of conflicts and disagreements and a process that is still far from a clear consensus amongst shareholders.

### **Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of discourse**

Within the rationale of the present research, management education is understood as a signifier shaped and constituted under certain conditions of possibility. The anti-foundationalist point of view - widely developed within Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory - states that social phenomena are constructed upon ensembles of meaning, in a world without foundations which can anchor or fix those meanings. That is, there are no given essences or categories a priori, namely will of God, human nature, social cycles or biologist determinations upon which to construct reality (Sayyid & Zac 1998). Without stable essences or permanent and immutable meanings, actors, objects and their relationships are constructed within a discourse. In other words, management education would lack a definitive foundation apart from or prior to the particular discursive formation in which it is taking place. Following the insights of Discourse Theory it is possible to regard management education as a particular moment within certain discourses from which it acquires its identity.

Any singular articulation takes place within a historical context and involves the interplay of particular social, political and economic conditions. The relevance of that contextualization is related to how things have become the way they are in order to analyse and make sense whether institutions and social practices embody the means and ends for which they were designed for or whether it has been experiencing problems or contradictions. Without the intention to just repeat what was exposed before as a general brief of management education history, my intention now is to further along in each constellation of identities and discourses.

Agreeing with Howarth (2000) it is possible to say that Discourse Theory<sup>5</sup> considers all objects and actions as meaningful and that their meaning are conferred by historically specific systems of rules. This assertion is still more relevant if we consider that Laclau equated discourse with *being* (1990), which implies that objects, actions, and subjects come into existence as meaningful things within discourses. They used the term 'discourse' in order to highlight that any social configuration, is a meaningful configuration. This meaningful structure partially fixes the being of things and subjects; it is within a discourse where things acquire its way of being related to certain context. Again, objects, actions and subjects acquire their *being* from a series of differential relationships between them, relations that are not determined by the mere material reference to their existence; on the contrary, their identity is socially constructed.

My approach regards management education as a contestable terrain which has been shaped by the dispute of two different wider discourses which have antagonized its meaning. Both formations are competing to hegemonize meanings among management education identity and thus its practice is understood as means and ends. In order to label those articulations I will present my understandings of managerialist and educational/critical discourses behind management education.

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<sup>5</sup> I will use the label Discourse Theory with capitals to refer particularly to the work of Laclau and Mouffe.

## **The managerialist approach to management education: a discursive attempt to closure.**

Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's concept of discourse I attempt to describe and make sense of the historical issues which shape the mainstream understanding of management and thus how management education has constituted a particular articulation of that practice which I have labelled as a managerialist approach. The constitution of that managerialist approach is what configures the condition of possibility for the current and dominant practice of management education within western societies.

An articulation practice implies bounding together some key signifiers, which constitute chains of equivalence in an attempt that confers to subjects and objects a singular identity partially fixed within a certain discourse. The key signifiers associated with a managerialist understanding of management and management education, according to the historical account that I have presented, enhanced the role of management as a technical profession, management education as a vocational/professional endeavour and management faculty as vocationally oriented teachers and trainers (Bridgman 2004).

As I have presented above, there is a general agreement about the rationale behind the foundational moment of management education (Locke 1989, Thomas 1997, Grey 1997, 2002). In those times, private initiatives were aimed to grant managers and their practice with a qualified status through formal higher education. One of the nodal points in which the managerialist articulation of management education is constructed regards management as a technical profession. This understanding of management education as a rational-technocratic endeavour could be regarded as the result of a complex mixture between business and political interests within the major potencies of the western world (Grey 2002). Since this kind of education started as a private initiative, the role of business world has been critical in constructing its meanings and ends. Practice and the entry-level employments needs of business firms were most

influential in shaping the concept of manager and of management education, thus the emphasis on the curriculum was on how to perform the functions of business. The key content of these original attempts of management education were the acquisition of functional competence through formal instruction. These principles of management later become known as the classical theory.

What played a central role in constituting management, and therefore management education as a technical practice was the necessity, or better, the aspiration of social legitimation for both its practice and its practitioners (Grey 2002). Once management perspectives were moved from an understanding that only gave relevance to an expertise strictly located and obtained in the work place, the role of formal education made necessary a different conception of that practice. This conception implied reformulating management practice into a technical one, strongly based on a body of scientifically validated knowledge that could be applied by managers in different settings. It is possible to appreciate that understanding of management in the original efforts to fit business within academic endeavours was strongly supported by private and state initiatives. Following the example of foreign experiences, particularly North American, formal British's attempts to shape management as an academic content chose to enhance its similarities with regards to traditional professions, namely medicine, law and engineering. In the early 1960s several initiatives<sup>6</sup> concerned with the raising and improvement of management education among English higher educational system commissioned Lord Franks to provide a viable set of proposals for the future provision of that practice. Apart from practical recommendations about establishing two major Business Schools in London and Manchester respectively, Frank's report (1963) main contribution was its attempt to articulate what should be a proper business school, its role and objectives. In this report management was defined as a profession and business schools as vocational/professional ones. Frank explicitly stated that management is a "*applied, professional, technological*" subject similar to "*law, medicine and engineering*":

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<sup>6</sup> The Foundation of Management Education (FME), the National Economic Development Council (NEDC) and the Federation of British Industries.



*" Just as nowadays a surgeon has to know many things, possess a range of skills, and be disciplined, exercised and trained in how to apply his (sic) knowledge and skills competently in the moment of action: so increasingly the manager of today and tomorrow has quite simply to know how to apply the knowledge and the skills in a practical and enterprising fashion in bringing different ideas together to form a sensible policy, in making his (sic) decisions and in communicating them to those who have to carry them out" (1963: 4)*

Using such a kind of metaphor to shape what the practice of management is, the emphasis is built only around competence, training and practical application, leaving behind all the difficulties that management has to really fit with a professional definition. Reed & Anthony in 1992 and then Grey in 1997 have developed an extensive analysis on those pitfalls, but without leaving apart their contributions I will focus my analysis on what constitutes the conditions of possibility for that understanding. From the standpoint of this present research this conception should be seen as an accomplishment, that is, as a social construction reflecting certain exercises of power. The latter means that, for example, management based upon expertise would be in the legitimate and most effective position to define just what the organizational situation required, and thus offers a more legitimate ethical basis for organizational authority than the solely ownership. In an era of scientific preoccupations where modernism has prevailed a rational, technical and scientific approach for management knowledge, management learning and management practice were the way to sustain and develop its social power.

Scientific Management could be regarded as the best example of systematization efforts within management practices. This systematization was made basing itself upon the principles of positivism, which was in vogue among natural and social sciences during the first part of the last century. Although positivism is a wide, complex and contested concept, it is possible to regard it as the conjunction of three main features: (i) the acceptance that concepts and methods of natural sciences are the most appropriate for studying human activity; (ii) the assumption that

knowledge arises from direct perceptions of the world and that nothing is real if it is not knowable in that way; (iii) finally the rejection of value judgments due to the fact that they are not knowable in this way and are inappropriate to scientific enquiry (Giddens 1974). Management invoked those principles of positivism to deploy its developments in the systematization of its knowledge and techniques and consequently the way in which they were introduced within an educational format.

One of the consequences of invoking a scientific rhetoric to constitute management is the raising of the notion of neutrality strongly linked to it. In this scenario, neutrality means that management is just a technique serving a range of ends, namely productivity and efficiency. Accepting that a functional and technocratic approach to regard management was extensively assumed, the efforts presented above finally created the basis for considering management practice as a profession. This movement was in a way necessary to introduce it within the boundaries of higher education establishing parallels with the formation and educational process that other professional practices have shown.

As I have stated earlier the professional status of management has been a contested terrain in which difficulties and failures appear even more evident than the achievements. Being a classical profession, at least within British environment, it is related to exercising of high levels of closure around particular skills, which should be economically, socially and even legally recognized. Other features related to any profession are their universality and transferability of knowledge and skills. The endeavours that support the development of a scientifically based knowledge for management have been working to provide management with the necessary equipment to fit within these requisites. A clear and recognisable corpus of knowledge for management would allow it to claim the possession of those particular skills, which have been defined as neutral and universally applicable. Moreover, the process of professionalization for management has been widely questioned not only due to the fragile status of its corpus of knowledge but also due to the impossibilities for establishing a closure around its supposed skills base, as well as the

fragmentary and organizational-dependant characteristic of its practice (Reed & Anthony 1992; Grey, 1997).

Having defined management as a technical profession its discourse achieves a partial closure, which is also defining the meaning of other moments within it. Directly linked with the conceptualization of management practice is the corresponding construction of management education. This was an important step within the agenda of equipping management with a social and formal status, as well as traditional professions, universities should be the institutions in charge of validating that status. In a context in which management aspires to being regarded as a profession, formal higher education should play the relevant role in providing the necessary qualifications to support it. Understood in that way, universities and particularly the recently inaugurated business schools were oriented to delivering the practical tools to increase competencies in managers and future managers. In other words, higher education plays a strategic role in providing the primary institutional locale for constituting "expertise" for the management profession. This strategic role is constituted through a chain of equivalence combining the meanings of educational credentialism, occupational closure and knowledge monopolization and control. The preceding statement means that focusing our attention on higher education's role implies not only enhancing its participation in knowledge's transmission, but also in the production of knowledge and the production of credentials and qualifications. As Grey & Mitev (1995) argued, management education stands in a functional relationship with management itself contributing to organizational effectiveness and the performance of individual managers. Hence, management education becomes primarily concerned with the acquisition of techniques, regardless of the context of their application. Let us see an example from a random mainstream Journal used in a worldwide company's training programme that I participate in:

*"New research suggests that the most effective executives use a collection of distinct leadership styles – each in the right measure, at just the right time. Such flexibility is tough*

*to put into action, but it pays off in performance. And better yet, it can be learned"*  
(Goleman, 2000: 78)

Here, it is evident that the object of management education is to improve the managerial competence of students for instrumental reasons of control and performance ('tough but it pays off'). Through a learning process any management student may acquire the right and effective techniques, or better still, management education gives legitimacy to those managers who possess it.

Although the original efforts to systematize management knowledge were made by obtaining its inputs from experiential practice (such as Taylor and Fayol for example), subsequent endeavours have relied upon universities' research and legitimization. Sustaining the process of professionalization, most of the western labour market has been strongly influenced by the work of universities legitimating the practice of managers with formal credentials among which the MBA is the most relevant. The contents of that pedagogical delivery-meaning classroom topics, text book contents and case study strategies have mainly articulated representations of management as a technical practice embedded in a common apprehension of organisational problems and solutions (Grey, 2002). Thus, universities in general and business schools in particular have been able to license qualifications and competence to perform as managers. One of the assumptions that supports this role of universities' claims is the need of an increasing complex practice like management profession would require well equipped, well skilled and finally, well prepared managers. The functional justification of management schools is their ability to formally sustain that training. In the same way, the evident homogeneity between MBA programmes elsewhere, sustained by their strong attachment to international rankings and accreditations bodies, reinforce the business schools' exclusivity for managers' formation and qualification.

Not only does the discourse of management as technical profession imply a particular role for management education, it also defines an identity (subject position) for its practitioners. Here the management education faculty is conceived as vocationally oriented teachers, or simply trainers. In giving privilege to the delivery of technical skills and equipping students with practical tools to cope with business demands, teachers' identity is shaped around demands of applied orientation in dealing with business problems. Teaching appears as the principal activity for faculty acting as mediators between already established knowledge and its future deposits, namely managers. Management academics mainly articulate their practice around the reproduction of commonsensical concepts such as market primacy and functionality in order to serve their customer/students' needs for relevance to the 'real world' (Grey & Mitev, 1995). Consequently, research and teaching are aimed at describing and prescribing management activity boosting productivity and profitability. As an illustration I could mention a Chilean MBA programme which organizes some of its teaching modules under the following labels: 'functional areas', 'strategic administration', 'organizational alignment'; and some of its courses as: 'functional strategies', 'HR direction', 'strategic control of management' and so on. Those examples portray the way in which managerialist academics respond to the ever present question for relevance within management education.

But what does relevance mean? Whom must management education be relevant to? Since its very foundational times, management education has been tracing a path which is attempting to answer questions about its very nature and purposes (see Dehler, 1998; Starkey & Madan, 2001; Grey, 2001; Weick, 2001). The former managerialist articulation stated its own understanding of relevance. In it, what is relevant involves the very practice of management and the market needs, so that education and research should provide tools focused on analysis and problem solving directly linked to the industry and business demands. This notion tends to privilege practitioners' point view and needs, which in turn originally pushed the entrance of management to the academic world. From a rationale that required academic credentials just to give status to a particular practice, it is fairly clear that the purpose of research and teaching should satisfy and

nurture their concrete demands. Dehler (1998) labelled this view as an instrumental view. As a technical/vocational oriented approach, this kind of relevance is presented as a (supposedly) neutrally description of “natural events” or “spontaneous logic” associated with the current affairs of knowledge and society that could demand a single and “correct” implication of relevance. Relevance, regarded as a very narrow sense of practical application, which comes from the widespread attempt to commodify all aspects of social life renders universities in commercial institutions. Business schools are playing an important role within this scenario, its very existence and worldwide expansion would strongly help universities to fulfil this instrumental expectation by asking: relevance to whom and about what? Here the response is “market”.

A different and maybe contradictory understanding of the question of relevance is that sustained by the 'educational side' of the management academy. Labelled as scholarly view by Dehler (1998), those research-oriented faculties privilege the generation of fundamental knowledge and improving understanding of organizations and management, relegating useful relevance to a secondary even orthogonal outcome. The debate around the question of relevance within management education evidences antagonist positions, which compete in hegemonising the meanings around both practice and education. Managerial and technical approaches to management education have been strongly counter parted by positions, which seek to enhance the educational, and even the critical, role that this practice should play.

### **The educational/critical approach to management education: counter-discourse**

Counter to the managerialist tradition, there is a wide endeavour within worldwide academic debate, which pursues the original commitment that universities have had with regards to knowledge creation via disciplinarity and a preoccupation with theory. That tradition conceived universities as places of concurrence, meaning the venue for anyone committed to an open teaching/learning process. The University of Culture, a label used by Kanavagh (2005), grouped works of von Humboldt, Schiller, Fichte and Scheiermacher in Germany as well as Newman in

Britain/Ireland. Committed to the cultural project of modernity this approach enhances culture as a unifying function for the university. The humanities and literature appeared as central issues dedicated to the self-development of people. The university is first and foremost a community. The German model emphasizes scientific knowledge and unity of research and teaching. Quite differently, Newman's model favoured "liberal knowledge". In his *The Idea of a University* (2002) the mentioned author defined it as schools for universal teaching enhancing its feature as a place oriented to thinking' communication and circulation, through personal encounter within a vast field. His interpretation of a university highlights openness of inquiry without any other goal than the exaltation of knowledge. Locally, and more recently, in Chile it is now possible to appreciate similar orientations within the work of an almost unknown academic Dr. Luis Scherz. Particularly his publication *Una visión de la Universidad* (A vision of University in Santos 2005) offers a clear liberal articulation of its mission and purposes. He defined university as a place for knowledge seeking within an environment free of constrictions. In his words the academy is related to the permanent search for truth; the research is committed with a constant quest for reality; and finally, teaching as the way to communicate what has been researched. His work was mainly oriented to denounce and challenge the overwhelming influence of the French university model in Latin American universities, a model that was developed during Napoleon's times that privileged the production of professionals. As well as Newman, Scherz regarded universities as a community of teachers and students all gathered around the search of truth and knowledge interchange. Conceived in that way, university is far from immediate utilitarianism; differently, its aim is human realization. Professional or vocational teaching would be incorporated just as a sub-product of that wider realization mainly oriented to provide professions with a "*spiritual nobility and strip them of any trace of abuse and inhuman touches*" (*ibid*: 193). The work of Scherz proposed a triple mission for universities: a) humanization and liberation of spiritual and creative human energies; b) world's rationalization through the insertion of scientific thinking; and c) critical analysis of social reality seeking the raising of society's human level.

This university model, evidently linked with a modernist project, has been challenged by those who support a post-modernist vision of higher education. The questioning points to Scherz's second mission for universities: the primacy of reason and scientificism. Their proponents call attention over the current failures of the modernist project and the proposed end of modernity. A post-modern approach to universities highlights the virtual, reflexive, fragmented, ambiguous, de-centred, contradictory and multi-faceted attributes of current understandings of knowledge and the impossibilities of articulating them within just one general university practice. In general, here, within the post-modern university the concept and the primacy of canon is itself interrogated (Kavanagh, 2005). The *multiversity*, a Kerr's suggestion (2001 quoted in Kavanagh 2005), was the major example of that position. Multiversity aimed to put together the various approaches about what a university should be. Two primary threads are the focus on undergraduate life, here the tradition is British (Newman) and humanistic; the alternative focus on graduate life, namely German tradition (von Humboldt) and the scientist. The third pillar is that of professions, the American tradition. The multiversity appeared as a vast bureaucratic enterprise rather than the traditional knit of an educational community, its standpoint is made up of multiple functions and interest groups.

But, what really attracts the attention of the present research is Scherz's third proposition: critical analysis of social reality seeking the raising of society's human level. Kavanagh (2005) also has a name for that tradition: the Emancipatory University. Its influences come from Dewey and James and their pragmatic and liberal progressivism. Here education could and should be a tool of progressive social change, equality, ethical conduct and material prosperity. Consequently, university should actively engage with civic society's problems; in other words, the university is conceived as the architect/promoter of emancipation and social justice. University becomes the university of the masses. Here, in Latin America, the vast reformist movements that shook local universities during the late 1960s evidenced similar contents than this emancipatory approach. What was criticized at that time? It rejected the university's professional and utilitarian narrowness as well as its absence of social change re-orientation processes, and denounced



abuse, injustice and alienation. Its strong dependence on external powers (local and international ones), the lack of democracy in its rule and the minimal openness to wide defenceless social sectors were questioned as well. In Chile, as we already know, as a result of the abrupt interruption of the democratic life, endeavours related to reform also ceased. Without any possibility of resistance and within the neo-capitalist atmosphere which dominated the public scenario, a modernization of the university started again. This attempt recuperated every single scheme that had been rejected.

### *The situation of Business Schools*

But, how could these debates fit within the business schools tradition, if indeed they really fit? Those debates, meaning different approaches about what a university should be, have been questioning the provision for vocational preparation of the workforce and the role of the education system in that task. This concern affects particularly to business schools, which have been largely constituted as vocational sites. In order to face international competition the western higher educational system has been subjected to a series of reforms. In broad terms, these changes represent a drive on the part of business interests (supported by governments) to shift the emphasis of the nation's educational provision towards vocational ends (Thomas & Anthony, 1996). Those interventions have affected universities: increased business influences over funding and the fostering of managerialism have weakened those institutions by undermining their autonomy in favour of market relations. Where education has been traditionally based on a liberal conception (i.e. England) in which vocational preparation has been afforded inferior status, those government and private efforts could be seen as a threat to traditional values. Thus, the question concerning relevance within business schools has been answered mainly by the market rather than the faculty.

Thomas and Anthony (1996) addressed this concern by delving into the educational side of management education. Their interrogations tackle dilemmas related to educational and non-educational (training) issues and the perceived relevance of qualification for market's demands.

Their diagnoses states that management education has included an educational aspect and a non educational aspect, the latter understood as training, nevertheless, the former has been marginalized to such an extent that management will cease to be educational (ibid: 21). For them, the worry is that management education might be reduced to management training. At this point it is crucial to define what they understand by education, a definition that I will follow for the purposes of my writing here. They decide to quote Peters (1970: 45) and conceive of education as:

- a) *"the transmission of what is worth-while to those who become committed to it",*
- b) *"it must involve knowledge and understanding and some kind of cognitive perspective, which are not inert"*
- c) *"it rules out some procedures of transmission, on the grounds that they lack wittingness and voluntariness on the part of the learner".*

That definition implies understanding that the notion of worthwhile does not imply any particular content, but whatever the content is must be regarded as valuable. Education must involve knowledge and understanding and not simply the mastery of skills. Knowledge of facts is not sufficient; on the contrary, it is an understanding of principles as well as the development of a perspective, which enables learners to appreciate knowledge in a broader scope, which goes beyond narrow competence. Finally, education presupposes awareness on the part of learners that they are engaged in an educational endeavour and some freedom of thought and action in its pursuits. The learner should change after an educational experience, learning is an experience, which modifies the learners' way of being. Thomas and Anthony's arguments state that the predominance of qualifications, as the major product of management education, has been outshining the educational aspect of that kind of education. Being certificated, which is no more than reproducing knowledge in an examination, is directly linked with the principal outcome of a vocational education, namely learning in order to get a job, as opposed to being educated in order to do a job. Thus, obtaining a qualification has been offered as the important basis for

encouraging managers' commitment to learning. Possessing a qualification could help in obtaining power, income or respect, the authors said but the risk is the substitution of management education with earning a management qualification.

Thomas and Anthony's analysis state that some strategies have been deployed in order to differentiate the work of a manager educator and the work of a manager. One of the strategies that they mention acquires relevance for my work. Their approach addresses what managers are, rather than the techniques that they would need in order to perform their work. The focus is not the practice of management, but the relationships of power which they reveal (Ibid: 28). The academics working in this particular stream seek to contribute to an understanding of social relationships and power in organizations mainly inspired by critical theories of post modernism. Their work aims to challenge sedimented managerial approaches and thus opens room for what has been known as critical education.

Touching back on the relevance debate mentioned earlier, critical standpoints argue that restricting *'management studies to the presumed neutral developments of knowledge for the realization of corporate goals is narrow-minded and politically partial'* (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992: 5). From their approach critical work can not only point to the failures of management practice, but serves to question and open up *'what has become seen as given, unproblematic and natural'* (ibid: 13). In sum, what is relevant within management education is not an objective concept or an already defined field; rather, it is a critical component of any different articulation about management education.

### **Critical Management Education: the promised challenge.**

Within the academic debate that has nurtured critical management studies, some interventions paid particular attention to pedagogies, methods and curriculum. Perriton and Reynolds (2004) listed relevant examples of those publications: Willmott's 'provocations to a debate' in

Management Learning (1994), Fox's 'debate' (1994), Grey and Mitev's 'polemic' (1995) and the edited collection by French and Grey entitled *Rethinking Management Education* (1996), among others. Alongside those writings there was an educational stream within CMS earlier conferences as well as a conference series called "Connecting Learning and Critique", which inaugurated a kind of critical turn within management education. Grey and Mitev (1995) argued for the need of critical management academics to contest the instrumental and unquestioned teaching that inform traditional managerialist management education. They define critical academics as those *"concerned to analyse management in terms of its social, moral, and political significance and in general terms to challenge management practice rather than seek to sustain it"* (ibid: 74). In its attempt to problematise management as field of study and practice, CMS opens a room for education as the key site for challenging it. The origins of CME were devoted to unravel the features of its pedagogical side; later on a more political stance has been gaining relevance. Let me present my account of its developments.

The pedagogical radical tradition within academia precedes critical management, and it is this particular development which has been informing the first endeavours of critical management education. Paulo Freire's works in liberation pedagogy, as well as Henry Giroux's development of critical pedagogy were the foundational insights for critical management educators. This radical and adult education inspiration characterized the original work of Lancaster University's Department of Management Learning which is regarded as the UK precursors of those endeavours (Perriton, 2007). Their research in management development and education and its pedagogically innovative post graduate courses were in place even before the first provocations of CMS. Among its academics it is worth mentioning Michael Reynolds (1998, 1999) and his research which explores the implications of emancipatory education theory for management education and development practice which has formed the best well considered basis of critical management education studies and practice. Pre-dating Reynolds, Snell (1986) presented a critique of management education and development using Giroux's ideas on emancipation and advocated a radical perspective on management development. Later on, Grey et al (1996) refer

to critical pedagogy within the educational literature, particularly to Freire, Shön and Giroux. Moreover, the influence of critical reflection, specifically the influence of Habermasian perspective was gaining centrality within this novel academic field (see for example Caproni and Arias, 1997; Prasad and Caproni, 1997; Reynolds, 1998). Critical Theory, which has been present in the developments of CMS, started playing a more central role within CME discussion only in the late 1990s (Perriton & Reynolds, 2004).

Although this is a quite broad critical and radical inspiration for management education, what these self denominated critical educators borrow from them was summarized by Perriton and Reynolds (2004: 65) as:

- *"A commitment to questioning the assumptions and taken-for-granted embodied in both theory and professional practice, and to raising questions about management and education that are moral as well as technical in nature, and are concerned with ends as least as much as with means;*
- *An insistence on foregrounding the processes of power and ideology that are subsumed within the social fabric of institutional structures, procedures and practices, and the ways that inequalities in power intersect with such factors as race, class, age or gender.*
- *A perspective that is social rather than individual, just as the nature of our experience, as individuals, is social. Notions of community are likely to figure in critical pedagogies albeit with problematized interpretations of the construct;*
- *An underlying but fundamental aim that is emancipatory – the realization of a more just society based on fairness, democracy and empowerment of identifying and contesting sources of inequity and the suppression of the voices of minorities."*

Though critical management education has showed an independent and maybe parallel history to CMS, its intentions, questions and counter-positions have conflated within the broader umbrella of critical approaches before mainstream management. Thus, CME has positioned itself

as one of the critical attempts that try to grasp the vicissitudes of one of the most relevant management practices, namely its production and reproduction through education. This positioning also tried to go beyond theoretical discussions reporting even their own critical educational interventions either in terms of process or contents. Within UK management classrooms the difficulties of being critical was originally accounted by Thompson and McGivern (1996). The wider concern about the resisted reception of critical academics within MBA classrooms has been reported by Hagen, Miller and Johnson (2003), Currie and Knights (2003) as well as Sinclair (2000) who also addressed gender issues. Humphries and Dyer (2005) commented on the introduction of critical and post-modern perspectives into their teaching and Fulop (2002) reflected on the difficulties of writing critical textbooks. As Perriton (2007) has noticed, in contrast to CME academics in the UK who were able to see management education as a tool with which they could transform management practice, US academics were aware that the business school was a fortress that would easily repel its attempts to colonise it. Moreover, one of the most influential reflections about the pitfalls of introducing critical pedagogy's inspirations to a classroom is Ellsworth's (1989) challenge to those attempts. Within Latin America's scarce presence in CME it is worth mentioning Gutierrez's (2002) examination on the asymmetrical relations that predominate in educational settings and exploration of alternatives to empower students. Nevertheless, this readiness of academics to write about their teaching in detriment of other forms of activism has been just one of the self-criticism that this stream underwent (Perriton, 2007).

CME as an educational stance that has gained a respectable room within management theorization and a quite uneven representation among pedagogical practices has built its own identity around critical reflection as its main nodal point. Critical reflection as a concept and as a methodological approach coagulated the inheritance of both the critical pedagogy tradition as well as the insights of Critical Theory (Perriton, 2004). The application of reflection to experience in order to challenge the hidden taken-for-granted with the subsequent expectation of social transformation, knitted with the 'conscious-raising' focus of a non-hierarchical relationship

between teacher and student give sense and content to that nodal point. Thus, CME differentiated itself from 'banking model' of traditional management education where the reproduction of self-declared neutral and a-political contents hegemonies the practice. Its chains of equivalence establish connections with the adult education propositions and the emphasis on the primacy of the learner's experiences; and the qualitative research standpoints as well as the emancipatory ideals of critical/radical philosophies.

### **Critics and pitfalls of CME**

Similar to CMS, CME has not been far from self-criticism raised from its very core proponents. The case against critical reflection, as Perriton (2004) labelled it, attempts to question its central role as the rationale and the method of CME as well as its short sightedness behind its self-declared unproblematic response to a problematic practice. In Perriton's view, CME solely supported by critical reflection obscures the role of the educator assuming that reflection process is a 'natural' potentiality of students if they are exposed to the 'right' learning environment. In other words, what is neglected here is the apparent necessity of an indoctrination process which gives ground for the subsequent criticality; a process that would be normally delivered within the 'banking' framework that this very practice is trying to destabilise. Elsewhere, Perriton and Reynolds (2004) offer us further developments of the same questioning. Having drawn upon Ellsworth's (1989) critique of the orthodoxy embedded in critical pedagogy, the authors agree on challenging the limitations of it when there is an absence of reflexivity applied to the social dynamics of the classroom - especially in relation to the tutor role. In their understanding, what should be revised is the untouchable privileged position of the teachers, which despite their critical intentions is still constituted from a primacy of hierarchical power primacy. In other words, the tutors' voice, albeit critical or mainstream one, still lectures from the ivory tower of intellectual status displacing the discussion just to the scope of management inspirations and contents. Closely linked with this aspect is the universal aspiration of emancipatory attempts, which are presented as natural and widely consented propositions for democracy. This pretended

universality would sustain the insistence in constituting the manager as a 'victim' of that oppressive context and the educator as their 'natural emancipator' (Perriton & Reynolds 2004).

My own contribution here should be understood as an echo of what Perriton and Reynolds are sustaining, not necessarily in the way in which they articulate their critique but in the spirit behind them. Let us bear in mind that my concern is the political lack of critical approaches to management and in the case of CME its difficulties to achieve its claims of a radical project. Perriton and Reynolds proposition of addressing the lack of reflexivity concerning issues of identity and politics in the classroom acquires a different understanding from the point of view of Discourse Theory. Coming back to the notion of dislocation I would like to point out the significance of the contingency as the main articulator of social practices and the role of any social actor who 'speaks' from a different discursive formation constituting the relation of domination as such (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Allow me unravel this obscure passage.

As I developed earlier, dislocation constitutes a key nodal point of Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical scaffolding. Dislocation as a disrupting experience is the evidence of the constitutive de-centring of any structure, as Laclau (2000) has stated, this is a particular mode of dislocation, which is the result of the presence of antagonist forces. More relevant, he states, social dislocation is always accompanied by the construction of new power centres which are only possible due to any social construction is contingent, or in other words, structurally decentred. Management practice and management education firmly based on the principles of capitalism have been dislocated by the presence of antagonist discourses, in this particular case, critical discourses that are struggling to construct new nodal points and therefore new opportunities of identification for its subjects. The role and challenges of the critical educator here are better understood within this dislocatory attempt rather than just an emancipatory ideal.

Critical educators are not agents in charge of 'emancipating' others, as a banking indoctrination in criticality would suggest, in my view they are dislocated subjects endeavouring to re-centre their own structure; in Laclau's terms: the very place of the subject is the place of dislocation. It is



because the structuration of managerialist discourse fails in totally constituting the identity of management educators that they are transforming themselves by shaping new identities. The possibilities for that transformation lie in the very de-centred condition of any structure; within an incomplete and contingent understanding of social practices any constitution of a power centre entails its possibilities of resistance from a plurality of other power centres, all of them with differential capacities in terms of irradiation and structuration (Laclau 2000). This assertion allows a new understanding of the role of critical educators and their suspicious practice of indoctrination. Within an understanding that sustains the existence of the so called 'human nature' and therefore, the existence of an *a priori* unified subject, one could state that all subordinate relations that denied the essence of a subject are automatically a relation of oppression. However, within the framework of this research where all essentialisms are rejected, the very condition of a subordinated or oppressed relationship should be explained. Laclau and Mouffe (2004) define a subordination relationship as any relation in which a social agent is subjected to other's decisions. On the other hand, an oppression relationship is that where subordination has become the place for an antagonism. A relation of domination is the group of subordination relations, which are regarded as illegitimate by the eye or judgement of an external social agent, coinciding or not with current oppressive relations of a particular social formation.

The 'external social' agent is no other than anyone who is speaking from an (always-available) different discursive formation which allows subverting the hegemonized meanings and thus constitutes subordination as oppression. In Laclau and Mouffe's words (2004: 196): "*That means that there is no oppressive relation without the presence of a discursive 'exterior' from which the subordination discourse can be interrupted*". Within this understanding, critical educators are not just powerful ones 'victimizing' managers through emancipation indoctrination; different to this, they are (who) drawing political frontiers in an attempt to suture some floating signifiers that no longer fit to hegemonized meanings. But this is not a task that is affecting just students qua future managers, it is an educators' subjectivity subversion as well. Once critical educators have forgotten the contingent aspect of their own criticality, they relegate its political possibilities to

the bottom. This issue is closely connected with an aspect of Perriton and Reynolds' discontent, which still deserve consideration: the universal pretention of emancipatory ideals within critical pedagogy. In my understanding, what they try to disclose is the fantasy behind this particular political endeavour gripping the critical educators' mode of enjoyment. Put differently, the critical pedagogy monologue sustaining CME ideologically sutures radical possibilities for it, transforming that subversion in a new form of indoctrination, which neglects the contingent feature of all social practices and obscures the unevenness dimension essential to all dislocation. In other words, what critical pedagogy would offer to CME is the 'beatification' of the emancipatory ideals as soon as they could be reached. The predominance of a logic of equivalence dividing the scope between managerialist and emancipatory approaches for management education stimulates the presence of a fantasy in which the former, as internal enemy, would be blocking the identity of the latter, as soon as it promises the arrival of an harmonic totality.

### **A new recast for CME**

Having rearticulated Perriton and Reynolds' complaints, their challenging propositions for CME acquire new meanings. They recast CME from pedagogy of emancipation to one of refusal emphasizing the narrowness of the theoretical traditions that have been informing critical management studies so far. The metaphor of a 'colonizer who refuses', a purveyor of radical ideas within management while receiving a wage in return for legitimating the managerial classes through education, underpins critical educators' status of a 'negligible force in the varied conflicts'. I would like to reconsider this issue. They mentioned several times the lack of consideration about critical management educators' individual political projects, which is eclipsed behind the gloss of the loose community of CMS. As a response, they launched the necessity of a 'fourth-wave' educational practice which could go beyond the boundaries of 'orthodoxy' within CME opening room for feminist, poststructuralist and other theoretical traditions that have been pushed to the margins of the academic field. For me that 'fourth wave' should not only

foreground the plurality of theoretical rationale, differently it should also be at the forefront of the political involvement of a diverse corpus of agents, within which management educators are just one agent among others. Using one of the quotes that they present in their article:

*"to abandon crusading rhetoric and begin to think outside of a framework which sees the other as the problem for which they are the solution is to shift the role of critical intellectuals" (Lather, 1991:107, cited in Perriton & Reynolds 2002:74)*

I would like to stress the relevance of abandoning the understanding that critical educators are 'emancipating' others who are oppressed. To consider '*the conflicted role of the CM educators in the colonizing structures of management*' is to re-positioned them(our)selves as (im)possible oppressed of both mainstream and critical traditions and thus as subjects of dislocation. The orthodoxy within CME would tend to consider that critiques have an objective (universal) meaning; consequently, the agent of change (critical educator) would be interior to that process and would be determined by it. As I said before, and following Laclau, is possible to affirm, that the place for subjects is dislocation, so they are not a moment within the structure, but their subjectivity is the result of the impossibility of the structure. Hence, the critical educator is not the privilege agent of change any more; they are not already emancipated agents; the real possibilities for social transformation would depend on the proliferation of multiple social change agents, multiple dislocations and multiple antagonisms. It is the experience of dislocation of any critical educator, among others actors, that could help to construct resistance. Critical educators' political agenda would acquire now greater relevance; consequently, they will not a 'negligible force in the varied conflicts' any more. Their political commitment should not just be exhausted by orthodoxal accounts of emancipations. Far from refusing from the trap of colonizers versus impotent colonized; the critical educator is called to give sense to her own experience of dislocation looking for new (political) centres to inform their critical practice. Paraphrasing Perriton and Reynolds (2004: 73): "*.....if educators had examined what they desired and feared*

*in the 'critical' educational encounter then CME could have been more productively repositioned", not as pedagogy of refusal but as a 'pedagogy (experience) of dislocation'.*

## **The exploration of a local critical agenda**

One of the main challenges of this present work is the use of Discourse Theory's theoretical achievements as a methodological framework. Laclau and Mouffe were less concerned with method and methodologies when they were developing their work. Moreover, their lucid contributions on discourse articulation and the constitutive role of social and political logics have inspiring a significant amount of political research. These fruitful theoretical and methodological achievements have been recently incorporated to organizational studies by no more than a dozen of scholars (see Contu 2004; Bridgman, 2004; Böhm, 2003) Although its contributions appear to be promising in terms of theoretical enrichment, its methodological novelty is still challenging its practitioners. In the next chapters, I will face my own appeal on these matters. Chapter 5 will embrace the methodological issues and framework that I have articulated during this research. Then Chapter 6 and 7 discuss mainly on my involvements with that mentioned practice as well as the interpretations and propositions that this work produced. Specifically, a political agency in the conditions in which otherness is a fundamental nodal point for establishing the meaning of resistance relations and, therefore, of the subjects of these relations.

## **Chapter 5 Logics of Critical Explanation**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter I will give shape and discuss the work that I have done during my research, particularly what I have done and how I have done it and, of course, why. This section refers to the compulsory topics of methodology and methods within any doctoral thesis. However, my claim of being following the inspirations of Discursive Theory, within the tradition of socio-political studies, makes this endeavour complex.

In one of the review panels that I presented during the path of the present research, the audience (a Lecturer and a Professor of Management Learning Department) agreed in pointing out that a probable weakness of my work could be the ethos of my methodological standpoint. Their awareness was not oriented to my personal performance as a novel researcher, but to the perceived intrinsic weaknesses of my chosen framework. They were right, I could not agree more. The work of Laclau and Mouffe and other discourse theorist have done much to advance the theorising of this unique body of knowledge, but the discussion of methodological issues and their implications for conducting and presenting empirical 'applications' of discursive theory has been considerably less advanced (Torfing 1999, Howarth 2000). Questions like, what is the 'object' of analysis? How is the researcher 'positioned' in relation to the data? What narrative form is appropriate? Are the concepts of 'validity' and 'reliability' appropriate concepts for assessing this particular empirical analysis? have been largely ignored by Laclau and Mouffe. Moreover, these challenges were strongly addressed by a group of academics, better known as the Essex School (Howarth, 2000; Howarth, Norval & Stavrakakis, 2000; Howarth & Torfing, 2005; Glynos & Howarth, 2007), which have deployed enormous efforts in order to systematize their 'empirical' work and thus postulate that a stronger body of research guidelines will support the new generation of socio-political researchers like me. Assuming the risk of being embracing a

novel and challenging way of doing management research I will do my best to present to you, my readers, my understanding and experience within this passage into logics of critical explanation.

### **Discourse approaches within organizational research: from textual analysis to Laclauian approach.**

Discourse Theory in my research plays two roles, my methodology and my method. The concept of discourse has played a significant role in the social sciences during the last decades, as an evidence of this, the use of discourse analysis as a way to define and explain social phenomena has gone beyond literary theory and linguistics. Among others the critics to the traditional positivist approaches in research due to its insufficient capability to realize the social phenomena, the impact of the so-called 'language turn' on the social sciences, the wider influence of Marxist theory and Psychoanalysis, all of them have been rendered in a distinctive field of discourse analysis with different representatives in all the disciplines of social sciences (Howarth 2000). Organizational research is not the exception; in recent years, discourse analysis has become an influential way of studying organizations. According to that some proponents have extended the analysis of discourse even beyond a methodological understanding, claiming that organizations are ontologically constituted by discourse (Chia, 2000). Perhaps the most extensive body of discourse analysis is the work which sets out to study organizational discourse by focusing on the nature of texts in organizations. A text is understood as 'the linguistic/semiotic elements of social events, analytically isolable parts of the social process' (Fairclough, 2005: 916). This approach assumes that interesting aspects of an organizational discourse can be located in linguistic characteristics of the text itself. Under these understandings discourse analysts are allowed to treat a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic material, namely speeches, historical events, interviews, policies and organizations and institutions, all of them regarded as texts or writings through which subjects experience social practices.

Despite a clearly elaborated theoretical base and a massive body of empirical studies, textual studies have been the target of methodological suspicious. Critics of textual approaches claim that discourse analysis has become trapped in a kind of linguistic determinism and reductionism whereby discourses necessarily have unmediated causal effect upon organizational life (Cederström & Spicer 2008)<sup>1</sup>. In that way, textual studies would down-play the issue of agency by approaching it as simply an effect of discourse, limiting the ability to explain how discourses are actively used (see also: Fournier & Grey, 1998; Gabriel, 1999). Other critics see textual studies as too idealistic (Reed, 2000, 2004), because they focus too much on the role of symbolic frames of meaning and understanding. In accordance with this view, it is assumed that social structures do exist, but they can be reduced to an analysis of language. The result is that textual studies largely ignore or perhaps even deny more material or structural components of organizations. By beginning with the articulation and use of discourse, textual action approaches would provide a reductionist conception of discourse (Cederström & Spicer 2008).

In order to counter these concerns about 'underlying generative structures', some discourse analysts have sought inspiration from critical realism (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Reed, 2000; Fairclough, 2003; Mutch, 2005; Fleetwood, 2005). Critical realists have insisted on the separation of discursive and non-discursive aspects. For them, discourses are 'stratified' into different levels of reality: empirical texts which are the '*discoursal elements of social events*' (Fairclough 2005: 925), actual patterns of representation which are a '*particular way of representing certain parts or aspects of the (physical, social, psychological) world*' (ibid: 925), and real '*orders of discourse*' which are '*social structurings of linguistic/semiotic variation or difference*' (ibid: 924). It is this deep underlying structure which sets up the conditions of what can and cannot legitimately appear in discourse. Moreover, critical realism has put ontological questions about the nature of discourse firmly back on the agenda (Fleetwood, 2005). Also, critical realism has tended to use a limited conception of discourse; Fairclough, takes discourse

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<sup>1</sup> <http://andre.spicer.googlepages.com/CSresubmit19308final.doc>. Last access August 2008

to be '*linguistic and other semiotic elements (such as visual images and "body language") of the social*' (2005: 916). This conception turns discourse into a phenomenon, separated from material entities, artefacts and social structures (Cedeström & Spicer 2008).

To confront the shortcomings of critical realist approaches, some suggest organization studies might benefit from Ernesto Laclau's theory of social hegemony (Contu, 2002; Willmott, 2005; Contu and Willmott, 2003, 2005). Later, Cedeström and Spicer (2008) provide a more comprehensive account of what Ernesto Laclau has to offer to organizational discourse analysis. Particularly they suggest that Laclau's discourse theory makes three distinct contributions. First, it provides an account of the ontological underpinning of discourse as constitutive lack. Second, it suggests any temporary totality is centred on a nodal point that stands in for the inherent impossibility of any discourse. Finally, the Laclauian discourse analysis does help us to understand the absent nature of discourse, processes of articulation.

In sum, a Laclauian approach would allow organizational researchers to advance their account of organizational discourse in a number of ways. Unlike traditional discursive approaches, a Laclauian scope provides a way of accounting for how actors use and manipulate discourses for their own purposes. It does so by beginning with the assumption that discourses are never fixed and completely present. As I have said earlier in this thesis to study discourse involves tracing the political struggles involved in linking discourses together around nodal points. Unlike studies of textual action, Discursive Theory approach provides an account of the 'extra discursive' aspects that shape which discourse can and cannot appear. To study discourse involves not just registering how it is used, but how its use is shaped by the 'absent centre' of a discourse (Jones & Spicer, 2005). Unlike critical realist approaches, a Laclauian approach allows to account for the 'absent' or 'hidden' dimensions of the 'extra discursive'. It does so by registering how discourses are structured around a central lack. Hereafter, studying discourse not only involves registering 'positive' extra discursive aspects such as social structures, but also 'negative' extra-discursive aspects such as lack and absence. As Cedeström and Spicer (2008: 25) conclude:



*"The question which we must constantly ask ourselves is how do we think that using Laclau will supplement and thereby transform efforts to get Real about organizational discourse analysis"*

In the following paragraphs I will move on developing the methodological account of Laclauian contributions of discourse, analysis based mainly on the work of Glynos and Howarth (2007) which illuminates my work in this thesis.

## **Problematization**

Since the second half of the last century, social and political theory, have been embracing the fashionable contributions of Marxism, linguistic philosophy, existentialism and Critical Theory. This movement has shaped the discussions about postmodernism, critical realism, interpretivism, poststructuralism, deconstruction and post-colonialism, among others, as overdetermined ways of addressing socio-political research, nevertheless a relevant trace of positivism still permeate these endeavours. Glynos and Howarth (2007), in their relevant contribution to shape the contours of Discursive Theory as a form of enquiry, state the resilient presence of an "unattainable ideal" within the field: *"a science of politics and society – at least one modelled on a particular conception of natural science"* (ibid: 2). They emphasized that this 'ideal' has bent the overall purposes of the social sciences, separating positive science from questions of critique and evaluation, thus ending the philosophical debate about the contested status of social and political science.

Discursive Theory is the label for the knowledge tradition that Glynos and Howarth agglutinate, articulating mainly the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, as well as the principal proponents of the poststructuralism (Foucault, Derrida, Lacan). This articulation intends to offer an alternative framework to those who traditionally have challenge positivism within social sciences. The authors identify these approaches as those that stress the role of contextualized

self interpretations (hermeneutics) and those that emphasize the role of causal mechanisms (critical realism). In their words (ibid: 4):

*“Advocates of causal mechanisms err on the side of abstracting mechanisms from the historical contexts in which they function, thus reifying them in a way that constrains their contingency and militates against their full contextualization..... Proponents of contextualized self-interpretations, by contrast, run the risk of over-valorising the virtues of historical context and concrete particularity, thus precluding the development of critical explanations that can somehow transcend the particularity of a given situation, both in terms of accounting for practices and in providing an immanent vantage-point for their evaluation and political engagement.”*

But, what is the particular proposition that they articulate. Drawing in the work of poststructuralist discursive theorist, the authors attempt to articulate an approach that could respect the self interpretations of social actors while not reducing explanations to their subjective viewpoints, as well as, to have a type of explanation that admits certain generality, provides the space for criticism, and respects the specificity of the case under investigation (ibid). Thus they develop the notion of Logics, their basic units of explanation, which I will address later on in this chapter.

Before to unravelling the concepts of Logic, I will present the main issues involved in this particular approach of Discursive Theory (DT). Within the poststructuralist tradition of thought, DT devotes its endeavours on the reproduction and transformation of hegemonic orders and practices, as well as the different ways in which dominant orders are contested by counter-hegemonic or other resistance projects which the construction of new identities were involved. What is relevant here is their pronouncement on the 'primacy of political' (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) to explain and critically engage with a wide spectrum of social phenomena.

The articulatory effort of Glynos and Howarth was mainly aimed to face (and hopefully fulfil) what has been the two principal criticisms against poststructuralist research, namely methodological and normative deficits (Torring, 2005; Critchley, 2004). Regarding methodology as the wider questions about ontology, epistemology, as well as specific techniques of analysis and data gathering, they tackled these issues in an attempt to fulfil what just few poststructuralist texts have been addressed. In respect of a normative deficit, they related this consideration with issues of critique, in which there are doubts about the capacity of poststructuralist DT to evaluate and transcend the existing order of things in the name of something new (Critchley, 2004), in other words, the critical and reconstructive capacity of poststructuralist theory. Although they are taking care of those observations, a delimitation of their endeavour is worth to quote. In their words (ibid: 7):

- a) *"we resist the temptation to offer a 'method' or 'technique-driven' solution to alleged methodological issues, as this would blind us to the fact that any set of methods or techniques is always relative to, and thus grounded upon, a particular ontological stance."*
- b) *"we reject solutions which would involve a retreat into a kind of relativism or subjectivism where 'anything goes', for this response would place no methodological constraint on the production and assessment of putative explanations and critical evaluations. On the contrary, the whole point of our book is to develop an ontological and a grammar of concepts, together with a particular research ethos, which makes it possible to construct and furnish answers to empirical problems that can withstand charges of methodological arbitrariness, historical particularism, and idealism".*
- c) *"..we reject the option of developing a comprehensive normative framework, whether it takes the form of setting out the underlying principles of social justice that ought to shape the basic structure of our institutional arrangements, or whether it is predicated on articulating the fundamental communicative and*

*procedural pre-conditions for reaching a rational consensus about common and political norms.....(it) run the risk of falling to engage with the singular instances of power, domination and oppression that require careful empirical analysis, ethical critique and political intervention."*

Through the presentation and description of the main concepts of DT that sustain my research I will attempt to clarify its features.

## **Ontology**

The emphasis on ontological rather than epistemological and methodological aspects of interpretation, analysis and critique is what underpins a poststructural approach to critical explanation. In order to state the ontological articulation of DT, it is worthy to present two concepts from its broader framework, namely practices and regimes.

### **Practices and Regimes**

*Social practices* are defined, by Glynos and Howarth, as the ongoing, routinized practices of human and societal reproduction; *Regimes*, whereas, have a structuring function in the sense that they order a system of social practices. Practically speaking the way in which we share a family dinner, or organize a work meeting as well as a supermarket shopping, would represent the reproduction of various systems of social relations – the family, the workplace, the market – and it (usually) happened without concerns about the rules inspiring these practices. Thus, with or without clear awareness such practices contribute to the reproduction of wider social relations systems; some of these practices are also articulatory, this means that they imply temporal and iterative activities which connect the present with the past and the future. But what is crucial within DT approach is the contingencial feature of any single configuration. Contingency or the irreducible presence of negativity (Heidegger 1962; Lacan, 2006) means that any social articulation undergoes from an inherent discontinuity which may appear visible in moments of dislocation. In such situations, new possibilities become available, offering to the subject new

opportunities of identification. The dislocation of social practices can provoke *political practices*. These bring about struggles aimed to challenge and transform existing practices, its norms and institutions, in behalf of an ideal. But these practices also involve efforts on the part of the power bloc to disrupt the construction of antagonist frontiers breaking down new connections between different demands. A successful political practice could construct a new hegemonic order and thus modify the existing regime.

### Ontological Presuppositions

DT model is predicated upon a social ontology that comprises four dimensions of social reality, namely the social, political, ideological and ethical dimensions. These dimensions play the role of being the underlying presuppositions for any analysis of politics, or better, the 'basic concepts' mobilized by a discipline in any empirical and normative investigation.

A very first premise for DT is that all practices and regimes are discursive entities, in the sense that Laclau and Mouffe understand the 'discursive' nature of all actions, practices and social formations. For them, the notion of discourse signals the centrality of meaning. Social practices can merge into systems of practices which here are called regimes, and both practices and regimes are located within a field of discursive social relations. Contingency is a crucial axiom of this ontological framework. Contingency reflects the idea that any field of discursive social relations is marked by radical contingency, where radical contingency refers to the inherent (as opposed to accidental) instability of an object identity:

*"The significance of **radical** or **ontological** contingency is highlighted when contrasted with **empirical** or **ontical** contingency.....Radical contingency opposes empirical contingency's sense of possibility with a sense of impossibility: the constitutive failure of any objectivity to attain a full identity"* (emphasis in the original) (Glynos & Howarth, 2007: 109).

This understanding is shared with the Lacanian 'lack in the Other and 'structural undecidability' of Derrida, all of which question the idea of a fully constituted essence in the name of an irreducible negativity that cannot be reabsorbed. The relevance of this ontological premise embraces not only the constitution of any practice, regime or logics, but it also ties them together. Thus, the ontological postulate of Glynos and Howarth is constituted along two axes, yielding four dimensions of socio political reality: the political, social, ideological and ethical dimensions.

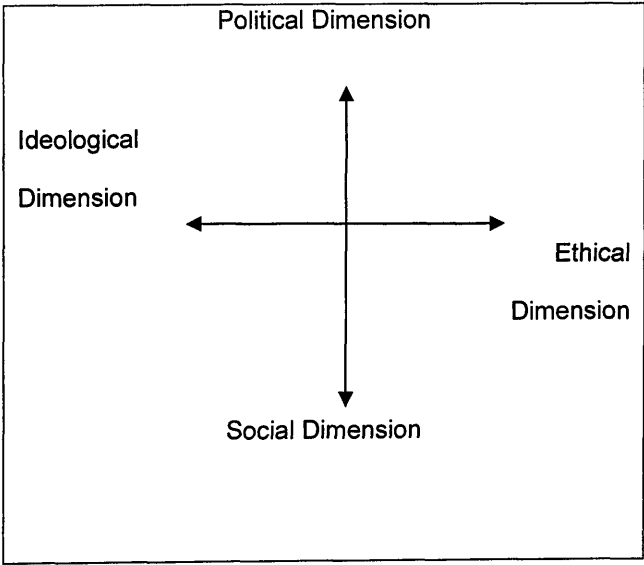
- *Dimensions of Socio-Political Reality*

In order to unravel these four dimensions, two further notions need to be revisited (they were already articulated in chapter 2) these are the category of *dislocation* and the notion of *public contestation*. These both of them structure a combination of the previous mentioned socio political dimensions; the first one allows constructing an ideological-ethical axis, while the second one provides resources to develop the political-social axis. These two axes together generate a conceptual grammar for a practice of critical explanation.

The concept of dislocation was developed by Laclau (1990) highlighting the constitute incompleteness of every identity, for him "every identity is dislocated". Dislocation can be understood as the moment of disruption within subject's experiences, in other words, those occasions when a subject is called upon to confront the contingency of social relations more directly than others times (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). On the other hand, public contestation means the contestation of the norms which are constitutive of an existing social practice (or regime) on behalf of an ideal or principle. Better explained, for any subject, the radical contingency of social reality can be acknowledged or it can be denied and concealed. Insofar an authentic engagement with the radical contingency occurs as soon as the ethical dimension is foregrounded, on the contrary, if subject(s) acts concealing it, the ideological dimension is foregrounded.

Differently, public contestation is another response to dislocation operating at a diverse analytical level. Public contestation is closely linked with the concept of the political, so the socio political axis can be constructed with reference to this notion. When some aspects of any practice make visible the instituting moment of a social practice, either through public contestation or the absorption of it, or the resolution of public contestation by collective mobilization, the political dimension is foregrounded. On the contrary when the public contestation does not arise (or is actively prevented) the social dimension is foregrounded. In brief, the way in which dislocation is constructed depends on two (im)possibilities, its absorption by an existing social practice or it may provoke a political practice (see chapter 2 for deeper developments on the concept of the political in Laclau & Mouffe).

Glynos and Howarth (2007: 112) propose a diagram to better visualize the relation between these two axes, which allows making sense about any concrete practice or regime:



*Social Dimension*: represents those aspects of social relations in which subjects are absorbed in their practices, where the radical contingency has been registered in the mode of public contestation.

*Political Dimension:* captures aspects of social relations where experiences of dislocation are articulated (re)activating and challenging the contingent foundations of existing social practices on behalf of a principle or an ideal.

*Ideological Dimension:* designates those aspects of social relations in which subjects are complicit in concealing the radical contingency of social relations.

*Ethical Dimension:* aspects of social relations in which subjects engage in their practices in a way that is attentive to the radical contingency of social relations.

In sum, any concrete practice or regime can be understood in terms of these four dimensions of social reality. But, before examining these concrete articulations in more depth, it is necessary to introduce the notion of Logics.

## **Logics**

The 'logic of critical explanation', articulated by DT approach, involves the linking together of different logics, along with the empirical circumstances in which they occur, in order to construct an account that could be descriptive, explanatory as well as critical. Presenting logics, as their basic units of explanation, Glynos and Howarth emphasize that a social science explanation involves the mobilization of three types of logic: social, political and fantasmatic, which can be articulated to account for a singular problematized phenomenon. Social logics allow any researcher to characterize practices in a particular social domain. Political logics provide the means to explore how social practices are instituted, contested and defended. Finally, fantasmatic logics are linked with any particular way in which subjects are rendered complicit in concealing or covering over the radical contingency of social relations (ibid, 2007).



Within DT, the concept of logics acquires its meaning from the work of E. Laclau. Originally he described a social logic as *"a rarefied system of objects, as a grammar or cluster of rules which make some combinations and substitutions possible and exclude others"* (Laclau 2000: 76). Later on, he distinguished between 'social' and 'political' logics, in which the former involve 'rule-following' while the latter concern 'the institution of the political' (Laclau, 2005). Glynos and Howarth articulate these propositions stating that *"the logic of a practice comprises the rules or grammar of the practice, as well as the conditions which make the practice both possible and vulnerable"* (ibid: 203). Their logics proposition attempt to provide the means to answer questions like: what were the conditions under which any particular practice was made possible? What political struggles preceded its institution? What processes ensure its maintenance or question its hegemonic status?

### Social Logics

The very first function of social logics is to *describe or characterize* a particular social practice or regime. Social logics are closely connected with rules, but practices are not subsumed or exhausted by rules, on the contrary, they always exceed any particular system of rules which are not able to capture its contextual richness. Moreover, the search to distinguish the rules informing a practice is relevant in helping researchers to determine the meaning and character of social practices. This meaning and character emphasize the idea of a pattern and an open-endedness phenomenon: *'social logics.....acquire their meaning in precise conjectural and relational contexts, where they will always be delimited by other – frequently contradictory – logics'* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 142). In this way, it is relevant to highlight that social logics should not be seen as synonymous with causal mechanisms. On the other hand, social logics as rules are not reducible to empirical contexts. Differently, the notion of social logics allows some cross-contextual travel, capturing the 'patterning' of social practices understood as a function of the contextualized self-interpretations of key subject (G & H, 2007).

## Political Logics

Complementing the synchronic characterization of practices made by social logics, political logics pay attention to the diachronic aspects of that practice. It aims to accomplish process of collective mobilization such as the construction, defence and naturalization of new frontiers, as well as those formations which seek to interrupt or break up this process of drawing frontiers (G&H, 2007). In other words, political logics are concerned with the institution of the social, but also to its possible de-institution or contestation.

As I presented earlier, political dimension of social relations signals the *limits* of a social formation, so political logics is closely linked with this moment. What it is doing is to formalize researchers understanding of the ways in which dislocation is discursively articulated or symbolized.

Ontologically, the content of political logics is related to the operation of two signifying logics described by Laclau & Mouffe (1985: 130), namely the logics of equivalence and difference which were already treated in chapter 2 of this thesis. The former involves the expansion of the associative or paradigmatic pole; the latter involves the expansion of the syntagmatic pole of language. Both signifying logics are present in situations where political dimension is at the forefront as well as the arising of some kind of collective mobilization, thus they both manifest themselves as political logics generating a two-dimensional matrix (G&H, 2007). The dimension of equivalence grasps the *substitute* aspect of the relation through the construction of an 'us-them' axis: two or more elements can be substituted by each other due to its commonality in reference to a shared enemy (negation or threat). The dimension of difference, on the contrary, grasps the *combinatory* aspect of the relation, which accounts for keeping elements distinct, separate and autonomous. Both, always present within social relations, emphasize the dynamic process by which political frontiers are constructed, stabilized or weakened. They emphasize an approach to social science explanation by offering a conceptual grammar with which to account for the dynamics of social change.

## Fantasmatic Logics

Fantasmatic logics provide the means to understand why specific practices and regimes 'grip' subjects. In Laclauian terms, if political logics concern signifying operations, fantasmatic logics concern the force behind those operations (Laclau, 2005). G&H emphasize that fantasmatic logics contribute to an understanding of the resistance to change of social practices, but also the speed and direction of change when it does happen.

In relation to social practices, the role of fantasy is to ensure that the radical contingency and the political dimension of it remain in the background. In relation to political practices it is to give them direction and energy. Fantasmatic logics are operative in social practices where the ideological dimension is foregrounded.

The functions of logics in social scientific analysis enable a process of describing and explaining, as well as the possibility of a critical engagement with the practices and processes under investigation. This criticality is sustained by the presupposition of a non-necessary character of social relations furnishing their conditions of impossibility. Critical explanation is understood here as a part of an articulatory practice.

## Articulation

Articulation, as concept and practice, lets allows us to fulfil methodological and epistemological issues still undressed in the previous paragraphs. Its main feature is to serve as a means to conceptualize the way we conduct research in the social sciences, while also contributing to an overall understanding of the logic of critical explanation (G&H, 2007).

DT approach to social and political analysis is quite a *problem-driven* research. This means that an object of study is *constructed*, namely a range of diverse empirical phenomena have to be constituted as a problem, and the problem has to be located at the appropriate level of

abstraction and complexity. Here, the inspiration comes from Foucault's practice of problematization which synthesized the archaeological and genealogical methods of analysis. To problematize within 'politics' for Foucault is to interrogate politics about what *'it has to say about the problems with which it (is) confronted'* (Foucault, 1997:115)

After problematization, a second moment is present within the overall logic of critical explanation which is the *retroductive explanation*. Addressing key features emerging from problematization, the challenge here is to identify the relevant social, political and fantasmatic logics. Again, following Foucault, an archaeological bracketing is necessary to identify a range of objects and practices to analyze and critique, before then providing a genealogical accounting that explains their political and ideological emergence.

### The problem of subsumption

The authors, Glynos & Howarth, attempt to address the challenge of identifying features as phenomenon of investigation or practices as features of a particular logic. This endeavour requires a plurality of heterogeneous theoretical and empirical elements that need to be assembled together into a complex, though singular, explanation. Their DT approach prevent the risk of subsuming empirical phenomena under abstract theoretical categories or a theoreticism in which abstract categories are simply imposed onto a complex social reality without mediation or construction. The practice of articulation is their response to counter the problem of subsumption.

The poststructuralist account of an articulatory practice comes from the work of E. Laclau. In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, together with C. Mouffe, they characterize the practice of articulation as *"the construction of nodal points which partially fix meaning"* (L&M, 1985: 113). But meaning is always incomplete because what they call *"the openness of the social"*, in which the latter follows from the *"constant overflowing of every discourse by the infinitude of the field of discursivity"* (ibid). Thus every social process of putting together elements is to some extent

articulatory, because they are not governed by any underlying metaphysical principle or ground. Articulation therefore, *"is the primary ontological level of constitution of the real"*, and will thus always involve *"the creation of something new out of a dispersion of elements"* (Laclau 1988: 16). In other words, putting together a dispersion of elements under a name is always a singularity; a process that involves and modifies the identity of any single element within it (also the agent of articulation). Thence that Glynos & Howarth state that contingency, singularity and modification are key aspects of an articulatory practice.

Articulatory practice allows combining empirical and theoretical elements generating three sets of articulatory relations: among empirical elements, among theoretical elements, and between them. This combination offers an approach to our presented problem of subsumption, namely: *"social science explanation involves the articulation of different theoretical concepts together in a concrete empirical context, in an effort to provide a singular critical explanation of a problematized phenomenon"* (G&H; 2007: 180). The way to put this in practice involves the interrelated moments of reactivation, deconstruction, commensuration and articulation. This sort of tasks gives to DT approach its character of an ontological inquiry. Let me characterize any single concept:

- Reactivation: a return to the 'original' sorts of questions and problems that were addressed in the development of a theoretical concept.
- Deconstruction: to weaken any essentializing projections into any concept and /or exploring repressed possibilities foreclosed by reductionist tendencies.
- Commensuration: to rework the theoretical concept so as to tender it compatible with current ontological (DT) presuppositions.
- Articulation: the concept re-inscription in a new explanatory framework.

After the reactivation and deconstruction of particular findings, the researcher must then undertake tasks of commensuration and articulation in order to make them consistent with the

presuppositions of his or her approach and thus bring them together into an explanatory narrative.

## Judgement

The process of articulating different elements together in order to construct a critical explanation always requires *practices of judgement* enacted by a particular researching *subject*. What is at stake within DT approach is a reflective rather than a determinative form of judgement. In a reflective form of judgement, the subject is confronted with a particularity for which no determinate concept is readily available or given. Judgement then, is a kind of situated ability, in which a researching subject acquires and enacts the capacity to connect a concept to an object, or 'apply' a logic to a series of social processes, within a contingent and contestable theoretical framework. DT poststructuralist standpoint suggests that explanatory concepts cannot remain fully intact in the process of explaining; this is because the researching subject leaves her trace through acts of judgement.

### - Naming

The significance of identification and naming within DT approach is evident through the words of Laclau (2005: 104, 100) "*the identity and unity of the object result from the very operation of naming*", or "*the name becomes the ground of the thing*". This means that the very act of naming social logics entails a judgement or act of gathering that articulates together a set of heterogeneous discursive elements by their links visible in the process of constituting them. It constitutes them through an act of judgement by laying a claim that cannot be analyzed or reduced in purely conceptual terms, and which can therefore be challenged.

### - Generalizing

One of the most traditional aims of social research has been the possibility of generalize its findings beyond the confines of a particular case. This challenge is still present within DT approach; moreover this standpoint refuses the choice between the universal aspiration of

mechanisms and the particularist and eclectic tendency of contextualized self-interpretations assuming that this opposition is not necessary (G&H, 2007). They established that this very choice rests on a questionable assumption, namely, that explanation can only be in subsumptive in character. In contrast for DT, the process of explanation is better characterized in terms of articulation.

Within this proposition generalization takes place on the basis of shared judgements about theoretical terms, about paradigms, and about what constitutes cases that converge or diverge from paradigm cases. Logics are constructed through the process of *articulating* self-interpretations to contexts *by means of a theoretical framework* consisting of concepts and ontological assumptions. Thus what makes possible the simultaneous singularity and generalisability of each case is the background theoretical framework informing the analysis, coupled with the articulatory process itself. In other words, DT approach begins with a particular problem in need of a singular retroductive explanation, which means that empirical generalizations arise not through inductive or deductive means. Rather cases are generalized insofar as they are judged exemplary with respect to a particular field of investigation (G&H; 2007)

## Critique

As an approach that emphasized the central role of the political within its ontological framework, the critical dimension plays a relevant role. Here, the critical standpoint emerges out of the ontological commitments informing the practices of problematization and characterization, including the articulatory nature of its judgements. Rooted in the idea of radical contingency there are two important aspects that are relevant to that critical dimension, namely the normative and ethical aspects.

Normative critique arises from the centrality that political dimension of practices has within this approach. Political dimension already implies a normative point of view, which regards certain

norms or social logics as worthy of public contestation. The normative orientation of DT is supported by the principles and values of a radical and plural democracy (see Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Mouffe, 1992, 1993, 2000). Analysis and critique shared here an ineliminable connection since the very moment of naming a social logic involves critical judgement. The political analyst is already engaged in a hegemonic struggle, deploying political logics of rhetorical re-description in the very process of characterizing and explaining discursive practices. This process implies a double operation, an explicit articulation of the discursive and political shifts in a particular case as well as the implicit involvement of the analyst herself in the very process of characterizing features of a practice as belonging to one social logic rather than another.

Ethical critique, on the other hand is closely related to the notion of radical contingency. It focuses with the way in which subjects identify with a practice or regime. Ethical critique demands detailed analyses of the kind of fantasies underpinning social and political practices, as well as the exploration of ways such fantasies can be destabilized or modulated. Ethics entails acknowledging the radical contingency of social existence and responding to its demands.

Relating normative and ethical critique, the authors emphasize a priority to the ethical against the normative. They explain that DT normative stances are always relative to the ultimate contingency of social relations and practices. In other words, the norms and ideals that any researcher projects into her objects of study are intrinsically contingent, contestable and revisable.

Acknowledging that the presuppositions of Discourse Theory could appear quite hard and dry without a concrete mobilization, I hope to clarify my own understanding of them through the particularities of my research. In the next section I provide details of my research process and in the next chapter its discursive articulation within the inspirations of DT.



## **Articulating an ethnographic kind of research: researching management education in Chile.**

My research has been mainly realised according to the application of an ethnographic strategy. In a broad sense, ethnography could be regarded at the most basic and traditional way of doing social research, or better as Pole and Morrison (2003:1) declared *ethnography has become, if not the dominant, then certainly one of the most frequently adopted approaches to educational research in recent years*. Its history could be traced long time ago with the work of the first anthropologists which organised huge scientific expeditions from the West to new continents. Although the discipline has changed a lot since these first attempts its main features remain grouped around the ethnographer's participation within the everyday life of any particular group of people during a specific period of time (Hammersley & Atkinson 1994). This participation is related to watching what happens; listening to what is said, asking questions, in fact collecting whatever available data that make sense to the researcher's concern. It is at this juncture that I see ethnography approach, with its emphasis on the banal everyday affairs emerge as a more suitable tool for my research. Skeggs' (1994: 74) definition of ethnography illustrates my point:

*.....a method of analysis which would make the links between structure and practice, between the macro and the micro; a method which could link everyday interaction to history, economic, politics and wider cultural formations.*

It is in this very general definition in which my work could be closer to an ethnographic study. Clearly, in reading different ethnographies it is possible to identify that each is as individual as the subject matter on which it focuses and that the individuality is in itself a shared feature for ethnography. Following Pole & Morrison (2003) I can say that I approached a discrete location, events or setting with a clear concern with the full range of social behaviour within them; I used a range of different research methods giving emphasis upon the understanding of all those social behaviours; I described concepts and theories which are grounded in the data collected and

finally I was aware about the complexities of the discrete events, location and settings which could overarching trends or generalizations. For sure I am not a proper ethnographer, and it was not my intention, but I can say that I acted as one, broadly participating within the practice of management education among some Chilean universities as a student in the past as well as a teacher during the time of my research.

Moreover, there is an enormous amount of literature debating post-structuralist interpretations of ethnographic practices (Stacey 1988; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Wolf 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995) I would like to discuss some of them briefly to indicate my own position on issues that influenced my research. Hammersley & Atkinson believe that the "*primary goal of research is and must remain, the production of knowledge that does not necessarily serve political causes or ends*" (1995:17). This view has been challenged by the poststructuralist influence on ethnography which calls for decentring of the ethnographer's voice of authority by bringing to the forefront the complexities of any account. The debates discuss the extent and degree to which this is possible (Wolf 1992), there is less consensus about the possibility of neutrality of any research. At this point it is relevant to consider the position of the researcher to the consumers of the research who are then free to interpret the findings in this light. It is not possible to underestimate the agency of the readers of such research as it is to question the 'biases' of a self-recognized political research like me. Poststructuralist approaches and ethnography could be seen inseparable if we are open to consider that the later allows the construction of alternative narratives by looking beyond the obvious and the dominant, just as a key feature of logics of critical explanation is that of making linkages. The use of multiple methods to collect whatever data available to make sense of the issues that are the focus of my research allows me to make visible the invisible linkages around my data, constructing a narrative that went beyond the obvious. The above described work of Glynos & Howarth was an enormous support to deal with the fragilities of putting together a poststructuralist methodology with an ethnographic approach.

The main concern of my research is the practice of management education in my country. This is a wide field which embraces the formal praxis of teaching and training people in order to perform as managers. In Chile, as any other place among western countries, this practice historically has had two general settings, an academic one as well as corporate one. Although my explicit and original interest was the formal practice of higher education, namely what is done within the context of universities and specifically business schools, I decided to approach the whole field including some traces of the practice of corporate training regarding it as part of the general context of that social practice. Thus the focus of my study is centred on the universities' undergraduate and post graduate programmes offered to students. Thus, I made contacts with seven different Chilean universities and particularly among them with five Business Schools and three Social Science Schools (two Sociology Departments and one Psychology Department.) as well.

My involvement with this practice started even before my doctoral research. As I explained earlier in this thesis, I used to work as a HRD consultant for a period of eight years. My professional performance allowed me to experience, as a facilitator and as a participant as well, the way in which management training is being put into practice in my country. Then, while I was attending my master degree at Lancaster University I had the opportunity to reflect about this experience and about the management educational context in my country, which finally ended in my proposal for a PhD. I emphasized this issue in order to make explicit my involvement with the field of management and management education before, during and hopefully after my research. During my investigation this relation was reinforced by the contacts that I made with representatives of these chosen universities, as well as with their activities and public material. At the same time I was part of an academic team in one of these institutions during 3 educational periods delivering lectures on Organizational Studies.

The theoretical and even epistemological implications of studying one's own culture are profound, with both advantages and disadvantages. Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) claims that native

researchers within ethnography have the difficulty of distancing themselves “*intellectually and emotionally*” (*ibid*: 584). Her work advanced a distancing position for the native researcher in order to achieve a greater contribution to the discipline. Following that suggestion and embracing ‘distance’ was a difficult position during my research. Honestly speaking I never assumed a distance because I considered my closeness inevitable, I was already involved in the field. Moreover, my own philosophical/ideological location within the research process positioned myself, for most of the time, quite far away from my interviewees. My recent educational process and exposure to critical perspectives has located me in ideological difference from them, but not completely because my embracement of critical stances it is quite novel, allowing me to recognise my past among the structures they still inhabited. My own identification with any of both subjects positions was always precarious resembling the (im)possibilities that my theoretical background sustains. I was aware that I have two audiences in writing about (and for) Chilean management education while being situated in a UK university, and that endeavour is more than an issue of geography or culture. It is in this way in which home and field were interchangeable terms for me, not free of problems, but my ‘interchangeable’ physical location between Chile and UK helped me to develop an interplay between making the familiar strange and the strange familiar. Field-work and home-work had a blurred boundaries during my research, I spent time working here and there (even these ‘here and there’ should be clarified every time). Chile and UK were home and field, Chile was and is still my home and on the other hand, UK allows me the opportunity to interrogate my home as a field-work transforming the home in field and the field in home. Maybe I never solved this dilemma, which for sure should be evident through my writing. More relevant, at the very end an external designation was necessary (the help of my examiners) in order to partially solve the ambiguity stressing one of the poles of my research reorganizing the chapters to highlight my Chilean account of management education.

But not only did my current complex involvement with management education play a central role in my research, retrospective accounts were relevant as well. On reflecting back on my own experiences as management education practitioner, either as a consultant or as a teacher, I discovered my changes in perspective. Now I was in position to offer different interpretations to

those experiences, particularly open to reveal and critic them rather than to insist on just reproducing them. The use of retrospective accounts based on memory would thus become one more tool in the process of making sense and of articulation. In other words, I did use my own retrospective memories as part of the research process. That tool would lead me to interpret the current account I gathered from others in a different light. My voice became just another voice among others in this process of building conversations, making more fragile my identifications and the limits between a researcher and the researched. This was another experience of what contingency means finally within the boundaries of the logics of critical explanation a political act is what makes subjects possible.

The period of my research has been rather long. In general it is possible to say that it included two different stages: a first exploratory research carried out between July and September of 2004, and then a second period informed and improved by the preliminary findings, held from October 2005 to January 2006.

The data I collected is diverse. In all I recorded 35 interviews, observed some postgraduate lectures, did a presentation for academics in one of these universities and delivered myself undergraduate lectures during 3 academic periods. I also have a number of different academics and non academics documents that go from course booklets, reading lists, academic texts, journal articles, print outs of University, departmental and programme web pages, to magazine and newspapers articles. And a collection of notes written down both, in and off the field. According with the understanding of this social method as open, reflexive and flexible, I will discuss this in more detail in the subsection dedicated to the data. Now I discuss my research questions.

**Research questions: problem, cases and samples.**

As Hammersley and Atkinson (1994) stated to conduct at an ethnographic research could be regarded as something very simple. Apparently the method does not require too much

preparation due to its apparent non problematic character. Although its main strengths are related to its openness and flexibility, a certain amount of preparation is helpful when you decided to start an ethnographic study. This preparation is related with any kind of research design, a general outline which could inform and guide the general stages of the work. It is well known that the path of an ethnographic study is not pre-determined, moreover, the researcher's work should have some direction and an attitude of permanent reflexivity during all the stages of their work.

The authors that I have cited suggest as a first step of a desirable research design to be aware and build upon the preliminary problems that could guide and inspire the following research. These preliminary problems are far from preconceived ideas, on the contrary, it is a virtue of a good empirical research to have the ability to anticipate problems or challenges which normally are revealed to the researcher trough his/her theoretical studies. Moreover, these inspirational starting points should be flexible and be opened to any modification during the course of the work.

Before and during my research my reading was diverse and wide, and included a great deal of literature on critical and mainstream management studies, critical management education, critical pedagogy, radical political philosophy and Latin American radical thinking. My interest was in the broad areas of management conceptions, educational theories and practices, mainstream versus possible radical considerations, roles played by academics, teachers and students and their relationships within these practices. Again, I have been trying to contextualize and contrast these theoretical approaches with the particular experience of my country. Although I have been a practice professional closer to this academic field, it was in a way new for me as well. For this reason I was open to whatever would come my way about this practice and its working development. I had areas of interests, which were about education, learning, pedagogy and the subjects produced in these practices.

As I explained earlier my research has had two main stages. The exploratory stage was developed to be presented at my Upgrade Panel in November 2004. Its main focus was to explore what was my first scope, namely MBA experiences in Chile. The original concern of my research was to address potential opportunities for a critical agenda among MBA practice within Chilean Universities. My focus on MBAs was supported by its extended development as the icon of higher Management Education around the world and, at the same time, its boom in Chile during the last twelve years. This endeavour was carried out through two main steps. Firstly, a wide literature research of Chile's historical and current social issues oriented to find among them positions that could provide possible critical approaches to Management Education. Secondly, some exploratory contacts with the three main Chilean Business Schools in order to learn from the development of their MBAs. These contacts included visits and attendance at some of their lectures, interviews with academics and students and the reading of a wide range of printed material related to their practice. The purpose of this exploration was to make sense of the current discourses among Chilean Management Education practice, particularly within MBA programmes, and of possibilities for critical approaches. This exploratory phase was intended to provide the basis for future research.

The phase that precedes any field work has one main objective, which is to transform preliminary problems into a body of questions from which to take out theoretical responses (Hammersley & Atkinson 1994:45). This is a complex process which could end in general changing of the original premises, or even in its complete giving up. This transformation can respond to innumerable situations. During my exploratory research I could experience exactly what Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid: 47) mention as "to find the question is more difficult than to answer it". The general outcome of my preliminary research confirmed that a "business" discourse plays a hegemonic role within Chilean MBA practice, offering few opportunities for alternative standpoints. This business discourse stresses the primacy of market competence, success, making profits and commodification, among others, as the main goals for anyone who is participating within that social practice. Nevertheless potentially there were also some radical interpretations. Those alternative considerations of our social context (Moulian 2002, Tironi 1985,

Brunner 1981) which address the processes from more leftist and radical points of view are opening the social agenda to more critical approaches. However those conceptualizations are still distanced from Management Education practice, as they are positioned within Social Science Schools. Holding to my original concern about critical possibilities for Chilean Management Education practice I revisited my research question and my research focus. Its findings presented at the Panel suggested to broad the research focus to the whole management education practice in my country rather than to keep concentrated on just MBA programmes. At the same time I decided to approach representatives from Social Science Schools in order to capture their possible insights for a new social agenda for management education. All of these specifically can be described in the form of research questions:

Related to Business Academic practice:

- What are management and management education in Chile/LA?
- What is the understanding of a Business School within Chilean/LA Management Education?
- How is Management taught and learnt there?
- How do academics, teachers and students talk about their practice?
- Are there any kinds of reflection about these practices and how is this expressed?

Related to Social Sciences Practice:

- What is a radical tradition in LA?
- Does any relationship exist between Radical Thinking and the practice of Management Education in Chile/LA?

A relevant issue within inquiries of DT approach is setting and cases selection. Setting cases is an expression of developing my chosen empirical and theoretical understanding of a problematized phenomenon, as well as a basis of generalization. In my situation the setting was build around my contacts with 7 Chilean Universities. 3 of them were part of the setting from my



exploratory research. I chose these Universities, and particularly their Business Schools, due to its prestige and popularity within local and Latin American context. These Business Schools attract the interest of a significant number of applicants from Chile and abroad. They are placed within the top ten Business Schools among Latin American ones according local rankings <sup>2</sup> since 2000. They are placed in Santiago, the capital of Chile, which is accessible for my visits and their representatives have collaborated positively with my requests. As I explained above, after my exploratory research I decided to broaden my scope. I included other two Business Schools, one from Santiago and other one from Valparaíso which is my city, as well as 3 Social Science Schools. In general I tried to cover quite a broad range as different as possible institutions which could satisfy the scope of my research. All of them can be regarded as a paradigmatic example of the general features of Chilean Higher education, these aspects are summarized below:

1. Administrative status of the institution: During the military government, the Chilean educational system went through a massive reform in 1980, a predominantly market oriented system was introduced (see Bruner, 1997; Cox, 1996). A group of academic organizations have always been the core of higher education in Chile, i.e. the so-called "traditional universities", being public and private in nature, but with a steady yearly based state funding. The 1980's reform changes were oriented to: a) open up the traditional system through unregulated market provision of private higher education with no public subsidies; b) diversify the supply of higher education through differentiated institutions based on a functional hierarchy of educational certification; c) partially transfer the cost of stated financed institutions to students, stimulate these institutions to diversify their funding sources, and thus reduce the state commitment to the financing of higher education. Four of my approached universities belong to the "traditional" group; the other 3 were created after the reform being regarded as private ones.

2. Place: Chile is a strongly centralized country, politically and administrative speaking. There is a huge difference of what happens in the capital in comparison with the rest of the

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<sup>2</sup> The business Chilean magazine "America Economía" develops a Latin American MBA ranking yearly.

territory (here called provinces). In terms of work and educational opportunities, wealth distribution, health system services, general development, and population, Santiago is ahead of all provinces. For these reasons in my study I covered higher institutions from the capital (5) and from provinces (2) as well.

3. Three of the selected universities are related to Catholic Church, two of them have a direct dependence on the Vatican<sup>3</sup> and the other one belongs to the Jesuit Congregation. Two of them come from the secular intellectual Chilean tradition originally dependant from the State. One belongs to a prominent private group, namely it is a family business. Finally, the last one is a corporation self defined as closer to leftist intellectual tradition.

In summary, the group of universities that I approached offered my research a wide and varied context to study our local management educational practice, as well as a satisfactory representation of our Social Science Departments, allowing it as a group to function as exemplar or metaphor for the whole defined context . All of them are closer to my place in Chile which meant an evident easiness to visit them. Finally, people from these institutions showed a polite openness to my research and permanent contact. Now I will move on the description of the three main cases that guided my field work:

1. Postgraduate management education: This was a fundamental part of my work as it was about understanding what they were doing, for whom, and how they were actually doing it; and the issues involved in it. Much of my interviews were about this. In this case I also observe people during some lectures and delivered myself a presentation to a group of scholars. Besides, I collected all of the information available about course contents, brochures, marketing advertisements to provide myself a general idea about the practice. The issue of what a postgraduate student is and then what a manager is, here became important. It is in this

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<sup>3</sup> They are Pontifical Universities, which means that they are official ruled by the Vatican.

particular understanding in which my contacts and interviews with professional consultants provide most of their collaboration.

2. Undergraduate management education: As well as postgraduate management education case, my interest here is to unravel the features of that practice and its relation with postgraduate one. My focus was on the programmes, courses, contents, students' profiles, readings and the status of those students in comparison with other undergraduate ones. Again, many of my interviews were conducted with undergraduate academics and undergraduate students.

3. Social Science: In this case I was interested in exploring the role of radical Latin American social sciences and its possible contribution to management education. Many of the academics of management and business schools come from a Social Science education, as well as the contents of their work. Particularly relevant in my country is the formation of organizational psychologists which became in active actors within the professional practice of management. Nevertheless, the most important aspect of that case was the exploration of critical Latin American thinking which could offer new insights to reflect management education practice. I made contacts with a number of Social Science academics and even I actively participated as an undergraduate teacher on organizational psychology during three academic periods.

## Access

Honestly speaking, to have access to the field was not a real issue for me. Once I identified and selected the Business and Social Schools that were interesting for me I started approaching people. Within Business Schools I preferred to contact Lecturers and Professors of Organization Studies and Management rather than others from more technical specialities. In Social Science Schools I preferred the academics whose work would be closer to Organization Studies, Education, Psychology or Sociology. I decided to start contacting people that I already knew or using some mutual acquaintances. I sent them emails introducing myself and the purpose of my research directly asking them for the opportunity of an interview; once each of them were

responding my request I started a telephone contact. Some of these meetings finally rendered in new contact opportunities. Some of my interviewees kindly offered me new names to approach as well as part of their own working material.

Apart from individual differences, in general I met pleasant people who seemed genuinely interested in my work. In some cases these contacts are still working on.

The positive reception of my inquiries was related to different factors. Some of them, but not the most, showed an evident attraction for critical approaches, acknowledging moreover that it was not really well known among our University context. They expressed opinions that evidenced this lack, but at the same time they supported the convenience of its developments for our management educational field. Others were interested in my student status, I mean, to be an English University Doctoral student was interesting for them. They used the interview as an opportunity to check and compare their own developments with an external and well appreciated referent such as England. Finally, most people, particularly from prestige Business Schools, approached the interview as an opportunity to disseminate their work as well as to show off their own personal achievements. In general, there were no constraints about my work, my observations and my questions, moreover some of the representatives of postgraduate programmes showed some preoccupation about possible comparisons between their programmes and those of their perceived "competence". They were quite worried about the production of any kind of ranking as a result of my research. They explicitly asked about the participation of their "competence" in my research and whether or not they were offering me the same kind of collaboration. My responses enhanced the voluntary collaboration of any single interviewed and particularly my broad interest in the whole field of practice rather than particular programmes. I had to be crystal clear explaining that my aim was not the production of any sort of ranking or performance comparison at all. Finally they felt not worried when they perceived that they were assuming the same risks as their "competence" collaborating with me.

Despite those differences, all of the interviewees approached our conversation from personal and individual standpoints; they never tried to talk from an institutional or official point of view

chatting quite freely about their own practice and the field in general. Every single scholar received me at his/her work place, our meetings were held at their own offices or at any School cafe or meeting room. All these visits allowed me to explore and go round their campus premises such as classrooms, libraries, administrative areas, casinos, corridors, study rooms, yards and/or gardens. My interviews included some administrative staff as well. Specifically I met two MBA programme Coordinators which I approached exactly as scholars.

The process to contact students was quite different. I identified them from my social network rather than from official University registers. In a way, I took advance of the similarities that I personally share with management postgraduate students in my country, I mean we are in the same range of age and I used to work as a HRD consultant so I professionally met a lot of MBA applicants and students. At the same time, my performance as an undergraduate teacher in two local Universities allowed me to approach younger full time students, as well as part time matures' one. All of them were contacted by email or telephone, and asked to offer me an interview about their experience as management students. These interviews took place in different scenarios that go from Universities' premises to public cafes. I covered a similar path to approach HRD consultants; I contacted and interviewed 8 of them. They were included within my samples due to their experience as management educators/facilitators and due to most of them have been postgraduate students as well. All of them are or were related with my chosen universities.

Along with the interviews, I delivered lectures myself and observed postgraduate lessons as well. While staying on and off in my country through my research time I as a member of the Psychology Department at a local University. I delivered lectures as a member of the teaching team within the course "Organizational Psychology", offered to third year undergraduate students. Going through the experience of practising in formal education as teacher became an outstanding opportunity. The particular course, contents and students that I approached were very close to my research topic due to several reasons. First of all, the course leader is one of

the scarce lecturers here who are trying to include critical topics within their work; second, psychologists are the main professional group in charge of Human Resource Departments among Chilean companies being relevant actors the way organizational and management studies are put in practice here. I was part of this group during three academic periods.

The postgraduate lectures that I observed belong two different local MBA programs. Both of them are delivered by to the most prestigious Business Schools in my country. I formally asked to a representative of each institution to allow me to visit MBA sessions. I decided to accept the particular course that they decided to offer me, rather than to demand in advance any specific topic. My interest was related to observe any example of their practice rather than to pre-select the topic of the class. In all cases lecturers were requested and gave their permission to allow my presence there. Attending these lessons implied to sit there as any other student listening to the teacher and making notes about the whole development of the class. I decided not to make any comments at all. My presence there was not explicitly informed to the student during the class, probably because some of them talked to me during coffee break asking me who I was and what I was doing there. I explained to them my status as research student and my interest on management education.

### Field relations

The way in which I approached my field work has been an issue for me. I think that this "relationship" reflects what it has been, even till now, my attitude towards the field of management education in my country. As I have mentioned again and again through the last chapters my motivation to carry out this research is based on my personal experience; and even based on a wide and always contradictory sense of disappointment. This disillusion comes from my own realization about the dark side of management studies and education, pitfalls that were widely covered by Critical Management literature. When I was an HRD consultant I was pretty much critical about this practice, lots of issues contradicted my personal believes and expectative, but despite my complaints at the end of the day I always faced the famous "*there is*

*no alternative*" conclusion. Coming to England and particularly to Lancaster University offered me the opportunity to find out, for the very first time, a new understanding of doing management which immediately made sense to me. Nevertheless, adopting a critical attitude is not an easy way; I reflected and wrote pretty much on it during my Master degree. Many of these reflections were captured in the work that I produced in those times. Anyway, the real motivation of this PhD. was the expectation to make a contribution to what I regarded as a short-sighted field of practice in my country. Reflecting on an Eurocentric definition of a critical standpoint to management my aim is to develop a Latin American counterpart of that criticality incorporating local radical insights.

This laconic introduction is meant to present my feelings before my field work. I will describe them. In a way I see myself as someone that used to belong to mainstream management practice from the very beginning of her undergraduate studies. I regard myself as someone who is really disappointed with the field and with her personal contribution to it. I regard myself as someone who happily and willingly resigned to her professional past. I regard myself as an outsider, not only because I have never come back to work after my master degree, even because now I regard myself belonging to a marginal group within management practice. I regard myself as someone who wants to develop a new way to contribute to this field from a different standpoint. I want to come back to the field but now I want to become an academic, in order to do that I decided to attend a PhD. It was not really a free option, to hold a doctoral degree is a compulsory prerequisite to be an academic here and, I am sure, everywhere. Going after a PhD. implies, in a way, to perform as an academic, doing research and teaching as well. Thus I am not a complete outsider of the management educational field, but for sure I am a marginal participant. I am a newcomer, I am in training. I have some legitimate peripheral participation within English management educational field, but only a diffuse participation in my country. I am doing my PhD. with an English scholarship, which means that there are no Chilean involvements in my process. None is waiting for me there; no Chilean institution at all is expecting my findings. My status of a PhD. researcher is not formally recognized in my country.

In brief, I am in the field but at the same time I am not part of it. I want to have a legitimate participation, but this participation would be informed by critical and emancipatory inspirations, which for sure it is a scarce attitude among my future Chilean colleagues.

All these issues conditioned and influenced my attitude when I faced the field work. Maybe the great challenge of this research has been to cope with my personal position as researcher. It is possible to find out that the most of researchers recognize that the field is not theirs and therefore they can learn something when they are there. It was difficult for me to assume that, in a way I already felt part of the broad field of management practice and this is true. What was really new for me was the involvement with formal higher management education in my country, and just in that way I could approach the field feeling that I could be an "acceptable incompetent" (Lofland, 1971 cited in H&A: 117). This was one way I could consider my work to be, some kind of learning journey and establishing a relationship with a particular practice, with people. To keep myself on this position help me to mitigate and permanently reflect about what could be my preconceived ideas about the field. From the very beginning I assumed that my understanding of doing management education was far from the actual practice in my country. I have to admit that to keep on an open attitude without previous criticisms was not always easy. Sometimes I found myself just doing a checking list, I mean expecting to contrast my findings with "pre-designed" theoretical contents. Something similar to a self-fulfilling prophecy which was so evident in my exploratory findings, I actually find what I was looking for: no room at all for critical stances. But it is no necessary to carry out a research to reach that conclusion; my process should adopt a different way. My approach to the field should be modified.

Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid: 121) presented in their book Junker's general classification of the possible roles for any researcher, which presents different degrees of the combination of participation/observation. Apart from it, it is no possible to say that observation excludes any other form of participation, it is in the field where a researcher plays many roles at once and the contradictions lived during the work can be difficult. So, rather than in terms of roles, one can



consider it in terms of attitudes one is actually engaged in and reflects upon. Although it was a risky business to honestly present my interest in critical approaches I decided to do that during my second research stage. I have discussed that issue with my supervisor. He had advised me about the risks of being rejected or disqualified. Assuming that risk I decided, at least, to superficially introduce my research main motivation during my interviews. My expectation was to mobilize the conversations around this critical topic and thus to explore its possibilities. I have to say that I never experienced any explicit rejection or any sort of disqualification (apart from an interview request declination). On the contrary anyone who knew something about this received my suggestions as positives ones, the others who didn't know anything about that just simply recognized their lack of information. From my personal point of view, this change finally stimulated the conversations, and the difference with the exploratory ones was evident. The first stage interviews, more focused on MBA's affairs, were characterized as a sort of showing off of their strengths and potentialities. Maybe my original attitude, quite distant and concentrated on just listening, stimulated my interviewees to talk about their work repeating what they regarded as a positive image of themselves. So, I had to modify my own position. I had to leave this self-perceived externality founded in an evident disappointment in order to assume my participation within the field and hence its positive potentialities.

This decision allows me to adopt a more enjoyable attitude, where my personal condition became a positive input to my contacts. In this way to be a PhD. student of an English university definitively open me the doors rather than closed them. The people that I approached perceived that issue as something stimulant to them, and sometimes as an actual opportunity for their personal work. That is the situation of a scholar who offered me to write a paper with him about Chilean MBAs, or another one who explicitly asked me to include him within critical networks. I must say that this kind of requests surprise me, but finally they tell me that I am part of that field, and my participation is welcomed by some of them.

When concluding this part on 'field relations', I would like to briefly discuss the end of my fieldwork. As I said earlier my research was quite long, and I have to assume that every time I spent some time in my country I had more new contact opportunities.

My attention is always focused to what is happening here, new people, new information is always coming up. Perhaps it is really difficult for me to strictly separate what was my field work, and what could be positive potentialities for my future work in my country. Trying to keep in touch with some people, I have to say loudly that I need to finish my PhD. before to thinking of anything else.

Data: Insiders account: listening and asking questions, document recording and organising data

As I said earlier, I performed and recorded 35 interviews. I approached the persons I wanted to interview and agreed with them a time and date. The interviews always took place in a space that was in a way private, I mean avoiding, as much as possible, the risk of being interrupted. Most of them were conducted in private offices or in public cafes. I always asked for permission to use a recorder and I always said that all our discussion was going to be confidential. No information was shared with or among interviewees and nobody else listened to the recording apart from the person that helps me with the transcription. Just one person declined the interview. He is an MBA coordinator from a prestigious University. We used to be classmates during our undergraduate studies and after a long period abroad attending postgraduate studies he returned to our country accepting a job offer. We met again just by chance in a social activity. We were talking a lot about our studies and academic interests, this kind of conversation motivated me to ask him to be interviewed. I sent an email which he answered declining the invitation. He claimed his lack of information about critical perspectives and assuming that he would not be of much help to me.

I conducted open ended, non directive interviews. Nevertheless, I had specific areas and set of topics that I was interested in covering. All of these topics were asked and/or presented to the

whole group of interviewees, but I always let them follow their own flow, and I would built on what they were saying.

As an example, my interview schedule considers these open-ended questions which were part of an unstructured interview format and were used as guidelines only:

- What are your main tasks as management education's faculty/student/consultant?
- How would you describe it?
- What does it involve?
- What are your motivations for getting involved?
- What networks did you form within the school? Outside the school? Which were more valuable?
- What act as a constraint on your everyday practice?
- What responsibilities do you consider business/social science schools to have to the community?
- Do you think there are changes that have (or are) taking place in management education? What are those changes?
- What is your perception of management students/faculty?
- Which theoretical backgrounds inform your teaching/learning?
- Have you ever heard from CMS? If yes, what do you know about it?
- In which extent Chilean business education could be regarded as 'Chilean'?

All interviews were transcribed. I transcribed some of them such as the Professors ones, but I paid someone to help me in transcribing due to the huge amount of work to do. I have all the interviews in e-copy and hard copy. It is worth to mention that all the interviews were held in Spanish, as well as the most of my written material it is in Spanish. I decided not to translate the material in order to keep their original richness. My analysis was made in Spanish as well, I am just writing my findings in English for the purpose of this thesis.

My observations were of different kinds and in the most of the cases I took notes on what was happening. Normally I described the situations that I observed and those in which I was involved. These notes are related to the people involved, the actions they were doing or saying, and in general anything that attracted my attention. Each page of notes was stored in a folder as well as all the rest of the material classified according to my 3 different cases.

### Process of analysis and writing: identifying, naming, generalizing and criticizing

As Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid: 259) strongly enhance the writing process within a research is very relevant. Writing is a way of actually producing and re-producing, for my audience and for me, the practice of my research. It is the path in which my work becomes intelligible in a wider discursive position I have mobilised here regarding management education, critical management studies, Latin American radical thinking and the way in which these aspects could be articulated together. Within the context of this study I positioned myself following Laclau's notion of discourse where reality is understood as that which comes into existence in a structured and meaningful totality. Here I understand the social as producing objective identities created in chains of signifiers. Thus, my engagement with 'reality' is always already textual, I mean I can only express it in words, in my field notes, in interviews and in the documents I have worked on. What finally will emerge from my engagement with this particular field of practice (management education in Chile) comes from my interpretation and interest. All of these concerns have led me to focus, during my analysis, on certain themes rather than others.

In the following analysis, I will utilise extracts from interviews, narratives from the field and vignettes that do not claim to capture some sort of actual meaning of Chilean management education, but certainly mobilise meanings that have produced in the field with all that the understanding and fixing of the word "meaning" implies and justify within the parameters of this thesis. Specifically my analytical work will be based on an articulatory strategy in which I tried to identify the nodal points suturing the field. As Laclau's pointed out, these nodal points produce a hegemonic reality ruling and ordering certain positivity, certain objects. My work is related to

problematise and characterize some particular objects within management educational practice in my country.

As Hammersley and Atkinson advised the process of analysis is complex and long. I read my interviews many times as well as all my written material. As I stated in the previous account of my theoretical background the Discourse Theory is the wider umbrella in which it is possible to situate this undertaken research. Discourse Theory not only offers a place for the conceptualisation that enlightens this piece of work, but also for its ontological and epistemological assumptions. Doing discourse analysis one as a researcher is allowed to treat a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic material, namely speeches, historical events, interviews, policies and organizations and institutions, all of them regarded as texts or writings through which subjects experience social practices. This diversity is also expressed through the variety of methods and techniques that a researcher can deploy in his or her attempts to make sense upon the material.

Working within the premises of the Discursive Theory approach to enquiry I will to present in the next chapter my own journey through the logics of critical explanation. This attempt allowed me to link together of different logics, along with the empirical circumstances in which they occur, in order to construct an account that is descriptive, explanatory and critical. Constructing management education in Chile as a social practice (as a problem to study) I will attempt to characterize and problematize its transformation, stabilization and maintenance through the exploration of its social, political and fantasmatic logics which together constitute its condition of (im)possibility. This process characterized by the interrelated moments of reactivation, deconstruction, commensuration and articulation will accomplish an explanatory narrative which hopefully allows empirical generalizations and new questions. Practically speaking, when I read the texts I have asked questions such as:

What patterns are present?

What dominant narratives are there?

What kinds of objects are constructed here?

What is constructed as given, obvious or taken for granted?

What type of society is constructed here? How is reality negotiated?

What oppositions are implied?

What kinds of relations are produced here?

What is not said that might have been said?

What variations and/or contradictions are there in the texts?

What kind of subjectivity is constructed here?

Being discourse analysis an open, rich and inspirational way to conduct a research I accepted the challenge that it offers to me. Moreover, some traces of doubt and insecurity remain in my mind, years and years of positivist education are not easy to challenge. I am experiencing to become a subject of my own construction; I am starting a no return trip towards a new identity that is subverting everything in which I was constituted. I now present the conclusion of this chapter before moving to the discussion of management education practice in my country and the politics of its reproduction and challenge.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter I have discussed questions of research and methodology. Also, I have considered the a priori difficulties related to a novel methodological standpoint and a briefly account of the discourse analysis' path within organizational studies.

Being Laclauian approach to discourse analysis a promising, but novel, framework to carry on academic research its lacks and perceived weakness have been the preoccupation of its proponents. So much work have emerged from the Essex School in order to overcome these pitfalls, moreover, their main concern has been to further develop original Laclau's propositions. In that way, Glynos & Howarth have made a significant contribution to that challenge articulating a clear and well organized research structure. My research followed G&H propositions. Starting from an ethnographic approach which made sense to my involvement with Chilean business education practice, I moved on to a critical analysis and explanation to the data that I constructed. Their formulations of social, political, and fantasmatic logics sustained my analysis allowing an original articulation which I will fully developed in the two following chapters.

The practice of business education in Chile was the focus of my research as well the object of my study. I embraced particularly the higher management education through its undergraduate and postgraduate versions. My analysis's aim is that of deconstructing discursive patterns and meanings that I have produced in my research with all the material I have read and the actual practice in the field, because my work is not about producing evidences. So, in the questioning about possible articulations for resistance among Chilean business education, my intent is not to find an answer to this but to consider what could be its protean form and possibilities. I aim to make sense of how these local and marginal practices could inspire and hopefully articulate resistance to managerialism from our own experience of being an 'other'.

## **Chapter 6 The (lack of a) problem of (within) Chilean Management Education.**

### **Introduction**

In most of the previous chapters I have made reference to my concern regarding the academic dialogues between mainstream and critical management studies with the particular focus on management education practice. The underlying standpoint that is ever-present in those chapters argues against the universal approach given to critical management studies, both in the USA and Europe, and its subsequent automatic conversion into 'international' critical management studies. My research on Chilean management education, as well as the re-visitation of Latin American radical thinking, seeks to challenge that rationality thus opening the room for the emergence of counter hegemonic critiques. Within this chapter I continue my already traced path but moving on to the realm of management education practices in my country.

Within the work of my thesis, a central topic has been the discussion of what is regarded as management education and particularly its critical possibilities. The main challenge of my work lies in the concerns related to what it in fact means to develop a critical standpoint within the context of Chilean management education practice. In order to face this challenge I have been approaching management education and its critical counterparts, their meanings and problematics, by espousing the discursive formations in which they acquire their positivity and objectivity. In terms of Laclau's (1990) approach it means to regard these concepts as constituted in a structured and meaningful totality thus problematising its naturalness and unraveling the political aspects within it.

The focus of my analysis is oriented towards exploring what is given as the objective reality of what management education in Chile is and how it is organised and delivered. From the theoretical background of my thesis this endeavour means to engage in a dialogue with this particular discursive formation in which different signifiers (management, education, critical,



student, school of business, etc) are articulated in signified chains, which constitute these terms as obvious and evident objects (identities) of a wider (social) reality; in turn posing what reality itself is. I will materialise this dialogue by considering the academic literature, university official documents and textual fragments of the material produced during my research. I question how the signifier “management education” is fixed as the materialisation of a new and particular aim of higher education sheltered by the social transformations that the country has undergone since the beginnings of the 1970s in Chile. I put into question how the signifier ‘management education’ is articulated as a ‘natural’ embodiment of the new social order in Chile, particularly the unquestioned practice which produces and reproduces the values that currently hegemonize our societal life and support our participation in the so called globalization.

## **Welcome to the world**

*“The world is changing very fast, not only in relation to the advancement of science, technological convergence or communication development. The most profound change is related to the way in which business is understood and done.*

*We can not deny the power of new organizations any more. It will not be possible to dismiss science and technology within our business decisions. We can not avoid regarding the world as our operational instrumental panel any more.*

*Current scientists are strongly connected with the impact of their researches; particularly with the commercial value of them. We, as business men, have to understand this reality; we have to be willing to learn this new language and make contact with sciences and its managers. Otherwise, our Latin American region will not be part of the great business leagues of 21st century.”*

*MBA programme Director*

*Chilean University*

These are the Programme Director's ‘welcoming words’ published in a MBA brochure of one of three most important business schools in Chile. The way in which he is inviting future

applicants for their postgraduate course, evidences how management practice is being understood here and what is its relation/dependence with business education. These 'welcoming words' present business practice as the core of our current world's evolution; specifically what he is implying is a worldwide social practice that offers to all of us a (compulsory) new sense of Being and a new social order strongly embedded in it. Within this context business is explicitly connected with science - meaning technology development informed by commercial values. This coupling embodies the current representation of reality, which has been successfully disseminated by neo-liberal economics across the world and hereafter externally imposed on Latin America as on any other Third World geopolitics. Thus, the re-production of mainstream management education is perceived as the entry ticket to the 'business leagues of the 21<sup>st</sup> century'. As we will see through this chapter and the next one this is the general tone that characterizes management education articulation in Chile: 'welcoming words' or 'welcome to the world'?

The 'world' that is presented in the above quotation suggests an aprioristic reality that is experienced as an ontic structure; a 'world' that is taken-for-granted which does not offers alternatives. Furthermore, during my research I have been insisting on the contingent feature of any social practice subscribing to Laclau and Mouffe that any 'world' is a matter of construction. In other words, the problem-driven orientation of my critical analysis does not assume the existence of certain social structures or rules or the assumptions of the dominant theories of such reality. In contrast, my position points to an assumption that sustains the construction of any object of study. Further explanations of my chosen methodological approach's features were developed in Chapter 5; now it is just necessary to insist on that mentioned 'constitution', 'construction' and 'formation' already hint at the centrality that my standpoint attributes to the Laclaunian category of articulation (Glynos & Howarth 2007). Following this, the aim of characterizing and problematizing management education practice in Chile should start from challenging the aprioristic feature of the regime that is structuring it. In the following pages I will devote my writings to argue that the 'world' which sustains our management education practice is just one world among other (im)possible worlds. Although some of the general context that informs and shapes management education in Chile was

exposed in chapter 3, I will now attempt to present a deeper analysis of its assumptions and values which, in turn, will support my own problematization of the practice under study here. In the next paragraphs, and following J.J. Brunner (1981) I will describe this rationality as a *disciplinary culture*, and then I will generally describe how this disciplinary culture is still shaping our current way of life.

## **The Chilean Miracle**

The military coup of September 11th 1973, brought to Chile the end of the most durable and progressive democracy in Latin America and at the same time, the beginning of one of "*the most prolonged and reactionary dictatorship*" (Drake & Jacksic, 1999). Many social analysts have regarded the sociological process that led to those severe events as a great crisis of order in which all of our institutions, traditions, and values were under threat. (Brunner, 1981; Tironi, 1985). That process had started a long time before, producing many changes in our political, social and economic context. Moreover, it was the period of the Unidad Popular government (UP), headed by Salvador Allende (1970 - 1973), which could be regarded as the definitive and final stage of that crisis.

According to Brunner (1981), it was the transformation suffered by the Chilean traditional economic regime which drastically changed our culture. Until 1973, this regime was characterized by the State's very central role which, flexible and conflictive, articulates the participation of different social forces. There, the accumulation process was lead and oriented by the State through a representative democratic political mechanism. In said conditions, dominant classes' intervention into productive social processes had to be politically negotiated with all social forces, as well as with the State's historical interests. This state of affairs has been labelled as 'commitment State' (Brunner, 1981).

*"Chile developed a cultural organization which could be called 'liberal–progressive'; actually, a real commitment culture of which nucleus was politically oriented" (ibid: 24)<sup>1</sup>.*

This tendency reached its limits under the government of Salvador Allende. He was the first, and still is the only, Marxist president democratically voted into office around the world. His political attempt tried to continue, even further, with the socialist tendencies initiated by the former Eduardo Frei's Christian Democratic government, the so-called "Revolution in Freedom". Those efforts were strongly countered by the dominant groups of society and these tensions became in a crisis of our *commitment culture* (Brunner 1981). The Bourgeoisie perceived its hegemonic dominance compromised with the risk of becoming a subordinate class as soon as the Popular Government achieve their aims. That sort of State was not perceived as an ally by the bourgeois any more. As a consequence, the crisis was the expression of the cultural organization's incapability to cope with the demands of all social sectors. The needs of society overwhelmed its own ability to respond, opening the door to a major social fragmentation characterized by a conflict between the most relevant social forces (Brunner 1981).

*"The crisis was...wide and deep, then it affected the vital nucleus of the society: its historical way of producing itself, that is, its capacity of surviving and growing within the established frames of accumulation and communication" (Brunner 1981: 28)<sup>2</sup>*

Traditional bourgeois, neo-liberal intellectuals and entrepreneurs, all of them being part of the dominant social group, developed a successful rebellion against the UP government. They were strongly concerned with the Marxist turn of our society and particularly with the subsequent changes in our economy. Their struggle was oriented to keeping their preponderant participation within the State as well as their relevant role within the cultural issues of the country. By supporting the military insurrection they assured their connection

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<sup>1</sup> My own translation

<sup>2</sup> My own translation

with power. The military coup was the successful end of their insurgence. The consequences of our September 11th 1973 were violent and harsh. After that generalized national identity crisis, a process of re-structuring appeared necessary. Our fragmented society needed new meanings, and they were indeed offered.

### The Capitalist Revolution

Once this dominant group had seized the power, they addressed a major re-organization of the culture. These attempts were oriented to overcoming the former model of *commitment*, which had been developed under State dependant capitalism and consequently, focused in a capitalist-revolution-type project (Brunner 1981, Moulian 2002, Tironi 1985). Maybe the most relevant decision made by this dominant group was to put aside the alternative of a social *restoration* (Tironi, 1985; Moulian, 2002). This option implied the opportunity to save some valuable aspects of the previous history in trying to re-position them in a new endeavour. On the other hand, the drastic election of a coup, as the way to face the cultural crisis, opened space for a total transformation of the prevalent order. Moulian (2002) clearly states that the very first explicit decision of this new dominant group was to install a new ideological system.

The contents of the military authoritarian project were developed by a particular group of intellectuals, the so-called “Chicago Boys” (chapter 3). Well positioned among strategic right wings think tanks since 1967, they were called on to participate in the economic design of the Jorge Alessandri’s government programme, a former competitor of S. Allende; moreover, traditional economists’ opinions predominated over their propositions. That situation convinced Chilean neo-liberals that they need a ‘completely different political regime’ to achieve their goals (Gazmuri, 2001). Finally, the neo-liberal project, supported by these right wing economists, fitted perfectly with the disciplinary, dogmatist and rupturing reconstruction plans made by Chilean military and its right wing supporters.

That Chilean experience was one of the foundational examples of what Naomi Klein (2007) has labelled as ‘shock doctrine’, the pervasive strategy that extreme neo-liberals have used in order to install their ideology all over the world. According to Klein, the Chilean dictatorship

– inspired by Milton Friedman's legacy – decided to impose a rapid-fire transformation of the economy (tax cuts, free trade, privatized services, cuts in social spending and deregulation) taking advantage of the state of shock that the violent coup had produced among the Chilean population. The expectation was that the speed, suddenness and scope of the economic shifts would provoke psychological reactions in the public that would 'facilitate the adjustment'. In Klein's words: "*It was the most extreme capitalist makeover ever attempted anywhere*" (ibid, 2007 pg 7). The military government also facilitated the adjustment with its own shock treatments; these were performed in the Regime's many torture cells, disappearances, imprisonments and exiles, inflicted on all those deemed to resist the way of the capitalist transformation. Authoritarianism was an essential element of the new model, aimed at making possible a social re-organization based upon its disciplinary culture.

### Disciplinary Culture

In order to explain what the main features of this Capitalist Revolution were, I will call upon Brunner's description which he has called: *Disciplinary Culture*. In his inspired book written in 1981, he developed an accurate analysis of the main characteristics of the way in which this capitalistic revolution was put in place, stressing authoritarianism as its main feature. According to Brunner (1981) the social reorganization in Chile was feasible because the dominant group developed a disciplinary-based approach to face this challenge. This disciplinary culture was built on an attempt to achieving total control of society's self-constructed process by the bourgeoisie. This strategy was strongly enforced by the power of a military government supported by an ideology of National Security, oriented towards the control and maintaining order within everyday life. These circumstances gave this dominant group a position of total control of every social process, subjugating all other social agents to a position of 'second-class citizen', and demanding from them their maximum obedience and their utilitarian participation in the economic development (Brunner 1981). Brunner regarded this two-fold phenomenon of functioning of social behaviours - namely obedience and usefulness - as a phenomenon of *social disciplining*. The author explains that the authoritarian organization of society is based on a disciplinary experience, different from the former commitment culture which had had the political experience as its central nucleus.

Most capitalist-authoritarian revolutions begin by trespassing to bourgeois technical and intellectual elite economic control (Brunner, 1981). As I argued before, market ideology had supported the endeavours oriented to raising private economic leadership among local affairs while the role of the State was strongly minimized. The first step of that strategy was to 're-organize' the economy by assuring capital concentration enhancing the privatization of the former State economic activities; replacing the State's regulatory role within the market and finally opening the Chilean economy to foreign international investments. As an authoritarian capitalism, the formation of obedience and conformist motivations were obtained by a hierarchical structuration of society. That structure shaped the possibilities of identification for every single person by defining their social position by an asymmetrical relation with others. Thus, every subject's position corresponds to a differential social horizon defined by its market access. In that way, the market was constructed as a natural, neutral and automatic mechanism, which had the self-contained ability to control and distribute social opportunities. Therefore, the disciplinary experience is constituted around three main areas: it is an eminently individual experience; it is an experience of hierarchical positioning, and it is a market of unequal access experience. The political commitment experience was diametrically opposite. There, individuals were identified with a collective sense of belonging which assured a social position within a negotiated network which in turn offered a flexible threshold for the satisfaction of social demands. Contrary to this, all of these disciplinary attempts finally created a social order in which the individuals (literally) have lost their social connections. The new order left in any single pair of hands the responsibility for their life; any collective way to cope with vital demands was disdained.

Individuality was not alone; there was another phenomenon which helped to develop this individualistic and hierarchical way of living; passivity (Brunner 1981). When the author talks about passivity, he is addressing the way in which knowledge was treated under this disciplinary culture. This passivity is built around a cultural world based on the principle of authority, which in turn is ideologically favoured by the support of a technological knowledge raised within the scientific paradigm assumed by those in power. A kind of superior culture was created, which generated narrowing creative opportunities for anyone who is not part of

the dominant groups. To participate in this superior culture was finally performed as a prerogative and a powerful tool of particular dominant class among society. Following this rationality, the whole educational system underwent a big change. It was re-arranged in order to address the future occupational destiny of the students, which was established mainly in accordance with their social origin. Brunner (1981: 34) explained it clearly:

*"In that way, the educational system becomes an inequality reproduction mechanism based on the ideological assumption of a performance competence."*

Elementary education was reinforced in order to satisfy massive occupational demands. Moreover, its outcomes were specifically differentiated. Children from the lower class could find in this stage the required knowledge to perform elemental labour positions, and therefore, a subordinate and a passive role among the social division of labour was stressed. On the other hand, children from more privileged classes found, in the private elementary education, the preliminary steps towards higher education, within which business education was acquiring increasing demand. The most relevant consequence of that scenario was the way in which the system was preventing the formation of intellectuals from subordinate classes, keeping this as the prerogative dominant groups. This situation left the majority out of any ideological perspectives playing a passive conformist role, which finally stretched the opportunities for collective learning. Subordinate groups were pushed to learn how to express themselves within a dominated world (Brunner 1981).

Another axis of that authoritarian culture was embodied in public communications. Chilean society was exposed to an evident communicative restriction. The public sphere was stretched and devoted to only official versions; therefore social concerns could not be articulated within the hegemonic discourse. The explicit elimination of any political expression encouraged people to deploy their activities without any reflection about the meanings of that action. People were pushed to participate just through a passive conformity and finally, compelled to obey without any motivation that could justify that obedience. (Brunner 1981).



Individuals started to show a withdrawn behaviour which consisted in stressing the private, retracting into independent spheres.

Although that social order was the main characteristic of our authoritarian period, its tentacles even reached the democratic stage inaugurated after the 1988s plebiscite. Power groups were even successful even then in trespassing democratic barriers and positioning a disciplinary world beyond dictatorial government.

The new order: transformism's success.

Chile underwent a long transition period from dictatorship to our current democracy. Many formal and informal arrangements were necessary in order to accomplish that achievement. Augusto Pinochet was defeated in a public plebiscite in 1988, a citizen majority said NO to his intention of continuing as the government's president. Nevertheless, and despite this evident victory of resistance to dictatorship, democratic politicians negotiated with still powerful supporters of the dictatorship in order to develop a peaceful government transition. It was the inauguration of the so-called 'democracy of consensus' in Chile. One of the fundamental conditions of that democratic consensus was the autonomy of the economic sphere in order to protect it from political contingent changes, thereby the continuity of neo-liberal politics established by the military government was assured (Larrain, 2001). Following Moulian (2002), it is possible to regard that process as 'transformism'. He explains:

*"I name transformism the dictatorships' long preparation process to leaving dictatorship. That process was oriented to allow dictatorship continuity of different political clothes, namely democratic clothes. The aim was to change in order to stay the same" (Moulian 2002: 141)*

The new Government's changes modified several political and social aspects after the recovery of democracy yet others remained the same. For example, there was no change among the dominant groups but the style of domination experienced some alterations. Terror and fear were no longer necessary any more. Moreover, the central aim of that

transformational process was to compel democratic wings to keep in place the neo liberal socio-economic model. Through some 'authoritarian enclaves' (Garretón cited in Salazar 2000), such as our political Constitution and the strong influence of some socio-political agents (right wing, military and business groups), the social and productive model was even more 'naturalized' among the post-authoritarian leading group. Thus, it is possible to regard our current Chilean reality as:

- *A low intensity democracy overwhelmed by a technocratic ideology, which formalism generates a strong indifference towards institutional politics and a high discredit for the professionals of that activity.*
- *A culture in which individualist and purchasing components are more relevant than the associative and expressive ones.” (Moulian 2002)*

Political freedom came along with an economic freedom, the latter being more preponderant than the former. The modernization process initiated during the military government took place in all spheres of Chilean society. This acquisition of a neo-liberal economic model imposed over society a very sophisticated pattern of consumption, which finally developed a configuration of a true 'consumer society' (Silva 1995). Chile is definitively part of the so called 'developing countries', which aspire to achieving development through the holy trinity of free market, liberal democracy and individual achievement.

As I articulated, current Chilean modes of society have been strongly influenced by the neo-liberal economic model. The explorations of certain cultural positions, which are orienting them, allow us to go deeper in describing our current life patterns. I understand here that positions are to be seen as values. Values are those articulated social conventions which guide and prioritise social and individual behaviours (Marras, 2001). Some of them really motivate concrete actions, others justify intentions. There is not an objective account of those topics; the definition of values reflects the way in which people understands their social context. As I have been insisting, Chile is strongly influenced by

the values of neo-liberal ideologies, moreover, its features acquire a particular articulation here. To unravel some of its singularities is the task of the following paragraphs.

In order to present my approach to this topic I will draw on Sergio Marras (2001) account of our current Chilean values. Marras develops a very personal description of the evolution of values among Chilean society since 1990. He stated that our current position as a society is the result of our recent historic past, emphasizing the same issues that I presented above. His *idée-force* regards our political present as a regressive democracy, which allows a limited participation for people. In his terms, our cultural life appears bounded by an elitist moral pattern, which dominates our communication media, our education, and our public discourse in general. We will see this pattern clearly expressed within management education context. Thus, there is a kind of imposition of relative modern values around economic issues, but, paradoxically, highly conservative values around political and cultural matters remain.

From his extensive value description, I have chosen just four of them, particularly those which better relate to my present analysis. Those values are constructed around the perceived gap between what is said and what is thought; the way in which we are allowed to construct knowledge; politics as an anti value; and the lack of social commitment within Chilean society. With Marras, I want to stress how, through all of these different values, it is possible to identify the pervasive psychological presence of motivation through fear and success.

*a) Freedom of speech and freedom of thought: concealment*

Thought and speech normally do not coincide among our intentions. Chilean society has ever been characterized by its tendency to dissimulate thoughts through ambiguity and conciliation. The origins of that tendency are multiple. On the one hand, it is traced back a long time ago when our original inhabitants were compelled to embrace Catholic religion under Spanish conquest. In order to save their lives they formally accepted the

new religion, but secretly, they continued the practice of their own rites even using Catholic ceremony for their purposes. This situation was expressed by the traditional formula 'a rule is observed but not obeyed'. The principles can be transgressed but, at the same time, sustained. Thus, an apparent respect of the rules is kept in place. This is crucial because the authority principle, so important in Chile, is never violated (Larraín, 2001).

This mode of being affects the open treatment of conflicts, which normally remain untouched or minimized. We live within the concealment as our implicit aim. Chile has undergone its political transition from dictatorship to democracy swimming within the so-called 'politic of consensus' which tries to impose formal arrangements regarding every social and political issue. Thus, the opportunity to disagree, to present different interpretations of reality has been left out of discourse. So, in order of not to be disqualified, the alternative has been to conceal.

*"Concealment arrived in the value market. Through it, it is possible to settle, to change and to make values relative. It has been called pragmatism, but it is not. It is just an adaptation of ethical rules to reality." (Marras 2001: 26)*

Concealing was the way to justify what was unjustifiable during the Dictatorship and then it contaminated the transition discourse. By using concealment it is possible to compromise values, make them relative according to needs; its overuse has created a sort of dissociation among social practices which impede the open communication to different social actors and their attempt to construct society in diversity.

#### *b) The way of knowing*

The way of knowing could be regarded as one of the victims of the concealment market. Of course, it is difficult to develop an open approach to our social life if it is explicitly distorted by the attempt to conceal. The formal schooling system has embraced technological aims but left

aside educational affairs. Being educated nowadays is synonymous with being equipped with useful knowledge but far away from public contestation.

In Chile foreign models are normally adopted without a trace of criticism. There are no questions about the assumptions behind technocratic attempts, which imply great efforts of fitting into external clothes. Marras stated that it necessary to approach economy, politics and culture from a different point of view. It is necessary to take ownership of them, thus, developing a real opportunity for education and reflection.

#### c) *Politics, the anti-value*

A distinctive trait of our current Chile is the de-politization of society. As an inheritance of our dictatorship, politics is still something disdained. Formal political participation in Chile is clearly downsized, especially among young people. It is perceived as something useless and evidently detached from individual needs. After the consolidation of the economic system as a self-regulated one following the market rules, politics lost its capacity to observe and intervene in economy, and consequently in broaden society (Larraín, 2001).

Nowadays our voting system is not representative of remaining minorities absolutely far from power positions. People disdain political parties and political representatives arguing that they are far from the 'real needs' (normally material ones). The politic of consensus has established ambiguity and generality as the normal stance; this ambiguity offers no clear guidelines to motivate social participation. As a consequence common interests have been left aside; there is no openness and no motivation to problematize social issues. Individuals prefer to remain inactive socially speaking; their needs have to be satisfied by their personal endeavours.

#### d) *Individualism*

Directly related to the value presented above, and to others features as well, Chile has replaced social interests with personal ones. The abandoning of politics and its traditional common endeavours and market pressure towards privatization at all levels, have positioned individualism as the main way to face life's challenges. This individualism is based on a

pervasive lack of context of social affairs acquiring a material and a consumerist way of expression. The absence of grand narratives, such as political, religious or cultural, has stressed individual concerns. Chilean people have only a few reference groups for their social action. The social and solidarity are experienced as marginal within isolated places, within poverty, within minorities. On the other hand, anyone who has the right to live within the market has the obligation to ensure his or her own existence.

I have articulated a general context of Chilean current social affairs in order to problematize management education and trace back on our recent history its condition of (im)possibility. In the following pages I will tackle more closely the articulation which is sustaining our business education as the concrete experience of what has been exposed so far.

### **Problematizing Management Education practice: the lack of a problem.**

What I presented above serves as a context for the problematization of management education practice within current Chile. Although business education had started a long time ago with the emergence of the Catholic University Business School in 1924, its growth and expansion date from a later period. The socio-political development that Chile was undergone since 1973 facilitated and stimulated a great explosion of formal business education within our universities, and a business education strongly inspired by neo-liberalist economical attempts.

Neo-liberalism burst onto Chilean society as a rational and planned attempt to install its technocratic discourse. Through a long and well articulated process of importation aimed at constructing a new model of organisations inspired by the lessons learned and replicated from the Chicago Boys, the managerial discourse reached Chilean business practice. From their powerful positions in the military government<sup>3</sup> as well as in the main Universities, and without any political opposition, the Chicago Boys set out to organise the country under their

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<sup>3</sup> Sergio De Castro, one of the most relevant Chicago Boys' was the Hacienda Minister of military government between 1974 and 1982, as well as Central Bank President between 1981 and 1982. The Economy Ministry was leaded by different well known Chicago Boys during the whole Military government, some of the names are Fernando Léniz 1973-1975, Pablo Barahona 1976-1978, Hernán Buchi 1979-1980, among others.

technocratic/managerial discourse and market principles. These market principles insisted on the right of private property, the non-interventionist nature of the state and the domination of market forces through privatisation and liberalisation of the economy. This rationale installed a new society, directed engineered, and ruled by a 'technocracy' embodied by a new power elite: expert managers (Imas, 2005). Managers became the new heroes of that attempt:

*"Promoter(s) and agent(s) of science and technology, indispensable for the equilibrated development of Chile in the short-term, improving the quality of life and citizens."* (Arriagada in Butazzoni et al, 1978:53)

But, where had these managers come from? As I have been developing through this thesis, a manager is a well educated professional that achieved this condition through university formal qualifications. Thus, in order to launch these desired changes among Chilean society, the Chicago boys needed their local 'armed force', and this need was the foundational moment of our current management educational practice. The strategy was started some various years before the military government. As I presented in Chapter 3 this group of Chilean neo-liberal economists obtained their qualifications after an agreement between Catholic University of Chile and Chicago University signed in 1959. That pact stipulated the arrival of Chicago's scholars as visiting professors to the Catholic University Business School, as well as the granting of postgraduate scholarships to Chilean students and lecturers at the Chicago Business School. Although most of those Chicago graduates were later appointed to government positions, they did not neglect the academic area. The Catholic University Business School, their *alma mater*, became the headquarters of neo-liberalism in Chile, expanding its influence to all business schools within Chilean universities (Gazmuri, 2001). What is relevant here is that management education played a main role in constructing a new rationale in Chilean society. Their main character played within the neo-liberal attempt wrote a parallel story to the late 1960s and early 1970s political affairs, ending in the military coup that offered them an unparalleled opportunity to seize formal political power. The ensemble between academic, economic and political interests finally merged in what Klein labelled as this 'doctrinaire shock'.

These neo-liberal economists have been among the most influential elites of our recent history. Their endeavours were successful in installing management education as a natural tool to achieve all those well disseminated social ends. As a result of this education and further qualification managers would be well equipped to lead the 'necessary social restoration'. Since then, business education has had a good reputation and, more relevant, an unquestioned role within society. Let me illustrate this with some paragraphs from an article published in the Journal of Education for Business in 2002:

*"Arguably, no country in Latin America has done more to further MBA education than Chile. Chile's great economic growth during the 1990s created a need for modern business managers, which spurred the growth of Chilean MBA programs modelled after American ones. Chile's economic success has been mostly a result of its liberal economic policies and its young but stable democracy." (Contreras & Spencer, 2002:51)*

This article is still the only one written about Chilean management education among internationally reputable Journals. Contreras and Spencer, the authors, devoted the entire paper to praise Chilean economic developments and particularly its relation to and dependence on the USA.

*"By most accounts, Chile is a significant business partner of the United States. Currently about 20% of Chile's total trade is with the United States. Also, United States is the principal foreign investor in the Chilean economy" (Ibid: 52)*

This relationship as well as Chilean economic growth is presented as the 'natural' justification for the rise of management education, and a particular kind of management education:

*"Great economic growth in Chile has brought about a need for qualified business professionals who are capable of making important business decisions in an*



*increasingly competitive environment.....Chile, compared with other Latin American countries, has taken greater steps to **import and assimilate MBA education primarily from the United States.***" (My emphasis)(Ibid: 52)

This statement is strongly supported by the words of the former Director of one of the main Chilean Business Schools quoted in the same paper:

*" ....as the Chilean economy began to grow, **management techniques** became more sophisticated, which created room in the private sector for individuals with graduate business degrees"* (emphasis added)(Ibid:52)

Hereafter, management education has been installed in Chile as a technical means to achieve a desirable social position. Management education practice appears as a response to an a priori need, moreover, a response to a need that was installed by (foreign) management education itself. This assertion is crucial for my analysis if we consider the constitutive effect of that movement, as Foucault (1997:115) stated:

*"a movement of critical analysis in which ones tries to see how the different solutions to a problem have been constructed; but also how these different solutions result from a specific form of problematization".*

Following this rationale, management education in Chile has not been problematized at all; on the contrary, it is presented as the solution to (or satisfaction of) a 'demand'. That 'demand' emanates from the naturalization of the managerial discourse among Chilean organizations and society as one of the explicit aims of a harsh historical and political period of time.

The lack of questions about the way in which management education has been introduced and conducted in Chile was one of my original concerns that sustain this research. Even nowadays, some years after, no challenges have been raised from its key social actors.

There are no traces of its experience and practice among international academic publications. Locally, three years ago Chilean business faculty created a professional cohort named ASFAE (Asociación de Directivos Superiores de Facultades de Administración, Negocios o Empresas). This organization followed the endeavours of the ENAFE (Encuentro Nacional de Facultades de Administración y Economía) an annual business academic conference in place since 1984. This conference currently embraces a stream devoted to Higher Education and Teaching in Management and Administration. Although this stream has given risen some academic dialogue around management education its main topics remain captured within mainstream standpoints. Most of the papers presented to the last three conferences discuss the introduction of the competency approaches as the main ground for developing pedagogical curricula, professional and student profiles (see Acevedo & Naranjo, 2004; Fecci & Molina, 2004; Cooper, 2005;). Also, it is possible to evidence that the main rationale informing those contributions correspond to a positivistic understanding of science privileging the presentation of figures and 'objective data' oriented by a problem-solving paradigm. As a personal experience with this embedded approach were the difficulties that I had tried to present an abstract for their 2008 conference. Conference organisers designed an Abstract format which is based on the main components of a quantitative positivistic approach (namely, hypothesis, objectives, data collection, sample, instruments, and so on) where its segments were not possible to complete in relation to my research.

Yet, among these dialogues some traces of alternative frameworks have emerged. What would count as a different paradigmatic approach to education in management embraces systems theory postulates, represented by the influential work of Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela (1973, 1984). Some local scholars (Marinovic, 2002; Limone, 2005) have been articulating a standpoint which attempts to inform management education from the insights of general systems theory, cybernetics and information theory. Their accounts contribute by challenging traditional paradigms on pedagogy incorporating cognitive-relational accounts which aim to overcome the fragmented elements that constitute current curricula. Although their contribution is highly significant in questioning pedagogical foundations, their

propositions do not address the political or power issues involved in it, neglecting the active participation of management education in reproducing social practices. A deeper analysis of these particular articulations will be further explored in the next chapter.

Maybe a completely different issue, but worth mentioning is the lack of participation within this professional group (ASFAE) of the three main Chilean Business Schools (Catholic University of Chile, University of Chile and Adolfo Ibáñez University) which lead business education in my country and in Latin America<sup>4</sup>. Their absence is very meaningful. Without their participation the dialogue between Chilean business schools is left to secondary participants within this practice. In other words, the local articulation of management education does not reach its main proponents which privilege communication with foreign colleagues, particularly those belonging to the USA, through international associations. This situation makes it explicit that mainstream Chilean business education is still articulated in international mainstream management. As Contreras and Spencer explained in their article:

*"Both MBA programs at the University of Chile implicitly, if not explicitly, reflect how Chilean universities have embraced the US MBA model, both because of its prestige and recognition and because economic growth and globalisation have made it a virtual necessity" (Contreras & Spencer, 2002: 53)*

*" ....the PUC established an MBA program that is a virtual replica of the one offered at the University of Chicago" (Contreras & Spencer 2002: 54).*

*" ...the commercial relationship of the United States with Chile has influenced its development of MBA programs. ....The US influence is further exerted through the many academic exchange programs existing between Chilean and American universities. Furthermore, many business faculty members at Chilean universities obtained their MBA education in the United States" (Contreras & Spencer 2002: 54)*

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<sup>4</sup> They hold relevant places within Latin American MBA ranking, UAI n°5, PUC n° 6 and UCH n° 8 in America Economía 2007.

In sum, talking about the problematization of management education in Chile I state that this very practice has so far not been questioned. The lack of a problem is the main input of my research. Specifically, I argue that the hegemonic formation saturating the reality of management education in Chile is that it comes into being as a 'virtual necessity' or a natural response to our economic and political path we travelled in the last decades of the twentieth century. This 'natural response' is concreted through the 'importation and assimilation of MBA education primarily from the USA' which is shaping our local delivery of postgraduate and undergraduate business education. Chilean management education constructs a stable system of objectivities, identities and meanings that appear as natural or inevitable sustained on the assumption that what the business school 'is' becomes common sense or taken-for-granted. Moreover, an assumption of discourse theory is that identity is negatively constituted; that is, its meanings depend on its relationships to those identities from which it is differentiated and/or silenced. I have stated that Chile has acquired a new historical identity that resembles a rationally organised society guided by technocratic/rational managerial discourse. As noted by Moulian (2002) this new identity can be characterized as the product of an incessant *ménage à trois* among military, managerial intellectuals and businessmen, both Chilean and foreign. This historical process revitalizes the former colonisation that the whole subcontinent underwent centuries ago. In other words, Chile was still constructed in terms of foreign ideologies and foreign histories silencing and neglecting local developments. As former liberalization attempts, counter hegemonic resistances before prevalent management discourses in Latin America should be aimed towards the ideal of raising the voice of the Other. Within our context, this Other is an other who is still colonized; but different from Northern critical attempts to counter mainstream management (CMS). Our focus is not just restricted to those who suffer poverty and inequality under capitalism, our focus should be to dislocate the very identity of our managers, breaking their equivalential chains with foreign identities and offering new possibilities of identification among local meanings.

## Conclusions

Chile has undergone a major social transformation since 1973. The military coup that put Augusto Pinochet in power was the beginning of a wide capitalist revolution. This revolution was lead by a powerful group compounded by military, right wing politicians and neo-liberal economists, which shaped the process with their particular way of developing and implementing it. This process was characterized by its harsh way of domination and the exacerbation of free market values. Our current democracy inherited this social order. Just few political changes have been put in place. The market has achieved a naturalized position as a social regulato and consequently, our society has been constructed as a place for individual and a-critical development.

Management education in Chile was born within that historical process, constituting, and being constituted by it. That educational practice contributes to re-producing neo-liberal values for the indoctrination of generations of new managers ensuring the survival of that disseminated social regime. In the next chapter, I wish to discuss in more detail the narratives articulating our local business education and its practitioners and participants as the expression of that 'new' subjectivity drawing on my personal involvements with the vicissitudes of that practice.

## **Chapter 7: Chilean Management Education: Rhetoric of pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism.**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter I continue the discussion introduced in the previous chapter where I developed a detailed account of my problematization of management education practice in Chile. That practice was pictured as one of the main characters at the forefront of Chilean neo-liberal revolution during the last years of the former century.

In particular in this chapter I unravel more closely the chain of signifiers articulating the meaning of Chilean higher business education. This articulation is recuperated mainly around how those involved in the management education practice talk about (our)themselves. As well as in the previous chapter, specialised press writings, some academic accounts and fragments from my own 'ethnographic' involvement are mobilised in order to support that articulation. Particular attention is put on the social, political and fantasmatic logics as key elements of my own explanation of that practice, which in turn inform my critical standpoint.

### **Management education: revisiting the questions around its lack of problematization.**

The previous chapter addressed the issue that mainstream writings on management and faculty representatives have constructed the problem of management education largely in terms of adjusting and reforming their respective institutions to respond rationally and reasonably to the challenges within the constraints of the new regime in Chile. As a general scope here, management education is placed within the mainstream discourse of that practice. That means the stress of the change as the already assumed inherent condition of our present world (Grey 2005) and within it, management, understood as doing business, is inscribed as

its main feature. Change, and then management, appears as something inescapable that is necessary to face and even utilise in order to achieve succeed. Some attributes are ascribed to management and it is “powerful” and “strategic” as well as a privilege of men. Those men are called to grasp that “reality”, because they are able to do that, and to utilise it in order to succeed. People belonging to business schools tend to support and sustain that understanding conceiving their work as natural gears of that well-oiled machine. These descriptions participate in elaborating and circulating discourses that offer points of identification to those involved in the management practice. In so doing, they are actually producing a hegemonic articulation on what is the identity of a manager, and what are the demands for a management education practice. As an example:

*“The executive, the director, the entrepreneur and the professional should adopt a provocative attitude to cope with uncertainty. This attitude is necessary, not only to support transformations, but driving it, in order to achieve control over their own destiny. For that reason we are forming leaders with a solid knowledge background, but also curious and provocative, necessary attitudes of all those who strongly believe in the potential improvement of wealth creation”*

*Director's words Business School 1 MBA Brochure 2004*

This rationale is underpinned by an understanding of the character and the role of higher education in business in relation to the wider institutional and structural contexts within which they function. From this perspective, their alignment with the wider political and socio-economic shifts associated with the developments of market economies and economic globalization is a necessary response. Being loyal to that background, business schools in Chile have become efficient providers of appropriate goods and services for their respective clients and consumers behaving more like corporations and businesses.

*“In my opinion, international students are with us because of the image of our country. We have a good business educational system which comes from our traditional schools. It is a way of teaching that largely has proved its*

*functionality despite the changes in our country; it is a wheel that is always improving which results in a trust for our model."*

*Academic Coordinator Business School 2.*

Those understandings suggest that the phenomena under consideration are governed by causal laws, implying that the changes are akin to natural processes beyond social and political control. Its main implication is the little questioning of the supposed inevitability and over-powering force of socio-economic development itself, and no room for alternative conceptions of the business higher education in neo-liberal societies.

Although formal business education voices have supported and accommodated themselves to the market approach, this research has shown that surrounding academics have tended to be more skeptical about its benefits. By 'surrounding academics' I mean the scholars belonging to Social Science departments and/or the faculty in charge of the 'soft skills side' within business schools. Most of them are sociologists or psychologists; their participation within that educational practice is being responsible for teaching organizational theory, organizational behaviour, as well as delivering the tools to develop the so called soft skills to manage - leadership, communication, teamwork, decision making, etc – all of them grouped under the label 'Human Resources'. Their marginality is sustained mainly on the 'second class' status of their subjects in comparison with the relevant ones, meaning any topic that is closer to money making, such as finance, economics, accountability or marketing. Though this category is by no means homogeneous it is possible to say that they have focused their critical gaze on the way the managerialist discourse has obscured their social glance subordinating it to the profit making aims.

In this general context, an apparent issue has emerged concerning the lack of problematization of the status of business education by social science's academics. In spite of their declared dissatisfaction with the primacy of technical, functional and monetary approach of their teaching contents and practice, there appears to be no effective or publicly articulated critique of business education rationality. The social, political and fantasmatic logics approach



of my research allows picking up and even developing this problem into a problematization: why scholars are collaborating, even sustaining the rationale and performances that they recognize to be problematic? Why aren't there challenging dominant discourses apart from their personal and private complaining? Are there real possibilities for alternative frameworks within local management education?

I have already said that one of my main motivations to face the challenge of PhD. research was the complete absence of those questions within local management education practice. My query has shown that this absence remains untouched. This kind of questioning would be far beyond the scope of mainstream supporters, and on the other hand, all those who are quite skeptical would remain trapped within the tentacles of the frustrating paradigm. However, this is just a superficial and overly homogeneous picture that tends to reinforce a 'causal law' paradigm. To overemphasize the absence of effective resistance is, at the same time, a way to virtually exclude any other type of response, as well as smoothing over the unevenness within that academic field. In the attempt to deploy a different eye my standpoint aspires to challenge this simple picture by focusing more closely on the full scope of representatives' self-interpretations. These interpretations not only highlight the varied terrain of local management education, but they also caution against the dichotomist alternatives relied upon by both supporters and detractors of managerialist discourse.

Contextualized self-interpretations are crucial in connecting this problematization to a range of related questions: Where did this regime of practices come from, and how and why has it been installed? A response to that question was sketched out in the last chapter and will be further developed in the following paragraphs. Where there is discontent among academics, why does this rarely translate into effective political resistance? How can I account for the way in which these embedded discourses have managed to grip subjects, especially when they are opposed to them? The following moment of my analysis involves identifying the relevant social, political and fantasmatic logics which characterize the practice under investigation.

## Social Logics

The following paragraphs are devoted to presenting the assemblage of social logics that are currently installed in Chilean business schools. I will start by positing the operation of four such logics – pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism- which when articulated together allow us to characterize the current regime of management education practices.

### Logic of Pragmatism

The rules of many practices linked to the managerial regime are governed by a logic of pragmatism, which in my view shape the goals and aims of every attempt at social agency. Pragmatism appears as a standpoint that overemphasized consequences as the way to value the real meaning of any endeavor. Pragmatism is in that way synonymous of utility and practicalness. That logic captures the way in which business schools, qua producers of knowledge and skill commodities, struggle to render its deliveries on tangible success indicators for both, its students and the companies; the way students demand technical tools that facilitate their future professional practice and status achievement; and the way the market emphasizes quantitative indicators as the measure of results.

*"Chile is the example of pragmatism". The Commerce Secretary of the USA, Carlos Gutierrez, stated yesterday that right wing, left wing or centre ideologies 'do not care anymore'. He mentioned Chile as the example to follow, because they have stepped to a fundamental issue for countries' development: 'the pragmatism'".*

*Newspaper El Mercurio de Valparaiso's article, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2008 pg 17*

I would like to illustrate how pragmatism is articulated within local managerial discourses presenting an extract from an academic article published in an Economic and Administrative Journal edited by the Business School 3. The article's title, written by two academics from that Business School, is *Knowledge Management* and is devoted to explain what is understood by that topic. In order to introduce the concept, the authors decided to start by an 'historical

example'; it is that example what I would like to reproduce. The extract is quite long, but definitively worthy to be quoted here.

*"First of all it is important to say that Knowledge Management has always been a key factor for civilizations and organizations' arising since immemorial times. For example, Cro-Magnon men (sic) and Neanderthal both lived simultaneously during 60.000 years. Then, 30.000 years ago, the latter disappeared. Why did the first species survive and the other perish if both had tools and language? Cro-Magnon men (sic) had a moon phase calendar and they made a correlation between a day's succession and bison, moose and red deer migrating habits. This perception was documented in cave paintings; as a consequence, Cro-Magnon men (sic) learnt that in order to hunt it was necessary just to wait near a river on certain days. On the other hand, Neanderthal men (sic) dispersed their resources and people in their hunting attempt; moreover, due to wrongly assigning their resources they did not succeed and disappeared. Thereby, there were three key differentiated elements in the surviving of that species: 1) Cro-Magnon men used available technologic elements (cave paintings) in order to transmit their knowledge to their descendents. 2) After a while they accumulated knowledge from multiple observers achieving an efficient hunt plan. 3) Finally, Cro-Magnon men were much more competitive than Neanderthal ones, succeeding within a market where what were to survive was at stake."*

This story is proposed as a "description" of a given phenomena and, as such, it establishes a sense of objectivity and obviousness. Here the market is articulated as an ever-present societal regulator being possible even to make sense of what happened thousands of years ago using the same framework as nowadays. There are no mentions at all about possible inconsistencies between market principles and Jurassic realities; on the contrary, market attributes such as competitiveness, efficiency, technology and management are 'the tools' to judge ancient civilizations. The complex vicissitudes of anthropological propositions about human evolution are coarsely reduced to a survival competition between two species in which

one of them is labelled as 'winners' and the others as 'losers'. In order to highlight the pragmatic value of efficiently managing anything, to survive is depicted as the goal for that species, and why not for all of us - even nowadays. Therefore, enhancing the risk of disappearance, the crucial role of efficient management in avoiding that danger is still more critical. Survival, as an assumed pragmatic goal, renders the whole context in just tools to achieve it. Cave paintings, moon phase calendars and animals' migration habits were useful technology; hunting was just a feeding supplier; 60.000 years of 'surviving' are nothing if at the very end Neanderthals disappeared; and finally the very existence is devoted to build efficient plans. Cro-Magnon's 'natural' competitiveness articulated as their pragmatic ability to focus their efforts on surviving was the explanation for their success.

Transported from ancient history to nowadays the pragmatic principles that supported Cro-Magnon's success are still hegemonising the building of our lives. Surviving is still the main goal of current *homo economicus*. Current managers aspire 'to survive' within a competitiveness market. To 'disappear' is still a threat; but it is now the risk of a social death: not be an active part of the market. Similar as in the past, one of our current demands is to manage knowledge like an efficient tool. Within the discourse of business education the logic of pragmatism is depicted as their permanent contribution to effectiveness for both, future managers and companies. The question of *what is this for?* is an ever-present drive for that practice. The identification and interpretation of that logic of pragmatism have a clear resemblance on the self-interpretation of subjects. Some extracts from my interviews help to illustrate it:

*".....people (students) are very practical; they want practical things that come are useful and quick. For that reason we have to quickly feed ourselves with what companies need, we have to test contents all time."*

*Academic Coordinator Business School 2*

*".... the executives (postgraduate students) could feel quite frustrated if you don't teach them how to do things" "...they are rough diamonds needing*

*managerial skills, without those skills, in spite of their intelligence or their knowledge, they won't arrive that far."*

*Postgraduate Director Business School 3*

*"We are in a moment in which all people are looking for practicalness, tools for working. For example finance is a tool, you learn how to do a balance sheet, then you join a company and you just apply that technique. "*

*Undergraduate student Business School 4*

This logic of pragmatism is triggered in contexts of business education by means of making tangible and self-evident the applicability of their contents, which should easily connect what is being exposed in a class with the practical demands of a managerial job. In other words, the potentially intrinsic qualities of teaching and research is their instrumental or exchange value, whether from the point of view of academics or students.

*"The tendency that I perceive here in Chile deals with how people could contribute to effectiveness. The educational endeavour is related to disclose the value of theories, value in terms of figures"*

*Academic Business School 2*

*"We are here in order to learn formulas and methodologies"*

*Teacher's introductory words in an inaugural class of marketing,*

*Postgraduate course Business School 1.*

In sum, the underlying drive of the logic of pragmatism is to render all things functional, which in turn tends to feed and reinforce logics of consumerism and individualism, as well as, the prevalent elitism of our local business practice.

## Logics of Consumerism

The second logic constructed here could be said describes patterns of discursive articulation that equate personal satisfaction with the acquisition of goods and services. The logic of the market has developed a particular desired model of consumerism throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Not only is this model one of obligation, it is also an individual one, for more products are bought if everyone buys one each. Then, as this model is individual rather than social, so consumption increasingly becomes private (Bottery 2005). Consumerism implies never-ending relations of possession stimulated by the permanent obsolescence of products and services and its quick replacements. The logic of the economics of capitalism demands that if production is to continue to expand, consumption will need to be the vehicle that fuels this process.

The educational reform of 1981 introduced market principles to Chilean educational practice. Its main propositions stated that higher educational institutions should be self-sufficient trusting mainly on its student's fees. Removing State funding, universities were compelled to compete in order to recruit students/clients and therefore secure their economical support. The so called new system for higher education intended to improve higher education provision

*"..introducing the competitive factor within universities, this is possible through two main ways, facilitating the creation of new universities as well as the higher education financial system modification...The idea is that no university can rely on a secure budget anymore"<sup>1</sup>.*

As a consequence, Chilean universities became completely dependant on market context introjecting postulates like efficiency, competition and profit. Fund-raising is now the first priority, thus those 'academic' activities that could be offered as well paid 'products' to the market were privileged, among others the main academic activity fitting with that purpose was 'teaching'. The fees paid by university students became the key source of funding; as 'target group' they are from now its fundamental 'consumers'.

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<sup>1</sup> Military Government's Home Office Secretary Sergio Fernandez "The Secretaries answer 25 questions" El Mercurio, 11<sup>th</sup> march, 1981, quoted in Santos 2006: 3.

Those situations have shaped Chilean higher teaching activities. In order to secure enough economical support a particular set of strategies were put in place. Firstly, to be able to 'offer products that potential consumers are willing to purchase'. Decisions about what programmes to be delivered will have the support of market research that clearly show 'public preferences'. Those preferences were crisscrossed with costs analysis rendering in the massive opening of 'chalk and blackboard' programmes such as Law and Business (Santos 2006). With the intention to gain customers, Chilean universities deploy huge marketing campaigns every year. From October to January, television, radios, newspapers, internet and public spaces are lined with creative slogans, attractive pictures and even economic offers that compete to 'catch' those applicants. Chilean universities do their best to show what potential clients are looking for: quick qualifications, attractive facilities or international exchanges.

*"The Chilean University sector has rendered in one of the most competitive industries, in both competitors' number and aggressive actions"*

*Newspaper article: "University marketing" Financial Newspaper, August 2005.*

*"It is my personal opinion, very personal indeed; I think that all of this is a trend, just a trend. There are MBA programmes everywhere; it is good business as well. It is a business that has been funding Schools since years ago. In Chile it has been a boom during at least 8 years"*

*Sociologist in charge of a local MBA ranking*

The logic of consumerism operates in such a way as to downplay qualities of teaching in favour of their market visibility. Adequate academics should be provided in order to satisfy the consumerism demands. They are identified and selected according to their closeness with latest topics and the visibility of their degree. Most of them are partially hired in charge of just one course avoiding permanent contracts. Full time faculty are less of a reality than in the past and those sporadic ties with institutions transform academics into 'services sellers' which are purchased by universities in order to be offered to their students. In that way, 'taxi' teachers arose, like pilgrims running between different universities across the city. Therefore,

academics are compelled to create an attractive teaching 'product' that demands the attention of universities in detriment of their research interest and work stability.

*"Nowadays we have to assume that every single teacher is the owner of their topic. We, as School, just can offer our name to be added to theirs. And if you don't have a great one you run the risk of losing those teachers"*

*School Director, Psychology School 1*

*"The best thing of our MBA is that it really has a great seduction power, therefore people that stand before teachers are good. This is a relevant demand for those teachers, they already know that they cannot repeat themselves, they have to be permanently updated"*

*Academic Coordinator Business School 2*

*"We don't have a powerful brand image attractive to the business world. On the contrary we have been a public university far from the private market. Private universities, our competitors, they do have that closer connection with the private sector. So, we can't position ourselves as high managers' educators; on the contrary, we have to attract all those which are interested in specialization"*

*Postgraduate Director Business School 3*

On the other hand, within this logic of consumerism, students' subjectivities are colonized by their attributes as clients. Because of the fact that being a consumer is to buy is as much is decided by the dictates of the market as by what consumers' want, consumption increasingly becomes a passive experience; consumerism, not political involvement, is the best expression of personal freedom. In that way, educational activity – from the policies through to implementation – should begin from a consideration of the needs, abilities and interests of the individual student. Their opinion expressed through the 'teaching evaluations' after every single course could determine the continuity of the course as such, even the permanence of the teacher within that particular institution. Furthermore, those decisions are closer to the



level of satisfaction of those 'consumers' rather than the quality of teaching activities (Santos, 2006). Thus, study curricula should be 'attractive', teachers 'enjoyable' and facilities 'stunning'.

*"Honestly speaking, I've always been between those two Business Schools; they are the best, which is what all people are saying. I've never wondered about contents or methodologies; actually, between these two I've made my decision just by practical issues: timetable and location."*

*MBA student Business School 2*

*"I chose the very first one that buttered me up, jajaja. Seriously, I chose that university due to the programme timetable, and because I wanted to know another university, different from my undergraduate one. Finally there are no differences."*

*MBA Student Business School 3*

*"Achieving your grade is now even easier with the help of your credit cards; just pay your fees with Visa or Mastercard."*

*Marketing campaign on Chilean radios 2008*

Chilean current consumerism's value is embodied by the wrapper, the packages, and the product decorations. Those attributes help on construct individual subjectivities, isolated identities called to struggle with the world by their own, the logic of individualism.

### Logic of Individualism

Our third social logic embraces all discursive attempts that constitute subjects as isolated entities, neglecting the social or structural aspects of success and failure in the self-understanding of persons and institutions, leaving them to view themselves as individually responsible for their success and failure.

*"Work conditions have changed a lot; I mean the responsibility for your career development is no longer in companies' hands any more. There is no company establishing an upward career path for you. In the past, companies were in charge of that, but not any more. Nowadays every single person has to be in charge of their own career, they have to develop a personal project...."*

*Head Hunter*

The stress on personal projects enhances individualistic and asocial endeavours centred on the realization of the self and dismissive of larger societal projects. Business Schools are understood as the vehicle to materialising that expectation through formal professional qualifications. Those qualifications promise to equip individuals with the necessary strengths to cope with the needs of 'employability'. This concept implies the ability to obtain and keep a job, the ability to be in tune with the job market and the capacity to find or change a job without difficulty. In other words "employability" means to have that required disposition to cope with changing and competitive economic environments. For both, academics and future managers, what is required is their development and self-management formation through. In the past, the responsibility for human resources training was in hands of companies and the state, but now the notion of employability states that process is an individual duty.

*"Among our Business Schools the idea of a heroic manager and unipersonal leadership predominates. A man or a woman that individually embodies all those persuasive skills"*

*Academic Business School 3*

Individualism is a new way of (non)relating with others and with one self, including the body, the world and the time. Chile's last years have been characterized by the replacing of social interests by personal ones. Chilean people have now less group referents where their social interests lie. The social solidarity is experienced as a kind of marginality, a folk remaining embedded in isolated and far away places, in the peasant communities and in the low classes. Individuality, on the contrary, is closer to elitism.

## Logic of Elitism

This logic operates around the attitude that implicitly maintains that determined opportunities and/or benefits are prerogative of certain groups among society. Consequently, elitism assumes that those individuals who are considered members of the elite are those whose views on a matter are to be taken the most seriously or carry the most weight; whose views and/or actions are most likely to be constructive to society as a whole; or whose extraordinary skills, abilities or wisdom render them especially fit to govern.

Within the context of management education the logic of elitism endorses the nurturing of a selected group of students in order to equip them for their future privileged work positions. Elitism here is articulated through the (self)selection of particular 'good' students as well as the support that the 'name' of certain schools gives to their alumni. The logic tends to downplay the public discourse of meritocracy leaving in class, economic and lineage attributes the key factors for privileging. Elitism is an attribute that is unevenly distributed among Chilean business schools because not all of them sustain the same status. This situation results in a variable professional reality for all those graduates. In other words, the single acquisition of academic credentials is not enough for succeeding. That is to say, in order to belong to the core management, the different issues of the Chilean elite are more relevant.

A very good example of that phenomenon was a personal experience while I was working within personnel selection practice. I want you as readers allow me some paragraphs to set my point. During those times I had to lead two different but simultaneous processes: A) one of them was a single psychological interview to a pre-selected applicant sent by the client. The client, a town gas company, was one of the most attractive places to work in Chile 8 years ago. They were a new company equipped with the most updated technologies oriented to lead a massive change in the way domestic energies were delivered; they also were the best salary payers particularly among debuting professionals. A selected group of commercial and industrial engineers (Chilean holders of business degrees) coming from one of the well reputed management schools had made that company their niche. As soon as a new professional was required they started by contacting their former school in order to receive

applicants. This time was no different, the Study Department of the company sent to us one of those recent graduates, whom I called Mr. Kuflik (a personal neologism derived from his real surname). Thereafter, Mr. Kuflik had just succeeded the psychological interview in order to obtain the position.

B) The second company was a traditional old fashioned one in charge of the old way of delivering domestic energies; exactly the company that was being superseded by the former. Its Human Resource department needed a business professional to administrate statistical information, again a first level job position demanding newcomers. Its HR manager was aware that it was quite difficult to recruit those kinds of professionals for his area because human resource has been always a second class/low paid professional option for local business degree holders. Assuming that, he decided to contact second level business schools and published a small advertisement in their notice board. Surprisingly, he received a lot of curricula being able to send five applicants to our office; his expectation was a list of three candidates after a full selection process.

Now it was my turn. Mr. Kuflik's interview was an easy task; he arrived to the meeting on time, well dressed and in a good mood. He was a collaborative and respectful interviewee showing self-confidence and tranquility before my questions. His educational history was full of good achievements: he had graduated from an upper class private high school with very good marks, after he gained high scores in the university selection process and joined the most demanded business school in the country. His university time was expedited without academic complications, and within the expected time he achieved his grade. He had had the opportunity to travel around Europe and Asia after his university degree. He was proficient in English and Hebrew (his family background language) as well as a good sportsman. Now he was applying for his very first job and this interview was his first selection process participation. In general, at 24 he was ready and well equipped to start his professional career within a Study Department. Having nothing to remark as a relevant weakness, my report supported his company hiring.

The second process implied two steps, namely the application of some selection tests as well as individual interviews with every single participant. All of them had attended public high schools obtaining a technical certification in Accountancy first and their university degree some

years after. Normally people coming from this kind of school are less successful in university appraisal tests usually having to apply more than once. Besides, their families are not in position to afford our high university costs being their only one alternative to study in evening programmes while working full time. Just one of them had achieved the entry requirements of a well reputed business school. He and his family made a difficult choice allowing his older son to study full time during 5 five years taking on a debt to afford his monthly fees, which were exact same amount of the father's complete salary. All of the applicants were so happy with this opportunity, without social networks and not enough money to buy the expensive Sunday newspaper which advertises business positions, this small call posted at the university's notice board was their very first contact with a proper professional alternative. They had to struggle with their current jobs in order to attend the several steps of the selection process, they were afraid of losing their jobs if their bosses realized that they were applying to a different job. As well as Kuflik, they all were collaborative interviewees, but instead of a solid self-confidence they showed me their anxiety in obtaining that job. As well as Kuflik, all of them had been very good students, but contextual constrains like money scarcity or work requirements had delayed their graduation; moreover, their persistence and their strong belief that education could change their way of living made them pursue a career. None of them had particular interests in HR, actually, they were motivated with the opportunity to join a big company in a professional position which could secure their working stability. Again, without difficulties I presented three of them to our client. He was particularly happy; applicants were willing to join HR, and better still, all of them declared themselves to be happy with the salary which was evidently less than a market wage for a business graduate. In fact Kuflik offer's was more than twice.

When I finished those processes something was annoying me. I had completed two selection procedures, nothing new after eight years of having doing the same. All applicants were nice and both processes quite easy. All applicants held required educational credentials; all applicants proved to fit with job profiles; all applicants were facing that kind of process for the very first time, all applicants were seeking their first opportunity within the professional market. Both clients were well known companies. But, evidently, Kuflik's present and the future were

completely different than the others. Kuflik never paid attention to notice board job announcements, he never bought the newspaper to find application opportunities; on the contrary, Kuflik was directly invited to that process. Kuflik was applying with no other competitors, Kuflik was joining the most desirable company at that moment, Kuflik would belong to the selected group of the study department within a company, Kuflik would receive the best wage of the market for a new beginner. If Kuflik continued doing well he would be a middle manager within two years-time, and so on; he would live in the same upper class neighborhood, he would join the same clubs, his children would attend private schools and then the best universities. If Kuflik continued doing well his privileged start to life, he would undoubtedly end in an equally privileged maturity. On the other side, starting from five applicants, just one of them will be hired by the company, it was a good company but definitively old-fashioned and less competitive in comparison with Kuflik's one. He would have a stable position within HR with satisfactory salary, at least much better than his parents'. He would have the opportunity to send his children not to a public school, maybe a subsidized one<sup>2</sup>, with the expectation of achieving higher education after a lot of personal effort. He would move from his original lower class neighborhood to a middle class one. If he continued doing well he would keep his HR job forever.

That was what I labeled the 'Kuflik factor' in order to make sense about the gap that was annoying me after that experience. Here 'Kuflik factor' is an articulation of that logic of elitism which explains why meritocracy is not enough to succeed.

That 'Kuflik factor' was economically portrayed within a local academic study just four years ago. Javier Núñez, an academic of University of Chile's Business School, published in 2004 his research about the relationship between salaries and socioeconomic level within Chilean market. His study addressed one of the gaps that was present in economic literature on labour discrimination, namely wage discrimination based on socioeconomic level. In his words (Ibid: 5):

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<sup>2</sup> Schools partially funded by the state and partially afforded by private funding.

*"There is a wider consensus sustaining that our inequality is one of a special nature because it is originated from an excessive breach; particularly excessive between the 5 or 10 per cent richer and the rest. Under these circumstances it is natural (sic) to expect that in Chile social class distinctions are particularly emphasized".*

His quantitative study approached the impact of socioeconomic origin over working incomes. He defined socioeconomic origin using three variables: social status of surnames, income average of place of origin, and socioeconomic status of secondary school. According to his description the status of surnames is a key issue in Chile due to the strong link between Basque–European (not Spanish) surnames with the traditional economic and political Chilean elite. From his findings it is worth quoting (Ibid: 7):

*"Estimated incomes show that a mediocre performance student coming from a place and school of high socioeconomic level and gifted with a superior origin socioeconomic ascendance would have a statistically higher income than a high performance student coming from a poor place and a public school without an ascendancy linked to the high socioeconomic level.....That evidence suggests that meritocracy degree of labor market in Chile is limited."*

Coming back to 'Kuflik factor', the same study concludes:

*"It is easy to demonstrate that the most of Commercial Engineers students (Chilean business degree name) of the country's best universities come from the richest five per cent of the population, which is strongly linked with the local unequal access to higher education. That information indicates that students coming from lower socioeconomic levels constitute the 'successful' examples of their families, schools and places. Moreover, they will obtain lower incomes than their peers despite their similar academic merits." (Ibid: 7)*

Chilean management school practice, as it was suggested by that study, is one of the most evident enclaves of that elitism unevenly recognized by their actors. Assuming that some privileges are in place, some representatives constitute them as academic or working performance differences:

*"The so called successful Business Schools are seeking to enroll the best ones from the market. I mean we want to take them and take care of their career. We want to identify those stars which are around, no matter what their university of origin, because they already have a successful career...and that is achieved by our selection process"*

*Academic Coordinator Business School 2*

*" We are perceived as tough and academically demanding, so every one who wants to study and wishes to learn and be specialized, should prefer an University like ours"*

*Postgraduate Director Business School 3*

Moreover, that elitism is not just circumscribed to an academic background, their privileged prerogatives reach even their right to govern organizations:

*"I think that certain groups are looking for their executives to perpetuate certain value contexts...non in an explicit way, but everybody knows what they are talking about. It is quite elitist, but it is good, because at least there is someone concerned about who is making decisions and in what way. Maybe it is not a general ethic, but at least there is one."*

*Head Hunter*

The four logics developed here are informing the practices of the current management education in Chile. The underlying drive of the logics of pragmatism is to render all attempts measurable and functional, which in turns tend to feed and reinforce the logics of consumerism



and individualism which shape the very nature of that practice rendering academic activities into commodities deserving individual administration and profitability. Finally, the logic of elitism draws a veil of exclusivity which collaborates on reproducing embedded power privileges among its social actors.

Nevertheless, having gone some way to establishing what the logics structuring the business education practices, I can also ask why and how they come about and continue to be sustained. This turns my attention to the operation of political and fantasmatic logics.

### **Political and Fantasmatic Logics**

In order to account for the installation and grip of the management practices in Chilean universities – the logic of its emergence and radical institution, and the way in which it recruits, grips and govern subjects – it is necessary to approach the distinction between regimes and practices suggested by Glynos and Howarth (2007) (chapter 5). For the purposes of the present research I situate the notion of regime at the level of the macro historical vicissitudes undergone by Chile during the last decades of the past century, and management practices at the level of higher education. Following the above mentioned authors' setting I focus my analysis both on the role of the neo-liberal dictatorship project in challenging and restructuring the Chilean political crisis after 1973 in which management education was but one element in an overall hegemonic project designed to install a new political settlement, and on the micro-dynamics by which these new ideas and practices were installed in the business schools themselves.

#### **The Capitalist Revolution as a context**

A more comprehensive analysis of Chilean complex historical processes was presented in the third and sixth chapter, hence, now I will focus on the ways in which an analysis of regimes at different levels reveals how political logics of equivalence were mobilized to leave behind our traditional 'commitment state' social articulation. In the context of a deepening crisis and dislocation, military, neo-liberal economists and right wing politicians after the military coup of

1973 sought to link together a range of diverse demands into a project that publicly overcame the failed Marxist attempt of Allende's government. They did so in the name of a project that welded together the demands for a free market, liberal democracy and individual achievement. As I have developed in chapter 6, our 'capitalist revolution' (Moulian, 2002) involved a form of populist politics that successfully divided the existing 'commitment state' (Brunner, 1981) into two camps: those supporting the 'new project' confronting those who were against a non-democratic installation of new social enclaves. The balance between both competing forces was drastically eradicated by the military component of the new hegemony and its philosophy of 'internal security of the state' which cornered the resistance to clandestine and ever threatening attempts.

Military dictatorship intended a re-composition of the relationships between the State and the society privileging the market, dismantling the state and eliminating politics (Garretón, 2007). In that context, political logics manifested themselves in the very formation and constitution of neo-liberal revolution practices, as well as their sedimentation and naturalization. Their construction was engineered by constituting the ruling bloc around the personalized military leadership (General A. Pinochet) and a team of technocrats (the Chicago Boys). Along with some intellectual groups, these technocrats had the responsibility of providing the regime with an ideological and a programmatic content, which the armed forces were unable to do since they had no political goal other than to put an end to the preceding political developments (Garretón, 1986). This authoritarian tendency posed itself against a civilian restoring initiative supported by the more moderate elements which favored a return to the pre-1973 democratic system. The disproportionate level of violence carried out by the military against its enemies, the traumatic symbolism of the bombing of the presidential palace and intensity of the repression which followed could only be legitimized and justified by the need of a radical social change. Thus, the authoritarian faction gave tragedy a 'meaning' with the social and political manifestation of the neo-liberal model as an *inevitable* revolution (Pollack, 1995; Moulian, 2002). But it also involved a sharpening of the frontier between the emergent forces of neo-liberals and the traditional Chilean Left wing in which the proponents of the capitalist revolution presented the latter as the supporters of the failed communist takeover of the country. The

spectre of communism was used to demonize those who were opposed to neo-liberalism as enemies of the homeland. Against the morally desirable nationalism of the authoritarian bloc, there were the unacceptable discourses of socialism and populist democracy which were articulated by the *Unidad Popular* former government supporters.

1980s Chilean Constitution<sup>3</sup> included an article that formally articulated the power bloc's repulse to leftists:

*"Article n° 8: Any individual or group act oriented to disseminate doctrines that threaten the family, advocate violence or sustain a totalitarian conception of society, the State or legal order founded on a class struggle are illegal and against the institutional order of the Republic"*

Here, 'the institutional order of the Republic' is demarcated from an outlaw articulation of social order with socialism, populist democracy or communism, on the grounds that Leftists equate the homeland with the false universals of class struggle rather than capitalist modernization. Therefore, the neo-liberal project involved the intensification of the divisions between market supporters and any leftist, in which the latter were presented as a dangerous other who would endanger the interests of the right wing especially neo-liberals. Hereafter, the new ruling bloc, namely military, Chicago Boys and right-wings struggled to sediment these new divisions by domesticating otherness in the name of legitimate capitalist modernization. Indeed, these 'authentic' forms of modernization were sedimented by the strong link between military force and economist thinkers, and their ability to present economic changes as technical and scientific approaches able to sustain and inspire any social restoration while preventing any resistance by force and a constitutional exclusion. As Moulian (2002: 28) has pointed out:

*"the success of revolutionary dictatorships come from the alignment between normative and legal power (law), power over the bodies (terror) and power over the minds (knowledge)".*

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<sup>3</sup> This article was revoked in 1989 through a democratic plebiscite.

The opposition between neo-liberal and leftist supporters was articulated through an equivalential link with the, also discursively proposed, antagonism between pragmatism and politics. This discursive movement enhanced the syntagmatic pole of equivalential chains equating neo-liberals with pragmatists and technocrats against leftists, politicians and ideology proponents. Pragmatism through its articulation by technical rationality was strictly opposed to politics understood as the sustaining of utopian ideologies. The aspiration of replacing the confrontational side of politics concluded in the implantation of the administration as the ideal form of government. Thus, politics and its supporters were equated with fruitless and harmful attempts to recover the social order replacing them with the technocratic advocates of a desirable order which admits no questioning. Political parties were abolished, civil rights were eliminated and ideological discussions were excluded from every public and educational practice. More precisely, the new power bloc articulated a series of demands in different sites of the social – demands for economic reforms, material improvements, international participation in globalization, individualistic entrepreneurship and market regulations – by presenting the political endeavors, particularly leftist ones, as a common enemy that denied freedom and national self-determination. It thus simplified the entire national social space by transforming it into two hostile camps.

*"This knowledge in constitution, instrument of a revolution, was imposed annulling the expressive possibility of other knowledge and instituting orthodoxy, a protection system of its integrity as emergent knowledge. To an extent, it was made excluding other thinking systems due to them constituting no-knowledge and particularly excluding one of the most potent ones from the former stage – Marxism – due to its constituted anti-knowledge." (Moulian, 2002: 187)*

Many institutions and groups were made equivalent and targeted by this new project: political parties, trade unions, public sector workers, left wings supporters, higher education and social sciences university departments in particular. Again, it was the educational reform of 1981 which drastically erased any trace of our former higher education system transforming it into another branch of the market model. The military government dictated a series of 'Decrees

with force of law" which were called *New Law for Universities*. Funding to universities was dramatically cut pushing them to compete in a higher education market (Santos, 2005; Brunner, 1997; Cox 1996). In those times that new system was expected to solve all higher educational problems. The Home Secretary Sergio Fernandez diagnosed<sup>4</sup> :

*"The system is a closed and virtually monopolist one with a great damage to university yout, and to all national communities that finances higher education with their taxes and do not receive in compensation a good university return."*

It is possible to discern here the logic of fantasy at work in his words: a bad-business feature attributed to the university system which does not make profit for their stakeholders. This official view of the university system operates organizing subjects' own mode of enjoyment by imagining how citizens enjoy themselves as market supporters. Here academics and state-funded students were regarded as obstacles to the desirable economic competitiveness and consumer accountability. The Secretary continues: *"The reform is an historical step within Chile's advance to a truly free society, modern and just."* The neo-liberal intervention among universities was functioning as a utopian solution leading higher education to freedom, modernity and justice (Santos, 2005).

Academics and universities, targeted as an outmoded and inefficient obstacle to realizing the ideals of market competition, lower public spending, and greater consumer accountability, were pushed to conform to those ideals. Consequently they were ripe for 'neo-liberal solutions' requiring the implementation of market competition, greater transparency and consumer accountability. As an echo of the Friedman's model, which is politically neutral, 'a-political studies' were a dictatorship motto. A feature of the educational model was its technical-vocational orientation instantiated by the curricula structure and what students sought in their higher studies. In this context, curricula rendered itself in a form of goods willing to constitute themselves according to market demands, as well as in a purchase available to all in position to pay for it (Austin, 2004).

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid page 12

As many commentators have emphasized (Brunner, 1981; Garretón, 2007; Moulian, 2002) Chilean transition democracy reached consensus on the economic mindset remaining. Moreover, it is possible to say that Concertation' governments<sup>5</sup> have striven to extend many aspects of the Neo-liberal programme. Post-dictatorial ruling coalition actors appear to still be held captive by a fantasy in which the market is the only one way to solve all difficulties through pragmatism and consumerism.

### Business Education: the managerialist ground

Moving on into the micro analysis, now the focus will be on the way in which those market principles were instituted at the level of business schools. In the main one it could be argued that business schools have complied with the structures of the neo-liberal programme and market practices in a variety of ways.

Starting with students, both graduates and postgraduates, they coincide in considering higher education in business as the main tool to access professional opportunities. On the one hand they identified with the idea that business schools needed to prepare them in order to succeed within an increasingly competitive global market and that closer links with business and industry were necessary to train future managers. They also have employed a variety of means to 'complement' what has been regarded as the 'too theoretical emphases' of some courses. Business students' unions among many universities stressed the 'contact with real businesses' by carrying out visits to companies, talks with well-known managers or entrepreneurs, as well as running their activities with the economical support of companies.

*"Being a manager is not common sense, you need to learn its techniques. There is no alternative"*  
*Undergraduate student Business School 4*

*"Management is a matter of efficiency. Any person that has studied finance, for example, is concerned with costs reduction and profit making."*

*Undergraduate Alumni Business School 5*

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<sup>5</sup> The centre and socialists Chilean political parties' coalition in power since 1989.

*"In order to bridge the gap between our syllabus and the business context we are organizing visits to local companies. The aim is to contact our alumni and receive from them some clues about the real professional practice"*

*Business Student Union web page. Business School 7<sup>6</sup>*

International links with foreign institutions are always encouraged expecting from possible interchanges or foreign visitors a taste of an international experience. On their terms the main contribution of a business school is the delivering of an appropriate language as the passport for wider business practice. Thus, neo-liberal discourses of competition and profitability within business schools have been deployed to articulate the differences between 'useful' and 'useless' courses; to justify individual struggles on affording high fees labeled as an 'investment'; to support the status of well-known 'brand names' among business schools against those which have 'no brand name' impact; and the relevance of creating future 'networks' from classmates. Those 'aligned students' have constructed a series of equivalences in order to establish political frontiers that make possible the perpetuation of neo-liberal approaches among business education. Thus, it is possible to perceive the ideological construction of 'useful' versus 'useless'; 'individual investment' versus compulsory high fees; 'brand name' schools versus 'no brand name' ones and 'networks' versus classmates, and so forth.

*"Business School certification validates your involvement in certain conversations. Other managers will support you as a valid speaker independently of your working experience"*

*MBA Student Business School 3*

Paying attention to business academics I can point out the various ways in which they embrace the dictates of the neo-liberal project. In general terms, they strongly validate the hegemonic understanding of a business school, assuming and supporting the key role of market in social articulation. It is the market that establishes their priorities; as a consequence,

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<sup>6</sup>[http://www.icom.usm.cl/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=2](http://www.icom.usm.cl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=2)

they are constantly paying attention to its demands and turning their back on the academic institution that supports them.

*"It is necessary to evolve oriented to the public.....we are not going to fed by the university"*

*Academic Coordinator Business School 2*

*"Our university does not have a brand name, maybe because it has a public institution history and consequently it does not have closeness with the private market. This is my weakness before my competitors, so I discovered that some managers' market sector is looking for specialization. Now our MBA offers specialization"*

*Postgraduate Director Business School 3*

Upon uncritically accepting market pressures they articulate their practice as a permanent struggle against its competitors; which means that their endeavors are mainly focused on what they call "to bring companies into the university". That ideal is instantiated through more and better practical connections with companies rendering their academic and pedagogical labour a payable service oriented to solve their problems. Within this context, teachers are better valued if they have personal practical experience; students should be equipped with tangible competences and tools which consequently shape contents and pedagogical strategies; their institutions should invest in their brand stressing their presence within the rankings and their international accreditations. The best value academic is that which comes from foreign avant-garde through holders of Northern PhDs, especially those from the USA, and the use of foreign texts; they pay special attention to their alumni which embody schools' work as products, metaphors like 'uncut diamonds' and 'airplanes' serve to label their students. Their managerialist language within which words like 'market', 'production', 'competition', 'differentiation', 'demands', 'market sanctions', 'managers market', 'to add value', 'consumerism', 'productivity', 'entrepreneurship', and so forth predominate, used to describe their practice, establishing ideological equivalences between business schools and economic markets.



Thus, and at the same time, academics opposed their labour against the traditional understanding of the academy. Historical university tasks are understood as opposed to market demands emphasizing that 'research for its own sake lacks utility', 'education is a tool that allows to be updated', 'management is just responding to economic systems', 'PhDs are just a way to be updated', 'to hold a PhD. without practical experience is useless', 'it is necessary to add substance to theory', among others.

The academic world is constructed here as an undesirable antagonist almost superseded by the market. Furthermore, not all responses perfectly fit within that framework. There are some instances of questioning that do not achieve the form of a resistance. Those statements could be grouped around one academic's words: *"the market is not ruling everything, there is a gap: the social"* (Academic Business School 4). He was pointing to the neglect of social consequences of managerial practices which, in his terms, are not addressed within formal content. He articulates business practices as a matter of social equity contribution as long as it considers people's emotions and interdependence. For him, teaching at a business school puts too much pressure on results and practical achievements giving no room for further reflections. His isolated endeavor attempts to raise some questionings in order to go beyond narrow frameworks. Moreover, he realized that these kinds of efforts "crash with reality". Similarly, other teachers mentioned the need to incorporate more social science courses within undergraduate syllabus, privilege pedagogical ends against profit limiting the students' places, as well as more emphasis on our local context rather than foreign influences. The question here is whether these propositions pointed to challenge sedimented rationales or, on the contrary, co-opted with them looking for the competitive differentiation through pedagogical innovations.

More dissident voices arise from faculty grouped around the field of social science. Most of them belong to different schools among the same universities; others are sociologists or psychologists in charge of 'soft skills' courses within business schools. They regard themselves as part of that educational practice because they directly teach within business schools or they are in charge of organizational theories' teaching within psychological or sociological schools. Their discontent is evident through my interviews but, as they recognize, it is not reflected in practices. The fact that

Chilean universities are self funded institutions where all students have to pay for their studies affording in that way the institutions performance, is the main difficulty for them. As a consequence, schools must 'sell' their 'services' to those 'passive clients who just seek prestige and social mobility'. In that way pragmatism and consumerism within academic practice are 'unavoidable evils' to work with. Recognizing that there has been a material improvement among Chilean society, they struggle against being 'absorbed' by the system within which teaching could mean a personal 'renouncement to values'. They openly criticize neo-liberalism and the 'hyper-pragmatism' of our society and the lack of questioning within academic practice. From their point of view, academics' career pressures on researching and publishing narrow their practice due to the fact that funding and recognition are being oriented to technical contribution to the mainstream. Opting to raise some criticism within their teaching they face the risk of being devalued by students and colleagues as well as of contributing to the marginalization of their students once they have to 'compete' for job positions.

*"I am feeling like an island, not one of my colleagues share my statements. I think that I am regarded as an extravagance, my students complain about the lack of 'products' within my courses"*

*Sociologist Academic Business School 3*

*"I've been talking with my students. They perceived the risk of being excluded from jobs due to their critical attitude. So I wonder what I am doing as a teacher"*

*Academic Psychology School 1*

Those who are part of business schools tend to 'adapt' their teaching to students requirements trying to disseminate the relevance of advancing technologies supported by 'responsibility and shared criteria'. In other words, they try to enhance the focus on people well-being sustained by their fields as a compensation of the wide relevance of functional approaches. Moreover, from their point of view, business students normally disdain 'soft skills' courses regarding them as commonplace approaches. Talking from social science schools, academics recognize that they

are in a better position to criticize, but an evident lack of articulation of radical standpoints within a capitalist society leave them without strategies:

*"Any vision against neo-liberalism is unapproachable"*

*Psychologist Academic Business School 2*

*"Criticism looks 'nice' but no-one is willing to adopt it"*

*Male Academic Psychology School 1*

*"Progressive approaches are defeated due to their apparent lack of concern about management"*

*Vice Chancellor social science university 2*

*"Criticism and money are incompatible"*

*Female Academic Psychology School 1*

*"Are you trying to put your head in the wolf's mouth?"*

*Director Psychology School 3*

This widespread frustration among social science academics is articulated around the evident triumphalism of neo-liberal approaches among Chilean society and particularly by the 'transformism' of educational practices following a discourse that successfully hides its historical conditions of (im)possibility positioning itself as 'the only way of doing things'.

**The lack of an articulated resistance: one swallow doesn't make a summer**

Now I am in position to tackle my previous questions. What about the reproduction and maintenance of these practices in the face of evident discontent? Why is there no political resistance at all? There are a number of factors that can help to address these questions avoiding commonplaces like 'lawlike forces' or passivity. Furthermore, there is no point in neglecting the relevance of pressures imposed on academic and students through coercion or enforced compliance. Putting pressure on 'devalued' academics, money/support restriction for

'alternative' approaches courses, difficulties on their leading positions applications within schools, lack of facilities in terms of reduced alternative bibliography, or no funding for visiting teachers as well as the second class status of some business schools in comparison with others which strongly focus their endeavors on market demands means that those sporadic and isolated teachers' alternative frameworks followed by few students, which normally do not trespass the boundaries of classrooms, are seen as the only means of (pseudo)resistance. Unfortunately *one swallow doesn't make a summer*.

All these elements of explanation acquire sense and significance against the backdrop of the social logics of pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism. And these, in turn are integrally connected to the perpetuation of neo-liberal paradigms in which they are operative, especially the way these social practices and logics render significant number of academics and students complicit with their dominating aspects.

On the one hand I can hypothesize that the grip of these social logics is linked to the fact that they resonate strongly with the primacy of functionality and effectiveness and the fantasmatic logic that underpins them. The fantasies of effectiveness, of being able to show profitability and competitive advantages against other business schools, strongly resonate with the broader social context in which they operate. In other words, given a wider discursive context in which a culture of instrumentalist consumption and exchange dominates, signifiers which exhibit a clearly positive valence for subjects like 'quality', 'professionalism', 'education', 'knowledge' or 'excellence' are suitably rearticulated to better resonate with the market ethos. Thus 'functionality' and 'knowledge' are no longer presented as different, antithetical, or simply autonomous in this discourse of consumer ideals or individual contributions. Lecturers and students do tend to see themselves predominantly as sellers of labour or purchasers of products, in which the value of their skills and talents is taken to be a product of their individual efforts and virtues.

I have also identified a logic of elitism as capturing those discursive patterns which, in the self-interpretations of actors, reinforce specific forms of social privilege and differentiation. They are logics which are not simply reflected in university settings, but also in labour markets. These elitist logics of social hierarchy and privilege tend to reinforce and exacerbate existing class,

socioeconomic and networking patterns among society. It is not surprising, then, that social science academics often bear an ambivalent and complicitous relation to that market conditioning. They have been traditionally related to relegating and bringing into disdain political *qua* leftists understanding of academia, so their attempts at critiquing could give rise to feelings of frustration and resentment which, in turn acts as a blockage on their intention to resist. The successful capitalist revolution carried out by our former dictatorship and their neo-liberal allies drew a political frontier that enabled them to disseminate managerialist approaches to business education. By drastically erasing any trace of our former social organization and demonizing democratic, collectivist and political standpoints as leftists enemies of modernization, neo-liberals supporters among business academia facilitate the process by which those mentioned key signifiers were detached from their former signified and rearticulated to reinforce market-friendly equivalences. Moreover, that social scientists' dislocation before the political frontiers established by logics of equivalence allows key terms to acquire the status of floating signifiers – signifiers that for relevant subjects are no longer fixed to a particular meaning. Once detached their identity is just partially stabilized by hegemonic attempts allowing the establishment of a chain of differences. Those chains of differences would open the room for critical approaches.

### **Normative Critique: the counter-logic of liberation.**

As soon as social logics are at the forefront dominating the social space of business educational practices its reproduction runs without any trace of public contestation. Dislocations mentioned earlier have been processed privately and informally through the 'off the records' complaints from social science academics involved in those practices. Alternatively, some of them have 'coped' alone with dislocation by including some critical standpoints within their courses which don't go beyond the boundaries of their classrooms. Fantasmatic logics surrounding business educations keep political dimensions at bay obscuring the radical contingency of social reality. Assertions like '*any vision against neo-liberalism is unapproachable*' or '*the critique does not pay attention to reality*' come from by these social science academics complicit in the *there is no alternative* fantasy sustaining the natural primacy of market as social regulator. Therefore, their dislocatory complaining has been operating just in the interstices of these official institutions.

The key point for questions of normative critique centres on the grounds for publicly contesting the norms and practices of an institution or way of living (Glynnos & Howarth, 2007). Normative critique within the rationale of this thesis is premised on my re-articulation of liberation presented in chapter 2. The liberation concept has a long tradition within radical Latin American philosophy; although it has been instantiated mainly on resistance battles against Latin American colonization from Northern influences traced back to the very *invention* of Latina America as such, my developments attempt to go beyond these historical and political contingencies.

Liberation as it is reactivated here points out an oppressive relationship articulated from an abrupt and forced imposition of alien rationalities which have shaped and determined the identification (im)possibilities of local depositaries. The coloniality of knowledge is a means of control that disguises Latin America's subordinate condition in order to guarantee its silence, as if almost forced to accept the image of itself which it sees in the mirror of its masters (Ibarra-Colado, 2006). By silencing, even erasing, our history these devices have subjugated it mainly local supporters pretending, on the contrary, their exaltation. In other words, a liberation attempt would aspire to de-centre the (privileged) identity of our local neo-liberal supporters stressing their points of differentiation with those to externally impose that rationale, namely foreign supporters of managerialism. Differently, our liberation attempt would encourage the construction of a chain of equivalences with those who in turn foreign managerialists have tried to subjugate, meaning local people.

*"The object of this coloniality is to turn us into 'modern', that is, to detach us from our Latin American condition and from our capacity for autonomous thought and remake us into fake citizens of the world represented by the stereotype of the international American businessman" (Ibarra-Colado, 2006: 470)*

This articulation is inscribed within the principles and values of radical and plural democracy advanced by Laclau and Mouffe (see Laclau and Mouffe, 2004; Mouffe 1992, 1993, 2000). Their main statements on those matters enhance the rejection of privileged point of rupture and the struggle concentration within a unified political space, stating, differently, the acceptance of plurality and indetermination of the social. Both are the bases for the construction of a new political imaginary radically free (Laclau & Mouffe, 2004 pg 194). This normative vantage point

enables me, as a researcher, to project alternative values and ideals into my object of study to assist in the production of a fuller critical explanation.

### Critical local (im)possibilities

In order to illustrate and elaborate the critical aspect of my logic of explanation, the business educational practice of Chile, I will return to the critical evaluation of the dominant social logics that I identified in the educational context. Considering the logic of pragmatism with which I captured and contextualized the utility and practicality patterns of educational practices, at least as they manifest themselves through the self-interpretations of academics and students, I start assuming that academics and students do tend to see themselves as producers and consumers, respectively, of knowledge and skill commodities. Academics manifest themselves as being mainly focussed on rendering their deliveries on tangible success indicators for both their students and the companies; on the other side, students demand technical tools that facilitate their future professional practice and status achievement; both endeavors are operating within a market context that emphasizes quantitative indicators as measures of results. I assume here that this social logic constitutes a dominant norm that is worthy of public contestation. Moreover, while it is true that the social dimension of this educational practice is at the forefront, it does not mean that the political dimension is necessarily totally foreclosed from view. Differently, there are some academics and students who constitute themselves and their skills in another way, and there are academics and students who are capable of envisioning themselves differently.

This research's articulation allows the projection into my objects of study of counter-logic of liberation in order to serve as a critical counter-point to the belief that the logic of pragmatism is necessary and inevitable. With this logic I can gather together those (latent and manifest) discursive patterns that in the self-interpretations of actors tend to situate their institutions, themselves, and their attributes in a wider social context.

*"As I said to you, well, this discourse, this ideology, it is a dissociate discourse.*

*On the one hand, it states that people are the most important issue within organizations, but on the other hand, when all these management fads are grounded in reality they are no more than a form of government, they are the*

*representation of a political system that tyrannizes, that subjugates, that is...ehhhh at the very end it is a government very close to a dictatorship"*

*Sociologist Academic Business School 3*

I can also point to the strong belief among many academics that business practice is not just technical issues oriented to pre-conceived ends, which stand in contrast to those social logics that functions to bracket ideological closures. Thence, I would like to affirm the idea of philosophically and politically informed set of research and teaching practices that ought not to be homogenized in the name of one model of business school. Meanwhile, counter-logic of liberation are still constructed loosely and abstractly, prescribing in this sense only a minimal normative content; it can still point to a Latin American philosophical tradition as a contextualized rationale for the alternative impulse in the self-understanding of actors themselves. There are thus discursive resources available to people, even if only in protean form, to articulate their varied experiences of dislocation in an alternative normative direction. (Dussel 2006)

Practically speaking, if it is accepted that in the context of business schools in Chile, the social logic of pragmatism tends to provide fertile ground for the operation of the social logic of consumerism because the more social practices are constituted as functional and effective technologies, the more scope there is for the logic of consumerism to take hold. Therefore, the counter-logic of liberation can have the effect of weakening or contesting it, or at least make it visible.

*"It is very difficult to set a proactive human-oriented context within teamwork formations. People within those kinds of places do not rely on us and immediately they try to move to a productive context where the value is put on results rather than processes. They have congratulated me when the results were blue<sup>7</sup>, not when the processes were blue"*

*Director Psychology School 3*

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<sup>7</sup> A metaphor that comes from finance in which profits are represented by numbers written with blue ink, on the contrary losses are represented by numbers in red.



If put together, a view that stresses the values of plurality, community and otherness can provide grounds for reflecting critically about the self-complicit identity of local managers which mimics the foreign Caucasian, male, liberal, upper-class and heterosexual managers' identity that struggles to accurately represent the Latin American population. On the contrary, local population conformations are full of indigenous, black, mestizos and other races as well as different political positions and religious faiths which just play the role of the 'deviated other' who needs to be 'managed' in order to achieve foreign definitions of development. The social logic of consumerism which reinforces the material acquisition of skills and qualifications, fantasmatically promises to open the doors of that privileged club through the dress of a worldwide businessman. However, the counter-logics of liberation suggests the possibility to consider the 'outside' and 'otherness' as categories fabricated by the foreign hegemony stimulating of considering Latin America's image rescuing its own practices and ways of being from the imposed silence.

*"I think that young people arrive here thinking 'I can be a hero of our economical development'. I think that they arrive with this fantasy; they think that they are going to receive a status, a passport. Also, I think that this is a fantasy of immunity, of being there touched by something fantastic which is going to be materialized naturally"*

*Sociologist Academic Business School 3*

In emphasizing the local tradition of collective organization virtually absent from Northern conceptualizations which enhance the individual focus of management, I can also make visible the different ways in which the logic of individualism and elitism hierarchically articulate the practice of organizations and particularly the practice of business schools. The counter-logic of liberation and no-domination thus become viable and normatively attractive options in this context. At this point it is worth mentioning that counter-logic is not just pure projection since it exists in an incipient form in the self-interpretations of some academics who often complain against the individualistic and heroic demands on local managers and teachers themselves.

*"From this point of view, critical organizational practices should not be individualistic practices, because we have had no individualistic organizational practices, (for example the 'ollas communes'<sup>8</sup>). This is a story hardly documented; their motto was 'all of us or none'"*

#### *Male Academic Psychology School 1*

These normative options could then receive support and open them up, via articulatory practice, to existing normative theories of local pluralism, democracy and justice.

### **Ethical Critique**

There is a second feature of critique within the boundaries of my chosen methodological framework; this aspect is an ethical one. The ethical aspect of critique is closely linked with the notion of radical contingency. It focuses on the way in which subjects identify with a practice or regime, whether new or old. Within a logic of explanation two dimensions could be contrasted, namely the ethical and the ideological dimensions of a practice or regime, where the former relates to its constitutive openness to the radical contingency of things, and the latter to a complicity in concealing the lack at the heart of social relations (Glynnos & Howarth, 2007). Coming back to my discussion of the neo-liberal attempts in Chile, a relevant question before this project is related to the way in which its proponents and supporters dogmatically identify with the free market as the *only* solution to that entire social and political crisis. Consequently, the demands for a 'free market' became an ideological panacea – invoking the logic of fantasy – for structuring university and business education practices which arguably resist this form of social organization.

Being loyal to the ethos of logic of a critical explanation as such, I have to forefront that the ethical dimension has a lexical priority over the normative one. This means that my normative stances are always relative to the ultimate contingency of social relations and practices, in other words, the norms and ideals that I project into the objects of study are intrinsically contingent, contestable and revisable (see Glynnos & Howarth, 2007).

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<sup>8</sup> Literally translated as 'common pots', Chilean marginal communities form of organization in which the share of food helped to cope with scarcity and starving.

My previous developments in this chapter point out the apparent lack of resistance to the neo-liberal approach of management education as a way of illustrating the role of logic in generating explanations. Starting from the logic of pragmatism presented as the triumph of functionality and effectiveness over political approaches implies that the very recourse to critique is rendered less likely.

*"It is about a very aseptic thought, and please don't involve political aspects, this is a technical/economic rationality with no consideration for its implications. Well, to just enter into that field is risky, I am not willing to include it within my teaching; just because I have talked about emotions I've received bad evaluations from my students."*

*Sociologist Academic Business School 3*

*"What really concerns me about those works (critical work) is that they do not communicate it properly. Their works are less rigorous and sometimes are just opinions, very politically biased; something like Castro versus Bush, and this is complicated because they are very oblique. I think that those topics could be treated in cleaner way, more systematically.....I'm not denying an ideological component, but it is necessary to remove the political emotions from it."*

*Academic Business School 3*

As I have developed above some complaints do emerge, but the forums and structures for constructing and expressing them are less than weak. For example, academics may feel that the purposes of universities are changing, especially under the influence of wider market discourses in which the logics of pragmatism and consumerism are prominent. In that way, the logic of individualism in which one self chooses and is responsible for her own career path appears to be making professional life difficult for those who resist its underlying drives. For their point of view, effectiveness and measurability imperatives generate anti-political tendencies marginalizing the qualitative and contestable dimensions of social science research and teaching within management education. My own application for a place within a local business school is an

example of that resistance. Although they were looking for an academic to teach organizational and human resource studies, traditionally in charge of social science here, my interviewers, current business schools academics, stated some doubts about my degree in psychology and suggested my involvement through formal trainee on 'harder topics' like finance or economy. They wondered, and even asked me, what my contribution to a department full of business postgraduate academics would be. Thus, political logics of equivalence and difference have been deployed in order to draw strict frontiers between managerialistic approaches to business education and social science standpoints, which at the same time stress the resemblances between pragmatism and consumerism with higher education.

Fantasies of success and failure, triumph and defeat, are also important by offering reasons why it may be difficult to destabilize established social logics. In other words, neo-liberal supporters would embody the pride of being responsible for the country's recovery through its relevant insertion within the global concert, against the old-fashioned leftist social scientists who are insisting on outmoded political attempts to problems that just require practical solutions. This vision is even reinforced by the sociopolitical situation of the country in which post-dictatorial governments lead by centre and socialists' politicians have complied in maintaining the economical model in spite of some other political changes (Moulian, 2002, Austin, 2004). Therefore, as general view neo-liberal paradigms are still the best solutions in place. Once this assemblage of logics has managed to become sedimented firmly in the academic arena, it requires complex counter-hegemonic work to experience something different. Without major dislocatory events this will be the perfect shelter for those who support and sustain the hegemonic power.

The ethical aspect of critique is revealed here through the voices that intend to raise the historical conditions of (im)possibility of neo-liberal project for higher education highlighting that this set of solutions was just one within others that were crushed by the dictatorship's powers. The counter logic of liberation, as a proposition, is a discursive tool that would allow the historical memory's recovery through the relevance of the geopolitical space as a place of enunciation. Before a discourse that is busy 'telling us how to do things', counter-logic of liberation seeks to articulate the need for 'listening' to the other, and particularly to 'the other' that inhabits within us. Articulated

differently, to stop 'repeating' what others say and to start listening to our own voice. This is liberation, again.

*"It is my impression that it is necessary to create rooms for listening, among workers for example. There are no listening rooms, actually it is forbidden. Training interventions have attractive names, but they are not reflexive at all. Even here at the University, any time that undergraduate students try to state critical contents they hit against the 'tigers' of the mediocre postgraduate', who privilege market options".*

*Director Psychology School 3*

*"I think that we have to listen again, to listen to our silenced history. Maybe it could empower critical organization practices"*

*Male Academic Psychology School 1*

As I have said earlier, my analysis attributes a certain centrality to the social logic of consumerism and the relations of passivity and dependence which underpin it. One implication of this is to sound a cautionary note as it regards progressive demands, such as Critical Management Studies, which are articulated on the primacy of centre/colonizers predicaments.

Contrary to this, Critical Management Studies regarded as an empty signifier is thus a means of representation that enables the welding together of internal differences, while simultaneously showing the limits of the group identity and its dependence on the opposition to other groups. That is to say, it suggests we pause before accepting foreign critical understandings as the only one response again. Although they are widely concerned about the alienated other as a consequence of the unquestionable spreading of managerial paradigms, their other is not our other. Our concern is not about the(ir) other, our concern is about our otherness: o(ur)therness. Liberation again.

## Conclusions

The general theme of this chapter has been my articulation of the assemblage of social, political and fantasmatic logics and their underlying theoretical framework which addressed the neo-liberal project deployed in Chile since 1973 and its ideological transformation of local higher management education. This involved a drastic change from a publicly base system to a market-driven one entailing the managerial understanding of both its contents and its delivering. My involvement with that practice, through the vicissitudes of my research, allowed me the articulation of the already developed social, political and fantasmatic logics as an explanatory framework for it.

What was problematized here was the apparent lack of political resistance to that managerialist understanding of business education. My proposition articulated a set of explanatory hypotheses by the assemblage of social logics of pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism social logics, as well as the description of political and fantasmatic logics sustaining their primacy and the prevention of critique. The normative stance of my proposition was constructed on the basis of the inspirations of Latin American radical philosophical theories of liberation. Liberation as a re-articulated concept could help to shed light over the foreign and imposed character of managerialist approaches stressing, on the other hand, the need of a dislocatory event inspired by the local and our own identity enunciations. As a final proposition, my research would like to conceptualize Critical Management as an empty signifier open to different and competing instantiations, an unfinished process which in turn mobilizes the soul of radical democracies.

## Chapter 8 Conclusions

### Introduction

In the final chapter the following sections aim to provide a final reflection and a coherent overview of the themes and debates explored in the thesis. By having in mind a personal question about the status of affairs within Chilean management educational practices and its critical possibilities, I engaged in the exploration of its historical and social conditions of (im)possibilities against the backdrop of the Critical Management Studies field, Critical Management Education fields stream as well as the traditional Latin American radical philosophy. In order to make sense of these themes and debates I informed my research by the theoretical developments of Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory which played the role of both general framework and methodological inspiration.

This chapter is divided into four sections and a conclusion which, in turn, are the resulting work of the contribution of previous chapters as a whole. The first section is devoted to Critical Management Studies and Critical Management Education as current articulators of dissent. As we have seen in the Northern academic management literature, both streams have developed a relevant effort in denouncing the narrowness of traditional management as a field and the negative and oppressive consequences of its practice. Although I recognize its contribution to the field, and the insights which really motivated my own research, I attempted to challenge their achievements problematizing their lack of public contestation beyond academic groups as well as their neglect on 'Other' radical inspirations apart from the European philosophical tradition.

The second topic addresses the silence of Latin America within Critical Management Studies. The Other is the concept that articulates our own geopolitical place of enunciation. Through the re-visitation of our radical philosophical tradition I engaged on a re-articulation of the notion of liberation as a normative proposition for the subsequent enlightenment on a local critical response before managerialist indoctrinations.

The third section approaches current Chilean management education as an empirical illustration of these previous debates making sense of its very constitution, reproduction and im/possible resistances through the contextualized self-understanding of its key actors (including myself in my double role of researcher and peripheral participant).

Finally, I devoted the fourth section to a reflection about discourse theory contribution of my work and, subsequently, to the emergent field of Latin American organizational research.

But I have to mention that these 'conclusions' are far from being conclusive. Although I am trying to summarize, for my readers and for me, the main articulations of my work, I recognize that the debates that I intended to grasp had a long history and, of course, it does not intend to be the final word on this issue. I hope I have moved forward on the challenging task of exposing our Latin American reality and in doing so, stimulated further reflection and research.

### **CMS and CME as critical articulators.**

This thesis claims that CMS and CME lack public contestation as well as neglect sources of inspiration different from Northern philosophies. Problematizing the dissent role of CMS and CME within this thesis has involved a discursive approach which aimed to unravel the meaning and practical scope of its critical endeavours.

Since 1992, CMS has deployed a fruitful debate among North American and European academic scholars attempting to contest advanced capitalism within western societies problematizing its homogeneous, harmonic and teleological version of society. Nowadays, in their 'teens', and despite their apparent general agreement, Critical Management Studies is crossed by passionate disputes in an attempt to make its core meanings hegemonic. Targeting the so called 'mainstream management', CMS has posed its challenge in response to the wide expansion of management knowledge. Their critics are mainly oriented to the commercial logic and the positivist formulation of knowledge, which are hegemonizing



management current dissemination that would prevent alternative ways of conceiving organization and business. During its short academic history, CMS has been struggling with the formalization of its principles, in other words, attempting to define accurately what "critical" means within this context.

As I have discussed, two main streams have been formalized through publications, conferences and academic conversations, the European and the North American version of CMS, and both have set out their own understanding of critical management. The 'European' signifier attempts to capture and enhance its closeness with European Critical Thinking as their main source of inspiration. Fournier & Grey's (2000) formulation developed a critical understanding built around three main threads: Reflexivity, Anti-performativity and De-naturalization as a degree of coherence among different critical statements. Their explicit intention was to formulate a series of remarks which constitute a ground that aims to group a large variety of different theoretical and political positions in a flexible way, as well as a definition of some boundaries which separate CMS from mainstream, orthodox and managerialist positions (Grey 2005). On the other hand, the CMS-IG, the North American nomenclature, has stated their principles through their explicit domain statement published in their web page<sup>1</sup>. Commenting on this 'mission statement', Paul Adler (2002) delimited this definition as their understanding of the term critical. He emphasized their openness to any critical view from a broad range of theoretical standpoints and with no particular preferences for Critical Theory principles summarizing the 'spirit' of their statement as a "*combination of left values and post-positivist methodologies*".

In support of those who have stated that CMS shows an evident lack of impact among management practices (Parker 2002, Grey 2005), I have sustained that its claims remain captive within a particular western/northern academic arena, with little impact on different geopolitical scenarios. With Laclau and Mouffe I have argued that the way in which CMS has stated its position has divided the ground of management into two contradictory camps,

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<sup>1</sup> <http://group.aomonline.org/cms/About/Domain.htm> (August 2006)

namely mainstream and critical, which finally is impeding a new articulation which would politically contest the sedimented hegemony.

On the other hand, the internal disputes within CMS, have been forefronting a logic of difference which weakens this precarious antagonism displacing the conflict between CMS and mainstream to the margins of the discourse. In an attempt to supersede these internal discussions, Grey (2005) called for the development of just 'one voice'. In my opinion, this has trapped their endeavours within a totalization of the equivalential logic, which encapsulates these contradictory camps within an academic arena with no public impact as public contestation. Thus, their pluralities have been subsumed under a permanent search of agreement that has built frontiers which have excluded meanings rather than subverting them.

My analysis suggested certain signifiers or linguistic expressions like reflexivity, denaturalization, anti-performativity, and even critical management better function as names that stand in for the absent fullness of a dislocated community. As such, they are metaphors with no corresponding facts –moments of naming in a radical sense. On the contrary they strive to represent the failure of a signifying system or language. Laclau calls these kinds of signifiers 'empty signifiers'. I proposed that CMS, instead of being regarded as an oppositional stance against orthodoxy in management, should be conceived as an *empty signifier*.

By recuperating plurality as a political stance in which competing meanings struggle for their hegemonization, I articulated that the antagonism between CMS and mainstream is not a struggle between positivities, but a subversion game which never achieved totality. Therefore, CMS as an empty signifier should be the place for a plurality of antagonisms that could go beyond sedimented and orthodoxal (northern) accounts of critiques and resistance. My proposition is that the very terms of 'critical' and 'resistance' should always be revisited within the understanding that there is no foundational knowledge, theoretical, cultural or political tradition that exhausts its themes. Within CMS, critique and resistance

have been constituted so far as a universal emancipatory need, but what is critical and what is resistance beyond this northern/western articulation of CMS remains silent.

The situation of critical management education.

Critical Management Education, as a branch of CMS, has oriented its endeavours to state that management education as a field is far from an unproblematic practice. They aimed to challenge conventional understandings of ME; to enhance the relationship between ME and social, historical and political aspects; to raise pedagogical concerns about contents and methods; to highlight the relationship of ME with management research and practice and to exploring its potential for critical and emancipatory thinking. Thus management education is perceived as the place and the way in which critical orientations can challenge the hegemony of traditional management conceptions, and hopefully achieve a considerable degree of political influence. All these theoretical and academic debates inspired my research focused in management education as the case that I explored.

My work attempted to point out the political significance of management education within the broader articulation of management as a practice. I suggested that management education is a signifier which constitutes a particular structuring of work, schooling and political agenda of education relating to a bureaucratic and managerial conception of social reality. Following the insights of Discourse Theory, I looked upon management education as a particular moment within certain discourses from which it acquires its identity. In other words, management education would lack a definitive foundation apart or previous to the particular discursive formation in which is taking place.

### *Managerialist and educational/critical discourses of management education*

My approach considered management education as a contestable terrain shaped by the dispute of two different wider discourses which have antagonized its meaning, namely managerialist and educational/critical discourses. Both formations are competing for hegemonizing meanings among management education identity and its practice.

The constitution of the managerialist approach is what makes the condition of possibility for the current and dominant practice of management education within western societies. Within the rationale of my research, the managerialist approach should be seen as an accomplishment that is, as a social construction, reflecting certain exercises of power. The key signifiers associated with a managerialist understanding of management education, according to the historical account that I presented, enhanced the role of management as a technical profession, management education as a vocational/professional endeavour and management faculty as vocationally oriented teachers and trainers (Bridgman 2004). The rational, technical and scientific approach for management knowledge, management learning and management practice has been the way to sustain and develop social power. The latter means that management based upon expertise would be in the most effective position to define what the organizational situation requires, and provides an ethical basis for organizational authority.

Managerial and technical approaches to management education have been strongly contested by different positions which seek to enhance the educational and even the critical role that this practice should play. Those debates, sustaining different approaches about what education should be, have been questioning the provision for vocational preparation of the workforce and the role of the higher education system in that task. This concern particularly affects business schools which have been largely constituted as vocational sites. CME critics argue that the question about relevance within business schools has been answered mainly by the market rather than by faculty.

I drew on Thomas and Anthony's (1996) account to address these concerns wondering about the educational side of management education. Their work suggested that education must involve knowledge and understanding and not simply the mastery of skills. More relevant, education should presuppose the awareness of learners that they are engaged in an educational endeavour and having some freedom of thought and action in its pursuits. Thomas and Anthony's analysis stated that some strategies have been deployed in order to differentiate the work of educators of managers and that of actual managers. Relevant to my

work was their insistence on focusing in what managers are, rather than the techniques that they would need in order to perform their work. Thus, the focus of an educational glance for business education would not be the practice of management, but the relationships of power which they reveal (Ibid, pg 28). The academics who are currently working within this particular stream look towards contributing towards an understanding of social relationships and power in organizations mainly inspired by critical theories and post modernism. Their work aims to challenge sedimented managerial approaches, and thus, opens room for what has been known as critical education.

In 1995, Grey and Mitev's polemic claimed for the necessary contestation to the instrumental and unquestioned teaching that sustains traditional managerialist management education. Critical reflection, the main nodal point of CME, has received the heritage of both critical pedagogy tradition and insights of Critical Theory (Perriton, 2004). The application of reflection to experience in order to challenge the hidden assumptions with the subsequent expectation of social transformation, intertwined with the 'consciousness-raising' focus of a non-hierarchical relationship between teacher and student give sense and content to that nodal point. Thus, CME differentiated itself from the 'banking model' of traditional management education where the reproduction of self-declared neutral and a-political contents hegemonizes the practice.

Moreover, CME has not been far from self criticism raised from its very core proponents, I tackled in the case against critical reflection, as Perriton (2004) labelled it, which attempted to question its central role as the rationale and the method of CME as well as its short sightedness behind its self-declared unproblematic response to a problematic practice. In her terms, what has been neglected was the apparent necessity of an indoctrination process which gave ground for the subsequent criticality; a process that would normally be delivered within the 'banking' framework that this very practice is trying to destabilise. Elsewhere, Perriton and Reynolds (2004) challenged the limitations of traditional critical pedagogy embodied by CME due to its absence of reflexivity towards the social dynamics of the classroom, especially in relation to the tutor role. Closely linked to this aspect is the universal

aspiration of emancipatory attempts which are presented as natural and widely consented propositions for democracy; in that way, it is that idea of 'universality' which sustains the insistence in configuring the manager as a 'victim' and the educator as their privileged 'emancipator'.

A re-visitation of those critiques from the rationale of Discourse Theory helped me in articulating management practice and management education as dislocated identities by the presence of antagonist discourses, in this particular case, critical discourses that are struggling to construct new nodal points and therefore new opportunities of identification for its subjects. I wrote that the role and challenges of the critical educator would be better understood within this dislocatory attempt rather than just as the prosecution of an emancipatory ideal. In other words, I have said that critical educators are not privileged agents in charge of consciousness raising in others, as a banking indoctrination in criticality would suggest; in my view they are dislocated subjects endeavouring to re-centre their own contextual structure and their own identifications. By drawing political frontiers, they are attempting to suture some floating signifiers which no longer fit to hegemonized meanings. Consequently, I re-visited the universal pretension to emancipatory ideals within critical pedagogy. My contribution stated that the critical pedagogy monologue sustaining CME ideologically sutures radical possibilities for it, transforming that subversion in a new form of indoctrination which neglects the contingent feature of all social practices, and obscures the unevenness dimension essential to any dislocation. The predominance of a perennial logic of equivalence has divided the scope between managerialist and emancipatory approaches for management education which has stimulated the presence of a fantasy in which the former, as internal enemy, would be blocking the identity of the latter promising the arrival of an harmonic totality.

Finally, I challenged Perriton and Reynolds' recasting of Pedagogy of Emancipation as to Pedagogy of Refusal. They used the metaphor of a 'colonizer who refuses', in order to grasp the widely disseminated feeling of being a purveyor of radical ideas within management while taking a wage in return for legitimizing the managerial classes through education. For me the

'fourth wave' of critical management education that they proposed should not only encourage the plurality of theoretical rationale behind a diverse corpus of critical educators; but also, it should spearhead the political involvement of a diverse corpus of agents within management education practices where management educators are just one more agent. In that way, *'the conflicted role the CM educators in the colonizing structures of management'*<sup>2</sup> should consider re-positioning of them(our)selves as (im)possible oppressed of both mainstream and critical traditions and thus, subjects of dislocation. Hence, the critical educator is not the privileged agent of change any more; the real possibilities for social transformation would depend on the proliferation of multiple social change agents, multiple dislocations and multiple antagonisms. It is the very experience of dislocation of any critical educator, as over-determined experience, that could help to construct resistance. From here I would recast the Pedagogy of Refusal as the Pedagogy of Dislocation.

### **Questions about our own place of enunciation.**

One of the main challenges of my research pointed to the need of new approaches for what has been regarded as a critical position within management studies. As I have said, CMS, and CME's considerations and theoretical inspirations are still mainly based on Eurocentric and North American philosophical points of view. Even though their explicit concern about silent voices within management, the cultural, political and historical context of Latin America still claims for a specific consideration.

Latin-American thinking has had an exogenous and changing character strongly dependant on European and North American influences. The question about whether or not a proper Latin American philosophy exists has been the nodal point of L.A. Philosophy's debates. The argument has been constructed around the question of whether Latin America is developing its own productions or, on the contrary, they are just adapting foreign frameworks to analyze and make sense of its social and historical processes. Leopoldo Zea's (1989) assertion *"we live in a world that already exists"* implies the very identity of Latin America, and its

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<sup>2</sup> Perriton & Reynolds 2004: 74

inhabitants, exist as a result of an external designation. Mignolo (2007) has asserted that America was never a continent to discover, but an *invention* forged during the process of European colonial history and the expansion of western ideas and institutions. Therefore, Latin America, as a name and as an identity, entails subordination as an ontological element of constitution.

As a contestation, our sub continental affairs have been raised by the 'liberation' utopia embedded in the Theology of Liberation (Gutierrez 1971), Psychology of Liberation (Martín Baró 1998), Pedagogy of Liberation (Freire, 2000) and the Philosophy of Liberation (Dussel, 1980). It is that concept of liberation, that criss-crosses our local thinking, upon which I concentrated my research endeavours, deciding to focus my analysis on Paulo Freire and Enrique Dussel's major contributions addressing liberation as an emancipatory ideal for Latin America as cultural communities.

Both authors share the emphasis on revisiting historical processes in order to identify the conditions of possibility for our current position as oppressed, and as a consequence, state that liberation is our way of articulating Latin American resistance. Their proposition can legitimately be understood as a response to the colonization problem for Latin American people. However, the initial formulation of a theoretical response to that issue may be in certain ways problematic for the purposes and framework of my work which motivated my attempt to disclose their essentialist form of reasoning as well as their being ensnared in a reductionist framework. My aim of deconstruction in this regard was to lay bare any ambiguity or exclusion presented by liberation concepts as they were developed by the chosen authors.

Appealing to Laclau (2005) it was possible to sustain that their conception of the poor/oppressed is rooted in the limitation of the ontological tools available for political analysis in those times. As I have mentioned, both authors group under the name of 'oppressed' all Latin American poor people which they homologated with marginal, peasant and low classes as synonymous. The oppressed are constituted against the 'oppressor' label



which embodies the same foreign colonizers, wealthy people and local oligarchies. Liberation discourses so far, were strongly embedded within a dichotomy such as people versus oligarchy or oppressed versus oppressor. With Laclau (2005) I stated that these dichotomies imply a simplification of the political space, in other words, all social singularities tend to group themselves around one or the other poles of the dichotomy, assuming that labelled groups have a positive existence per se, a priori to any discursive formation. A traditional reading of liberation texts makes it possible to regard the historical conditions of possibility of Latin American oppressed, as a 'natural' consequence of a colonizing determinist process which shapes the very identity of the poor. As well as a pretended closed identity, liberation's current conceptualization of oppressed implies a teleological definition of their aims, considering it as the fulfilment of the 'real humanization'. In that way, oppressed liberation movements have been relegated to a mere epiphenomenal level where the only things that could be problematized about are the social *contents*, class and the poor, which these oppressions express. Questions about the *form* of these 'liberations' became redundant meaning that any other political alternative has been excluded. My statement is that not only poor people could be regarded as oppressed within current Latin America affairs, and particularly within the height of managerial discourses among our current social practices. Liberation attempts are still meaningful for our cultures, but a widening subversion of their contents and forms appear necessary today. In other words, its particular embodiment may be overdetermined by other forms of struggle.

My analysis attempted to overcome the assumption that liberation was the sort of mobilization of an *already* constituted group, that is, as the expression (epiphenomenon) of a social reality different from itself. On the contrary, I regarded the 'oppressed' as a relation between social agents where this very relationship constitutes them as a group. Far from an 'oppressed' identity, which was just the ideological expression of the a priori Latin American identity, 'oppressed' becomes a political category. It is not just a datum of the social structure any more. The aim of my genealogy of liberation was the proposition of a new agency out of a plurality of heterogeneous elements.

Within my analysis, oppression as the locus for the said liberation claims, would exceed the frontier between peripheral and marginalized poor and the foreign colonizer oppressor as such, involving new political frontiers which re-embrace oppression constituting it as a different sort of relationship between new social agents. I articulated liberation as a resistance response facing a new form of oppression within current Latin American affairs; or, in other words, a new form of colonization: colonization through managerial discourses. By radicalizing the meaning of oppression formerly essentialized as the feature of the poor, I attempted to inscribe its very experience beyond the particularities of that social agent. Oppression, meaning the relationship that constitutes a colonized Latin American antagonized by a foreign (northern-western) colonizer, is not exhausted by the poor's identity claim.

Along with the main criticism raised by CMS, I sustained that managerial discourse has colonized almost all spheres of our current way of life constituting a precondition for an organized society, for social progress and economic growth. Mainstream managerial discourses, which offer the greatest desire of being part of the First World, push us to pursue its ideals, pretending that these ideals are ours, and pretending, as well, that we already have the tools to succeed, through hard work, in a society that is presented as essentially meritocratic. As its former predecessors, mainstream management invites us to 'act what others think' dangerously disguised as a neutral and democratic attempt which presents itself as 'the end of the history'. Within this new form of colonization, Latin Americans are still colonized, but what I wanted to emphasize is a new form of oppression. This is the oppression of every single Latin American which supports dominating discourses unaware of our own participation within reproductive practices. This 'new oppressed' is not the poor as per usual, on the contrary, we are 'privileged Latin Americans' who have access to managerial education and job positions. This is more so a marginalized position that 'failed' in identifying themselves as 'the other', co-opting with a logic that promises a success which never arrives. We are marginal now not only because of our material poverty or our economical dependency, we are now oppressed due to our philosophical/theoretical poverty and our educational dependency. Both sorts of poverties are embedded in our reproduction

and repetition of foreign contents, the managerial ideology fully presented in our management education curriculum. I explored the possibility of an oppressive relationship that constitutes a 'new other'. This new other shares with former ones a marginalized position in this world 'that already exists' but it is an "other" that has co-opted with the system that marginalized them. My 'new oppressed' is a large group of Latin Americans to which I belong. All of us, educated within a foreign understanding of doing business, and consequently, organizing our social life; all of us, embracing management as a promise of development failing in recognizing our secondary position. My invitation here has been to construct this new other and from this understanding in turn build the path of our liberation.

### **Pragmatist victory? Chilean management education.**

My analysis was oriented to explore what is supposed to be the objective reality of what management education in Chile is, and how it is organised and delivered. Within the theoretical background of my thesis this endeavour meant to engaging in a dialogue with this particular discursive formation in which different signifiers (management, education, critical, student, school of business, etc) were articulated in signified chains, which constituted these terms as obvious and evident objects (identities) of a wider (social) reality that in turn posed what reality itself is. I put into question how the signifier 'management education' was articulated as a 'natural' embodiment of the new social order in Chile, particularly the unquestioned practice which produces and reproduces the values that currently hegemonizes our societal life and supports our participation in the so called globalization.

As many scholars have stated, the political, economics and cultural changes that Pinochet's government imposed over our society could be regarded as *revolutionary* (Brunner 1981, Drake & Jaksic 1999, Moulian 2002, Tironi 1985). Revolutionary because that experience transformed Chile into a particular phenomenon of a neo-liberalism attempt, the so-called *Chilean model* (Drake & Jacksic 1999). By the end of the 1970s, people began to talk about the 'Chilean miracle'. The Chicago Boys' promised society was now in place, which was strongly linked with the desire of accumulation and maximising economic gains. After the

Dictatorship ended, the inauguration of the "democracy of consensus" in Chile never transgressed those values. One of the fundamental conditions of that democratic consensus was the autonomy of the economic sphere in order to protect itself from contingent political changes.

From their powerful positions in the military government as well as the main Universities and without any political opposition, the Chicago Boys set out to organize the country under their technocratic/managerial discourse and market principles embodied by a new power elite: expert managers (Imas, 2005). These market principles insisted on the right of private property, the non-interventionist nature of the state and the domination of market forces through privatisation and liberalisation of the economy. Hereafter, management education has been installed in Chile as a technical means to achieve that desirable social position. Furthermore, management education in Chile has not been problematized at all and is presented as the solution (or satisfaction) to a 'demand', which has emanated from the naturalization of the managerial discourse among Chilean organizations and society. I argued that this natural response is concreted through the 'importation and assimilation of MBA education primarily from the USA' which is shaping our local delivery of postgraduate and undergraduate business education. Chilean management education constructed a stable system of objectivities, identities and meanings that appear as natural or inevitable, sustained on the assumption that what the business school 'is' becomes common sense or taken-for-granted.

Business education in Chile, reflections about pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism.

My involvement within business educational practice in Chile through my role of researcher allowed me to hypothesize the functioning of four social logics that could make sense and explain how its key actors, supporters and rebels, have their enjoyment implicated in a practice hegemonized by mainstream management dictates. The four logics of pragmatism, consumerism, individualism and elitism, developed here are informing the practices of the current management education in Chile.

The underlying drive of the logic of pragmatism is to render all attempts measurable and functional, which in turn tend to feed and reinforce the logic of consumerism and individualism which shape the very nature of that practice rendering academic activities into commodities deserving individual administration and profitability. Finally, the logic of elitism draws a veil of exclusivity which collaborates in reproducing embedded power privileges among its social actors

The logic of pragmatism is evidenced, through the contextualized self-interpretations of its key actors, as a synonymous with utility and practicality. These signifiers shape a practice which looks for rendering its deliveries on tangible success indicators for both students and companies; the way students demand technical tools that facilitate their future professional practice and achievement of status; and the way the market emphasizes quantitative indicators as measure of result. The victory of pragmatism, as it was presented in chapter 7, has rendered universities and business schools, in private and competitive deliveries of technical tools to a demanding market of buyers of such 'practical equipment'. On the other hand, what this victory implies is the obscuring of the ideological constitution of that approach emphasizing its 'naturalness' and the lack of alternatives for counter positions. This impracticability is primarily located in wider structures minimizing the impact of individual agency.

This pragmatism embedded within the wider logic of markets gives shape to the social actors' participation articulating their relationships within the logic of consumerism. Having imposed a massive market reform for our higher educational model, the former dictatorship government succeeded in establishing fund raising as a first priority, privileging those 'academic' activities that could be offered as well paid 'products' to the market. The fees paid by university students became the key source of funding; as 'target group' they are now its fundamental 'consumers', thus students subjectivities are colonized by their attributes as clients. Consumption increasingly becomes a passive experience; consumerism, not political involvement, is the best expression of personal freedom.

The social logics of individualism and elitism come to complete a picture in which that business education which is articulated as a selective and competitive environment 'not for all'. Being positioned as desirable attribute to compete and succeed within the professional market, business education is a practice that strongly contributes to maintaining and reproducing social and class marginalization, retaining the wider privileges in the hands of selected influential groups. By arguing that any achievement is the result of individual efforts, subjects become personally responsible for success or failure, obscuring the social patterns that support and encourage success for just some and failure for the majority.

In this scenario, I invoked political and fantasmatic logics to highlight how various social logics have become operative in business schools both at the societal level and at the level of universities. For instance, the political logics of equivalence and difference can and have been deployed to draw frontiers between neo-liberal supporters and leftists advocates of a political approach for management and to emphasize the similarities between pragmatism and business education. In that way, fantasies of success and failure, triumph and defeat among critics are also important since they offer some reasons to explain why it may be difficult to destabilize those established social logics. Once this assemblage of logics has managed to sediment itself firmly in the business academic arena, it should require complex counter-hegemonic work to experience something different and thus offer alternatives against what appears to be an inevitable and natural managerialist understanding.

In spite of the fantasmatic logics surrounding business education that keep political dimensions at bay and obscure the radical contingency of social reality, dislocatory complaining has been operating just in the interstices of these official institutions. In other words, there are some traces of marginalized practices which actively attempt to resist mainstream and deserve further consideration. Drawing upon liberation re-articulation, my research intends to propose a rationale that constitutes an oppressive relationship articulated from an abrupt and forced imposition of alien rationalities which have shaped and determined the identification of (im)possibilities of local depositaries. Thus, silencing, even erasing, our history these devices have subjugated its main local supporters pretending, on the contrary,

their exaltation. In other words, a liberation attempt here aspires to de-centre the privileged identity of our local neo-liberal supporters stressing their points of differentiation with those who externally imposed that rationale (foreign managerialist); as well as establishing a chain of equivalences with those who in turn they try to subjugate (local subjectivities). A local practice of CME should consider the contextualization of management history within the particularities of our history, highlighting its foreign origin as well as the difficult implementation among our business practices.

I assumed that the social logic of pragmatism constitutes a dominant norm that is worthy of public contestation. Moreover, while it is true that the pragmatic dimension of this educational practice is at the forefront, it does not mean that the political dimension is necessarily totally foreclosed from view. On the contrary, there are some academics and students who constitute themselves and their skills in another way, envisioning themselves differently. This research's articulation allows the projection, into my objects of study, a counter-logic of liberation in order to serve as a critical counter-point to the belief that the logic of pragmatism is necessary and inevitable. I would like to affirm the idea of a philosophically and politically informed set of research and teaching practices that ought not to be homogenized in the name of just one model of the business school. Again, our articulation of CME should focus not on the practice of business, but in the relations of power that it reveals.

Meanwhile counter-logics of liberation are still constructed loosely and abstractly, prescribing in this sense only a minimal normative content, it can still point to a Latin American philosophical tradition as a contextualized rationale for the alternative impulse in the self-interpretation of actors themselves. There are thus discursive resources available to people, even if only in protean form, to articulate their varied experiences of dislocation in an alternative normative direction. The counter-logics of liberation suggests the possibility to considering the 'outside' and 'otherness' as categories fabricated by the foreign hegemony stimulating the consideration of Latin America's image rescuing its own practices and ways of being from the imposed silence. These normative options could then receive support and open them up, via articulatory practice, to existing normative theories of local pluralism,

democracy and justice. In practical terms, the voice of the 'receivers' rather than the voice of 'deliverers' should be exposed within our classrooms.

Finally, the ethical aspect of critique is revealed here through the voices that intend to raise the historical conditions of (im)possibility of neo-liberal project for higher education highlighting that this set of solutions was just one within others that were crushed by the dictatorship's powers. The counter logic of liberation, as a proposition, is a discursive tool that can allow the historical memory's recovery through the relevance of the geopolitical space as a place of enunciation. Before a discourse that is busy 'telling us how to do things', the counter-logic of liberation seeks to articulate the need of 'listening' to the other, and particularly to 'the other' that inhabits us. Regarding critique, and particularly CMS and CME as empty signifiers, a Latin American radical standpoint could break the equivalence chain establishing a differential point within this resistance chain and begin struggling for a place in the never ending hegemony battle.

### **Discourse Theory contributions to/from this thesis.**

Upon retaking Perriton and Reynolds proposition for a 'fourth wave' within Critical Management Education Studies, my research intended to contribute not only with a proposition in terms of a theoretical framework for illuminating resistance, but also with an original and stimulating paradigm to conceive the practice and its research.

Discourse Theory as it was developed mainly by Laclau and Mouffe and other contributors, has been increasingly considered within organisation studies during recent years. The new couple of political and organisational studies offer to management researchers an insightful framework which allows a permanent subversion of meanings and thus broadening the research agenda. Moreover, this framework is still debuting and its contributions are just exploratory, therefore, my own endeavour expressed through this thesis has no other aim than to join those previous efforts in trying its (im)possibilities. From a practical standpoint, my collaboration has been to assess its suitability to investigate discourses constitution and



its possibilities of counter positions. This objective was supported by the assumption about the centrality of contingency as ontological standpoint which gives to the framework an openness that constitutes subjects as key actors within attempts to be a less repetitive history (Laclau, 2000).

Despite its promising interventions and because of its original lack of methodological stances, Discourse Theory received legitimate suspicions and doubts from both supporters and rejecters in respect of its research scope. Its original advocates within organisation studies have been struggling to overcome the initial lack of concern that Laclau and Mouffe showed in methodological issues. At the very beginning of my research, despite having addressed Discourse Theory in my master's dissertation, my situation was no better than my predecessors. Being positioned in political philosophy, my work presupposes an extensive knowledge in Marxism, post-structural philosophies and Lacanian psychoanalysis which exceeded my personal background when I began. It comes with a new and complex vocabulary which demanded of me a tremendous effort of learning and reflection in order to grasp its central claims and methodological challenges. Fortunately, the significant contribution of Glynos and Howarth came to bridge the methodological gap with a consistent, clear and well supported approach that facilitated my work. Moreover, my research is still a novel articulation of their proposition which undoubtedly yet owes to the masters. Despite these challenges I do believe that Discourse Theory offers something stimulating. It provides a radical rearticulation of hegemony and the universal which re-stimulate research from emancipatory ideals. More relevant, its developments come from its authors' radical reflections that are strongly informed by Laclau's Latin American background as an Argentinean philosopher and Mouffe's activist experience during her time in Colombia, inputs that are inescapably modulating their voices of (apparent) first world intellectuals. Thus, my liberation attempt to recast CME rests not only in the Latin American philosophies that I exposed and re-articulated, but also in the very soul of my framework and methodological inspiration.

## Concluding: tasks for the future

The concerns that originated this thesis make me wonder about the current logics sustaining management education in Chile and its (im)possibilities for critical standpoints. To unravel the knot behind that question I re-visited the history of management practice and education globally and locally, as well as the recent developments of critical studies for both. Despite that apparent lack of critical considerations for our local implementation, the sole idea of mimicking foreign intellectuals again and utopian ideals does not make sense for an attempt that intends to challenge Northern/Western influences. Drawing upon Discourse Theory as a general theoretical and methodological framework and exploring the possibilities of our own radical philosophical development I constructed an understanding of our short management education history, highlighting its inheritance of neo-liberal inspirations and proposing radical possibilities through the rehabilitation of a rearticulated notion of liberation.

Upon bringing to the fore the European and North American debates between mainstream and critical approaches to the study of management and its educational stance I explored the conditions of possibility for our current practice. Firmly embedded in our recent past, business practice and business education in Chile could be framed as the triumph of pragmatism as its supporters reported it. That pragmatism, articulated with logics of consumption, individualism and elitism had instituted a hegemonic voice that drastically silenced the pains of its imposition and its contradictions with local realities and needs. Despite its apparent closure and lack of critiques, the triumphalism nature of the discourse of pragmatism is widely crisscrossed by scepticism and refusal from those who dislocatorily and marginally participate in it. Those voices, as yet loose and fragile resistant, constitute the embodiment of subversion and the condition of possibility for a new antagonism. My option to rehabilitate liberation philosophical tradition as an opportunity to articulate our Latin American radical counter position to mainstream management is in itself an attempt to listen to the voices that 'failed' against the triumphant pragmatism. Liberation was exactly the option that has *not achieved to be*, as Laclau has suggested dealing with it. Furthermore, liberation is just one more attempt to fill the ever emptiness of critical approaches.

That normative suggestion for a local understanding of critical management studies is just a proposition which aspires to guarantee enough consideration from local dissident voices to give way to a wider reflective process. Our challenge as Latin Americans, as 'others', is to cope with two main questions, namely: how to articulate the intercultural within the limits of current epistemologies and knowledge production? How to contribute to the adventure of knowledge from new sources? From the perspective of (northern) people who speak about us and before us (not with us) things are different. The lack of Latin American names within formal management academia, even within critical management academia, is evident. In a English-speaking world our voice literally does not exist. *What is crucial here is the emergence of a new way of knowing which responds to the needs of these others.* Liberation should mean to challenge the basic assumptions which support modern science, philosophy, politic theory, economy, aesthetic and ethics, all of them constructed as 'natural' and uncritical. Radical fights of current times will dispute the knowledge terrain. In this terms, liberation as a geopolitical opportunity for critical management is oriented towards jeopardizing those rhetorics which are utilized by current powerful positions.

How to be critical it is not a universal process as CMS attempted to present. My suggestion in terms of regarding CMS as an empty signifier aims to challenge that assumption, opening the scope for new understandings. Having been colonized by foreign guidelines of a managerial practice and a managerial education does not mean that we have to be colonized by the antidote as well. It is not the content of an emancipatory practice that I was trying to challenge during this work; rather I was trying to highlight the relevance of a different process, liberation not emancipation. Our experience, our praxis and our philosophical tradition have showed that being critical here is completely different. Our criticality should be articulated around the subversion of that subordination as an ontological element of constitution, so the manner in which one is critical should not be an external imposition again. Our very first act of liberation should be our own way of defining radical. Our future leadership will come from our own history, the history of colonization, not from Eurocentric's emancipation projects any more. In sum, what it is important is the contribution, in epistemological and ontological terms that this thesis based on Discourse Theory and liberation genealogy make to our field of critical management studies.

In this way, my work here could be an example to other (Latin) researchers in the field showing that it is possible to explore beyond the boundaries of our field. I believe my thesis contribute to this challenge, as we search for more meaningful interpretations to support our still fragile position within knowledge management production. Moreover, the point that this thesis does not provide 'results' and instead bring another radical approach into the field is an example too, that it is possible to generate interesting, challenging and constructive pieces of research from alternative frames of knowledge.

Following the same idea, even orthodox presuppositions of CMS should be revisited. As I observed, any local practice of CMS should consider the contextualization of management practice within the particularities of every history in particular, highlighting its 'foreign origin' as well as the difficult implementation among its business practices. Also North American Group of Interest emphasized the relevance of paying attention to each particular context in an attempt to define what is critical. This is evident from their statement principles in which they explicitly state their differences with the European equivalent. In this regard, UK's CMS could benefit if they decide to incorporate their own radical history as critical inputs to their 'emancipatory' position. All these mean being aware of their own radical developments ie. labour movement, cooperative movement and feminism among others; and more important, their challenge should incorporate a reflection on their own role as 'colonizers' within neo-liberals projects as well as 'emancipator' attempts.

I remember my first month in Lancaster and my English teacher's comment when I told the course about our independence process. She said that my story was so interesting, particularly to English people because they never gained independence from any other group of people, in other words, they have always been independent. Always? From any point of view? In chapter two I said the question about our philosophy was also the question about our diversity meaning being different from others. Could this question also be relevant for the British? Being different implies an assumption of the subject position of the 'other', I wonder to what extent the British position among critical stances could be stimulated by the question about the other among them. In sum, what I am trying to present here as a suggestion for the

'original' developments in CMS is that a 'personal' historical scrutiny is a key issue within the path of radical attempts.

Much more research and debate should be raised in order to install a fruitful discussion, with the need to put the political constitution of business education as a social practice among Latin America at the forefront. This approach also requires a continual dialogue with those who sustain traditional conceptions of business, even if disagreements prove to be difficult or hard to overcome. More relevantly, our Chilean experience should collaborate and enrich the work of the few Latin American critical scholars who already have started a critical and local dialogue. This is an actual (im)possibility to overcome "*siglos de colonialismo (español) que no en balde nos han hecho cobardes*"<sup>3</sup> in order to supersede '*nuestra nada de la historia universal*'<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> "centuries of colonialism (spanish) which has not wantonly turned us into cowards" Silvio Rodríguez, cuban singer, lyrics.

<sup>4</sup> "the nothingness of our universal history" Fito Paez, argentinean singer, lyrics.

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